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## What binds Saudis and Pakistanis?

Mohammed Hanif  
Contributing Writer

### OPINION

**KARACHI, PAKISTAN** A few years ago, when my wife and I decided to name our newborn son Changez — which sounds like “CHAN-GAZE” — my older sister was livid. “But he was a mass murderer; he killed so many people.” The connection to Genghis (Khan) hadn’t really occurred to us. The name sounded nice, and we had announced it. “What did you have in mind instead?” I asked my sister. She suggested a prophet’s name. I said that the prophet might have had to kill a few people, too. Every ruler in history has had to kill a few people. And that doesn’t stop other people from celebrating them.

When Mohammed bin Salman, the crown prince of Saudi Arabia, arrived in Pakistan on Sunday there was an air

of celebration and no mention of murder. A few journalists put up as their display picture on social media photographs of the dissident Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi, who was killed in the

Saudi Consulate in Istanbul in October. They got calls from their bosses to remove the shots, and most of them did. Otherwise, our TV screens turned into a welcoming red carpet. It was a unique visit, we were told again and again.

Mundane logistical details sparked, as these things do when they come in contact with royalty. The Pakistani government has been on an austerity drive, and a while ago it auctioned off many of its luxury vehicles. But now it was renting 300 Prado SUVs to carry the Saudi delegates. Pakistani officials were tasked with sourcing 3,500 pigeons to release on the prince’s arrival. There was dancing on the streets. Air force jets escorted the prince’s plane as it entered our airspace. Yes, it was a royal welcome.

For days before Prince Mohammed’s arrival, TV journalists were breathless with anticipation. Eighty containers full of the prince’s stuff were expected to arrive in advance. A special gym was set up in the house of Prime Minister Imran Khan. Two kids with bouquets as big as themselves greeted the prince in the prime minister’s house. They got a pat and a kiss on their heads. Poor kids.

It’s often said here that Saudi Arabia is the undisputed leader of the ummah, the worldwide community of Muslims, because its rulers are the custodians of **HANIF, PAGE 8**

*The New York Times publishes opinion from a wide range of perspectives in hopes of promoting constructive debate about consequential questions.*

## ISIS wives seek redemption

AL HAWL CAMP, SYRIA

Western women say they regret going to Syria and just want to return home

BY RUKMINI CALLIMACHI  
AND CATHERINE PORTER

She was a 20-year-old college student in Alabama who had become convinced of the righteousness of the Islamic State. So she duped her parents into thinking she was going on a college trip and bought a plane ticket to Turkey with her tuition money.

After being smuggled into the caliphate, the student, Hoda Muthana, posted a photograph on Twitter showing her gloved hands holding her American passport. “Bonfire soon,” she promised.

That was more than four years ago. Now, after being married to three Islamic State fighters and witnessing executions like those she had once cheered on social media, Ms. Muthana says she is deeply sorry and wants to return home to the United States.

She surrendered last month to the coalition forces fighting ISIS and now spends her days as a detainee in a refugee camp in northeastern Syria. She is joined there by another woman, Kimberly Gwen Polman, 46, who studied legal administration in Canada before joining the caliphate and who possesses dual United States and Canadian citizenship.

Both women, interviewed by The New York Times at the camp, said they were trying to figure out how to have their passports reissued and how to win the sympathy of the two nations they scorned.

“I don’t have words for how much regret I have,” said Ms. Polman, who was born into a Reformed Mennonite community in Hamilton, Ontario, to an American mother and a Canadian father and who has three adult children.

Ms. Muthana, who attended high school in Hoover, Ala., and the University of Alabama at Birmingham, said she was first drawn to ISIS in high school through reading Twitter and other social media posts.

“Once I look back on it, I can’t stress how much of a crazy idea it was,” she said. “I can’t believe it. I ruined my life. I ruined my future.”

In a Twitter message over the weekend, President Trump criticized allies including Britain, France and Germany for not taking back hundreds of ISIS prisoners captured on the battlefield. “The alternative is not a good one in that we will be forced to release them,” he warned.

The president made no mention of American women who had married ISIS fighters and whom the United States had not taken back home.

Both Ms. Muthana and Ms. Polman said they had not been visited by American officials since their capture last month. They also said that a family of four sisters from Seattle with four children was being detained in a separate camp.

A former law enforcement official confirmed that a Seattle family had trav-



Top, Hoda Muthana with her son in Syria. Ms. Muthana was a college student in Alabama when she joined the Islamic State in 2014. Above, Kimberly Gwen Polman, a mother of three adult children, left Canada in 2015 to marry the ISIS member she had met online.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

eled to Syria to join the Islamic State, but did not have further information.

A small number of Americans — as few as 59, according to data tracked by the George Washington University Program on Extremism — are known to have traveled to Syria to join ISIS. Nearly all the American men captured in battle have been repatriated, but it is unclear why some of the American

women and their children — at least 13 known to The Times — have not been.

A spokeswoman for the Federal Bureau of Investigation declined to comment on the two cases, but said that agents would typically work to build a criminal case against any American who joined the Islamic State, a designated terrorist organization.

Robert Palladino, a spokesman for the

State Department, on Tuesday described the situation for Americans in Syria as “extremely complicated.” He said, “We’re looking into these cases to better understand the details,” but he declined to comment further, citing privacy and security concerns.

A Canadian government official said that it could be difficult for Canadians **SYRIA, PAGE 4**

## Forces join for glimpse of an army for Europe

LOHHEIDE, GERMANY

Even if a blocwide military may be needed, challenges make it an idealist’s dream

BY KATRIN BENNHOLD

On a former Cold War base, German and Dutch soldiers, serving together in one tank battalion, stood to attention one recent morning and shouted their battle cry in both languages.

“We fight —,” their commander bel-

lowed.

“— for Germany!” the battalion replied in unison.

“We fight —,” the commander shouted.

“— for the Netherlands!” his soldiers yelled back.

They are not shouting “for Europe!” Not yet.

But the battalion — Europe’s first made up of soldiers from two countries — is an important baby step toward deeper European military cooperation. First floated after World War II, the idea of a European army is older than the European Union itself but has yet to become a reality.

Now, though, the idea has taken on new urgency because of the Trump administration’s threat to withdraw the Continent’s security guarantee if it does not spend more on its defense. At a high-level security conference last weekend, the breach between the United States and Europe burst into the open, leaving many European officials feeling increasingly on their own.

“Everyone is talking about a European army,” Lt. Col. Marco Niemeyer, the German commander of the battalion, said. “We are pioneers.”

Yet if some powerful European leaders are talking more loudly about a European military, the political moment is fraught. Populist parties are surging across the Continent, amid rising nationalism that threatens European cohesion and has made the prospect of surrendering sovereignty on a sensitive issue like national security even harder. Moreover, the practical challenges to more credible European defense cooperation are immense.

For any progress, analysts agree that Germany, Europe’s biggest and richest country, must do more, including overcome its post-World War II reluctance to lead in strategic matters. The German military already has too few soldiers, too little equipment and faces shortages of just about everything, even thermal underwear, which in some cases is being reclassified as “functional” so that it can be reused by others.

Given this backdrop, Tank Battalion 414 has become an informal test case for what needs to be done to achieve greater efficiencies and broader cooperation.

The base in Lohheide, Germany, is the **EUROPE, PAGE 2**

## Peoples divided by a common language

MONTREAL DISPATCH  
MONTREAL

Culture clash in Quebec surprises some after influx of immigrants from France

BY DAN BILEFSKY

“They make rents go up and steal our women.” They “travel in packs of 10 and complain all the time.” “There are too many French people on the Plateau.”

These are some of the lyrics of a song written by Fred Schneider, a 38-year-old advertising copywriter from France, who was belting them out on a recent evening at a thronged bar in Montreal, the largest city in the mostly French-speaking Canadian province of Quebec.

The largely Québécois crowd roared with laughter as the song poked fun at an influx of snobbish, chain-smoking, “know-it-all” French who are “occupying” the Plateau-Mont-Royal neighborhood. The area is so replete with



ANNIE SAKKAB FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Fred Schneider, who moved from France, lives in the Plateau-Mont-Royal neighborhood of Montreal. He performs self-mocking songs about the French “occupying” the area.

French residents, French bakeries and Parisian accents that it is sometimes referred to sardonically by Montrealers as Nouvelle-France, France’s former North American colony.

Mr. Schneider, whose self-mocking performances sometimes include singing while dancing with a baguette, is among the droves of French people who have moved to Montreal in recent years. They are drawn by a quest to find the American dream in the language of Molière and motivated, in part, by economic doldrums back home.

Some Montrealers call them FFF’s — French from France.

But as is often the case with old relatives, relations can be complicated. Quebecers and the French sometimes sound like two peoples divided by a common language.

Louis Myard, a politics student at the University of Montreal, whose family moved from Paris to Montreal several years ago, mused that “a Mexican and a Chinese person had more in common than a Frenchman and a Quebecer.” **CANADA, PAGE 2**

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The New York Times



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PAGE TWO



Cpl. First Class Leon Berkepeis of the Netherlands, center, with German soldiers of Tank Battalion 414, which was born of necessity as much as a desire for deeper cooperation.

Experiment for a European army

EUROPE, FROM PAGE 1

Continent's difficult history writ small. Built by the Nazis in the 1930s and used by Allied forces during the Cold War when West Germany was still NATO's eastern border state, it is now home to an experiment in post-national defense.

The battalion is German, but one in four of its soldiers are Dutch. The tanks are German, the radio system is Dutch and the language of command increasingly English. German and Dutch soldiers often ride in the same tank.

"We already work much more closely together than the politicians had envisaged," said Colonel Niemeyer, the German commander.

"We no longer think in national terms," he said.

"The values we're defending are European," he continued. "The border we're defending is not between the Netherlands and Germany. It's NATO's eastern border."

Would he die for Europe? "Yes," he said.

But the contrast between the idealism on display in the barracks and the absence of political leadership remains striking, analysts and defense experts say — especially in Berlin.

"There is a gigantic mismatch between the tactical-military and the political level," said Jan Techau, director of the Europe Program at the German Marshall Fund in Berlin.

"The life we have had for the last 70 years is possible because of the American security guarantees we have had, largely for free," Mr. Techau said. "That is the reason we are not Ukraine and live in a Russian sphere of influence."

Ultimately, he said, the question President Trump has asked the Europeans is a fair one.

"We want to live in freedom," Mr. Techau said. "But are we prepared to pay for it?"

At the end of the Cold War, Germany had 500,000 soldiers and more than 3,000 tanks, and spent 2.4 percent of its gross domestic product on defense.

Today, it has 182,000 soldiers and 325 tanks, and spends just 1.3 percent of G.D.P. on defense.



"We already work much more closely together than the politicians had envisaged," said Lt. Col. Marco Niemeyer, center, the battalion's German commander.

Despite signing a commitment to fellow NATO members to work toward spending 2 percent of G.D.P. by 2024, Germany has watered down the target to 1.5 percent.

Germany's defense minister, Ursula von der Leyen, conceded in an interview that 25 years of downsizing had hollowed out structures. But she insisted that "we have passed the bottom and are on the right track."

Military spending has increased for five straight years, she said, up 36 percent. Germany is NATO's second-biggest contributor of funds and troops.

But critics say that is not good enough.

On average, only one in three of Germany's Eurofighter jets and combat helicopters fly, according to figures published last year, the latest available. In January, just three of six submarines and well under half of the two dozen A400M transport planes were ready.

"In all areas there is a shortage of material," Hans-Peter Bartels, Germany's parliamentary commissioner for the armed forces, wrote in a report last month.

Battalion 414 showcases the necessity of European cooperation: Germany has too few soldiers, the Dutch lack a tank program. But together they can make a battalion.

"It is two fragile parties propping each other up," said Thomas Wiegold, a respected military blogger.

In an interview, Mr. Bartels said that he believed a European army — or an army of Europeans, as he prefers to call it — was the future, but that it would take a generation to form.

Efforts like Battalion 414 are "islands" that need to multiply and then coalesce into a credible continental defense structure, he said. It would also have to include a security council to make decisions about deploying forces, as well as a unified command.

All that is a challenge — not least because Germans simply don't feel at risk.

Seven out of 10 Germans do not see Russia as a threat, recent surveys show. Three times more Germans trust President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and President Xi Jinping of China to "do the right thing" than Mr. Trump, who is seen as a bigger threat than North Korea.

"We have failed to explain to the German people how profoundly our geopolitical situation has changed and how profoundly that changes the role of Germany," said Norbert Röttgen, a lawmaker from Chancellor Angela Merkel's conservative party.

One reason Battalion 414 has been so successful is that northern Germans and Dutch people are culturally close.

Despite talk by Ms. Merkel and President Emmanuel Macron of France about a "real European army," the experience of the Franco-German brigade in the French region of Alsace has been very different.

"The Germans don't speak French; the French don't speak English," Mr. Bartels said.

Even more significant, he said, "the strategic cultures in France and Germany are very different, although there is the political will to compromise."

To make a European army work, Germany would have to overcome an innate caution since World War II about military intervention.

"For a long time there was a view in Germany that we must not get involved in conflicts because of our history, but that is changing," Ms. von der Leyen, the defense minister, said. "It is precisely because of our history that we need to get involved."

History is never far in Germany. Cpl. First Class Leon Berkepeis is among 100 Dutch soldiers staffing German battle tanks under German command. His grandfather, a Dutch freedom fighter, was shot dead by the Germans during Hitler's occupation of the Netherlands.

Nearly eight decades later, one of his friends in the battalion is a German whose grandfather was in the SS.

The base in Lohheide is walking distance from Bergen-Belsen, the former Nazi camp where Anne Frank died in 1945. Some buildings on the base were used by the camp toward the end of the war. Today, there are regular visits organized for soldiers.

Christopher F. Schuetz contributed reporting from Berlin.

Journalist covered jazz in Japan and America

KIYOSHI KOYAMA  
1936-2019

BY GIOVANNI RUSSONELLO

Kiyoshi Koyama, widely regarded as Japan's pre-eminent jazz journalist, who covered the music's development throughout the 1960s and '70s before becoming a producer of archival albums, died on Feb. 3 in Kashiwa, Japan. He was 82.

Katherine Whatley, a journalist and friend of Mr. Koyama, said the cause was stomach cancer.

As the editor of Swing Journal, the leading jazz magazine in one of the world's most jazz-loving countries, Mr. Koyama rigorously covered the music being made on both sides of the Pacific Ocean, often traveling to the United States.

He went to New York in the summer of 1969 to report on the city's avant-garde scene, which was abuzz with insurgent energy, and paid a consequential visit to the saxophonist Ornette Coleman, a creator of free jazz, who had recently moved into a loft space at 131 Prince Street in the SoHo neighborhood of Manhattan. Mr. Koyama watched Coleman's band rehearsing and spent time with him in his living quarters above the rehearsal space.

Throughout his career, Mr. Koyama conducted interviews with many of the leading figures in American jazz, including Miles Davis and Albert Ayler, as well as esteemed Japanese musicians like Sadao Watanabe and Toshiko Akiyoshi.

The Prince Street loft, which Coleman would soon rename Artist House and convert into a venue for public performances, became a harbinger of things to come in Lower Manhattan, where a community of artist-run lofts soon sprang up.

Mr. Koyama's 1969 dispatch was one of the earliest international reports on the so-called loft jazz scene and predated most such reporting even from domestic sources. He returned to New York almost every summer during the 1970s to continue covering creative developments there.

After becoming editor of Swing Journal in 1967, Mr. Koyama quickly converted the publication from a tabloid that relied heavily on articles from wire services and pieces adapted from English-language publications into a source of first-class music criticism and reportage.

He remained editor until 1981, when he shifted his focus to producing historical albums, often by mining his own extensive record collection.

By the end of his life, Mr. Koyama's personal archive included close to 30,000 vinyl albums and CDs. He also retained a copy of nearly every issue of Swing Journal, hundreds of books, and

cassette tapes of his interviews. He recently donated the archive to New York University.

Mr. Koyama was Swing Journal's editor again from 1990 to 1993. The magazine ceased publication in 2010, amid falling advertising revenues.

Kiyoshi Koyama was born in Sakai, in Osaka Prefecture, on Feb. 12, 1936. His father owned a sewing machine factory that burned down during World War II.

He is survived by his wife, Takako Koyama, and a brother.

Mr. Koyama's earliest exposure to jazz came in the 1940s through the Far East Network, a group of radio stations run by the United States military, and the Japanese station NHK. "I would rush home on the train after school to listen to NHK," he told Ms. Whatley for a 2015 article in The Japan Times, an English-language newspaper.

He first heard live jazz as a teenager, in 1953, when Louis Armstrong came through Osaka on his second tour of Japan. He received a degree in English literature from Kansai University, writing his thesis on uses of the word "jazz" in modern American literature.

After graduating, Mr. Koyama left Osaka for Tokyo, where he began working for the Japanese edition of the American jazz magazine DownBeat.

Kiyoshi Koyama was exposed to jazz in the 1940s through radio stations run by the United States military, and NHK of Japan.

At a news conference in 1966, early in his career, Mr. Koyama asked John Coltrane where he saw himself in 10 years. Coltrane responded, "I'd like to be a saint." Though said jokingly, the answer took on an illuminative significance. It would later seem to have foreshadowed his unexpected death a year later, at 40, and the kind of mythical status that he acquired thereafter.

In the 1980s, having left Swing Journal, Mr. Koyama often worked as a consultant for Japanese record labels, producing boxed sets. He was responsible for "The Complete Keynote Collection," a 1986 anthology of selections from a label that recorded Coleman Hawkins, Lionel Hampton and others in the 1940s; and the 1989 collection "Brownie: The Complete EmArcy Recordings of Clifford Brown." Both were released in the United States and nominated for Grammy Awards in the historical album category. Dan Morgenstern's notes for the Clifford Brown anthology won a Grammy.

Mr. Koyama was a disc jockey on NHK for over 50 years. He hosted a Saturday-night show called "Jazz Tonight," featuring records from his collection and interviews with musicians, until four months before his death.



Kiyoshi Koyama, the longtime editor of the jazz magazine Swing Journal, at his home near Tokyo last year. His personal archive included close to 30,000 albums and CDs.

French and Québécois, divided by a common language

CANADA, FROM PAGE 1

"We play soccer, Quebecers play hockey," he said. "We say 'diner' (dinner) they say 'souper' (supper); we prefer wine, they prefer beer; we smoke cigarettes, they smoke pot."

Mr. Myard, 22, said romance in feminist Quebec also posed challenges for young men reared in "machismo" France. "I have been glared at for opening the door for a Québécois woman and once called a Québécois girl I liked, 'my little baby,'" he said. "She got very annoyed and said, 'I am not your baby!'"

Salomé Zimmerlin, a part-time French model who came here to study economics at McGill University, said she was initially taken aback by Quebecers using the informal pronoun "tu" rather than the formal "vous" even when addressing strangers, though she quickly embraced the informality.

Also surprising to her were Quebec expressions such as "ma blonde" — "my girlfriend" — which means "my blonde" to a French ear.

But Ms. Zimmerlin, 23, who started a unisex fashion brand, Kafka, said any culture shock had been more than offset by the attraction of a society she said was far less rigid than that of hierarchical France. "If I had tried to start a fashion label in Paris, people would've laughed in my face due to my lack of experience," she said. "Here, the reaction

was, 'Show me what you can do!'"

Whatever the challenges, the mutual ardor between France and Quebec was on full display during a visit last month by Quebec's premier, François Legault, to Paris, where the right-leaning former businessman was greeted like a world leader by President Emmanuel Macron. Mr. Legault also made it clear that while he wanted to reduce the number of immigrants coming to Quebec, that most certainly did not apply to the nation that gave the world pain au chocolat.

There was a time when some in Mother France would sneer at what they perceived as Quebec's rustic patois, while Quebecers, in turn, would complain about the "maudits français," or "damned French."

These days, however, Le Monde has proclaimed Quebec an El Dorado for a new generation of French drawn by, among other things, an unemployment rate of about 5.5 percent, compared with more than 9 percent in France, and some advantages under immigration rules for speaking and writing French.

Between 2013 and 2017, France provided the second-largest number of immigrants to Quebec after China, according to Quebec's Immigration Ministry. There are about 130,000 French people in Montreal.

Yet the disorientation for the new arrivals can be as unrelenting as the Cana-



Poutine, the gravy-drenched cheese fries beloved in Quebec, seem to owe more to British and American culture than to France. About 130,000 French people live in Montreal.

dian winter. After all, poutine, the gravy-drenched cheese fries beloved in Quebec, would seem to owe more to British and American culture than to France. Then there are all those English words that have infiltrated the language, like "cute," "weird" and "fun."

Mathieu Lalancette, a Quebecer who

made "French PQ," a documentary about the French in Quebec, said that many French were shocked to discover that a common language doesn't mean a common culture.

"We Quebecers know we are very different from the French," he said, "but many French who come here think they

are taking the train and going to the French countryside."

While Quebecers have long looked to Enlightenment France for inspiration, Gérard Bouchard, a historian and sociologist at the University of Quebec in Chicoutimi, said that as they "gained a stronger sense of identity in the 1960s, they increasingly looked to North America — not France — for self-definition."

The new French arrivals typically come armed with some knowledge of Quebec through exposure to the music of Québécois singers popular in France like Celine Dion and Garou or to French-language films by the Quebec wunderkind Xavier Dolan — sometimes shown with French subtitles in Paris cinemas.

But Catherine Feuillet, the consul general of France in Montreal, said that Quebecers were understandably irritated by those of her compatriots who arrived in Quebec unable to find Quebec on a map or ignorant of its recent history. If the French were sometimes not fully up-to-date about their new home, she added, it was, perhaps, because losing Quebec to the British in 1763 was "something they would rather forget."

At the same time, Gallic tempers can flare when their French-speaking cousins surpass them. In March, when Agropur, a Québécois dairy cooperative, edged out a French dairy producer to

win the prize for having the world's best Camembert, some French people were horrified. "It's a scandal, a fraud," VSD, a glossy weekly magazine in France, proclaimed.

Nor are Quebecers amused by periodic breathless reports in the French media depicting Quebec as a frigid, maple tree-covered frontier where, according to an article in the French magazine Elle à Table, every year pigs are "sacrificed" around Easter time before being frozen in the open air. After an outcry in Quebec, the writer of the article apologized, acknowledging that the "very ancient" ritual no longer takes place in contemporary Quebec.

Cultural misunderstandings aside, the French influx shows little sign of abating.

Adeline Alleno, a 29-year-old from Paris, said that after spending \$17,000 on her master's degree in France, she was able to find work there only in a shoe store. In Montreal, she said, she found a senior marketing job in a matter of weeks. She said her generation had been galvanized by President Macron, but were frustrated by his inability to deliver on his promises.

"Here I can find a good job, buy a house, am close to nature and have quality of life, and I can still live in French," she said. "I am angry at France for failing me."



# World

## The secret rules for priests with children

ROME

Vatican has confirmed it has guidelines for clerics who break celibacy vows

BY JASON HOROWITZ AND ELISABETTA POVOLEDO

Vincent Doyle, a psychotherapist in Ireland, was 28 when he learned from his mother that the Roman Catholic priest he had always known as his godfather was in truth his biological father.

The discovery led him to create a global support group to help other children of priests, like him, who suffered from the internalized shame that comes with being born from church scandal. When he pressed bishops to acknowledge these children, some church leaders told him that he was the product of the rarest of transgressions.

But one archbishop finally showed him what he was looking for: a document of Vatican guidelines for how to deal with priests who father children, proof that he was hardly alone.

“Oh my God. This is the answer,” Mr. Doyle recalled having said as he held the document. He asked if he could have a copy, but the archbishop said no — it was secret.

Now, the Vatican has confirmed, apparently for the first time, that its department overseeing the world’s priests has general guidelines for what to do when clerics break celibacy vows and father children.

“I can confirm that these guidelines exist,” the Vatican spokesman Alessandro Gisotti wrote in response to a query from The New York Times. “It is an internal document.”

The issue is becoming harder to ignore. “It’s the next scandal,” Mr. Doyle said. “There are kids everywhere.”

As the Vatican prepares for an unprecedented meeting with the world’s bishops this week on the devastating child sexual abuse crisis, many people who feel they have been wronged by the church’s culture of secrecy and aversion to scandal will descend on Rome to press their cause.

There will be the victims of clerical child abuse. There will be nuns sexually assaulted by priests. And there will be children of priests, including Mr. Doyle, who is scheduled to meet privately in Rome with several prominent prelates.

For the church, stories like Mr. Doyle’s draw uncomfortable attention to the violation of celibacy by priests and, for some former clerics and liberals inside the church, raise the issue of whether it is time to make the requirement optional, as it is in other Christian churches.

The children are sometimes the result



SUZANNE KREITER/THE BOSTON GLOBE VIA GETTY IMAGES

Vincent Doyle, the son of a Catholic priest, said the issue of clerics with children was becoming harder to ignore. “It’s the next scandal,” he said. “There are kids everywhere.”

of affairs involving priests and laywomen or nuns — others of abuse or rape.

The tradition of celibacy among Roman Catholic clergy was broadly codified in the 12th century, but not necessarily adhered to, even in the highest places. Rodrigo Borgia, while a priest, had four children with his mistress before he became Pope Alexander VI, an excess that helped spur Martin Luther’s Protestant Reformation. Luther wrote mockingly that the pope had as much command over celibacy as “the natural movement of the bowels.”

There are no estimates of how many such children exist. But Mr. Doyle said his support group website, Coping International, has 50,000 users in 175 countries.

He said he was first shown the Vatican guidelines in October 2017 by Archbishop Ivan Jurkovic, the Vatican’s envoy to the United Nations in Geneva.

“You’re actually called ‘children of the

ordained,” Mr. Doyle recalled Archbishop Jurkovic having said. “I was shocked they had a term for it.”

Archbishop Jurkovic declined a request for an interview.

Mr. Gisotti, the Vatican spokesman, said that the internal 2017 document synthesized a decade’s worth of pro-

**The children are sometimes the result of affairs involving priests and laywomen or nuns — others of abuse or rape.**

cedures and that its “fundamental principle” was the “protection of the child.” He said the guideline “requests” that the father leave the priesthood to “assume his responsibilities as a parent by devoting himself exclusively to the child.”

But another Vatican official said that the “request” was a mere formality.

Monsignor Andrea Ripa, the under secretary in the Congregation for the Clergy, which oversees more than 400,000 priests, said in a brief interview that “it is impossible to impose” the dismissal of the priest, and that it “can only be asked” for by the priest.

But he added that the failure to ask to be relieved of priestly obligations was reason for the church to take action: “If you don’t ask, you will be dismissed.”

The Irish bishops have their own guidelines. Mr. Doyle, who once studied for the priesthood and has sought to cooperate with church leaders, played a role in developing them, said Martin Long, a spokesman for the Irish Bishops’ Conference.

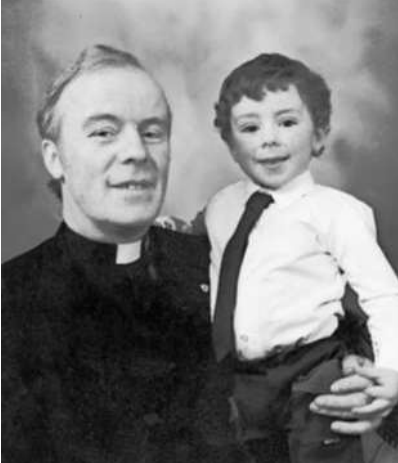
The Irish church’s principles do not explicitly require clerics to leave the priesthood but state: “A priest as any new father, should face up to his responsibilities — personal, legal, moral and financial.”

Pope Francis’ remarks on the issue are limited. In his 2010 book, “On Heaven and Earth,” which he co-wrote when he was the archbishop of Buenos Aires, Francis argues that a priest who in a moment of passion violates a vow of celibacy could potentially stay in the ministry, but one who fathers a child could not.

“Natural law comes before his right as a priest,” he writes, adding that a priest’s first responsibility would be to his child, and that “he must leave his priestly ministry and take care of his child.”

Mr. Doyle, along with some other children of priests and some former priests themselves, say they do not believe that dismissal from the priesthood is always in the child’s best interests, and that sometimes it potentially deprives a family of a livelihood.

“I don’t believe unemployment is a response to paternity,” Mr. Doyle said.



Mr. Doyle with his biological father, the Rev. John J. Doyle, in 1986. He grew up believing the priest was his godfather.

Some children of priests, however, wish their fathers were forced out of the ministry.

Rev. Pietro Tosi was 54 when he raped Erik Zattoni’s mother, who was 14, Mr. Zattoni said. Her family tried to force the priest to recognize their son, but he refused. The family was evicted from their parish-owned home in a tiny town outside Ferrara, Italy, where they often bumped into each other.

“He never said anything,” said Mr. Zattoni, now 37.

In 2010, Mr. Zattoni sued Father Tosi, demanding to be recognized. A court-ordered DNA test demonstrated that he was in fact the priest’s son. The Vatican eventually instructed Father Tosi’s bishop to admonish him and remind him of his responsibilities as a father, but did not demand his removal from the priesthood.

After a national news program highlighted his case, hundreds of Italians filled a Ferrara piazza in 2013 to show support for Mr. Zattoni and press Francis to take up his case.

Father Tosi died in 2014, still a priest.

The children of priests are increasingly turning to DNA tests to prove that their parents are either priests or nuns.

“It’s a breakthrough, and anybody can do it,” said Linda Lawless, 56, an amateur genealogist in Australia, and herself the daughter of a priest, who has helped members of Coping International.

Her mother kept her paternity secret, but Ms. Lawless remembered noticing as a child that her mother was “absolutely terrified” whenever priests visited the house. Last year, she used a DNA test and the increasingly comprehensive databases and family trees of the genealogical website Ancestry.com to confirm that her biological father was a priest.

“That’s when the secret came out,” she said.

## More clues, and questions, in 1961 crash that killed U.N. leader

BY RICK GLADSTONE AND ALAN COWELL

A few provocative tidbits have emerged about the mysterious 1961 death of United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, just months before the world body may forever close the book on the unsolved case.

The new information, which appears to corroborate the theory that South African or Belgian mercenaries may have forced the plane carrying Mr. Hammarskjöld and 15 others to crash in a conflict region of Africa, is far from conclusive.

But it has provided more fuel for questions about what powerful nations may still be withholding in their intelligence archives about the crash, a defining event nearly six decades ago in emerging post-colonial Africa.

Mr. Hammarskjöld, a pipe-smoking Swedish diplomat whose name now adorns buildings in and around the United Nations headquarters in New York, was on a mission to settle a conflict over Katanga, a rebellious part of Congo, when his aircraft, a chartered DC-6, crashed just after midnight on Sept. 18, 1961.

The aircraft, named the Albertina, was just a few minutes from its destination: an airfield in Ndola, in what was then the British protectorate of Northern Rhodesia and is now Zambia.

Whether the crash was accidental has been at the crux of inquiries that have persisted to this day, generating many conspiracy theories that colonial-era mining interests, perhaps backed by Western intelligence agencies, had plotted to assassinate him.

Now, as a prominent jurist retained by Mr. Hammarskjöld’s most recent successor, António Guterres, is preparing what may be the final report on the crash, a documentary film has caused a stir by presenting what it has described as revelations.

The two-hour film, “Cold Case Hammarskjöld,” by Mads Bruggner, a Danish journalist, won the World Cinema Documentary Directing Award in its debut at this year’s Sundance Film Festival. It suggested that a South African group of white mercenaries had not only played a role in the crash but had also later plotted to infect South Africa’s black majority with AIDS through a fake vaccina-

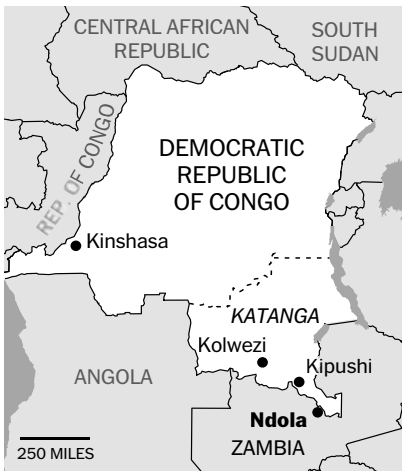


CENTRAL PRESS/HULTON ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Above, officials searching through debris after the plane carrying United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, top right, crashed in Northern Rhodesia in 1961.



ASSOCIATED PRESS



THE NEW YORK TIMES

tion campaign. While the AIDS theory has been met with deep skepticism by a range of experts, its assertions about a South African mercenary connection to Mr. Hammarskjöld’s death have not been dismissed so easily.

A few weeks before the premiere of “Cold Case Hammarskjöld,” Alexander Jones, a former member of the mercenary group and an important figure in the film, was interviewed for 90 minutes in Sweden by a representative of the jurist who is preparing the United Nations report, according to Andreas Rocksen, a producer of the film.

Mr. Jones described a 1989 recruitment session for the group, the South African Institute for Maritime Research, in which photographs of the Hammarskjöld crash site had been displayed and the group’s leader “referred to it as one of the most successful operations — tak-

ing down a dignitary,” Mr. Rocksen said.

Asked for comment, the jurist, Mohamed Chande Othman, the former chief justice of Tanzania, said he had received “information from a multiplicity of sources,” including “the makers of a recent film on this subject matter,” according to an emailed statement from his spokesman.

The judge also said he was still evaluating the information “in terms of whether it may be new information of relevance” and that he intended to submit his report to Mr. Guterres by June.

Neither the judge nor Mr. Guterres said they had seen the film. But a spokesman for Mr. Guterres, Farhan Haq, said that Mr. Hammarskjöld’s death “remains one of the saddest, most tragic events in the history of our organization,” and that “a full accounting of what happened is way overdue.”

The film’s researchers also claim to have corroborated a theory that a now-deceased Belgian mercenary pilot, Jan van Risseghem, flying a French-built Fouga Magister belonging to the forces of Moïse Tshombe, the Katangese rebel leader, attacked and destroyed Mr. Hammarskjöld’s plane.

The researchers interviewed a friend of Mr. Risseghem’s, Pierre Coppens, who said Mr. Risseghem had recounted the attack to him years later in Belgium.

That account, however, has been called into question by a German historian, Torben Gülstorff, who has traced documents showing that several Dornier twin-engine planes were sold to the Katangese rebel authorities.

Unlike the Fouga, the Dornier Do 28A had short takeoff and landing capabilities and could have used a short airstrip in the Congolese town of Kipushi to

reach Ndola, while a Fouga, based much further away in the Congolese town of Kolwezi, would have been at the limits of its range.

In an article last year, Mr. Gülstorff wrote that “a Dornier Do 28A might be the plane that was used in a nighttime air-to-air attack” on Mr. Hammarskjöld’s plane. But “further research is necessary,” he said.

Doubt also has been expressed about Mr. van Risseghem’s whereabouts on the night of the crash.

In 1994, Bengt Rosio, a Swedish diplomat and author who had interviewed Mr. van Risseghem, said in a paper titled “Ndola Once Again” that Mr. van Risseghem was “not in Katanga at the time of the Ndola crash since he was on leave in Belgium.”

But that assertion, too, seems undermined by documents published last month in a Belgian newspaper, De Mor-

gen, showing that Mr. van Risseghem apparently drew an advance on his salary as a mercenary for the Katangese authorities on Sept. 16, 1961.

New questions also have been raised about the precise cause of the Albertina’s destruction. An article last month in Counterpunch, a magazine based in Petrolia, Calif., suggested that the pilot had been trying for a controlled crash landing after an attacking plane hit it.

If the Albertina had not struck an enormous anthill, the article said, the “skinny trees would probably have arrested its forward movement in a fairly short distance and the passengers, if they were strapped in, would have a pretty good chance of walking away.”

Some of those colonial officials present in Ndola at the time, representing Britain, insist that there was no evidence of an aerial attack.

“I mapped out where every body was found in relation to the crash site and attended every post mortem,” said John Gange, a former detective senior inspector in the colonial police who examined the site hours after it had been located.

“Every single scrap of the aircraft was removed from the scene and examined by qualified engineers,” Mr. Gange said in an email. “Nothing untoward was found.”

“No bullets or bullet holes were found on any of the bodies or on any part of the wreckage,” he added.

Last November, Judge Othman directly accused Britain and South Africa of having failed to cooperate in his repeated requests for information.

This month, Hynrich W. Wieschhoff, whose father, Heinrich A. Wieschhoff, an adviser to Mr. Hammarskjöld, died in the crash, said the United Nations had “done little to publicize the activities” of Judge Othman, had been “slow to fully declassify its own archives and still refuses to release some documents.”

In an article posted on PassBlue, a news website that focuses on the United Nations, Mr. Wieschhoff said the judge’s final report may offer more detail. Still, he said, “unless that report or a new sense of purpose by the U.N. can pry the facts out of Britain, the U.S. and other key states, what happened and why will once again fade unanswered into the past.”



# Western wives of militants seek forgiveness

**SYRIA, FROM PAGE 1**  
detained in Syria to leave the region because they were likely to face serious charges in neighboring countries.

Citing the many crimes committed by ISIS, Seamus Hughes, deputy director of the George Washington program, said there were “thousands of legitimate reasons to question the sincerity” of appeals like those of Ms. Muthana and Ms. Polman.

“The foreign women of the Islamic State, while often reduced to simplistic narratives about ‘jihadi brides,’ ‘brain-washing’ and ‘online grooming,’ aided and abetted many of these atrocities and in some cases directly perpetrated them,” he said.

Ms. Muthana and Ms. Polman acknowledged in the interview in Syria that many Americans would question whether they deserved to be brought back home after joining one of the world’s deadliest terrorist groups.

“How do you go from burning a passport to crying yourself to sleep because you have so much deep regret? How do you do that?” Ms. Polman asked. “How do you show people that?”

### “DOING THE RIGHT THING”

The daughter of Yemeni immigrants, Ms. Muthana grew up in an ultra-strict household — no partying, no boyfriends and no cellphone.

When she finished high school, her father gave her a smartphone as a graduation gift. It soon became her portal into the world of extreme Islam, she said.

Two years later, in 2014, an online contact walked her through the steps of joining the Islamic State, she said: Board a flight to Turkey. When you land, call this number.

To pay for the trip, Ms. Muthana enrolled in classes at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, where she was a sophomore business major, but then withdrew and cashed the tuition check from her parents. She packed a book bag with her clothes and told her family she was going to an event in Atlanta, a two-hour drive away. Instead she headed directly to the Birmingham airport for a flight to Istanbul.

“I was crying, because I thought I was making a big sacrifice for the sake of God, and I was giving up my family, my home, my comfort, everything I know, everything I loved,” she said. “I thought I was doing the right thing.”

Ms. Muthana said she was smuggled across the Syrian border in November 2014 and taken to a female dormitory, which was packed with hundreds of single women from around the world. Every day, she said, an ISIS official roamed the dormitory carrying a list of men looking for brides.

“You are not allowed to leave the house until you get married,” she said. “I did know that would happen, but I thought there was a way out. I didn’t know there were locks on the doors. I didn’t know there were chains. There were people guarding it.”

She said that she held out for a month before agreeing to meet Suhan Rahman, an Australian originally from Melbourne. He used the name Abu Jihad, or “Father of Jihad,” she said. They met in a room with a chaperone. After a brief conversation, he took her home.

She took the name Umm Jihad, or “Mother of Jihad.” Home alone as her husband went out to fight, she posted toxic messages on Twitter under her pseudonym. “Hats off to the mujs in Paris,” she said in one of them, using an abbreviation for “mujahadeen” on the day in 2015 when jihadists stormed the offices of Charlie Hebdo and killed 12



The Al Hawl refugee camp in northeastern Syria. Both Hoda Muthana and Kimberly Gwen Polman have been detained there after surrendering to the coalition forces fighting ISIS.

people at the satirical magazine. She also urged others to join the terror organization. “There are soooo many Aussies and Brits here but where are the Americans, wake up u cowards,” she posted.

And she used her account to help incite attacks in the West, including in the United States. “Americans wake up!” she wrote on March 15, 2015. “You have much to do while you live under our greatest enemy, enough of your sleeping! Go on drive-bys and spill all of their blood, or rent a big truck and drive all over them.”

Her Twitter account has since been suspended, but the posts were copied by The Times.

### “How do you go from burning a passport to crying yourself to sleep because you have so much deep regret?”

She had barely been married three months, Ms. Muthana said, when she was at home napping and a man ran up the stairs yelling that her husband had been “martyred.” After his death, she consented to two more arranged marriages, she said.

Ms. Polman said she was smuggled into the caliphate in early 2015, after using an American passport to fly from Vancouver to Istanbul.

She said she had recently taken an interest in nursing and had begun corresponding with a man in Syria who used the nom de guerre Abu Aymen. The man, whom she later married, told her that nursing skills were needed in the growing caliphate.

Years earlier, she had left the Reformed Mennonite faith of her childhood and converted to Islam. With nothing else to do, she said, she spent her days online, where her Facebook timeline exploded with images of Muslims dying in Syria.

Ms. Polman said that at one point in her life she learned she had post-traumatic stress disorder and had been unable to get out of bed. Two of her siblings, speaking from British Columbia, said she had been told she had a mental illness. “She hasn’t created an easy life for herself,” said a brother, who did not want to be identified for fear of reprisals.

Ms. Polman studied legal administration at Douglas College, and for a brief time worked at a Muslim school in Richmond, British Columbia, according to her sister, who also did not want to be named. She won a Women’s Opportunity Award in 2011 from Soroptimist International. The announcement of the award, printed in the local paper, said her “ultimate goal is to work as a child advocate.”

Her sister said that in summer 2015, Ms. Polman left on a trip to Austria, ostensibly for two weeks. “She gave me a hug goodbye and said we’d have tea when she got back,” the sister said.

It was only after the family heard from the Canadian authorities that they realized she had joined ISIS. At one point, the sister had not heard from Ms. Polman in six months and assumed she had been killed.

“We’ve been able to help her as a family in the past,” the sister said. “This was the one time we haven’t been able to help her. So it’s been very hard for us.”

By the time Ms. Polman arrived in the caliphate, its crimes were well docu-



A former Islamic State prison in Hajin, Syria. Ms. Polman said she spent time in a jail in Raqqa after an escape attempt and was gang-raped by the guards.

mented, including the beheading of journalists, the enslaving and systematically raping of women from the Yazidi minority and the burning of living prisoners. Both she and Ms. Muthana were evasive when asked about that brutality.

“I’m not interested in bloodshed, and I didn’t know what to believe,” Ms. Polman said. “These are videos on YouTube. What’s real? What’s not real?”

### A BREAKING POINT

In her telling, Ms. Muthana began to pull away from the terrorist group in her second year in the caliphate. She was married to a second fighter and was pregnant. Anemic from an iron deficiency, she spent much of her time in bed.

“I started having doubts,” she said in an account that The Times could not verify. “I was pregnant. Very emotional, because I missed my family,” she said. “I thought — what am I doing?”

Her second husband was killed in Mosul, Iraq, she said. “Either a missile or an airstrike,” she said.

By then it was 2017, and the siege of Raqqa, Syria, had begun. When her war broke, she walked more than a mile at night to reach the nearest clinic as bombs fell on the city, she said.

After giving birth to a son, Ms. Muthana moved from house to house, chasing the shrinking shadow of the caliphate. When Raqqa fell in late 2017, she moved to Mayadeen, along the Euphra-

tes River Valley. When Mayadeen fell, she moved to Hajin, and from there to Shafa, a village in the last sliver of ISIS’s territory. Hundreds of airstrikes hampered the area.

She married a third time and sometime after, she divorced her husband, whom she declined to name.

Ms. Polman said her break with the caliphate came more violently, just a year after her arrival. She said that she tried to escape, but was spotted by ISIS intelligence agents as she approached a woman about finding a smuggler at the market. She was imprisoned in a jail cell in Raqqa, she said, where she spent so much time that she eventually counted all 4,422 tiles.

She was repeatedly taken out of her cell and interrogated, she said. One night, she said, she was gang-raped.

“They took me down the hallway, and it was really dark,” she said. “There were metal doors, heavy ones, and I slipped, I remember, and they kicked me.”

She said the guards warned her that if she ever reported the rapes, they would say they had evidence that she was a spy. Before releasing her, she said, they had her sign a statement in both Arabic and English stating that if she tried to run away again, she accepted the “hukm,” or Shariah judgment, of death.

### LEAVING THE CALIPHATE

The two women, a generation apart, met and befriended each other in the final pocket of the caliphate, which by January consisted of less than six square miles.

Encircled, the area faced severe shortages. When the market ran out of diapers, the two friends cut up towels. When food was hard to come by, they collected grass from crevices in the pavement, boiled it and forced themselves to eat it. “Seeing a potato,” Ms. Muthana said, “was like seeing a Lamborghini.”

They began talking about making a run for it, and they said they shared their growing horror over the choices they had made.

“It’s hard to change your mind-set when you have lost everything and sacrificed everything. Even if you feel a tug that tells you something’s not right here, this isn’t O.K., and that there’s too many holes here, something’s wrong, I think it’s very, very difficult when you feel like you have burned bridges, to know how to shift,” Ms. Polman said.

ISIS forbade anyone to leave, planting land mines and using snipers to shoot down anyone who tried. But last month, Ms. Muthana said, she decided to give it a try by latching on to a Syrian family who left Shafa at dusk.

All she took was her baby and his stroller, she said. When darkness fell, the group got lost and spent the night in the cold, she said. The next day, Jan. 10, she completed the journey and surrendered to American troops in the Syrian desert, who fingerprinted her.

Days later, Ms. Polman followed the same route and surrendered as well. Weeks later, after having no contact from the American or Canadian authorities, she and Ms. Muthana reached out to the Red Cross to get help. They are also in touch with a lawyer who is trying to help navigate their return to North America.

*Rukmini Callimachi reported from Syria, and Catherine Porter from Toronto. Adam Goldman and Edward Wong contributed reporting from Washington, and Glenn Brock from Alabama. Kitty Bennett contributed research.*

# Model’s freckles ignite a firestorm

HONG KONG

## West’s beauty standards are being pushed on Asian women, critics say

BY TIFFANY MAY AND ZOE MOU

Jing Wen has modeled for Chanel and Prada and appeared on the cover of Vogue in China and Italy. But on Chinese social media, images of her freckled face have provoked a storm of outrage and abuse, spreading under the hashtag “Insult to China.”

The model, known in China by her full name, Li Jingwen, appears in a campaign for the Spanish fashion brand Zara with her lips a striking crimson and the rest of her face bare — leaving her freckles on full display.

The response in China, where freckles are relatively uncommon and fashion images favor smooth pale skin, has been fierce. Some on the internet have accused Zara of imposing white beauty standards on Chinese women; others have come to Ms. Li’s defense and questioned the ideals driving the backlash.

One commenter objecting to the image wrote, “Why are freckled faces misconstrued as high fashion?”

“So that’s how you see Asian women?” another added. “I’ve lost all desire to buy things.”

A third commenter said the image was “just the West’s beauty standards for Asians, very different from ours,” adding, “For those women to be called the most beautiful in Asia feels like discrimination to the rest of us.”



The Chinese model Jing Wen, freckles on display, in a Zara ad. Freckles are not common among Chinese, and outrage was spread online under the hashtag “Insult to China.”

### “For those women to be called the most beautiful in Asia feels like discrimination to the rest of us.”

she get beauty marks removed.

“Chinese people sometimes forget how diverse we actually are,” she said. “We’re not a monolith.” She also expressed hope that the tenor of the debate would become more open-minded.

Ma Heqi, a 24-year-old from Dalian, in northeast China, said she had tried to remove her freckles — known as “sparrow marks” in China — with laser therapy. “Even though I went overseas to study, I

still find the existence of freckles on my face quite unpleasant,” she said, adding that some had called them “pockmarks.”

Jia Tan, an assistant professor of cultural studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, noted that there was a long tradition that “measures nonwhite women’s beauty according to its approximation to white beauty,” with depictions sometimes veering into the territory of racist tropes. However, she said, the online backlash in this case “fell right into the rhetoric of nationalism and patriotism.”

The Chinese state-run news media covered the controversy, but seemed disinclined to whip up further outrage.

An opinion writer in China Daily, an official English-language newspaper, accused critics of the Zara images of “over-sensitivity and a lack of cultural confidence,” while an op-ed in China Youth Daily, published by the Communist Youth League, called for an overhaul in beauty standards.

“Some people can see Li Jingwen’s distinctive beauty, while others read it as ‘an insult to China,’” Yang Xinyu wrote in China Youth Daily. “The contrast begs an interrogation of our aesthetic ideals.”

Ms. Li, a photographer herself, has not publicly commented on the response to the Zara images, but she did speak about her freckles in a 2016 interview with Vogue.

“When I was little, I really hated them because normally Asians don’t have them,” she said. “In high school, I always tried to cover them, but now it’s O.K. I like them, and that’s enough.”

*Tiffany May reported from Hong Kong, and Zoe Mou from Beijing.*

# Russian military forbids smartphone use by troops

MOSCOW

BY IVAN NECHEPURENKO

Russian lawmakers have voted to prohibit the country’s troops from using smartphones or recording devices, or posting anything online about their military service, after journalists used soldiers’ digital traces to reveal actions the Kremlin wanted to keep secret.

In recent years, pictures, videos and social media posts put online by Russian servicemen contradicted the government’s claim that its troops were not fighting in eastern Ukraine and undercut the official line that Russia’s role in the Syrian civil war was limited.

The bill’s explanatory note specifically mentions Syria, saying that the analysis of Russian actions there revealed that “military servicemen are of special interest to special services of several states, to terrorist and extremist organizations.”

“Information, shared by soldiers on the internet or mass media, is used for informational and psychologic pressure and in separate cases to form a biased assessment of Russia’s state policy,” said the note, signed by Deputy Defense Minister Nikolai A. Pankov.

The backing of the Defense Ministry means that the bill, passed Tuesday by the lower house of Russia’s Parliament, is all but certain to win approval from the upper house. Troops who violate the ban would face disciplinary measures and could be fired from service.

In 2014, multiple reports, relying on social media accounts of soldiers re-

turned from Ukraine, revealed that Russia used regular troops to aid pro-Moscow separatists.

The troops discussed the casualties among their fellow servicemen, which President Vladimir V. Putin later decreed were secret.

A more sensitive embarrassment came later, after a Malaysia Airlines passenger flight was shot down over Ukraine, and journalists from the investigative group Bellingcat used online photos to track the movement into Ukraine of the Russian anti-aircraft missile system that destroyed the plane.

Russia still denies any involvement, but a Dutch criminal investigation, using video and photographic evidence, confirmed that the Russian military had supplied the missile.

Using social media, Western investigators also revealed that the deployment of Russian troops in Syria in 2015 happened weeks before the official announcement by the Kremlin. Further reports showed that, in contrast to official statements, Russia used troops on the ground there.

Ruslan Leviev, head of the Conflict Intelligence Team, a group that has conducted many investigations into the Kremlin’s extensive reach beyond its borders, said that one of the reasons for the new bill is fear of new sanctions against Russia.

“It is impossible to control so many people,” some of whom have social media accounts under aliases, he said. “Thanks to the development of digital society, we all leave more and more traces online. It is not difficult to find them.”





President Trump's son-in-law, Jared Kushner, center right, met with Prince Mohammed bin Salman and orchestrated Mr. Trump's first overseas trip as president, to Saudi Arabia.

# Saudi nuclear plan scrutinized

WASHINGTON

## Democrats say venture could expose conflicts among Trump officials

BY NICHOLAS FANDOS AND MARK MAZZETTI

Top Trump administration officials have pushed to build nuclear power plants throughout Saudi Arabia over the vigorous objections of White House lawyers who question the legality of the plan and the ethics of a venture that could enrich Trump allies, according to a new report that House Democrats released.

The report is the most detailed portrait to date of how senior White House figures — including Michael T. Flynn, President Trump's first national security adviser — worked with retired military officers to circumvent the normal policymaking process to promote an export plan that experts worried could spread nuclear weapons technology in the volatile Middle East. Administration lawyers warned that the nuclear exports plan — called the Middle East Marshall Plan — could violate laws meant to stop nuclear proliferation and raised concerns about Mr. Flynn's conflicts of interest.

Mr. Flynn had worked on the issue for the company promoting the nuclear export plan and kept pushing it once inside the White House.

But even after Mr. Flynn was fired, the proposal appears to have lingered. The initial discussions took place during the chaotic early months of the Trump administration, according to the 24-page report from the House Oversight and Reform Committee, but House Democrats on Tuesday cited evidence that as recently as last week the White House was still considering some version of the proposal. Democrats said they had begun a full-scale inquiry.

“Further investigation is needed to

determine whether the actions being pursued by the Trump administration are in the national security interest of the United States or, rather, serve those who stand to gain financially as a result of this potential change in U.S. foreign policy,” committee staff wrote in the report.

The Trump administration's relationship with Saudi Arabia has already been examined by federal investigators, including the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III. But House Democrats could expand the inquiry into whether the prospect of business deals might have had a direct effect on American foreign policy in the oil-rich Persian Gulf region.

In this case, it was American nuclear energy companies and the retired generals and other former government officials working with them who stood to benefit financially if the federal government signed off on the proposal by IP3 International to build the nuclear power sites.

The White House did not respond to a request for comment, and a lawyer for Mr. Flynn did not respond to a message seeking comment.

Claims presented by whistle-blowers and White House documents obtained by the House oversight committee show that IP3 was working so closely with allies in the Trump political world that the company sent draft memos that would be needed from the president for the nuclear export plan to Mr. Flynn just days after Mr. Trump took office.

A week after Inauguration Day, the Democrats' report said, a Flynn deputy for Middle East and North African affairs, Derek Harvey, met with IP3's co-founders at the White House, and asked National Security Council staff to include information about the nuclear power plan in a briefing to prepare Mr. Trump for a call with King Salman of Saudi Arabia.

The speed with which Mr. Harvey acted, and his circumvention of the normal scrutiny by experts across the government — like officials in the Energy and State Departments — prompted at least some National Security Council of-

ficials to raise concerns with Mr. Harvey, the report said. Eventually, ethics lawyers also raised concerns.

Even after Mr. Flynn left the White House in February 2017 under scrutiny by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for his communications with Russia, officials on the National Security Council continued to push ahead, repeatedly ignoring advice from the council's ethics counsel, the report said.

At a March 2017 meeting, Mr. Harvey tried to revive the IP3 plan “so that Jared Kushner can present it to the president for approval,” the Democratic report said, a reference to Mr. Trump's son-in-law and top adviser. Eventually Mr. Flynn's successor, H.R. McMaster, said all work on the plan should cease because of potentially illegal conflicts.

## Administration lawyers warned the deal could violate laws meant to stop nuclear proliferation.

The draft memos sent by IP3 to Mr. Flynn also referenced another close Trump associate, Thomas J. Barrack Jr., a businessman with deep ties to the Middle East who served as chairman of the president's inaugural committee. In one memo from Mr. Flynn to Mr. Trump, the national security adviser advocated that Mr. Barrack be named a special representative to carry out the nuclear plan. Another memo, written as if it was from Mr. Trump to cabinet secretaries and other military and intelligence officials, directed federal agencies to support Mr. Barrack's efforts.

The Democrats' investigation comes at a sensitive time, when lawmakers of both parties are incensed over the Trump administration's reluctance to punish Prince Mohammed bin Salman and the Saudi government over the killing of the Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi. As supporters of the nuclear deal maneuvered in the opening days of the Trump White House, Mr. Kushner was orchestrating what would

be Mr. Trump's first overseas trip as president, to Saudi Arabia, and met on his own with the deputy crown prince at the time, Mr. bin Salman, before the prince became the power behind the Saudi throne.

Representative Elijah E. Cummings of Maryland raised alarms on the nuclear exports in 2017 when he disclosed claims brought to him by a whistle-blower. But the House oversight committee's Republican chairman at the time did nothing.

So on Tuesday, Mr. Cummings, a Democrat and now the committee's chairman, said he would do the work himself.

Republicans on the committee did not receive a copy of the report until last night and had not fully assessed it, according to their spokeswoman, Charli Huddleston.

“This is a delicate and nuanced issue that Chairman Cummings is approaching without bipartisan input and with far-flung requests for information,” she said.

In a statement, a spokesman for Mr. Barrack said that he would cooperate with Mr. Cummings's investigation and noted he had never taken a job in the administration.

In an unsigned statement, IP3 said that it would cooperate with Mr. Cummings's inquiry and that Mr. Flynn had no financial stake in the company. It defended its plan at length, framing it as a matter of “vital national security interest” for the United States to compete with foreign competitors like Russia and China who are seeking to grow their influence in the region.

“Only the United States nuclear industry can deliver the standard of safety, security, regulatory oversight and operational primacy required to ensure both the nonproliferation goals as well as the strategic goals of the United States are achieved,” the statement said. “Achieving these goals will require close coordination between the U.S. government and industry.”

Scott Shane and Maggie Haberman contributed reporting.

# Drug money greases border on both sides

MCALLEN, TEX.

BY MANNY FERNANDEZ AND MITCHELL FERMAN

The former president of Mexico was accused of taking a \$100 million bribe from El Chapo. A former sheriff in South Texas took far less from El Gallo — about \$100,000.

El Gallo — Tomás Reyes González, a drug trafficker now in federal prison — supplied the cash to the former Hidalgo County sheriff, Guadalupe Trevino, for his re-election campaign. Another former Hidalgo County sheriff took bribes to allow a convicted drug dealer to have conjugal visits at the county jail, including in the jail library and in the sheriff's private office. Yet another former sheriff in neighboring Cameron County protected and assisted cocaine dealers, and is now Federal Inmate No. 51689-179 in the United States.

The corruption that took down those three border sheriffs in 1994, 2005 and 2014 continues today. Next month, the former police chief in the town of La Joya is scheduled to go on trial after being indicted on drug charges and accused by the federal authorities of helping a drug-trafficking organization transport narcotics while working as a police sergeant in Progreso, Tex.

The much-watched trial of the Mexican drug lord known as El Chapo — whose real name is Joaquín Guzmán Loera and who was convicted last week in a New York courtroom — shed light on the hold that drug traffickers and their money have on the police and politicians in Mexico. One witness at Mr. Guzmán's trial testified that the Mexican president had taken a \$100 million bribe in exchange for calling off a nationwide manhunt for the drug kingpin.

But corruption and drug money flow on the United States side of the border as well. Mr. Trevino and the other imprisoned former lawmen in South Texas are but a sampling. More than 100 local, state and federal law enforcement officials have been indicted on drug-related corruption charges on America's southwest border since the 1990s. In just one agency, the Border Patrol, officials said 77 employees were arrested or indicted on corruption charges in the fiscal years from 2005 to 2017.

“The money can be an extremely tempting thing,” said Kenneth Magidson, who served as the top federal prosecutor in South Texas from 2011 to 2017 as the United States attorney in Houston and whose office prosecuted Mr. Trevino and other former law enforcement officials. “It's hard to say no.”

Mr. Trevino had built a decades-long career in law enforcement; his son is a former Mission, Tex., police officer now in federal prison for his role in a corrupt antidrug task force. Mr. Trevino, now 69, returned to his hometown, McAllen, after he was officially released from fed-

eral custody last month, but politely declined to comment. “I don't want to relieve any of that stuff,” he said.

In the Rio Grande Valley in Texas, drug money has a muted yet undeniable presence. It is evident not just in the corruption scandals, but in everyday life, as the illicit profits of the drug trade fuel both legitimate commerce and the underground economy. Drug dealers and their relatives and associates come to the Valley to buy luxury vehicles, build heavily secured mansions, enjoy the night life in McAllen and Brownsville and gamble for cash in the popular but illegal slot-machine casinos.

W.F. Strong, professor of communication at University of Texas Rio Grande Valley in Brownsville, called drug money the WD-40 of the Valley. “It's the oil that makes the machinery work, in all kinds of ways that we don't fully understand,” Professor Strong said.

No one knows exactly how much of that oil is lubricating the economy.



Dozens of Border Patrol employees have been accused of corruption.

“There is an underground economy that's fueled by drug proceeds,” said Will R. Glaspy, the special agent in charge of the Drug Enforcement Administration's Houston division, which includes the Rio Grande Valley. “You see drug money that's being utilized to start businesses, prop businesses up. You have legitimate businesses that are unknowingly being supported by illegal drug money. I can't put a dollar figure on it, and I won't limit it to just the Rio Grande Valley.”

Such activity does not lead to cartel gun battles in parking lots or random street violence. Valley residents over all feel safe, and are safe, as they enjoy the year-round sunshine beneath wind-tussled palm trees in low-crime cities. McAllen had zero murders in 2018, down from seven in 2017. Brownsville had two homicides in 2018, down from six in 2017.

The congressman representing Brownsville, Filemon B. Vela Jr., is so unconcerned about theft that he keeps his keys in his vehicle. To prove his point, after a recent interview at a cafe near the federal courthouse that bears his father's name, Mr. Vela walked to the parking lot, opened the door of his minivan and showed off the keys, on a tray next to the cup holders.



Representative Filemon B. Vela Jr., whose district includes the Texas border town of Brownsville, is unconcerned about theft in the Rio Grande Valley.

# The job is America's face to the world. When it's filled.

BY RICK GLADSTONE

When Heather Nauert, the State Department spokeswoman and former “Fox & Friends” host, withdrew from consideration for United Nations ambassador, President Trump averted a potentially difficult Senate confirmation struggle over what some critics have called her insufficient experience. But Ms. Nauert's withdrawal also underscored his challenges in filling the job.

A terse announcement on Saturday night that Ms. Nauert no longer wished to be considered because of family considerations appeared to put Mr. Trump back where he started when his first ambassador, Nikki R. Haley, announced last October that she was leaving at the end of 2018.

Ms. Haley's departure, with no word on a successor, has left the Trump administration devoid of a high-profile presence at the United Nations, the world's most prominent diplomatic stage, for nearly two months. Here is a look at the role of the ambassador and whether a prolonged vacancy poses problems for the United States.

## “PREMIER DIPLOMATIC ROLE”

Over the 73 years since the United Nations was founded, successive White House administrations have attached



The ambassador post has been vacant ever since Nikki R. Haley left at the end of 2018.

enormous weight to the Americans chosen to represent the nation. They have included former governors and future presidents (Adlai Stevenson II, George H.W. Bush), prominent jurists (Arthur Goldberg) and a range of politicians and experienced diplomats from both major political parties (Jeane Kirkpatrick, Andrew Young, Madeleine Albright, Richard Holbrooke, John Negroponte).

“The United Nations ambassador is a premier diplomatic role, one of the top foreign policy jobs that anyone can have,” said Victoria K. Holt, a former State Department diplomat and fellow at the Henry L. Stimson Center, a policy research center based in Washington. The role is especially important at the United Nations, Ms. Holt said, “a place of persuasion and relationships.”

## A DIRECT LINE TO THE WHITE HOUSE

Formally known as the permanent representative, the ambassador is the leader of the United States Mission and represents the country on the Security Council, the most powerful body of the 193-member United Nations.

The ambassador is nominated by the president and must be confirmed by the Senate. Although not a member of the cabinet, the ambassador often has been given cabinet-level rank, putting the ambassador in the same room as the world's most powerful leader. That connection alone is taken seriously by other United Nations diplomats, particularly if they want the views of their governments conveyed to the White House.

“I think it's important that there be a perception at the United Nations that the ambassador has access to the president,” said Bill Richardson, who represented the United States at the United Nations during the Clinton administration. “It needs a certain stature and political background.”

Mr. Richardson also said the ambassador can provide an additional perspective to the president that the secretary of state and national security adviser cannot. “A president should have more than two foreign policy advisers,” he said, and it is “important to have someone strong at the U.N.”

## A POTENTIALLY DAMAGING SIGNAL

While a few months is not necessarily a long time to leave any ambassador post empty, the gap comes against a backdrop of President Trump's suspicion of multilateral institutions like the United Nations and his repudiation of some its major achievements and programs.

Over the past two years his administration has renounced pacts on climate change and migration. It has stopped contributions to the United Nations Population Fund and the agency that aids Palestinians who are classified as refugees. It has withdrawn the United States from Unesco and the Human Rights Council, diminishing American influence in those agencies.

“Of course it's sad and should be regretted if the voice of the United States at a high level is not heard at the United Nations,” said Jan Eliasson, a former deputy secretary general and Sweden's former ambassador to Washington.

While the support staff of diplomats at the United States Mission has always been strong and professional, Mr. Eliasson said, “not to have a permanent representative for a long time limits the dialogue and sends a negative signal.”

## GETTING THINGS DONE

Even though Ms. Haley differed sharply with Mr. Trump on some important is-

ssues, like Russia's behavior, she played a critical role on pushing through policy on North Korea, which underscores the importance of the position.

In 2017, she was central to persuading the 14 other members of the Security Council to approve three rounds of tough sanctions against North Korea over its nuclear and missile activities. Most important, she persuaded the Chinese and Russian ambassadors, who historically have been most averse to the use of sanctions.

## LESS INDEPENDENCE?

Some United Nations diplomats have speculated that Trump administration officials have faced difficulties finding a successor to Ms. Haley partly because they may want a candidate who will never deviate from the president's views.

John R. Bolton, Mr. Trump's national security adviser, who served as President George W. Bush's United Nations ambassador from 2005 to 2006 under a recess appointment and was never confirmed by the Senate, has made clear his disdain for the United Nations. His view has raised the possibility that the next ambassador might be a like-minded ideologue.

Edward Wong contributed reporting.



# Opinion

## A century ago, jazz on the edge of change

Before 1919, this new music was considered more novelty than art. Then a military band stepped to the front.

David Sager

The Armistice to end World War I brought elation and a sense of relief to millions of Americans, but also a jolt of reality. The country had only been in the conflict for 19 months, but it had already adjusted to the rhythms and strictures of a society on a total-war footing. When it ended so abruptly, the result was a sudden permissiveness in the culture, a weakening of social rules and an opening for new ideas, creating a fertile atmosphere for America's new, unruly musical child: jazz.

What was jazz? It had no real definition; it referred to many things. The year 1919 is usually not considered an important marker on the jazz timeline, but that year subtle yet compelling forces took hold that would turn this invasive novelty into something with far more clarity and promise as an art form. It was the year jazz came into its own.

Feb. 17, 1919, was a cold, overcast New York day that threatened snow. Tens of thousands of people had come to the streets of Manhattan for a victory parade. At the corner of 60th Street, a crowd packed the sidewalks and clustered onto a grandstand, vying for a

**The 369th Infantry, a highly decorated all-black regiment that had just returned from a year in France, changed everything.**

glimpse of the returning heroes parading northward. Along the route marched the 369th Infantry, a highly decorated all-black regiment that had just returned from a year in France. The Germans, whom they flushed from their trenches, called them “blutdürstige schwarze Männer,” or “bloodthirsty black men” — or more respectfully, “Hellfighters.” The French government gave the unit the Croix de Guerre for its bravery.

On cue, the cheering crowd fell into an abrupt hush, as line upon line of soldiers appeared, proceeding in immaculate precision. “For a moment there was almost complete silence, as the throngs of men and women gazed upon the dark-skinned warriors who had beaten the best regiments of veterans the enemy could send them,” wrote The New York Tribune. Nearly all accounts of the parade singled out the 369th's band, under the direction of Lt. James Reese Europe, an immensely successful and well-known African-American musician. The press consistently referred to them as a “jazz band,” whose “jazz music” had become the sensation of France. Even Gen. Henri Gouraud, a staid and dignified French commander, was enthralled, and made his headquarters wherever the band was stationed. Lieutenant Europe was already known as the “Jazz King.”

Such praise marked the first time anything associated with jazz had received such glowing approval. In 1919, jazz, or “jass,” as some still called it, was a peculiar word with musical and sexual connotations. It could be noun, verb or

adjective, indicating pep, liveliness and noise. Jazz was the new counterculture dance music replacing ragtime — but more dangerous, disorderly and discordant, consisting of random, wrong-sounding musical obstreperousness and percussive turmoil. The music had been considered a scourge on polite society, particularly by whites, even if many of them had no idea what the word meant. Now, thousands — both white and black — cheered Europe's “jazz” band.

They kept the “jazz music” under wraps at first. Marching along, Europe kept his men reined in, playing dignified military music, matching the solemnity and discipline of the moment. But as they passed 60th Street, where the crowd became more and more densely populated with African-Americans, the band let loose with “That Moaning Trombone” and other syncopated numbers. Verve and enthusiasm stood in bold relief.

James Reese Europe was born in 1881 in Mobile, Ala., and raised in Washington, D.C., where he studied violin, piano and composition. In 1903, he relocated to New York, seeking work as a musical director and composer. There he associated with the black musical cognoscenti of Manhattan, including Bert Williams, J. Rosamond Johnson and Bob Cole. He became New York society's favorite band leader, charming the likes of the Vanderbilts, and was musical director for Vernon and Irene Castle, a popular pair of white dancers. Along the way he mentored a string of future musical stars, like Noble Sissle and Eubie Blake.

Although historians often associate Europe with ragtime and jazz, his focus was on neither. He wanted to create music that he believed reflected the artistic temperament and souls of African-Americans, whatever style it took, and to use it to promote the validity and viability of Negro musicians.

In 1910 he formed the Clef Club, a union for New York's black musicians, along with the enormous Clef Club Symphony Orchestra, which emphasized instruments that he felt were commonly used by black musicians: banjo, mandolin, bandora and harp guitar. In interviews, Europe avoided the word “ragtime,” simply calling it “Negro music.” The orchestra performed lavish concerts — several at Carnegie Hall — featuring works by black composers like Will Marion Cook, William H. Tyers and Europe himself. It played marches, concert pieces, tangos and waltzes, with a sprinkling of ragtime.

Europe's reputation as a purveyor of ragtime and “proto jazz” is based on recordings made in 1913 and 1914. Of these, “Castle House Rag,” a Europe composition, captures our imagination today, offering a rare glimpse into black dance music, partly read and partly played by ear. Exciting and edgy, it has hints of “Shortenin' Bread” and what might be described as “country ragtime.”

Few who heard Europe's music were acquainted with the dance music then brewing in New Orleans, which some regarded as “ragtime played by ear.” Because it went largely unrecorded during the 1910s, it would be years before the rest of the country could hear



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

the rhythmic drive and hot quality of its pioneers, like King Oliver, Freddie Keppard and Jelly Roll Morton. One exception was the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, who made a recording in 1917 that was listened to from California to New York. Many musicians tried to copy their seemingly discordant approach, and failed. Most couldn't hear, beneath that mélange, the band's harmonic and rhythmic order, spontaneous sounding counterpoint and interlocking parts. Musicians copied the effects — the musical veneer. Capturing musical essence was a far more complex task than aping the obvious.

And yet 1919 was the year when that began to change. In March, the Original Dixieland Jazz Band sailed for England, to tour British theaters. While there, they rerecorded a number of their old hits, along with two waltzes, unlikely choices for a New Orleans jazz band. Still, those recordings, “Alice Blue

Gown” and “I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles,” have the propulsion and lilt that characterized New Orleans. More and more people, far outside New Orleans, were suddenly hearing, and enjoying, jazz. As they did, New York bands began to get the swing of the music. In March 1919, a group from Coney Island called the Original Memphis Five emerged with a streamlined version of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band's style. They made hundreds of recordings between 1921 and 1929.

Nineteen-nineteen was also the year that a young cornetist named Louis Armstrong, who had been electrifying patrons of New Orleans saloons and honky-tonks with his distinctive sound, began to set his sights beyond his hometown. Armstrong possessed a rare gift for fusing disparate types of music that moved him — he had command over the passion of blues, excitement of ragtime, and the poignancy of operatic and

classical melodies. His was the unnamed music of New Orleans: organic, confident and sincere. Playing on Mississippi riverboats, his horn was heard for the first time outside of New Orleans. Inevitably, young musicians like the trombonist Jack Teagarden and the cornetist Bix Beiderbecke heard Armstrong; within a few years, both of these young men would emerge as jazz originals in their own right.

Armstrong's mentor, Joe Oliver, moved to Chicago in 1917. By 1919 he was one of the busiest musicians in town, giving Chicago a taste of the Crescent City's hot music. In 1922 he sent for Armstrong to join his Creole Jazz Band as the second cornetist. The 1923 King Oliver recordings would spread New Orleans music — some called it “jazz” — throughout the land.

On the very day of the 369th's parade, 2,900 miles to the west, a struggling *SAGER, PAGE 8*

**The 369th Infantry Regiment band led by James Reese Europe playing in the courtyard of a Paris hospital for wounded Americans.**

## Is America becoming a four-party state?

Fractures are growing among both Democrats and Republicans.



Thomas L. Friedman

In case you haven't noticed, long-established political parties across the democratic world are blowing up, with Britain's Labour Party just the latest to fracture. Could America's parties be next? Could it have its first four-party election in 2020 — with candidates from the Donald Trump far right, the old G.O.P. center right, the Joe Biden center left and the Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez far left all squaring off, as the deepening divides within the two big parties simply can't be papered over any longer? It's not impossible.

Indeed, two phrases recently in the news that touch on core principles of the Democratic and Republican Parties are like fuses that could ignite much larger explosions in the coming year. Those phrases are: “unwilling to work” and “national emergency.”

On Feb. 7, Ocasio-Cortez's congressional office sent out an F.A.Q. explainer of the Green New Deal that she's proposing. The initiative aims “to mobilize every aspect of American society . . . to achieve net-zero greenhouse gas emissions and create economic prosperity for all.”

I admire that goal and the huge energy she's brought to it among young people. But one version of her office's F.A.Q. stated that the Green New Deal would guarantee, among other benefits, “Economic security to all who are unable or unwilling to work.”

Economic security for people “*unwilling to work*”? Who's going to sign up for new taxes to support people unwilling to work or be retrained?

When some commentators called this out, Ocasio-Cortez's team said the F.A.Q. was an unfinished draft that never should have been released. I don't buy it. It was also too late. That phrase — economic security even for people “unwilling to work” — was not just noted by conservatives. It rattled some center-left Democrats as well, because it hinted that the party's base had moved much farther to the left in recent years than they'd realized, and it highlighted the most important fault line in today's Democratic Party — the line between what I'd call “redivide-the-pie Democrats” and “grow-the-pie Democrats.”

Grow-the-pie Democrats — think Mike Bloomberg — celebrate business, capitalism and start-ups that generate the tax base to create the resources for more infrastructure, schools, green spaces and safety nets, so more people have more opportunity and tools to capture a bigger slice of the pie.

The wisest grow-the-pie Democrats have also learned something from the past few years: The benefits of Nafta, open trade with China and the rise of the digital economy — while vital for creat-

ing economic growth — don't just automatically *trickle down*, any more than G.O.P. tax cuts did. They require trade insurance and surge protectors, free community college, portable health care coverage and pensions, and a very intentional strategy to more equitably spread the benefits of growth among bosses, workers and shareholders.

Redivide-the-pie Democrats — think Bernie Sanders — argue that after four decades of stagnant middle-class wages — and bailouts for bankers and billionaires but not workers in 2008 — you can't grow the pie without redividing it first. Inequality is too great now. There are too many people too far behind.

The decision by Amazon to scuttle its big expansion in New York City marks the first big clash this election season between grow-the-pie Democrats, who insisted that tax breaks for Amazon would pay for themselves, and redivide-the-pie Democrats, who saw Amazon as pitting their community in a race to the bottom with other communities over which could lavish more subsidies on a tech behemoth that didn't need them.

As for the G.O.P., it's divided between a “limited-government-grow-the-pie” right — but one that wants to just let capitalism rip — and a “hoard-the-pie, pull-up-the-drawbridge” Trump-led far right.

The limited-government-grow-the-pie faction is itself split between the Never Trumpers — who've refused to prostitute themselves to Trump's serial lying, cozying up to Russia and other madness — and those who've hitched a ride on Trump's wagon to get their tax



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

cuts, conservative judges and deregulation.

But Trump's decision to declare a “national emergency” on the Mexico border has violated the party's most core principle of limited government. In doing so it's opened a fissure between the old limited-government-grow-the-pie Republicans and the anti-immigrant hoard-the-pie, pull-up-the-drawbridge Trumpers.

The early signs are that the limited-government types — led by Mitch McConnell — are so morally bankrupt, after having sold their souls to Trump for two years, they'll even abandon this last core principle and go along with Trump's usurpation of Congress's

power of appropriation.

Stay tuned. Over the years our two parties have usually managed to handle deep fractures. This time may be different.

The level of outrage in both bases is sky high: Their ability to express that outrage through weaponized social networks, talk radio and cable television is powerful and pervasive, and the three accelerations — in globalization, technology and climate change — we're going through are stressing everyone and demanding very different political choices.

So here's my hunch: The 2020 U.S. election will be unlike any in my lifetime.



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## VENEZUELA’S BORDER STANDOFF

The military should stand down and allow in urgently needed food and medical supplies.

With the Venezuelan crisis nearing a showdown, President Trump gave his saber a new rattling on Monday, warning the Venezuelan military in a speech to abandon President Nicolás Maduro or “lose everything.”

Yes, the military should abandon Mr. Maduro, who has guided one of Latin America’s richest countries to total ruin, and join the opposition leader Juan Guaidó in trying to put Venezuela back on track. But it should not be Mr. Trump issuing ultimatums, threatening the soldiers or telling them what to do. Mr. Trump and Mr. Guaidó have set a deadline of Saturday for the military to allow humanitarian aid stockpiled at the Colombian border to be delivered to Venezuela. The “or else” remains vague.

Mr. Trump appears to have made an exception in his preference for strongmen and is championing a people driven to desperation by a valueless currency and drastic shortages of medicine and food. Some 50 nations have joined the United States in no longer recognizing Mr. Maduro as president.

The Trump administration has tried to spin this as an example of American leadership in bringing freedom to a destitute people. At the annual Munich Security Conference, Vice President Mike Pence called on Europeans in ringing terms to get on America’s side and “step forward for freedom.” The tepid reaction made clear that the Europeans don’t buy a sudden burst of altruism in this White House.

Mr. Trump is only incidentally speaking out in support of the downtrodden. His chief motivation appears to be to rally his far-right base by proclaiming himself a warrior against “socialism” — an evil he identifies not only with the radical policies of Hugo Chávez, Mr. Maduro’s predecessor and mentor, but also in the platforms of some Democratic presidential hopefuls.

Mr. Trump’s stance on Venezuela, moreover, is advanced by John Bolton, the hawkish national security adviser who has called for “direct action” against Latin American countries with leftist regimes he calls the “troika of tyranny” — Venezuela, Cuba and Nicaragua. He is abetted by Elliott Abrams, the new special envoy for Venezuela, who pleaded guilty to misleading Congress about the 1980s Iran-contra scandal and other past American meddling in Central America. This is a crew that threatens to tar Mr. Guaidó with their brush and that plays right into Mr. Maduro’s claims of a “gringo” plot.

Their strategy is as simple as it is risky. The administration has airlifted tons of humanitarian aid for Mr. Guaidó to distribute inside Venezuela, on the premise that desperate people will rally to the side that’s providing them with food and medicine. But Mr. Maduro has sent soldiers and armored vehicles to block the aid, creating a dramatic confrontation at a border crossing that will be the backdrop for a Live Aid-style concert that the British billionaire Richard Branson is staging on the Colombian side (Mr. Maduro promptly announced a rival concert on his side of a different crossing).

The administration and Mr. Guaidó hope that the Venezuelan military, sensing the end of the Maduro regime and lured by promises of amnesty, will defect and clear the way for the shipments. Mr. Trump on Monday warned the military that if the soldiers don’t accept the amnesty offer, they will find “no safe harbor, no easy exit and no way out.”

It is an open question whether Mr. Trump’s tough talk will succeed or have the opposite effect, rallying Mr. Maduro’s base behind him. And it is unclear what the opposition will do if the army doesn’t crack.

What is clear is that the administration’s saber-rattling and use of aid as a weapon are a dangerous and potentially counterproductive strategy for helping the Venezuelans.

Obviously it would be best for all if the military let Mr. Maduro know that his time was up and assisted Mr. Guaidó in organizing new elections. And the more international pressure on Mr. Maduro to step aside, the better. But the goal must be what serves the Venezuelan people best, not an ideological coup.

# Why do we still dismiss girls’ pain?

Laurie Edwards

I have a rare and painful genetic respiratory disorder called primary ciliary dyskinesia. I was 23 when doctors diagnosed my condition, but I had been sick my whole life. Again and again, I was told that I was suffering from nothing more than stress — that it was all in my head.

This is a common experience for young women. We have long known that women with some conditions are more likely than men to be under-treated for pain, and that doctors are more likely to dismiss reports of illness as psychosomatic when they come from women. Now, a recent study from Yale researchers shows how early this gender bias starts. The study found that when adult participants were asked to rate the perceived pain of a child receiving a finger prick to draw blood, they attributed more pain to the child they thought was a boy than they did to the child they thought was a girl.

The study’s authors associate these findings with “explicit gender stereotypes” that characterize men as more stoic about their pain and women as more emotional — and therefore, less credible.

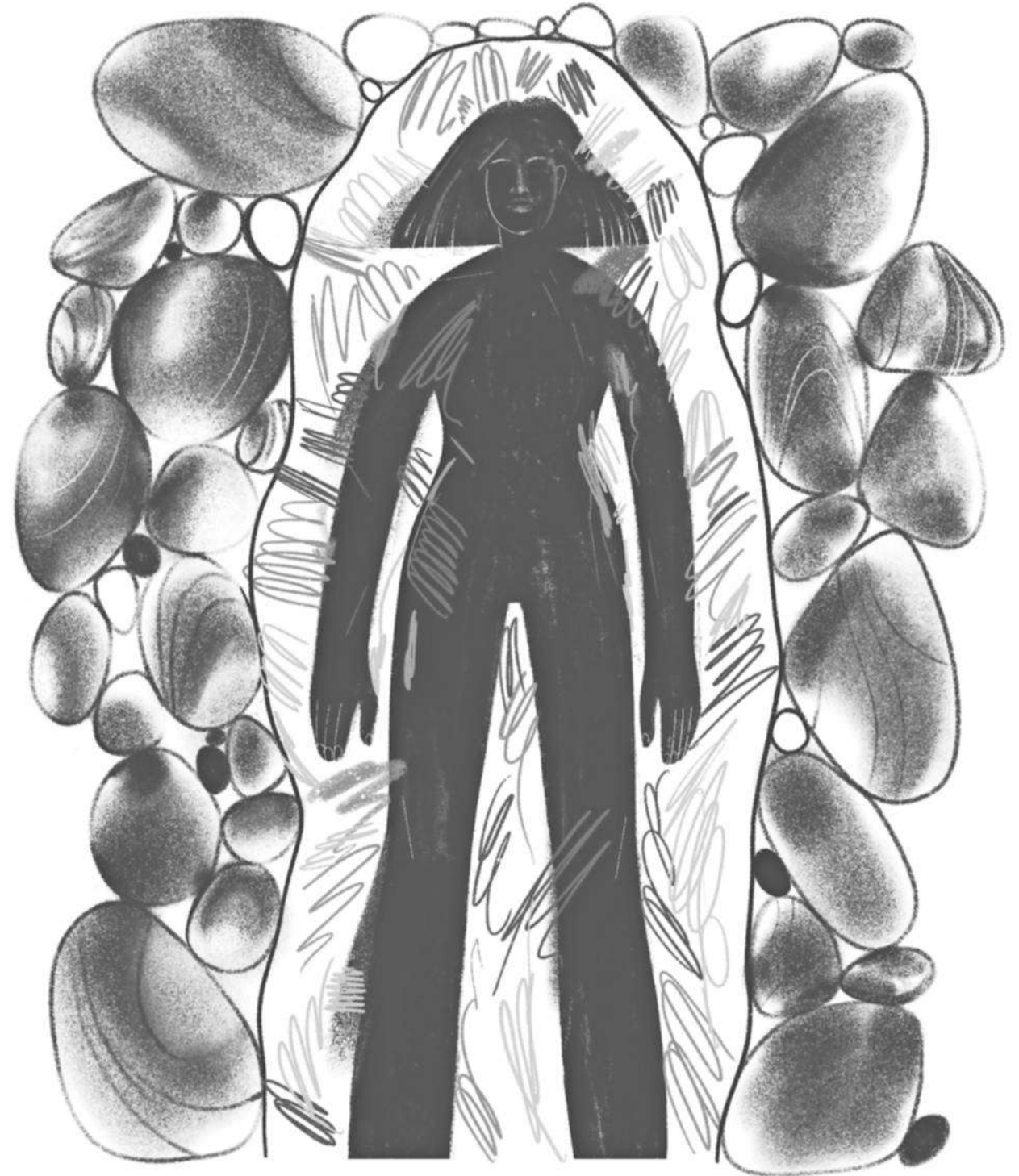
People continue to struggle with the idea that women are the authorities on their own bodies.

An estimated 20 to 35 percent of adolescents experience chronic pain. According to a 2017 study, doctors are significantly more likely to

dismiss the pain symptoms of young female patients than those of male ones. This can cause lasting damage to the relationships between doctors and their patients. Endometriosis is a useful if sobering frame for viewing the consequences. Up to one in 10 women have endometriosis, a painful, debilitating condition in which tissue that normally lines the uterus instead grows outside of it. Symptoms can begin in adolescence, but young women are often told they simply have painful periods. It can take years to get a diagnosis. The longer it takes, the more women suffer, and the harder it becomes to treat the condition.

Many of the young women with chronic pain I’ve interviewed have stories about this culture of disbelief. They are often told their pain is caused by stress. Repeatedly finding themselves ignored can chip away at their self-confidence. Over time, fear of being seen as whiny or weak led some young women to underreport their pain, making it even harder to get treatment.

One patient described being “shy, unwilling and unsure of how to stick up for myself.” For years, she said, “it didn’t occur to me that I could argue with the doctor’s results, even if they were contrary to what my body was telling me.” But this isn’t just about the young female patient in pain and how doctors respond to her. It is about the young woman narrating her suffering, and how we all respond to her.



EUGENIA MELLO

Consider sexual harassment. The American Association of University Women surveyed nearly 2,000 students in grades 7 to 12 and found that nearly half reported having experienced some form of sexual harassment. Girls were significantly more likely than boys to be harassed, girls’ harassment tended to be more physical and intrusive, and girls reported more longer-term consequences, like trouble sleeping and increased absences from school.

Just 12 percent of girls who experienced harassment reported it to an adult at school, most likely for reasons including fear of not being believed, fear of retaliation and social isolation, the failure of schools to respond, and confusion about what actually constitutes harassment.

In college, an estimated one in five women are sexually assaulted, and just 20 percent of assaults are reported, again with fear of not being believed as one of the biggest barriers.

Girls have good reason to feel this way. Take the case of Dr. Larry Nassar, the notorious Michigan State University and U.S.A. Gymnastics physician who was sentenced last year to 40 to 175 years in prison for sex crimes. Michigan State was first alerted to concerns about Dr. Nassar back in 1997, but the com-

plaints were ignored. When he finally faced a trial, many of his more than 160 victims described the lasting negative impact of having their experiences invalidated by the adults in their lives.

The #MeToo movement has done a lot to encourage women to share their experiences, and we now need those conversations to translate into institutional and cultural changes. The research on how little we acknowledge young girls’ pain suggests we need to start with something basic: When girls tell us about their experiences with their bodies, we need to listen.

**LAURIE EDWARDS** is the author of *“In the Kingdom of the Sick: A Social History of Chronic Illness in America.”*

# How McConnell enables Trump

Adam Jentleson

Among the casualties of President Trump’s declaration of a national emergency to build his border wall is the reputation of the majority leader Mitch McConnell as a Senate institutionalist. The evidence of the last few days has confirmed, if there were still any doubt, that he is no such thing.

First, he helped prolong the longest government shutdown in American history by insisting that the Senate would act only with explicit approval from the president. Now Mr. McConnell has fully acquiesced in President Trump’s power grab by supporting an emergency declaration, which he opposed just weeks before, aimed at addressing a crisis that Senate Republicans know does not exist.

This display of obedience from the leader of a supposedly coequal branch of government is shocking only if you ever believed Mr. McConnell was an institutionalist. But his defining characteristic has always been his willingness to do anything and sacrifice any principle to amass power for himself. What separates him from the garden-variety politicians — what makes him a radical — are the lengths he is willing to go. Seeing this with clarity should help us grasp the danger to which he is subjecting the Senate — and, more important, our democracy.

The signs of Mr. McConnell’s malign influence were always there. Before he became a Senate leader, he dedicated himself to opening the floodgates for corporate money to flow into our political system. Mr. McConnell chased the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform law all the way to the Supreme Court; the 2003 challenge to the law bears his name. Mr. McConnell lost that one, but his cause prevailed six years later when the Supreme Court overturned restrictions on corporate contri-

butions in Citizens United.

In 2010, as minority leader, Mr. McConnell stated that his main goal was not to help our country recover from the Great Recession but to make President Obama a “one-term president.” A self-declared “proud guardian of gridlock,” he presided over an enormous escalation in the use of the filibuster. His innovation was to transform it from a procedural tool used to block bills into a weapon of nullification, deploying it against even routine Senate business to gridlock the legislative process.

The two forces that characterized Mr. McConnell’s career, obstruction and increasing the power of corporate money in our democracy, have worked hand in hand to diminish the Senate and paralyze American politics. The flood of outside money incentivized obstruction over cooperation, and a new generation of Republicans embraced Mr. McConnell’s obstructionist tactics. Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, for example, owes his standing to a few

filibusters and a super PAC: As a freshman senator, he used Mr. McConnell’s tactics to shut down the government in 2013 and parlayed the resulting attention — and fund-raising — to run for president (and lose to Mr. Trump).

Republicans actually took the Senate majority in 2014 in large part on claims to restore the Senate. Unsurprisingly, they broke their promises. Under President Trump, Mr. McConnell continued to run roughshod over Senate traditions, jamming the \$1.5 trillion tax bill through without so much as a proper hearing. The one place the Senate has functioned efficiently is in judicial confirmations, but even here Mr. McConnell has cast aside bipartisan norms and reduced the Senate to a rubber stamp for some unqualified, extremist judges,



DAEMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Mitch McConnell in June 2018.**

including those rated “unqualified” by the American Bar Association.

Mr. McConnell is not playing three-dimensional chess. There is no grand strategy or long game — there is only what best serves his narrow interest. And since 2010, Mr. McConnell has been convinced that his interests are best served through strict obedience to the Republican base. That year, his hand-picked candidate, Trey Grayson, lost a Senate Republican primary in Kentucky to an insurgent named Rand Paul. It was a humiliating defeat and called into question Mr. McConnell’s power in his own backyard. It also invited a Tea Party challenge against his re-election in 2014.

Since that scare, Mr. McConnell has rigidly adhered to whatever the base wants, institutions be damned. When the base wanted Judge Merrick Garland blocked, he obeyed. When the base wanted Mr. Trump embraced, he obeyed. While Paul Ryan was playing Hamlet in the summer of 2016, Mr. McConnell quickly endorsed Mr. Trump, providing institutional cover and repeatedly assuring Republicans that Trump would “be fine.” Mr. McConnell didn’t think Trump was going to win — he has said so himself — but he probably figured that the damage could be contained.

The crass self-interest at so many turns now poses a danger to our democracy. With Mr. Trump increasingly erratic and Robert Mueller’s investigation advancing, there is simply no reason to believe he will stand up for American institutions when it comes. He has already demonstrated a willingness to put his self-interest above America’s national security: In a classified briefing in 2016, Mr. McConnell reportedly cast doubt on C.I.A. intelligence about Russia’s interference in our election and threatened that if President Obama publicly challenged Russia, he’d twist it into a partisan issue. And when the four congressional leaders drafted a bipartisan letter to the states urging them to take action to protect our election infrastructure against Russian interference, Mr. McConnell categorically rejected all efforts to strengthen the letter.

Last week, Mr. McConnell had a choice. He didn’t have to acquiesce to the emergency declaration — he could have asserted the Senate’s independence at a critical time by passing the spending bill without validating Mr. Trump’s emergency declaration. If that prompted a veto, Mr. McConnell could have overridden it. That would be real leadership, and a clear assertion of the Senate’s independence. Instead, he meekly acquiesced in another presidential power grab.

In the months ahead, our institutions are likely to be tested as rarely before. Under a strong leader, the Senate could provide a critical counterweight to an out-of-control executive. Instead, we have a man who will put his self-interest first, every single time. We should enter this chapter with clarity and finally see Mr. McConnell for what he is. He’s not an institutionalist. He is the man who surrendered the Senate to Donald Trump.

**ADAM JENTLESON**, a former deputy chief of staff to retired Senator Harry Reid, is the public affairs director at *Democracy Forward*.



OPINION

# The madness of King Donald

**Jennifer Finney Boylan**  
Contributing Writer

I was going to watch the State of the Union speech the other week, honest I was, but I have this new policy of only screaming into my pillow once a day, so it didn't pan out.

Instead, I figured I'd watch some cartoons, but even there I ran into the fundamental problem of our age: Everything reminds me of Himself. Pepe Le Pew: Donald Trump. Wile E. Coyote: Donald Trump. Foghorn Leghorn: Well, you get the idea.

So instead I streamed the new BBC/Amazon version of "King Lear." Surely, I thought, Shakespeare's tragedy would provide me with the escape I needed, although to be honest whenever I see Anthony Hopkins I start getting the traditional heebie-jeebies about fava beans and Chianti. "The Silence of the Lambs," alas, is one of the most transphobic films ever made, but what the heck: I'd try to look past this, if only Sir Anthony would help me forget that a man who cannot spell "unprecedented" is the leader of the free world.

(And don't @ me about how much you love "The Silence of the Lambs." If you were a transgender person, you would feel differently.)

Curtain up, Act I: We start with the leader's outsize narcissism, his conviction that, whatever the country's problems, he alone can fix them. He has no use for counsel, or compromise, or, for

that matter, facts themselves. The kingdom is about to be invaded by the French, who are bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good. . . .

It was right about here that I wondered if there was still time to go back to Pepe Le Pew, which is what I watched last year, instead of the State of the Union. It was on that occasion that I first learned the terrible truth: Pepe Le Pew is fake meows.

Nevertheless, I persisted. Now Lear was deciding to divide his kingdom on the basis of whoever flatters him best. It was pretty hard, at this moment, not to recall that bizarre cabinet meeting from 2017, where everyone had to sing the president's praises. "On behalf of the entire senior staff around you, Mr. President," said Reince Priebus, his chief of staff, "we thank you for the honor and the blessing that you've given us to serve your agenda."

Admit it: You kind of forgot about Reince Priebus, didn't you? That's O.K. Cabinet members under the bridge.

"Lear is mad," observes his friend, the duke of Kent, and everyone else in court wants to say, Well, duh. But (with the exception of Kent, and daughter Cordelia) they hold their tongues, because in their far-off, unimaginable world — so different from our own! — it

is more important to cling to power than speak the honest truth.

As I watched the king slowly come undone, I did wonder, fleetingly, whether Lear's madness, at least in the opening acts, is somewhat calculated. He's a narcissist, of course — but the man is not without cunning.

Thus raising the question: Is the king crazy like a fox? Or just crazy, like on Fox?

Soon enough, though, the madness is no ruse. There's the king, wandering around the heath half-naked with his Hannity. Before you know it, everyone is murdering everyone else, and the French are revolting (sic), and the duke of Gloucester has had his eyes gouged out.

"Vile jelly," I believe is the exact quote, also reminding me of an experience I once had at a late-night diner in King of Prussia, Pa.

At this point, I hit pause and checked back with the State of the Union, wondering whether I'd made a bad choice.

"If there is going to be peace and legislation," said the president, "there cannot be war and investigation!"

Yeah, back to Britain. By now the king was at the center of a terrible storm, surrounded by madmen. Looking at his subjects, it occurs to Lear that his people are wretched. Why, he wonders, did he not try to care for them when he had the chance?

Why, indeed. "They told me I was everything," he says, understanding, too late, that his own narcissism has been the catalyst for his country's ruin. "Tis a lie."

Oh, if only.

This new "Lear" is short, as these things go — under two hours. Even after the end credits, I still had time to catch the tail end of Bernie Sanders's response to Mr. Trump's speech.

I like Bernie, but after the tragedy of King Lear it was hard for me to stay focused, being depressed already about 2020. Will I be able to watch the State of the Union then? Or will I spend the rest of my life vainly seeking solace in Looney Tunes?

There was Senator Sanders, holding forth. Somehow he'd decided that Stacey Abrams's response, delivered moments earlier, was not sufficient. "Somethin's wrong with that boy," said Foghorn Leghorn. "Always mopin'!"



Anthony Hopkins as King Lear in a new BBC/Amazon production.

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## Jazz on the edge of change

SAGER, FROM PAGE 6

dance orchestra leader named Paul Whiteman was recovering from a nervous breakdown. A violinist formerly with the San Francisco Symphony, Whiteman had become fascinated with the sensuous, unpolished sounds he heard from musicians in Barbary Coast saloons. He attempted to notate this strange music, orchestrate it and normalize it. Hiring the best "jazzers" in town, Whiteman formed a dance band to play at the Fairmont Hotel. Taxed by overworked and worry, he collapsed, and soon left music, and San Francisco, behind.

But he didn't stay gone. Whiteman moved east, in 1920, and drew national attention when he signed a contract with the Victor Talking Machine Company. Striving to "make a lady" of jazz led to his fabulous 1924 concert "An Experiment in Modern Music," which premiered Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue." Whiteman became known as the "King of Jazz," a moniker which — while he never took it literally — served him well. He went on to hire Frank Trumbauer, Beiderbecke and others, a dream team of young jazz musicians. By the mid-1920s, jazz was firmly in place as the reigning American popular music style.

All that was in the future as Europe and the 369th wrapped up their parade through Manhattan. Soon afterward they were mustered out of the service. For most, there was no question what they would do next: Reforming the band as civilians, they set out to tour the East Coast and Midwest. According to a review of their show in Philadelphia, The Evening Bulletin wrote: "Many ragtime, jazz time and popular air tunes were played with a swing, a swerve and a tempo that lifted the soul as well as the feet of the listener and carried him away to the Land of Shuffling Feet."

Though they were praised for their jazz, Europe and his band ranged widely. He typically programmed light classical overtures, specialties like

"Evolution of Dixie," some ragtime, and medleys of syncopated hits under the rubric "A Potpourri of Jazz." A recording of a medley they often played on the road, "Plantation Echoes," contains not a speck of jazz, or ragtime, by anyone's definition. But the crowds demanded jazz, and Europe gave it to them — not only on the stage, but in interviews, where he tried to explain this new form. As he told The Newark Evening Ledger, "Lots of people think jazz is easy. It's as hard as anything. The French bandmasters thought we had trick instruments. They'd ask to examine our instruments and then cry in surprise 'Meme que les autres' — 'The same as the others.' You see we get those special effects with a roll of the tongue and blowing the instrument about twice as hard as usual."

Europe's comments reflected commonly held beliefs about jazz: It was about effects, such as distorting the embouchure to produce fluttering effects. Europe was a master tactician, and provided good copy.

The band's recording of "Memphis Blues" illustrates their approach to jazz. The final minute displays many of the effects Europe described: crying clarinets, flutter-tongued cornets, trombone glissandos and a "shave and a haircut" ending. There is one exception: a surprise solo "break" by a trombonist who tosses off an insouciant, swinging phrase.

That break, only two measures long, speaks volumes: a rarity on such an early recording, signifying the exciting nature of jazz as it was still maturing.

On May 9, 1919, the band arrived in Boston, to perform at Mechanic's Hall. Europe, suffering from a cold and exhaustion, courageously pushed himself through the concert's first half. During

**Few who heard Europe's music were acquainted with the dance music then brewing in New Orleans.**

intermission, an altercation erupted when a disgruntled musician entered Europe's dressing room and attacked him with a penknife. The injury, which seemed at first superficial, was anything but. Europe died a few hours later.

In a flash, James Reese Europe was gone, the band broke up, and postwar excitement and acceptance for jazz were temporarily forgotten. Nevertheless, Europe's final testament had a lasting legacy. During that final tour, a wide range of Americans had begun to realize that jazz was something of which they could be proud. Photos from the parade, with jazz-playing musicians surrounded by returning soldiers, made it clear that this was a homegrown, even patriotic, art form. The old notion about "jazzing" suddenly seemed quaint. "Jazz" had become a noun.

Europe's dream, to see African-Americans accepted as serious and respected performers, lived on through his two closest associates, Noble Sissle and Eubie Blake. Their 1921 Broadway hit "Shuffle Along" was in a sense, a tribute to their mentor and friend.

Looking at 1919 from both sides of a timeline clarifies how pivotal this year was for jazz. On one side there was the diligent, focused work of James Reese Europe, which brought dignity to both African-American musicians and jazz. On the other, Paul Whiteman continued his work legitimizing jazz in the public's mind. In the middle were the pioneers of the art: Louis Armstrong, his mentors and disciples.

Encompassing a span of a decade in a single year, 1919 was the fulcrum of momentous musical activity when jazz — in many forms and many definitions — was nurtured, whether by Europe, Whiteman or the growing number of jazz musicians who understood it.

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## What binds Saudis and Pakistanis?

HANIF, FROM PAGE 1

the sacred sites in Mecca and Medina. Pakistan, with its nuclear arsenal, considers itself the guardian of the custodians. We are told that all of us are brothers in faith, but relations really just boil down to the fact that Saudi Arabia is bailing Pakistan out of yet another economic crisis. It's a happy marriage between God and budget deficits. Prince Mohammed just promised us investments worth \$20 billion. One might think that it's his dad's money he is spending. But Pakistanis seem to think that since God has blessed Saudi Arabia with so many riches, we are only getting our fair share.

Being promised billions tends to make you forget that the custodian of our sacred cities has caused more misery to the ummah than most nations on this Earth. Not only does Saudi Arabia continue to bomb one of the poorest Muslim countries in the world; it also refuses to pay wages to the poor laborers it imports from Pakistan and elsewhere, or it locks them up and throws away the key. Prince Mohammed won over lots of Pakistani hearts when, after a plea from Mr. Khan, he announced the release of more than 2,000 Pakistani prisoners from Saudi jails. Nobody questioned the merits of a justice system in which a prince can release thousands of prisoners because he is in a good mood. How many can he jail when he is having a bad day?

After declaring the prince a great modernizer and a "global thinker," the West got a rude shock when it heard that he may have ordered Mr. Khashoggi's gruesome murder. He had been exalted in these pages and many other places. The media coverage both before and after the murder has turned Prince Mohammed into an international brand.

His victory tour of Asia comes as India is threatening Pakistan with revenge for a suicide attack in Kashmir that killed more than 40 Indian soldiers last week. (There was another deadly attack on Monday.) Nobody is expecting the prince to do anything about Pakistan and India being on the brink of a war yet again. Like all little princes he does not have to pick sides or make a choice. He arrived in India on Tuesday, and he was expected to



Prime Minister Imran Khan of Pakistan, left, and Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman of Saudi Arabia during a welcome ceremony for the prince's visit to Pakistan this week.

sign more investment deals. The Pakistani government calls his visit historic, and Indian officials call it historic. But only people with no sense of history call every passing chariot a historic event. The prince is playing with Pakistan and India because he is being temporarily snubbed by the boys and girls of the West, the ones he really wanted to play with.

This visit brings back old memories of when, following the Iranian revolution and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Saudi Arabia started giving Pakistan lots of money to fight the communists, bringing fortunes to a few people and a rabid and enduring sectarianism to the rest. In Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia matched the United States dollar for dollar, and together they spawned a multinational jihad complex that still haunts the world.

In the buildup to Prince Mohammed's arrival in Pakistan this week, some small groups made muted noises about his brutal war on Yemen and started the #MBSNotWelcome hashtag. The Ministry of Interior issued a notice singling out "disgruntled members of the 'Shia community'" as those "most involved in this nefarious activity to malign" Saudi Arabia. When it was pointed out that this sounded like old-fashioned sectarianism, the ministry issued a second notice saying it was starting an inquiry into why the

first one had been issued. Mr. Khan heads the Interior Ministry.

Mr. Khan is so smitten with Prince Mohammed that he insisted on driving His Royal Highness himself. Referring to the prince's popularity in Pakistan, the prime minister joked that if the prince contested an election in Pakistan, the prince would get more votes than he. Only, the prince doesn't seem to be in a mood to contest elections, from here or anywhere. He is keen on the old family feud, though.

At a joint news conference in Islamabad on Monday, the Saudi foreign minister launched into a diatribe against Iran and called it the chief supporter of terrorism in the world. TV channels quickly muted his speech. The Pakistani foreign minister chose to mute himself. The same day, Prince Mohammed was given Pakistan's highest civilian award. All this comes at a time when the Iranian government is blaming Pakistan for a suicide bombing in Iran last week that killed at least 27 Revolutionary Guards.

Pakistan may welcome goods coming from the Saudi royalty, but it should think about what might be asked of it in return.

MOHAMMED HANIF is the author of the novels "A Case of Exploding Mangoes," "Our Lady of Alice Bhatti" and "Red Birds."



# Fashion

## Working for a new normal on race

### MILAN

BY KERRY OLSEN

At age 26, Edward Buchanan, an African-American graduate of Parsons School of Design, got his dream job: design director for Bottega Veneta. “I’d walk into factories with my dreadlocks, not speaking Italian,” he said with a laugh. “I was very green.”

And he was received, he recalled, with “curious discomfort.” It was 1996.

Twenty-two years later — and now the head of his own under-the-radar knitwear label, Sansovino 6, as well as a consultant for luxury fashion houses — he is still one of the few black men working in Italian fashion. “Every fashion house I worked at in Italy, or consulted for,” he said, “I was the only person of color on the design team.”

But as Prada’s Sambo charm, Gucci’s blackface balaclava sweater and Dolce & Gabbana’s stereotypical videos on China roil the fashion world, the industry may finally be waking up to its lack of racial representation and cultural understanding. And Mr. Buchanan finds himself as an activist, a role he had not expected.

“Many houses here don’t employ creatives of color,” said Mr. Buchanan, 48. “The conversations that I’m having, and I want to have, on this subject are super important.”

Emanuele Farneti, editor of Vogue Italia, wrote in an email: “For many years, Italy, like other countries, has ignored the subject of diversity. You need the courage to admit it.”

But, he continued, “In a historic moment in Italy in which a political agenda of selfishness and closure is prevailing, some encouraging signals are there. We’re growing a new generation of Italians who consider diversity the norm both in music and sport. We also hope in the fashion industry that so desperately needs it.”

Certainly, things have changed — somewhat.

Max Mara, where Mr. Buchanan once worked, has a senior designer from Sierra Leone who has been with the house since 2000 (company policy bars naming members of the design team). In October Roberto Cavalli, in partnership with the nonprofit organization Fra Noi, hired three refugees from Gambia, Pakistan and El Salvador to work in its pattern-cutting department, atelier and Just Cavalli’s style office.

And Lawrence Steele, an African-American designer who is the associate creative director of Marni and who has lived and worked in Milan for years, said, “I’ve had no difficulties whatsoever in getting a job. They’ve happened spontaneously, and at the brands where I have worked, there has been a language of openness.” He said Marni has long had a multicultural design team.

But still, as the Milan fall shows open this week, there is only one designer of color on the official schedule: Stella Jean, a Haitian-Italian designer based in Rome who, in 2011, became the first black designer to win the Vogue Italia’s talent contest Who Is On Next.

The Camera Nazionale Della Moda Italiana, the Italian fashion trade association, said it does not have statistics on the racial breakdown of industry workers in Italy. However, Carlo Capasa, the organization’s president, said he believed the issue was one of availability. “There aren’t so many designers of color showing here but not because it’s a problem of discrimination,” he said during an interview. “Traditionally Italy has been an extremely homogeneous population. Simply put, we don’t have a large population of color.”

A spokesman for Italy’s National Institute of Statistics, which maintains the country’s census, said it would not release information about the racial make-up of the population.

Mr. Buchanan is not entirely convinced. “There are loopholes in the system where creatives are not even arriving at the door. It’s the headhunters, the education system,” he said. “It’s not a question of hiring designers solely because of diversity’s sake. There are tal-



PHOTOGRAPHS BY VALERIO MEZZANOTTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ented people of color in the system now, more than qualified for these jobs, and they’re not being selected.”

So he has been addressing the reality in the most effective way he knows how: with a collection.

He started in 2017 with the project “Check Your Neck,” featuring three jacquard scarves emblazoned with slogans: “Resist,” “Wake Up for Freedom” and “We Are All Migrants.” Mr. Buchanan gave them to the model Aymeline Valade and to his designer friends like Stefano Pilati; Riccardo Tisci and Marcelo Burlon, who is behind the County of Milan label and co-founder of the New Guards Group (its labels include Off-White and Palm Angels).

The scarves are sold on the Sansovino website for about \$45 (the cost of manufacturing, Mr. Buchanan said) and with the request that customers post photos or communicate in some way what the slogans mean to them.

“After the elections here and in America, and living as a black man in Italy,” Mr. Buchanan said, “I wanted to question what was going on.”

Now he’s trying to build on that momentum with a capsule women’s wear line he was scheduled to introduce on Wednesday.

With 10 styles based on his favorite basics, including a dickey, biker shorts, leggings and a roll-neck sweater, the knitwear collection is being offered in hues that reflect a full spectrum of skin tones. The goal, Mr. Buchanan said, is to be the Fenty Beauty of knits — although

this being the cashmere business, colors have names like shore (cream), vintage vicuña (brown) and hoopoe (pink.)

“The first idea we own is the color of our skin,” Mr. Buchanan said. “Whether you’re Irish, Jamaican or Korean, I love the idea you put something on that blends with your skin.”

In addition, dense fringes and multi-colored jacquards on the sweaters are meant to symbolize the flags of countries like Germany, the United States and Italy, countries where immigrants often continue to be perceived as outsiders. “These settlers may be third generation but they inhabit the fringes of society,” Mr. Buchanan said. “I wanted to build awareness and question it.”

Of that idea, Stephen Galloway, the Los Angeles-based choreographer and creative consultant who has known Mr. Buchanan since they met in 1998, quoted the rapper Q-Tip: “People gravitate towards the truth sooner or later.”

Mr. Galloway said he applied the quote “to Edward’s journey as a designer. It’s his time, the time is now.”

Mr. Buchanan had a burst of fame during his time at Bottega, too, when he dressed the singer-songwriter Lauryn Hill. “Many companies weren’t giving clothing to hip-hop and R&B stars,” he said, “because they weren’t considered a valid reflection of existing consumers. I attempted to stomp that theory out.”

In 2001, after Bottega was sold to Gucci Group (now Kering), Mr. Buchanan left and opened his own clothing and accessories label, called Leflesh, which

he designed with Manuela Morin, a former Bottega accessories designer. Described by the Italian journalist Angelo Flaccavento as, “a mix of Victoriana and R&B,” the fashion label garnered attention from Cher and Iman.

Mr. Buchanan later left Italy for New York and went on to consult for Jennifer Lopez’s Sweetface line and Sean Combs’s Sean John collection, eventually closing Leflesh.

In 2009 he returned to Milan and the following year he started Sansovino 6, naming the unisex cashmere line for the factory that produced it.

Now Mr. Buchanan is hopeful the industry will start another conversation. Last week Prada announced plans to create an inclusion advisory committee led by the artist and activist Theaster Gates and the director Ava DuVernay.

Mr. Buchanan described the move as “very positive,” although he noted that brands “tend to run to the upper echelons of celebrity when addressed with such issues” rather than turning for advice to people already working in the business.

“A diverse design team has the power to nip cultural mistakes in the bud,” he said. “Words have the power to initiate introspection and real conversation, as well as immediate action for the future.”

Ms. Jean, the Haitian-Italian designer, agreed. “To be multicultural is not just putting an African print on the runway,” she said. “Aesthetics are a channel but they’re not the end result.”

**Above, Edward Buchanan, the designer and founder of the knitwear label Sansovino 6, with one of his models in Milan. Left, scarves from the label’s 2017 project “Check Your Neck.”**



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# FENDI



# Business

## Usual culprit unlikely to hurt economy

Housing hasn’t recovered from its last slump, so it probably won’t lead a fall

BY CONOR DOUGHERTY

The United States has had 11 recessions since the end of World War II. All but two were preceded by big declines in the housing market.

Inside that bit of trivia lie some fundamental insights into housing’s outside role in the business cycle, along with clues to suggest that the economy is on firmer footing than the increasingly pessimistic forecasts make it seem. The gist is this: The United States may or may not enter a recession this year, but if it does, housing is unlikely to be the cause, because it never really recovered in the first place.

“Housing is not in a position to lead this thing down,” said Edward Leamer, an economics professor at the University of California, Los Angeles.

How much it can help prolong the overall recovery is another matter. Home sales and prices have been sluggish in the face of rising interest rates. Still, the pace of construction, combined with pent-up demand from young adults, suggests that the sector should at least remain stable in the face of uncertainty elsewhere.

Why is housing so often a focus of anxiety as economic expansions run their course? Here are a few reasons.

### A VOLATILE CYCLE

Even though housing does not account for all that much of the economy, its role in recessions is huge, because it is highly cyclical and sensitive to interest rates. Think of expansions and recessions as the cycle of things that go up and down a lot. Housing is a big determinant of where that cycle is headed because, unlike many other sectors, it has wide swings.

The housing sector accounts for as little as 3 percent of economic output during recessions and about twice that during booms. Other pieces of the economy are much bigger, but they don’t change nearly as much from boom to bust. Government spending, for instance, has hovered between 17 percent and 20 percent of the economy for decades. The three-percentage-point swing is about the same in each case, but government accounts for much more of the economy. Translation: Housing punches way above its weight.

As a result, while housing has never accounted for more than 7 percent of total output, it has on average accounted for about a quarter of the weakness in recessions since World War II, according to a 2007 paper by Mr. Leamer titled “Housing IS the Business Cycle.”

After housing, the sector that has historically been second most important to recessions is consumer durables, or expensive purchases like cars, furniture and appliances. Those are often connected to the housing market’s prosperity because people usually buy other things when they purchase a home.

Sometimes downturns have other causes, but they only underscore housing’s role in economic cycles. The 1953 recession followed a decline in government spending after the Korean War, and the 2001 recession was driven by a decline in business spending after the



A construction site in Denver. Nine of the past 11 recessions were preceded by big housing-market declines, but the current pace of construction suggests stability.

dot-com bubble popped. Both were relatively brief and shallow — the 2001 recession was the least severe since World War II — in part because housing investment remained stable.

The most recent recession, from 2007 to 2009, offered one of the more exaggerated examples of housing’s guiding role in downturns. A recent report from the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis found that the construction sector accounted for a little over a third of the decline in output in the past recession, and about half of the job losses (a figure that includes laid-off construction workers and job losses in connected industries).

How does housing look now? Mixed, but mixed in such a way that the things most important to economic growth are the most stable.

### SIGNS OF STICKER SHOCK

Measured in sales and prices, the housing sector appears to be in a precarious position. Existing-home sales were down about 10 percent in December from a year earlier, according to the National Association of Realtors. The group blamed rising prices and interest rates, and a lack of supply that has left buyers overwhelmed by their choices.

Much of the problem is that while job growth has been strong, home prices have gone up faster than incomes.

Prices have gone up so far so fast that even markets previously considered affordable are beyond the reach of many

buyers. Home prices have risen by about 50 percent since 2012, according to Zillow, and many of the more affordable markets have shot up even faster.

In Phoenix, home values have doubled since 2012, not adjusted for inflation. The Denver market is up 90 percent, Atlanta 84 percent, Nashville 78 percent and Dallas 76 percent. If people can’t afford a home in Texas, where can they?

The sticker shock of rising prices, combined with rising interest rates that make monthly payments more expensive, scared off many buyers toward the end of last year.

Some of that demand seemed to come back at the start of the year, after interest rates fell to roughly where they were a year ago.

Nevertheless, homes are sitting on the market longer, price cuts are becoming more common, and a number of homebuilders have had layoffs. Before a recent speech to 1,000 people from the housing industry, John Burns, founder of John Burns Real Estate Consulting, asked the members of the audience to forecast the year ahead. They were evenly split between those seeing sales and price declines and those seeing growth.

“Everybody is being really cautious right now,” Mr. Burns said in an interview.

This all sounds very bad, but for any one who isn’t trying to sell a home or in

the business of selling homes, it’s not as bad as it seems.

### BUILDERS ARE LESS BULLISH

When economists talk about a recession in housing, they largely refer to construction, not home prices. Most of the industry’s contribution to annual gross domestic product lies in residential fixed investment, a category composed almost entirely of the building of single-family homes and apartment and condominium buildings (along with a small amount of home improvements and renovations).

Rising home prices help the economy in small but important ways, like making people feel richer and building up home equity that owners can tap and spend elsewhere. But increased spending from people feeling richer is not nearly as important as the pace of home sales and the volume of construction, since both of those create many jobs — for people like real estate agents and mortgage brokers on the sales side, and the architects, construction workers, electricians, plumbers and others who design and build new homes.

Home buying is weak and getting weaker, so that could be a concern. But construction is bordering on moribund. Total housing starts grew at an annual rate of 1.2 million a year in January, more than double the recession-era low of less than 500,000, but still well below an average of 1.5 million from 1990 to the

start of the housing bust — despite an expanding population.

Clearly the need for housing is there, so why aren’t builders building more? That is a confounding question.

During conference calls to announce their earnings, builders like D.R. Horton and PulteGroup have said much the same thing as real estate agents, which is that buyers are put off by higher prices and creeping interest rates.

Many builders also cite local regulations that make it harder to build homes in denser areas closer to jobs, and higher labor costs in a tight job market.

The overall message is that builders cannot build homes at the prices people want in the places people want them, so they aren’t building much at all.

The largest demand for housing is at the lower end of the market, the hardest to serve profitably, although in conference calls a number of builders said they were shifting some of their building and land buying toward cheaper, smaller homes. This may or may not improve the pace of building.

The result is that the housing sector — the residential construction components of G.D.P., taken together — accounted for only 3.9 percent of the economy in the third quarter, and has helped drag down overall economic output for three quarters.

In other words: Housing is in recession already. It might not get better soon, but it probably won’t get worse.

## As Amazon retreats, city faces battle with Uber

New York mayor considers extending cap on vehicle numbers

BY EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

After New York City and Amazon went to war over a new campus in Queens, the city is heading into battle with another tech giant: Uber.

Mayor Bill de Blasio approved a year-long cap on the number of new Uber vehicles last summer, making New York the first major American city to rein in the booming ride-hailing company. Now Mr. de Blasio wants to extend the cap, prompting Uber to sue the city last week to overturn the law.

Uber has fiercely opposed the cap, arguing that it hurts New Yorkers who rely on the service, especially outside Manhattan where there are fewer transit options. The lawsuit called the city’s regulatory approach “unfortunate, irresponsible and irrational.”

Mr. de Blasio, a Democrat with presidential ambitions, responded by saying the city’s new rules — both the cap and a measure to raise wages for drivers — were needed.

“No legal challenge changes the fact that Uber made congestion on our roads worse and paid their drivers less than a living wage,” said Seth Stein, a spokesman for the mayor. “The city’s new laws aim to change that.”

Like many other cities across the world, New York is struggling to respond to the explosive growth of the ride-hailing industry. The influx of vehicles has raised concerns about street congestion, working conditions for drivers, the decimation of the taxi industry and the siphoning of riders from public transit.

The lawsuit comes at a critical moment for Uber and its main competitor, Lyft, as both companies rush to go public. Uber, which could be valued as high as \$120 billion, is likely to be one of the biggest-ever public offerings by a tech company.

The two companies have bristled over new regulations in New York, Uber’s largest market in the United States. Lyft recently sued to stop the rules aimed at raising driver pay.

**The influx of ride-hailing vehicles has raised concerns about street congestion and working conditions for drivers.**

Uber and Lyft are also battling each other to dominate New York’s thriving bike markets. Lyft bought Motivate, the company that operates CitiBike, the city’s popular bike-share program. Uber bought another bike company called Jump and began offering electric bikes in two New York City boroughs, the Bronx and Staten Island.

Uber supports the driver pay rules but argued that the cap hurts drivers who want to join its service.

“It is disappointing to see the de Blasio administration remain singularly focused on a cap that evidence suggests is doing nothing to relieve congestion while preventing thousands of New Yorkers from earning a living wage,” Josh Gold, a spokesman for Uber, said in a statement.

Some business leaders worry that Amazon’s decision to abandon its deal with New York could hurt the city’s image as a tech hub.

But Nicole Gelinias, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, a think tank, said the struggle with Uber is not a tech issue — it’s about worsening street traffic.

“We’re not really afraid of being branded anti-tech,” Ms. Gelinias said. “In the long term, our problem is how do we deal with all of this growth — and not the risk that we’re going to drive away that growth with a little bit of rhetoric and a little regulation.”

Mr. de Blasio has a bitter history with Uber. When the mayor first proposed a cap in 2015, Uber went on the attack, introducing a “de Blasio view” in the company’s app to blame him for long wait times. Uber won the debate and became shorthand in his administration for an embarrassing defeat.

But Uber was on the defensive last year when the cap idea was revived by Corey Johnson, the City Council speaker. Uber’s reputation had been harmed by accusations of gender discrimination and other scandals. It hired a new chief executive and a new leader for New York to try to improve its image.

The number of for-hire vehicles in the city has surged to more than 100,000 vehicles, from about 60,000 in 2015. But while Uber and other companies are flourishing, many of their drivers are not. About 40 percent of drivers have incomes so low that they qualify for Medicaid and about 18 percent qualify for food stamps, according to a study by prominent economists last year.

The cap was expected to last a year while the city studied the proliferation of **UBER, PAGE 11**

## After Lagerfeld, what’s next for Chanel and Fendi?

BY ELIZABETH PATON AND VANESSA FRIEDMAN

Karl Lagerfeld’s death leaves a void atop two of fashion’s biggest names, Chanel and Fendi, and signals a potentially seismic shift on the industry’s creative side at a time of heightened flux in the global luxury market.

Chanel has already named Virginie Viard, a relatively unknown company insider based in Paris, to continue Mr. Lagerfeld’s work. Ms. Viard was the director of the Chanel fashion creation studio and Mr. Lagerfeld’s right-hand woman for more than 30 years.

At Fendi, where Mr. Lagerfeld was named creative director in 1965, the question of succession has not yet been addressed beyond a company statement that a decision on the issue would come “later.”

Nor has there been any word about Mr. Lagerfeld’s own brand, which he started in 1984 and which is now partly owned by the private equity firm Apax Partners.

“Today, not only have I lost a friend, but we have all lost an extraordinary creative mind,” Alain Wertheimer, Chanel’s chief executive, said in a statement confirming the German designer’s death on Tuesday at 85. “Thanks to his creative genius, generosity and exceptional intuition, Karl Lagerfeld was ahead of his time, which widely contributed to the house of Chanel’s success throughout the world.”

Mr. Lagerfeld, who joined the house of Chanel in 1983, had long been credited with transforming the company into one of the world’s biggest luxury brands, synonymous with blockbuster runway shows and distinctive products like its No. 5 perfume, black bouclé jackets,

two-tone ballet pumps and array of quilted handbags.

Just what a powerful industry force the privately held Chanel had become was clear last year, when, for the first time in its 108-year history, it published its annual financial results. Total sales for 2017 were \$9.62 billion, 11 percent higher than the previous year on a constant-currency basis, the company reported.

Chanel, the results showed, is outpacing rivals like Gucci and running neck-and-neck with Louis Vuitton, widely considered the industry leader.

Although Mr. Lagerfeld had a lifetime contract with Chanel, he was known to be in poor health in recent years, and it was something of a fashion-show parlor game to speculate about who might ultimately take his place at the company. His job was widely regarded as the best in the business, in part because Chanel’s status as a private company with a hugely successful beauty division gave Mr. Lagerfeld a level of creative freedom seemingly unmatched among his peers. Many people privately dreamed of inheriting the mantle.

Among those often mentioned over the years as favorites for the job included star designers like Marc Jacobs (when he left Louis Vuitton), Alber Elbaz (a former creative director of Lanvin), Hedi Slimane (known to be a favorite of Mr. Lagerfeld’s) and, most recently, Phoebe Philo, who was rumored to be waiting in the wings in London after leaving Celine.

In the end, the billionaire Wertheimer family, which controls Chanel, appears to have opted for continuity over celebrity by picking Ms. Viard, a company stalwart without a global profile or social media presence. According to a



Karl Lagerfeld with Virginie Viard, whom Chanel has chosen to continue Mr. Lagerfeld’s work. Ms. Viard is a company stalwart without a global profile or social media presence.

statement from the company, the selection will ensure that “the legacy of Gabrielle Chanel and Karl Lagerfeld” can live on. Ms. Viard is both the safest and the most respectful choice.

Mr. Lagerfeld seemed to have been laying the groundwork for the decision for some time, increasingly bringing Ms. Viard onto the runway at the end of shows to take a bow at his side. In January, after Mr. Lagerfeld failed to make his customary appearance at the end of Chanel’s most recent couture show, the company said in a statement that he was “feeling tired” and had asked that Ms. Viard “represent him.”

All eyes will now be on her to see whether she can extend what has been one of the modern luxury industry’s

**In its choice of who should succeed Karl Lagerfeld, Chanel appears to have chosen continuity over celebrity.**

longest bull runs ever and whether she will choose to make her own mark on the brand or remain a low-key, behind-the-scenes presence.

Moves to secure Chanel’s long-term financial future have also been afoot in the boardroom in recent months. Last year, the company announced that it had established a new holding company based in London, Chanel Limited, as part of an effort to bring all its businesses and 20,000 employees under one

roof and to simplify a legal and organizational structure in place since the 1950s. As a result, while the luxury industry is in mourning this week, many observers were confident that Chanel would withstand Mr. Lagerfeld’s death.

“We saw last year that the Chanel business is formidably strong and benefits from its huge marketing investments,” said Luca Solca, senior luxury analyst at the United States analytics firm Bernstein. “It is also a more balanced business than most, commanding appeal both at the high end, for example, with its couture business, and at the entry price points with its beauty lines, giving it a broad base.”

“Karl is leaving huge shoes to fill,” he added. “But Chanel is a formidable brand with a significant talent pool internally and a huge appeal in the market.”

As for the other companies affected by Mr. Lagerfeld’s death, from his own fashion line to Fendi, which is owned by LVMH Moët Hennessy, the world’s largest luxury goods company, what happens next remains to be seen. On Tuesday a statement from Fendi, a house based in Rome that is a fast-growing star of the LVMH portfolio, called his death “an unimaginable loss.”

“Karl Lagerfeld has been my mentor and my point of reference,” said Silvia Fendi, the creative director of men’s wear, accessories and children’s wear. “A blink of an eye was enough to understand each other.”

“For Fendi and myself,” she added, “the creative genius of Karl has been and will always be our guiding light, molding the maison’s DNA.”

Mr. Lagerfeld’s last collection for the brand will be shown on Thursday in Milan.



# Calm center of the kitchen storm

## Like a Boss

When Nina Compton first drew national attention by competing in a 2013 season of Bravo's "Top Chef," she fell just short of victory. Last May, she secured a far more prestigious prize: She was named best chef in the American South by the James Beard Foundation, the culinary world's Oscars.

Ms. Compton, 40, won for her work at Compère Lapin, her New Orleans restaurant, where the menu is inspired by the Caribbean comfort food of her youth in St. Lucia and prepared with the technical expertise and mastery of Italian cuisine that she honed in the kitchens of Daniel Boulud, Scott Conant and Norman Van Aken over the past two decades.

Ms. Compton lives full time in New Orleans and oversees both Compère Lapin and a newer restaurant, Bywater American Bistro. In her professional life, she juggles two main men. Larry Miller, her husband of nine years, oversees the front of house at both restaurants. Levi Raines, her onetime sous chef, manages the kitchen at Bywater American Bistro, under her supervision, as she focuses on Compère Lapin.

Recently, I tracked Ms. Compton during a week that had her jetting from one high-profile culinary event to the next — while also sweating the small plates in her New Orleans restaurants. Burt Helm

## Monday

**5:30 a.m.** I am trying to get into the habit of taking 15 minutes to stretch, have coffee, watch the sunrise — but it's hard to remind myself that those little things are important. Instead, I check my email in bed, focusing on last night's closing report and today's incoming orders, which dictate my day. I don't really eat breakfast, just coffee and a large bottle of sparkling water. I don't often eat regular meals, actually. As a chef you're always kind of tasting along the way.

**6:30 a.m.** I spend most days at Compère Lapin, our restaurant in the Warehouse district. It's about a mile away, and I ride my Vespa.

**7:00 a.m.** We have people working various shifts from 4 a.m. until midnight every day, so pretty much as soon as I arrive each morning, I'm managing and delegating. I review the daily prep list and assign tasks, whether it's breading coquettes or roasting chicken bones for the stock. When produce arrives, the first big order of the day, I triple-check it and start sauce production — a simple shellfish sauce, a cauliflower purée for the pasta.

When the protein order arrives, I get to work butchering.

**7:45 a.m.** A cook calls and says she can't come in — back problems. That means I'm now both butcher and line cook, too, not to mention kitchen expediter once lunch gets busy.

**11:30 a.m.** Lunch service begins and quickly gets busy. No one ever makes a reservation for lunch.

**1:30 p.m.** My dear friend Lee Schragar invited me to appear as part of a guest chef series at Faena Hotel in Miami Beach on Friday, and I have tons to do. For events like this, it's always easier to bring some *mise en place* with you.

As lunch service winds down, I break away to check email, run a preshift meeting for the next day and then start prepping for Friday. I make a guava curry, which I'll cryovac, and I also start the braised oxtail.

**2:30 p.m.** Time to start pasta production. My sous chefs know how, but I've been making it for years and it's just faster if I do it; it's not worth having someone spend four hours on one task



EDMUND D. FOUNTAIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



SARA ESSEX BRADLEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nina Compton, top, and above with Levi Raines, oversees Compère Lapin and Bywater American Bistro, both in New Orleans.

if I can do it in 90 minutes. Before dinner I make 20 pounds of butternut squash ravioli, 80 pounds of sweet potato gnocchi and 40 pounds of scialatielli.

**5:30 p.m.** Tonight it's busy off the bat, and we're still short-handed. When you run a kitchen, no matter how crazy and chaotic it gets, you have to be the calm one. You cannot show any sign of fear

— the guests pick up on it. The beauty of this kitchen, though, is that everybody helps everybody. We break down what needs to be done step by step, reassuring one another.

**10:30 p.m.** Service finally winds down. I go back to prepping more for Miami.

**1:00 a.m.** I head home and respond to emails. I like doing email late at night — not many people are up this late, which buys me time.

## Tuesday

**7:00 a.m.** Sometimes the next morning just feels like the continuation of the previous day. I commute to Compère Lapin, do emails, start checking in orders.

**11:00 a.m.** I visit my purveyor, Michelle Posey, at Pelican Produce. She provides beautiful produce to every chef in the city, all of it grown right here in the Ninth Ward, and I like to go in person to see what's coming. I almost want to cry when she comes in with these beautiful baskets of vegetables.

Her radishes are so petite and round and clean. I love her produce.

**3:00 p.m.** Lunch service winds down, and after an hour of paperwork — setting staff schedules, reviewing protein, produce and dairy orders, more email — I head to Bywater American Bistro for a photo shoot for Nola.com. I like these photo shoots — I get to make a nice dish, and it's a nice opportunity to build my repertoire with a professional photo. But personally, I'm still awkward in front of the camera. I'm like: Really, just take a picture of the food.

**5:30 p.m.** I head upstairs to do laundry and start packing for Miami.

**7:00 p.m.** My chef partner, Levi Raines, joins me for dinner down the street at a place called Pizza Delicious. Yesterday was my birthday, and now we have a chance to celebrate. We get our usual: pepperoni, a Caesar salad, pitcher of beer. There's bad pizza everywhere, but this place is pretty close to New York.

## Wednesday

**7:00 a.m.** Wake up, pick up Levi, head to the airport.

**1:00 p.m.** After we land and check into the hotel, we eat lunch outside at Francis Mallmann's Argentine restaurant, Los Fuegos, in Miami Beach. As a chef, I can never fully turn off when I eat at other restaurants — I'm always critiquing, always tasting stuff, checking stuff. And when I travel with Levi, we're constantly bouncing ideas off each other. But today we're starving. We get a lot of grilled meat, and it really hits the spot.

**3:00 p.m.** We tour the event space at Hotel Faena. Thankfully this one has its own fully equipped kitchen; often at hotel events you're crammed in the same kitchen as the regular room service and dinner service.

**7:30 p.m.** We head to South Beach for dinner at Macchialina, the restaurant of my best friend from my days as a chef in Miami, Mike Pirolo. We always play jokes on each other — this time I didn't tell him I was coming and just walked in. But we always pick up right where we left off.

## Thursday

**9:00 a.m.** Heavy prep day: We receive all the product, start portioning fish and make items like pasta, sauces and stocks.

**4:00 p.m.** We finish prepping for the day. Time for a break.

**5:30 p.m.** Cocktails with my publicist. We've worked together since my days as the chef at the Fontainebleau in Miami. Our relationship now spans 10 years, and our goals have changed a lot since then: We are no longer the new kid on the block; we have to reconfigure things so we stay fresh in people's minds. You can't tell the same story over and over.

**10:30 p.m.** We call it a night and head

back to the hotel to rest up for tomorrow's event.

## Friday

**9:00 a.m.** I wake up and have an espresso on the hotel balcony and read my emails in silence. Sometimes a different setting allows me to focus a little better.

**10:00 a.m.** I check in with my sous chef back at Compère Lapin, Phil, to see how everything's going: All staff have shown up, deliveries are on time and correct. I also follow up with the sous chef and general manager at Bywater American Bistro to go over any notes from the night before about guest satisfaction, food consistency training, staff morale. When a restaurant is only six months old, every small detail must be analyzed.

**Noon** As I've gotten older, I try to include some time to slow down and reset. (I'm also an island girl at heart, so any chance to go to the beach, I'm there.)

I walk along the beach, relax in a lounge chair by the water and call my brother, whose birthday is today.

**3:00 p.m.** Final walk-through with the staff and a review of logistics — start time, guest count, special dietary needs.

**8:30 p.m.** Guests arrive. I give a welcome speech discussing the format: seven courses on the theme of "New Orleans meets Miami," with a Caribbean twist. The guests got the true Nola feeling — Mardi Gras centerpieces, even a brass band. Dinner service flows nicely — having someone from your team there makes life so much easier.

**11:30 p.m.** We meet up with Mike for cocktails at a place called Sweet Liberty — he insists on continuing my birthday celebrations with some champagne. We dance the night away with an amazing band, Patrick and the Swayzees. I love dancing and letting loose, and before I know it, it's 2:30 a.m.

## Saturday

**5:30 a.m.** Time to head to the airport. Thankfully, last night I didn't get too crazy. I actually feel great.

**9:30 a.m.** I stop at home, change and head back to Compère Lapin.

**10:30 a.m.** After a trip, I like to go through the walk-in cooler and get my hands on everything to make sure everything is up to par. This roughly takes two hours. (During the day you have 20 people in and out of the walk-in, and things can get messy — I tell staff to keep it looking like a Dean and Deluca, not a Save-a-Lot store.) Next I taste all the mise en place on the line. I spend time with the cooks to make sure everything is correct, and crack a joke or two.

**3:00 p.m.** I start making the night's pasta.

**5:00 p.m.** Another line check before dinner service, then back to pasta production. Dinner service ramps up quickly, so I switch to expediting service, while my sous chefs on the line help the cooks get through the push.

**11:00 p.m.** I take a moment to walk into the dining room. I love doing this when I can — I love feeling the vibe of people eating, laughing, listening to music, the mood of a restaurant. I always make eye contact and smile at guests when I walk through. Their smiles are contagious.

**Midnight** I end the night at the new restaurant. Then head home, shower, drink a glass of wine, double-check for any emails I may have missed and call it a night.

In a few hours I'll be back at Compère, going through the daily prep list, checking with the pastry cook to make sure the pastries are displayed at the coffee shop and setting up for the rest of breakfast.

# As Amazon retreats, New York faces new battle

UBER, FROM PAGE 10

ride-hailing trips. At the end of that period, the city's taxi commission would review the number of vehicle licenses and decide how they would be regulated.

Last month, Mr. de Blasio said in a radio interview that he wanted to "put on-going caps in place on the for-hire vehicles." Officials at City Hall confirmed that the mayor was considering extending the cap.

Uber's lawsuit argues that it was not legal for the city to delegate the power to cap vehicles to the taxi commission. If Uber cannot meet growing rider demand, the lawsuit says, that could hurt the state's efforts to raise money for the subway through new fees on ride-hailing trips.

The lawsuit, filed in State Supreme Court in Manhattan, questions the city's motives: "This is less a 'study' and more a 'post hoc rationalization' of a remedy the city appears to have already selected."

Lyft also opposes a permanent cap. "Any extension of this misguided policy would do even more significant, long-term damage to drivers and riders," Lyft said in a statement.

The City Council is proud of the new regulations imposed on the ride-hailing industry and had the authority to approve them, said Jacob Tugendrajch, a



DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A ride-hailing vehicle in New York City. Uber has filed a lawsuit challenging the city's cap on its vehicles, calling the approach "unfortunate, irresponsible and irrational."

spokesman for Mr. Johnson. The speaker, his office said, wants the taxi commission to make a decision about any future limits on vehicles based on data from its study.

The city's taxi commissioner, Meera Joshi, recently announced that she was stepping down in March. Her successor

will have a powerful role in determining the industry's future.

In a separate lawsuit, Lyft challenged the city's rules to raise driver wages to more than \$17 an hour.

Lyft claims the rules give Uber an unfair advantage because it judges companies differently based on their "utiliza-

tion rate," or how often drivers have a passenger in their car versus driving around empty.

The approach gives "the largest company with the biggest market share a built-in and perpetual advantage over companies with lower utilizations," Lyft's lawsuit said.

Lyft has sold itself as the more ethical ride-hailing option. But the lawsuit hurt its image among some riders like Brad Lander, a councilman from Brooklyn, the New York City borough, who said he deleted the app.

After facing harsh criticism, Lyft announced that it would comply with the new pay rules while its legal case proceeded.

Uber and Lyft say they care about public policy, but the lawsuits show their first priority is self interest, said Bruce Schaller, a former city transportation official who has closely studied the industry. The companies face a difficult challenge of balancing both profits and their public image. In this case, Mr. Schaller said, Uber chose to protect its bottom line.

"Uber in particular has been playing super nice since its change in management a year ago and particularly as they get closer to the I.P.O.," he said. "Suing the biggest city in the country isn't playing super nice."

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# Sports

## Machado gets his deal; other free agents wait

### On Baseball

BY TYLER KEPNER

**TAMPA, FLA.** If the San Diego Padres had stayed away from elite free agents this winter, people would have understood. They gave out the richest contract on last year's free-agent market, yet finished with their worst record in a decade.

But the Padres could not resist the allure of Manny Machado, and on Tuesday they established a new standard for free agency to get him. They agreed with Machado on a 10-year contract worth \$300 million, the most ever guaranteed to a free agent.

The Padres did not announce the agreement, because Machado must first pass a physical, but the deal — which includes an opt-out clause after 2023 — was confirmed by a person in baseball with direct knowledge of it.

Machado, a four-time All-Star at third base and shortstop, spent last season with the Baltimore Orioles and the Los Angeles Dodgers, hitting .297 with 37 homers and 107 R.B.I. He joins first baseman Eric Hosmer — who signed with the Padres last February for eight years and \$144 million — in an effort to revive a team that went 66-96 last season, its eighth losing record in a row.

“There’s not that many guys who get to free agency at that superstar level at 26 years old,” Dodgers starter Clayton Kershaw told reporters in Glendale, Ariz., when asked about Machado. “Ten years seems fair, for sure, and getting that 30 a year is great. I can’t say I’m happy for him — he’s on the Padres now — but it’s good to maybe get that market going a little bit, for sure.”

Until Machado’s agreement, only one free agent, Patrick Corbin of the Washington Nationals, had signed for more than \$68 million this off-season. Outfielder Bryce Harper, a former National League most valuable player for Washington, surely hopes to break Machado’s mark soon. Harper has drawn interest from the Philadelphia



MIKE NELSON/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Manny Machado, 26, spent last season with Baltimore and the Los Angeles Dodgers, hitting .297 with 37 homers and 107 runs batted in. He has signed with the San Diego Padres.

Phillies and the San Francisco Giants, among others.

Machado had met in person with the Chicago White Sox, the Phillies and the New York Yankees, who never made a formal offer. The Yankees instead signed four free agents to two- or three-year deals worth a combined \$124 million — pitchers Zack Britton, J.A. Happ and Adam Ottavino, and second baseman DJ LeMahieu — while

trading for starter James Paxton and retaining C.C. Sabathia and outfielder Brett Gardner.

As good as Machado is, the Yankees — who lost to the Boston Red Sox in a division series last fall — believe they did not need him.

“The lineup and team that we have is pretty darn good,” outfielder Aaron Judge said. “We won 100 games, so we weren’t in a position, I felt like, that we

needed to go out there and grab too many big pieces. We were already set.”

The Yankees have baseball’s other \$300 million player, outfielder Giancarlo Stanton, who is entering the fifth year of a 13-year, \$325 million contract extension he signed with his previous team, the Miami Marlins. Stanton said Machado’s deal was “great for him,” but it did not seem to quell his dismay at the state of free agency in baseball.

Indeed, Tuesday’s news is unlikely to stifle the rhetoric from players, who always expected Machado and Harper to get lucrative contracts. Players are more concerned about the rank-and-file free agents who have struggled to find jobs as several teams have fielded threadbare rosters.

Stanton cited infielder Mike Moustakas, who hit 38 homers for Kansas City in 2017 and then turned down a

one-year qualifying offer for \$17.4 million. He lingered on the open market, returned to the Royals for one year and \$6.5 million, then signed another one-year deal with Milwaukee for \$10 million on Sunday.

“You’ve got guys hitting 30-plus homers who have to settle for one year, below their grade of pay, going year to year,” Stanton said, referring to Moustakas. “We’ve got to figure it out. It’s not good. Not good on the players’ side.”

Baseball’s collective-bargaining agreement clearly encourages teams to rebuild with prospects — that is, to accept losing for a while — by baking in so many incentives to help the worst teams get the best amateur talent. But not all unsigned free agents are unwanted.

One factor we rarely know is the value of the offers free agents reject. Pitchers like Dallas Keuchel and Craig Kimbrel have not found suitable contracts yet, but it is possible they have priced themselves out of the free agent market. The data revolution has changed how teams evaluate players, and those who refuse to accept this can be left out.

For Machado, his youth and performance prevailed in the end, leading to a record deal. The Padres should have plenty of cheap labor around him — they have seven of the game’s top 50 prospects, as ranked by MLB.com — and hope to finally win a World Series for a city with no other major pro sports teams.

For most of their 50 seasons, the Padres have been better known for helping other teams win. This is the franchise that dealt Ozzie Smith to St. Louis, Roberto Alomar to Toronto, Gary Sheffield to the Marlins, Fred McGriff to Atlanta and Anthony Rizzo to the Chicago Cubs. All won championships with their new teams.

Machado struck out against Boston’s Chris Sale to end the World Series last October, but at least he got there. The Padres have not been since 1998. They remain a long way from contention — quick, name two Padres pitchers — but they took an important step on Tuesday with a deal that shows there is plenty of money to go around in baseball.

### NON SEQUITUR



### SUDOKU

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

### JUMBLE

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

LENTK

ROMBO

CNIESC

IROADH

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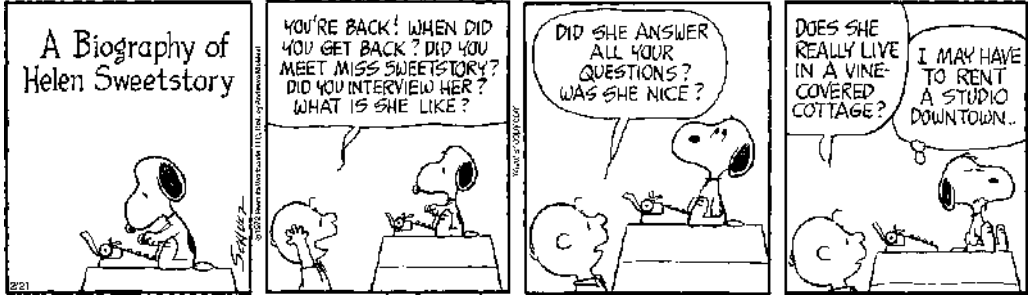
Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

(Answers tomorrow)

Yesterday's Jumbles: ABATE MESSY ACCENT SKIMPY

Answer: She could hand-saw them very quickly and made it — "SEAM" EASY

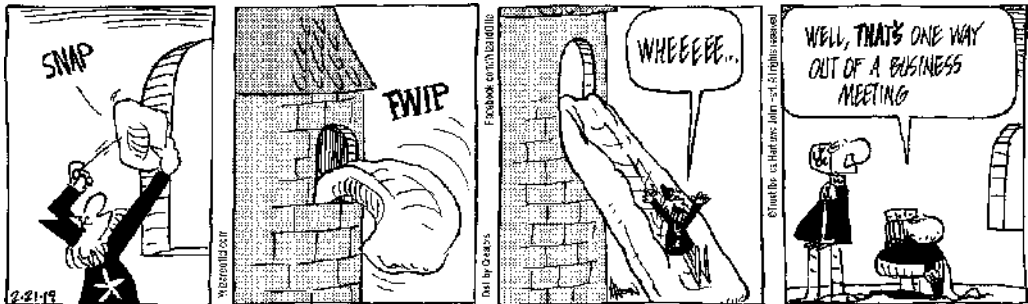
### PEANUTS



### GARFIELD



### WIZARD of ID



### KENKEN

24x			3-
8+			2÷
			1-

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

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

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### Answers to Previous Puzzles

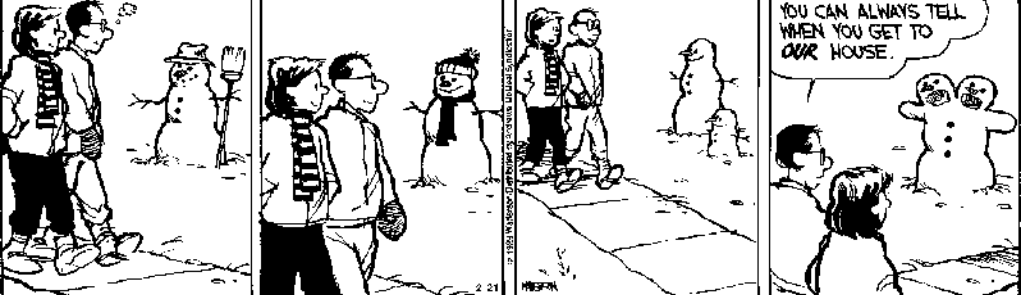
1	2	4	3
3	1	2	4
2	4	3	1
4	3	1	2

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

### DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1992



### CALVIN AND HOBBS



### DILBERT



### CROSSWORD | Edited by Will Shortz

- Across**

1 Precursor to riches, it's said

5 "A Farewell to Arms" subj.

8 Snide chuckle

12 Unalaskan, e.g.

14 Hide-y holes?

15 Player of X in "X-Men"

17 Alternatives to texts

18 Squeeze (out)

19 Frequent favorite

21 Scotch brand

23 Courtroom V.I.P.s

24 Part of some future planning, for short

25 Like many of Pindar's works

26 Player of M in "GoldenEye"

29 Carefully listening (to)
- Down**

32 Screw up

33 Player of V in "V for Vendetta"

36 Cabinet dept. concerned with farming

37 Chicago landmark nicknamed for its resemblance to a legume

39 Player of J in "Men in Black"

43 Urban portmanteau

45 Lead-in to -cide

46 Equal

47 Would really rather not

49 Member of a fratlike Silicon Valley work environment

52 "Game of Thrones" role \_\_\_\_ Snow

53 Card B's genre

### Solution to February 20 Puzzle

I	T	S	A	L	I	E	N	O	I	R
B	R	O	W	N	A	N	D	S	E	R
D	U	K	E	A	N	D	U	C	H	E
P	E	R	T	U	E	S	O	R	S	
T	A	G	T	E	A	M	S			
A	L	L	W	E	T					
S	T	E	E	R		T	H	A	N	
R	I	C	E	A	N	D	B	E	A	N
D	R	A	K	E	A	N	D	J	O	S
E	O	N	S		M	O	J	O		
P	L	Y	A	P	R		C	A	V	E
P	E	T	A	L	S		A	M	A	R
H	E	L	P	E	I	O	M			
S	M	I	T	H	A	N	D	W	E	S
P	E	N	N	A	N	D	T	E	L	L
A	L	G	A							

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12										
15										
17										
21										
25										
29										
33										
36										
39										
43										
47										
51										
55										
59										

PUZZLE BY SAM TRABUCCO

- 23 Cool woman, jocularly

26 Typical Seder attendee

27 Tiny amount

28 Rutherford known as "The Father of Nuclear Physics"

30 Popular boots from Australia

31 Title role for Sally Field

34 "How relaxing!"
- 35 Online handle for an Xbox player

38 Zero

39 Drippy, say

40 Geographical feature of Mars

41 12-time Olympic swimming medalist Ryan

42 Classic Camaro, informally

44 Action-documenting cameras
- 47 Some circle dances

48 Super-uptight

50 Title creature in an Aesop fable

51 Title in Uncle Remus stories

52 "Black Swan" jump

55 Two for the show, informally?

56 Org. concerned with bugs and plants



# Culture

## 21 Savage’s nightmare of exclusion

ALPHARETTA, GA.

Rapper who was detained talks about his childhood and his deportation fight

BY JON CARAMANICA

For the last four years, 21 Savage has been one of the stalwarts of Atlanta rap, a rising star who has collaborated with Drake and Cardi B, among many others, and become one of the signature voices in the city. His December album, “I Am > I Was,” spent two weeks at the top of the Billboard chart, and his collaboration with Post Malone, “Rockstar,” was nominated for two Grammys.

With that success has come more visibility. In late January, he performed his single “A Lot” on “The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon,” adding a new verse in which he rapped about children being separated from their parents at the border.

A few days later, early in the morning on Super Bowl Sunday, Feb. 3, 21 Savage (born She’ya Bin Abraham-Joseph) was arrested by United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement, who said he was an “unlawfully present United Kingdom national” who had overstayed his visa.

He remained in ICE custody at the Irwin County Detention Center in South Georgia until Feb. 13, when he was released on \$100,000 bond. The next day, he was in a hotel room in a suburb north of Atlanta, surrounded by several members of his legal team. Dressed in somber all-black, he spoke at length about his childhood, his time in detention, the Grammy Awards ceremony he missed and how growing up without legal status shaped the person he became. These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

**Do you remember first arriving here when you were young?**

Yeah, everything was like, bigger. I come from the poor side of London. My grandma house is real skinny. So when we first moved here, we was living in the hood still, but it was, like, way bigger. The toilet size, the bathroom size, it was just different. But I fell in love with it. It’s all I know.

**Did you have a British accent?**

Yeah, I had a accent, ‘cause my first day of school they was making fun of me so I beat somebody up, and they was calling me “taekwondo kid.” My mama whupped me, she made me stay in the house. So I know I had a accent, but I been here 20 years — I don’t know what happened to it.

**Do you remember when you became aware that your status wasn’t settled?**

Probably like the age when you start to get your driver’s license. I couldn’t never take driver’s ed, I couldn’t never go get a job. About that age.

**Was it something you wanted to get taken care of?**

It felt impossible. It got to the point where I just learned to live without it. ‘Cause I still ain’t got it, I’m 26, and I’m rich. So, just learned to live without it.

**Like a lot of other immigrants.**

We struggled but we couldn’t get food stamps, we couldn’t get government assistance. I learned how to live without. You know in school, when you get to a certain age, your clothes make you



DIWANG VALDEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



AMY HARRIS/INVISION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

21 Savage, left, who was born in London, after his release by United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement last week, and above, in New Orleans last year.

popular? I learned how to be popular without that. People respected me just for me.

**Do you think the situation taught you to carry yourself a certain way?**

It made me who I am. I wouldn’t write it no other way if I had the choice. If they said, “Hey, you could start your life over and make yourself a citizen,” I wouldn’t have never did it. I still want to go through this right here ‘cause it made me who I am, it made me strong.

**Were you aware that there was a possibility that at some point you might not be able to stay in the country?**

Yeah, for sure. It’s like my worst nightmare. That’s why it’s always been trying to get corrected. Even if you got money, it ain’t easy. It ain’t no favoritism, and I respect it, I honestly respect it. It would be kind of messed up if they treated rich immigrants better than poor immigrants, I think.

**How draining was it being in detention, especially with the uncertainty of how long it was going to last?**

It really wasn’t jail, it was the possibility of me not being able to live in this country no more that I’ve been living in my whole life. All that just going through your head, like, “Damn, I love my house, I ain’t gonna be able to go in my house no more? I ain’t gonna be able to go to my favorite restaurant that I been going to for 20 years straight?” That’s the most important thing. If you tell me, “I’ll give you 20 million to go stay somewhere you ain’t never stayed,” I’d rather be broke. I’ll sit in jail to fight to live where I’ve been living my whole life.

**I’m sure you were spending a lot of time in your head.**

I could have made myself go crazy. I think they really try to break you. It’s like we gonna put you in jail and we gonna make you fight your case the slowest you can fight it so that you just want to go home. Nobody want to sit in jail, especially if they don’t have the money to fight it and they ain’t been to court in three months.

**What do you think has happened in your life that gave you a different perspective?**

It was what was at stake. It’s like, I got three kids, my mama, everything that I

know is here in Atlanta. I’m not leaving Atlanta without a fight. We gon’ fight all the way till the last day even if that mean I sit in jail for 10 years.

**Were you upset about missing the Grammys?**

Nah, I was stressed about getting out. The Grammys is the Grammys, but when you in jail, the Grammys is nothing. I got to watch it. By that time they had put a TV in my room.

**Was the original plan that you’d be part of the Post Malone performance?**

Yeah, I was supposed to perform. He wore the 21 Savage shirt, so I felt like I was there. I don’t care what nobody say — everybody in that building who’s connected to this culture, I was on their mind in some type of way. That’s all that mattered. They didn’t have to say it ‘cause everybody knew it. It was in the air. All the people that was there, they said the words in other places and that matter just as much. All the big artists was vocal about the situation, so I was appreciative. Even the memes.

**They didn’t stress you out?**

Some of them was funny — I ain’t gonna lie. I was appreciative of that. I coulda been another person who just, “He locked up? Damn,” and nobody said nothing. Some people, I see why they was mad. It ain’t about the meme, it’s about the bigger picture. But I done been through way worse things in my life than somebody putting me on a meme. I been shot — what is a meme? A meme is nothing. That’s something on the internet that I can do like this [turns over phone] and never see again. I look at bullet scars every day, so it’s like, a meme, bro?

**Do you feel a responsibility to speak up about your circumstances?**

Yeah, I feel a responsibility. My situation is important ‘cause I represent poor black Americans and I represent poor immigrant Americans. You gotta think about all the millions of people that ain’t 21 Savage that’s in 21 Savage shoes.

**Do you feel an urge to put some of this experience into music?**

Not right now, ‘cause I feel like me putting it into music got me in this situation, kind of.

## Plundered artifact heading back to Egypt

Leading U.S. museum paid nearly \$4 million in Paris for ancient coffin

BY COLIN MOYNIHAN

The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York built a substantial exhibition last year around a new acquisition, a golden-sheathed coffin from the 1st century B.C. that was inscribed for Nedjemankh, a high-ranking priest of the ram-headed god Heryshef of Herakleopolis.

But the exhibit, “Nedjemankh and His Gilded Coffin,” has shuttered because the museum has agreed to return the highly ornamented artifact to Egypt after investigators determined it had been recently plundered from that country.

Museum officials said that they bought the object from an art dealer in Paris in 2017 and were fooled by a phony provenance that made it seem as if the coffin had been legitimately exported decades ago.

But prosecutors with the Manhattan district attorney’s office presented the museum with evidence that suggested it had been looted from Egypt in 2011.

This was the latest of several incidents that have raised questions about the museum’s vetting procedures when acquiring antiquities. The Met said that it had fully cooperated with the district attorney’s investigation and that the

museum would “review and revise” its acquisitions process.

The investigators did not discuss the details of how they had discovered the artifact was looted, but District Attorney Cyrus Vance Jr. said in a statement: “Stewards of the world’s most important artifacts have a duty to hold their acquisitions to the highest level of scrutiny.”

Over the years, the Metropolitan has occasionally parted with ancient items that may have been stolen. About a decade ago, for instance, the museum returned a 2,500-year-old vase known as the Euphronios krater to the Italian government, which suspected that it had been plundered.

In 2017, the district attorney’s office seized from the museum a 2,300-year-old vase depicting Dionysus, god of the grape harvest, riding in a cart pulled by a satyr. The vase was believed to have been looted by tomb raiders in Italy in the 1970s.

Last year, the museum announced it was returning to India an eighth-century stone sculpture of a Hindu goddess and a limestone sculpture from the third century.

In statements this month, museum officials made clear that they understood the institution’s responsibilities as one of the world’s leading encyclopedic museums, with substantial holdings that date from the ancient world.

“Our museum must be a leader



METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

The Metropolitan Museum of Art built an entire exhibition around the coffin dating from the 1st century B.C. Evidence suggested it had been looted from Egypt in 2011.

among our peers in the respect for cultural property and in the rigor and transparency of the policy and practices that we follow,” Max Hollein, the museum’s director, said in a written statement. “We will learn from this event — specifically I will be leading a review of our acquisitions program — to understand what more can be done to prevent such events in the future.”

The museums president and chief executive, Daniel Weiss, in a statement, apologized to Dr. Khaled El-Enany, Egypt’s minister of antiquities, and said the museum was committed to figuring out “how we can help to deter future offenses against cultural property.”

Museum officials said that the district attorney’s investigation showed that the Metropolitan had received a false ownership history, fraudulent statements and fake documentation, including a forged 1971 Egyptian export license for the coffin.

The museum paid 3.5 million euros, or about \$3.95 million, for the coffin in July 2017, said Kenneth Weine, a spokesman for the museum. He added that it had been purchased from an art dealer in Paris named Christophe Kunicki and that the museum planned to consider “all means” for the recovery of the money it had paid.

A website featuring the name Christophe Kunicki, a Paris address and the title “Mediterranean Antiquities” says that Mr. Kunicki specializes in

“Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Near East antiquities.” There was no response to an email message requesting comment sent to an address listed on the site.

The Metropolitan’s exhibition, originally scheduled to run through April 21, was designed to provide contextual information about Nedjemankh’s role as a priest in ancient Egypt, his burial and the decoration on the coffin. Alongside it, the museum displayed some 70 works from its extensive collection, including a priestly headdress, a statuette depicting a worshipping baboon, and funerary amulets depicting the four sons of Horus.

But by nearly any measure, the coffin was the star.

The elaborately decorated surface includes scenes and texts in thick gesso relief that were intended to protect and guide Nedjemankh on his journey from death to eternal life as a transfigured spirit.

The gold used on the exterior was associated in ancient Egypt with the gods and the divinized dead. According to ancient texts, the use of gold in the coffin would have assisted the deceased in being reborn in the next life.

“To the ancient Egyptians,” the museum said, “the gold and silver could symbolize the flesh and bones of the gods or the sun and the moon; on a more specific level, they were associated with the eyes of the cosmic deity Heryshef, whom Nedjemankh served.”



CULTURE

# Honoring all things canine

A dog-devoted museum includes paintings, models, fossils and virtual reality

BY JOSHUA BARONE

Imagine the home of that person you know who loves dogs a little too much: figurines, stuffed animals, artwork that elevates house pets to the realm of saints.

Add cutting-edge touch-screen tables and a high-class Park Avenue address, and you more or less have the American Kennel Club's Museum of the Dog, which recently moved to New York, its original home, after decades in the suburbs of St. Louis.



From top: Percival Leonard Rosseau's 1906 "Leda"; Edwin Megargee's 1940 "Ch. Nornay Saddler"; and Arthur Wardle's 1897 "The Totteridge XI."

The airy museum, on the lowest floors of a tower near Grand Central Terminal, houses the American Kennel Club's collection of art, artifacts and everything imaginable related to dogs: a Victorian dogcart, the parachute of a Yorkie who served in World War II, miniature models of an Austrian pug band. A vitrine holds an assortment of collars, including one used to deliver messages. There is even a 30-million-year-old fossil of an extinct dog ancestor.

"I keep telling people I want to get a mummy, though," Alan Fausel, the museum's executive director, said in an interview while conducting a tour. "You can't have a better combination than dogs and mummies for kids."

The one thing you won't find is a real dog, unless it's a service animal. Be-



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREA MOHIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES



Clockwise from top: Alfredo Garcia Aguillar's "The Bravos," from 1994, center, flanked by two 1896 paintings by Roy Anderson, "Ch. Kay's Don Feliciano," left, and "Ch. Ginjims Royal Acres Mervyn"; the skeleton of Belgrave Joe, who died in 1888; John Sargent Noble's 1875 "Pug and Terrier"; and Maud Earl's 1910 "Silent Sorrow."

cause the museum is in an office building, it can't allow pets inside.

Soon after entering, visitors can stand in front of a touch-screen monolith that takes their photo and matches them to the dog breed they most resemble. (I was a German pinscher, a revelation that has haunted me for days.) This is one of the many technology-rich fixtures installed by the architectural firm Gensler, which designed the new space with other interactive features, including an encyclopedia of the American Kennel Club's nearly 200 recognized breeds, and a wall-size screen with a virtual-reality dog for training.

But the museum's stars are its paintings and artifacts, like a portrait of President George H. W. Bush's dog Millie on the White House lawn, accompanied by

a signed letter from Barbara Bush. Here are five highlights from the collection.

### SKELETON OF BELGRAVE JOE

"He was the Abraham of his breed," Mr. Fausel said of Belgrave Joe, a pioneering terrier who lived from 1868 to '88. Before him, there were terriers who hunted foxes; after him, there were, officially, fox terriers.

Belgrave Joe weighed 18 pounds — before his "extreme weight loss," Mr. Fausel said with a smile, referring to the dog's current skeletal state — and was "prodigious in his offspring, so he really influenced the line."

After Joe's death, his owner, Luke Turner, had the dog's skeleton preserved and displayed at the Kennel Club in London. From there, it made its way

to the Royal Veterinary College, where it was stored in a closet until an anatomy student found it.

But Belgrave Joe found a forever home in the American Kennel Club, which acquired his skeleton in the 1930s and has exalted it ever since.

### "PUG AND TERRIER"

John Sargent Noble's 1875 painting, Mr. Fausel said, is a bit of social commentary. In the second half of the 19th century, he said, beggars began to use dogs to court sympathy and, hopefully, charity. Hence the word "CHARITY," partly visible, on the cup hanging from the terrier's collar.

"And so you have a well-fed pug," Mr. Fausel added, "looking at this downtrodden dog."

### "CH. NORNAY SADDLER" AND "THE TOTTERIDGE XI"

These two paintings are hung together for the sake of juxtaposition: One is the breed's ideal, while the other is an attempt to reach it.

Ch. Nornay Saddler, a smooth fox terrier painted by Edwin Megargee in 1940, was a 25th-generation descendant of Belgrave Joe. The portrait has anatomical precision — no accident, Mr. Fausel said, because it was meant to be a "very direct" representation of the dog widely regarded as one of the greatest in show dog history.

Mr. Fausel added that when the standard for this breed was written, the people involved "closed their eyes and dreamed of Nornay."

The Totteridge dogs, depicted by Arthur Wardle in 1897, were less ideal.

These are the same breed, but alterations — the lengthening of a tail, for example — were made in the translation from real life to art, Mr. Fausel explained.

"He tried to perfect the dogs through the painting," he added. "None of them looked as good as in this painting."

### "LEDA"

This 1906 painting by Percival Leonard Rosseau hangs, regally, near the museum's entrance. It is the first one visitors see, and a personal favorite of Mr. Fausel's.

Rosseau came to painting in his 30s, after his life was upended by the Civil War, and he worked a series of unrelated jobs. His English setter Leda was the work's subject. "This is a very powerful painting," Mr. Fausel said. "Just look at the command of the brush stroke, especially on the fur of the dog."

### "SILENT SORROW"

Dog portraiture, Mr. Fausel said, got a huge boost from Queen Victoria, a dog lover who commissioned many paintings. Her son Edward VII carried on the enthusiasm. His favorite dog was Caesar, a wire fox terrier. Planning for his own death, the king arranged for Caesar to be in the funeral procession.

This 1910 painting, by Maud Earl, shows Caesar in the aftermath, mourning Edward VII. "And the armchair," Mr. Fausel said, "slowly fades into the background, much like his master."

# Drug carnage between covers

## BOOK REVIEW

### The Border

By Don Winslow. 720 pp. William Morrow/HarperCollins Publishers. \$28.99.

BY JANET MASLIN

Of all the blows delivered by Don Winslow's Cartel trilogy, none may be as devastating as the timing of "The Border," its stunner of a conclusion. Though Winslow cannot have engineered all of this 14 years ago when he started this series, his sweeping new novel concerns subjects that put it right on American culture's front burner: the border with Mexico, the handling of migrant children, the opioid crisis and some barely fictionalized claims about how foreign money has gained influence at the highest level of the United States government.

The book's title, "The Border," refers to both physical and moral barriers. Winslow is well aware that both that and its cover image, which depicts a razor-wire-topped wall spreading across a desert landscape, are politically loaded. "Loaded phrases, like loaded guns, are more interesting, aren't they?" Winslow said to Entertainment Weekly in September. As for the book's depiction of fiercely partisan American politics, including its treatment of characters who are unmistakable versions of the current president and

his son-in-law: "I know this book is going to make some people angry. I can live with that."

Even though the first installment of this trilogy was named "The Power of the Dog," after a biblical intimation of evil ("Deliver my soul from the sword; my love from the power of the dog," Psalms 22:20), it only hinted at the magnitude and ferocity of what was to come. That opening novel now looks like the series' relatively innocent prologue — and it is as blade-sharp, violent, pulse-quickening and reportorially shocking as the pinnacle of some lesser series might be.

"The Power of the Dog" is, in brief, about the first decades that bind the destinies of Art Keller, a Vietnam veteran and later American drug agent, and Adán Barrera, a young Mexican who will go on to achieve the most dizzying heights of power. The book begins in a burning Mexican poppy field in 1975 ("Only in hell, Art Keller thinks, do flowers bloom fire") and leaves Keller among more poppies in 2004. Many unspeakable acts happen in between, melding the personal with the political (Iran-contra). It is all rendered unputdownable by Winslow's unrivaled skill at his game.

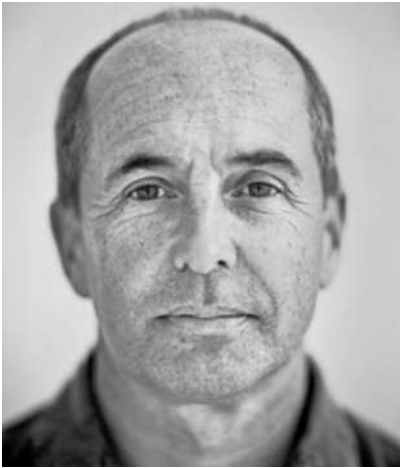
The second book, "The Cartel" (2015), remains the heart of this series, and not only because of its central chronological position. It cements the ambition and the "Godfather" caliber of this whole multigenerational undertaking, and finds the major figures at their most fully formed. Some of it

takes place, as we now learn with hindsight, in what were practically idyllic times for the Sinaloa cartel, a real-life cartel run by the fictional Barrera, regardless of his situation vis-à-vis imprisonment. Inside or out, he called the shots — and shots were the most merciful form of punishment meted out to this group's vicious enemies. As the Sinaloa operation devolved into a monstrous war with rivals, counting journalists among its many casualties, mere brutality became a distant memory.

A surprising array of characters from the earlier books reappear in "The Border." One of them is a young boy who, in "The Cartel," was seen kicking around a very bizarre soccer ball (an image readers of that book will never forget, no matter how hard they try). Keller and his new wife, Marisol Cisneros, the onetime mayor of Juárez, decide to try to help him.

It is 2012 when "The Border" starts, smoke still rising from the colossal battle that dethroned Barrera for good. A major plot point is the internecine horror that descends after the kingpin's demise. The fight for succession lasts through the entire length of the novel.

Winslow means to journey deep into a new kind of hell this time, and to suggest that his readers recognize the sensation. This is a book for dark, rudderless times, an immersion into fear and chaos. It conjures more lawlessness, dishonesty, conniving, brutality and power mania than both of the earlier books put together.



ROBERT GALLAGHER

Don Winslow.

Because of that chaos, it might have benefited from an indexed cast of characters. But Winslow can't provide one. For one thing, it would be a spoiler. You just have to watch these miscreants as they drop. The Barrera heirs, would-be successors and arriviste rivals — a whole indulgent younger generation named Los Hijos, characterized by wretched excess and suicidal stupidity — make for countless shifting allegiances, fake names, dispensable henchmen and other complications.

Along with the battle to succeed Barrera, the plot involves Keller's becoming head of the Drug Enforcement Administration despite his strong distrust of the federal government and

its approach to solving America's drug problems. In order to do that, Keller sets himself up as a kind of independent investigator, which has a current resonance, too. The book makes Winslow's clear case for why everything we're told about Mexican drug imports is wrong: why New York is so vital to the country's illegal-drug distribution, and even production; how Wall Street money and drug money are intertwined; and how money laundering intersects with businesses like real estate.

Enter Jason Lerner, a very Jared Kushner-like character, and his father-in-law, John Dennison. Dennison has Donald Trump's history, speaks Trump's own words and has a name that combines two sobriquets (John Barron and David Dennison) that Trump once used while pretending to be his own spokesman.

Winslow describes sting operations with immersive, heart-grabbing intensity. You don't read these books; you live in them. You come to learn all about what it means for a good cop to go undercover as a bad one; for a black ex-con to be coaxed into the world of high-stakes New York drug dealing because he can reach a market Mexicans can't; for an addict on Staten Island in New York to fall helpless prey to the drug trade's latest bright idea (a near-lethal burst of fentanyl added to the usual heroin). Each story is personal. But each has huge ramifications in Winslow's larger scheme.

The single most wrenching subplot

involves a 10-year-old Guatemalan boy whose life is all but over, thanks to a system of graft that makes prostitutes out of women and thugs out of men. He is not described cheerlessly; Winslow doesn't write in that register. The child is amazingly hardy. But the book shows the single day, the single stroke of fate, that may determine his entire future if the systemic corruption that pervades "The Border" has its way.

About making prostitutes out of women: Let's just say that Winslow didn't invent the horrors of the drug world, and assume he's presenting a version of what he's seen and heard about them. The words used around gender and race in this book are frequently ugly, and in these times that calls for a warning.

Last and never least with Winslow: the matter of languages. He is fluent in many, and "The Border" once again shows off those talents. There's slang, of course. Why have a snitch sing when he can be "doing his best Freddie Mercury imitation for D.E.A. right now"? There is cop. There is politician, hit man, high roller. There is psycho — always a favorite, and always handy in the circles in which these books have traveled. "We're soul mates," one character says to another. "In the sense that neither of us has one."

"The Border" ends with another idea about the soul. "There is no wall that divides the human soul between its best impulses and its worst." Two classic trilogies, "The Godfather" and now this one, are built upon it.



TRAVEL

Paying respect to the old-school classics

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

In Los Angeles, stalwarts are still serving tacos, steaks and more, decades later

BY TEJAL RAO

It was Friday night in the Las Vegas neighborhood of Cypress Park, and King Taco glowed with neon. Inside, teenagers in sweatshirts and shiny puffer coats tipped cups of salsa on beef-tongue tacos. Cooks hustled, calling out orders in Spanish.

Angelenos don't usually know where I live if I rattle off the cross streets, but add just one detail — that the first location of King Taco is close by — and many of them can drop a pin on a map. A few have reminded me that Raul Martinez Sr., who started the California chain in 1974, drove one of the city's first food trucks, altering the course of culinary history in Los Angeles with little more than an old ice cream van and a stack of tortillas.

The first King Taco is a cramped, vaguely peach-colored building at the end of a residential street. The windows are covered up with posters of chimichangas and champurrado. The grout is stained. It's nothing fancy. But like many old restaurants in Los Angeles, it's a landmark in the city's consciousness.

As a new critic in town, I knew I had to start by paying respects to elders like this one — the steakhouses and the taco stands, the diners and the burger joints that have endured and collectively defined the city, as new contenders have come and gone.

The restaurant business is punishing, and Los Angeles is often misunderstood by outsiders as a city without history. These places defy the stereotypes, and draw diners of all ages and backgrounds.

I appealed to Angelenos for their favorites, then set out to learn more. Slowly, I worked my way through a map of 30 or so restaurants, connected by a squiggly, grease-smeared line that traced a history, stretching back in some cases more than a century.

On the edge of Chinatown, I kicked around sawdust inside Philippe the Original while waiting for a couple of French-dips — the sandwiches stuffed with thinly carved beef and lamb, the soft rolls drenched with salty brown pan-roasting juices.

Philippe's was founded in 1908 and moved to its current location in the 1950s. The menu reflects the grizzled tastes of another era: I pulled the meat and elastic tendon from pickled pig's feet, and marveled at hard-boiled pickled eggs, still tender, dyed purple with beet juice, smeared with nose-tingling hot mustard.

Just down the street, in the heart of old Los Angeles, I ate at Cielito Lindo, a small stand open since 1934 and largely responsible for the popularity of taquitos in the city. The tiny rolls full of shredded beef are fried in wide pans, then soaked in a thin avocado sauce while still hot. They were properly drenched, but remained delicately crunchy.

Locals and tourists stood in the sunshine, picking the taquitos up with their fingers, talking between bites.

Dan Tana's, the low-key celebrity hangout in West Hollywood, took my reservation over the phone. I sat in a slippery booth with a burly, well-built veal parm, saturated in red sauce, al-



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Los Angeles dining staples, clockwise from left: The taquito stand Cielito Lindo and the surrounding market are a regular stop for both locals and tourists; Monica Lee opened Beverly Soon Tofu in 1986, specializing in soondubu, Korean-style tofu stew; a sandwich at Canter's, a 24-hour deli with a bustling dining room and known for its pastrami; the cocktails at Musso & Frank are as much a draw as the old-fashioned dining room with its burgundy booths; a simple, comforting plate of prime rib, mashed potatoes and creamed spinach at the Tam O'Shanter, a Scottish-themed pub.



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TINA WHATCOTT



RANDY SHROPSHIRE/GETTY IMAGES FOR AMAZON PRIME VIDEO

their stew but also the level of its heat.

Ms. Lee, 65, buys the fresh, soft, wobbly tofu now, but still gets up early a few times a week to shop for produce. (She tried vegetable delivery, briefly, in 1987, but missed picking out the cabbage and spring onion herself.) The tofu is ghostly pale and delicate, but the stew comes

Joints that have endured and collectively defined the city.

out hot, bubbling vigorously and viciously, stained red with a chile paste that Ms. Lee makes herself.

While new restaurants in Los Angeles struggle to train and retain staff, the cooks at Beverly Soon Tofu have worked with Ms. Lee for decades, fermenting kimchi and frying kelp. "They speak broken Korean to me, I speak broken Spanish to them," Ms. Lee said. "And this is how we work together."

At the Tam O'Shanter, a Scottish-themed pub in Atwater Village, I lined up in front of Stevie Delgado for six ounces of prime rib with mashed potatoes and creamed spinach — a gener-

fills the kitschy pub is a more diverse representation of the city: elderly couples with their elbows locked together, immigrant families and groups of young women, clinking their pints of beer. They're drawn in not just by the restaurant's unfussy comfort food, but by its consistency and warmth.

I enjoyed the steakhouse chain Lawry's the Prime Rib, run by the same company as the Tam O'Shanter, even more after I learned that the Los Angeles chef Roy Choi has been going to the location on La Cienega Boulevard since he was about 5.

Mr. Choi's father worked there in the 1960s, as a dishwasher and busboy, and the restaurant later became a place to celebrate important family occasions, like birthdays and graduations.

"It's been a part of my life before I was born," Mr. Choi said. "I think the moment my father could afford it, and I could chew, he took us." Mr. Choi, a founder of Kogi BBQ who also wrote the cookbook "L.A. Son," compared Lawry's old-fashioned banquet-hall environment to "an American dim sum parlor."

It's never just about the food. Culinary institutions often have the kind of professional, experienced employees that new restaurants can only dream about: Bartenders who can read the slightest changes in body language. Unflappable servers.

At the U-shaped counter inside the Apple Pan, a sparse diner in West Los Angeles, the smoky burgers in squishy buns are wrapped in paper and uncere- moniously plopped onto the counter by a highly efficient staff with total command over the lunch rush.

And when the server in a pressed red jacket at the Musso & Frank Grill learned that my dining companion was pregnant, he was attentive but not patronizing. Witty, but not inappropriate. This shouldn't be so remarkable, but it is.

Musso's, in Hollywood, maintains an impossibly charming dining room with faded wallpaper and warmly lit burgundy booths. Under the influence of a bracingly cold martini, I wondered if its cold jellied beef consommé, eaten with a spoon, stood a chance at a comeback. Maybe not, but the cocktails and steaks are unfailing. The wedge salads are dignified.

For hot pastrami, I headed to Langer's, in Westlake, and to Canter's, a 24-hour deli that opened in a former theater in Fairfax in 1953.

On return visits to Canter's for sandwiches and matzo-ball soup — and simply to be in its bustling dining room, among its regulars — I found it particularly fulfilling to check in on the pastry case, crammed with sweets. I noticed how the word "banana," written in bright yellow frosting on the chocolate-iced loaf cake, changed drastically depending on who had decorated it.

The longer my tour of classics went on, the less dutiful it felt. There was nothing campy or insincere about the pleasures of old Los Angeles. Not even its fast food.

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The dining room at Dan Tana's in 2005. It remains a low-key celebrity hangout.

most hidden beneath a shining layer of molten cheese, watching the well-dressed servers dress bowl after bowl of Caesar salad on a trolley in the middle of the room. (And I did my best to ignore Alfred Molina and Eric McCormack at the next table — even as they broke into song.)

When the weather turned cold and rainy, and the city got dark at 5 p.m., I fortified myself with spicy clam broth at Beverly Soon Tofu, a small restaurant with shiny redwood tables in a strip mall in Koreatown. Monica Lee, an immigrant from Seoul, opened her place in 1986. Originally on Beverly Boulevard, it was the first in the neighborhood to specialize in a menu of soondubu, or tofu stew.

She bought soy milk to make the tofu in-house, and gave diners several options to customize their bowls — to choose not only the general direction of

ously portioned plate lunch. The restaurant has been open since 1922, and Mr. Delgado has worked at its carving station, by the bar in the dining room, for the last 30 years. He filled my plate in an instant, ladling it with gravy.

Mr. Delgado slices five ounces of blush prime rib for sandwiches, and either six or 10 ounces for a plate. The scale, which doesn't move from Mr. Delgado's side, isn't for him — I think he could cut precisely 10 ounces with his eyes closed. It's for the occasional suspicious diner who doesn't think Mr. Delgado is getting it right.

The Tam O'Shanter servers wear tartan skirts and wool hats, which can give the place the look of a tourist attraction. But to dismiss it as such is to misunderstand the vital role it plays for regulars.

Though the Tam O'Shanter was a clubby hangout for Disney executives in the 1950s, the lunchtime crowd that now





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