

Colleges Lean
On Fraternities
To Keep It Safe

Strict Rules to Battle
Wild Misbehavior

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

After months of waiting, party night finally arrived on Dec. 2 for the brothers of Phi Kappa Psi at the University of Iowa. But this was no “Animal House” gathering; it was held in the ballroom at a Hilton Garden Inn.

IDs were checked at the door. Those old enough to drink got plastic bracelets with five pull tabs — one for each beer, wine or hard cider they would be permitted over the next three hours. Hard liquor was banned; Jell-O shots were definitely out. Security guards walked the floor.

The party limped along, and by 10 p.m., an hour ahead of schedule, the staff was already cleaning up.

Fraternity misbehavior has frustrated colleges as long as fraternities have been around. But now, amid worries about endemic binge drinking, sexual assault and a startling spate of deaths, schools are going beyond the old practice of shutting down individual houses to imposing broad restrictions on all Greek life.

Activities like fraternity parties and initiations have been suspended or curtailed at colleges including Ball State, Indiana University, Ohio State and the University of Michigan, as well as at least five where deaths have occurred this year: Florida State, Louisiana State, Penn State, Texas State and Iowa, where fraternities and sororities on good behavior have been permitted to hold one strictly monitored party per semester.

Concerns have grown to the point that some Big Ten presidents are inviting counterparts from around the country to a conference in April to talk about how to better control Greek life on campus. The president leading the effort is from Penn State, where one of the uglier deaths occurred, leading to criminal charges for more than two dozen students. A grand jury investigation made public on Friday faulted

Continued on Page A11



ADAM FERGUSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A gender ethics class at the University of Maiduguri in Nigeria. The city has defiantly retained its bold, broad-minded youth culture.

In Birthplace of Boko Haram, Feminism Rules

By DIONNE SEARCEY

MAIDUGURI, Nigeria — Boko Haram kidnaps young women and girls, turns them into sex slaves and passes them around to its fighters like prizes. It forces them into battle, ties suicide bombs to their bodies and orders them to strike at the gates of the University of Maiduguri.

But on campus, just beyond the militants’ reach, the topics being batted around a giant lecture hall could hardly have been more different: Radical feminism. The end of the patriarchy. Husbands who do the dishes.

“I want a man who can make my breakfast,” said Rabi Isa, a 25-year-old student, rising to address the room. “One who will assist me in the kitchen and who can go shopping.”

Cheers broke out from classmates in her gender equity class.

Nigerian Ideas of Sex,
Love and Equality
Reject Patriarchy

To much of the world, the Nigerian city of Maiduguri is simply known as the birthplace of Boko Haram, the extremist group that kills with abandon and treats women and girls like property, forcing them to cook, clean, bear children and die on command.

Ever since the authorities killed the group’s spiritual leader and flattened its compound here almost a decade ago, Boko Haram has lashed the city, storming it with its fighters, bombing markets, flooding the streets with homeless families escaping its rage and attacking the university

at least eight times this year alone, inspired by its rallying cry, “Western education is forbidden.”

But there is another Maiduguri entirely, one that helps shed light on the ideological battle at play in Nigeria’s north: This is a regional capital recognized for welcoming people of all religions and ethnicities, a college town long known for its party scene and a vibrant city with a bold, often broad-minded youth culture that eight years of war cannot seem to extinguish.

In fact, sometimes the war even helps nudge it along.

It wasn’t even 8 p.m. on a weeknight and the twerking had already begun. The D.J. was spinning Afrobeats. Bodies pressed together in dark corners. And then, just as the party started heating up, the gates of the hotel abruptly swung shut, sealing everyone inside.

Continued on Page A6

With Fox Deal,
Chief of Disney
Tests His Magic

By BROOKS BARNES

LOS ANGELES — Robert A. Iger is nothing if not consistent.

As chief executive of the Walt Disney Company, Mr. Iger, 66, awakens at 4:30 every morning, and every time he announces plans to retire from the Magic Kingdom, he ends up extending his reign, as he did on Thursday for a fourth time.

But the most important consistency that Mr. Iger has exhibited since taking over Disney in 2005 may involve becoming the corporate equivalent of a guardian selected by protective fathers. “He is tremendously good at it,” said Mario Gabelli, the longtime media investor.

Continued on Page A16



Iger

Next Subway Chief Is Ready to Contend With All the Third Rails

By JAN RANSOM

TORONTO — The veteran transit executive from Toronto hired to run New York City’s subway said he was considering a series of aggressive steps to shore up the city’s faltering system, including shutting down lines for long periods of work with the goal of modernizing the system in years, not decades.

Andy Byford, the chief executive of the Toronto Transit Commission, also said he would scrutinize how the subway spends money and consider overhauling senior management, and suggested that congestion pricing — charging fees to drive into the most crowded parts of Manhattan as a way to raise money for transit — was a worthy idea.

But it is Mr. Byford’s openness to shutting down subway lines that is sure to attract attention, and condemnation, in a city where a 24-hour subway system is considered sacrosanct.

Mr. Byford stressed that real progress would require hard choices.



IAN WILLMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Andy Byford, who will take over New York’s system next month, said he would consider closing lines for long periods to fix them.

“The only way to do that is to get in the tunnels and do the work, and you cannot do that when trains are running, period,” Mr. Byford said in a wide-ranging interview between meetings during

his waning days in Toronto. “If we’re really serious we have to bite the bullet and to a certain extent inconvenience people while we get the work done, but I will hold myself accountable to New

Yorkers to say it will be worth the pain.”

Mr. Byford, 52, who arrives in New York next month, seems willing to ruffle feathers in taking on one of the world’s most difficult transportation jobs — overseeing a sprawling and antiquated system that has suffered years of political neglect and whose millions of riders have grown skeptical that new leadership will yield any real improvement.

Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, who controls the subway, minced no words when he met with Mr. Byford after his final job interview — aging infrastructure, overcrowding, track and signal problems, limited funding and a critical public. “Are you up for that?” Mr. Cuomo asked.

To Mr. Byford the message was clear: “This is no place for wallflowers.”

While Toronto’s system is far smaller, those seeking a guide to what Mr. Byford might do in New York can look to his playbook here — he shut down the subway on weekends to repair switches and tracks and lay the groundwork for

Continued on Page A18

Ex-Celebrity Apprentice Exits
White House, if Not Spotlight

By KATIE ROGERS and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — Every must-watch television show needs two ingredients to survive its first season: a believable villain and a nail-biter of a cliffhanger. Omarosa Manigault Newman, a veteran of “The Apprentice,” President Trump’s former boardroom-high jinks reality show competition, has delivered both production-perfect elements to the Trump White House.

Her departure, announced this week, set off a hail of headlines that described a dramatic firing orchestrated by John F. Kelly, the president’s chief of staff. (Mr. Kelly has never appeared on a reality show, but he seems to be getting the hang of the elimination

process.)

Ms. Newman, in multiple public appearances this week, has maintained that it was in fact her choice to resign as the director of communications for the White House Office of Public Liaison, a job that is set to continue to pay out her \$179,700 salary as she officially remains on the staff until late January, though with reduced access to the White House.

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Newman



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Europe Waits for Germany

President Emmanuel Macron of France and fellow European leaders meeting in Brussels must wait for Germany’s political inertia to pass.

PAGE A4

NATIONAL A10-16

Trump Sees ‘Anger’ in F.B.I.

Without citing specifics, President Trump described an extraordinary “level of anger” at the F.B.I. over the investigation into possible Russian involvement in his campaign.

PAGE A14

Last Push for Health Care

Blacks and Hispanics saw the biggest gains under the Affordable Care Act. They’re also likely to be most affected by cuts in this year’s sign-up.

PAGE A10

NEW YORK A17-18

Racial Bias Lesson for Jurors

The state’s highest court has ordered judges to tell jurors in some cases that they may consider the possible unreliability of witnesses identifying a suspect of a different race.

PAGE A18

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Facebook’s Unusual Mea Culpa

In a blog post, Facebook cited research showing that “passively consuming” social media made people feel worse, Farhad Manjoo writes.

PAGE B1

1,000 Miles to Merriment

A balsam fir tree’s journey from a farm in Nova Scotia to a living room in Queens revealed the hard work necessary to deliver Christmas cheer.

PAGE B1

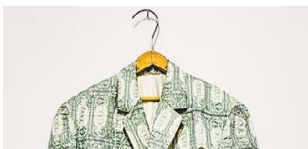


SPORTSSATURDAY D1-4

Melding Two Sports Empires

In its deal with 21st Century Fox, Disney received regional sports networks that it believes will complement ESPN. It’s unclear how that will work.

PAGE D1



ARTS C1-7

Provocateur Amid Royal Palms

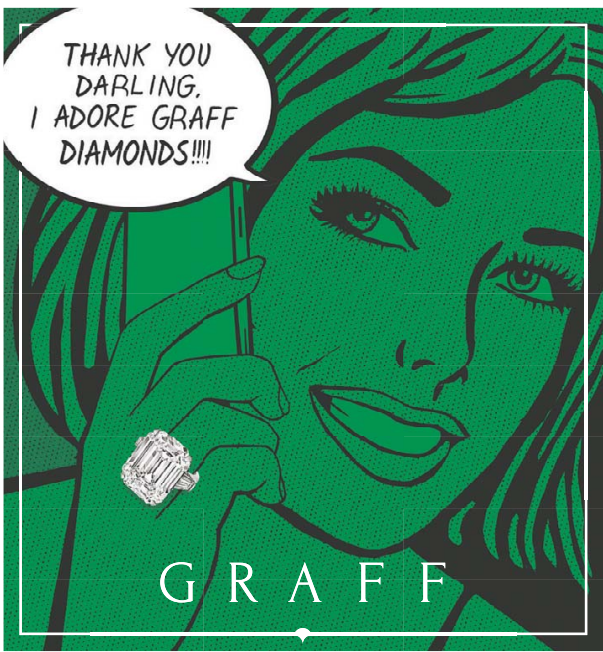
Beth Rudin DeWoody opened a West Palm Beach space for her trove of button-pushing contemporary art.

PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Bret Stephens

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Inside The Times

THE STORY BEHIND THE STORY



STEPHEN HILTNER/
THE NEW YORK TIMES

How a Spiral Puzzle Comes Around

By WILL SHORTZ

The front of Sunday’s “Puzzle Mania!” special section in The Times has the largest Spiral puzzle I’ve ever made.

As far as I know, with 200 spaces, it’s also the largest one anyone has made.

Spiral puzzles consist of a grid of letters that corkscrews toward the center. Every space in the grid is used exactly twice, once in each direction. In the case of Sunday’s puzzle, 32 words read serially inward from No. 1 to No. 200. Twenty-nine different words read outward from No. 200 back to No. 1. (Spirals typically contain only 100 spaces.)

The section contains an assortment of more than 40 puzzles, including a 53-by-53-square crossword, the largest The Times has ever printed. Compared with crosswords, Spirals, to me, are easier to construct. They’re built compartmentally, from one word to the next, and you only have to backtrack a word or two to start again. With crosswords, on the other hand, every word interlocks with words in the other direction, making them more difficult to create.

Without revealing any spoilers, here’s how I made the Spiral.

First, I keep a list of words that have other interesting words partially overlapping in reverse. For example, I noticed once that the last seven letters of IMPUGNING are also the last seven letters of SIGNING UP, reading backward. So to begin a Spiral, I pick something from my list. In this case, the inside of my Spiral, at a point still to be determined, will have this:

←
I M P U G N I N G I S
→

I need to build off the ends. To the right I need a word starting IS—, whose remaining letters will end a word coming back. To the left I need a word starting MI—, reading in reverse, whose remaining letters will end something reading forward.

Since IS— offers fewer options and is more constraining, I start there. I thumb through the dictionary. I reject ISIAAH (no common word ends in —HAIA), ISOLATE (—ETALO is not promising), and ISLAM

(—MAL would work, but ISLAM is too short to excite me). I settle on ISRAELIS, which has LEAR coming back inside it. That’s nice. My Spiral now looks like this:

←
I M P U G N I N G I S R A E L I S
→

Continuing, I need a word ending in —SI, whose remaining letters will start a word reading forward. Finding words spelled by their endings is not easy. In the old days — and by this I mean pre-internet — I would reach for one of the rare books in my library that alphabetize words backward. For example, Martin Lehnert’s “Reverse Dictionary of Present-Day English” (published in 1971 in Leipzig, East Germany, of all places) lists 116,000 English words starting with a, baa, sahaa, maa, et cetera, and ending with frizz, zizz, buzz, abuzz, and fuzz.

Nowadays, though, these reference books have been superseded (as so many have been) by the internet. My chief resource now for Spiral-making is the website Onelook.com. I type in “si” (where the asterisk can represent any number of letters), click “Common words and phrases” and scan the possibilities. I briefly consider TARSI, the plural of “tarsus,” which would leave me needing a word starting with RAT—, and TORSI, the plural of “torso,” which would leave me needing a word starting with ROT—. But my eye lights on JAMES I, king of Britain from 1603 to 1625. The remaining letters, EMAJ—, could start E MAJOR, which is the key of Bruckner’s Symphony No. 7. Then I would need an answer ending —RO, and so on.

I continue building the Spiral in the same direction until I reach a natural stopping point. For —RO I could use DINERO, whose remaining letters spell ENID in reverse. This would end the Spiral in one direction. Then I would return to my starting sequence and build off the MI— in the other direction until I reach 100 letters (or, in the case of today’s giant Spiral, 200 letters).

When I’m done, I assign numbers to the letters, write the clues (sprinkling in a few tricks here and there), et voilà!

Now that you know how a Spiral is made, try the puzzle and see how you do.

On This Day in History

A MEMORABLE HEADLINE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES
DECEMBER 16, 1908

MR. PULITZER’S REPLY

After Theodore Roosevelt accused Joseph Pulitzer of libel in connection with an investigation by The World, which found a fraudulent payment of \$40 million to the French Panama Canal Company by the United States government, Mr. Pulitzer dictated a reply to The Times. “I am really sorry he should be so very angry,” he said. “But The World will continue to criticize him without a shadow of fear even if he should succeed in compelling me to edit the paper from jail. I think it simply his effort to shut up the paper’s criticism.” A case eventually went to the Supreme Court, which found no basis for an indictment.

The Newspaper And Beyond

CORRECTIONS A18
CROSSWORD C3
OBITUARIES D5
OPINION A20-21
TV LISTINGS C7
WEATHER C8
CLASSIFIED ADS D2

THE DAILY 360

This week, Hawaii launched the Kupuna Caregivers Program, a program designed to help support working family caregivers. A 360-degree video offers a look at caregiving: [nytimes.com/thedaily360](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/16/daily360/).



VIDEO

The media mogul Russell Simmons is accused of raping three women. In a video, the culture reporter Melena Ryzik talks about The New York Times’s investigation and the significance of women of color speaking out about alleged predatory behavior. [nytimes.com/video](https://www.nytimes.com/video)



NEWSLETTER

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EVENT

Join the “By the Book” podcast host and comedian Jolenta Greenberg, her co-host Kristen Meinzer and the producer Mia Lobel for a live discussion of their episode “French Women Don’t Get Fat,” in which they lived by Mireille Guiliano’s famous self-help book. The Times’s editorial director of audio, Samantha Henig, will moderate this Podcast Club IRL event. For more information and tickets, visit [nytimes.com/insider](https://www.nytimes.com/insider).



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Of Interest

NOTEWORTHY FACTS FROM TODAY’S PAPER

The United Nations Population Fund has sent contraceptives by drone to hard-to-reach parts of Africa.

Leading a Perpetual Struggle For Reproductive Rights A7

Since its founding in 1985, Ryanair has grown from a single 15-seat aircraft flying from the south of Ireland to London’s Gatwick Airport to an airline that now has more than 400 Boeing 737s.

Threat of Strike Forces Ryanair To Recognize Pilots’ Unions B1

In 2016, 33 American states counted Canada as their biggest export market, while six states ranked Mexico first.

Governors Rush to the White House To Try to Save Nafta B3



JASON POLAN

New podcasts revisit a 1990s mass-suicide cult (Stitcher’s “Heaven’s Gate”), Charles Manson’s early life (Wondery’s “Young Charlie”), the Watergate scandal (Slate’s “Slow Burn”) and the Civil War (Gimlet’s “Uncivil”).

Booking History Itself as a Guest C1

Iraq’s judicial authorities have tried or convicted at least 7,374 people on suspicion of Islamic State links since 2014, Human Rights Watch said this month in a report.

U.N. Condemns Prisoner Executions in Iraq A7

People generally have greater difficulty identifying someone of a different race than their own, a phenomenon that scientists have observed for more than a century.

To Curb Bad Verdicts, Court Adds a Lesson For Jurors on Racial Bias in Identifications A18

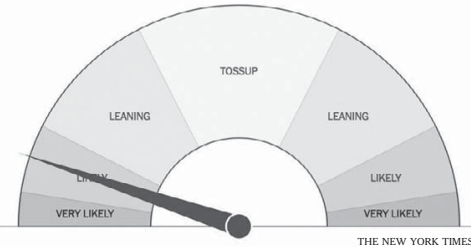
ESPN’s subscriber base has shrunk to 88 million, from 100 million in 2010.

Why Did Disney Expand Its Sports Empire With Out-of-Favor Networks? D1

The Conversation

FOUR OF THE MOST READ, SHARED AND DISCUSSED POSTS FROM ACROSS NYTIMES.COM

1. **F.C.C. Repeals Net Neutrality Rules**
By far, Thursday’s most read article — for the second day in a row — was the announcement that net neutrality was repealed on Thursday. Readers also flocked to The Times’s explainer on how the decision could affect daily life.
2. **Republicans Despise the Working Class**
Paul Krugman’s Op-Ed article about who wins and loses with the proposed tax bill garnered more than 1,100 comments on nytimes.com. Many commenters tried to tease out why this bill has momentum, whether be it the hole left by unions or the outsized influence of the rich. “Much of our current news makes one wonder, who elected our (majority Republican) ‘representatives,’ and who are their most important constituents?,” one reader wrote.
3. **NYT Needle Returns to the Spotlight. The Internet Notices.**
For Tuesday’s Alabama Senate election, the live outcome-prediction needle made an appearance again on nytimes.com. The needle has been a favorite topic on social media — for the dread the bouncing pointer can invoke — since the 2016 presidential election. This rundown about how it works was a favorite.



4. **Harvey Weinstein Is My Monster Too**
Salma Hayek’s piece that revealed Mr. Weinstein had also sexually harassed her has been on the most popular list since it was published online on Wednesday. It appears in print on Sunday.

Sketchbook

A BITCOIN BONANZA

The value of Bitcoin, a once-obscure digital currency introduced in 2008, has skyrocketed — and now everyone wants in.



BRIAN STAUFFER

Quote of the Day

COLLEGES LEAN ON FRATERNITIES TO KEEP IT SAFE A1

“There is definitely this moment in time where society is not willing to accept behavior that in the past has been acceptable.”

TRACY MAXWELL, the founder of *HazingPrevention.org*, an anti-hazing organization, on a crackdown on college fraternity parties and initiations amid worries of binge drinking, sexual assault and even deaths.

Here to Help

WHY TO WAIT TO UPDATE YOUR SOFTWARE

MANUFACTURER SYSTEM UPDATES and patches are supposed to fix problems, but sometimes they cause more. J. D. Biersdorfer, the Tech Tip columnist, explains why — and how to mitigate the issues:

Updates gone wrong have plagued users across most software platforms over the years. A misbehaving update can be pinned to a number of reasons, including insufficient testing by the developer or sloppy coding. Variables on the user end — like a certain combination of existing software apps and hardware conflicting with the update — have also caused significant problems.

While it is impossible to predict exactly how a specific update will work (or not) on individual devices, there are some precautions you can take, even if your system is set up to install updates automatically. For one, keep your computer or device backed up regularly. That way, you always have a fairly recent copy of your files and software in case you have to revert if an update bricks your hardware.

Starting fresh by backing up all your files, erasing the drive, installing an operating system update and then restoring your files to the new system (also called a “clean install”) can sometimes help you



KIICHIRO SATO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

avoid problems. Older files or bits of previous systems can hinder an update if you just installed it on top of everything else. A clean install takes more time and is not as convenient, but it does give your system a new start.

When updates, especially major ones, are announced, holding off for a few days and reading the user experiences posted in online technical forums and blogs can help you get an idea of how well an update works. Thurrott.com, iLounge and AndroidPIT are some of the many sites that report on the technical issues concerning software updates.

For more tech advice, visit [nytimes.com/personaltech](https://www.nytimes.com/personaltech).

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PHIL NOBLE/REUTERS

Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany arriving at the European Union summit meeting in Brussels. Her country has long been the bloc’s steadying force.

Germany’s Political Inertia Stalls E.U.’s Progress

As Merkel Works to Form a Government, Europe Debates Its Next Steps

By STEVEN ERLANGER

BRUSSELS — For the past decade or more, the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, has commanded the stage at European Union summit meetings. But as she strode through the red carpeted entrance at the start of this week’s meeting, her usual aura was missing.

Everyone understands that her era is ending. Even so, it was telling that as leaders arrived on Thursday for this meeting, France’s energetic young president, Emmanuel Macron, was already there, responding to reporters. Smiling indulgently, Ms. Merkel went over to his side and said, “Oh, he’s answering all the questions.”

Germany, long Europe’s steadying force, has been without a government since an inconclusive election in September, and there is anxiety in Berlin that the country will be seen as unstable. The problem of Germany is, however, paralysis. While Germany argues about a new government, Europe waits.

At this last summit meeting of the year, the issue of Britain’s exit from the bloc was less pressing, since governments all agreed on Friday that negotiations can move on to the next phase. But Europe has a host of other problems, and for everything else, Germany remains central.

The paralysis in Berlin, however, with a new government not expected until March, has delayed what was meant to be the central task of the bloc — figuring out how to reform itself institutionally to ensure that the euro is weatherproof and sustainable, to avoid new shocks from member states like Greece, Spain and Italy.

Mr. Macron has laid out an ambitious set of reforms for the eurozone and the bloc itself, pushing for more centralization, more “Europe” and more solidarity, both in economics and defense. The European Commission, the bloc’s bureaucracy, has proposed a similarly centralizing set of changes.

This was the summit meeting where European leaders were supposed to grapple with Mr. Macron’s sweeping proposals for institutional change. But Ms. Merkel cannot move without a mandate. And while she participated in a relatively acrimonious dinner discussion Thursday night over migration, defending past policy about the need for bloc solidarity in distributing refugees, she has been noticeably media-averse, canceling her normal after-dinner news briefing.

“There is a strong sense in Europe that something has to change and Germany will have to be at the center of that,” said Jan Techau, a German political analyst. “But whether the issue is the economy or defense, I’m not sure Germans feel that they can get it done, given Merkel’s declining political capital. The problems are huge, but Germans are not sure we’re up to it.”

With Germany’s caretaker government unable to make new policy, Mr. Macron and the commission cannot get a considered response, blocking progress. So the summit meeting discussed migration, with no decisions expected before June at the earliest, and nascent moves toward more cooperation and efficiency on European defense and procurement.

In a symbolic gesture, Ms. Merkel and Mr. Macron gave a joint news conference at the conclusion of the meeting. She thanked him for his “close relations with us,” and said that French-German agreement was important for European solu-



JULIEN WARNAND/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

President Emmanuel Macron of France with Ms. Merkel in Brussels on Friday. Mr. Macron has ideas to address some of the E.U.’s issues, but he will need German support, which cannot come until Ms. Merkel establishes a government.

tions.

But Mr. Macron noted, a touch wistfully, that “Germany, which has constraints that go with its political system, just had its elections and is in the process of forming a government.” He added, “We need a strong and stable German government to move forward.”

He added that Ms. Merkel was busy building a coalition, “but we can still talk to one another, and we have the aim of converging in March” their positions on eurozone reforms, so that the bloc could agree on a “road map” in June.

On real substance, though, Europe waits for the Germans. The Social Democrats, who had originally refused to form a government with Ms. Merkel’s conservatives, are beginning to negotiate just such a return. To enhance their profile, Social Democratic leaders have been pressing for a bigger role for Europe to stabilize the eurozone and carve out a clearer global role in the era of President Trump, when Washington has retreated from its traditional leadership of multilateral alliances, institutions and global trading systems.

Germany’s acting foreign minister, Sigmar Gabriel, argued last week that America’s leadership was now unreliable and called for a sharper definition of European interests, with a major effort to support Mr. Macron. The leader of the Social Democrats, Martin Schulz, even called for the European Union to become a “United States of Europe,” with countries that do not like the idea to be expelled.

Both trial balloons, which were perceived as slightly desperate, were quickly shot down, and for good reason.

The lesson of recent European elections — in Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria and Central Europe — is one of increased nationalism, populism and skepticism about “more Europe.” Mr. Macron’s election, which depended

on the collapse of the two main parties from infighting and scandal, seems more like an outlier than the herald of a new European commitment.

With impending European parliamentary elections and a change in European leadership in Brussels in 2019, the window for pushing through any serious change in European structures is very tight and closing — essentially the same window for getting an agreement on Britain’s withdrawal from the bloc in March 2019.

Simon Fraser, a former senior British diplomat with long experience in Brussels, sees positive energy in Mr. Macron’s proposals and in his commitment to reform France’s labor market.

“Macron wants to re-energize the E.U.,” Mr. Fraser said. “But he’s being left a bit high and dry by the Germans, and what Macron proposes won’t get a lot of traction with Berlin. His big risk, with only about six months left to this European Commission, is to push too hard. He has a lot of cards, but he needs to play them very carefully.”

Given the obstacles, the summit meeting concentrated instead on blessing a modest advance toward European defense, called Permanent Structured Cooperation, or PESCO. Twenty-five of the bloc’s 28 countries have signed up for it, with the idea being to promote national projects that enhance interoperability, efficiency in procurement and better military research and development. National commitments will be binding, there will be European Union money to foster research and cooperation, and there will be regular, coordinated national reviews of progress.

To show that this time, NATO is on board with this new European initiative, NATO’s secretary general, Jens Stoltenberg, made a rare appearance on Thursday at the meeting of European leaders.

Elmar Brok, a conservative German member of the European Parliament, saw great progress now that British anxiety about European defense harming NATO has evaporated.

“We’ve advanced in 12 months more in defense than in the last 12 years, because the British no longer stopped us,” he said. “This is the answer to spending more and more efficiently on defense.”

While many in Europe and in the United States want Germany to take a more ambitious leadership role consonant with its size and thriving economy, Germans themselves are much more reluctant, according to a Korber Foundation opinion poll released last week. Only 40 percent of Germans say they should take more responsibility for international affairs, the poll showed, and nearly 60 percent say the European Union is “not on the right track.”

While the German elite talks of embracing Mr. Macron’s ideas, only 12 percent of Germans regard the French-German partnership as crucial to the European Union, and 54 percent oppose Mr. Macron’s proposal for a eurozone finance minister.

German mistrust of Mr. Trump is high, with 88 percent believing Germany’s security is best protected in the context of Europe, but only 32 percent want to spend any more money on defense. And three times as many Germans see refugees, and not Russia, as their biggest security concern. (The telephone poll of 1,005 people has a margin of error of 5 percentage points.)

There was a lot of public optimism that 2017 would be the year “of dodging bullets and getting Europe back on track,” said Robin Niblett, director of Chatham House, an international affairs think tank based in London. “But the last couple of months have shown that Europe may be better grounded economically, but not politically.”

North Korea Must ‘Earn’ Way to Talks, Tillerson Says

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

UNITED NATIONS — Three days after offering to talk to North Korea “without precondition,” Secretary of State Rex W. Tillerson reversed course, insisting — as President Trump has all along — that the North must stop its nuclear threats and “earn its way” to negotiations.

“A sustained cessation of North Korea’s threatening behavior must occur before talks can begin,” Mr. Tillerson told the United Nations Security Council.

His remarks on Friday were a sharp contrast from his conciliatory comments, made Tuesday, in which he said he was open to talking to the North about anything. But the White House swiftly said that talks would be pointless so long as the North continued to threaten its neighbors and the United States.

On Friday, Mr. Tillerson reiterated Mr. Trump’s position, saying: “North Korea must earn its way back to the table. The pressure campaign must and will continue until denuclearization is achieved.”

The back and forth reflected the gulf between Mr. Tillerson and Mr. Trump, who has threatened to “totally destroy” North Korea and referred to its leader, Kim Jong-un, as “little rocket man.”

Mr. Tillerson’s latest message also appeared to place the United States and North Korea at a dangerous standoff once more, with Washington insisting on a halt to the North’s nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs and North Korea advancing them.

The United Nations secretary general, António Guterres, called the North Korean nuclear crisis the world’s “most tense and dangerous security issue” and, without identifying the United States by name, warned of the risk of bellicose language. He said it was imperative to open lines of communication.

“While all concerned seek to avoid an accidental escalation leading to conflict, the risk is being multiplied by misplaced overconfidence, dangerous narratives and rhetoric, and the lack of communication channels,” he said.

One of his top aides, Jeffrey D. Feltman, under secretary general for political affairs, met with government officials in Pyongyang, the North’s capital, this month, the first high level visit by a United Nations official since 2011. Mr. Feltman, a diplomat, said he did not receive any commitments from the North, but “left the door ajar” for a negotiated deal.

China sounded more like a marriage counselor in the Security Council chamber, warning against “mutual blaming.”

“The parties concerned should keep calm and exercise restraint,” China’s deputy permanent representative, Wu Haitao, said.

The North Korean ambassador to the United Nations, Ja Song-nam, in a rare appearance in the Council, began by condemning Japan for hosting the session and went on to criticize the Council for acting as “a tool” of the United States.

The Council meeting came weeks after the North fired an intercontinental ballistic missile that flew higher and longer than previous such launches and that the North claimed could deliver heavy nuclear warheads anywhere in the continental United States. It has conducted six nuclear tests so far.

Since late 2016, the Council has imposed a series of sanctions aimed at cutting the North’s ability to fund its nuclear weapons program, including limiting its ability to export laborers for work programs in Russia and other countries.

Mr. Tillerson on Friday used the Council session to scold Russia for employing North Korean workers in what he called “slave-like” conditions and which he said “calls into question Russia’s dedication as a partner for peace.”

Russia’s United Nations ambassador, Vassily A. Nebenzia, rebuffed Mr. Tillerson’s criticism of his country’s labor imports from North Korea and questioned the United States’ “sincerity” in defusing tensions on the Korean Peninsula. Russia and China have criticized the American military exercises conducted with South Korean forces.

Asked after the meeting about what he had meant with his offer of talks “without precondition” earlier in the week, Mr. Tillerson said the United States would not accept preconditions imposed by others, such as a proposal by Russia and China to freeze nuclear tests in exchange for a freeze on the American military exercises in South Korea. Mr. Tillerson also said the United States would not ease sanctions before any possible talks.

“We are not going to accept preconditions for these talks,” he said. “But as I indicated in my remarks our communication channels remain open. North Korea knows they’re open.”

Heather Nauert, the State Department spokeswoman, said that Mr. Tillerson wanted to keep the channels open “for the purposes of testing the effects of sanctions and to avoid miscalculation.”

“These are not negotiations,” Ms. Nauert added, “and there will be no change in the international pressure campaign connected with this.”



Rex W. Tillerson

E.U. Leaders Accept ‘Divorce Deal’ With Britain and New Phase of Talks

By STEPHEN CASTLE

BRUSSELS — Lifting the gloom after months of stalemate over Britain’s exit from the European Union, the bloc’s leaders on Friday agreed to a new round of talks, applauding the efforts of Prime Minister Theresa May while putting the onus on her to specify the type of future relationship Britain wants with them.

At a two-day summit meeting in Brussels that began on Thursday, the leaders endorsed a “divorce deal” struck last Friday after some high-wire diplomacy. In so doing, they concluded that the agreement resolved enough of the immediate issues raised by the separation to allow them to start discussing the longer term.

On Twitter, the president of the European Council, Donald Tusk, announced the go-ahead for the second phase of negotiations, offering his congratulations to Mrs. May.

She responded with thanks, welcoming the decision as “an important step on the road to delivering a smooth and orderly Brexit and forging our deep and special future partnership.”

By the time Europe’s leaders made their statement on Friday, Mrs. May was already back in Britain, her absence from the second day of the meeting a symbol of her country’s looming detachment from the bloc. However, the summit marked a significant change in atmosphere between the two sides after months of tortuous, and at times acrimonious, negotiations.

At some previous European Union summits, Mrs. May has cut an isolated figure. But at a dinner on Thursday night she was greeted with a light round of applause by other leaders after she urged the two sides to embrace the way ahead with “creativity and ambition.”

Earlier, arriving at the meeting, the prime minister of the Netherlands, Mark Rutte, said that European leaders “should not underestimate” Mrs. May, adding that “she’s a formidable politician.” The German chancellor, Angela Merkel, met with Mrs. May for an aperitif before the leaders’ dinner. And the Belgian prime minister, Charles Michel, said he wanted to honor “the courage of Theresa May” during the talks so far.

The political thaw in part reflects some natural sympathy and growing respect for Mrs. May, who has battled on through



Prime Minister Theresa May of Britain received praise from European Union leaders this week during meetings in Brussels.

months of infighting with her Conservative Party and frequent predictions of her political demise. As recently as Wednesday she suffered another reversal when some Conservative lawmakers supported a measure that will give Parliament a more significant say over the final terms of the withdrawal known as Brexit.

While European Union leaders still worry about Mrs. May’s prospects of surviving as prime minister, they seem to view her as a more pragmatic and reasonable interlocutor than some of the potential alternatives — like the foreign minister, Boris Johnson, who is roundly disliked in Brussels.

Mrs. May proved that by making a series of compromises during the first phase of negotiations, as the objectives of Brexit supporters clashed with the reality of dealing with a powerful bloc of 27 nations. Although Mr. Johnson once dismissed suggestions that Britain would offer huge sums of money to honor its outstanding commitments to the European

Union, last Friday’s deal will cost London \$47 billion to \$52 billion, according to Mrs. May, and others think the actual figure will be even higher.

She also conceded a continuing, if time-limited, role for the European Court of Justice — an institution loathed by hard-line Brexit supporters — in adjudicating the rights of European Union citizens living in Britain.

The other divorce discussion involved offering assurances that there would be no hard border between Northern Ireland, which is part of the United Kingdom, and Ireland, which will remain in the European Union. That proved to be the toughest of the three separation challenges, but Mrs. May ultimately proved flexible in drafting an agreement, even if in reality it fudged rather than resolved the issues.

European leaders have noticed approvingly that Mrs. May has managed to make these concessions without provoking a rebel

tion from so-called Brexiteers in her fiercely divided cabinet. Ireland’s prime minister, Leo Varadkar, who played a leading role in the deal last Friday, said he had “absolute confidence” in Mrs. May, though he added that his priority was to turn what was agreed to last week into a “legally binding international agreement.”

On Friday the European Union leaders emphasized that there must be no backsliding on that deal, adding in a set of guidelines that “negotiations in the second phase can only progress as long as all commitments undertaken during the first phase are respected in full and translated faithfully into legal terms as quickly as possible.”

The early focus of those second-phase talks will be on a transitional program to cover the period immediately after March 2019 when Britain is to quit the bloc. During that time, which Mrs. May wants to limit to two years, very little will change in the relation-

ship in order to give time to prepare for a potentially big shake-up in trade rules.

British businesses in particular are eager to have certainty that there will be a transition, rather than a sudden rupture — considered a “cliff edge” departure — from the bloc. To achieve that, Britain will have to accept all the rules of the European Union, including the remit of the European Court of Justice, during the transitional period.

But the bigger challenge is clinching a long-term agreement for a deep free-trade deal, given the constraints imposed by Mrs. May, who says Britain must leave the European Union’s single market and customs unions, which remove barriers to trade, and eliminate tariffs and customs checks.

Jean-Claude Juncker, president of the European Commission, said he expected formal discussions on future trade talks to start in March. While some British business leaders fret about the con-

tinuing uncertainty implied by such a delay, diplomats say they expect unofficial, exploratory exchanges over trade to begin earlier.

Mr. Rutte, the Dutch prime minister, said that it was now incumbent on Mrs. May to tell the other leaders what kind of trading relationship she wanted. He noted that she had been “holding her cards close to her heart,” adding that this had so far been “probably

A change in tenor after months of difficult diplomacy.

a wise negotiating tactic,” but one that would not hold for much longer.

Ms. Merkel reinforced that message, adding that it was not up to the European Union to lay out possible solutions to a problem created by Britain’s 2016 referendum decision to quit the bloc. “Britain has to tell us what it wants,” she said.

Phase 2 of the negotiations will be much harder from the European Union side, too. Thus far, it has had to hold together only on issues where there is consensus in European capitals. The question of a future trading relationship will involve forging agreement among 27 countries whose economic and political interests will diverge, depending upon the depth and character of their commercial and diplomatic ties to Britain.

Emmanuel Macron, France’s president, appealed to the 27 countries to stick together through the coming months, saying there must be “no separate agenda of bilateral talks,” reflecting, perhaps, a worry that Britain will try to divide the bloc.

Mr. Tusk, president of the European Council, said that he had “no doubts that the real test of our unity will be the second phase of the Brexit talks.”

As for the overall prospects, Mr. Tusk joined other leaders in predicting that the second phase would be more demanding. Asked whether Britain’s timetable for a Brexit agreement was attainable, Mr. Tusk described it as “still realistic and, of course, dramatically difficult.”



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GOING PLACES TOGETHER

In the Birthplace of Boko Haram, a Fierce Brand of Feminism Rules

From Page A1

The all-night party had officially started.

In a different war zone, a curfew like the one that descends on this city each night to protect residents from Boko Haram might stifle any hope of a social life. But here, it has given rise to extended lock-in parties behind protected walls. Instead of going home, young people end up carousing until the curfew lifts at dawn.

Then, when the parties get too popular and become a potential target, they close down until they pop up somewhere else.

Inside the party that night, lights bounced off a swimming pool dotted with flower petals. Here, no one was talking about the war, the many hundreds, if not thousands, of women abducted by Boko Haram, the millions uprooted by violence, facing hunger and despair. They were talking about love, sex and women's liberation.

‘‘They want to test you to know if you can do it very well,’’ said Rose Williams, 27, speaking openly about premarital sex, which she said was considered taboo by her parents’ generation. ‘‘And I do it very well.’’

She and her friends watched the men and women — some in brightly colored head scarves, one with a baby on her back — swaying with arms in the air. They had come for a girls’ night out, to take a break from their boyfriends.

‘‘And maybe I’ll find a new one tonight,’’ Ms. Williams said.

Blessing Christopher, a 21-year-

Progressive ideas on love, sex and relationship roles.

old beauty-school student, was on the dance floor celebrating her newfound freedom after her latest relationship ended, happily unencumbered and eager to focus on her career instead of a man.

‘‘I’m not looking for a boyfriend,’’ she said. ‘‘I’m looking for a job.’’

In many ways, the war with Boko Haram has been a clash of wildly divergent hopes and expectations for Nigerian society. Islamist militants who started their rebellion against the Nigerian state thought they could end government corruption by adopting a severe version of Islam.

Western ways, particularly in the realm of education, were deemed sinful. Imams in Maiduguri who spoke out against the militants and their harsh interpretation of the religion were assassinated.

The rise of Boko Haram ‘‘brought a lot of confusion into Maiduguri about what is the real Islam,’’ said Sheik Abubakar Goniemi, chief imam of the Bolori Central Mosque here. ‘‘Thank God we know our religion, and this had nothing to do with Islam.’’

After the militants were chased from the city, imams became more vocal, speaking out against the extremist philosophies and practices of Boko Haram. Life eventually started easing up again, and young people have found safe spaces to let loose.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ASHLEY GILBERTSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Above, the dance floor at a hotel in Maiduguri, Nigeria, where a curfew has helped to create all-night pop-up parties. Left, students Ruth Joseph and Kefas Iliya, who hope to marry in two years.



Inside the concrete walls of the city zoo, dozens of young couples hold hands as they pass the elephants and the snake pit. They lounge on the grass or sit arm in arm on the benches in front of the raptor cage, the zoo’s most popular make-out spot.

One couple, Kefas Iliya and Ruth Joseph, sprawled out on the patchy lawn studying for exams. When they met two years ago, Ms. Joseph wanted to focus on her environmental biology studies, not romance.

Mr. Iliya won her over by reciting Gambian poetry. Now, they hope to marry in two years when they can settle into a dual-career household.

‘‘We plan to have children and I will help out,’’ Mr. Iliya said. ‘‘I’ll help with housework and I’ll help take care of the children and my wife.’’

For all the new freedoms, many longtime residents say the staggering violence and tenacity of

Boko Haram has succeeded in crushing much of Maiduguri’s traditional spirit.

‘‘The war destroyed the basic fibers of our society,’’ said Zannah Mustapha, a prominent lawyer who has acted as a mediator between the government and Boko Haram members. ‘‘We were known for peace.’’

For years, people stopped holding elaborate, seven-day weddings with drumming, dancing and banquets of fried rice. Shops stopped selling alcohol. Concerts that once drew musicians from as far as Ethiopia came to a halt. A local dance troupe stopped its daily routines at an old amphitheater. Dancers practiced their moves in bedrooms, with the shades drawn.

Before the war broke out, Mohammed Bukar and his friends were regulars at a local disco where they danced to American artists like Bobby Brown and Lisa Lisa and Cult Jam.

‘‘I spent a lot of time trying to

perfect Michael Jackson’s dance moves from ‘Thriller,’’ Mr. Bukar said.

Then one night in the early days of the war, Mr. Bukar recalled, Boko Haram stormed the club and killed patrons inside. The disco closed. As the fighting continued in Maiduguri, other nightclubs and bars also were shuttered.

But in the past two years, as the military has begun making headway against fighters, a sense of security has slowly returned to the city. People are regaining their social lives in fits and starts, as security allows, and expressions of the culture Mr. Bukar once enjoyed spring up in unexpected ways.

Along the same streets where nervous security officers keep an eye out for suicide bombers, one traffic officer does his job while impersonating Michael Jackson, moonwalking across the intersection and guiding cars with his single white glove.

Security still defines many of Maiduguri’s dating spots. A Chinese restaurant set far back from the street, protected by tall steel gates and a metal detector, provides a spot where couples smoke water pipes and pick at greasy spring rolls. Vehicles are searched for explosives before entering the parking lots of hotels that serve alcohol, despite a ban on sales in much of the city.

In another part of the city, vehicles crammed onto a short dirt road, leading to a narrow hall lined with couples standing close to one another. The passage opened up into a large beer gar-

den where no fewer than 300 young people sat around plastic tables, nursing bottles of beer and watching a group of young men bend their bodies to loud music, laughing. Soldiers still in uniform milled around in the crowd, bottles of beer in hand and rifles dangling from their torsos.

A local photo studio lets couples transport themselves from the grimness of the war, posing for portraits in front of a selection of backdrops: a field of white horses, a palatial living room with a spiral staircase, giant floating roses or a gently flowing river. Outer space is popular.

Lillian Usa, dressed in a Clash T-shirt and dark-rimmed glasses, was there with her boyfriend, a medical student, standing near a wall decorated with lipstick kiss smears from women perfecting their makeup.

In between photo shoots and changes of outfits, she listed the things she doesn’t like about her boyfriend — chiefly his hot temper. They think about marriage but want to wait until they both have completed their studies.

‘‘He has, let’s say, 80 percent of the characteristics I like,’’ Ms. Usa said. ‘‘I’m teaching him the other 20 percent.’’

Another couple, Samson Luca and Prisca Ibrahim, were having portraits taken before Mr. Luca, a soldier, left on a mission to fight Boko Haram.

‘‘I’ve been away a lot so I wanted to come here so that she can look at me and remember me,’’ Mr. Luca said. ‘‘I’ll be gone a long

time.’’

He took off his Playboy bunny T-shirt, and the couple changed into matching camouflage shirts to pose for photos.

Some couples say they still hide their physical relationships from old-fashioned parents who would not understand, despite the fact that Maiduguri is a cosmopolitan city where televisions are tuned to CNN and Adele songs are popular ringtones on smartphones.

Many of the views here seem to come from a different planet than Boko Haram’s; the group’s leaders preach that women can earn their way to heaven by blowing themselves up alongside soldiers at checkpoints.

At the university campus, Raphael Audu Adole, a professor wearing faux crocodile loafers and carrying a laptop tucked under his arm, stepped behind the lectern to explain the roots of male oppression.

‘‘Society is constructed to favor the interests of men, isn’t it?’’ he asked his class.

‘‘Yes,’’ responded a chorus of 150 young men and women.

‘‘The man is trying to dominate,’’ he said. ‘‘Are you following me?’’

‘‘Yes,’’ the students chanted.

‘‘Women are marginalized, oppressed and abused,’’ he continued. ‘‘Men have taken the part of domination and force in relations in the family. This is a big problem in society and we need to do something about it.’’

Weeks After a Coup, Army Retains Grip in Zimbabwe

By NORIMITSU ONISHI and JEFFREY MOYO

HARARE, Zimbabwe — Three weeks after the 37-year rule of Robert Mugabe came to an end, Zimbabwe’s new military-backed leaders made moves on Friday to improve economic relations with the West, as they continued to consolidate power ahead of elections next year.

‘‘We call for the unconditional lifting of the political and economic sanctions, which have crippled our national development,’’ said the new president, Emmerson Mnangagwa, who led the annual congress of the governing party, ZANU-PF, this week.

Mr. Mugabe long whipped up domestic support by blaming sanctions imposed by Western governments for Zimbabwe’s economic collapse, though most economists point instead to mismanagement of the resource-rich economy.

Mr. Mnangagwa, 75, who is serving the remainder of Mr. Mugabe’s term — which was scheduled to end next August — promised ‘‘credible, free and fair’’ elections. Western officials have indicated that Zimbabwe would be considered for loans from the International Monetary Fund and other creditors only after holding free elections as well as showing improvement in human rights and other areas.

Opposition parties and human rights groups say that despite Mr. Mnangagwa’s promises of a new

Zimbabwe, he has hewed to his predecessor’s strategies.

His new cabinet is composed of loyalists, many of whom served Mr. Mugabe. He plucked two from the armed forces, including his foreign minister, Sibusiso Moyo, the general who announced the military takeover of Mr. Mugabe’s government.

The presence of the army, which has been used in the past to tilt elections in the governing party’s favor, is still felt across the country. Soldiers remain deployed at checkpoints on roads and in towns and the countryside — often performing duties that they are not legally allowed to assume in peacetime, critics say.

‘‘This is a military government,’’ said Elias Mudzuri, a vice president of the Movement for Democratic Change, the main opposition party. ‘‘And when you have a military government and it wants to stay in power, it could do anything.’’

Two human rights organizations, Heal Zimbabwe Trust and Zimbabwe Peace Project, released statements this week describing growing cases of abuses committed by soldiers, ranging from beatings to the firing of live ammunition.

The army placed Mr. Mugabe under house arrest on Nov. 15 and eased the way for Mr. Mnangagwa to assume power.

‘‘Why has Mnangagwa not quickly returned the soldiers back to the barracks?’’ asked Okay Machisa, vice chairman of the Peace



JEKESAI NJIKIZANA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

President Emmerson Mnangagwa during the annual congress of Zimbabwe’s governing party on Friday. His cabinet includes loyalists who served his ousted predecessor, Robert Mugabe.

Project. ‘‘If people are being beaten by soldiers and the head of state does not say a word, you start to wonder why. We want a country that is not militarized.’’

Asked why soldiers had yet to return to their barracks, Kembo Mohadi, the defense minister, said that the army was still carrying out its mission of righting the governing party, which had been led astray by a cabal led by Mr. Mugabe’s wife, Grace.

The continued military presence is particularly worrisome because of the coming elections, which are likely to be held in Au-

gust. In the past, Mr. Mnangagwa, who was Mr. Mugabe’s right-hand man for decades, is believed to have orchestrated the rigging of elections. Soldiers played a key role in coercing voters to support the governing party, especially in rural areas.

The intimidating presence of soldiers in rural areas, where voter registration is now taking place, was an inauspicious start to the election season, said Andrew Makoni, chairman of the Zimbabwe Election Support Network.

Mr. Makoni said that the new government should appoint an in-

dependent leader for the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission and invite credible international election monitors. ‘‘All of this depends on the political will of the new establishment,’’ he said.

At ZANU-PF’s congress, Mr. Mnangagwa’s staunchest allies showed little willingness to accommodate outsiders. Last year, Ms. Mugabe dominated the congress, which was split between her supporters and those of Mr. Mnangagwa. While Ms. Mugabe and some of her top allies have been purged from the party, other former rivals have now united be-

Opposition groups see little change after a leader’s ouster.

hind Mr. Mnangagwa.

Mr. Mugabe, 93, who has made no comment since his resignation, is in Singapore, where he has regularly received medical treatment.

Party leaders strongly supported Mr. Mnangagwa’s call for the ‘‘unconditional lifting’’ of sanctions. In the past two decades, the United States and European governments have imposed sanctions following the Zimbabwean government’s violation of human rights, including the violent seizure of white-owned farms. Zimbabwe, which became ineligible for multilateral loans after defaulting in the late 1990s, must clear \$1.8 billion it owes to the I.M.F., the World Bank and the African Development Bank before it can be considered for fresh loans.

At a United States Senate hearing on Zimbabwe this week, a State Department official on African affairs, Stephanie Sullivan, said that the United States expected ‘‘economic and political reform’’ in Zimbabwe — a call that immediately caused an angry backlash among Mr. Mnangagwa’s allies.

‘‘I hate the idea that U.S.A. wants to be a prefect of all nations,’’ said Victor Matemadanda, a war veterans leader and ZANU-PF’s political commissar. ‘‘Let them fix all the wrong things with Trump and get to us later.’’

Do not forget the Neediest!

Judge Rejects Mistrial Bid In Case Tied To Sanctions

By BENJAMIN WEISER

For three weeks, a Turkish banker, Mehmet Hakan Atilla, has been on trial in Manhattan, charged with participating in a billion-dollar scheme to smuggle oil for gold in violation of United States sanctions on Iran.

But on Friday, the case took an unusual turn when the judge, Richard M. Berman of Federal District Court, sharply criticized Mr. Atilla's lawyers for injecting a longstanding Turkish political dispute into the case.

"The defense," the judge said, "appears quite willing to join a rather far-fetched conspiracy theory bandwagon, which has been constructed and developed far outside any United States courtroom."

Judge Berman was alluding in part to Turkish officials' harsh attacks on the United States prosecution of Mr. Atilla and a former co-defendant, Reza Zarrab, a Turkish-Iranian businessman who has pleaded guilty and testified against Mr. Atilla.

Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, has called the American charges a fabrication and has blamed the influence of Gulenists — followers of the Islamist cleric Fethullah Gulen, whom Turkey accuses of fomenting last year's failed coup — for the case.

The judge's comments, made while the jury was out of the courtroom, were part of a ruling denying Mr. Atilla's request for a mistrial on the grounds that the government's evidence had not been properly authenticated and was highly prejudicial.

In denying the request for a mistrial, the judge rejected the defense's claims. "In my judgment," he said, "Mr. Atilla has received and is receiving a thoroughly fair and transparent trial."

The judge's allusions to the Gulenist issue, however, seemed to

A banker is accused of helping circumvent an Iran embargo.

underscore the extraordinary nature of the case, which has sent political tremors through Turkey and riveted the public there.

The judge focused his criticism on the cross-examination of a former Turkish police officer, Huseyin Korkmaz, who fled Turkey last year with evidence from a 2013 Turkish corruption investigation that he had supervised, which he later gave to United States authorities.

Turkish officials had quashed the 2013 police investigation and jailed Mr. Korkmaz for a time, the jury has been told.

In one exchange during the cross-examination that the judge cited critically, a defense lawyer, Todd Harrison, noted that Mr. Korkmaz had been freed from prison after a Turkish judge received a letter from Mr. Gulen, asking that Mr. Atilla and others be released. "Correct?" Mr. Harrison asked. "This sounds very illogical to me," Mr. Korkmaz responded, denying that he knew Mr. Gulen or the Turkish judge.

Judge Berman also cited questions in which he said Mr. Harrison appeared to be arguing that Mr. Korkmaz's police promotions were mostly the result of "alleged Gulenist backing."

The judge said the defense's "illogical foreign conspiracy theory has no foundation in the record, and is, in reality, unpersuasive and borderline unprofessional, as a diversion from the issues to be decided in this case."

Mr. Harrison, asked later for comment, said: "I disagree. I think it was legitimate cross-examination."

Earlier Friday, Michael D. Lockard, an assistant United States attorney, announced that the prosecution was resting its case.

After the defense began its presentation, Mr. Atilla started testifying, a decision the defense revealed late Thursday.

Another defense lawyer, Cathy Fleming, asked him, "Did you conspire with Reza Zarrab to evade sanctions?"

"Never," Mr. Atilla said through an interpreter.

"Did you intend to defraud any banks?"

"Never," he repeated.

Ms. Fleming posed several other such questions, drawing much the same response.

"Are you the architect of the schemes that Mr. Zarrab drew for this jury?" she asked, referring to a diagram Mr. Zarrab sketched when he was on the witness stand. "I'm not," Mr. Atilla said.

By RICK GLADSTONE

UNITED NATIONS

WHEN Dr. Natalia Kanem visited a mobile maternal clinic in Syria's war-ravaged city of Homs this year, she was struck by one patient's cause of anxiety. It was not pregnancy.

"The first thing the woman wanted to know was, could I get the blood-pressure medication for her husband," said Dr. Kanem, who leads the United Nations Population Fund, which runs the clinic. Before Dr. Kanem's visit ended, she made sure the woman would get her husband's medicine. "If this is what's on her mind, we've got to accommodate it," she said.

Dr. Kanem, 62, an Ivy League-educated physician and epidemiologist from Panama who has spent three decades working on public health issues in some of the world's most deprived places, said the Homs anecdote helped to illustrate how the United Nations Population Fund, an agency known as UNFPA, does far more than its name might suggest.

With operations in 155 countries and territories, most notably the poorest, the fund is the world's leading provider of family planning services, including contraception. It has sent contraceptives by drone to hard-to-reach parts of Africa. It has helped guide Mongolian midwives over the telephone.

The fund has helped prevent millions of unwanted pregnancies and has sharply reduced maternal deaths in childbirth. It is a major advocate for women's reproductive health.

But the fund's work also can extend in positive ways into other aspects of a woman's life, Dr. Kanem said. Its mobile maternal health clinics, for example, are partly meant to give women safe spaces where they can relax and ask questions about anything, she said, including "things that are happening to their husbands and families."

Dr. Kanem, who was promoted from deputy to executive director of the population fund in October, is among the highest-ranking women at the United Nations and the first Latin American to head the agency.

Speaking with a mix of enthusiasm and what she called a workish love of science and precision, Dr. Kanem said the UNFPA's family planning was liberating millions of women to become educated and productive members of the work force, a profound shift that many developing countries are only now beginning to appreciate for its economic benefits.

Her ascent at the UNFPA has come against the backdrop of heightened global attention to gender abuse issues. Publicity has swelled over sexualized violence against women in conflict zones like Myanmar and South Sudan. Sexually abusive men have been exposed in politics, industry and entertainment — some of it tied to what President Trump's critics regard as his sexist behavior and attitudes toward women.

"I feel there is a historical



NATALIE KEYSAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



JES AZNAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

"Adolescent girls and women in many communities around the world really do not have a say in what happens to them."

DR. NATALIA KANEM

moment happening," Dr. Kanem said, "where voices are much louder this year, than, say, in the past three, four, five years, on women's reproductive health, reproductive rights — there are a confluence of things."

She said her job is punctuated by constant struggles, in what clearly remains a male-dominated society, revolving around a woman's right to choose when or whether to have children.

That right was built into the fund's mandate more than 20 years ago but cannot be taken for granted, Dr. Kanem said during an interview in her New York office, a few blocks from the United Nations headquarters.

"I think the mandate is continually questioned," Dr. Kanem said. "I think that is why the gender factor is really important to understand. It is a gendered world, and right now, adolescent girls and women in many communities around the world really do not have a say in what happens to them."

To many on the religious right in the United States, the fund is a political target that abets sin with American taxpayer money. Last April the Trump administration, in a move that alarmed family planning

advocates but gratified many Republican conservatives, ended American financial support to the UNFPA because of the fund's working relationship with China.

The administration acted under a 1985 law, known as the Kemp-Kasten amendment, which allows the president to withhold funding to any organization deemed to support "coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization."

The administration's decision surprised Dr. Kanem, she said, partly because the United States had concluded in 2015 that the fund was doing exemplary work in China and did not engage in coercive birth control.

"It is the opposite of what we do," Dr. Kanem said of the accusation. "We make the point repeatedly, and I'm repeating now, because we do not wish to have this mistaken impression."

Americans United for Life, a Washington-based group that supported the Trump administration's decision, said it did not mean to imply that the UNFPA is engaged in coercive birth control.

"The determination was made based on China's family planning policies," said Catherine Glenn Foster, president and chief executive of the group. "It's about the

children and young people.

When Secretary General António Guterres appointed Dr. Kanem, he cited credentials that included her penchant for building "strong local, national, international and donor-partner alliances."

Friends and diplomats describe Dr. Kanem as an extraordinary listener who will go out of her way to make strangers feel comfortable and understand other points of view.

"She'll put herself in the shoes of the person she's talking to," said Aicha Bah Diallo, a former education minister in Guinea who helped found the Forum of African Women Educationalists and who has known Dr. Kanem for years. "She knows how to make people happy. If you tell her, 'Oh, I like your dress,' she will just give it to you."

THOUGH Panamanian by birth, Dr. Kanem's ancestry is African. She spent many years living and working in Nigeria and Tanzania, and named her son after Nelson Mandela. Describing herself as Afro-Latina, she showed a visitor cellphone photos of Bolivians of African descent.

"I'm proud to personify the diversity that's in Latin America," she said. "There are a lot of people who are surprised that I'm from Panama." Many Latin Americans of African descent, she said, were "very excited that I'm taking up the tenure."

Dr. Kanem said she first became interested in women's reproductive health when she took a bus and train as a Harvard undergraduate in 1975 to an international women's conference in Mexico City. "Of course I didn't know that this was going to happen then," she said.

She completed her medical education at Columbia University, Johns Hopkins University and the University of Washington.

Dr. Kanem said the UNFPA achieved a notable success this year when the African Union embraced what is known as the demographic dividend, a reference to accelerated economic growth that comes from a reduction in fertility rates, fewer dependents and more educated women in the work force.

By some estimates, Dr. Kanem said, every dollar invested in adolescent reproductive health can yield between \$6 and \$20 in economic benefits. The result has been an increased focus in Africa on the importance of family planning and education for girls, which Dr. Kanem called "a big win for us."

Still, she coupled her optimism about the fund's successes with caution.

"Every time that the discussion on women's reproductive rights and health comes up, there's always danger that there will be pushback," she said. "There's always danger that we have to explain ourselves. We have to show the evidence that projects the rights of women and girls, who really may not be sitting around the table but we are representing them."

U.N. Condemns Prisoner Executions in Iraq

By NICK CUMMING-BRUCE

GENEVA — The United Nations said Friday that it was appalled by a mass execution of prisoners in Iraq and called for an immediate halt to executions, citing flaws in the country's criminal justice system.

Iraq's Ministry of Justice said 38 prisoners were executed on terrorism-related charges in the southern city of Nasiriya on Thursday, but it gave no details of the prisoners' identities or the offenses for which they were sentenced to death.

"Given the flaws of the Iraqi justice system, it appears extremely doubtful that strict due process and fair trial guarantees were followed in these 38 cases," Elizabeth Throssell, a spokeswoman for the United Nations human rights office in Geneva, told reporters. "This raises the prospect of irreversible miscarriages of justice and violations of the right to life."

Iraqi courts are dealing with thousands of prisoners, including foreigners and hundreds of children, some as young as 13, who were detained in the past two years because they were suspected of being Islamic State fighters or supporters.

Grotesque accounts of summary executions and the brutal torture of detainees suspected of being Islamic State fighters underscore the powerful impulse for revenge against the militants, who carried out atrocities in the areas they seized after 2014.

United Nations human rights officials have said that speeding up the execution of accused militants could result in the deaths of innocent people. They warn that

perceptions of injustice risk deepening the antagonism between Sunni and Shiite Muslims, and lay the foundation for another cycle of sectarian violence.

Thursday's executions raised the number of people believed to have been executed this year to 106, Ms. Throssell said, but the actual number could be much higher.

United Nations officials learned of the executions from a statement posted on the Ministry of Justice's Facebook page, she said. The government has stopped providing information on executions, and human rights investigators suspect that many go unrecorded.

Iraqi authorities disclosed 88 executions in 2016, but the number could have been as high as 116, Ms. Throssell said. Human rights groups fear that the pace of executions is set to rise.

Thursday's executions were the largest number in Iraq on a single day since September, when 42 people were hanged in the same prison in Nasiriya.

The prison is believed to have about 6,000 prisoners on death row, Agnes Callamard, a United Nations human rights expert monitoring extrajudicial executions, said in an email.

Iraq's judicial authorities have tried or convicted at least 7,374 people on suspicion of Islamic State links since 2014, Human Rights Watch said this month in a report.

A judge in one Iraqi province told the report's researchers that a counterterrorism court, established to try prisoners seized in the battle to recapture Mosul, had started trials of more than 5,500

people and had sentenced 200 in a six-month period that ended in August.

Iraqi authorities have a right to prosecute militants' crimes to protect public security, but the judicial procedures are flawed, Human Rights Watch said.

"Everybody has a public defense lawyer, but it does not appear that they are engaging in the trial," said Belkis Wille, Human Rights Watch's senior Iraq researcher. "They are sitting there because it's required by Iraqi law; they are not sitting there because they are providing a defense."

Iraqi authorities appeared to be prosecuting suspects under counterterrorism laws that impose harsh sentences, including the death penalty and life imprisonment, for membership in the Islamic State, without taking into account the gravity of the offenses they are accused of committing, Human Rights Watch said.

There was no difference between a cook for the Islamic State or a fighter, a counterterrorism court judge told Ms. Wille. "A fighter couldn't go out and kill the next morning if he hadn't had a good meal the night before," she said the judge told her. "So they're both equally culpable."

The Islamic State would never have come into existence if the United States military had executed detainees in its Camp Bucca prison, Ms. Wille said the counterterrorism judge told her. He went on to remark, she said, "This time around we need to make sure we kill them all."

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Fancy Sausages and a \$2 Million Bribe: A Trial Reveals Kremlin Infighting

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

MOSCOW — Aleksei V. Ulyukayev, a former economy minister in Russia who had clashed with a close ally of President Vladimir V. Putin, was convicted on Friday of soliciting a \$2 million bribe, in a case that pulled back the curtain on Kremlin infighting.

Mr. Ulyukayev and his supporters insisted the evidence against him was concocted to eliminate a critic of growing state dominance in the oil industry. But the judge, Larisa Semenova, rejected the arguments that the former minister had been framed and sided with prosecutors, who called it an open-and-shut case of corruption.

Judge Semenova sentenced Mr. Ulyukayev, who had been locked in a struggle with Igor I. Sechin, the director of the state oil company Rosneft, over how to revive the swooning Russian economy, to eight years in a penal colony and a fine of 130 million rubles, or \$2.2 million.

The punishment was less than the 10-year sentence and 500 million-ruble fine sought by prosecutors. Mr. Ulyukayev’s lawyers said they would appeal.

Russia’s smoothly executed military operations in Ukraine and Syria, and allegations of election meddling in the United States, have lent Mr. Putin an air of mystery and monolithic power, but the case against Mr. Ulyukayev shed light on the jockeying for position among members of the president’s inner circle.

Mr. Ulyukayev had been a prominent member of a liberal wing in the Russian government, and he was accused of seeking a huge bribe from Mr. Sechin in exchange for acquiescing to a major oil deal he had initially opposed.

Mr. Sechin, a former military intelligence officer and longtime associate of Mr. Putin, has argued



MAXIM ZMEYEV/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Aleksei V. Ulyukayev, Russia’s former economy minister, at his sentencing Friday in Moscow. He was convicted in a corruption trial.

for Russia to return to a state-dominated economy, particularly in the oil industry. Mr. Ulyukayev, a protégé of Yegor Gaidar, the architect of post-Soviet privatizations, is an advocate of free-market economics.

Mr. Sechin accused Mr. Ulyukayev of seeking the bribe in exchange for dropping objections to the state oil company’s acquisition of a recently nationalized

midsize oil producer, Bashneft.

The sale was billed as a privatization, but Mr. Ulyukayev contended that privatization was impossible if the buyer was a state company.

Mr. Sechin said the former minister had solicited the bribe in October 2016, but only with a gesture: During a game of pool, he said, Mr. Ulyukayev held up two fingers, signaling that his price

was \$2 million.

A few weeks after the pool game, at the oil company headquarters, secret listening devices and a concealed video camera recorded Mr. Sechin offering Mr. Ulyukayev a gift basket that contained artisanal sausages made from wild game and a hefty brown bag. Mr. Ulyukayev said he believed the bag held bottles of wine; in fact, it contained \$2 mil-

lion in blocks of \$100 bills, weighing about 45 pounds.

Although the court ruled in his favor, Mr. Sechin did not emerge unscathed. Over Mr. Sechin’s objections, the hearings were held in open session, which exposed details of the sting operation and the dealings of the Kremlin elite, like the common practice of giving lavish gifts.

At his annual year-end news

Report Calls the Church of England Unfair to a Bishop Accused of Abuse

By ALAN COWELL

LONDON — At a time of a sharpening global focus on cases of sexual abuse dating back decades, an authoritative and highly critical report accused the Church of England on Friday of failing to respect “the rights of both sides” in investigating allegations made long after his death against one of its most revered bishops.

The case, involving Bishop George Bell and accusations that he abused a young girl in the 1940s and 1950s, raised tangled questions about the rights and reputations of people who have died and are thus unable to defend themselves against abuse charges. Mr. Bell died in 1958, but the accusations were not made until 1995.

In 2015, the Church of England issued a formal apology and paid compensation of 16,800 pounds — around \$22,000 at today’s exchange rates — to a woman in her 70s, identified only by a pseudonym, Carol, who had accused Mr. Bell of serial abuse over four years, beginning when she was five. The abuse was said to have happened in the palace Mr. Bell inhabited as the bishop of Chichester.

Before the accusations surfaced, Mr. Bell had been viewed as an almost saintly figure, known for his condemnation of Allied bombing of civilian targets in World War II and for sheltering Jewish children evacuated from Nazi Germany to Britain under the Kindertransport program. But after the allegations, the report said, Mr. Bell was “treated as having been guilty.”

In 2016, the Church of England asked Lord Carlile, a lawyer and former adviser to the government on terrorism legislation, to review the case. He sent his 74-page report to the church two months ago

but it was not made public until Friday.

“It was not part of my task to consider the truth of the allegations, and I have not done so,” Lord Carlile said in his report. But, while he had concluded the Church of England figures charged with investigating the accusations had “acted throughout in good faith,” their inquiries had been “deficient in a number of respects.”

“It is axiomatic that, in appropriate cases, the church should be ready to acknowledge sexual

Citing the ‘value’ of the ‘reputations of the dead’ in an inquiry.

abuse committed by the clergy,” he said. “However, that does not mean that the reputations of the dead are without value.”

In the case he was asked to review, he said, the available evidence did not suggest there would have been “a realistic prospect of conviction” in court, the standard that prosecutors in England and Wales use in deciding whether to pursue a case.

Rather, he said, “there was a rush to judgment: The church, feeling it should be both supportive of the complainant and transparent in its dealings, failed to engage in a process which would also give proper consideration to the rights of the bishop. Such rights should not be treated as having been extinguished on death.”

Church of England figures rejected one part of Lord Carlile’s report, which urged that the names of those accused of abuse should

in some circumstances be kept secret unless there are “adverse findings of fact” and “it has also been decided that making the identity public is required in the public interest.”

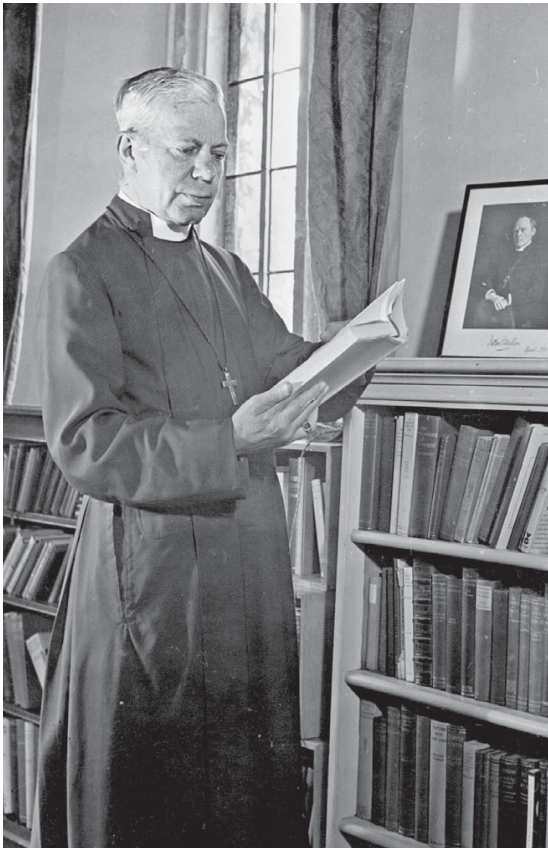
The Most Rev. Justin Welby, the archbishop of Canterbury, who is the leader of the Church of England and the spiritual head of the broader Anglican Communion, disputed the case for confidentiality, saying the church was “committed to transparency and therefore we would take a different approach.”

But, referring to the processes by which Mr. Bell’s case was investigated, he said in a statement: “We accept that improvement is necessary, in all cases including those where the person complained about is dead. We are utterly committed to seeking to ensure just outcomes for all. We apologize for the failures of the process.”

He also seemed to offer a more nuanced view of Mr. Bell than the bishop’s critics have been prepared to countenance, calling him “one of the great Anglican heroes of the 20th century.”

“No human being is entirely good or bad,” Mr. Welby said. “Bishop Bell was in many ways a hero. He is also accused of great wickedness. Good acts do not diminish evil ones, nor do evil ones make it right to forget the good. Whatever is thought about the accusations, the whole person and whole life should be kept in mind.”

According to the accusations made against him, Mr. Bell took the young Carol to secluded parts of the palace, and had her sit on his lap. He performed acts that he told her showed that she had been “chosen by God as a special child but that I must not tell anyone or God would be angry,” she said in



TOPICAL PRESS AGENCY, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Bishop George Bell in 1943. He died in 1958. A woman accused him in 1995 of having abused her over a four-year period.

an email sent in 1995 to one of Mr. Bell’s successors as bishop of Chichester.

Mr. Carlile’s report was published on the same day a panel in Australia uncovered what it described as an epidemic of child sexual abuse going back decades, with tens of thousands of cases of in schools, religious organizations and other institutions.

This case, however, also reflects a particular British reckoning

with past sexual abuse. The country has been grappling with evidence of widespread malfeasance in past decades since 2012, when Jimmy Savile, a television personality who had died the previous year, was revealed to have been a serial sexual predator. A subsequent police investigation, Operation Yewtree, questioned many entertainers and other prominent people, and secured several convictions.

conference on Thursday, Mr. Putin chastised Mr. Sechin for ignoring a summons to testify at court. “Sechin should have come to court,” Putin said. “What is the problem anyway?”

Mr. Putin did offer a mild defense of Mr. Sechin, saying that no law had been broken when he refused to testify, despite critics who argued otherwise.

Igor M. Bunin, the president of the Center for Political Technologies, said in a telephone interview that Mr. Ulyukayev’s undoing was that he had fallen from favor with Mr. Putin, in part for delivering bad economic news.

“It’s one thing to support the liberal course, another to fail to create a good personal relationship with Putin,” Mr. Bunin said. Earlier in his career, for example, Mr. Ulyukayev, then deputy governor of the central bank, had been passed over for a promotion to bank governor after pushing back against Kremlin pressure to spur economic growth by lowering interest rates, saying such a move risked sparking inflation.

In his closing statement earlier this month, Mr. Ulyukayev protested his innocence and said the court proceedings had evoked the era of show trials in Russia under Joseph Stalin. “The evidence shows that I’ve been targeted in a monstrous provocation,” he said.

Speaking of Mr. Sechin’s refusal to testify, Mr. Ulyukayev said the oil executive had vanished and “only the smell of sulfur in the air was left,” a reference to the “The Master and Margarita,” the riotous Russian novel by Mikhail Bulgakov about the devil appearing in Stalin’s Moscow.

Anybody could fall victim to a fabricated criminal case, Mr. Ulyukayev said. “Now this is very easy: A bag, a basket, a poorly filmed video, three clicks and it is ready,” he said.

Conviction For Surgeon Who Initialed Two Livers

By KIMIKO de FREYTA-TAMURA

LONDON — A prominent British surgeon who etched his initials onto the livers of two patients, in a case that shocked many with its audacity, has been convicted of assault.

The surgeon, Simon Bramhall, who gained fame in 2010 after successfully transplanting a plane-crash victim’s liver into a patient, pleaded guilty in Birmingham, England, on Thursday to two counts of assault by beating.

The case divided opinion in Britain. Many have expressed outrage, while others — including some former patients — have defended him.

According to British news reports, Mr. Bramhall, 53, admitted to using an argon beam — an electrified gas jet that liver surgeons typically employ to stanch bleeding or to mark an area of operation on an organ — to etch “SB,” his initials, onto the livers.

Argon beam marks are usually not harmful and would normally disappear. But they were apparently discovered by a colleague when one of the patients underwent a follow-up operation.

Mr. Bramhall was subsequently suspended from his position as a consultant surgeon at Birmingham’s Queen Elizabeth hospital in 2013. He resigned a year later.

Joyce Robins, who represented Patient Concern, a campaign group, was quoted by The Guardian as saying at the time: “This is a patient we are talking about, not an autograph book.”

At Birmingham Crown Court on Thursday, the lead prosecutor, Tony Badenoch, said that Mr. Bramhall’s guilty pleas “represent an acceptance that that which he did was not just ethically wrong but criminally wrong.”

The surgeon’s actions, he said, were “a highly unusual and complex case” without precedent in criminal law.

“It was an intentional application of unlawful force to a patient whilst anesthetized,” he said. “His acts in marking the livers of those patients were deliberate and conscious acts.”

Earlier this year, the General Medical Council issued a formal warning to Mr. Bramhall.

On Thursday, according to British news reports, Mr. Bramhall was released on unconditional bail, with a sentencing hearing scheduled for January. Assault can be punished with a fine, community service or up to six months in prison.

Mr. Bramhall could not be reached for comment this week.

Tracy Scriven, one of Mr. Bramhall’s former patients, came to his defense.

“Even if he did put his initials on a transplanted liver, is it really that bad?” she told The Birmingham Mail in 2014. “I wouldn’t have cared if he did it to me. The man saved my life.”

Keep the Date: Britain Sets Royal Wedding for May 19

By ALAN COWELL

LONDON — Prince Harry and Meghan Markle have set a marriage date for May 19, Britain’s royal family announced on Friday.

The couple said shortly after announcing their engagement in late November that they were planning a May wedding at St. George’s Chapel in Windsor Castle, west of London. On Friday, the royal family gave the date.

Word of the impending marriage has inspired some Britons to hope that, midway through a chilly season, with uncertainty surrounding the nation’s place in Europe and the world, the wedding will inject a shimmer of glitz into an otherwise dull agenda for 2018.

Susanne Fowler contributed reporting.

The plans present something of a conflict, however, for Prince Harry’s older brother, Prince William.

Prince William is president of the English Football Association, and May 19 is the date of the F.A. Cup final, one of the biggest English soccer matches of the year. (He presented the trophy to this year’s winner, Arsenal.)

The May nuptials will be the first royal wedding since April 29, 2011, when Prince William and Catherine Middleton were married at Westminster Abbey in London.

Like his brother’s wedding, Prince Harry’s is expected to draw a crowd: Immediately after the date was announced on Friday, rooms in hotels in and around Windsor were disappearing from websites like Booking.com and Expedia.



TOBY MELVILLE/REUTERS

Prince Harry and Meghan Markle in London last month. Their wedding, planned for St. George’s Chapel in Windsor Castle, will conflict with one of the biggest English soccer matches of the year.

Nepal Communists' Victories May Signal Closer China Ties

This article is by **Bhadra Sharma, Rajneesh Bhandari and Kai Schultz**.

KATHMANDU, Nepal — Communist parties in Nepal with closer ties to neighboring China have emerged victorious in the country's largest democratic exercise ever.

A powerful political coalition of two communist parties led by former prime ministers, Pushpa Kamal Dahal and K. P. Sharma Oli, won a majority of the contested seats in two legislative bodies, the Parliament and the Provincial Assembly.

Vote counting began shortly after polls closed on Dec. 7, but the results did not become clear until this week. On Friday, a spokesman for Nepal's election commission said his office had to tally up only a small number of votes.

The defeat of Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba's governing Nepali Congress party is likely to have significant foreign policy implications for Nepal, a landlocked country squeezed between India and China.

Mr. Deuba's government recently oversaw the cancellation of an award granted by a Chinese company to develop a large hydropower project in Nepal. Politicians say that decisions like that could be reversed under the leadership of politicians like Mr. Oli of the Communist Party of Nepal, who took a harder line against India when he served as prime minister.

Nepal has been through turmoil in recent years. A decade-long insurgency led by Maoist rebels left more than 17,000 people dead before a 2006 peace deal ushered in democracy. In April 2015, a series of earthquakes dealt another devastating blow, killing nearly 9,000 people and destroying hundreds of thousands of homes.

When Nepal's Constitution was finally adopted in September 2015 after long, contentious delays, ethnic groups living along the country's southern border with India mobilized in deadly protests



NARENDRA SHRESTHA/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

A Communist Party of Nepal rally in Kathmandu on Tuesday. Polls closed Dec. 7, but the results did not become clear until this week.

against provisions that they saw as discriminatory against women, indigenous communities and those from lower castes.

India also perked up. During the protests, a five-month blockade was imposed along the border, pinching off a crucial supply of medicine and construction materials flowing into Nepal. Thousands of people who had lost their homes during the earthquakes shivered in tin shacks.

Many said India had spearheaded the blockade because of its internal objections to the Constitution and as punishment for the Kathmandu political establishment's increasingly cozy relationship with China, which has

pumped millions of dollars into investment projects in Nepal.

Over the past couple of years, anti-India sentiment has compounded in pockets of Nepal, though some observers say concerns about geopolitical maneuvering by China and India are overplayed.

"If India fails to establish itself as a credible development partner of Nepal, the Chinese will surely gain in popularity," said S. D. Muni, a fellow at the New Delhi-based Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses.

The elections this month filled more than 800 seats in Nepal's Parliament and state assemblies, with some voters in rural areas

walking for hours through mountainous Himalayan terrain to cast their ballots.

A splinter political party led by Maoist militants had threatened to derail the elections by planting land mines and targeting civilians. Thousands of police officers were dispatched to polling sites.

Voters said they were elated that the elections took place at all, expressing cautious optimism that new political leadership could offer stability to a country that has had 10 prime ministers in less than a decade.

"I hope they'll deliver what they have promised," said Prachandra Ram Shrestha, a 50-year-old entrepreneur.

The Nepal Communist Party, the Maoist party responsible for the attacks, had called for the elections to be dismissed and for Nepal's parliamentary system to be replaced with a socialist one. But apart from a bombing on Nov. 29 that killed one person, voting was mostly peaceful.

Rajendra Mahato, a leader of the smaller Rastriya Janata Party Nepal, said that it was still unclear whether the newest iteration of Nepal's government has the latitude or political will to deliver on campaign promises. Unresolved issues with the Constitution could still hold the country back, he said.

"Protests haven't ended," he said.

Ex-Interpol Chief Denies Cover-Up in '94 Bombing

By **DANIEL POLITI**

BUENOS AIRES — A former chief of Interpol says that Argentina bungled the investigation into a 1994 terrorist attack at a Jewish community center, a crime that has newly roiled the country's political establishment.

The crime has never been formally solved. In 2015, a special prosecutor concluded that it was likely that Argentine officials had colluded with Iran to cover up that country's role in the attack, which killed 85 people.

But the prosecutor was killed in mysterious circumstances, and last week, a federal judge requested that a former president, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, be arrested and charged with treason, saying she had taken part in the cover-up.

The judge made another startling claim, asserting that Ronald K. Noble, an American and a former New York University law professor who led the International Criminal Police Organization, known as Interpol, from 2000 to 2014, participated in the cover-up.

This week, Mr. Noble vehemently rejected that claim, accusing the judge, Claudio Bonadio, of bringing forward a poorly investigated case. Mr. Noble said he was baffled that Judge Bonadio did not bother to contact him before accusing him in a criminal proceeding of abetting a secret deal to get international fugitive records, known as red notices, rescinded

as part of an effort to mend ties between Argentina and Iran.

"I was surprised that Judge Bonadio could have been so biased and issue a false, misleading and incomplete report," Mr. Noble said in a series of email exchanges this week.

Mr. Noble's rebuke is the latest twist in a yearslong quest to ascertain responsibility in the July 1994 bombing of the Argentine Jewish Mutual Aid Association community center, known as the AMIA for the initials of its name in Spanish. The bombing was the deadliest terrorist attack in the country's history.

Judge Bonadio on Dec. 7 took the rare step of calling for the detention of Mrs. Kirchner, who was recently sworn in as a senator, calling her supposed effort to shield Iranians from facing justice a high crime.

Mrs. Kirchner and the other defendants appealed the ruling this week and are set to return to court on Tuesday for a hearing before a higher court.

Mr. Noble said he was stunned by how badly Argentine judicial officials had botched the investigation into the bombing.

"There has never been a case at Interpol with the kind of investigative, prosecutorial and judicial problems that have allowed a murderous terrorist attack where 85 persons were killed and many more wounded more than 20 years ago to go unpunished," he



MOHD FYROL/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Ronald K. Noble, a former leader of Interpol, was accused by an Argentine judge of cooperating with a cover-up into an investigation of a 1994 terrorist attack at a Jewish community center.

said.

Since the ruling was issued, Judge Bonadio has come under attack from all sides of the political spectrum. Experts and politicians have questioned the strength of his evidence and suggested that it may have been politically motivated.

Judge Bonadio did not respond to a request for comment.

He is not the first to implicate Interpol in a cover-up in the bombing case. Alberto Nisman, the special prosecutor appointed to investigate the bombing, made a

similar allegation against Mrs. Kirchner shortly before he died under mysterious circumstances in January 2015. Mr. Nisman alleged that the Argentine government asked Interpol to pull red notices filed against Iranians as part of a deal that sought to expand commerce between the nations.

An investigation into Mr. Nisman's death is continuing.

"There is no evidence to support Judge Bonadio's conclusion that there existed some kind of secret agreement between Argentina and Interpol to remove

the AMIA red notices," Mr. Noble, 61, wrote. "If Judge Bonadio were interested in the truth, he could have contacted Interpol's former general counsel."

Judge Bonadio suggested in his ruling that Mr. Noble might have enabled Mrs. Kirchner because the former Interpol chief had a "close relationship" with former Foreign Minister Héctor Timerman, who was also charged with treason in the case last week. Mr. Timerman, who is undergoing cancer treatment, is under house arrest.

Mexican Congress Bolsters Military's Role in Drug War, Outraging Critics

By **ELISABETH MALKIN**

MEXICO CITY — Mexico's Congress passed a law on Friday that strengthens the military's role in fighting organized crime, defying an outcry from human rights groups, police experts and even United Nations officials who warned that the measure will lead to abuses.

The law, which President Enrique Peña Nieto is expected to sign, sets up a legal framework to deploy soldiers in regions controlled by drug gangs.

The law's supporters argue that it ends a dozen years of improvised orders that place soldiers on the streets with no clear mission and no deadline.

But critics say the new rules will vastly expand military authority without checks and balances and offers no exit strategy to cede eventual leadership of the campaign to combat drugs to an effective police force.

"This bill effectively displaces the Constitution," said Alejandro

Madrazo Lajous, a constitutional expert at the CIDE, a Mexico City university. "It allows the president to unilaterally militarize any part of the country for any time he considers necessary or adequate without any control either by congress or the judiciary,"

Unlike the rest of Latin America, where long military dictatorships have left indelible scars, Mexico has had civilian control over the armed forces for the past century as part of an unspoken agreement that allows officers latitude over the areas they command.

The drug war has disrupted that equilibrium, opening the military to charges of human rights abuses and rattling commanders who have asked the government to restore "order and sense" to their mission.

Since former President Felipe Calderón first sent troops to fight drug gangs at the end of 2006, more than 200,000 people have been killed in the drug war, and 31,000 people have disappeared, according to official statistics.

The violence has surged as Mr.

Peña Nieto begins his final year in office. This year has been the deadliest in two decades, and the government has yet to announce any plan to confront the violence.

Mr. Peña Nieto has ordered soldiers into more states as fragmenting gangs expand their criminal operations and the local authorities simply throw up their hands. Senator Roberto Gil, an architect of the new law, said that the military now operated in 27 of Mexico's 32 states, compared with six when Mr. Peña Nieto took office five years ago.

Mr. Gil, who is a member of the conservative opposition National Action Party, said the intent of the new law was to establish controls over the president's power to place soldiers on the streets.

Over the past 12 years, there has been "no law, no procedures and no tracks" to guide military deployment, he said. The president's power could be exercised arbitrarily, and governors have used the military as a crutch rather than set up their own police forces.

Under the new law, Mr. Gil said,

the president must outline the reasons for sending in troops through a public executive order that is valid for a year. If the situation does not improve, the president can extend the intervention but must explain why.

"Federal intervention should be very precise and short-lived," he said. In response to critics who argued that the law simply continues the bad incentive for governors and mayors to rely on military intervention, he added a clause that would require them to outline their plans, and spending, on bolstering law enforcement.

But critics say the addition is merely a patch on a law that gives new power to the military.

Critics point to other elements of the law that shut off oversight. Information on the military operations will be classified, available to only one congressional commission, which meets in secret.

The armed forces "don't have to be accountable to anybody," said Santiago Aguirre, the deputy director of the Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez Center for Human Rights in Mexico City.

Since the law was first presented in congress two weeks ago, there has been outpouring against it. Human rights groups united in opposition, pointing to the rise in abuses committed by the military in the drug war. The government's National Human Rights Commission and its transparency institute have opposed it. Presidents of major universities have spoken out against it.

The United Nations high commissioner for human rights, Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein, and the United Nations special rapporteur on arbitrary executions, along with other United Nations experts, also raised concerns.

Mr. Aguirre said there was a political imperative behind the quick vote. The armed forces "are interested in showing that they have political power" ahead of next year's election.

Andrés Manuel López Obrador, the leftist former mayor of Mexico City, leads in the polls. He has yet to present a clear security policy, but he recently floated the idea of granting amnesty to some drug traffickers.

Peru Leader Faces Ouster Over Links To Builder

By **ANDREA ZARATE and NICHOLAS CASEY**

LIMA, Peru — Lawmakers voted on Friday to begin proceedings that could oust President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski of Peru, the latest leader accused of involvement in a corruption scandal that has shaken some of Latin America's biggest countries.

The dispute involves Odebrecht, a Brazilian construction giant, which last year admitted to paying roughly \$800 million in payoffs in exchange for lucrative projects. That revelation set off a flurry of investigations by prosecutors and lawmakers, principally in Latin America, seeking to learn who was on the receiving end of the payments.

According to documents sent to Congress and released this week, Odebrecht paid \$782,000 in advisory fees to Westfield Capital, a company Mr. Kuczynski owns. Most of the payments occurred between 2004 and 2007, while Mr. Kuczynski served as Peru's economy minister and prime minister.

On Friday, lawmakers voted overwhelmingly to move ahead with proceedings next week that could remove Mr. Kuczynski from office, on the grounds that he is "morally handicapped." They scheduled a hearing for Thursday, at which Mr. Kuczynski is expected to present a defense.

"This scandal has highlighted the moral misery of our political regime," Alberto Quintanilla, a lawmaker with the New Peru party, said before the vote.

Mr. Kuczynski's opponents would need a two-thirds majority to remove him. The vote on Friday was 97 to 17.

"By Christmas we will probably have a new president," Eduardo Dargent, a political-science professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, said before the vote. He noted that Mr. Kuczynski's party holds only a few seats in Congress to defend him. Unlike impeachment proceedings, the ouster proposed by lawmakers would not require a lengthy trial, he said.

Mr. Kuczynski, 79, has refused to step down. On Thursday night the president gave a speech in which he said he had done nothing wrong, but he did not deny that payments were made. "I'm not running, I'm not hiding, I have no reason to do so," he said.

Mr. Kuczynski said he had invoices for the transactions, adding that while Westfield Capital did belong to him, he had not managed it personally. He said he had reported the transactions to the authorities in January and had not signed any contracts with Odebrecht.

"I am an honest man and have been all my life," he added.

Mr. Kuczynski's center-right Peruvians for Change party holds only 18 of the legislature's 130 seats. His main rival, Keiko Fujimori, lost to him in the last presidential election, in June 2016, but maintains a large majority in the legislature through her right-wing Popular Force party.

In September, the opposition party flexed its muscles by staging a no-confidence vote against the president, and calling for the entire cabinet to resign and for Mr. Kuczynski to pick new ministers.

"The president increasingly appears unlikely to serve out his term in office," wrote Fernando Frejedo, an analyst with the Economist Intelligence Unit, in a note to clients on Friday.

Mr. Kuczynski is the latest in a growing list of leaders who have been accused or sentenced to crimes related to the scandal.

On Wednesday, a court in Ecuador sentenced the country's vice president, Jorge Glas, to six years in prison on charges of receiving millions of dollars in bribes from Odebrecht through his uncle.

In October, an ousted Brazilian prosecutor released a tape in which an Odebrecht official said that President Nicolás Maduro of Venezuela had accepted millions in campaign contributions in exchange for contracts.

Two former Peruvian presidents also face charges of accepting bribes, with one in jail and another at large.

Prosecutors have said Odebrecht paid bribes on 100 projects in more than a dozen countries, in one case buying a local bank branch to hide the transactions, and even opening a division dedicated to payoffs.

Throughout Latin America, the company built bridges, dams, power plants and roads, along with a highway linking Brazil and Peru that greatly exceeded its budget. Nearly three years of investigations have prompted at least 77 Brazilian Odebrecht executives to sign plea deals, and led to the imprisonment of the company's former chief executive, Marcelo Odebrecht.

Paulina Villegas contributed reporting.

Andrea Zarate reported from Lima, and Nicholas Casey from Hanga Roa, Chile.

Bracing for Reversals In Health Coverage As Trump Cuts Kick In

Resources and Enrollment Period Shrink

By KATE ZERNIKE
and ROBERT PEAR

PLAINFIELD, N.J. — Denise English was one of just two employees working six days a week to handle the crowd of people signing up for health insurance under the Affordable Care Act at a neighborhood health clinic here, as the Friday deadline for open enrollment loomed.

Most of the people who sat waiting wanted to speak to her co-worker, who speaks Spanish. But Ms. English — she speaks only “un poquito” — was doing her best, her phone open to Google Translate, as she tried to help clients like Ana Gonzalez and Celso Morales, who moved here from Puerto Rico in April, sign up for a subsidized health plan.

“Obamacare,” Mr. Morales said, using one of the few English words he knows.

With the law’s enrollment period shortened and outreach resources cut under the Trump administration this year, people like Ms. English have been working urgently to preserve one of the major achievements of the health law — the remarkable decline it brought in the proportion of blacks and Hispanics without health insurance.

“Without question,” said Dr. David Satcher, a former surgeon general of the United States, “the Affordable Care Act represents the biggest gain in coverage we’ve seen for African Americans since the creation of Medicare and Medicaid” more than a half-century ago.

Steven T. Lopez, a health-policy specialist at UnidosUS, a Hispanic rights group formerly known as the National Council of La Raza, echoed that assessment. “The law has resulted in historic coverage gains for our community,” he said.

Nationwide, the Trump administration slashed spending to advertise open enrollment and sharply reduced grants to insurance counselors known as navigators who help people sign up for coverage. Here in New Jersey, the navigator budget was cut 62 percent, to about \$720,000, from \$1.9 million last year. The administration also cut in half the enrollment period for the federal insurance marketplace, used by New Jersey and 38 other states, to 45 days.

Just as the gains have helped blacks and Hispanics, the cutbacks are likely to hurt most in communities like this one, a small city in central New Jersey where blacks and Hispanics account for a majority of residents.

“We know how much the one-on-one assistance meant to getting people enrolled, particularly in communities of color, and I think in communities where Eng-

lish is not the primary language spoken,” said Maura Collinsgru, the health care program director for New Jersey Citizen Action, which joined other nonprofit groups in setting up a website, CoverNJ, to encourage enrollment despite the hurdles this year. “That’s really where there was a great deal of effort put over the last several years — we have lost that almost completely.”

Hispanics and African-Americans are still much more likely than whites to be uninsured. But the health law has markedly reduced racial and ethnic disparities in coverage.

Among adults age 18 to 64, the uninsured rate for Hispanics is now about 17.9 percentage points higher than for whites, down from a difference of 26 percentage points in 2013, according to the National Center for Health Statistics. And the uninsured rate for blacks is 4.6 percentage points higher than for whites, compared with a gap of 10.4 points in 2013.

Before the Affordable Care Act, large numbers of Hispanics were uninsured, in part because many had low-wage jobs that did not offer insurance. Even with the health care law, many Hispanics are ineligible for Medicaid and insurance subsidies because of their immigration status.

Still, the overall rate of Hispanics without health insurance is down to 16 percent, from 24.4 percent in 2013. The rate of uninsured African-Americans has dropped only slightly less dramatically, to 10.5 percent from 15.9 percent in 2013, according to the Census Bureau.

Dr. Satcher said the gains in coverage are also threatened by cuts in federal subsidies paid to insurance companies on behalf of low-income people and by provisions of the Republican tax bill that would, in effect, eliminate the requirement for people to have coverage.

Demand for health insurance through the Affordable Care Act marketplaces has remained strong during this enrollment period — sign-ups were running ahead of the same period last year, even in states like New Jersey, where Republican governors have been lukewarm about promoting the health law. But because the enrollment period in the HealthCare.gov marketplace was half as long, the overall number of people who sign up is expected to be lower than in the last couple of years. (A preliminary tally is likely to become available next week.)

The effects of the federal cuts on minority residents are evident in the work of the Center for Family Services, which serves seven counties over 3,000 square miles



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DEMETRIUS FREEMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Denise English, above, speaking with Sally Benjamin at the Neighborhood Health Center in Plainfield, N.J., where a waiting room held more people as the deadline for open enrollment approached.

in southern New Jersey.

The nonprofit had its federal funding cut by 64 percent, reducing the number of navigators from 21 who spoke six languages between them to 6 who speak English and Spanish. As a result, it stopped doing enrollment at several locations in Camden, a poor and majority black and Hispanic city.

“We’re not reaching out to those communities because there’s less of us,” said Pamela Gray, a navigator with the group, one of five that received the federal funding in New Jersey. “We’re still getting out there and doing events,” she said, “but the less people, the less people you’re able to serve.”

Over the past six weeks, the Black AIDS Institute, in partnership with a dozen other health care and civil rights groups, has held enrollment events in 18 cities including Atlanta; Richmond, Va.; Chicago; and Los Angeles. The goal, said Lestian McNeal, the program coordinator for the institute, was to “fill the void in government support created by the Trump administration.”

The groups sought out uninsured African-Americans, especially those at risk of developing AIDS. In some cases, Mr. McNeal said, “enrollment assisters” helped people find plans that were essentially free because financial assistance in the form of tax credits covered the entire premium.

Across the country, many public libraries held open enrollment events, hoping to fill in the gap where there were fewer naviga-



tors.

The Neighborhood Health center here has tried to make up for the loss of federal funds by going into local churches to remind people that open enrollment was coming to an end and setting up a makeshift enrollment center near a bustling pediatric clinic.

But because of budget cuts, the center laid off three people who had done enrollment counseling — including one who spoke Spanish and one fluent in Creole.

Without many television ads, Ms. English said, people seem to be getting their information about the Affordable Care Act from the news, where Republicans are repeatedly threatening to repeal the law and warning that insurance markets are collapsing.

“The cuts to advertising, and the media, have put it in people’s

head that it’s going to be too high and they can’t afford it,” Ms. English said. “Then when we do tell them what it’s going to cost, they would just be shocked. ‘Oh, the media said it was going to be expensive.’ We say, No, no, you just need to do it.”

Ms. Gonzalez and Mr. Morales, who moved to New Jersey from Puerto Rico, came to sign up for coverage on the advice of one of his co-workers after Mr. Morales was told he has diabetes. The couple — she is 54 and he is 58 — qualified for Medicaid in Puerto Rico, but in New Jersey, their income is too high. They earn about \$35,000 a year between her job at Target and his work laying stones for a construction company. With the Affordable Care Act tax credit, they will pay just under \$200 a month to cover the two of them, a sum that seemed to please Ms.

Gonzalez.

Lisbeth Lopez, 23, whose parents came to the United States from Colombia, had seen ads for open enrollment on a Spanish language television station. She had coverage as a college student, but she graduated in May and has been unable to find work as a paralegal.

“I’m hoping to get a job soon, but I have to start paying for health insurance,” she said. While some of her friends think they can get by without it, she said, “I just imagine what if something happens to me, where do I turn?”

She had come with her brother, who was signing up, and her mother, who signed up two weeks ago. “We had to look for seats,” her brother, Luis Valentin, said. And after two hours of waiting, there were still eight people waiting to be helped before them.

Court Temporarily Blocks Rule Letting Employers Forgo Contraceptive Care

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON — A federal court on Friday blocked Trump administration rules that made it easier for employers to deny insurance coverage of contraceptives for women.

Judge Wendy Beetlestone of the Federal District Court in Philadelphia issued a preliminary injunction, saying the rules contradicted the text of the Affordable Care Act by allowing many employers to opt out of providing contraceptive coverage if they had religious or moral objections.

In the lawsuit, filed by the State of Pennsylvania, the judge said the rules would cause irreparable harm because tens of thousands of women would lose contraceptive coverage.

The Affordable Care Act contains no statutory language allowing federal agencies to create such “sweeping exemptions” to the law’s requirements to cover preventive services, Judge Beetlestone declared.

The Trump administration rules reversed a policy of the Obama administration that generally required employers and insurers to provide women with coverage for contraceptives without co-payments, deductibles or other costs.

“A simple hypothetical illustrates the insidious effect of the moral exemption rule,” Judge Beetlestone wrote. “It would allow an employer with a sincerely

held moral conviction that women do not have a place in the workplace to simply stop providing contraceptive coverage.”

It is, she said, difficult to imagine a rule that “intrudes more into the lives of women.”

The lawsuit was filed by the Pennsylvania attorney general, Josh Shapiro, a Democrat.

In her opinion, Judge Beetlestone said Pennsylvania was likely to succeed in its challenge to the birth control rules. In issuing the rules, she said, the Trump administration did not follow “proper procedure.” Federal officials, she said, flouted the Administrative Procedure Act, which generally requires agencies to seek public comment before adopting regulations that have the force of law.

For its part, the Trump administration said that the contraceptive coverage mandate imposed a “substantial burden” on the exercise of religion by certain employers. The new rules, relaxing the mandate, fulfilled a campaign pledge by President Trump, who said that employers should not be “bullied by the federal government because of their religious beliefs.”

Lauren Ehksam, a Justice Department spokeswoman, said: “We disagree with the court’s ruling and are evaluating next steps. This administration is committed to defending the religious liberty of all Americans, and we look forward to doing so in court.”



RICH PEDRONCELLI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

ward to doing so in court.”

But Mr. Shapiro said that the court ruling on Friday was a victory for millions of women.

“Donald Trump broke the law to undermine women’s health, and women here in Pennsylvania stood up and proved that in court,” Mr. Shapiro said. “Together we’ve won a nationwide halt to these rules.”

The court order is a first step in what could be lengthy litigation. It “maintains the status quo pending the outcome of a trial on the merits” of the state’s claims, Judge Beetlestone said. Similar claims have been made in lawsuits filed by women’s rights groups; female students and employees; and several other states, including California, Massachusetts and New York.

President Barack Obama signed the Affordable Care Act in

The Trump administration reversed a rule that generally required employers to provide women with coverage for contraceptives.

March 2010. One section of the law requires coverage of preventive health services and screenings for women. In August 2011, the Obama administration required employers and insurers to provide women with coverage at no cost for all methods of contraception approved by the Food and Drug Administration.

Judge Beetlestone said Pennsylvania had standing to sue the Trump administration because women denied coverage under the new rules were likely to “seek state-funded sources of contraceptive care,” generating additional costs for the state.

Federal officials estimated that at least 31,700 women could lose contraceptive coverage under the new rules, the judge said, and “there are reasons to believe the number is significantly higher.”

Moreover, Judge Beetlestone

said, the state has an interest in protecting the health of its citizens.

“The potential harm faced by Pennsylvania women and across the nation is enormous and irreversible,” she wrote. As employers take advantage of the new rules, she said, “access to no-cost contraceptive services for many women will be severely curtailed.”

The Trump administration had argued that its interpretation of the Affordable Care Act was entitled to deference from the court. Judge Beetlestone disagreed because, she said, the administration’s reading of the law “conflicts with the statute’s plain language.”

Administration officials suggested that the lawsuit was premature because Pennsylvania had not identified any individual who had lost contraceptive coverage.

But the judge said that “there is no need to wait for the ax to fall,” particularly where “it is about to fall on tens of thousands of women.”

Judge Beetlestone reviewed the convoluted history of the contraceptive coverage mandate, which was repeatedly revised by the Obama administration after dozens of legal challenges. She described scientific evidence on the effectiveness of various contraceptives in preventing unintended pregnancies.

And she examined what she called “the real-life conse-

quences” of the Trump administration rules.

“Women,” Judge Beetlestone said, “will likely forgo contraceptive services or seek out less expensive and less effective types of contraceptive services in the absence of no-cost insurance coverage.”

In October, the Trump administration issued two separate but similar rules on contraceptive coverage: one for religious objections and one for moral objections to the mandate.

A 1993 law, the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, says the government “shall not substantially burden a person’s exercise of religion” unless the burden is “the least restrictive means” to advance “a compelling governmental interest.”

The Trump administration acknowledged that the law “does not provide protection for nonreligious, moral conscientious objections” to contraceptives.

But, it said, “Congress has a consistent history of supporting conscience protections for moral convictions alongside protections for religious beliefs.”

Judge Beetlestone said the rules vastly expanded the number of employers that could opt out of the contraceptive coverage requirement.

“They are,” she said, “the proverbial exception that swallows the rule.”

Colleges Lean on Fraternities With Strict Rules to Battle Wild Behavior

From Page A1

the university for not acting sooner and for ignoring obvious signs of a fraternity culture that had spun out of control.

“There is definitely this moment in time where society is not willing to accept behavior that in the past has been acceptable,” Tracy Maxwell, the founder of HazingPrevention.org, an anti-hazing organization.

Notably, students themselves are beginning to take action.

In some cases, like at Michigan, the restrictions are being imposed not by university officials, but by student-run fraternity councils that oversee Greek chapters. Recognizing that fraternities have a problem, the North-American Interfraternity Conference has proposed a voluntary pilot program that would bar alcohol in the common areas of fraternity houses, except during registered parties served by a licensed vendor.

The moves are an attempt to prove to college officials that fra-

Cracking down amid worries about hazing and sexual assault.

ternities are indeed adult enough to govern themselves.

“Is it a cultural shift?” asked Hank Nuwer, a journalism professor at Franklin College in Franklin, Ind., who studies hazing deaths. “That was the absolute missing link, getting undergraduates on board to police themselves.”

In a tragedy that horrified college administrators, students and parents, a 19-year-old Penn State sophomore, Timothy Piazza, died in February after a hazing ritual at Beta Theta Pi. He had a ruptured spleen and traumatic brain injury. Mr. Piazza had been given 18 drinks in less than 90 minutes, and tumbled down a flight of stairs, but fraternity members waited nearly 12 hours to call for help, prosecutors say. Several students have been charged with involuntary manslaughter and aggravated assault and others face lesser charges, including hazing.

There is no guarantee, of

John Peragine contributed reporting from Iowa City, and Steve Fries from Ann Arbor, Mich. Doris Burke contributed research.

course, that the new measures will ultimately change fraternity behavior or avert tragedies. One of the more dispiriting aspects, Mr. Nuwer said, was that two of the deaths, at Penn State and at Louisiana State, involved fraternities that had promised to take strong steps against hazing.

“These are the kind that have a respectable exterior, and then behind closed doors are doing whatever they want,” he said.

The grand jury on Friday said that Penn State had received a number of reports in recent years about dangerous behavior at fraternities including: paddling and punching pledges, making them drink bodily fluids and drink alcohol to the point of vomiting, and holding parties where women drank so much they were seen crawling on the floor before being taken into a fraternity brother’s room.

The report criticized the university for delegating much of the oversight to the student-led fraternity council, which the grand jury said was lenient on violations. The district attorney who led the investigation, Stacy Parks Miller, called the system a “joke and a catastrophe.”

“Since the university has maintained control over employees directly responsible for overseeing the participation of students in fraternity life,” the grand jury wrote, “the university bears the ultimate responsibility for the failure to supervise the safety of its students involved in the fraternity system.”

In an aggressive response, Penn State said the grand jury and Ms. Miller had found an easy “scapegoat” for a widespread social problem by blaming the university.

The university said many people were to blame, including parents who brought alcohol into fraternity houses. It also said it had made substantive reforms since Mr. Piazza’s death, including taking over the primary role of monitoring and disciplining fraternities from the council. And it said it would permanently revoke recognition of fraternities for violations, as it did with Mr. Piazza’s fraternity.

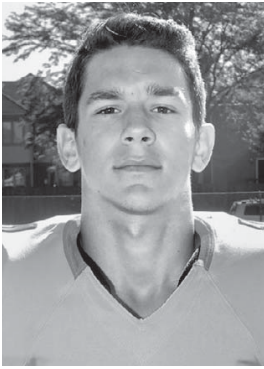
Another school wrestling with the problem, the University of Iowa, ranked sixth in Princeton Review’s list of the top “party schools” for 2017. But the label lost its allure last spring when Kamil Jackowski, a freshman, was found unresponsive in his motel room while attending a fraternity formal in Missouri, and was later



HILARY SCHEINUK/THE ADVOCATE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



PHOEBE SHEEHAN/CENTRE DAILY TIMES, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



THE DAILY HERALD

A student at Louisiana State University, top, died in a fraternity hazing in September. Alcohol was a factor in the death of Kamil Jackowski, right, a University of Iowa freshman, after a fraternity formal. Timothy Piazza, 19, the son of Jim and Evelyn Piazza, left, died after a hazing at Penn State.

pronounced dead. Alcohol was a factor, according to the Camden County, Mo., medical examiner.

The university immediately imposed a moratorium on alcohol at fraternity and sorority events. The moratorium remains in place, but as a reward for good behavior; 26 of the 36 fraternities and sororities at Iowa are being permitted to host one holiday party around the end of the year.

Phi Kappa Psi and a sorority, Chi Omega, were the first to do so, and had to follow the new rules, which included guest lists cross-checked against photo identification; limits on the number, sizes and types of drinks; and sobriety monitors stationed at bathrooms,

entrances and exits.

Even so, there was only so much the university could control; several guests at the Phi Kappa Psi party, for instance, could be seen at the hotel’s rooftop bar drinking before their party officially began.

Ten chapters at Iowa have not received permission to resume parties because they violated the moratorium by holding an event with alcohol or committed some violation of the code of student life, according to the university. On a recent Friday night, two young men casually carried liquor bottles into one of those chapters, Phi Delta Theta, where people had gathered to watch a football game,

and two more strolled out later holding plastic cups of beer.

Asked later about whether the fraternity had run afoul of the moratorium that night, Anthony Rose and Jake Shiltz, the incoming and outgoing presidents, said they had become aware of a violation by one person, who was being dealt with. “The chapter is in full support and cooperation of the university’s moratorium as well as Phi Delta Theta’s alcohol-free housing policy,” they said in a statement.

There has been some backlash against the new rules among Iowa fraternity members, said Heath Schintler, a member of Delta Tau Delta who is the outgoing vice

Three Women Accuse Actor Hoffman of Misconduct

By CHRISTINE HAUSER

Three more women have accused the actor Dustin Hoffman of sexual misconduct, providing detailed allegations of encounters in a recording studio, in a station wagon and in a hotel room decades ago, according to interviews published Thursday in Variety.

The article quoted a letter to Variety’s owner Penske Media Corp., from Mr. Hoffman’s attorney, Mark A. Neubauer of Carlton Fields Jordan Burt, calling the accusations against the actor “defamatory falsehoods.”

A voice mail message left for Mr. Neubauer and an email to a representative were not returned.

Variety identified two of the women, and the third spoke anonymously about the encounters with the now 80-year-old actor.

One of them, Cori Thomas, told Variety that she was a 16-year-old friend of Mr. Hoffman’s daughter, Karina, and an aspiring actor when she met Mr. Hoffman in 1980. She said that the three of them spent a Sunday walking around Manhattan. Then they all went to Mr. Hoffman’s hotel room to wait for Ms. Thomas’s parents to pick her up, she told Variety.

After Karina left, Mr. Hoffman took a shower and emerged with a towel wrapped around him, “which he dropped,” Ms. Thomas told Variety. “He was standing there naked. I think I almost collapsed, actually. It was the first

time I had ever seen a naked man. I was mortified. I didn’t know what to do.”

She said Mr. Hoffman eventually put on a robe, sat on the bed, and asked her to massage his feet. She complied.

“I didn’t know what to do in the circumstance,”



Dustin Hoffman

Ms. Thomas told Variety. “I didn’t know that I could say no, so I did it. And he kept telling me, ‘I’m naked. Do you want to see?’” Eventually the phone rang — it was her mother,

who had arrived at the hotel to pick her up, she said.

Ms. Thomas, the daughter of the Liberian ambassador to the United Nations at the time, said she did not tell her mother what had happened until decades later. She said she told close friends and a family member some years later.

In an email on Friday, Ms. Thomas, a playwright, confirmed the Variety report. She wrote that she had always believed her experience with Mr. Hoffman was an isolated one.

“I realize now, that the reason this continued to happen to others, was because of my silence,” she wrote, “and I feel guilty about that but I hadn’t even processed how badly this shamed and hurt

me. Like many others who have had similar experiences, I thought somehow I was to blame, but no more!”

Melissa Kester, another woman quoted in Variety, said she met Mr. Hoffman when he was working on the 1987 movie “Ishtar.” Ms. Kester was dating a man who worked on the music for the film, and one day she went to the studio where Mr. Hoffman was recording a vocal track.

As her boyfriend and an engineer were busy with technical adjustments, Mr. Hoffman said from inside the booth: “Send Melissa in here. I’m bored,” she told Variety.

He began to hug her while he was singing, she said, visible to the other men through a window only from the chest up.

“And as he’s doing that, he literally just stuck his fingers down my pants,” and groped her genitals, Ms. Kester said.

In an email on Friday, Ms. Kester said the Variety account was accurate, and that she had been motivated to come forward to serve as a role model for her daughter.

A third woman, who was not identified, said she met Mr. Hoffman when she was given a non-speaking part in “Ishtar” in a scene filmed at Kaufman Astoria Studios in Queens, New York. Mr. Hoffman offered to give her a ride home after a party, and they climbed into the back seat of a full

station wagon, where he groped her. She described later visiting his apartment in “a kind of fugue state” set off by her encounter with Mr. Hoffman and abuse she suffered as a child. They had sex.

Asked by Variety if she would describe the encounter in the station wagon as nonconsensual, she said “yes.” As for the encounter at the San Remo, she said, “I don’t know,” Variety reported.

The Hollywood Reporter also published similar accounts on Thursday, including from Ms. Thomas, Ms. Kester and Kathryn Rossetter, an actress who said Mr. Hoffman groped her repeatedly while they were both in a Broadway production of “Death of a Salesman” in 1983.

The reports follow an essay for The Hollywood Reporter last month by Anna Graham Hunter, who said that the actor groped her and used sexually explicit language in front of her during the making of the 1985 television film “Death of a Salesman,” when she was a 17-year-old production assistant.

The allegations come as a group of industry executives announced an initiative, the Commission on Sexual Harassment and Advancing Equality in the Workplace, to address such abuse. The effort will be headed by Anita Hill, who brought harassment to the fore in 1991 during the confirmation of Justice Clarence Thomas.

Allegations of Harassment End Woman’s Election Bid

By JACEY FORTIN

A woman running to flip a Kansas congressional seat from red to blue next year is ending her campaign after allegations surfaced that she had sexually harassed, and then fired, a former subordinate.

Andrea Ramsey, 56, is a retired business executive who worked in the nonprofit sector before deciding to run for office as a Democrat in next year’s congressional midterm elections. She was one of a growing number of women in-



Andrea Ramsey

spired to seek office in the wake of President Trump’s election.

But this month, The Kansas City Star newspaper asked her about a 2005 lawsuit

that accused her of sexually harassing a man at LabOne, where she was the executive vice president of human resources, and then firing him after he rejected her advances, a claim Ms. Ramsey denies. The suit was against the company, not Ms. Ramsey specifically, and it was settled in 2006.

“Twelve years ago, I eliminated an employee’s position,” Ms. Ramsey said in a letter posted to Facebook on Friday. “That man decided to bring a lawsuit against the company (not against me). He named me in the allegations, claiming I fired him because he refused to have sex with me. That is a lie.”

Ms. Ramsey is the rare — perhaps the only — woman in public life to face consequences from a sexual harassment accusation in the weeks since journalistic exposés spawned the #MeToo movement.

She said that her political opponents were using the false allegations against her, and she criticized the Democratic Party for implementing a “zero tolerance standard.”

“For me, that means a vindictive, terminated employee’s false allegations are enough for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) to decide not to support our promising campaign,” Ms. Ramsey added.

Meredith Kelly, the communications director of the D.C.C.C., said

president of risk reduction and management on Iowa’s fraternity council.

“For better or worse, the ability to purchase and consume alcohol is seen as a right instead of a privilege,” he said.

Mr. Schintler, the son of a schoolteacher and retired sheriff’s deputy from the small city of Kalona, Iowa, said he initially had no interest in joining a fraternity because of their “Animal House” reputations. Then his older brother joined one and brought home literature extolling leadership, community and a sense of balance, mental and physical. He said he had found that through Delta Tau Delta, and “it’s been an absolutely marvelous experience.”

The nuclear option — prohibiting students from belonging to fraternities — is often discussed but seldom imposed. Few have followed the lead of elite liberal arts colleges like Williams and Bowdoin, where students can be expelled for participating in fraternities.

Fraternities are a formidable force in college life, well financed, politically connected and a big source of alumni donations. The grand jury report cited alumni pressure as one reason Penn State had not acted more aggressively.

Defenders say that fraternities promote a sense of community and belonging amid the stress of campus life, and they are a lure for many high school students choosing where to apply.

Universities are also wary of being attacked for impeding freedom of speech and association. Instead, they are squeezing fraternities with regulations or trying to establish more direct control, as Penn State now is doing.

“We may be seeing the slow attrition on the way to the end of Greek life, or we may see that by being forceful and aggressive, we will start to promote the behavior that is expected from a group of young men and young women who claim to be leaders in society,” Eric Barron, the president of Penn State, said.

Mr. Schintler, the Iowa fraternity leader, said that ultimately, the challenge was not in turning fraternity brothers into teetotalers but changing the widespread view of drinking as a form of rebellion, a game of chicken.

“I’ve never had a conversation where somebody was, ‘Oh my gosh, I blacked out last night, how do I prevent that?’” he said. “People tend to think it’s funny. They are lighthearted about it.”

Police to Investigate Claims Against a Def Jam Co-Founder

By JOE COSCARELLI

The police in New York on Thursday said they were looking into claims that Russell Simmons, the co-founder of the pioneering hip-hop label Def Jam, had a history of violent sexual misconduct after mounting reports accusing him of rape.

A law enforcement official said that the Police Department was conducting a preliminary investigation into the allegations and was eager to hear from victims. But it was unclear whether any suspected conduct could be prosecuted because it was said to have occurred so long ago and was outside the statute of limitations, the source said. (As of 2006, New York State no longer has a statute of limitations on rape in the first degree and several other serious

sexual offenses.)

“The N.Y.P.D. has received information regarding allegations involving Russell Simmons in the N.Y.C. area and our detectives are in the process of reviewing that information,” J. Peter Donald, assistant commissioner in the department’s public relations office, said in a statement.

Following a report in The New York Times on Wednesday detailing three alleged rapes in New York by Mr. Simmons from 1988 to 1995, and a subsequent report from The Los Angeles Times that detailed another alleged rape in the city, at least three of the women received calls from police investigators, they said.

Tina Baker, an ’80s pop singer who was managed by Mr. Simmons and said that he raped her in his New York apartment in late 1990 or early 1991, said that she had been contacted by a detective

from the Police Department’s Special Victims squad. Drew Dixon, who worked for Mr. Simmons at Def Jam in the mid-90s, told The New York Times that Mr. Simmons raped her in his apartment



Russell Simmons

in 1995; a detective contacted her on Thursday as well, she said.

The Los Angeles Times reported on Thursday that Sherri Hines, formerly of the hip-hop group Mercedes Ladies, had also been contacted by a detective. She previously told the publication that Mr. Simmons had raped her in his Manhattan office in 1983.

Mr. Simmons, 60, has denied all allegations of nonconsensual sex. His lawyer, Brad D. Rose, said in a

statement that Mr. Simmons “fully supports and will cooperate with the police inquiry and is confident of a swift resolution.”

Last month, Mr. Simmons said that he was stepping down from his media companies after the screenwriter Jenny Lumet became the second woman to publicly accuse him of sexual assault.

After those reports of alleged misconduct by Mr. Simmons in November, Toni Salle, a music journalist who spoke to The New York Times, said she contacted the Manhattan district attorney’s office to accuse him. She said Mr. Simmons raped her in his New York apartment in 1988.

On Thursday, Mr. Simmons began a public defense of himself on Instagram using the hashtag #NotMe. “My intention is not to diminish the #MeToo movement in anyway, but instead hold my accusers accountable,” he wrote.

Boring or Brass-Knuckled, Lobbyists Swarmed During Tax Debate

By KENNETH P. VOGEL
and JIM TANKERSLEY

WASHINGTON — As the largest tax rewrite in decades powered through Congress, lobbyists found themselves sprinting to keep up and find ways to persuade, influence or cajole the small group of lawmakers empowered to tweak language in the final version of the joint Senate and House bill.

The lobbyists and their allies opened their wallets wide to fund advertisements, phone banks and field campaigns. They leaned on longstanding relationships with lawmakers and staff, dashed off letters to congressional leaders and wrote checks to secure a few minutes of precious face time at fund-raisers.

They brought families struggling with rare diseases to Capitol Hill. Some deployed an outside-in approach, enlisting rank-and-file allies in both chambers to bend those writing the bill to their point of view. Others went for the jugular, trying to use partisan politics to prevent a provision from getting through.

The winners and losers in the \$1.5 trillion bill are just beginning to emerge after a scramble that, in different times, would have taken months or weeks, instead of days, and involved scores of lawmakers, not a handful.

“You’re dealing with 14 people instead of 535 people,” said a lobbyist who attended a recent fundraiser for Senator Rob Portman, Republican of Ohio, in an attempt to make a client’s case to the senator, who sits on the joint House-Senate conference committee that hammered out the compromise bill.

In all, more than half of the 11,000 registered lobbyists in Washington reported working on tax-related issues through the first nine months of the year, according to a report released this month by the nonprofit group Public Citizen.

The tactics range from boring to brass-knuckled.

When a lobbyist for the travel industry wanted to kill an amendment to the tax bill sought by Delta Air Lines over concerns it would dampen United States tourism, he emailed Republican tax writers with links to a series of posts written by consultants who have worked with Delta that were sharply critical of President Trump.

The travel industry was concerned that the Delta amendment would depress international travel to the United States because it would impose a tax on foreign airlines that American carriers contend are subsidized by the governments of Qatar and the United

Sheila Kaplan contributed reporting.



WIN McNAMEE/GETTY IMAGES

Senator Rob Portman of Ohio was a focus of lobbyists as a member of the conference committee that merged House and Senate bills.

Arab Emirates.

The implication from the emails — one of which arrived under the subject line, “Delta Lobbyists: RESIST” — was that Republicans should not reward a company whose representatives were bad-mouthing the party’s leaders.

In fact, none of the anti-Trump posts were actually written by Delta lobbyists, but rather by consultants working for a coalition that includes Delta and other United States-based airlines.

The two-page provision sought by Delta had been inserted into the bill passed by the Senate Finance Committee by Senator Johnny Isakson, Republican of Georgia, where Delta has its headquarters.

His amendment would have assessed corporate taxes on income generated in the United States by foreign airlines based in countries that restrict access to United States carriers. The proposal would have generated an estimated \$200 million over the next decade, according to an estimate by the congressional Joint Committee on Taxation. The provision was removed by the Senate parliamentarian for technical reasons before the bill passed the Senate this month by a vote of 51 to 49.

The emails provide a window into a frenzy of aggressive last-minute lobbying in the run-up to

an agreement reached by Republican leaders on Wednesday on a sweeping overhaul of the nation’s tax code.

Business lobbying heavyweights, including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Business Roundtable, had pushed hard for the signature reform in the overhaul — drastically lowering the corporate tax rate to 21 percent from today’s 35 percent rate. But they also prevailed in extracting additional changes from the conference committee, including the repeal of a corporate alternative minimum tax that had been included, unexpectedly, in the Senate bill.

The Business Roundtable, desperate to remove the corporate alternative minimum tax, worked behind the scenes, calling lawmakers and raising concerns about how it would effectively kill the ability of companies to utilize the prized research and development tax credit. Companies that try to use tax breaks to lower their effective tax rate, like that tax credit, would face the 20 percent alternative minimum tax, largely nullifying the value of incentives that are supposed to promote research by allowing firms to write-off those expenses.

Other groups went public, including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which devoted two blog posts to denouncing what it called

the “bombshell” inclusion in the bill.

Lawmakers got the message quickly, lobbyists said. “There was a clear understanding within a short period of time that this was a problem,” said one business association official.

A group funded largely by pharmaceutical companies enlisted families struggling with rare diseases as part of a lobbying cam-

Little time and few lawmakers to press as a bill zoomed through.

paign to press lawmakers to retain a tax credit for developing medicines that treat conditions affecting fewer than 200,000 people. The conference committee’s treatment of the so-called orphan drug tax credit — which would have been eliminated by the House bill but protected by the Senate bill — was still unclear as of Friday morning.

Paul Melmeyer, the head lobbyist for the National Organization for Rare Disorders, said his group is not sure of the fate of its signature issue, but added of lawmakers, “We’re confident that they’ve

heard our voice.”

An ad hoc coalition fighting to save a state and local tax deduction found itself largely on the losing end of the process.

Americans Against Double Taxation was among the first significant players to come out against the conference committee’s bill because of its cap on the state and local tax deduction. The group had registered to lobby Congress directly, while also paying for phone banks and digital ads to pressure 21 House Republicans, including those from high-tax states such as California and New York, whose constituents would be hit hardest by repealing the deduction.

The coalition objected to versions of the tax bill that passed the House and Senate that substantially rolled back that deduction by capping the tax break at \$10,000 and limiting it to property taxes only. And on Thursday, it registered its opposition to a compromise brokered in the conference committee allowing a \$10,000 state and local tax deduction, split between property and either income or sales taxes.

The compromise “does virtually nothing to alleviate the severe cost imposed on middle-class families caused by the partial elimination,” the coalition said in a statement issued Thursday afternoon.

The coalition, consisting of groups representing state and

municipal governments, as well as powerful labor unions and the National Association of Realtors, urged lawmakers to vote against the conference report.

As of Thursday afternoon, the Realtors were waiting to take a formal position on the conference committee bill until they had a chance to thoroughly review the final language. But they waged a multifront battle to shape the language right up to the last minute.

In a letter sent Tuesday, they urged congressional leaders to protect the popular mortgage interest deduction, the state and local income tax deduction and a provision effecting when homeowners need to pay capital gains taxes after selling a primary residence.

The Realtors’ approach focused on “having members of the conference who are sympathetic, reach out to the conferees,” said Jamie Gregory, a deputy chief lobbyist for the association.

The deal reached by the conference committee would cap the deduction for interest on mortgage debt at \$750,000 for newly purchased homes, a higher cap than the \$500,000 limit in the House-passed bill but lower than the \$1 million limit that currently exists and remains in the Senate-passed bill.

No matter how convincing the policy analysis or how steady the constituent pressure, though, personal and financial connections to policymakers remained among the most important currency on K Street during the tax debate, as has been the case in legislative battles for decades.

Fund-raisers held by members of the conference committee during the tax reform debate were hot tickets for tax lobbyists, who eagerly forked over a few hundred — or even a few thousand — dollars for face time with lawmakers who controlled the fate of valued loopholes.

Mr. Portman has held fund-raisers in recent weeks, and has another one scheduled for next week at the fashionable Charlie Palmer Steak restaurant across the street from the Capitol. Attendees are being asked to donate \$1,000 each through their political action committees or \$250 in personal funds, according to an invitation, which bills the event as a “birthday breakfast” for Mr. Portman, whose birthday is the day before the event.

A Republican who attended a fund-raiser late last month for another member of the conference committee, Senator John Cornyn of Texas, said several lobbyists asked the senator about tax reform. Mr. Cornyn kept his responses vague, telling attendees that he was hopeful that the process could be completed before Christmas.

Subtle Changes to Bill Lure G.O.P. Dissenters; Plan Is Likely to Pass

From Page A1

tion waivers for graduate students and the ability to deduct interest on student loans. But it also includes new limits on other popular tax breaks, including the mortgage interest deduction and the state and local tax deduction.

In a pre-emptive move against accounting maneuvers in high-tax states such as New York and California, the bill prohibits taxpayers from prepaying next year’s state and local income or property taxes, in order to deduct them from 2018 taxes. That form of tax planning would have allowed taxpayers to benefit more from the full state and local deduction this year before it is capped next year.

The bill also includes changes large and small to appease business lobbyists and their congressional champions, such as additional tax relief for the owners of engineering and architectural firms and the elimination of a change in capital gains treatment of homes sales — a key priority for the real estate industry.

One of the biggest changes came on Friday, when lawmakers agreed to a demand by Mr. Rubio to expand the child tax credit by allowing families who owe no federal income taxes to still claim up to \$1,400 of the \$2,000 child tax credit, up from \$1,100 in the original version. But that change was offset by limiting the bill’s benefits to some higher-income families, and by restricting it to children age 16 and below, down from 17 and below in the Senate bill. The net result was a credit that is more lucrative for lower-income earners but actually slightly less costly than the Senate bill.

Republicans must stay within a

Alan Rappeport contributed reporting.

\$1.5 trillion limit that lawmakers have allowed on the amount the bill can add to federal deficits if they want to pass it without Democratic support.

The bill’s price tag had been a sticking point for one senator, Mr. Corker, a longtime deficit hawk, who voted against the initial Senate bill over concerns it would add to the federal debt. But on Friday, he said he was swayed to support the bill despite its cost. The congressional Joint Committee on Taxation analysis showed the Senate plan would add \$1 trillion to the federal budget deficit.

“This bill is far from perfect, and left to my own accord, we would have reached bipartisan consensus on legislation that avoided any chance of adding to the deficit, and far less would have been done on the individual side with items that do not generate economic growth,” he said.

In a tweet on Friday, Mr. Rubio called the Senate’s inclusion of the expanded credit “a solid step,” and a spokeswoman said he would now vote for the bill.

The bill’s text, which was signed by Republican negotiators from the chambers’ conference committee on Friday, includes few major changes from the version that passed the Senate this month. The 2025 expiration date for the individual tax cuts remains, as does the estate tax, which would apply to fewer Americans down the road. At the center of the \$1.5 trillion bill are large tax cuts for corporations and other businesses, which Republican lawmakers say will create jobs, investment and economic growth.

Compared with the Senate bill, the revised legislation would lower some thresholds for entering a higher individual marginal tax bracket. For example, the top bracket for a married couple filing jointly would begin at \$600,000 a



JOSHUA ROBERTS/REUTERS

Senator Bob Corker, who voted against the initial bill because of the cost, dropped his objections, but he said it’s “far from perfect.”

year, down from \$1 million in the Senate bill.

Owners of so-called pass-through businesses, who pay taxes on their profits at the owner’s individual tax rate, would receive a slightly less generous tax break than the Senate- and House-passed bills called for, allowing a 20 percent deduction on profits they earn. That deduction would phase out — with some exceptions — starting at \$315,000 of income for couples. The Senate bill included a larger deduction, 23 percent, and a higher phaseout point, \$500,000 for couples.

Two newly revealed changes on the business side would help offset revenue losses: a provision that limits corporations’ deductions of their net operating

losses to 80 percent of their income starting next year, instead of in 2023 as the Senate bill called for, and one that would effectively reduce the annual value of research and development tax breaks starting in 2022. Those changes combined to raise an additional \$100 billion.

Republicans released the bill’s text late on Friday afternoon and were aiming to vote on it next week.

The bill appears to be heading toward the finish line, though at least three other Republican senators remained publicly undecided on Friday, including Mike Lee of Utah, who has allied with Mr. Rubio in pressing for an expanded child credit, and Jeff Flake of Arizona, who has been trying to ex-

tract commitments from Republican leadership related to the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA, program. Ms. Collins has also expressed reservations about the bill’s reduction in the top individual tax rate and pushed for party leaders to support measures to bolster individual health care markets as a condition for her vote.

Ms. Collins is still reviewing the bill, a spokeswoman said. A spokesman for Mr. Flake said the senator was undecided.

Mr. Lee, in a statement, sounded upbeat about the bill, saying Mr. Rubio and other senators “have done a tremendous job fighting for working families this week and they have secured a big win.” He added: “I look forward to

reading the full text of the bill and, hopefully, supporting it.”

Mr. Trump, when asked about Mr. Lee and Mr. Rubio on Friday, said he had no concerns about their support.

“I think they’ll be great,” he said. “They’re great people. They want to see it done. I know them very well. I know how they feel. These are great people and they want to see it done, and they want to see it done properly.”

Mr. Trump also told reporters he had seen the bill, and he liked it.

“I have seen it,” Mr. Trump said in brief remarks at the White House. “I think it’s going to do very, very well. I think that we are going to be in a position to pass something as early as next week, which will be monumental.”

THE 45TH PRESIDENT Congress and Taxes

Tax Cut, With Faster Growth and Higher Wages? People Aren’t Buying It

By BEN CASSELMAN
and JIM TANKERSLEY

Republican congressional leaders say their tax overhaul would raise wages, accelerate economic growth and give middle-class families a badly needed tax cut.

They are having a hard time convincing Americans of those claims.

Many polls have shown that the tax bill is highly unpopular with voters, and growing more so. And a new survey shows that a large majority expects to see no personal benefit from the legislation.

According to the survey of 5,100 adults, conducted this week for The New York Times by the online polling firm SurveyMonkey, only a third of Americans think their taxes will go down in 2018 if the bill passes next week as widely expected.

That is at odds not only with the Republican talking points but also with the assessment of most economists who have studied the bill. The Tax Policy Center, a research group, recently found that under the Senate version of the plan, roughly three-quarters of American households would pay less in taxes next year. Last-minute changes made by a House-Senate conference committee could lead to a tax cut for even more Americans.

The confusion probably stems in part from the complexity of the bill, which would increase the size of some tax breaks while reducing or eliminating others. And it could also reflect the unpopularity of President Trump.

Cindy Kelly, an art director for a television station in Orlando, Fla., is the kind of person who might ordinarily support the tax bill. A political moderate, she said she was optimistic that a corporate tax cut could lead companies to create jobs and increase wages. And as a middle-class resident of a low-tax state, she would most likely come out ahead.

But Ms. Kelly, 54, said she doubted that the bill would cut taxes for her or other middle-class Americans. She said her skepticism stemmed from one factor: Mr. Trump.

“I just can’t be too happy about it over all,” Ms. Kelly said. “I have such a strong distrust of the president.”

The SurveyMonkey poll, taken before the final tax bill was out, found that 58 percent of Americans disapproved of the bill, while



KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jessica Brescher said that even though a calculator showed she would get a modest tax cut next year, she wasn’t sure what to expect.

only 37 percent supported it. An earlier version of the poll, conducted in November, found 52 percent disapproval.

In the latest poll, only 29 percent of respondents said they felt that the plan would lead to substantially higher economic output a decade from now, and only 18 percent believed Republican assertions that the bill would not add to the federal deficit. (Even two-thirds of Republicans said either that the bill would increase the deficit over the next decade or that they weren’t sure.)

The skepticism is shared by economists, who overwhelmingly say the bill would increase the deficit while giving only a modest boost to the economy.

Perhaps most striking, however, is the skepticism about how the bill would affect taxpayers personally. Using demographic and other data provided by survey respondents, The Times estimated how likely they were to receive a tax cut. Even among people with

more than a 90 percent chance of getting a cut, about half said they did not expect to get one.

Jessica Brescher, who works for a pharmaceutical company, has been trying to figure out how the bill would affect her. A resident of high-tax New Jersey, Ms. Brescher said she worried that Republicans’ plan to repeal or reduce the deduction for state and local taxes could make her home unaffordable and force her to move. On the other hand, as the mother of twin boys, she would benefit from a planned increase in the child tax credit.

In the SurveyMonkey poll, Ms. Brescher, 34, said she did not expect a tax cut under the bill. She later plugged her information into an online calculator, which told her that she could expect a modest tax cut next year. But with the bill’s details changing seemingly every day, Ms. Brescher now doesn’t know what to think.

“I’m a scientist, I know numbers, but I don’t know money

numbers,” Ms. Brescher, who holds a master’s degree in epidemiology, said in a follow-up interview. “I don’t have the patience or really the skill set to read the tax bill for myself.”

Ms. Brescher’s confusion is hardly surprising. Mr. Trump and congressional Republicans promised a broad-based tax cut, particularly for the middle class. The emerging bill, however, is a web of complex provisions that would cut taxes for some people, raise them for others and have different effects in different years. Even families that look similar on paper could be affected differently depending on where they live and how they earn their money.

“It comes down to a bunch of idiosyncratic factors,” said Mark Mazur, a Treasury Department official in the Obama administration who now directs the Tax Policy Center. “You really have to parse through the details.”

Sentiment about the bill seems strongly colored by feelings about

the president. Backing remains strong among supporters of Mr. Trump: 80 percent of them say they approve of the bill. Among those who don’t approve of Mr. Trump, the figure is only 10 percent.

Geoffrey Cantley, an Army recruiter in rural Virginia, said he didn’t know whether he’d get a tax cut or a tax increase under the bill. But he said Mr. Trump’s efforts to simplify the tax code would enable him to file without a tax preparer, saving money. And he said Mr. Trump deserved the benefit of the doubt.

“I don’t think he’s getting a fair shake in the coverage he’s getting,” Mr. Cantley said. “I think the economy’s doing a lot better.”

Republicans said this week that public doubts would fall away once the bill becomes law and tax cuts begin appearing in paychecks. They cited polls from 1986, showing that most Americans did not feel that year’s tax bill would help them, either.

Senator Found an Opening in Tight Negotiations

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

WASHINGTON — As the Republican Party sprinted toward notching its first, and much-needed, significant legislative win in the form of a \$1.5 trillion tax cut, Senator Marco Rubio of Florida spied an opening.

A longtime champion of the working class, Mr. Rubio had tried in vain to secure a more generous tax break for lower-income Americans as Congress embarked on a sweeping rewrite of the federal tax code. On Thursday, with the hours winding down on a final version of the bill and a frantic push to pass it along party lines in a narrowly-divided Senate, Mr. Rubio took a stand: He threatened to vote no unless House and Senate negotiators expanded the child tax credit.

It was a dramatic moment, as those on Capitol Hill and beyond wondered if Mr. Rubio was grandstanding, bluffing or both. But for Mr. Rubio, it was a natural extension of the promise he believes the Republican Party had made, and was in danger of abandoning, to look out for the little guy.

“If you look at all the benefits that are flowing,” Mr. Rubio said in a telephone interview, particularly to multinational corporations, “it was important to be able to go back and do more for working families.”

“Otherwise, the message is what it has been for 25 years from both parties — that is, when push comes to shove, we want your vote, but we’re not that concerned about the working class,” he said.

On Friday, Mr. Rubio won an agreement from party leaders to allow families who owe no federal income taxes to still claim up to \$1,400 of the \$2,000 child tax credit, up from \$1,100 that was in the original Senate bill.

It was a hard-fought moment for Mr. Rubio, who found himself rebuffed by his own party when he proposed something similar during the initial Senate debate on the legislation. Mr. Rubio had proposed an amendment to slightly increase the corporate tax rate — to 20.94 from the 20 percent in the Senate bill — and use the money to pay for a bigger child tax credit.

President Trump and White House officials did not support the amendment, Mr. Rubio said, because they were concerned it would endanger the bill’s passage. Nor did the Republican leadership.

And Mr. Rubio said he heard



PABLO MARTINEZ MONSIVAIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Senator Marco Rubio, Republican of Florida, successfully pressed to expand the child tax credit.

from Republican donors who complained that expanding the child tax credit “is welfare, and we’re helping people who don’t work.” To that, he replied: “I think welfare is some of the provisions in this bill for multinational companies who will continue to create jobs abroad and aren’t really American companies.”

In speech after speech on the Senate floor, Mr. Rubio made impassioned arguments for the expansion.

“These are working people, the backbone of our country, the people who have suffered the most over the last 25 or 30 years, as the economy has made some people very profitable but left far too many American workers behind,” he said in one speech earlier this month. “Their anxieties, their daily concerns, the challenges they are facing really underpin a lot of the anxiety in our country, both electoral, political, and economic.”

His amendment went down in flames, with just a handful of Republicans supporting it.

The story could have ended there. But days later, Mr. Trump signaled his willingness to go higher on the corporate rate, and House and Senate negotiators agreed this week to set the rate at 21 percent and lower the tax rate on the wealthiest Americans to 37 percent from 39.6 percent.

Mr. Rubio said that irked him.

“How it bugged me is, when I proposed 20.94, the argument was that this would be catastrophic, and this would be anti-growth,” he said. Twenty percent “was the best thing in the world, but 21 would make it noncompetitive. And yet, 10 days later, 21 was perfectly acceptable.”

He called the expansion of the child credit “a significant step forward,” but said it is only one part of “a broader effort, in my mind, to reform the conservative movement, the Republican Party and our national policies toward being

Marco Rubio said he wanted to ‘do more for working families.’

more pro-worker, working family and not just pro-growth.”

Critics of Mr. Rubio — who note that he also threatened to vote against the repeal of the Affordable Care Act, before agreeing to vote for it — say he was posturing, and that the final measure fell far short of what he and Senator Mike Lee, the Utah Republican who also backed expanding the credit, demanded.

“Ten million children in low-income working families will get nothing from the last-minute

changes to the G.O.P. tax bill’s child tax credit increase — and as a result will get just a token increase of \$75 or less per family,” said Chye-Ching Huang, the deputy director of federal tax policy for the nonpartisan Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

“Marco Rubio’s ‘great victory’ leaves out 10 million kids,” Michael S. Linden, a fellow at the Roosevelt Institute, a left-leaning policy organization, wrote on Twitter.

The commentator Shaun King, who writes for The Intercept, a left-leaning news website, was even harsher. “Rubio flipped for \$300,” he tweeted. “The man is a master of making you think he has a spine right before showing you that he doesn’t.”

But Mr. Rubio’s backers say he extracted significant concessions. “He is not ‘all of a sudden, at the last minute’ grandstanding,” said Whit Ayres, Mr. Rubio’s pollster. “This is a consistent cause of his, going back to the presidential campaign and before.”

And in the interview, Mr. Rubio defended himself, saying he had secured “real money for real people” and that some improvements were better than none.

“It is one of those things,” he said, “where you got a lot of what you want and you take it, and you keep working for more in the future.”

When Asked About Law, Judicial Nominee Stumbles

By JONAH ENGEL BROMWICH
and NIRAJ CHOKSHI

It was one of the more painful Senate hearings in recent memory.

Matthew S. Petersen, a member of the Federal Election Commission, was one of five of President Trump’s judicial nominees being questioned by the Senate Judiciary Committee on Wednesday when Senator John N. Kennedy, Republican of Louisiana, singled him out.

Thus commenced what appeared to be an excruciating five minutes of ignorance on Mr. Petersen’s part, as he answered most of Senator Kennedy’s questions in the negative.

No, he had not ever handled a jury trial, or even a bench trial. In fact, he had not handled any civil or criminal trials at all, in either state or federal court.

No, he had never argued a motion in state court.

No, he could not define the Daubert standard, a well-known standard (among lawyers, anyway) for admitting expert testimony. Nor could he explain a motion in limine, a formal request to exclude certain kinds of evidence.

Mr. Petersen, who practiced election law at a firm before joining the government, and who has been nominated to the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, attempted to justify his inability to answer the questions. “I understand that the path that many successful district court judges have taken has been a different one than I’ve taken,” he said.

Toward the end of the hearing, Mr. Petersen also came up empty on two lesser-known points of legal doctrine. He did not immediately respond to a request for comment on Friday.

The hearing could have been simply a bad memory for Mr. Petersen. But Senator Sheldon Whitehouse, Democrat of Rhode Island and a member of the Judiciary Committee, shared a video of the exchange on Thursday evening on Twitter.

He characterized Senator Kennedy’s queries as “basic questions of law” and snarked that Mr. Petersen couldn’t “answer a single one. Hoo-boy.”

The clip quickly attracted attention, and criticism, from the legally educated to the less so.

“Don’t want to beat up on the guy but the questions he was be-

How the Poll Was Conducted

The data in this article came from an online survey of 5,100 adults conducted by the polling firm SurveyMonkey from Dec. 11 to Dec. 14. The company selected respondents at random from the nearly three million people who take surveys on its platform each day. Responses were weighted to match the demographic profile of the population of the United States. The survey has a modeled error estimate (similar to a margin of error in a standard telephone poll) of plus or minus two percentage points, so differences of less than that amount are statistically insignificant.

“Whatever the polling data is that’s out there today doesn’t recognize just how powerful this bill is going to be to put more money in the pockets of hard-working families,” said Representative Steve Scalise, the majority whip.

Recent history suggests that view is overly optimistic. In 2004, a New York Times/CBS News poll found that fewer than one in five Americans believed they had been helped by President George W. Bush’s tax cuts, which had, in fact, been designed to benefit all workers. Polls after the 2009 stimulus bill, which cut taxes across the board for workers, showed many Americans did not believe they had benefited.

“Nothing in my experience suggests that the views people have about the tax cuts — whether justified or not — will change after they start actually being affected by them,” said Jason Furman, a Harvard Kennedy School economist who advised President Obama during and after the 2009 stimulus bill.

Samuel Bruce, a financial analyst in Keller, Tex., has followed the tax bill closely but still isn’t sure whether he would benefit. A father of two, he would be able to claim the higher child tax credit, but as the owner of his own home and a rental property, he said the limit on property-tax deductions could hurt him.

Still, Mr. Bruce said he was more concerned with the broader economic impact. He worried about how the deficit would affect his daughters, now 7 and 8, when they grow up.

“Politicians are all about ‘take care of today,’” Mr. Bruce said. “I’m more worried about the future, really.”

President Sharpens Criticism of F.B.I.’s Role in the Russia Investigation

By MICHAEL TACKETT

WASHINGTON — President Trump escalated his criticism of the F.B.I. on Friday over its investigation of possible links between Russia and his campaign, adding a new round of his own complaints to a growing conservative effort to discredit the inquiry.

“It’s a shame what’s happened with the F.B.I.,” the president told reporters on the South Lawn of the White House before departing for an event at the F.B.I. Academy in Quantico, Va. “It’s a very sad thing to watch.”

Without citing specifics, Mr. Trump described an extraordinary “level of anger” at the F.B.I. over the investigation. He labeled “disgraceful” recently released text messages between one of the agents on the investigation and a lawyer for the bureau who were critical of him. The special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, removed the agent from the investigation when he learned of the texts.

Mr. Trump’s latest attacks on the F.B.I. kept alive a rare public feud between a president and the nation’s premier law enforcement agency, friction that could be seen as Mr. Trump undermining faith in the integrity of an inquiry he has long derided as a “witch hunt.” They also came amid a campaign by congressional Republicans, conservative media and the president’s own lawyers to paint the inquiry as a partisan effort to weaken the president.

“I have nothing to do with Russia,” Mr. Trump said. “Everybody knows it. That was a Democrat hoax. It was an excuse for losing the election and it should never have been this way, where they

Adam Goldman contributed reporting.

spent all these millions of dollars.”

He also criticized the F.B.I.’s handling of the investigation into Hillary Clinton and her use of a private email server, calling it a “scam.” The Justice Department closed that case without filing charges.

“They found tremendous things on the other side,” Mr. Trump said. “When you look at the Hillary Clinton investigation, it was — I’ve been saying for a long time — that was a rigged system.”

The president’s constant attacks have frustrated F.B.I. agents who say they see him as diminishing a proud organization and eroding its trust with the public. Other agents dismissed the president’s comments as empty rhetoric and said that many hope that Mr. Trump stops dragging the agency into the headlines and accusing it of being political.

“The agents just want to be viewed as being referees who call balls and strikes and follow the evidence,” said James A. Gagliano, who spent more than two decades in the F.B.I. “The rank and file just want to return to normalcy. They want to dispel the notion that America should not trust its premier law enforcement agency.”

Democrats were also quick to defend the bureau. “The men and women of the F.B.I. are among the most professional and committed public servants in our nation, and the president’s comments this morning are gravely concerning,” Senator Chris Coons, Democrat of Delaware and member of the Judiciary Committee, said in an email response to questions.

“American law enforcement officers, including those serving at the F.B.I. and training at the F.B.I. Academy where President Trump spoke, do not serve him personally, but serve all of us,” he added.



AL DRAGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Before leaving a speech at the F.B.I. Academy, President Trump told reporters, “It’s a shame what’s happened with the F.B.I.”

Asked at a news conference on Friday afternoon whether he agreed with Mr. Trump’s assessment of the F.B.I., Attorney General Jeff Sessions did not directly answer but praised the bureau.

“The F.B.I. is doing a great job around the country,” he said, citing its work with other federal law enforcement agencies.

The president also said on Friday that it was premature to dis-

cuss whether he would pardon Michael T. Flynn, his former national security adviser who pleaded guilty this month to lying to the F.B.I. in connection with the investigation.

“I don’t want to talk about pardons for Michael Flynn yet,” Mr. Trump said. “We’ll see what happens. Let’s see. I can say this: When you look at what’s gone on with the F.B.I. and with the Justice

Department, people are very, very angry.”

The president had said after Mr. Flynn’s guilty plea that the reputation of the F.B.I. was “in tatters” and its standing with the public was the “worst in history.”

Christopher A. Wray, the F.B.I. director, defended the agency in testimony to Congress and in a letter to nearly 37,000 agents and support staff, saying that he was

“inspired by example after example of professionalism and dedication to justice demonstrated around the bureau.”

Mr. Trump did not repeat his criticism at the F.B.I. Academy event, a ceremony to honor local police officers and sheriffs who had received specialized training. He sat alongside Mr. Wray and Mr. Sessions. At the end of the event, Mr. Trump even thanked the F.B.I.

In Flurry of Interviews, Committee Rushes to Wrap Up Its Work

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — The House Intelligence Committee is racing to complete its investigation of Russia’s interference in the 2016 presidential election, scheduling a host of witness interviews here and in New York for next week as Congress heads for its break, and, Democrats said, leaving other leads unfollowed.

Some of the most important witnesses are to be interviewed in New York by committee staff early next week, possibly leaving Democrats to choose between attending those depositions or voting on the massive tax bill coming before the House.

And in an indication that Republicans hope to wrap up their probe, the House committee has yet to schedule a single interview after the holidays, according to two committee officials familiar with the schedule. That has left Democrats fearful that the majority is trying to finish the investigative portion of its work by the end of next week, before the committee can connect the dots on one of the most serious efforts by a hostile foreign actor to hijack American democracy.

“I feel no need to apologize for concluding an investigation,” said Representative Trey Gowdy of South Carolina, one of the Republicans leading the investigation.

Mr. Gowdy confirmed on Friday that he told a Democratic member of the committee, Representative Jackie Speier of California, that the end of the year offered a “natural boundary” to their work. But he contested the Democrats’ claim that Republicans were steering toward a preconceived conclusion and said interviews could still be scheduled for the new year, as warranted.

AshLee Strong, a spokeswoman for Speaker Paul D. Ryan, said, “The House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence is conducting a thorough and professional investigation into Russian meddling and is following the facts wherever they may lead.”

Two Senate committees and a special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, also are investigating aspects of the Russian efforts, and those inquiries continue apace. But the developments on the House panel — and emerging recriminations between the parties — appear all but certain to ensure its investigation will end in dispute.

Representative Adam Schiff of California, the top Democrat on the House Intelligence Committee, said in an interview on Thursday that it was becoming increasingly apparent where Republicans were going.

“We’re departing from all of our practices. We’re departing from what’s in the best interest of the investigation in an effort to jam in every possible interview in December,” Mr. Schiff said. “And this looks like the House leadership capitulating to pressure from the White House and Steve Bannon.” He was referring to President Trump’s former chief strategist.

Matthew Rosenberg contributed reporting.



MARK WILSON/GETTY IMAGES



ZACH GIBSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative Trey Gowdy, above left, a Republican, said there was no “need to apologize” for ending the investigation. Adam Schiff, top, a Democrat, said there were more leads to follow up.

The New York interviews next week appear to have provided much of the tinder. The committee has scheduled sessions there with Rhona Graff, Mr. Trump’s long-time executive assistant, and Felix Sater, a Trump associate who boasted that he could help engineer a real estate deal with the aid of President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia that would help win Mr. Trump the presidency.

Democrats say the interviews are important to their work and will coincide with two key votes in Washington, on the tax bill and a year-end spending measure. They said the witnesses had made clear they would be willing to come to Washington at a later date.

Alexander Nix, the chief executive of Cambridge Analytica, the data firm that worked for the Trump campaign, was interviewed recently via video conference, with members of the House committee participating at a

Washington law office.

“We continually are receiving hundreds of pages of documents on the very eve of interviews with witnesses,” Mr. Schiff said. “They are not following up on interviews that we’ve done. Our request to subpoena parties, even where they agreed the information was relevant, have gone without any action. And there are dozens of witnesses that we’ve been asking for months to bring in where the letters haven’t even gone out.”

Mr. Schiff said he had a list of at least two dozen witnesses whom Republicans have been unwilling to call. According to a committee official, that list includes employees of Cambridge Analytica, officials at the Trump Organization and Michael Flynn Jr., the son of Mr. Trump’s former national security adviser who last month entered a plea agreement with Mr. Mueller.

Democrats had also hoped sev-

eral people at the center of Mr. Trump’s presidential campaign, such as Paul Manafort, its campaign manager, and Carter Page, a foreign policy adviser, would return for another round of questioning.

Democrats on the committee thought the indictment and plea deal by Mr. Flynn would buy them an additional six to eight weeks of time. It appears to have had the opposite effect, and Mr. Schiff’s decision to go public with his concerns was an effort to halt the Republicans, one committee official said.

The move to conclude the investigation quickly, Democrats argued, is not happening in isolation. A group of conservative House Republicans who are loyal to Mr. Trump escalated an attack earlier this week on the integrity and impartiality of Mr. Mueller. And the president himself has repeatedly called the investigative

efforts — both by Mr. Mueller and Capitol Hill — a waste of money and a “witch hunt.”

“I think the Republican leadership in the House is under enormous pressure from Steve Bannon and others outside the building to prematurely close the congressional investigation,” Mr. Schiff said on Thursday. “After all, how can they ask Bob Mueller to shut down if the congressional investigations are still very much ongoing?”

It now appears increasingly certain, committee officials said, that the Democrats and Republicans will issue separate reports with substantially divergent conclusions about what role, if any, the Trump campaign had in the Russian meddling effort. And Democrats have not yet decided whether to try to carry on an investigation alone should Republicans pull out.

Mr. Gowdy said he was sympathetic to Democrats’ concerns over the heightened pace, but he put the blame on Mr. Schiff, who he said spent the early months of the investigation dragging his feet.

“I have done as many of these investigations as any member of Congress,” Mr. Gowdy said. “When one side or the other has no interest in starting, that is pretty clear and convincing evidence that they also have no interest in ending.”

“And now that we have picked up the speed, there are complaints about what they have asked us to do, which is interview witnesses,” he said.

Asked for comment on Thursday, Representative Devin Nunes of California, the Intelligence Committee’s chairman, said, “Not a chance I’m ever going to talk to you.”

Representative K. Michael Conaway of Texas, who has headed the Republicans’ effort for much of the inquiry — while Mr. Nunes was under an investigation related to accusations that he improperly disclosed classified information — could not be reached for comment. He has repeatedly said in recent weeks that he hopes to conclude active investigative work “as soon as possible” and that it would take several months to pull together the committee’s findings.

Mr. Gowdy and Representative Thomas J. Rooney, a Florida Republican on the panel, said on Friday that they were unsurprised that the Democrats would cry foul. They said it was politically advantageous for the party to keep a cloud over Mr. Trump’s presidency, at least into 2018.

“After 10 months, it has not led anywhere,” Mr. Rooney said on Friday. “Basically, what Schiff would like to do is get into a criminal investigation and that’s not the purpose of our investigation.”

As for what Republicans have seen, Mr. Gowdy was unequivocal.

“If there is evidence of collusion, conspiracy coordination, with Trump and the Trump campaign, no one has produced it,” Mr. Gowdy said.

U.S. Asks Its Allies To Bolster Visa Rules

By RON NIXON

WASHINGTON — Dozens of countries, mostly in Europe, must meet additional security requirements for their citizens to continue to be allowed into the United States without a visa, the Department of Homeland Security said on Friday.

The countries must begin sharing additional background information and establish effective safeguards against threats by foreign airport workers. Some will also be required to start a public relations campaign to discourage their citizens from overstaying their visits.

Homeland security officials said the new measures did not come as a result of a specific threat but part of a continuous review of national security measures to protect the United States from terrorist attacks.

About 38 countries participate in the visa-waiver program, including the Britain, France, Germany, South Korea and Australia. The program allows their citizens to visit the United States without a visa on trips of 90 days or less, and about 20 million tourists use it each year.

No timeline has been set for countries to carry out the changes, and officials did not say how countries would be punished if they failed to put the changes in effect. The secretary of homeland security has the authority to remove countries from the visa-waiver program.

An estimated 629,000 visitors — a little more than 1 percent of all travelers — remained in the United States at the end of last year after overstaying their visas as students, workers or tourists, according to the Department of Homeland Security.

Although the figure represents a small portion of the estimated 20 million visitors to the country, homeland security officials say the failure of some people to leave when their visas lapse presents a national security risk. Two of the Sept. 11 hijackers, Satam al-Suqami and Nawaq Alhazmi, overstayed their visas.

Only countries that have overstay rates of 2 percent or more will be required to begin an education campaign. Four meet that threshold: Hungary, Greece, Portugal and San Marino, a tiny country surrounded by Italy.

The Department of Homeland Security has struggled to document visa overstays. A report in May by its inspector general found that the agency could not account for all of them in data it reports to Congress.

Lawmakers and intelligence and law enforcement officials said that while the program had proved to be secure, they still worried that some of the travelers who could pose a security threat might overstay their visits.

THE 45TH PRESIDENT The Agenda

FACT CHECK

Deceit and Confusion In Talk on Law and Order

By LINDA QIU

WASHINGTON — At a ceremony on Friday honoring police officers and sheriffs, President Trump praised the courage and devotion of law enforcement — and presented a not entirely accurate picture of the difficult conditions they face.

In the morning, before speaking at the F.B.I. Academy in Quantico, Va., Mr. Trump lamented the reputation of the bureau. Then, as he addressed police officers who graduated from the academy's training program, he claimed that they and the bureau's agents were "great people" and "heroes for all of us."

The about-face kicked off a series of misleading statements Mr. Trump made about crime, his predecessor and immigration. Here's an assessment.

He asked "what the hell is going on in Chicago," where most types of violent crime have declined.

Mr. Trump spoke of "the steepest two-year consecutive increase in murders in nearly half a century" in 2015 and 2016, and focused on Chicago.

"What the hell is going on in Chicago? What the hell is happening there?" he said, before offering a sobering statistic. "For the second year in a row, a person was shot in Chicago every three hours."

The national murder rate climbed 20 percent from 2014 to 2016, the highest two-year increase since the 1960s. The steep rise concerned many criminologists. But the murder rate itself was far higher over all in the 1990s.

In 2016, Chicago experienced its most violent year in nearly two decades, but Mr. Trump's points require some context and updating.

The Chicago Tribune tracks shootings in the city and has reported that 3,429 people have been shot so far this year, as of Dec. 9. That does amount to the shooting of at least one person every three hours. The Tribune also noted that 737 more people had been shot over the same period in 2016.

Shootings have declined 21 percent from the same period last year, according to the Chicago Police Department's most recent crime report. Murder has declined 15 percent and aggravated battery 8 percent, while robbery has not changed and sexual assault has increased 12 percent.

He misleadingly claimed the Obama administration refused to equip police with military gear.

In detailing his administration's support for law enforcement, Mr. Trump said he was "allowing our local police to access surplus military equipment — something the previous administration for some reason refused to do. Explain that one."

In August, Mr. Trump fully restored a program supplying military equipment to local police. But he is exaggerating the restrictions placed on the program by President Barack Obama and inaccurately suggested that Mr. Obama's decision came without a cause.

After the fatal shooting in 2014 of Michael Brown, an unarmed black teenager, by a white officer in Ferguson, Mo., the response

by the police to protests highlighted the militarization of local law enforcement nationwide that occurred as part of a program that was created in the 1990s. A debate across the country and in Congress ensued.

In 2015, the Obama administration prohibited police departments from obtaining track armored vehicles, weaponized aircraft grenade launchers and bayonets, among other weapons, at the recommendation of a task force it assembled after the Ferguson protests.

But the program still allowed a number of other kinds of equipment — including unmanned aircraft, wheeled armored vehicles, specialized firearms, explosives and pyrotechnics, riot gear and breaching apparatus — to be available to local law enforcement.

He claimed "what the hell is going on in Chicago," where most types of violent crime have declined.

The program, known as the diversity visa lottery, provides an immigration pathway for people who come to the United States from countries with low levels of immigration, have no close relatives living here and lack special skills.

Mr. Trump's claim that other countries use the program to expel undesirable members from their own societies is unfounded and implausible.

As its sobriquet implies, the selection process is based on luck. Millions of people apply every year for the chance of obtaining one of 50,000 visas. But lottery winners, chosen by a computer at random, do not automatically receive a visa. They must undergo a screening process and comply with the current immigration law.

Applicants could be deemed inadmissible if they raise security, terrorist or health concerns; have a criminal history; depend on public assistance; previously violated immigration or labor laws; or have previously been deported.

Data on lottery winner recipients also do not align with Mr. Trump's characterization. In the 2015 fiscal year, one-third of diversity immigrants were employed in professional or managerial occupations (compared with 10 percent of all immigrants) and just 1 percent were unemployed (compared with 8 percent of all immigrants).

He suggested that sanctuary cities protect criminals.

Sanctuary cities limit their cooperation with federal immigration officials. But they do not stop law enforcement from pursuing criminals, as Mr. Trump suggested when he claimed, "Our cities should not be sanctuaries for criminals."

For example, a directive from the Chicago Police Department on "responding to incidents involving citizenship status" instructs officers that they can't arrest or detain people solely because of the belief that they entered the United States illegally. It notes, however, that instructions do not apply if the person has an outstanding criminal warrant, has been convicted of a felony, is a defendant in a criminal case or has been identified as a known gang member.



EMILY KASK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Stephen K. Bannon, referring to the loss by Roy S. Moore in an Alabama race, said, "Revolutions and civil wars take a long time."

Defeat in Alabama Deepens a Republican Divide

By JEREMY W. PETERS

WASHINGTON — A small group of conservative leaders had gathered in the Trump International Hotel last week for a friendly discussion about the year that was ending and their priorities for the year to come, when Stephen K. Bannon spoke up.

"I'm not going to name names," he snapped, looking around the room as he complained about being left virtually alone to defend Roy S. Moore, accused of sexually molesting and assaulting teenage girls, while the Republican leadership and Democrats bludgeoned the Alabama Senate candidate. "If we want to win," he added, according to three people who were in the room, "We need to stop playing footsie with the establishment. They're just going to string you along, pat you on your head, and send you on your way."

Mr. Moore's loss — which will send the first Democrat from Alabama to the Senate in 25 years and cut the Republicans' already thin majority to a single seat — has only stoked Mr. Bannon's discontent and stirred up fresh worry that the party is again descending into Tea Party-type spasms of self-defeating rage.

To avoid that, many Washington Republicans have no intention of patting Mr. Bannon on the head. They intend to kneecap him before he has the chance to recover. "First is to dry up his money," said Scott W. Reed, the chief political strategist for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, a pillar of the Republican establishment, explaining how top Republicans in Washington were making a new round of calls to donors across the country to press them not to donate to Mr. Bannon or the candidates he supports.

"Two is to try and drive a wedge between him and Trump to the point where Trump is questioning him and his judgment," Mr. Reed added. "You win, you win. You lose, you're a loser. And that's what Bannon has to wear around his neck now. A big L."

In an interview after Mr. Moore's defeat on Tuesday, Mr. Bannon contended that he was playing a longer game to reshape

the Republican Party around President Trump's agenda of reduced immigration, protectionist trade policy and military de-escalation. That effort, he said, would not be undone by a single defeat.

"Revolutions and civil wars take a long time. I never said Alabama was going to solve anything," he said.

Mr. Bannon then pointed his finger at Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, and Republican senators like Richard C. Shelby of Alabama, who encouraged Republicans not to vote for Mr. Moore. Pointing to the 22,800 write-in votes cast — more votes than the margin of defeat — Mr. Bannon said, "Moore's vote plus the write-ins, which Shelby

Party leaders confront an unpredictable populist strain.

and the Never Trumpers pushed, that's victory."

"This is 100 percent on the doorstep of Mitch McConnell," he added. "Mitch McConnell did not mind a Democrat. In fact he pushed a Democrat."

The recriminations over Alabama point to a problem that is deeper and more fundamental than the loss of a single Senate seat: The Republican Party, eight years after its Tea Party revolt, still cannot effectively channel the populist energy that is both the most animating and destructive force in its electorate.

The same angry politics that pit party leaders against grass-roots activists during the Obama years are threatening again to undermine the party's fortunes in the upcoming midterm elections, as a slate of potential candidates on the far right emerges bearing similarities to the unpredictable and amateurish nominees that hurt Republicans then.

In 2010 and 2012, Republican Senate candidates like Christine O'Donnell in Delaware and Rich-

ard Mourdock in Indiana defeated establishment picks in the primaries, only to go down to defeat in general elections that should have heavily favored the Republicans.

The ascendancy of Mr. Trump, a man who exudes much of the anti-Washington animus that energizes his party, has not helped clarify the conflict. If anything, he has exacerbated it.

"There is a fundamental frustration with politics as usual that is at the heart of the Republican Party," said Frank Cannon, a long-time conservative activist. "And that frustration is only greater now."

Mr. Trump has filled his administration with many people who share his enmity toward government and have his same lack of political proficiency. But many others who advise him or work alongside him and his staff are longtime operators in the capital with deep loyalties to the party.

In Alabama, Mr. Trump worked both sides, backing the establishment's candidate, Senator Luther Strange, in the Republican primary, then disregarding his political advisers and campaigning for Mr. Moore, even after allegations surfaced that he had sexually assaulted or molested girls as young as 14.

The tableau of Mr. Trump working at cross purposes with his populist allies was awkward. Before Mr. Trump endorsed Mr. Moore, White House aides pressured Sarah Palin, the party's 2008 vice-presidential nominee and a friend of both Mr. Bannon and Mr. Trump, not to campaign for the former judge. As Ms. Palin rode in the back of a car to a Moore rally in Montgomery on Sept. 21, her cellphone rang. Seeing the Washington area code 202 flash on her caller ID she groused, "It must be the White House." She ignored the call, said one person who had spoken with Ms. Palin.

Mr. Trump's dilemma has also become an identity crisis for many in the conservative movement. Groups across the right, many of which have been intensely antagonistic toward party leadership, find themselves in a position to work on legislation

that can actually pass in a Washington under total Republican control. For that, they need relationships with the leaders in the party that Mr. Bannon and other conservatives want to supplant.

In Alabama, most of the groups in the conservative coalition that usually defend Republican Senate candidates were conspicuously absent even before assault allegations surfaced. Anti-abortion groups, evangelical Christian organizations and even the National Rifle Association, which spent just \$55,000 opposing Mr. Moore's opponent, Doug Jones, were largely quiet.

The same pressure to cooperate with the establishment will complicate the runs of Bannon-backed Senate candidates like Chris McDaniel in Mississippi and Kelli Ward in Arizona, whom Republicans are already criticizing as unfit for office, especially if they become the party's nominees.

Conservative leaders who have been allies of Mr. Bannon's said they worry that disputes over candidates will only weaken Republicans.

The Democrats "are coming," said Ralph Reed, founder of the Faith and Freedom Coalition. "And they are coming with an intensity that is roughly where we were in '94 and 2010."

Mr. Cannon, who helped run campaigns in the early Tea Party primary races of 2009 and 2010, said he believes the party is even more divided now.

"Anytime you're seeing someone from your own party gloat after eroding what is already a razor-thin majority," he said, "that tells you something is fundamentally wrong."

And Mr. Bannon seems far from chastened. He has already instructed writers at his Breitbart website to use the site as a battering ram against Mr. McConnell.

On Wednesday morning, Mr. Bannon listened and nodded approvingly as callers into his radio show described Mr. McConnell as "a snake" and a "travesty to the country."

"These people," he said, "are not to be messed with. They're playing for keeps."

Departing White House, if Not Spotlight

From Page A1

Still, the woman who cultivated a reputation as the ultimate TV villain is urging viewers to stay tuned to find out why she really left.

As the spectacle surrounding Ms. Newman's departure promises to carry over into the Trump administration's second year, her telegenic antics have not been entertaining to several West Wing aides. In a workplace where drama and chaos have been features, not bugs, Ms. Newman was known for contributing to both.

On Thursday, Ms. Newman pushed back against reports that she had caused a scene over credentials at a White House Christmas party, and that she had tried to gain access to the president's residence. "I like to hear all of these interesting tales," she said in an interview with the TV host Michael Strahan on "Good Morning America," "but I have to tell you that they're 100 percent false."

Among the open questions Ms. Newman is leaving is one surrounding her frustration as the most high-profile black aide in a White House that has been noted for its lack of racial diversity, and besieged by criticism over how it handled racially tinged episodes like the deadly violence in Char-

lottesville, Va.

"As the only African-American woman in this White House," Ms. Newman said in the "Good Morning America" interview, "I have seen things that have made me uncomfortable, that have upset me, that have affected me deeply and emotionally, that has affected my community and my people. It is a profound story that I know the world will want to hear."

The world will have to wait. Ms. Newman has not elaborated, other than to say that she had been trying to raise "grave concerns" about an issue that would "affect the president in a big way." Former and current White House officials said they were uncertain what she was referring to. But she has rejected one suggestion: that Mr. Trump holds racist views.

"Donald Trump is racial, but he is not a racist," she said on ABC's "Nightline." "The things that he says, the types of pushback that he gives, involve people of color. These are racial exchanges."

"Yes, I will acknowledge many of the exchanges — particularly in the last six months — have been racially charged," she added. "Do we then just stop and label him as a racist? No."

Other than the hints she has left on national television, it is still unclear what, exactly, led to Ms. Newman's abrupt departure after

a nearly yearlong tenure punctuated by conflicts with other White House aides, a lavish wedding at Trump International Hotel in Washington and a public meltdown at a conference for black journalists. Whatever the catalyst, her departure was handled by Mr. Kelly; the White House counsel, Donald F. McGahn II; and Joseph Hagin, a deputy chief of staff.

On Facebook, Armstrong Williams, a conservative media personality and a friend of Ms. Newman's, noted that her departure had closely followed the loss by Mr. Trump's preferred candidate in the Alabama Senate race, "Funny how her story is knocking Roy Moore off front pages." On Friday, Ms. Newman declined to comment.

Ms. Newman's time came to an end in the Situation Room during a meeting with Mr. Kelly. It is an unusual place to hold a discussion about employment, but one where the backdrop is both intimidating and quiet, perhaps to calm an exchange that had the potential to spiral out of control.

Ms. Newman said that the two "had a very candid conversation," and that Mr. Trump learned that she had departed while watching television news.

Mr. Trump and Ms. Newman had forged a friendly bond after



KEVIN LAMARQUE/REUTERS

years of "Apprentice"-related activities and several memorable televised firings. When Mr. Trump entered the presidential race, Ms. Newman was among the few prominent minorities to lend support. "Every critic, every detractor will have to bow down to President Trump," she said in a 2016 interview.

When Mr. Trump took office, Ms. Newman was a familiar face for the president in a sea of newness, and she enjoyed relatively easy access to the Oval Office.

As news of her departure broke, Mr. Trump offered his support on Twitter. "Thank you Omarosa for your service! I wish you continued success," he wrote. The president's prolific tweeting may be a

topic of discussion for Ms. Newman down the road. On "Nightline," she said that she "can't wait to talk about his tweets in the future."

Ms. Newman's bond with the president was not one that extended to the president's other aides. Tension had been building from the start, according to a senior West Wing official. She could be biting, several staff members said.

Ms. Newman helped broker meetings between black ministers and Mr. Trump during the campaign, but after a year, there was little to show for her work in the White House, a position crucial for building coalitions with groups open to supporting the president, one aide said. She had

Omarosa Manigault in February as Sean Spicer, right, then the press secretary, arrived for a White House briefing. Now Ms. Newman, she says that she resigned and was not fired.

also fallen out of favor with others in the president's circle, including Jared Kushner, the president's son-in-law and senior adviser.

She is not the only former Trump aide who has made the rounds to talk about her time in the White House. On Thursday, Sean Spicer, the former White House press secretary, appeared on Fox News to say he did not know why Ms. Newman had been hired. "She was very loyal to the president," Mr. Spicer offered when pressed.

Others close to the president think Ms. Newman may choose to remain in Mr. Trump's good graces instead of speaking out against his administration, despite the end of her White House plotline.

"Omarosa has known, admired and respected President Trump for over a decade," Michael D. Cohen, a longtime lawyer for Mr. Trump, said on Friday. "Despite the rumors, I doubt she would ever do anything that would jeopardize their relationship."

Remember the Neediest!

Regulation Addressing Racial Disparity in Special Education Is Delayed

By ERICA L. GREEN

WASHINGTON — The Department of Education is proposing to delay for two years an Obama-era rule that requires states to aggressively address racial biases that may be channeling disproportionate numbers of minority children into special education.

The department is soliciting public comment on its plan to postpone enforcement of the so-called “significant disproportionality rule,” due to take effect July 1, 2018.

The rule, which was issued in the last weeks of the Obama administration, required states to look at districts that had disproportionately high numbers of minority students identified for special education services, segregated in restrictive classroom settings or disciplined at higher rates than their peers. If it is not scrapped, the rule would take effect in 2020.

The Education Department estimated in one analysis that nearly half of the school districts in the country would be identified as having significant disproportions of minorities in their special education populations if they were to adopt a standard the department considered reasonable. It also estimated that it would cost districts between \$50 million and

\$91 million to implement the rule.

It is one of several that Betsy DeVos, the secretary of education, is re-examining as her office continues a regulatory review ordered by President Trump across all federal agencies.

“Through the regulatory review process, we’ve heard from states, school districts, superintendents and other stakeholders on a wide range of issues, including the significant disproportionality rule,” said Liz Hill, a spokeswoman for the Education Department. “Because of the concerns raised, the department is looking closely at this rule and has determined that while this review takes place, it is prudent to delay implementation for two years.”

The rule was designed to address concerns about the overrepresentation of minority students in special education. The Individuals With Disabilities Education Act required states to address “significant disproportionality,” and in a 2004 reauthorization of the act, Congress began requiring states to allocate up to 15 percent of their federal special education money to address the disparities.

Representative Bobby Scott of Virginia, the ranking Democrat on the House Committee on Education and Workforce, said that delaying the rules undermines Congress’ 2004 effort to strengthen

the federal education law.

“Clearly, leaving the disproportionality provision unregulated has left states and school districts without the tools necessary to implement the law’s requirements,” Mr. Scott said. “Any effort to delay this rule, or remove it entirely, works against the fundamental goals of IDEA.”

The act did not define “significant disproportionality” or set a threshold for how marked the racial disparities needed to be to raise red flags. A 2013 report issued by the Government Accountability Office found that only 3 percent of states ever used the law, and that some states had set such high thresholds for determining disproportionality that districts could never exceed them. The office recommended that the federal government set a standardized measure.

In 2016, the Obama administration issued rules to strengthen compliance with the law by developing a standardized methodology — a complicated formula called a “risk ratio” — for all states to identify districts with high levels of disparities.

The rule required districts to do a deep analysis of the root causes, but explicitly prohibited the use of quotas. Still, it was controversial.

The delay comes amid new research that challenges the notion

that racial bias is unfairly driving minority students into special education.

Paul Morgan, a professor of education and demography at Pennsylvania State University, wrote a report in August that found that when comparing minority and white children who share similar characteristics, such as achievement levels and socioeconomic backgrounds, white students were more likely to receive special education services. Mr. Morgan

Officials say a rule puts a costly burden on districts.

said the results were similar to those in public health studies, in which minority children were less likely than their white peers to be identified and treated for illnesses.

“It speaks to an issue of discrimination, but it’s running contrary to what the general thinking has been,” Mr. Morgan said. “I completely agree that the issue of whether schools are being discriminatory is important, and the purpose of these regulations is to

try to address that, but it does not take into account clinical need.”

Republican lawmakers, including Senator Lamar Alexander of Tennessee, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions, also protested the rule as federal overreach.

Some educators argued that the more pressing issue was that too few minority students could access special education services. Some said the research on which the Obama administration based its decision was too limited to draw broad conclusions.

But the Obama administration said that the disparities were wide enough to warrant action. For example, in 2012, the Education Department found that American Indian and Alaska Native students were 60 percent more likely to be labeled with an intellectual disability, while black children were more than twice as likely as other groups to be so identified.

Similarly, American Indian or Alaska Native students were 90 percent more likely, black students were 50 percent more likely, and Hispanic students were 40 percent more likely to be identified as learning disabled.

The rule took effect Jan. 18, and states would have begun calculating their disparities next school year.

The Education Department announced in October that it had scrapped 600 outdated or obsolete guidances from its books, 72 of which were from the special education office.

Special education advocates denounced the department’s most recent move.

“We know there is a problem that needs to be fixed — delaying implementation will only hurt children who are already in school and send a message to them that they are not important as other children are,” the National Disability Rights Network’s executive director, Curt Decker, said in a statement.

But the move was lauded by school district leaders who said the rules would impose burdensome financial and administrative requirements on school districts that already struggle.

The School Superintendents Association said in a statement that it supported the department’s decision to delay what they described as “heavy-handed and aggressive regulation.”

“Congress, not the department, should address this complicated and important policy issue that impacts students with disabilities and the diversity of school districts that serve them,” said Daniel A. Domenech, executive director of the association.



QILAI SHEN/BLOOMBERG, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Robert A. Iger at Shanghai Disneyland in June. “As media barons go,” a dean at Yale said, “I would put Bob in a category of one.”

In Fox Deal, Disney Chief Puts His Magic to the Test

From Page A1

He formed a deep relationship with Steven P. Jobs, persuading the Apple impresario to part with Pixar Animation Studios, even after Mr. Jobs clashed with Mr. Iger’s predecessor, Michael D. Eisner. Disney bought Pixar in 2006 for \$7.4 billion, and Mr. Iger now sits on the Apple board. Next up was Isaac Perlmutter, who entrusted Mr. Iger with his baby, Marvel Entertainment. Everyone wanted Lucasfilm. But it was Mr. Iger who persuaded George Lucas to sell his “Star Wars” studio to Disney for \$4 billion in 2012.

Mr. Iger’s crowning achievement — should he be able to win regulatory approval and pull off an integration — came on Thursday when Rupert Murdoch entrusted much of his life work not to his own sons but to Mr. Iger. Disney paid \$52.4 billion for the bulk of Mr. Murdoch’s 21st Century Fox in a deal with ripple effects from Hollywood and Silicon Valley to audiences worldwide.

“Bob has consistently been the most strategic and curious in the industry,” said Peter Chernin, Mr. Murdoch’s former top lieutenant and chief executive of the Chernin Company, which has built a vast portfolio of digital businesses. “He’s the guy least interested in maintaining the status quo and the one genuinely trying to wrestle with where the world is going.”

Mr. Iger, who started his career in the 1970s as a weatherman, has stumbled at times while running Disney. Several of his smaller acquisitions, among them the video-focused Maker Studios and Playdom, an online game company, have been misfires. Efforts to plan out his succession have resulted in the departures of two talented senior executives.

Disney has also recently contended with subscriber losses at ESPN and ratings turbulence at ABC. John Lasseter, the Pixar co-founder who became Disney’s top animation executive, said last month that he would step aside for a six-month “sabbatical” because of behavioral “missteps.”

But Disney has mostly soared under Mr. Iger’s leadership, noted Mr. Gabelli, whose Gamco holds roughly \$350 million in Fox shares. Since Mr. Iger took over



THE WALT DISNEY COMPANY HANDOUT/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Mr. Iger with Rupert Murdoch, who agreed this week to sell most of 21st Century Fox to the Walt Disney Company for \$52.4 billion.

Disney, annual profit has more than tripled, totaling \$8.98 billion in the fiscal year that ended in September.

“To get Disney, Marvel, Pixar and Lucasfilm to even operate on the same planet is a herculean task,” said Jeffrey A. Sonnenfeld, a dean of leadership studies at the Yale School of Management. “As media barons go, I would put Bob in a category of one.”

Now, however, just as Mr. Iger approaches what appears to be the end of his career — his new retirement date is in late 2021 — he has made an eye-popping bet that will, for better or worse, make everything he has already accomplished seem like a footnote. The 21st Century Fox acquisition is Disney’s largest, surpassing its 1995 purchase of Capital Cities/ABC for \$19 billion, or roughly \$31 billion after adjusting for inflation.

Mr. Iger intends to use the Fox businesses, which include the 20th Century Fox studio and a chain of 22 regional sports networks, to supercharge a plan to reposition Disney.

To a large degree, ESPN, bought as part of the Capital Cities deal, has powered Disney for two decades. But traditional television, built on third-party cable and satellite subscriptions, is now in decline as people watch more content online. Mr. Iger sees Netflix-style subscription streaming services as a new growth engine and has announced plans to rely on three of them, with each bene-

fitting from the Fox assets. (Two of the services will be new, and one will be Hulu, which Disney would now control.)

Success is far from guaranteed. Netflix and Amazon have a huge head start. Disney will have to learn new businesses on the fly. It will be difficult for Disney to integrate 21st Century Fox for reasons of size and culture: Fox is much rowdier. James L. Brooks, a creator of “The Simpsons,” which will move to Disney in the merger, on Thursday posted an image on Twitter “with respect.” It showed an angry Homer Simpson strangling Mickey Mouse.

While most investors and analysts cheered the merger, Doug Creutz, an analyst at Cowen and Company, wrote in a research note that Disney’s bid to compete with Netflix was “a lost cause” given that tech companies “have deep pockets and no mandate to turn an economic profit in the near term.” Other analysts praised Mr. Murdoch for exiting Hollywood while criticizing Disney for buying traditional television assets — cable channels like FX and satellite television providers like Sky.

Also, the deal needs approval by antitrust regulators. While President Trump seemed to give it his endorsement on Thursday, pushback has already begun.

“I’m concerned about the impact of this transaction on American consumers,” Senator Amy Klobuchar, Democrat of Minnesota, said in a statement on Friday.

Ms. Klobuchar, the Senate antitrust subcommittee’s ranking member, asked for a hearing to ensure “appropriate oversight.”

Mr. Iger, who declined to comment for this article, expressed confidence on Thursday about winning the approval of regulators.

“If they look at it from a consumer point of view,” he said, “they should quickly conclude that the aim of this combination is to create more high-quality product for consumers around the world and to deliver it in more innovative, more compelling ways.”

As Hollywood began to get its head around the acquisition, it was seen as either the sad ending of an era or the exciting beginning of one.

The film business has not seen significant consolidation in generations. Now that Disney is a content colossus, analysts expect a wave of Hollywood mergers, as companies like Viacom, CBS, Sony, Lionsgate and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer look to gain scale.

Some in Hollywood, including many film executives at Fox, which faces downsizing under Disney control, saw the merger as the waning of the traditional entertainment business: Disney wanted Fox’s assets to accelerate its push to deliver television show and movies over the internet and fight Apple, Amazon and Netflix in the streaming video wars.

Filmmakers, writers and producers began to moan that all of their creative impulses would now be subject to algorithm approval.

But others had the opposite perspective: By supersizing Disney — the only major pieces of 21st Century Fox not included in the deal were Fox News, the FSI sports channel and the Fox broadcast network — Mr. Iger had engineered Hollywood’s best chance for survival. After all, rather than being swallowed by a Silicon Valley giant, Fox’s creative businesses will be managed by an entertainment veteran.

“With this deal, Bob is really saying, ‘You can all make bets on platforms and algorithms,’” Mr. Chernin said. “‘I am going to make my bet on content and control how that content reaches consumers.’”

Media Adviser for E.P.A. Investigated Its Workers

By ERIC LIPTON and LISA FRIEDMAN

One of the top executives of a consulting firm that the Environmental Protection Agency has recently hired to help it with media affairs has spent the past year investigating agency employees who have been critical of the Trump administration, federal records show.

The firm, Definers Public Affairs, based in Virginia, specializes in conducting opposition research, meaning that it seeks to find damaging information on political or corporate rivals.

A vice president for the firm, Allan Blutstein, federal records show, has submitted at least 40 Freedom of Information Act requests to the E.P.A. since President Trump was sworn in. Many of those requests target employees known to be questioning management at the E.P.A. since Scott Pruitt, the agency’s administrator, was confirmed.

Mr. Blutstein, in an interview, said he was taking aim at “resistance” figures in the federal government, adding that he hoped to discover whether they had done anything that might embarrass them or hurt their cause.

“I wondered if they were emailing critical things about the agency on government time and how frequently they were corresponding about this,” he said. “And did they do anything that would be useful for Republicans.”

Jahan Wilcox, a spokesman at the E.P.A., said the decision to hire Definers, which signed a \$120,000 no-bid contract to monitor and collect news coverage about the agency, was solely financial. The E.P.A. previously contracted with Bulletin Intelligence L.L.C. for media services at a rate of \$207,000 a year. That contract was open to other bids.

“Definers was awarded the contract to do our press clips at a rate that is \$87,000 cheaper than our previous vendor and they are providing no other services,” Mr. Wilcox said in an emailed statement. “If you have questions regarding how Definers operates, we encourage you to contact them.”

The contract, which was awarded this month, is part of an unconventional news media operation that Mr. Pruitt has set up at the agency as he tries to get a handle on the coverage of him by newspapers, including The New York Times, and criticism by Democrats in Congress and environmental groups. The decision to award the contract was first reported by Mother Jones.

The founders of Definers, Joe Pounder and Matt Rhoades, are longtime Republican political operatives. Mr. Pounder was the research director for the Republican National Committee and worked on the presidential campaign of Senator Marco Rubio of Florida in 2016. Mr. Rhoades managed Mitt Romney’s presidential campaign in 2012.

The two previously founded America Rising, a political action committee that works closely with Republicans. Mr. Blutstein serves as the vice president of Freedom of Information Act operations at America Rising and has filed the majority of his requests to the E.P.A. via that organization.

Mr. Pounder said the E.P.A. would use the company’s news-tracking tool called Definers Console. The firm had an improved way of collecting and analyzing

clips, he said, noting that America Rising and Definers were distinct entities. America Rising, he said, “doesn’t and will never do work for the federal government.”

Mr. Blutstein, in the interview, said that his series of information requests this year targeting E.P.A. employees known to be critical of the Trump administration was separate from the work that the firm was performing for the agency. Instead, he said that he filed the requests on his own, in an effort to try to undermine people who have been critical of policy changes taking place at the agency.

He described it as an “antiresistance” effort. “I am not doing mole hunts, or whatever,” he said. “I am almost always doing that research on my own.”

The requests focused on agency employees like Michael Cox, who worked in the E.P.A.’s Seattle office and had sent a retirement notice in March to colleagues that raised questions about Mr. Pruitt’s management as well as agency employees who had participated in a public outreach program called “Why do you love the E.P.A.,” which tried to build support for maintaining the agency’s budget.

Other employees who were the subjects of such requests included Elizabeth Southerland, who has been an outspoken critic of Mr. Pruitt since her recent retire-

A company that does opposition research for Republicans.

ment; Michael J. Mikulka, a Chicago-based union leader; and John O’Grady, the president of the American Federation of Government Employees Council 238.

In some cases, like Mr. Mikulka, the agency disclosed the records requests without releasing any information, which targeted employees said was because they had not used their work email to discuss politically sensitive matters.

Mr. O’Grady, whose union represents about 10,000 E.P.A. employees nationwide, called the Definers contract a threat to all employees.

“With a company like this in play, somebody would be a fool to send anything over the agency email system,” Mr. O’Grady said.

Legal experts also raised questions on Friday about the nature of the agency’s contract with Definers. Under a no-bid contract, an agency decides that only one person or company can provide the services needed.

Charles Tiefer, a professor of contract law at the University of Baltimore, said he could see no legal justification for finding that only one company had the qualifications to gather news articles.

“Clearly E.P.A. didn’t treat any other vendor seriously,” Mr. Tiefer said. “‘There’s no reason on earth that E.P.A. didn’t at the absolute minimum phone around or email for three competing bids and go with the lowest one.’”

Mr. Tiefer said the company appeared to be hired solely for ideological reasons. “This has crony favoritism and bias written all over it,” he said. “This is not merely letting the fox into the henhouse. This is hiring, at a high price, the fox.”

Parents Sue
In Deaths
Of 2 Girls
From Scalding

By WILLIAM NEUMAN

It is difficult, even now that a year has passed, for the parents of Ibanez and Scylee Vayoh not to dwell on their daughters’ deaths.

Ibanez, 2, and Scylee, 1, were scalded to death on Dec. 7 by radiator steam in a city-funded apartment for the homeless in the Bronx. A valve on the radiator in their bedroom had come off; Mayor Bill de Blasio called it a freak accident, and the authorities were never able to explain how the valve became separated from the radiator.

The parents have since filed a lawsuit charging that the city was negligent and failed to ensure safe conditions for families seeking shelter.

The lawsuit, filed in State Supreme Court in the Bronx in September but not previously reported, blames the city for poor oversight of the apartments that it used to house the homeless, known as cluster-site apartments, a system of thousands of units that Mr. de Blasio has criticized as being rife with problems and has vowed to shut down.

The building on Hunts Point Avenue where the girls lived with their parents, Danielle McGuire and Pete Ambrose, is no longer used by the city to house homeless families, according to the Department of Homeless Services.

The lawsuit, filed by Robert J. Mongeluzzi, a lawyer for Ms. McGuire and Mr. Ambrose, also names the owner of the building, Moshe Piller, and the social services agency that administered homeless apartments in that building under contract with the city, Bushwick Economic Development Corporation, as defendants.

An amended complaint filed last month says that the girls “died horrific and agonizing deaths in their parents’ arms, while their parents tried to save them.”

It says that the couple “witnessed a scene that would torment any parents for the rest of their natural lives, finding their two loving and innocent daughters scalded, their bodies purple and skin peeling off while the two girls lay there barely holding onto their lives prior to succumbing to their injuries.”

The lawsuit says that the parents now live in Greenbush, Me., a town near Bangor. They had previously lived in Houlton, Me., near the Canadian border.

Wade McGuire, Ms. McGuire’s father, said in a telephone interview that his daughter and her husband were “still taking it awful hard.”

“They’re thinking about having another kid but I don’t know how that’s going to be,” he said.

The suit blames the city for poor oversight of housing used for the homeless.

ing,” he said. “I don’t know what’s going to become of it,” adding that he still thinks about the girls every day.

The parents moved from Maine to New York City in 2016 and quickly applied for homeless housing, eventually being placed in the Bronx apartment. Mr. Ambrose wrote in social media posts online of his struggles with substance abuse.

The court papers say that other tenants in the Bronx building had complained about problems with the radiators and that the city ignored warning signs and complaints about dangerous conditions in the building and at other cluster sites.

Nick Paolucci, a spokesman for the city’s Law Department, said that the city would respond to the complaint in court.

On her Facebook page, Ms. McGuire wrote about attending a vigil for the girls in New York City last week, on the anniversary of their deaths: “Its crazy its been a year since u girls were taken from us daddy n i miss u so much not a second goes by that u r not on our minds love u so so much ibanez and scylee-vayoh . . . thank u so much everyone for the beautiful vigil.”

Two internet fund-raising drives created after the girls’ deaths raised \$25,556 for the couple, according to the pages on gofundme.com.

Social media posts by Ms. McGuire and Mr. Ambrose also detailed the couple’s struggles since the girls died.

In March, the couple took a cross-country car trip that Ms. McGuire said was spurred by their daughters’ deaths.

“I cherish the time I had with those girls n I thank god everyday that he gave me them and I curse him everyday for taking them away!” Ms. McGuire wrote on Facebook during the trip.

“My husband and I are traveling around the United States with our guitars to raise money and start a nonprofit fund-raiser to change the shelters in NYC and make them safe for families to live . . . I am going to sing my heart out and spread the story of how NYC FAMILY shelter killed my baby girls,” she wrote.

It is not clear from the posts how much money they raised; Ms. McGuire, when reached by telephone, said she would follow the advice of her lawyers not to speak to reporters.



Obstetricians’ Careers
At Risk in the Bronx

More Risky Pregnancies May Mean More Malpractice Suits

By VIVIAN WANG

Dr. Mark Rosing, the chairman of obstetrics and gynecology at St. Barnabas Hospital in the Bronx, is clear with every job candidate he interviews: Once they join his department, they may have trouble leaving.

That’s partly because, he tells them, it is an inspiring place to work. The staff is passionate, the benefit to patients in the city’s poorest borough visible.

But it’s also because they may not be able to get hired anywhere else.

“Providers are very, very resistant or hesitant to come practice here, because in many cases, it can literally destroy their careers,” Dr. Rosing said.

The difficulties of being an expectant mother in the Bronx are well known: A 2016 report found that the borough consistently had the city’s highest rates of life-threatening complications during childbirth, with those dangers arising there in 296 of every 10,000 deliveries between 2008 and 2012, compared to 230 citywide.

Less frequently discussed are the effects on obstetricians practicing in the Bronx. High-risk pregnancies are by definition more taxing for physicians. And the heightened likelihood of something going wrong may in turn increase the likelihood of a malpractice lawsuit.

“Making a decision to practice here, taking care of patients that really need quality care — in doing so, you’re basically guaranteed within five or 10 years to have a list of malpractice suits that may make you unemployable elsewhere,” Dr. Rosing said.

Malpractice insurance premiums are higher in the Bronx than almost anywhere else in the country, a reflection of the frequency of lawsuits and the large payouts juries have ordered in the past, said Michael Matray, editor of the Medical Liability Monitor, a newsletter that publishes an annual survey of malpractice premiums for individual physicians. Obstetrics and gynecology command some of the highest premiums of any specialty.

In 2017, insurance for individual obstetricians and gynecologists in Bronx County cost between \$176,00 and \$196,000 each year. Citywide, premiums cost between \$155,000 and \$175,000, and statewide, between \$115,000 and \$136,000. In other major cities, rates were far lower: about \$138,000 per year in Chicago, and \$50,000 in Los Angeles, according to an analysis by The New York Times. Hospitals do not report how much they pay in annual premiums, but Mr. Matray said they are likely comparable.

Unlike most other states, New York does not cap the amount of money that can be paid as compensation for malpractice, which may contribute to high premiums, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures.

Only Nassau and Suffolk Counties on Long Island and Dade and Broward Counties in Florida had higher rates than

the Bronx.

Increasingly, some hospital administrators said, they have found themselves scrambling to convince doctors that the difficulties are worthwhile. They lean on recruiters and appeal to candidates’ sense of mission. And they stare down the grim prospect of a vicious cycle: a shortfall of qualified maternal care in the part of the city that needs it most.

“For the clinicians that want to come do the right thing, taking care of the patients who need their help the most, they say, ‘Why am I going to do that to myself? I’m going to damage my own future,’” Dr. Rosing said.

A 2017 report by the American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists predicted a possible 25 percent shortage of doctors in the field nationwide by 2030, and 35 percent by 2050 — but the health and legal landscape of the Bronx make concerns there especially acute.

Unstable housing, unemployment and limited access to healthy food make pregnant women vulnerable long before they ever set foot in a doctor’s office, said Dr. Deborah Kaplan, assistant commissioner for maternal, infant, and reproductive health at the New York City Department of Health.

Obesity rates are stagnant, and the frequency of cesarean sections is on the rise, said Dr. Magdy Mikhail, the chairman of obstetrics and gynecology at Bronx-Lebanon Hospital.

And some women hardly make it to the doctor’s office at all: 10.5 percent of births in Bronx County in 2015 followed late or no prenatal care, nearly double the rate from nine years before and 3.7 percent more than in New York City as a whole.

Administrators at other Bronx hospitals said the area’s circumstances had affected their recruiting efforts differently. At Montefiore Medical Center, the obstetrics and gynecology residency program is the third-largest in the nation, providing a ready pool of candidates, said Dr. Sharmila Makhija, chairwoman of the department there. St. Barnabas does not have an obstetrics and gynecology residency.

Montefiore’s size and resources are another potential draw, Dr. Makhija acknowledged. Montefiore Medical Center reported net profit of \$36 million in 2015, according to Guidestar. St. Barnabas Hospital reported a loss of \$15 million.

Dr. Mikhail at Bronx-Lebanon also highlighted his hospital’s residency program in explaining why he was able to recruit candidates. But he said the difficulties of practicing in the South Bronx, which includes the poorest congressional district in the country, were pressing and perhaps increasing.

“The South Bronx, particularly in OB, is really the highest-risk in the city,” Dr. Mikhail said. “Certain things are not getting better or even getting worse, which makes the challenges higher.”

Dr. Sridhar Chilimuri, Bronx-Lebanon’s physician-in-chief, said the medical challenges that arise in the Bronx face may shock doctors who have treated only healthier populations. For example, he said, Bronx-Lebanon’s obstetricians often see massive hemorrhaging after delivery, a problem linked to obesity, multiple pregnancies or a lack of prenatal care.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALICE PROUJANSKY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dr. Mark Rosing, the chairman of obstetrics and gynecology at St. Barnabas Hospital in the Bronx, top, and with Kaitlyn Greenough, a midwife. Malpractice insurance premiums are high in the borough, reflecting the risks.

“If you’re bringing young people from the outside, they’ve probably seen one or two in their lives. And here they’re seeing it every other month,” Dr. Chilimuri said. “For them to suddenly face this is challenging. So they would look for opportunities elsewhere.”

New York State accounted for more than 20 percent of the 3,034 obstetrics-related malpractice payments made nationwide between Jan. 1, 2012 and June 30, 2017, according to data from the federal Department of Health and Human Services.

Daniel D. Cassidy, president of the Bronx County Bar Association, said there was “no question” that Bronx ju-

ries had a reputation for siding with patients more often than doctors.

Patient advocates defended lawsuits as a crucial tool for holding doctors accountable. Joanne Doroshow, the executive director of the Center for Justice and Democracy at New York Law School, which opposes efforts to limit malpractice claims, said the state had already erected “enormous obstacles” to malpractice suits, even without payment caps. She said the number of claims originating in New York suggested an inordinate amount of subpar care, not a more litigious patient base.

Michael Kaplen, a New York City malpractice lawyer and member of the American Board of Professional Liability Attorneys, said that if doctors were choosing not to practice in the Bronx, financial considerations, not malpractice claims, were most likely the reason.

The high numbers of patients in the Bronx who rely on Medicare and Medicaid might drive some physicians away, Mr. Kaplen said.

Regardless of the reasons for doctors’ decisions, some hospitals’ recruiting tactics have changed in response. Dr. Rosing said that when he took over as chairman of St. Barnabas’s department 11 years ago, he placed advertisements in the newspaper to find candidates. Now he almost always hires recruiters.

But several recruiters said they encounter similar challenges when courting candidates: fear of being sued, or of treating a demographic with which they weren’t familiar.

Bethany Hanak, a director at the physician recruiting firm LocumTenens.com, said when her firm was asked to fill a temporary opening for a high-risk obstetrician in the Bronx this year, candidates asked immediately about the company’s malpractice coverage.

“You could tell that was their first concern,” Ms. Hanak said.

That difficulty can have consequences for the quality of care.

Dr. Rosing emphasized that a majority of his staff members were doctors of the highest quality who chose to work in the Bronx because of their dedication to the hospital’s mission. Dr. Rosing himself studied at Cornell and Columbia universities.

But he acknowledged that recruiting difficulties had at times forced him to hire doctors of a lower caliber.

“There are some people here who — I won’t tell you otherwise — they can’t get a job anywhere else,” Dr. Rosing said. “In some cases, we have to take them, because our choices are limited.”

Still, while grim statistics may help explain why some doctors avoid the Bronx, Dr. Rosing said they also explain precisely why some doctors flock to it.

“There are still people out there who say, ‘That’s the price of doing business, and this is what I trained to be a doctor for,’” Dr. Rosing said. “That’s the kind of person you need to seek out in the Bronx.”

New York’s Next Subway Chief Is Ready to Deal With All the Third Rails

From Page A1

new signals. (In New York, officials already plan a 15-month shut-down of the tunnel that carries the L line between Brooklyn and Manhattan, and a shorter closing — five days — is scheduled this month for another tunnel that carries the E and the M lines between Queens and Manhattan.)

Mr. Byford also focused on quick wins like cleaning subways, renovating bathrooms, creating rider-friendly signage and pushing train operators to make announcements about delays. He also took on the transit union over contracting out garbage collection and other services and instituting one-person train operations.

The system he inherited was rife with problems familiar to New Yorkers — constant delays, poor maintenance, aging equipment and a dim public image.

“Fares went up and service did not improve, ticket monitors fell asleep in the booths, there were no announcements when the train stopped in the tunnel and you didn’t know if you were waiting five minutes or 20 minutes for a train,” said Karen Stintz, a former Toronto city councilor who served as chairwoman of the Toronto Transit Commission from 2010 to 2014.

In Mr. Byford’s first two weeks, a fare collector was shot during a robbery and Union Station, a busy hub, flooded. An apologetic Mr. Byford appeared often on television promising improvements. “Andy’s visible presence was the single biggest contributor to the public trusting again in the system,” Ms. Stintz said. “He recognized there was a branding challenge.”

Mr. Byford designed an ambitious five-year plan and was able to produce results on initiatives that had been in disarray, including a subway line extension and a new signaling system on one of Toronto’s four subway lines.

“Andy rode in on a white horse and rescued these projects,” said Steve Munro, a longtime Toronto Transit advocate. “He got to show ‘I’m in charge and we’re going to fix this.’”

The Toronto Transit Commission was named the 2017 Transit System of the Year by the American Public Transportation Association, citing the system for reducing delays and increasing customer satisfaction.

“He stopped the erosion of public confidence,” said Franz Hartmann, executive director of the Toronto Environmental Alliance. “He was up against huge structural problems, a lack of funding and politicization on how to expand the T.T.C. Could he have done a better job? Maybe, but you can’t fault him for politicians not willing to spend the money that was required.”

Since 2014, train delays have decreased by 6 percent with the greatest decline — 18 percent — on the subway’s busiest and oldest train line, though complaints about delays rose last year, according to data from the Toronto Transit Commission.

Despite the many challenges, Mr. Byford considers becoming president of New York City Transit, which oversees the subway



PHOTOGRAPHS BY IAN WILLMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Andy Byford during a Canadian television interview. He said he would consider controversial steps in New York, like congestion pricing, and scrutinize spending.

and public buses, a dream job. Any transit professional “worth his salt,” he said, wants to run one of the Big Three transit systems: New York, London or Hong Kong. And for him New York is the Holy Grail. And it is big — 5.7 million daily riders compared with 800,000 in Toronto.

On a recent Tuesday, Mr. Byford, clad in a charcoal suit and worn black leather shoes, sat in a makeup chair at a television studio, getting ready for one of three television appearances to discuss

his new position.

“Hair and makeup?” quipped Mr. Byford, who is bald. The staffer chuckled and said, “Only makeup.”

Later, Mr. Byford, who was born in England, reflected on his career: “Who would have thought this spotty kid growing up in Plymouth would have ended up heading New York City Transit?”

It certainly was not his initial plan. After high school, Mr. Byford said he wanted to join the Royal Navy — Plymouth is home to a na-

val base and he recalled watching from his window during the Falklands War as battleships sailed out to sea.

But transit was in his blood. His grandfather was a bus driver for 40 years and his father worked for London Transport for 12 years.

Mr. Byford began his career as a station foreman with the London Underground, where he worked for 14 years and met his wife, Alison. (He proposed to her on a high-speed train in London.) Then he went to work for English rail-

roads before moving to Australia to become second-in-command for the agency that runs public transit in Sydney.

In 2011, the Toronto Transit Commission tapped Mr. Byford to become the system’s No. 2 official, and he ended up ascending to the top post after the mayor at the time, Rob Ford, ousted Mr. Byford’s predecessor.

“During our time in Toronto it was a very volatile political environment,” Ms. Stintz said.

Mr. Byford says he is not afraid to speak up to politicians and tell them what needs to be done to better serve riders.

But a long-running battle over a transit plan here raised questions about how Mr. Byford will handle New York’s bruising political arena. Mr. Byford was accused, though ultimately cleared by a public auditor, of complaints that the transit agency at the mayor’s behest had massaged information comparing the costs of a subway extension to a light rail line.

“The question for New Yorkers will be can he — within a highly charged and politicized environment where there are competing visions and interests — speak truth to power or will he capitulate to pressure that will come from every side?” said Josh Matlow, a Toronto city councilor.

Mr. Byford said he had always tried to “give the right advice” and would do so in New York.

He will walk into an immediate minefield with Mr. Cuomo and Mayor Bill de Blasio feuding over subway financing. The mayor has

refused the governor’s demand that the city pay half the cost of an \$836 million emergency plan to stabilize the system. They are also at odds over long-term funding. Mr. Cuomo supports a congestion pricing plan, but Mr. de Blasio opposes the idea, saying it would burden low-income New Yorkers. Mr. Byford said congestion pricing was “a debate that needs to happen.”

He also said he would quickly assess the capability of the senior team and ensure funds “are being spent on the right things.”

“I want to make sure that people are crystal clear that the status quo is not good enough and that everyone has got to up their game,” he said, adding that riders should expect to see “tangible improvements within a year.”

Mr. Byford is a familiar face among Toronto subway commuters, many of whom stopped to wish him well. He has never owned a car. He promises to commute by subway in New York, adding that he and his wife are looking for an apartment in Manhattan.

Mr. Byford has been asked, more than once, if he is sure he is making the right move. After all, he has had “a pretty good run,” he said.

“There is a danger that I don’t succeed,” he said. “I know it will be very hard. I probably won’t have a life, I probably won’t see my wife, but I will be incredibly proud to be walking about that system and doing my damndest to turn it around.”



Toronto’s system is far smaller than New York’s, with 800,000 daily passengers compared with 5.7 million. Mr. Byford shut down the subways in Toronto on weekends to repair switches and tracks.

To Curb Bad Verdicts, Court Adds a Lesson for Jurors on Racial Bias in Identifications

By ASHLEY SOUTHALL

The classic courtroom scene of a witness confidently identifying an attacker by pointing toward the defendant is a moment that can make a powerful impression on a jury.

But it is an impression that most psychologists agree is unreliable, especially when the victim or other eyewitness and the defendant are of different races. And it has resulted in people going to prison for crimes they did not commit.

Six years ago, state court administrators gave trial judges in New York the option of telling jurors that in their deliberations, they may consider the unreliability of cross-racial identification.

The state’s highest court, the Court of Appeals, went further in a decision issued on Thursday. It told judges that in criminal cases where the identifying witness and defendant appear to be of different races, the defense is entitled to have the jurors told about the unreliability of cross-witness identification if requested.

In the majority opinion, Judge Eugene M. Fahey cited mounting scientific evidence and criminal exonerations in concluding that the “the risk of wrongful convictions involving cross-racial identification demands a new approach.”

People generally have greater difficulty identifying someone of a different race than their own, a phenomenon that scientists have observed for more than a century. One analysis of 39 studies found that participants were one-and-a-half times more likely to falsely identify the face of a stranger of a different race.

Often, jurors do not perceive problems with how witnesses

identify people of a different race. In a 2006 survey conducted by the American Psychological Association, only 36 percent of over 1,000 jurors understood that cross-racial identification was less reliable than same-race identification, while nearly half believed they were equally reliable.

“The need for a charge on the cross-race effect is evident,” the court said, referring to the instruction. “The question becomes how this instruction is best given.”

The rule issued by the Court of Appeals on Thursday applies to all cases where a witness’s identification of the perpetrator is an issue and the instruction is requested by the defendant, who the judges said must appear to be of a different race than the eyewitness who identified him.

State courts in Hawaii, Massachusetts and New Jersey have instituted rules similar to the new one in New York, while courts in Washington State and Georgia, as well as federal courts in Detroit, Indianapolis and the District of Columbia allow an instruction, at the discretion of the trial judge.

Supporters of such an instruction said it was necessary to reduce the risk of wrongful convictions, which disproportionately affect black men.

The Innocence Project, a non-profit legal group, said in a brief filed with the court that over 70 percent of the 353 convictions it has had overturned on DNA evidence involved misidentification.

And of those, nearly half involve a defendant and a witness of different races. Black men were the defendants in more than 200 of the exonerations handled by the group.

Marne Lenox, who co-authored

The ruling is called a way to help ‘level the playing field.’

a brief on behalf of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund Inc., said the ruling sends “an important signal” across the country.

“This decision helps level the playing field and prevent future wrongful convictions, especially of defendants of color, based on scientifically dubious cross-racial

identifications,” Ms. Lenox said.

As courts, legislatures and law enforcement agencies revisit the use of eyewitnesses in criminal cases, she said she hoped they would look to New York and “enact common-sense reform.”

The case that led to the decision involved a black man, Otis Boone, who was convicted of robbery solely on the testimony of two white men who said he robbed them of their cellphones in Brooklyn in 2011.

The victims, a teenager and a man in his 20s, said the robber approached them and asked for the time before snatching their phones out of their hands and fleeing. The older victim gave chase until the robber pulled out a knife and warned him to stay back. The younger man put up a fight, but the robber stabbed him in the back.

Both victims picked Mr. Boone out of a six-man police lineup. The teenager hesitated until he heard Mr. Boone say, “What time is it?”

In ruling that the defense was entitled to the identification instruction, the court ordered a new trial for Mr. Boone, whose original sentence of 25 years in prison was reduced to 15 by a lower appellate

court.

The Brooklyn district attorney’s office said it was reviewing the court’s decision and weighing how to proceed.

The trial judge in Brooklyn had rejected Mr. Boone’s request for the cross-racial instruction, partly on the belief that the instruction should not be given to jurors if no expert had testified on the subject at trial. An appellate court agreed with the trial court, but chose to reduce Mr. Boone’s sentence.

Judge Fahey, of the Appeals Court, whose opinion was joined by four of the panel’s seven judges, wrote that the lower courts were mistaken.

Judge Michael J. Garcia agreed that the trial judge had erred in not allowing the identification instruction, but in a concurring opinion, said that his colleagues went too far in effectively making the instruction mandatory. He said requiring the instruction “creates a substantial risk of juror confusion and serves only to hinder, rather than aid, the jury’s critical fact-finding function.”

Judge Leslie E. Stein joined in the concurring opinion. Judge Rowan D. Wilson did not participate in the decision.

Corrections

FRONT PAGE

An article on Thursday about rape accusations against the music mogul Russell Simmons referred incorrectly to Mr. Simmons’s relationship with the media company Global Grind. While Mr. Simmons’s company Rush Communications oversaw Global Grind until 2014, it no longer has ties to the company.

INTERNATIONAL

A picture caption with an article on Thursday about a new report on the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, using information from The Associated Press, overstated what was known about the people shown in the image. While they were fleeing Gitarama, Rwanda, their ethnicity is not known.

NATIONAL

An article on Friday about the increased probability of a Democrat takeover of the Senate after Alabama’s special election misidentified a state in which a Democrat won re-election to the Senate by a large margin in 2006. It was North Dakota, not South Dakota.

BUSINESS DAY

An article on Thursday about a federal criminal investigation into Uber’s business practices misstated Richard Jacobs’s relationship to the company, which he has said secretly gathered intelligence on competitors. Mr. Jacobs is a former Uber employee, not a former security contractor for the company.

THE ARTS

A movie review on Friday about the animated film “Birdboy” misspelled the original title of the film. It is “Psiconautas,” not “Psiconautos.”

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

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EDITORIALS

Oh! Jerusalem...

Do you maybe find Middle East politics a bit confusing? Hard to tell all those claims and counterclaims apart, to sort out just who deserves to govern which piece of land?

Well, the Trump administration is here to make matters more bewildering and stressful for everyone.

First, out of the blue, President Donald Trump announced on Dec. 6 that he was formally recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital, tossing aside 70 years of careful American neutrality and infuriating Palestinians, who also want their capital to be in Jerusalem. Then, this week, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson said, um, the United States isn't actually going to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem until 2020, if then. Passports of Americans born in Jerusalem will continue to say born in Jerusalem, not Israel. American government maps won't identify Jerusalem as being inside Israel.

Why the delay? Mr. Tillerson cited logistical reasons, whatever those might be. Maybe he's having trouble finding a printer to make new maps?

More likely, with the president having made a typically grandiose and poorly thought-through political gesture to domestic supporters — in this case, those who staunchly back Israel's hard-line Likud government — wiser heads in the administration are trying to mollify Palestinians and other Arabs antagonized by his posturing. Since Mr. Trump's decision, there have been protests across the Middle East. More than 50 Muslim leaders, meeting in Istanbul on Wednesday, criticized the decision and urged the world to recognize East Jerusalem as the capital of an independent Palestinian state. In Brussels, most leaders of the European Union, one of the Palestinian Authority's biggest donors, have rejected the idea of following Mr. Trump's lead.

But the backpedaling on Jerusalem doesn't appear to be having much effect. On Friday, Israeli troops fatally shot four Palestinians and wounded more than 300 others with live fire during demonstrations in Gaza and the West Bank.

With Vice President Mike Pence set to visit Israel next week, Palestinian leaders are refusing to meet him. Administration officials say they realize that the Palestinians “may need a bit of a cooling-off period.”

Israel's government has been in West Jerusalem since the state's founding in 1948. In the Arab-Israeli War of 1967, Israel drove Jordan back from East Jerusalem and occupied the whole city. But the United States, like most of the world, had withheld formal recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital pending a peace agreement between Israelis and Palestinians that would fairly resolve all major disputes. One might refer to such bargaining, to maximize leverage in pursuit of the best outcome, as the art of the deal.

But that's just not how this White House operates. In

fact, it conceded another piece of leverage on Friday and again angered Palestinians for no apparent purpose. White House officials made clear their expectation that Jerusalem's Western Wall, which lies outside Israel's pre-1967 borders and abuts some of Islam's most sacred sites, will eventually be declared part of Israel. This time, they were careful to say that the final borders of Israel and any Palestinian state must be settled in negotiations. But it seemed another case of America taking Israel's side on an explosive issue.

Mr. Trump insists he still intends to pursue new peace negotiations, but he has made any such effort, always a long shot, vastly more difficult. In this fraught moment, with dwindling options, the first task for the Palestinian leadership and others is to discourage violence that could engulf the region at great cost to all sides. If Palestinian and European leaders want to keep open the possibility of a two-state solution, they should reaffirm the importance of deciding Jerusalem's future in negotiations, with the Palestinian capital in East Jerusalem. For his part, Mr. Trump could lessen the damage by specifying that the embassy, when moved, would be in West Jerusalem, and by indicating that the United States wants to recognize East Jerusalem as Palestine's capital as part of a peace agreement.



EDITORIAL NOTEBOOK

Melting Guns Into Tools as Sales Boom

Beyond the usual barometers of the Christmas marketing season — this year's Fingerling toy is a must-have for children — there is the Black Friday tally of holiday gun buyers, which this year broke all previous records.

For the single-day binge of gun sales measured annually after Thanksgiving, the F.B.I. received 203,086 requests for background checks. This is the most ever in a single day, topping last year's Black Friday high of 185,713 requests. (No immediate tweets from President Trump, the candidate of the National Rifle Association, that this is huge in making America great again.)

There were undoubtedly even more guns actually sold, since an F.B.I. request can cover a buyer's multiple purchases. All seasonal evidence indicates that AR-15 assault rifles, the battlefield knockoffs familiar to so many Americans in the relentless tales of mass shootings, will be under many Christmas trees. “Bang for the buck!” enthused the blog post of one seasonal shopper. “I picked up a Bushmaster carbine with rebate for around \$400 . . . I couldn't be happier.”

Not to crimp such holiday cheer, but the police department in New Haven,

Conn., plans a small biblical twist to America's avid gun culture: a gun buyback on Saturday in which prison inmate volunteers will transform surrendered weapons into gardening tools to be provided to schools so students can plant and harvest vegetables for soup kitchens.

This takes the swords-into-plowshares dictum to a creative new level. The police running the buyback promise to ask no questions of anyone turning in a weapon. In return, they offer gift cards worth \$25 per small, Derringer-like handgun. Rifles and shotguns come in at \$50 each, pistols and revolvers at \$100, and high-powered assault weapons are the most prized here, too, at \$200.

The police worked out the buyback in cooperation with RAWtools Inc., a gun safety program that specializes in breaking apart firearms and reforging gun barrels into safer things, and the Newtown Foundation, created after the massacre of 20 schoolchildren and six staff members five years ago at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown.

No one expects drastic results in crime statistics. But buybacks are

considered important by police officials in various cities for getting some guns off the streets and out of owners' badly secured homes. They are a tangible commitment to gun safety, particularly as elected politicians prove largely useless on the subject. Over the past six years, the New Haven police have collected nearly 700 guns in buybacks, run at government expense, in which the firearms were broken apart and discarded.

The new reforging approach is supported by Gun by Gun, a safety group run by private donations, and Yale-New Haven Hospital, whose emergency room chief, Gail D'Onofrio, speaks from the harshest experience: “Fewer guns means fewer deaths.” If nothing else, the forces at work in the plowshare buyback offer a humble reminder that there can be more to the gun safety issue than the monolithic standoff in Washington.

“You're taking a weapon of death and turning it into the complete opposite, which is life,” said Steven Yanovsky of the Newtown Foundation. “So you go from a rifle or a handgun to carrots.”
FRANCIS X. CLINES



LETTERS

The Effects of Ending Net Neutrality

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “F.C.C. Reverses Rules Requiring Net Neutrality” (front page, Dec. 15):

The Federal Communications Commission on Thursday abrogated the very limited net neutrality regulations that the Obama administration had put in place. In a season when Washington politics has been overwhelmed by the naked greed of special interests, this may win pride of place as the single most greedy, corrupt and damaging such action.

It is hardly a secret that American telecommunications markets are monopolized by a very few large corporations, and that the current F.C.C. chairman, Ajit Pai, worked for one of those large firms, Verizon. The end of net neutrality will allow Mr. Pai's former employer to extract higher profits without returning better service to the American people.

Who really thinks that allowing the large telecom corporations more control over what Americans see and read is a good thing? Giving monopolies more power will make it harder for new companies to enter the marketplace and limit the pace of innovation.

In sum, Mr. Pai and the end of net neutrality exemplify everything that is currently wrong with Washington. Vested interests corrupt the

policy process, lie to the American people and make decisions that further concentrate wealth and power in the hands of an elite few, with bleak consequences for the American people and our economy. Taking a clear stand against this may at the very least increase the chance that the inevitable next such outrage can be stopped.

BARRETT L. MCCORMICK
MILWAUKEE

The writer is a professor of political science at Marquette University.

TO THE EDITOR:

Pay for what you use. What is wrong with that?

Some 70 percent of internet traffic during peak hours comes from real-time entertainment like Netflix and YouTube. The internet backbone needs to be maintained and improved to handle the growing traffic. Think about our highway system. It was not maintained and improved as it should have been, and look at what we've got.

Now who should pay for maintaining and improving the backbone? The people creating the demand. They cannot expect to get a free ride on others who don't binge watch.

MICHAEL GUERRERO
EL CAJON, CALIF.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “The G.O.P.'s Legislative Lemons” (Op-Ed, Dec. 15):

Michael Tomasky's revealing analysis stimulated my awareness of how unpopular the Federal Communications Commission's rescinding of the net neutrality rules is. I wonder how the F.C.C. chairman could possibly answer a query like: “Polls show that more than three-quarters of the public wants to keep net neutrality rules. What makes you think that you know better what's good for our country than such an overwhelming majority of people?”

BRUCE KERIEVSKY, MONROE, N.J.

Tax Bill: ‘This Abomination’

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “Personal Pleas to Senator on the Bubble” (news article, Dec. 15):

The United Food and Commercial Workers International Union represents over a million hard-working families across America, many of whom earn less than \$75,000 a year. We can say without hesitation that the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act will hurt them.

For more than a decade, wages have stagnated, even as corporate profits have surged. Instead of a tax bill that would help strengthen the very families who make America great and make it work, it rewards corporations and the rich. Worst of all, this so-called tax cut betrays everything working- and middle-class voters have been asking for in recent elections. It will not create jobs. It will not raise wages. It puts health care at risk. It cuts vital deductions that help middle-class families save.

Hard-working families have earned and deserve better than this bill. Any member of Congress who truly cares about making America great again will vote against this abomination.

MARC PERRONE, WASHINGTON

The writer is president of the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union.

TIMOTHY EGAN

The Deserving Rich and the Deserving Poor

THIS TIME OF YEAR, you look twice at the sketchy drug addict blocking the sidewalk in front of Starbucks. You give a second thought to the overly bundled elderly woman waiting in line at the food bank. You wonder what life would be like if that palsied kid in the trailer had medical attention.

Americans are a generous people — so it is always said. But our generosity comes with moral judgments: There's a thin line, in the minds of many, between the poor who deserve help and those who should get off their butts.

Similarly with the wealthy. Do entitled rich kids who would otherwise be parking cars without Daddy's help — think Donald Trump Jr. and his brother Eric — deserve to inherit a vast estate without paying taxes on their unearned largess?

These are old arguments, dating to Dickens's heartless Ebenezer Scrooge and the noble Cratchit family. But once again, these narratives are at the heart of enormous changes about to take place in how we treat the rich and the poor. The

assumptions are fraught with fiction.

Let's start with the most deserving and least to blame — children. About nine million American kids, in families that earn too much to qualify for Medicaid and not enough to afford their own coverage, can now see a doctor under the federal Children's Health Insurance Program.

Two million of those children have chronic health conditions — epilepsy, asthma and diabetes among the ailments. The program has always had bipartisan support. So why are the working poor now getting notices telling them their kids may soon be cut off?

Funding for the program technically expired on Sept. 30 and it has yet to be renewed. The politicians running the asylum in Washington say they plan to pay for it, but just haven't gotten around to it yet. They're busy with other things — an enormous corporate tax cut and breaks for the lobbying class. Priorities.

It was during a recent discussion of children's health care that we got a taste of the moral fantasies of the insular poli-

tical elites. Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah — who, to his credit, helped create the children's health program with Senator Edward Kennedy in 1997 — went on a rant against the poor. He was not specifically talking about children, or the program that he has pledged to renew. He was going after a straw man that has

Americans are generous. But our generosity comes with moral judgments.

been around since Ronald Reagan's Cadillac-driving welfare cheat.

“I have a rough time wanting to spend billions and trillions of dollars to help people who won't help themselves — won't lift a finger — and expect the federal government to do everything,” he said. Hatch didn't define this indolent recipient of unmerited trillions, but surely he was not attacking agribusiness owners who get paid not to grow things.

President Trump claims personal knowledge of the undeserving poor. “I know people that work three jobs and they live next to somebody who doesn't work at all,” he said in Missouri last month. The sponger “is making more money and doing better than the person that's working his ass off.”

Wow. Sounds awful. And almost certainly not true. Trump did not cite the source of his tale of two households. And it's doubtful, in the friendless circle of clueless rich people with whom he shares Diet Cokes, that he actually “knows people” living next to welfare bums.

Of the nearly 44 million people getting some help to buy groceries with food stamps — the largest of the nonentitlement federal welfare programs — most of them work, after you deduct for the disabled and those too old or young to hold a job. The benefit amounts to about \$1.40 per person per meal. Tough to eat one of Trump's steaks on that amount of change.

As we know, truth is as disposable to

Trump as one of his junk food wrappers. Better to look at the motive behind the lie. The president used his story of the mooch next door to kick off a campaign to punish the poor. The tax cuts, heralding a \$1.5 trillion increase in the deficit, are hugely unpopular and have to be paid for somehow. Shifting attention to those parasitic bums takes pressure off the rich.

Speaking of which, we now know the real reason, thanks to Senator Charles Grassley of Iowa, why Republicans want to repeal the estate tax. All the scare stories about family farms and third-generation businesses going under have been proved to be as mythic as the subsidized slacker.

Andrew Carnegie, in his famous “Gospel of Wealth” essay, said of the estate tax, “Of all forms of taxation, this seems the wisest.” But in Grassley's view, the tax hits the virtuous “as opposed to those that are just spending every darn penny they have, whether it's on booze or women or movies.” Well said, Mr. Potter. □

BRET STEPHENS

The Real Russia Scandal

IN NOVEMBER 2006 I wrote a column for The Wall Street Journal under the headline “Russia: The Enemy.” It was then a controversial view.

At the time, Moscow had bombed Chechnya into submission. But it hadn’t yet invaded Georgia and Ukraine. The journalist Anna Politkovskaya and dissident security officer Alexander Litvinenko had been murdered under suspicious circumstances. But the whistleblower Sergei Magnitsky was still alive. The Kremlin was using its network of pipelines crudely to bully vulnerable neighbors. But it hadn’t yet mastered the art of using information networks cleverly to subvert democratic adversaries.

So it came as a disappointment, but not a surprise, when about a year later I wound up on the losing side of an Intelligence Squared debate on the motion, “Russia is becoming our enemy again.” Reasonable people could still believe — as Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton did — that we could reset relations with Vladimir Putin after they had deteriorated under George W. Bush.

Those reasonable people turned out to be wrong, though at least they weren’t knavish. But that charitable judgment can’t be extended to Putin’s apologists today.

Take Mike Flynn. In 2016, the retired general published a book that made clear where he stood when it came to Russia.

“Although I believe America and Russia could find mutual ground fighting Radical Islamists,” he and co-author Michael Ledeen wrote, “there is no reason to believe Putin would welcome cooperation with us; quite the contrary, in fact.”

Lest there be any doubt as to where the future national security adviser stood, Flynn went on to stress that Vladimir

It’s not just what they did to us. It’s our leader’s sympathy with a dictator.

Putin “has done a lot for the Khamenei regime”; that Russia and Iran were “the two most active and powerful members of the enemy alliance”; and that the Russian president’s deep intention was to “pursue the war against us.”

All this was true. Yet by the end of the year, Flynn would be courting Russia’s ambassador to Washington and hinting at swift relief from sanctions. What gave?

What gave, it seems, was some combination of financial motives — at least \$65,000 in payments by Russian-linked companies — and political ones — a new master in the person of Donald Trump, who took precisely the same gauzy view of Russia that Flynn had rejected in his book.

What about Trump’s motives? In The Washington Post on Thursday, reporters Greg Miller, Greg Jaffe and Philip Rucker offer a stunning description of the president’s curious incuriousness when it comes to the question of Russian interference in our elections. That’s followed by a catalog of all the many ways in which the American president sought to appease the Russian dictator.

Cases in point: The president still does not fully accept the verdict of his intelligence agencies that Russia interfered in the election. He told Bill O’Reilly that America’s behavior was no better than Putin’s. His attorney general admitted to Congress that the administration had “probably not” taken sufficient measures to prevent future Russian meddling in elections. He explored ways to return two Russian diplomatic compounds in the United States long used for spying until they were seized by the Obama administration.

It continues: He spent the first five months in office resisting efforts to get him to publicly avow NATO’s mutual-defense commitments. He sought an “impenetrable cybersecurity unit” with Moscow until Lindsey Graham dismissed it as “pretty close” to “the dumbest idea I’ve ever heard.” He fiercely resisted congressional efforts to impose additional sanctions on Russia; was “apoplectic” when they passed; and would have vetoed the legislation if it weren’t certain he’d be overridden. He ended American support for anti-regime moderates in Syria, paving the way for the Assad regime — and thus its Russian helpers — to consolidate their grip.

Presented with this list, the president’s craven apologists insist he’s right to try to find common ground with Russia. These are the same people who until recently were in full throat against Barack Obama for his overtures to Putin. More measured apologists say he’s merely naïve, just as Obama and Bush were at the beginning of their terms. Yet the alleged naïveté never quits: Just this week, he asked for Putin’s help on North Korea.

The better explanations are: (a) the president is infatuated with authoritarians, at least those who flatter him; (b) he’s neurotically neuralgic when it comes to the subject of his election; (c) he’s ideologically sympathetic to Putinism, with its combination of economic corporatism, foreign-policy cynicism, and violent hostility to critics; (d) he’s stupid; or (e) he’s vulnerable to Russian blackmail.

Each explanation is compatible with all the others. For my part, I choose all of the above — the first four points being demonstrable while the last is logical. But let’s have that conversation at another time. There’s no need to obsess about electoral collusion when the real issue is moral capitulation. □

Gail Collins is off today.



K. L. RICKS

Can Black Women Say #UsToo?

Shanita Hubbard

THERE’S an intersection in almost every hood that teaches young girls lessons about power, racism and sexism. In the projects, where I grew up, I had to pass it almost every day to get home from school.

This intersection is where some of the guys from the neighborhood would stand around, play music, trash-talk about which artist should hold the title of greatest rapper, and then, suddenly, turn into dangerous predators when young girls walked by. This is where young girls like me learned to shrink into ourselves and remain silent.

On this intersection, like so many others in the world, your body and sense of safety were both up for grabs. On a good day, if you and a girlfriend remained silent, walking past the group of “corner dudes,” who were all about 15 years your senior and screaming about what they would do to your 12-year-old body, would be a short-lived experience.

On other days, especially if you were walking alone, things would escalate quickly. One of the men would grab your butt and you would pretend you didn’t feel it. Fighting back would make things worse: If you resisted, they would scream at you, curse at you and, in one particular case, attempt to follow you home until you ran inside a store and waited them out. But cross this intersection enough times and such things start to feel normal.

The normalization of predatory behavior manifests itself in many forms. It’s not yet clear how the black community will respond to the news that icons like Russell Simmons and Tavis Smiley are among those men who have been accused of sexual misconduct. (Both deny the accusations.) Unlike when the accusations were made against Harvey Weinstein, however, we have yet to see a flood of prominent figures publicly stand with the victims. What is clear is that too many of us still perform mental gymnastics, of the sort deployed during Woody Allen mov-

ies, to justify attending R. Kelly concerts, despite years of reports about him victimizing young girls. For some of us, the basis for this cognitive dissonance was established at a very young age.

From my years passing through that intersection, I came to believe — wrongly — that a person can be a victim only if those committing the offenses against her had great power. By any definition, the corner guys had very little power — and they themselves were victims of those who did. They were victims of a type of power that drove through that same intersection, snatched people away from their families and out of the community for decades. This type of power could stop and frisk them, and return to its patrol cars and proceed with its day. On a good day, if these guys were alone and remained silent without resisting, the consequences wouldn’t be as severe. A few cops would pull up, pat them down, curse at them,

We receive the message that our pain is not a priority.

beat them up and scream for them to get off the corner. On other days, especially if the corner guys were in a large group, things could escalate quickly. Sometimes a corner dude wouldn’t make it home that night.

This state-sanctioned abuse at the hands of police evoked, and continues to evoke, a community response that literally and figuratively calls for the protection of these young men, and rightfully so. A community is right to fight against over-policing and brutality. It *should* encourage victims of police violence to speak up and put pressure on local politicians to take a stand.

But when your community fights for those same people who terrorize you, it sends a very complicated and mixed message. Even worse, sometimes the community members fighting back consist of young women who were once the little

girls walking home from school doing their best to be invisible in hopes of avoiding what nobody ever called sexual assault. This sends the message that your pain is not a priority. It tells you that perhaps you are not a victim, because those who are harming you are also being harmed and we need to focus our energy on protecting them. After all, their lives are at stake.

#MeToo is triggering memories of that corner that I’ve tucked away for 20 years because I’ve been taught there are greater needs in the community. Perhaps this is part of the reason studies indicate only one in 15 African-American women report being raped. We’ve seen the unchecked power of white men ravish our communities, and we carry the message of “not right now” when it comes to addressing our pain if the offender is black.

Maybe this is why more victims of sexual assault within the hip-hop community have not come forward. Is it possible that black women who work in hip-hop are silent victims, with pain they have been conditioned not to prioritize? I suspect this is true — but I can’t say with certainty.

How can these women who live at the proverbial intersection of race and sexism, who grew up crossing that corner, ever be a part of the national #MeToo conversation when they can’t be heard in their own community? The intersection of race, class, sexism and power is dangerous, and the most vulnerable women among us must navigate it alone. They are terrorized, then expected to fight for those who terrorized them because a seemingly greater predator is at large. Their faces will never grace the cover of Time magazine, and in some cases their silence will never be broken, if they hold the same false notions of power and victimhood that I once clung to when the cognitive dissonance became too strong. □

SHANITA HUBBARD is an adjunct professor of criminal justice at Northampton Community College in Pennsylvania, a writer, a speaker and a social justice advocate.

Alabama’s Unlikely Rebel

Howell Raines

FAIRHOPE, ALA.

IN 1968, Paul Davis, an ace political reporter and my colleague at The Tuscaloosa News, sniffed out that former Gov. George Wallace, bored with life as “senior adviser” to his wife, then Alabama’s governor, was pondering a run for president. He was pressuring two local Democratic lawyers, Richard Shelby and Walter Flowers, to fly to California to sue the state for ballot position in its presidential primary. The dangling carrot, as for every Alabama law firm then, was the right to represent the state in highway condemnation proceedings.

“I wouldn’t do it,” Mr. Shelby, now the state’s six-term senator, told me by telephone from Washington on Thursday.

Mr. Shelby, who switched to the Republican Party in 1994, rebelled again last Sunday when he said on CNN that he would not vote for Roy Moore, the deeply flawed Republican candidate in the Alabama Senate race won by the Democratic dark horse, Doug Jones. Mr. Shelby urged voters to write in the name of “some distinguished Republican,” and nearly 23,000 Alabamians seem to have followed suit. It was a fatal drain on Mr. Moore’s tally: By more than 20,000 votes, Mr. Jones became the first Democrat to win a Senate race in Alabama since 1992. That was when Mr. Shelby, having not yet changed parties, won his second term.

To outside eyes, Senator Shelby is an unlikely rebel. As his state’s most senior Republican, he reliably supports the business establishment, the banking industry and his favorite pork-barrel cause, the University of Alabama. He is revered by education professionals for his skill in channeling federal dollars to their schools. For students of Alabama politics, he has another distinction. By appearing on CNN, he broke a tradition by which members of Congress from Alabama seldom if ever speak out on a political issue that might be seen nationally as painting the state as a backwater.

That wasn’t always the case. Senators John Sparkman and Lister Hill were tireless evangelists for the New Deal and Kennedy-Johnson era social legislation, except for civil rights. But in the twilight of their careers, they disappointed Alabama moderates by remaining silent when George Wallace took over their party and unleashed a tide of Klan and police violence against the civil rights movement. Congressional noninterference, often expressed as outright political cowardice in confronting home-state malfeasance, remained the norm when Republicans took over the state in the 1990s.

“I did what I needed to do,” the senator said in his soft drawl. “I’ve known Roy Moore for a long time.” Mr. Shelby had been warned that the candidate was con-

Senator Shelby’s line in the sand extends from Wallace to Moore.

sidered unsound by “die-hard Republicans” in Gadsden, the town where the 30-something Mr. Moore allegedly cruised the mall for teenage girls. “When the story of the 14-year-old girl came out, I thought, ‘my gosh,’” Mr. Shelby said. “That was kind of the tipping point for me.” He added, “We wanted that Senate seat above everything, but there are some things we don’t need in Alabama.”

Or in Washington. “I thought Roy Moore would be radioactive,” Mr. Shelby said. “That theme ran right through the Republican caucus in the U.S. Senate. They were all concerned about him coming here.”

“I took principle over politics,” he added. “There comes a time when you have to stand up and I did and I hope I made a difference.”

For the last four days, Alabamians in both parties have been trying to clear their heads. Champ Meyercord, a retired Wall Street investor, was surprised to find

in a straw poll that his conservative businessmen’s lunch group favored Mr. Jones seven to six, with three others intending to write-in rather than vote for Mr. Moore. The same group went 17 to three for Donald Trump in 2016.

Mr. Jones demonstrated that even in Alabama, the Trump base can be chiseled apart with traditional Democratic tools. As refined by the Jones campaign, these included multiple phone calls to every African-American home in the state, luring away disaffected, college-educated Republican women in the white suburbs, and a multimillion-dollar television ad campaign urging upwardly mobile urban voters not to let the rural Moore supporters shoot Alabama in the foot yet again.

Alabamians are not accustomed to being bathed in national admiration in matters unrelated to football. It’s a pending question whether Alabama’s relentlessly negative Republican leadership can emulate Mr. Shelby’s open-minded flexibility. The day after the election, Representative Bradley Byrne predicted that Republican true-believers would send Mr. Jones back to Birmingham in the next election.

My neighbor here on Mobile Bay, former Representative Jack Edwards, the Republican patriarch who mentored both Mr. Byrne and Attorney General Jeff Sessions, seems more attuned to the winds of change. “What Senator Shelby said seriously helped Doug Jones,” Mr. Edwards said. “He spoke the feelings of Republicans” who don’t “want to see the party drift off the cliff.”

At 89, Mr. Edwards paid tribute to Tuscaloosa, where he long ago served as president of the University of Alabama student body, as a place less afflicted by Alabama’s traditional addiction to self-defeating defiance.

“The Tuscaloosa area has in my career had a lot to do with electing good people,” he said. Mr. Jones carried the county by 57.2 percent to 40.9 percent. Who was it who said all politics is local? □

HOWELL RAINES is a former executive editor of The New York Times.

ROGER COHEN

Surviving Nearly a Year Of Trump

I WALKED INTO the United States Embassy in Myanmar a few weeks back to be greeted by photographs in the lobby of former President Barack Obama and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. That was a surprise!

They were pictured with Aung San Suu Kyi, the country’s elected leader. Everyone was smiling. The Burmese champion of democracy had not yet faced the Rohingya crisis that has dimmed her star.

More striking than the radiant images was the absence of any photograph of President Trump or Vice President Mike Pence. When I inquired, embassy staff explained that the official portraits had not yet arrived. As soon as they did, they would go up, of course.

Score one for the incompetence argument. Almost a year into his presidency, Trump and his team had not yet sent official photographs to this embassy. Perhaps it was merely a sign of his contempt for the State Department. More likely, it was a sign that our scattershot tweeter-in-chief can’t deliver. All will be well: Chaos will trump Trump’s irascibility, lies and provocations.

It’s a comforting theory. But I’m not sure I buy it. Trump would love a little war he can claim to have won in the cause of making America great again. He’s thinking about *North Korea*. Little wars are hard to come by these days. The generals around him are driven more by prudence than testosterone. Unlike the bone-spur president, they know war.

Still, the puzzle remains. A year of Trump, and the world has not veered off a precipice. Is there some 21st century iteration of Adam Smith’s “invisible hand” that explains this equilibrium?

Certainly the visible — America’s poisonous relations with North Korea, Iran

The president is being contained by the web of Pax Technica.

and the Palestinians, and the dangerous vacuum created by Trump’s America-first retreat from the world — looks dire. Pax Americana has had a good run, but it cannot be convincingly backed or projected by a totally incoherent power.

One stab at defining such an invisible force that I find persuasive has been offered by Philip Howard, a professor of internet studies at Oxford University. He has coined the term “Pax Technica” to define the vast web of internet-connected devices that, together, create a network of stability.

Just as Smith’s “invisible hand” alluded to the unobservable market forces that lead to equilibrium in a free market, so Howard’s Pax Technica (the title of a book he wrote) evokes the cumulative stabilizing effect of the tens of billions of connected devices forming the Internet of Things (IoT). There is, simply put, too much connection in the world today to allow space for global war, Trump’s bellicosity notwithstanding.

Implicit in this theory is a radical reordering of the nature of power. Pax Romana, Pax Britannica and Pax Americana depended on the military might of sovereign governments. Pax Technica shifts the source of stability to what Howard calls an “empire of connected things.” National authorities are less influential than supranational connected platforms and the private corporations behind them.

I mentioned Myanmar. It is a poor country that, in the space of a few years, has acquired tens of millions of Facebook users, joining the more than two billion users (including about 1.3 billion using it every day) who constitute Facebook’s global town square. In some form, all these people in Myanmar, however rudimentary their lives, have initiated an involvement with the world, and acquired some flimsy stake in stability.

Of course, we are beyond the naïve view that the internet will liberate us all. It’s clear, from China and elsewhere, that technology can be used as much to curtail freedom as to spread it, that it is used as effectively for surveillance as it is used for fostering free speech.

It’s also clear, from Russia’s successful intervention in the last United States election and from the anti-Rohingya frenzy in Myanmar, that Facebook can be a vehicle for propaganda and for the blurring of the line between truth and falsehood. Everywhere, social media is transforming society in alarming ways. Mobs are more easily mobilized. Mainstream political parties are imploding. Democracy is more direct, but it is also more driven by extremes. Trump himself is a product of this transformation.

Under Pax Technica, there will be advocates of open systems and of closed ones. There will be fierce competitions for influence. There will be nationalist and nativist reactions against the supranational. These are apparent across the world today. There will be a reordering — and possibly an increasing fragmentation — of societies, as Facebook traps people in what Chamath Palihapitiya, a former Facebook executive, recently called “short-term, dopamine-driven feedback loops.”

But there will also be the hard-to-measure investment of every owner of those billions of devices in a world of connectedness of which war is the enemy. Trump has come to power at a moment when power is increasingly passing out of the hands of governments. That may be even more reassuring than his incompetence.

Palihapitiya suggests that Facebook has forged a world of “no civil discourse, no cooperation, misinformation.” Trump, of course, reflects that. But I think the Pax Technica of which Facebook is one facet also limits the devastation he can wreak. □



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PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROGER KISBY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

1,000 Miles. Five Days. Four Families. One Tree.



Wayne Silver, top, of Silver's Farm in Nova Scotia, said trees "are in my blood." Above left, a truck hauling trees to New York made a stop in Maine.

By TIFFANY HSU
and ROGER KISBY

Before it reached Lisa Maichin's cozy living room in Queens, her Christmas tree — now speckled with delicate crochet angels and glinting bulbs — spent five days being hacked, hauled and hawked across a supply chain in flux.

The tree originated on a farm owned by the same family for nearly two centuries, in a part of Canada known as the balsam fir capital of the world, where reliable labor is increasingly scarce.

A trucking company run by a father and his two sons delivered the tree across a thousand snow-dusted miles, past a border that might become harder to cross if a key trade pact falls through.

The salesman in Queens, who leans on his wife and five children to help on his lot where the tree was sold, worries about competition from online rivals and nearby national chains like Home Depot.

Even Ms. Maichin, who bought the tree, is caught up in change. Around her home, which she shares with three other generations of her family, her neighborhood is rapidly gentrifying. Christmas is getting costlier.

"This year, the trees are definitely more expensive," she said.

Day 1: The Farm

In Lunenburg County, a chunk of Nova Scotia pockmarked by lakes and patches of balsam firs, Silver's Farm hugs a hill with 45 acres of farmland splayed out in front and 150 acres of Christmas trees behind, all growing naturally

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A balsam fir's trip from Canada to Queens reveals the hard work behind Christmas cheer.

How Does Facebook Feel About Making You Feel Bad?

Facebook published a quietly groundbreaking admission on Friday. Social media, the company said in a blog post, can often make you feel good — but sometimes it can also make you feel bad.

FARHAD MANJOO

STATE OF THE ART

Yes, I should have warned you to sit down first.

This is one of those stories where what's being said isn't as surprising as who's saying it. Facebook's using a corporate blog post to point to independent research that shows its product can sometimes lead to lower measures of physical and mental well-being should be regarded as a big deal. The post stands as a direct affront to the company's reason for being; it's as if Nike asked whether just doing it may not be the wisest life goal after all, or if Snapple conceded it wasn't quite positive that it really was the best stuff on earth.

Consider Facebook's place in the social-media firmament. Facebook — which also owns Facebook Messenger, Instagram and WhatsApp — is the world's largest and most profitable social media company. Its business model and its more airy social mission depend on the idea that social media is a new and permanently dominant force in the human condition.

So far, that idea has proved unwavering. Facebook's leap into the ranks of the world's most valuable companies less than 14 years after its founding can be attributed to this simple truth: Humans have shown no limit, so far, in their appetite for more Facebook.

But what if all that Facebook is not good for us? For several years, people have asked whether social media, on an individual level and globally, might be altering society and psychology in negative ways. Until about a year or so ago, Facebook's public posture about its product had been overwhelmingly positive, as you'd expect. Facebook, Facebook insisted, was clearly good for the world.

Then came 2017. The concerns over social-media-born misinformation and propaganda during last year's presidential race were one flavor of this worry. Another is what Facebook might be

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Threat of Strike Forces Ryanair To Recognize Pilots' Unions

By AMIE TSANG

LONDON — Ryanair, Europe's biggest budget airline, built itself into a juggernaut by aggressively cutting costs at every opportunity. Fuel consumption was tightly controlled. Turnaround times were slashed. And, crucially, unions were banned.

Now Ryanair has been forced to change its stance on labor, as it faces a growing backlash among its ranks. The carrier on Friday officially recognized pilot unions, a move that could cut into the company's profit and prompt a broader industry shakeout.

It is a sign that Ryanair will increasingly have to behave like its competitors, grappling with the labor costs that usually face a legacy carrier. Investors recognized the threat, with shares of the carrier falling more than 8 percent on Friday.

"It's an acknowledgment that the fundamental core of the business model has to change and they're going to have to start operating like a normal airline," said Andrew Charlton, managing director of Aviation Advocacy, a consultancy.

"They are going to lose some of the extraordinary cost advantage they've had over every other airline."

Ryanair is facing a fiercely competitive aviation market in Europe, one in which several airlines have collapsed or been bought in recent months. With flights sometimes as cheap as \$15, an array of airlines of varying sizes have little margin for error, and any shock to the system could upend their business plans.

There are other longer-term challenges, as well. For one, Britain's withdrawal from the European Union could curtail the freedom for airlines to fly between airports in the region.

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Freeze Your Credit Files, Bank Urges After Equifax Breach

PORTLAND, Ore. — In the months since Equifax allowed the Social Security numbers of 145 million Americans to fall into the hands of thieves, the company has apologized, consumers have expressed rage and politicians have lashed the company at public hearings in Washington.

The banks and other financial institutions that buy our personal data from Equifax and its two competitors, Experian and TransUnion, however, have not had much to say on the matter.

That all changed here on Friday as Umpqua Bank, with about 300 branches in five western states, gleefully conducted what it called Freeze Day for its 4,200 employees. It encouraged them to press the pause button for 30 minutes during the workday and use the time to close off their credit files at the three credit bureaus.

Umpqua, which bills itself as the world's greatest bank and does so with only the slightest smirk, assembled and trained a team to help workers initiate what's known as a credit freeze. The bank has started encouraging customers to freeze their credit files, too. As part of the freeze-day



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Umpqua Bank employees in Portland, Ore., had a paper snowball fight on Freeze Day, encouraging them to close off their credit files.

festivities, Umpqua served brown-sugar strawberry ice cream sandwiches to the staff for breakfast, staged a mock snowball fight to start the workday and gave all employees a \$10 reimbursement for any fees involved with freezing their credit.

Freezes keep any new creditors from seeing your credit file, which

makes it nearly impossible for hackers to open new accounts in your name. The fact that a big bank is pushing the concept cannot come as good news to some executives in the credit reporting industry, who fought state laws that brought freezes into existence and have spent years beating back other regulatory ef-

forts.

In the wake of a different breach in 2015, one top Experian executive resisted the call from consumer groups for it to offer freezes gratis to the victims. "The precedent set for offering free freezes would haunt all beaches going forward," he wrote in an email that either was missing a crucial letter "r" or trying to equate his industry's counterattacks with the storming of Normandy. "Doing as they request on either count will not satiate their hatred for Experian."

There were no picket signs or guillotines carved from ice here on freeze day, for Umpqua's relationship with Equifax is multifaceted. It buys lots of credit data from the company and its competitors, so it can determine which customers deserve loans and at what interest rate.

Nevertheless, when the company decided to embark on an effort to encourage better personal financial fitness, it felt like it had to advocate freezes forcefully. It checked with its own underwriters first, just to make sure it would not pose any problems if lots of people with frozen credit files started applying for Umpqua loans.

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Uber Spied Extensively on Rivals, Former Employee Alleges

By MIKE ISAAC

SAN FRANCISCO — For years, Uber secretly spied on key executives, drivers and employees at rival ride-hailing companies as part of a larger intelligence-gathering operation that spanned multiple countries, according to a letter made public in a federal court on Friday.

The 37-page letter, written by Richard Jacobs, a former Uber security employee, detailed what he described as the formation of separate internal teams designed “expressly for the purpose of acquiring trade secrets” from major ride-sharing competitors around the world.

Those teams then worked to infiltrate chat rooms and scraped websites for data on competitors, according to the letter. Uber security employees occasionally impersonated drivers to gain access to chat groups, illegally recorded phone calls, and secretly wiretapped and tailed executives at rival companies over the course of 2016, the letter said. “Uber has engaged, and continues to engage, in illegal intelligence gathering on a global scale,” it said.

His letter underscores the lengths that Uber went to in order to get ahead of rivals under its former chief executive, Travis Kalanick, when it prized aggressiveness and the growth of its ride-hailing business above all else. The company is now trying to shift away from that image and stabilize after a year filled with scandals, executive departures and internal battles. Mr. Kalanick stepped down in June, and his successor, Dara Khosrowshahi, has been on an apology tour for Uber’s past behavior.

Mr. Jacobs’s letter is part of a trade secrets case that Uber is fighting against Waymo, the self-driving-automobile business that operates under Google’s parent company. Waymo has said Uber stole information about driverless-car technology from it. Uber has denied Waymo’s allegations, and the case is scheduled to go to trial next month.

Mr. Jacobs’s letter surfaced last



ERIC RISBERG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Pilot models of Uber’s self-driving cars. A letter by a former employee, made public Friday, said Uber engaged in corporate spying.

month when the United States attorney’s office in Northern California alerted the judge in the Uber-Waymo case to its existence. The letter was submitted into evidence because it also detailed allegations that Uber employees potentially conspired to steal trade secrets from Waymo. The judge, William Alsup of Federal District Court in San Francisco, then delayed a trial in the case so Waymo’s lawyers could gather more information on the claims.

At the time, Mr. Jacobs appeared in court about his letter. In his testimony, he walked back some of its claims, including those pertaining to Uber’s alleged theft of Waymo’s trade secrets. Uber

had privately settled a lawsuit by Mr. Jacobs for millions of dollars this year.

The document nonetheless paints a picture of Uber’s other competitive tactics, which Mr. Jacobs said had been carried out by Uber’s security team with Mr. Kalanick’s knowledge. At the time, the team was led by Joe Sullivan, the company’s chief security officer.

Mr. Jacobs’s letter said that after the Uber teams followed rival executives to hotels or private meeting spaces, they relayed their actions to Mr. Kalanick. In one instance, Uber security officials passed along the reactions of executives from a competing com-

pany when they received the news that Uber was to receive a venture capital investment of more than \$3 billion from Saudi Arabian investors.

“While we haven’t substantiated all the claims in this letter — and, importantly, any related to Waymo — our new leadership has made clear that going forward we will compete honestly and fairly, on the strength of our ideas and technology,” Matt Kallman, a spokesman for Uber, said in a statement after the letter’s release.

Two of Uber’s top security officials — including Mr. Sullivan and Craig Clark, a lawyer on Mr. Sullivan’s team — were let go this

month, after the company disclosed that it had covered up a 2016 hacking that affected the accounts of more than 50 million drivers and riders.

On Friday, Mr. Sullivan and others on the security team disputed Mr. Jacobs’s letter, saying it was “nothing more than character assassination for cash,” according to a statement from Matthew Umhofer, an attorney for four Uber security employees.

In his own statement, Mr. Sullivan said, “From where I sat, my team acted ethically, with integrity and in the best interests of our drivers and riders.”

Through a spokeswoman, Mr. Kalanick declined to comment.

So Net Neutrality Has Been Revoked. How Will That Affect You?

By CECILIA KANG

The Federal Communications Commission voted Thursday to discard so-called net neutrality rules that prevented broadband providers from slowing sites or demanding payments from them for fast delivery. The decision opens the door for very different consumer experiences on the internet. The rules will go into effect in the coming weeks.

Here is a guide to what will happen next:

Is my Netflix going to start sputtering? Will my internet service bill go up?

Consumers will probably not encounter immediate changes to their internet service. The biggest broadband companies, like Comcast and AT&T, have promised that consumers will not see a change in how they experience the web. And with such a big spotlight on them, the companies will probably be careful about changing service plans, partly to avoid angering customers and attracting lawmakers’ attention.

Broadband companies are “likely to proceed cautiously pending final resolution of these legal challenges,” said John Beahn, a regulatory lawyer at Skadden, Arps, who does not have clients with interests in net neutrality. “They recognize the ultimate fate of the regulations is still far from certain at this point.”

But significant changes could come over time. For instance, AT&T could decide to charge a company like Etsy or Netflix more to deliver traffic from the website’s servers around the internet. Internet service providers, many of which are also media companies, could



TOM BRENNER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ajit Pai, Federal Communications Commission chairman, says transparency will prevent wrongdoing after net neutrality ends.

create faster lanes of delivery for their own sites, which would make it harder for the content of their rivals to show up in front of consumers. In the past, some providers have even blocked sites, as when AT&T prevented Apple’s FaceTime service from working for some customers of its wireless networks in 2012.

Are there benefits for consumers?

To be sure, there are programs that consumers may like. AT&T already offers its customers free streaming of DirecTV, which it owns. Other carriers like T-Mobile offer free streaming of apps like YouTube and Netflix, a practice known as “zero-rating,” which at one time was viewed as a potential net neutrality violation. More programs like that could come along.

But it’s hard to see prices going down for internet service because of the end of net neutral-

ity. Many economists say the only way prices could fall is through more competition in the broadband industry, which is now dominated by a handful of companies.

What protections do consumers have?

The net neutrality rules, passed in 2015 during the Obama administration, were intended to be a protective measure for consumers as more Americans migrated to the internet for communications. The regulations were also meant to make sure new and small companies, as well as media companies, could sell their goods and distribute information without restrictions from broadband companies.

Ajit Pai, the current chairman of the F.C.C., said transparency would act as the primary measure against wrongdoing. The agency will require broadband

companies to disclose if they are blocking or throttling or setting up fast lanes for certain traffic. Mr. Pai, a Republican nominated to the chairmanship by President Trump, said that the disclosure would give consumers full knowledge of what they would be getting into and that if they didn’t like the practices, they could switch providers.

As part of the changes approved on Thursday, the F.C.C. handed oversight duties for the broadband carriers to the Federal Trade Commission. The F.C.C. said the F.T.C.’s broad antitrust and consumer protection laws were best suited to stop any harmful business practices.

What have the internet service providers said?

Comcast, AT&T and the major trade groups for broadband and cable providers say they don’t and will not block or throttle sites. They say they won’t engage in most forms of paid prioritization, the practice of charging sites more for faster delivery of streams and downloads.

With legal challenges against the F.C.C. expected, many telecom experts say that the companies will largely to stick to those promises for at least the next year and that any changes to service will be subtle.

Is there any chance the 2015 rules will come back?

The net neutrality debate has flared up multiple times over the last decade or so, ending in different places depending on the political party in power.

Many Democrats on Capitol Hill have called for passing the Obama-era rules through legislation, instead of leaving the rule

making in the hands of the F.C.C. Numerous Republicans have also suggested passing a law, though they generally argue for much lighter restrictions than the 2015 rules. Some Democratic lawmakers have also said they would overturn the F.C.C. action through a congressional review act, which would require a majority vote to abolish new agency rules. Given the Republican control in Washington, and the general gridlock in Washington, any sort of legislative resolution appears unlikely.

Most certainly, there will be lawsuits, including by public interest groups such as Public Knowledge and the National Hispanic Media Coalition and by several state attorneys general, including those from New York and Pennsylvania. The suits are expected to be filed after the rules become official, which could be in January or later.

And what about the F.C.C.’s? What is its main legal defense?

It will probably argue that rolling back rules essentially returns the regulatory environment to the way it was before 2015, when there was little evidence of consumer harm.

The agency is also likely to argue that it followed all the necessary procedures for making a regulatory change. The plan to overturn net neutrality was first announced in April by Mr. Pai.

In a news conference on Thursday, after he had won the vote to overturn the rules, Mr. Pai said he was prepared for the legal challenges, using a tone of defiance and some sarcasm.

“I’m shocked, shocked, that people are going to challenge this decision in court,” he said.

Ryanair Recognizes Pilot Unions

From First Business Page

Since its founding in 1985, Ryanair outmaneuvered its competitors. Growing from a single 15-seat aircraft flying from the south of Ireland to London’s Gatwick Airport, the airline now has more than 400 Boeing 737s, and carried more than nine million passengers last month alone.

Keeping labor costs low was a critical piece of the profit. The company has used a mix of full-time employees and independent contractors. It steadfastly refused to meet with, or recognize, any unions.

In doing so, Ryanair was able to sidestep labor regulations and social security taxes in the dozens of countries in which it operates. Its labor costs were among the lowest within its European cohorts. Other low-cost rivals followed its lead.

While pilots have pushed to unionize for years, Ryanair was able to hold off their efforts. But a scheduling disaster in recent months put Ryanair on the defensive.

After the airline messed up its fall vacation schedule for pilots, it scrambled to find replacements, saying instead that it might cut a week of vacation time. Employees, many of them independent contractors, pushed back. Ryanair ultimately had to cancel more than 20,000 flights, affecting hundreds of thousands of passengers in all.

Pilots galvanized to set up their own groups across Europe for negotiating with the company. They demanded collective bargaining and more secure contracts.

Ryanair resisted for months. It was concerned that rivals were trying to leverage the flight cancellations to force it to negotiate with unions and, potentially, push its labor costs higher. Ryanair’s chief executive, Michael O’Leary, argued that airline unions and competitors were trying to “de-mean and disparage our collective success.”

As the busy holiday travel season approached, pilots ultimately threatened to strike. Ryanair had to relent.

It invited unions in Britain, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain to talks.

“Christmas flights are very important to our customers, and we wish to remove any worry or concern that they may be disrupted by pilot industrial action next week,” Mr. O’Leary said in a statement.

“Recognizing unions will be a significant change for Ryanair,

Europe’s top budget airline now has to behave like its rivals.

but we have delivered radical change before,” he added.

The airline also maintained that it would acknowledge only representatives from Ryanair and that it would not “engage with pilots who fly for competitor airlines in Ireland or elsewhere.”

Ryanair called for the unions to cancel any potential strikes. It was not immediately clear whether a planned walkout in Ryanair’s home country, Ireland, would go ahead.

British and Italian unions welcomed the airline’s move, but others were more cautious. One question that remained was whether Ryanair would negotiate only with directly employed pilots, or whether it would be willing to discuss the conditions of contractor pilots and cabin crews as well.

“Ryanair believed at the beginning that it could work ignoring the rights of its employees, and now, faced with the evidence of reality, it is opening its eyes,” Antonio Piras, the general secretary of the Italian union Fit-Cisl, said in a statement. Anpac, another Italian union, on Friday suspended a four-hour strike planned for the afternoon and welcomed Ryanair’s openness to negotiations.

Impact, an Irish union, declined to comment except to say that it had spoken to Ryanair management and was seeking further meetings. The British Airline Pilots Association said it accepted Ryanair’s offer to enter discussions.

Alessandra Cocca, a 40-year-old former flight attendant for Ryanair who sued the company over her dismissal and work conditions, called it an “epic, epic win” that showed that the airline could be put under pressure.

But she conceded that it would still be difficult for cabin crew members to fight for better conditions. “They are more frightened than pilots because they feel like numbers,” Ms. Cocca said. “They are not people, they feel like numbers and can easily be substituted.”

Facebook Says It Makes You Feel Bad. How Does the Company Feel?

From First Business Page

doing to our psychology and social relationships — whether it has addicted us to “short-term, dopamine-driven feedback loops” that “are destroying how society works,” to quote Chamath Palihapitiya, one of several former Facebook executives who have expressed some version of this concern over the last few months.

Mr. Palihapitiya, who is now a venture capitalist, made those comments during a talk at Stanford University last month; after the comments were widely reported this week, he walked them back. But his fears have been echoed across Silicon Valley and lately have become something like a meme: What if Facebook is rotting our brains?

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This gets to why an otherwise in-the-weeds blog post from Facebook’s research team is so interesting. Though it is quite abstruse, the post, by David Ginsberg and Moira Burke, two company researchers, takes readers through a tour of the nuances on whether Facebook can be bad for you.

It’s possible to read the post either cynically or optimistically. The cynical take is that Facebook is conceding the most obvious downsides of its product in order to convince us it really does care.

Yes, the company noted, people who spend a lot of time “passively consuming” social feeds do tend to feel worse. What’s passive consumption? That’s when you just scroll, click on lots of links and “likes,” and post your own updates without really interacting with others in a deep way. The company pointed to a study published this year in the Ameri-

can Journal of Epidemiology — by researchers who weren’t affiliated with Facebook — that showed that people who clicked on more “likes” and links than the typical Facebook user reported worse physical and mental health.

But hold on, said Facebook. Another study — this one conducted in partnership with Facebook by Robert E. Kraut, a professor at Carnegie Mellon University who has long studied how computers affect users’ psychology — had a more upbeat finding. It showed that using Facebook more deeply and meaningfully, for instance by posting comments and engaging in back-and-forth chats on the service, improved people’s scores on well-being.

“Simply broadcasting status updates wasn’t enough; people had to interact one-on-one with others in their network” to gain

great personal benefits from the service, the post stated.

You can see the issue here: Facebook is saying that if you feel bad about Facebook, it’s because you’re holding it wrong, to quote Steve Jobs. And the cure for your malaise may be to just use Facebook more.

The post pointed out several recent and coming changes to Facebook that the company said encouraged active interactions on the service. That’s the real message: Once you discover how much more you can get out of Facebook with this new stuff, you’ll feel super.

O.K., sure, the post can be read this way. But I’m more optimistic about it, because it’s in line with an evolving corporate posture from the company.

After initially dismissing Facebook’s role in the 2016 election, Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook’s co-founder and chief executive, has spent much of the last year

publicly grappling with Facebook’s role in the world. He published a lengthy letter to Facebook’s community attempting to establish new social goals for the company. He apologized for glibly dismissing the idea that Facebook could have altered the outcome of the election. And in the company’s last earnings report to investors, he said he was willing to risk the company’s profitability to improve its community.

To be sure, Facebook is putting its own favorable spin on these studies. Yet its willingness to shine a light on critical research, and its pledge to take the findings into account when it designs its products, has to be welcomed as something new.

If you think Facebook is ruining the world, you should be a little glad that even Facebook agrees that we need a better Facebook — and that it is pledged to build one.

Governors Rush to the White House to Try to Save Nafta

By ANA SWANSON

WASHINGTON — As the Trump administration continues to cast doubt on the future viability of the North American Free Trade Agreement, American business leaders, members of Congress and governors have paraded into the White House to warn about the economic dangers of unraveling the pact.

Government officials and business executives have met in recent weeks with President Trump and Vice President Pence, a development that's being viewed by proponents of Nafta as a positive sign for the future of the agreement. But as American, Canadian and Mexican trade negotiators met this week in Washington to reach a new deal, there has been no sign that the United States is ready to alter its tough negotiating stance.

Mr. Trump continues to criticize the deal and talk about withdrawing from the 1994 pact, including at a rally last Friday in Pensacola, Fla. And talks with Canadian and Mexican negotiators, which took place a few blocks from the White House, concluded Friday still deadlocked over several proposals by the United States.

Instead, negotiators meeting in what they call an “intersessional” round this week focused on forging agreements on less contentious parts of the pact, including reducing regulatory barriers, setting standards related to the electricity sector, and regulating state-owned enterprises.

Officials are trying to lay the foundation to announce more progress at the sixth official round of negotiations over Nafta, which is scheduled to take place in Montreal on Jan. 23-28. The lead negotiators are angling to reach agreement on as many as six of the pact's roughly two dozen legal chapters at that meeting, people familiar with the negotiations say.

It's an ambitious goal, but one that many see as necessary, given that the timeline for resolving the pact will soon run up against political issues next year, including a presidential election in Mexico and midterm elections in the United States.

With time running out and the United States continuing to take a tough stance, industry leaders and state officials have begun trying to convince the administration to avoid upsetting a trade pact they say has benefited many American companies and communities. In 2016, 33 American states



MANUEL BALCE CENETA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Robert Lighthizer, the White House trade adviser who is leading the negotiations on the North American Free Trade Agreement, in October with Ildefonso Guajardo, Mexico's economy minister.

counted Canada as their biggest export market, while six states ranked Mexico first.

Pushback from automakers and farmers, two groups that are likely to be harmed if the United States withdraws from Nafta, helped result in the series of meetings between the administration and Nafta's supporters.

Mr. Pence discussed Nafta's importance to the economy with the governor of Indiana and auto manufacturers on Tuesday, and the governors of Arkansas, Iowa, Michigan and Tennessee on Thursday. Last week, Mr. Trump and Robert Lighthizer, the trade adviser who is leading the Nafta negotiations, held several meetings with senators to talk about the pact. On Nov. 27, Mr. Pence met with Mr. Lighthizer and representatives from the United States' three largest automakers.

In a statement following the meeting on Thursday, Asa Hutchinson, the governor of Arkansas, said he had told the administration that his state “must be able to continue its access to North American markets unimpeded by trade barriers.”

“It is clear that there is great potential for harm in Arkansas, especially to our farmers, if the United States reverses course regarding cross-border trade,” Mr.

Hutchinson said.

The meetings followed a somewhat contentious visit by Mr. Pence to the Republican Governors Association's annual conference in mid-November. At the meeting, in Austin, Tex., governors complained to the vice president about the state of Nafta negotiations and their inability to air concerns with the United States trade representative, according to people close to the talks who were not authorized to speak.

The latest round of meetings were a bit of a push and pull, according to those familiar with the talks. Mr. Lighthizer, the strategist behind many of the administration's goals for Nafta, stood his ground in these meetings and tried to differentiate legitimate complaints from hype, these people said.

To those concerned about agricultural trade, Mr. Lighthizer emphasized that the administration's goal is to preserve duty-free access by successfully reworking Nafta and remaining in the pact. To auto companies and officials concerned about tougher manufacturing requirements, he talked about creating a transition period that would help companies gradually meet the stricter rules.

The administration's supporters have argued that panic among

industry leaders and elected officials about the United States leaving Nafta is a false narrative designed to chip away at the White House's support for eliciting more favorable terms for America.

“The Chamber of Commerce is playing this as status quo or pull out, that's the way they want to present this,” said Sherrod Brown,

More state officials are warning against upsetting a trade deal.

a Democrat from Ohio who identifies as an ally of the administration on trade. “But that's not what this is about.”

Yet the United States, Canada and Mexico remain deeply split over American proposals to rewrite rules that govern government purchases, automobile manufacturing, the settlement of trade disputes, and a “sunset clause” that would cause the pact to automatically expire unless the members vote to continue it.

Significant gaps also remain between the Nafta partners on topics that have been less in focus in the American administration, in-

cluding labor standards and intellectual property.

Canada and Mexico are still mostly refusing to engage on the United States' biggest proposals, which opponents have termed “poison pills” for their potential to divide the Nafta partners and kill the pact entirely.

There are signs that the United States is looking to Mexico, which is heavily dependent on the pact, to compromise first. Mr. Lighthizer dined with Mexico's economy minister, Ildefonso Guajardo, on the sidelines of World Trade Organization meetings in Buenos Aires.

Mexico and Canada have also been working to influence the United States to compromise on its negotiating positions.

Arturo Sarukhan, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and former Mexican diplomat, said Canada, Mexico and the private sector in all three countries had adopted an explicit policy of appealing to governors and mayors of both parties “because of the political heft they can bring to bear on this White House.”

Canadians, in particular, have initiated an outreach in the last year to American governors, as well as Congress and the White House, to help defuse tensions surrounding trade and Nafta.

In January, the prime minister's office created a new unit focused on Canada-United States relations and assigned certain ministers to focus on certain states, Canadian officials said. Navdeep Bains, the Canadian minister of innovation, who is responsible for the auto sector, was dispatched to Michigan. Transport minister Marc Garneau, the first Canadian in space, was sent to Florida, the home of NASA and Senator Bill Nelson, who has also served as an astronaut.

Justin Trudeau, the Canadian prime minister, also joined the outreach, meeting with the governor of Texas in March and the governor of Iowa in July, and visiting the House Ways and Means committee in October.

Mr. Sarukhan greeted the surge in visits of lawmakers and governors to the White House as potentially good news for the survival of the pact, but said that, in his view, the risk of the United States withdrawing remained high.

“Whether it's the proverbial too little too late, or it really has an impact on this administration,” he said, “I think we still have to wait and see.”

Apple Adds Space Drama To Its Stable Of Shows

By JOHN KOBLIN

As the streaming wars begin to heat up, Apple has picked up its third TV show in two months.

The latest is a space drama from Ronald D. Moore, the executive producer behind audience favorites like the rebooted “Battlestar Galactica” and “Outlander.”

Last month, Apple secured the highly sought-after rights to a project about a morning TV show starring Reese Witherspoon and Jennifer Aniston. For its first acquisition, in October, it ordered up a revival of Steven Spielberg's 1980s anthology series, “Amazing Stories.”



Ronald Moore

It will probably be at least a year before any of these shows are available to be viewed, and it is still not clear how they will be distributed to customers. But the eagerness of Apple to add shows to its developing slate is further proof of how intense the competition for content has become.

On Thursday, Disney announced that it was acquiring 21st Century Fox in an effort to bolster its own ambitious streaming plan. Netflix, the leader of the streaming pack, has said it plans to spend up to \$8 billion on content next year. Apple has roughly \$1 billion to spend on original programming.

There is no title for Mr. Moore's project, but he has a strong track record. His “Battlestar Galactica” was a critically acclaimed reboot of the schlocky 1970s show, and “Outlander” has been a consistent hit for the cable network Starz. Mr. Moore cut his teeth as a producer on series like “Star Trek: The Next Generation” and “Star Trek: Deep Space Nine.”

The show will be produced by Sony and Mr. Moore's production company, Tall Ship Productions. The leaders of Apple's TV unit, Jamie Erlicht and Zack Van Amburg, arrived at the tech company from Sony.

Rising Coal Exports Lift Ailing Industry, but Turnaround May Be Temporary

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

A shake-up in global coal trading has delivered some oxygen to the struggling American mining industry, driving up exports to energy-hungry countries. But the relief may not last.

United States coal sales abroad over the first three quarters of the year surpassed exports for all of 2016, according to government figures. Energy experts project an increase of 46 percent for the full year, adding more than \$1 billion to coal companies' revenues.

Those are crucial dollars for an industry trying to stabilize itself after nearly a decade of declining prices, expanding competition from natural gas and wind and solar energy, and bankruptcies. Domestic coal-fired power plants continue to close despite promises of regulatory relief by the Trump administration, making the exports all the more critical.

The upturn in exports has been particularly helpful to Appalachia, where production is up 11 percent this year. Coal executives attribute the increase mostly to exports, especially of coal for making steel, known as coking coal.

Alpha Natural Resources, which came out of bankruptcy in 2016 and exports half of its coking coal production, opened a new mine this year in economically depressed West Virginia, employing 35 workers. In Virginia, several privately held coal companies are adding shifts and drilling new mine sections for the first time in five years to export more coking coal.

“Exports are certainly an opportunity for growth,” said John Stranak, the treasurer at Cloud Peak Energy, a major producer in Wyoming and Montana. “Pricing for exports is outpacing sales domestically. The growth in that arena is certainly where we would like to focus.”

With global prices for coal depressed through most of 2016, Cloud Peak Energy dropped exporting entirely until the final months of the year. In 2017, the company expects to export 4.5 million tons of thermal coal — the variety used for power and heat — to South Korea, Japan and Taiwan, and 5.5 million tons in 2018.

Coal mining jobs, declining for years, have increased slightly this year, to 51,200 in November from 50,000 in January, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That was down from 80,000 coal workers only nine years ago. The export surge has also bolstered



JUSTIN MERRIMAN/GETTY IMAGES



GEORGE ETHEREDGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

the revenues of coal-carrying railroads such as BNSF, CSX and Norfolk Southern and increased business in ports around the country.

Roughly 10 percent of the nation's coal production goes toward exports, although the country also imports some coal. National coal production has increased 8 percent this year above the same period of 2016, with much of that increase attributable to exports.

Industrialists and utilities in India have especially taken a liking to heat-intensive coal produced in West Virginia and surrounding states. But countries importing considerably more American coal also include China, Brazil, Mexico and Germany.

President Trump has been happy to take credit for the improving export markets.

“If you look at what's happened

Above, coal miners in Cheat Lake, W.Va. Left, a coal-burning power plant in Poca, W.Va. Domestic coal-fired plants continue to close, making exports more important to the mining industry.

in West Virginia and so many different places, we're sending clean coal,” Mr. Trump said at the White House this month. “We're sending it out to different places, China. A lot of coal ordered in China right now. So a lot of things are changing.”

The relief, however, is only partial. Exports this year will still be roughly 37 million tons below what they were in 2012, when they peaked at 126 million tons. The benefit may also be temporary, since this year's increase has been driven at least in part by events overseas.

A cyclone knocked out mines and railroad lines and interrupted coal deliveries for months after hitting Australia in March, forcing China and other Asian countries to turn to the United States to replace lost coking coal. Australian production and exports are slowly returning to normal.

Producers in Indonesia, another major Asian exporter, had idled several important mines in response to falling prices but are reversing course as prices rise.

The most lasting change — at least potentially — has come in China, which in 2016 decided to cut mine production capacity and rely more on natural gas. The government feared that many inefficient coal companies would go bankrupt, resulting in mass layoffs and financial stress for state-owned banks that lent them money.

A 15 percent production cut this year increased local coal prices by 40 percent, according to the International Energy Agency, leading to surging imports and higher global prices.

But how much China will continue to import remains an open question, with some officials pushing for import controls. A surge in coal imports in India is also in some doubt, as the country builds more railroads between its mines and power plants, and as the government pushes forward with plans for greater use of solar energy.

Nearly every country pledged at the 2015 Paris climate conference to cut carbon emissions, which means replacing coal with

cleaner fuels.

Britain, Denmark, Finland, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Portugal have committed to phasing out coal burning by 2030.

“The export strength will continue through 2018, but after that all bets are off,” said Jim Thompson, director for United States coal at IHS Markit, an analysis and consulting firm.

In the United States, coal has been helped by a recent rise in natural gas prices. But older coal

Revenue and jobs are up as demand has increased overseas.

plants continue to close as utilities switch to gas and renewable energy. Vistra Energy announced in recent months that it would soon close three coal-fired plants in Texas, as that state relies more on natural gas and wind and solar energy. Together, the plants supply enough electricity for roughly four million homes.

“It's going to be tough to bring the industry back to where it was,” said Harry Childress, president of the Virginia Coal and Energy Alliance, an industry association. Even with the increase of exports, he said, “I don't see that.”

The Energy Department is projecting a slight decline in the nation's coal production and exports next year.

Nevertheless, Mr. Trump hopes a reversal of President Barack Obama's Clean Power Plan, capping greenhouse emissions of power plants, can revive domestic demand for coal. Energy Secretary Rick Perry has proposed that the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission oblige utilities to reward power plants that keep 90-day fuel supplies in storage with higher payments. Ostensibly designed to improve the reliability of the grid, the policy would in effect be a subsidy for coal burning.

The Trump administration has proposed an alliance of countries both rich in coal and dependent on the fossil fuel to promote coal burning.

At the same time, the administration says it will work to lift restrictions on lending for coal-burning plants in the developing world through the World Bank and other agencies.

Remember the Neediest!

Lisa Friedman contributed reporting.



1,000 Miles. Five Days. Four Families. One Tree.

From First Business Page

and tightly “like the hairs on a dog’s back,” said Wayne Silver.

His operation is small, felling just 3,000 trees a season. Some Nova Scotia farms cut down tens of thousands of trees annually and even ship some overseas.

Mr. Silver took over the farm in 1991 from his father, who took it over from his father, who began cutting Christmas trees in the 1930s. Trees “are in my blood,” he said.

Planting the trees is unnecessary; they sprout abundantly on their own. When they are 2 feet tall, Mr. Silver selects the best specimens, and then trims back the neighboring firs to give the future Christmas trees room to grow.

As they get taller, he shears them to give them the proper shape, and pats fertilizer into the soil around their trunks.

In early October, he tags the trees destined for the holiday market, using an internal calculus perfected over decades. Trees marked “#1” are deemed “perfect.” The “#2” trees are “fancy” and the “#3” trees are “choice.” Mr. Silver charges lot owners \$5 to \$16 for most firs.

Cutting, using a chain saw that can topple a fir in 20 seconds, starts in November, and the work is grueling. Mr. Silver puts in 12-hour days, felling, dragging and packaging the trees in twine. Even in the winter chill, sweat percolates on his face.

Help is scarce. In a tight labor market with low unemployment, many other tree farmers are hiring migrants from Mexico and Jamaica. Mr. Silver will most likely follow suit next year.

“I just work too many long hours,” he said.

Cutting a batch of trees for clients in New York, he stopped at sundown for a supper of venison and french fries and then worked until 1 a.m. The skeleton crew resumed at 6 a.m., and by noon, when the truck arrived to pick up the load, they had packed 700 trees into the trailer. Among them was the one that would soon claim a corner of Ms. Maichin’s living room.

Days 2 and 3: The Truck

Mr. Silver pays 4,500 Canadian dollars (about \$3,500) to get a load of trees to New York. With fuel prices rising, he expects that will jump to 4,700 dollars in 2018, requiring him to mark up his tree prices by 50 cents each to compensate.

And if the United States withdraws from the North American Free Trade Agreement, as President Trump has repeatedly threatened, Mr. Silver’s costs may increase further. The fee to cross the border with merchandise, less than \$100 now, could balloon to \$500 to \$1,000, he said.

“A lot of our stuff goes over there,” he said. “The scary thing is, if they do away with NAFTA, it’s going to cause a lot of devastation and havoc.”

For the past five years, Mr. Silver has sent several truckloads of trees to the Eastern Seaboard via G.K. Morse & Sons, a Nova Scotia trucking firm.

The company brings in \$6.5 million in revenue a year, said Robert Morse, an occasional trucker who handles dispatching. He



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROGER KISBY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

and his brother, Richard, work for their father, Ken, who bought his first truck in 1956 as a way to travel.

“Most of our trade is south of the 49th parallel,” Robert Morse said, referring to the line that roughly divides the United States and Canada.

After collecting the trailer from Silver’s Farm, he hauled it half an hour away to Bridgewater. There, he met up with Keron Roberts, a driver who would take it the rest of the way.

Mr. Roberts, who has worked for G.K. Morse for nearly a year, came to Canada in 2013, looking for opportunity. He regularly sends money back home to relatives in Spanish Town, Jamaica.

Truckers, like farm hands, are in short supply.

“Drivers are getting old and getting retired, and the younger people want to be making a couple hundred thousand dollars a year,” Mr. Morse said. “Truckers make pretty good money, but it’s not a get-rich-quick scheme.”

After setting out with the trees, Mr. Roberts exhausted his 13-hour daily driving limit that Canada enforces on truckers and stopped in New Brunswick. He slept in the back of the cab.

Upon entering the United States, he hit a snowstorm and had to park, again, in Portsmouth, N.H.

“It’s frustrating on the road sometimes,” he said. “The faster I reach my location, the more rest I can get.”

Wayne Silver, top, inspected trees last month at Silver’s Farm in New Germany, Nova Scotia. Lisa Maichin, above left, decorated the tree in her Queens living room with her son-in-law Keaton Babb, daughter Melissa Babb and infant granddaughter, Karolina Babb.

Day 4: The Lot

By the time Mr. Roberts and his truck finally pulled up to the Greenpoint Trees lot in Middle Village, Queens, Stephen Leddick was becoming anxious. Mr. Leddick, the owner, figures he needs a supply of about 300 trees to meet demand.

That morning, he had just 30 firs. His other lot in Brooklyn was stripped bare.

To supplement his stock, Mr. Leddick bought 80 trees from the Brooklyn Terminal Market. But they were not cheap: He paid an 80 percent premium over the cost of buying and shipping a fir from Silver’s Farm.

The 24-hour Queens lot, bunched onto a sidewalk near the Atlas Park Mall, has no permit to operate. Few Christmas tree sellers in New York do.

A quirk in the local administrative code allows the seasonal entrepreneurs to set up coniferous trees for sale on any public sidewalk in December without getting permission from the city.

A week earlier, Ms. Maichin purchased grave blankets from Mr. Leddick for her father, who is buried in the cemetery nearby. Today, she came for trees, and haggled for three, one for each floor of her brick townhouse in Ridgewood, ultimately paying \$45, \$65 and \$75.

Mr. Leddick opened the Brooklyn lot in 1990 and the Queens location in 2005. Someday, he said, he would love for one of his sons to take over the business, allowing him to open his own “soup to nuts” gardening center. But for now, with multiple children

on the college track, he cannot spare the capital.

Besides, working 18 hours a day at the lots and at his day job as a construction superintendent, he is simply too tired.

Day 5: The Home

The next day, Ms. Maichin and her family began decorating the tree on the top floor, in a living room ringed with family portraits and wedding photos. The group — Ms. Maichin, her daughter Melissa Babb, her son-in-law Keaton Babb and her infant granddaughter, Karolina, observant in her bouncer seat — riffled through a collection of family ornaments compiled over three decades.

Many of them were knitted by Ms. Maichin’s mother, who lives downstairs.

Ms. Maichin’s parents, who were Austrian immigrants, bought the house when she was in fourth grade. A recently retired administrative assistant, she now barely recognizes her neighborhood.

Real estate prices have surged. The population, once predominantly German, now includes more Polish residents, more millennials crowding into new bars, more investors snapping up properties and renting them out through Airbnb.

But the family vowed to retain its community spirit, pledging to patronize Greenpoint Trees again next year.

“We try to shop small and shop local whenever we can,” Ms. Babb said, adding, sheepishly, “with the exception of Amazon.”



NEW GERMANY, NOVA SCOTIA At Silver’s Farm, trees tagged “#1” are deemed “perfect.”



MONCTON, NEW BRUNSWICK The driver Keron Roberts as he neared the U.S. border.



MIDDLE VILLAGE, QUEENS Ms. Maichin, left, and Ms. Babb at the Greenpoint Trees lot.

Charities Fear Tax Bill Will Cut Giving

By ANN CARRNS

Even before congressional Republicans finalized their tax bill, charities were worried. The final legislation roughly doubles the standard tax deduction, to \$12,000 for individuals and \$24,000 for couples. A higher standard deduction means fewer taxpayers will itemize their deductions on their tax returns, reducing the incentive to give to charities. Currently, only taxpayers who itemize — meaning, they detail gifts to charity and other spending on their returns — may deduct contributions. “The nonprofit sector is alarmed,” said Michael Thatcher, chief executive of Charity Navigator, a charity rating website. The change in the standard deduction is “the biggest cause of concern,” he said.

Estimates of the impact from an increase in the standard deduction vary. According to the Tax Policy Center, more than 46 million filers would be expected to itemize in 2018 under current law, but that number would drop to under 20 million. “For charities who serve families in need, the projected declines in giving will devastate our ability to provide food assistance,” said Diana Aviv, chief executive of Feeding America, a network of food banks.

For many charities, 2017 is shaping up to be a good one for fund-raising, as the economy hums along and the stock market booms. The United Way of Greater St. Louis, for instance, which serves Missouri and Illinois, expects top donors to contribute 6 percent more than what they gave in 2016, said Orvin Kimbrough, the group’s president and chief executive.

But the future is cloudy under the new tax regime. The group estimates a potential drop in taxpayer giving to charities of \$169 million annually in Missouri and \$431 million in Illinois, under the new tax law. “That’s a lot of money,” Mr. Kimbrough said. “This is about people’s lives.”

One short-term bright spot: Donors, uncertain about whether they can deduct a contribution next year, may be more generous this year, giving nonprofit groups a bump in 2017 fund-raising.

Some fund-raisers are asking donors to consider doing just that. The Greater Milwaukee Foundation, which makes grants to support community and civic groups, sent an email to donors explicitly noting the effect of the tax overhaul. “If you are a taxpayer who itemizes,” the email said in part, “it probably makes sense to accelerate some charitable contributions into 2017 to get a larger income tax deduction this year.” Ellen Gilligan, the foundation’s chief executive, said the federal tax legislation moved so quickly that many donors were unaware of its provisions and how it might affect their taxes. Many have been appreciative of the notice, she said, and some have accelerated their contributions to the foundation’s donor-advised funds. (Donor-advised funds allow people to make contributions and take a tax deduction, while designating a



MINH UONG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

choice of gift recipient at a later date.)

Ms. Gilligan said the foundation has an endowment and doesn’t expect its grant programs to be significantly affected in 2018, but there is concern about the longer-term impact of the tax change. “Eliminating the tax incentive,” she said, “has the potential to have a very negative impact on charitable giving.” United Way Worldwide, ranked the largest charity in 2017 by donations by Forbes, is recommending that its community-based affiliates contact important contributors to highlight the changes that are coming, said Steve Taylor, the charity’s vice president of public policy. United Way Worldwide provides leadership and support to its network of groups across the country. “We’ve been urging them to reach out to big donors and talk to them about tax reform,” he said. Typically, the local United Way

Less incentive to make a donation if it can’t be deducted.

chief executive or head fundraiser has a personal relationship with important donors, he said, and will talk by phone. (“My donors,” said Mr. Kimbrough of the United Way of Greater St. Louis, “have my cellphone.”) Some 26,000 to 28,000 major donors nationally give a total of about \$500 million a year to United Way, in gifts of \$10,000 or more, Mr. Taylor said. Some of those donors may be affected by the change in the standard deduction. Donors give for altruistic reasons as well as tax breaks, Mr. Taylor said, but the increase in the standard deduction is expected to have an impact.

“They’ll still give,” Mr. Taylor said. “But they’re going to give less.” (Millions of smaller donors, who make pledges to the United Way through workplace contribution programs, average gifts of \$150 a year. They have already made their elections for next year’s donations.) Major donors are often con-

cerned about stability, Mr. Kimbrough said. So they may structure gifts to donate more this year and receive a larger deduction, but space out the funds for spending over several years to help smooth out any budget gaps.

Elie Hassenfeld, co-founder and executive director of GiveWell, a nonprofit organization that recommends a handful of charities, said nonprofits are in a “zone of uncertainty.” But the group has frequent one-on-one conversations with its donors, he said, and is raising the issue of tax reform with them. The message? “You should be thinking about the possibility that your desire to deduct is going change from this year into the future,” he said.

Eileen Heisman, chief executive of the National Philanthropic Trust, which oversees donor-advised funds, said the trust is seeing some larger gifts this season. “People would rather gift when they know what their tax benefit is going to be,” she said.

“One thing is very consistent,” she said. “When there’s a threat, donors will front load, and we’re expecting that this year.”

Some donors may be waiting to see the final bill approved by President Trump before making a decision about the size of their donations. So the usual burst of last-minute giving at the end of the year may be even more intense this year, said Pam Norley, president of Fidelity Charitable, a big donor-advised fund.

But not all donors have the wherewithal to double their contributions on short notice, said Michael Kenyon, chief executive of the National Association of Charitable Gift Planners. “A lot of people don’t have the opportunity to give more now,” he said. That probably means, he said, that nonprofit groups are unlikely to recoup enough in donations this year to make up for what they will lose next year and beyond.

“The honest answer is we don’t know how many people who donate to Direct Relief are motivated by deductibility,” said Thomas Tighe, chief executive of the group, which specializes in disaster relief. “It’s some cause for concern, but we don’t feel there’s anything we can do about it other than wait and see and hope people still see value in making a contribution.”

BP Bets \$200 Million on Solar Power

By STANLEY REED

LONDON — BP had been at the forefront when it came to major oil companies going green. It invested billions in renewables. It was quick to acknowledge the link between fossil fuels and global warming. It adopted the slogan “Beyond Petroleum.”

But that all fell by the wayside when the company was hit by the 2010 Gulf of Mexico oil spill. On Friday, in what may be a move to repolish tarnished green credentials, the energy giant said that it would spend \$200 million to acquire a large stake in a Lightsource, a solar power developer based in Britain.

BP, like other major European oil companies, is responding to pressure from investors and governments, especially in the region, to shift away from the traditional fossil fuels blamed for climate change, like oil and gas, and into cleaner sources of energy. Statoil, the Norwegian giant, for example, is staking out a big position in offshore wind, and Total, the French company, last year bought a battery maker called Saft for 950 million euros, or \$1.1 billion.

“The European majors feel under pressure to diversify, to get exposure to different technologies so they are not left out,” said Valentina Kretzschmar, an analyst at energy consultants Wood Mackenzie. “It is what a lot of their peer group is doing.”

Indeed, renewables like solar and wind power are increasingly seen as not just a science experiment or a concession to political and environmental pressures, but a good business opportunity in their own right. Wood Mackenzie estimates that renewable energy products return between 7 percent and 10 percent on capital invested.

That figure is much lower, however, than the 18 percent in estimated average returns that a

drilling project offers, in part because the newer technologies are in regulated industries where profits tend to be capped. But, Ms. Kretzschmar said, energy companies must at least test the waters to make sure they are in the game when renewables do take off.

Before the Gulf of Mexico oil spill hobbled the company, BP had been seen as a leader on environmental issues among traditional oil and gas companies. It said in 1997 that greenhouse gases resulting from the burning of fossil fuels played a role in global warming, and began making investments to offset their impact.

A company returns to a business it pushed aside after an oil spill.

Under John Browne, chief executive from 1995 to 2007, BP invested around \$8 billion in renewable energy early in the 2000s, including solar power, though with mixed results at best. Under pressure to pay damages and fines from the Gulf of Mexico spill — which have cost it \$64 billion so far — BP has been focusing until recently on improving its oil and gas operations.

Though BP still has a large wind-power business in the United States as well as biofuels installations mainly in Brazil, its solar investments, some of which dated back to the 1980s, were problematic and have largely been closed down, according to the company. In an interview, Dev Sanyal, chief executive of BP’s alternative energy business, said the company had chosen an ill-fated part of the solar business: manufacturing equipment like solar panels, an area now dominated

by Asian companies that are better able to compete on price.

Lightsource, Mr. Sanyal said, takes a very different approach, focusing on developing and managing solar installations, rather than making the equipment or inventing the technology. The company “is completely agnostic as to what panels it installs,” he said. He added that the attraction of Lightsource, which is privately owned, was that it could be a vehicle for BP to take advantage of what he forecast as 10 percent to 15 percent annual growth in solar power in the coming years.

By contrast, demand for oil, which has been growing strongly at around 1.7 percent per annum this year, is expected to eventually level off to less than 1 percent a year through 2040, according to forecasts by the International Energy Agency, a Paris-based organization. The agency attributed that slowing growth in demand to changes like the increasing prevalence of electric vehicles and improving fuel efficiency.

BP said its \$200 million investment would eventually give it a 43 percent stake in Lightsource, which will be renamed Lightsource BP, and the energy giant will take two seats on the board. BP’s investment will be used to help Lightsource, which has been mainly focused on Britain, grow globally, the companies said. Lightsource develops solar projects and says it thus far has contracts to manage installations that could power about half a million homes.

By buying into Lightsource, BP is, in a sense, outsourcing its solar effort.

“They need a renewable business to develop over time as part of energy transitioning, but were lacking the ability to make solar profitable,” said Oswald Clint, an analyst at Bernstein Research. “Lightsource might be the solution.”

PERSONAL BUSINESS

Why Some Tax Strategies Should Wait Until Next Year

By PAUL SULLIVAN

The Senate and the House closed in on a final version of the tax bill on Friday, as Republican leaders stay on track for final votes on the consensus bill next week.

WEALTH MATTERS Some tempting planning opportunities might come to fruition next year, but tax advisers suggest that people resist until the bill becomes law. Why wait? Because taxpayers will be no worse off than they are today, and could be better off if a new tax code is enacted.

Last week, I wrote about the tax strategies that affluent people might want to undertake before the end of the year. These included paying property taxes and state taxes early for taxpayers who have not set off the alternative minimum tax, making large charitable gifts or filling a donor-advised fund, and harvesting stock losses because of a potential tax change about how different blocks of stock can be sold.

This week, I look at the strategies that could be important next year if the tax overhaul shakes out the way advisers believe it will.

Delay expected income.

If you are expecting a large portion of income before the end of the year, consider delaying it until 2018. The tax rates will be lower then and could be low enough to offset the loss of deductions.

It's a good strategy, but not all people can control their income. Most people, including high earners who do not own their own companies, do not have authority over when they are paid. Think of Wall Street banks and law firms: Some pay bonuses now, while many wait until February or March when all the 2017 revenue has been accounted for.

And it's tricky. Income can be legally delayed, but once it has been received, you must pay tax on it. Delaying tax payment on income that has already been received is called constructive receipt, and it can run you afoul of the tax collector.

One example of how someone could get into trouble is to deposit in January a check that was received in December. Another is to send someone a bill for services rendered this year but ask that person not to pay it until the next year, said David A. Stolz, president of Stolz & Associates, a wealth management firm in Tacoma, Wash.

"You have to be able to control that payment legally," Mr. Stolz said. "And then the question is, if you could, what's the tax rate going to be? You don't know."

Stay put.

Proposals to cut deductions for state and local taxes, limit them on property taxes and reduce them on mortgage interest will raise the overall tax for



JIM LO SCALZO/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY



EVE EDELHEIT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

people living in the Northeast, California and a few other states with high property values and high state taxes. But resist the urge to move for tax reasons. For most taxpayers, it's not going to be that bad.

Timothy M. Steffen, director of advanced planning at Baird, a wealth management firm, ran the numbers for The New York Times. He went through four situations for people living in Westchester County, an affluent area in New York State that has the highest property taxes in the country, and Tampa, Fla., a business hub with no state tax.

In the four examples, couples earned

\$500,000 and rented a home; earned \$500,000 and owned a \$1 million house; earned \$1 million and owned a \$2 million house; or earned \$3 million and owned a \$6 million house. All other variables, like mortgage deductibility and percentage of income donated to charities (4 percent), were kept the same.

Only the couple in Westchester County earning \$3 million would pay more in taxes — about \$90,000 more — while their counterparts in Tampa would pay less at all wealth levels, Mr. Steffen found. Most people who are still working are not going to uproot their families to move so far away. But for

Above, Representative Kevin Brady said of the tax bill, "Nothing is agreed to until everything is agreed to." Left, a home in Tampa, Fla., where none of four hypothetical couples in an analysis of high earners would pay more taxes under House and Senate plans.

New Yorkers, Mr. Steffen said, there could be some savings on the margin — if they moved to Connecticut, for instance, which also has lower property taxes.

"Connecticut's top rate is 7 percent on \$1 million, while New York is almost 9 percent plus the city tax," he said. "But if you're driving back into the city, you're not saving anything on your wages."

Hold off on gift giving.

The estate tax has not been a concern for more than 99 percent of Americans since President Barack Obama and Congress increased the exemption in 2012 to \$5 million per person and indexed it to inflation. And under the joint plan discussed this week, that exemption would rise to more than \$11 million.

Yet that does not mean there are not planning opportunities for the very wealthy. For one, those who are thinking of making a taxable gift above the current exemption amount should generally wait.

"House, Senate, compromise or no

tax law — under any of those scenarios, the estate and gift tax news is either good news or status quo," said Daniel L. Kesten, partner at the law firm Davis & Gilbert. "The only exception is if you're holding an asset that could skyrocket in value, like Bitcoin. You may want to make that gift now."

In that case, you could give that asset away and pay the tax on it now, with the assumption it would be worth more to the beneficiary later. (Of course, that asset could also plummet in value.)

John D. Dadakis, a partner at Holland & Knight, said that he advised clients to wait on gifts, but that many were telling him they were eager to make larger, tax-free gifts next year.

"They look at it and say the next administration that comes in, if it's a Democratic administration, there's a high possibility that they change the entire rule," Mr. Dadakis said. He added that his clients were preparing to make gifts as soon as they could under the new tax code.

If the first-in, first-out rule for selling blocks of stock, which I wrote about last week, takes effect, one option that increases in attractiveness is giving appreciated stock to young adults.

If the owner were to sell the stock, the downside would be a capital-gains tax on the appreciated value, likely at the highest rate. But if the stock were given to a child over 21 who was in a low tax bracket, the child could sell the stock and pay little or no tax on the years of gains, said Liz Miller, president of Summit Place Financial Advisors, which focuses on multigenerational families.

Wait to restructure your business.

Much attention is being given to the reduced rate to businesses structured as "pass-through entities," which means that the firm's earnings pass through to the owner's tax return. The combined bill suggested that both chambers had agreed on a 20 percent deduction for some income.

But it's more complicated than that. For one, certain types of professional service businesses — like lawyers, accountants and doctors — may not qualify for the benefit.

Whatever the deduction's final form, business owners need to start to think of how they can maximize that tax break. Edward Reitmeyer, a partner at Marcum, a national accounting firm, told me last month that there were ways for service businesses to split in two so that bonuses paid to executives would be taxed at a lower rate. But structuring that correctly will take planning and care to maximize the benefit and not run afoul of the I.R.S.

If this is all confusing, admit to yourself what Albert Einstein once said to his accountant: "The hardest thing in the world to understand is income taxes." And then go and get good tax advice.

After Equifax Breach, a Bank Pushes Credit File Freezes

From First Business Page

Those loan executives did not mind, given that the process for lifting a freeze temporarily is fairly straightforward as long as the credit bureaus' systems are working and borrowers have the PINs they need to thaw their credit files.

"If it takes an extra step, so be it," said Cort O'Haver, the bank's chief executive. "Everyone embraced it, and it would be tough not to agree with it because it's the right thing to do to protect customers."

So what does Mr. O'Haver think of Experian's view of freezes? I did a semi-dramatic reading of that email, which accidentally fell into the inbox of a consumer advocate, and I focused in particular on a section where the executive asserted that most people do not need freezes. Mr. O'Haver's eyes widened a bit. "Uh really? Oh man," he said. "Wow. That is not right."

An Experian spokesman said that the email did not reflect the company's position on the matter.

Before Mr. O'Haver and his colleagues could properly educate

customers about freezes, they had to get up to speed on the process of freezing a file themselves. Two employees, Katie Scott and Nicole Stein, dreamed up the concept of freeze day and served on the crew that assembled at headquarters on Friday to answer questions from other employees.

Ms. Stein put a stopwatch to her own efforts and found that it took just 24 minutes to freeze her credit files at Equifax, Experian and TransUnion. Another colleague, Jeremy Lang, created a themed playlist as a soundtrack for the day. Bruce Springsteen's "Tenth Avenue Freeze-Out" was playing when I walked in to meet the team.

Questions from co-workers included whether you really have to freeze your files at all three credit bureaus. (Yes, you do, lest thieves find an opening with a company that checks credit at a bureau where you have not frozen your file.) Also, do both spouses have to freeze? (Yes, again.) And should people shopping for a mortgage wait before freezing their files? (Yup, as Ms. Scott had recently done herself.)

Out in the branches, or stores as Umpqua likes to refer to them, customers grabbed frozen treats out of an ice-cream bike known as an icicle



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

tricycle and considered their options. James B. Lee, a retired physicist who also dabbled in work as a stagehand for local rock shows, does not use credit much anymore and was not interested in freezing his file.

He comes to Umpqua each Friday to balance his checkbook and nibble on the treats the bank serves. "If things balance, I get an extra cookie," he said.

Others seemed glad that the store displayed signs announcing Freeze Day, which reminded them of the Equifax breach months earlier. "When something terrible hasn't happened yet, you forget all about it," said Gordon

Caron, a retired physician, who had made a midday stop with his wife. He eventually conferred with employees there, all of whom were dressed in gaudy holiday-themed sweaters.

Nationwide, other consumers have barely caught on. Only about 4.5 million people with Equifax credit files have cut off outsiders' access to them, according to the company, though that is up from a million or so before the breach.

Equifax told me it has no beef with Umpqua's Freeze Day and said it planned to introduce an app on Jan. 31 that will make cutting off and turning

"It's the right thing to do to protect customers," Cort O'Haver, the chief executive of Umpqua Bank, said of the promotion of credit file freezes.

on access to a credit file easier.

"We're pleased to see an employer, especially one with a stake in the financial sector, taking steps to try to educate and empower their employees," said Paul Zurawski, senior vice president of external relations for Equifax. "A credit freeze is what's currently available and easiest for consumers to understand based on what's been promoted in the media.

If you too want to initiate a freeze, see the comprehensive guide I wrote this fall to protecting yourself after the Equifax breach.

Keep in mind, however, that freezes are not a silver bullet. They will not keep someone from trying to file an income tax return in your name to steal tax refund money, which happened to Umpqua's Mr. O'Haver. Nor can freezes prevent someone from trying to use your health insurance to get medical care without paying for it.

But freezes are, for the moment, the best of a handful of limited tools we have to keep identity thieves at bay, and given the amount of fraud in the world these days, it's not wise to remain unprotected. It's nice to see a major financial institution finally get up in public and say so.

STOCKS & BONDS

Technology Companies Lead Stocks to Milestones as Tax Plan Advances

By The Associated Press

Wall Street capped the week with broad gains, propelling the major stock indexes to a new set of milestones on Friday.

Investors welcomed signs that congressional Republicans were solidifying support for a major overhaul of the nation's tax laws ahead of an expected vote next week.

Technology stocks led the gains, which more than wiped out the market's losses from the day before. Health care companies and banks also posted solid gains. Energy stocks were the only laggard.

Small-company stocks, which stand to benefit most from lower

corporate tax rates, rose more than the rest of the market.

"The tax bill seems to be the driver right now," said Erik Davidson, chief investment officer at Wells Fargo Private Bank. "The market just thinks it will get done."

The Standard & Poor's 500 index rose 23.80 points, or 0.9 percent, to 2,675.81. The Dow Jones industrial average gained 143.08 points, or 0.6 percent, to 24,651.74. The Nasdaq added 80.06 points, or 1.2 percent, to 6,936.58. The Russell 2000 index of smaller-company stocks picked up 23.47 points, or 1.6 percent, to 1,530.42.

The Dow, S&P 500 and Nasdaq closed at record highs and fin-

The S.&P. 500 Index

Position of the S.&P. 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Friday.



Source: Reuters

THE NEW YORK TIMES

ished the week with gains.

Technology stocks, which are leading the market this year, notched solid gains. Intel rose \$1.30, or 3 percent, to \$44.56.

Banks and other financial companies were among the biggest gainers. Navient added 58 cents, or 4.6 percent, to \$13.20.

A batch of strong company earnings and outlooks also helped lift the markets Friday.

Costco Wholesale rose 3.3 percent after the warehouse club operator's latest quarterly earnings and sales came in well above financial analysts' expectations. The stock added \$6.20 to \$192.73.

Oil futures finished mixed. Benchmark United States crude

rose 26 cents to settle at \$57.30 a barrel on the New York Mercantile Exchange. Brent crude, used to price international oils, fell 8 cents to close at \$63.23 per barrel in London.

Gold added 50 cents to \$1,254.30 an ounce. Silver added 13 cents to \$15.98 an ounce. Copper gained 6 cents, or 2 percent, to \$3.11 a pound.

The dollar rose to 112.63 yen from 112.18 yen on Thursday. The euro weakened to \$1.1757 from \$1.1792.

Bitcoin futures finished its first week of trading on the Cboe Futures Exchange on a high note, climbing \$1,305, or 7.8 percent, to \$18,105.

PERSONAL BUSINESS

Hacking
The Tax Plan

10 Ways to Profit
From the G.O.P. Bill

By QUOCTRUNG BUI
and MARGOT SANGER-KATZ

Professionals call it tax planning. Analysts call them tax games. We're calling them tax hacks. Every tax bill has little incentives or loopholes that encourage some behaviors and discourage others. The bill that is expected to come up for a final vote next week is no different: It is full of little opportunities to make money — or at least save some.

We've put together a list of some of the most interesting and useful tricks, with help from some of the country's leading experts in law and finance. This isn't meant to be real tax advice — for that you'll need to hire a professional — but it does shed light on the key features (or holes) in the Republican bill.

Many are changes that involve doing something right now, in the final days of 2017. Others would take longer to pull off but could have lasting payoffs, reaching into the next generation.

House and Senate negotiators have announced the changes they hope to pass soon, though some details may change. Here are some moneymaking opportunities in the legislation, ranked by degree of difficulty.

DIFFICULTY EASIER

If you're going to give to charity next year, consider donating now instead.

If you're feeling generous, you're likely to get a reward if you donate now, under the current tax system. Because of changes to tax rules, most families won't be able to itemize deductions and thus won't get much tax benefit from charitable giving once the new system kicks in. So it is probably better to give now, when you can write it off as part of an itemized tax return.

The same logic applies to any other expense that you can currently itemize: The deductions are likely to be worth more to most people this year than in the future. If you can afford to pay some of your mortgage or student loan bills early, including interest — or pay for big, anticipated medical expenses — you will probably get a bigger benefit if you do it this year. The downside to these strategies: "You have to write a check," said Steven Rosenthal, a senior fellow at the Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center. "That's always true in life — you have to have money to make money."



DIFFICULTY MODERATE

Get lucky with the timing of your inheritance.

The bill makes big changes to the estate tax that will influence when it would be best to inherit a large fortune, should one be coming your way. Currently, estates worth more than \$5.5 million are subject to a 40 percent tax, while smaller ones can be transferred with no tax at all. The bill would double that limit, beginning next year, then roll it back to the current level in 2026. "It's the 'Weekend at Bernie's' Act of December 2017," said Daniel Hemel, an assistant law professor at the University of Chicago who studies taxes. "And the 'Throw Momma From the Train' Act of December 2025."

Move to New Hampshire. (Or Alaska. Or Texas.)

The tax bill would limit the amount of state and local taxes that Americans can deduct from their incomes before paying federal taxes. Under the Republican plan, taxpayers would be able to deduct only \$10,000 in such taxes. The burden of this change will fall heavily on higher-income residents of states with relatively high local taxes — think California, New York and New Jersey. These people will fare relatively worse as more of their income will become subject to federal taxes.

But there are other states that have relatively low state and local tax burdens. Living in one of those places could insulate you from the change, and increase your tax reduction. According to an analysis from the Tax Foundation, a few states with the lowest local taxes include portions of Alaska, New Hampshire and Texas. May we suggest New Hampshire? It has lovely mountains.

If you're going to move, consider doing it now. Among the many tax credits that would be repealed under the tax bill is one for moving expenses.

If you insist on remaining in a high-tax state, try to earn more this year.

The tax bill will limit the degree to which people can deduct state and local taxes from their income before calculating federal taxes, starting in the 2018 tax year. That means that, for people who pay high local taxes in such places and itemize on their return, there's an advantage in shifting as much income into this year as possible. The more you earn before the switch, the more you'll pay in state income tax, and the more you can discount your federal taxes — an opportunity that will be more limited next year.

There are a few maneuvers that might prove useful. If you work for a company that tends to pay large annual bonuses, like a hedge fund, ask if you can get your bonus before the end of the year. If you have valuable stock you hope to sell in the near future, you may want to do it now. (There are other changes that also make stock selling now a good idea, assuming you plan to sell it soon anyway.)

A more complex maneuver might be converting your traditional I.R.A. into a Roth I.R.A., a move that will increase some people's income now and lower their tax liability later.

These strategies make sense only in places where local taxes are high, and for taxpayers who are not paying the alternative minimum tax. "If you were in Florida, it wouldn't pay to do this," said Bob Gordon, the president of Twenty-First Securities, a New York-based brokerage and money management firm.

TheUpshot

Upgrade your private jet.

The Senate bill would tighten up rules for transactions known as 1031 swaps. Under current law, you don't have to pay taxes on capital gains you earn from selling a wide variety of business assets, as long as you quickly use the proceeds to make another, similar purchase. The provision is most often applied to real estate transactions — think selling one office building and buying another — but other kinds of assets have been allowed in swaps. They are used often by art dealers and collectors. The broad rules have also made them a good way for corporations or individual private jet owners who use their planes for business as well as pleasure to sell an older, depreciated jet and buy a new one without having to worry about tax consequences. (If you really want to get in the weeds, depreciation rules for private jets make this a particularly useful maneuver.)

Starting next year, the tax law would limit 1031 exchanges to real estate transactions only — meaning this is a good time to upgrade your jet, if you're going to do it. "I think it's going to affect the private jet industry," Mr. Gordon said, anticipating more transactions this year and fewer in the future.



If you send your children to private school, open a 529 account.

Currently, such tax-free accounts are devised to help parents save money to pay for their children's college educations. But the tax bill would allow parents to use money from the accounts to pay for up to \$10,000 a year in K-12 private education and home schooling as well.

As Ben Miller, the senior director for postsecondary education at the liberal Center for American Progress, notes, the change could have a number of valuable effects for families that use it. It would shield private school tuition from federal taxation, even though there would be less time for the money to accrue, undermining the account's

original intent as a savings vehicle. The change may also make private school tuition subject to state tax breaks in many states — since several protect 529 savings from state taxation as well. In high-tax states, the savings could come to more than \$500 a year, even if tuition money immediately passes through the 529 account. (This calculator may be helpful.)

The application of 529 funding to home schooling expenses could help families pay for some household expenses tax free. Though some more elaborate schemes involving travel-based home schools would probably be disallowed, Mr. Miller said in an email, "you could probably still get state-tax-free internet service and computer purchases this way."

Turn yourself into a pass-through business.

Our colleague Neil Irwin, who writes on economics and business, is paid as an employee of The New York Times. But under the Senate tax bill, he'd be much better off turning himself into a business and collecting the equivalent of his earnings and benefits as payments to a hypothetical new company, Irwin Scribbings, LLC.

Mr. Irwin's company would be joining the ranks of the most common type of business in America: the pass-through. In typical corporations, the company's profits are taxed twice: once on the company's income and again on the dividends passed on to its shareholders. But in pass-throughs, the company's income is essentially "passed through" to the owner and taxed at whatever tax bracket the owner is in. Most kinds of freelance and consulting businesses operate as pass-throughs. So do companies that are organized as partnerships, like law firms, dental practices and many real estate firms.

If you run a pass-through business that earns up to \$250,000 a year if you're single (\$500,000 if you're married), you get a 23 percent tax break on all profit that comes through your company — in other words, only 77 percent of that income would be taxed. That might make it worthwhile for some workers to switch from salaried work to freelance, though there are a few complications, like obtaining health insurance and getting your employer to agree. Those earning more might still be better off as a pass-through, but there are more rules about what types of income qualify for the deduction.

This shift is something that actually happened. In 2012, Kansas instituted even more generous pass-through rules, leading many people — perhaps 1 out of every 500 workers — to persuade their employers to pay them this way.

DIFFICULTY HARD

Turn yourself into a corporation.

If you're really wealthy and earn a lot of money you don't plan on spending soon, you may want to turn yourself into a different kind of company: a corporation, instead of a pass-through. As a so-called C-corp, your company's earnings will be subject to the 20 percent corporate tax, a big reduction from the top individual rate, even with the pass-through discount. And, under the bill, corporations are allowed to deduct all state and local taxes, which individuals and pass-throughs can't. The downside comes if you want to pay those earnings to yourself; they would become subject to a dividends tax.

If you think you'll need the money right away, and earn less than \$500,000, a pass-through may be better for you. But if you will never spend the money, you can leave your corporate earnings to your heirs, who won't have to pay such taxes for cashing out. And if you don't need much of it for a long time, you can at least avoid paying higher taxes on the savings until you withdraw them. "If you're wanting to save a lot of money, you might want to become a C-corp, and if you want to spend it right away, you would want to be a pass-through," said Lily Batchelder, a law professor at N.Y.U. who has also worked on tax policy in the Senate and for the Obama administration's National Economic Council.

Sell your company some art

Imagine that you're a wealthy person in the top tax bracket, and you own a genuine Rothko that has become worth millions more than you bought it for. Selling, you'd have to pay a huge tax on the painting's increase in value. Instead, you could exchange the painting with a company you own for shares, a transaction that wouldn't be taxed. Then, have the company sell the painting, paying only the new, low 20 percent corporate rate. If you pass the shares onto your heirs, they won't have to pay any taxes on them.

What the plan is exploiting is that under the new tax system, the corporate tax rate would be much lower than other rates. All the transactions, like the tax-free exchanges, are legal under the current system. It's just that having the huge tax benefit would make playing these tricky games more valuable.



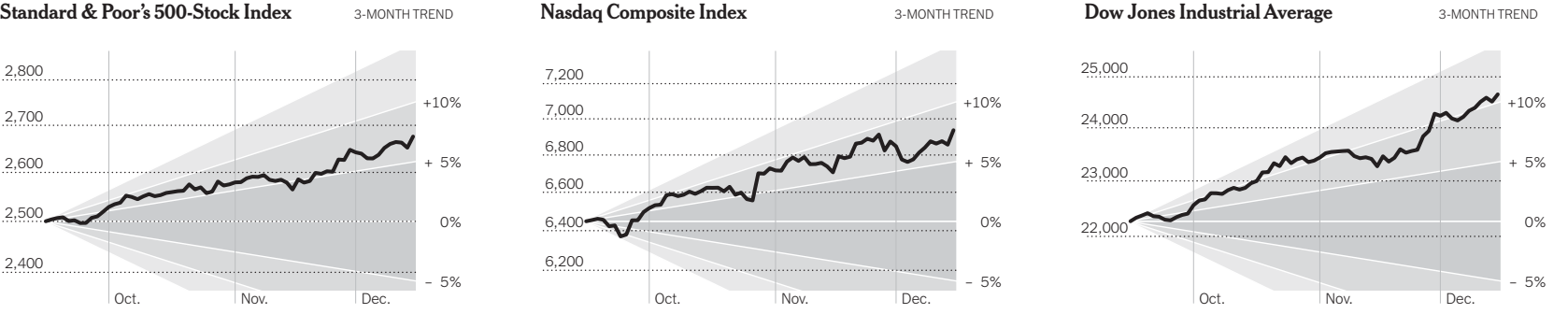
Consider a career in tax law or corporate accounting.

The new rules mean that lots of people are going to need advice about how to restructure their finances and their business organizations. "This isn't necessarily simplification," said Ron Dabrowski, a principal in the Washington National Tax practice of KPMG LLP, who has worked on tax policy for the Internal Revenue Service, for the Treasury Department and on Capitol Hill.

Mr. Dabrowski noted that the tax bill restructures vast parts of the tax code and layers on new rules at different times: "As people try to figure out what the law is and what it means, professional services are going to be needed."

The faster you can set up your accounting or law practice, the better. The highest demand for professional advice is likely to come in the next few years, as people learn the new rules. But the continuing complexity of the tax system means that your career change could pay off in the long term.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY SELJI MATSUMOTO



When the index follows a white line, it is changing at a constant pace; when it moves into a lighter band, the rate of change is faster.

STOCK MARKET INDEXES

Index	Close	Chg	% Chg	52-Wk %Chg	YTD %Chg
DOW JONES					
Industrial	24651.74	+143.08	+0.58	+24.18	+24.74
Transportation	10393.01	+65.06	+0.63	+12.25	+14.92
Utilities	753.38	+2.81	+0.37	+16.04	+14.22
Composites	8299.85	+46.58	+0.56	+19.44	+20.24
500 Stocks					
500 Stocks	1186.68	+10.13	+0.86	+18.45	+19.69
Mid-Cap 400	1886.67	+19.53	+1.05	+12.92	+13.62
Small-Cap 600	932.63	+16.08	+1.75	+10.23	+11.30
NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE					
NYSE Comp.	12699.68	+70.61	+0.56	+14.08	+14.86
Tech/Media/Telecom	8539.74	+21.29	+0.25	+9.41	+9.79
Energy	10943.83	-44.40	-0.40	-5.18	-4.87
Financial	8195.85	+47.95	+0.59	+16.62	+17.73
Healthcare	14333.73	+109.92	+0.77	+20.25	+20.38

Index	Close	Chg	% Chg	52-Wk %Chg	YTD %Chg
NASDAQ					
Nasdaq 100	6466.32	+76.41	+1.20	+31.07	+32.95
Composite	6936.58	+80.06	+1.17	+27.12	+28.86
Industrials	5508.53	+43.89	+0.80	+22.38	+23.93
Banks	4028.25	+92.81	+2.36	+5.22	+4.56
Insurance	8697.18	+152.60	+1.79	+3.97	+4.11
Other Finance	7898.95	+70.41	+0.90	+22.01	+22.79
Telecommunications	336.67	+1.07	+0.32	+15.53	+16.12
Computer	4111.87	+60.02	+1.48	+38.45	+40.54
OTHER INDEXES					
American Exch	2553.65	-6.14	-0.24	+11.30	+10.64
Wilshire 5000	27734.32	+231.22	+0.84	+17.34	+18.39
Value Line Arith	6030.56	+63.68	+1.07	+13.44	+14.61
Russell 2000	1530.42	+23.47	+1.56	+12.00	+12.77
Phila Gold & Silver	80.23	+0.55	+0.69	+8.85	+1.74
Phila Semiconductor	1250.89	+18.46	+1.50	+37.46	+38.70
KBW Bank	106.25	+1.28	+1.22	+14.51	+15.15
Phila Oil Service	133.21	+0.47	+0.35	-29.04	-27.52

MOST ACTIVE, GAINERS AND LOSERS

Stock (TICKER)	Close	Chg	% Chg	Volume (100)
20 MOST ACTIVE				
Bank of Amerl (BAC)	29.04	+0.31	+1.1	1294010
Sirius XM Ho (SIR)	5.37	-0.29	-5.1	959658
GE (GE)	17.82	+0.18	+1.0	883347
Oracle (ORCL)	48.30	-1.89	-3.8	751614
Micro Tech (MU)	42.40	+0.16	+0.4	586322
Microsoft (MSFT)	96.85	+2.16	+2.8	533212
CSX (CSX)	52.93	-4.38	-7.6	498000
Ford Motor (F)	12.58	+0.12	+1.0	479793
Intel (INTC)	44.56	+1.30	+3.0	474044
Comcast (CMCSA)	39.71	+0.59	+1.5	471680
AT&T (T)	36.24	+0.50	+1.3	467743
Cisco System (CSCO)	38.19	+0.29	+0.8	471327
AMD (AMD)	10.29	+0.16	+1.6	454219
Apple (AAPL)	173.97	+1.75	+1.0	401207
Pfizer (PFE)	37.20	+0.74	+2.0	323398
Citigroup (C)	74.77	+0.85	+1.1	367412
Freight Mvco (FDX)	16.98	+0.79	+4.9	364593
Wells Fargo (WFC)	59.87	+0.65	+1.1	364468
Fox (FOXA)	34.99	+0.11	+0.3	358553
Sprint Corp (S)	5.49	-0.14	-2.5	311942
20 TOP GAINERS				
LongFin (LFN)	22.01	+16.82	+308.4	154203
Wms Fin Hld (WMS)	147.01	+24.51	+16.6	343
Educational (EDUC)	16.75	+2.70	+19.2	621
Cosco (CROCK)	12.55	+1.61	+14.7	71319
Surgery Part (SGRY)	11.15	+1.40	+14.4	14541
Fortena (FRTA)	10.80	+1.35	+14.2	12013
Block Block (BLOT)	28.50	+3.52	+14.1	123853
Social Real (SRAX)	5.73	+0.88	+15.5	33280
Roku (ROKU)	52.31	+6.16	+13.3	167707
Resonant (RESN)	7.76	+0.97	+12.6	7489
Siebert Fin (SEB)	13.25	+1.40	+11.8	39882
Diana Contst (DCX)	5.44	+0.57	+11.7	47131
Netspace (NETS)	7.95	+0.83	+11.7	2429
FormFactor (FORM)	16.60	+1.70	+11.4	12674
Raytheon (RTN)	9.86	+0.90	+11.3	214386
Schlumberg (SLB)	68.35	+6.85	+11.1	81054
lovanco (IOVA)	9.05	+0.90	+11.0	30468
Aquinox Phar (AQXP)	11.31	+1.05	+10.2	8911
Under Armour (UA)	15.17	+1.35	+9.8	147434
Innovative I (IPR)	24.80	+2.20	+9.7	2259
20 TOP LOSERS				
Newstar Tech (NEWS)	8.77	-1.76	-16.7	3916
Mariusus Phar (MRNS)	7.89	-1.44	-15.4	36004
Alena (ALNA)	10.50	-1.88	-15.2	6405
Pendrel (PCD)	634.50	-88.30	-12.2	116
FAT Brands (FAT)	7.67	-0.99	-11.4	678
Syndex (SYND)	8.03	-0.97	-10.8	1467
China Intern (CHN)	42.95	-4.87	-10.2	2825
ADM Ractr (ADM)	5.00	-0.54	-9.7	541
Corvus Pharm (CRVS)	9.30	-0.94	-9.2	5654
Re/Med Hldg (REMX)	46.50	-5.22	-8.4	9489
CBT (CBT)	36.25	-3.15	-8.0	39897
Anadigm (AFDM)	5.37	-0.45	-7.7	2035
CSX (CSX)	52.93	-4.38	-7.6	498000
Fidbrt (FIT)	6.30	-0.52	-7.6	146381
Krysal Biot (KRYB)	9.56	-0.77	-7.5	403
Tocagen (TOCA)	11.00	-0.88	-7.4	14246
Frontier Comm (FTR)	8.08	-0.61	-7.0	102514
TDH Hdg (PETZ)	7.00	-0.50	-6.7	5374
Hollos and M (HMNY)	6.26	-0.44	-6.6	49423
Ovid (OVID)	9.72	-0.67	-6.4	1922

S.&P. 100 STOCKS

Stock (TICKER)	52-Week Price Range	Low	Close	High	1-Day Chg	1-Yr %Chg	YTD %Chg
3M (MMM)	173.55	173.55	244.23	238.00	+0.08	+35.21	+33.3
Abbott (ABT)	37.90	37.90	56.80	55.50	+0.77	+42.56	+44.5
Abbvie (ABBV)	59.27	59.27	98.87	97.45	+1.15	+57.13	+55.6
Accurate (ACN)	112.31	112.31	152.90	152.66	+1.45	+22.57	+30.3
AIG (AIG)	57.85	57.85	67.47	59.39	+1.28	-10.27	-3.1
Allegion (ALGN)	160.07	160.07	256.80	171.68	+0.74	+10.87	+9.3
Allstate (ALL)	72.43	72.43	104.46	103.97	+1.32	+41.38	+40.3
Alphabet (GOOGL)	790	790	1080	1072	+14.53	+31.43	+35.3
Alphabet (GOOG)	770	770	1088	1084	+15.04	N.A.	N.A.
Altria Gro (MO)	60.01	60.01	77.79	71.67	+0.12	+8.16	+6.0
Amazon.com (AMZN)	748	748	1213	1179	+4.88	+54.95	+57.3
American E (AXP)	73.50	73.50	99.75	99.52	+1.37	+31.47	+30.0
Ampco (AMPC)	145.12	145.12	59.10	171.64	+2.12	+17.72	+21.1
Apple (AAPL)	114.76	114.76	176.24	173.97	+1.75	+50.21	+50.2
AT&T (T)	32.55	32.55	43.80	38.24	+0.50	-7.86	-1.01
Bank of Am (BAC)	21.77	21.77	29.50	29.04	+0.31	+25.39	+31.4
Bank of Corp (BK)	237.84	237.84	269.79	269.69	+0.03	+19.34	+21.4
Biogen (BIIB)	244.28	244.28	348.81	327.94	+4.39	+20.47	+25.6
BlackRock (BLK)	365.83	365.83	518.89	511.87	+5.12	+30.00	+34.5
Boeing (BA)	153.06	153.06	297.37	293.94	+0.08	+91.16	+88.8
BOW Mals (BOK)	43.85	43.85	55.40	54.20	+0.18	+12.10	+14.4
Bristol My (BMY)	46.01	46.01	66.10	62.41	+0.28	+6.41	+6.8
Capital On (COF)	76.05	76.05	97.31	96.31	+2.25	+6.58	+10.4
Capital One (CAP)	90.34	90.34	149.05	146.89	+0.41	+55.18	+58.2
Caterpillar (CAT)	94.65	94.65	147.17	146.41	+1.17	+6.63	-5.5
Charter Co (CHTR)	282.54	282.54	408.83	322.31	+6.37	+10.70	+11.9

Stock (TICKER)	52-Week Price Range	Low	Close	High	1-Day Chg	1-Yr %Chg	YTD %Chg
Chevron (CVX)	102.55	102.55	122.30	119.73	+0.20	+2.29	+1.7
Cisco Syst (CSCO)	23.80	23.80	38.37	38.19	+0.29	+24.68	+26.4
Citigroup (C)	55.23	55.23	77.92	74.77	+0.85	+24.14	+25.8
Coca-Cola (KO)	40.22	40.22	47.48	46.19	+0.16	+11.17	+11.4
Columbia (CL)	63.43	63.43	77.27	74.05	+0.81	+11.81	+13.2
Comcast (CMCSA)	34.78	34.78	76.97	39.71	+0.59	+13.65	+15.0
ConocoPhil (COP)	42.27	42.27	54.22	52.17	+0.14	+0.83	+4.1
Costco Who (COST)	150.00	150.00	155.35	152.73	+6.20	+25.24	+25.2
CVS Health (CVS)	68.45	68.45	84.72	73.08	+2.28	+6.65	-7.4
Danaher (DHR)	77.58	77.58	84.65	84.00	+1.15	+17.81	+20.8
DowDuPont (DWDPT)	74.01	74.01	73.85	70.00	-0.32	N.A.	N.A.
Duke Energy (DUK)	64.95	64.95	81.80	87.84	+0.28	+15.53	+13.2
Emerson E (EMR)	55.40	55.40	67.83	67.28	+0.15	+19.72	+20.7
Exelon (EXC)	33.30	33.30	42.67	40.74	+0.12	+10.42	+14.8
Exxon Mobil (XOM)	76.05	76.05	91.67	83.03	+0.13	-8.65	-8.0
Facebook (FB)	114.77	114.77	184.25	180.18	+1.79	+49.44	+56.6
FedEx (FDX)	242.80	242.80	240.49	240.00	+1.55	+12.29	+28.9
Ford Motor (F)	10.47	10.47	13.27	12.58	+0.12	0.00	+3.7
Fox (FOXA)	24.81	24.81	35.86	34.99	+0.11	+25.01	+24.8
Fox (FOX)	24.30	24.30	35.34	34.22	+0.00	+24.94	+25.6
GE (GE)	17.46	17.46	32.38	17.82	+0.18	-42.99	-43.6
General Dy (GD)	171.65	171.65	214.81	198.84	+2.82	+14.20	+15.2
Gilded Sci (GILD)	63.76	63.76	86.27	75.57	+1.23	+0.03	+5.5
GM (GM)	31.82	31.82	46.78	40.95	+0.14	+10.00	+17.5
Goldman Sa (GS)	290.82	290.82	295.17	297.17	+1.69	+5.80	+7.4
Halibuto (HAL)	38.18	38.18	58.78	44.61	+0.20	-17.07	-17.5

Stock (TICKER)	52-Week Price Range	Low	Close (e)	High	Close	1-Day Chg	1-Yr %Chg	YTD %Chg
Home Depot (HD)	133.05		186.31	182.58		+0.45	+34.41	+36.2
IBM (IBM)	113.80		182.79	154.25		-1.50	-9.24	-8.1
Intel (INTC)	33.23		47.48	46.16		+0.16	+11.17	+11.4
Johnson & J (JNJ)	110.76		144.35	142.46		+0.81	+22.93	+23.7
JPMorgan (JPM)	81.64		108.40	106.14		+1.48	+22.42	+23.0
Kinder Mco (KMI)	16.68		23.01	22.93		+0.09	-14.70	-13.4
Kraft Hm (KHC)	75.21		97.77	79.54		+0.56	-6.83	-8.9
Lyft (LYFT)	69.86		89.09	85.54		+0.04	+21.28	+17.7
Lockheed (LMT)	247.01	323.98	322.82	5.81			+29.79	+29.2
Lowes (LOW)	70.49		88.55	86.69		+1.11	+17.67	+21.9
Matercor (MAT)	102.68		154.65	153.40		+1.47	+47.01	+48.6
McDonalds (MCD)	118.18		175.99	174.06		+1.48	+22.42	+23.0
Medtronic (MDT)	69.35		89.72	83.50		+1.67	+13.70	+17.2
Merck & Co (MRK)	53.83		68.80	52.54		+0.23	-8.83	-4.5
MetaLife (MET)	46.39		58.09	51.41		-1.08	+0.72	+1.1
Microsoft (MSFT)	61.55		87.09	86.85		+2.16	+29.79	+29.2
Mondelez I (MDLZ)	39.19		47.23	3				
Morgan Stanley (MS)	59.10		122.80	117.35			+11.56	+11.6
Morgan Stanley (MS)	40.06		54.25	53.10		+0.46	+23.46	+25.7
Nvidia (NVDA)	114.85		159.40	154.43		+0.45	+35.38	+32.9
Nile (NILE)	30.33		40.65	44.79		+0.67	+2.75	+2.6
Oceanic (OCYX)	57.20		73.51	70.62		-0.07	-0.95	-0.8
Orion (ORCL)	38.30		51.14	46.30		-1.89	-18.21	-15.6
PepsiCo (PEP)	101.06		139.50	137.65		+0.87	+10.24	+11.7
PepsiCo (PEP)	101.06		113.19	119.22		+1.20	+13.21	+13.9

And may all of your widows be merry this music season.

BY ZACHARY WOOLFE



Some moves are glacial, others are perky and playful.

BY ALASTAIR MACAULAY

Arts

The New York Times



YSA PÉREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mar-a-Lago’s Bold Neighbor

Beth Rudin DeWoody opens a West Palm Beach showcase for her extensive and provocative collection of contemporary art.

By BOB MORRIS

WEST PALM BEACH, FLA. — Beth Rudin DeWoody, the art world doyenne born into a New York real estate fortune, was walking through the Bunker Artspace, a renovated Art Deco building here that she recently opened as an exhibition space for her renowned and eccentric collection. Although just two miles from Mar-a-Lago, the building is another world, and an indication that this serene, largely residential area is making a play for some of the

art scene pizzazz of Miami, just an hour or two drive south. “This is the X-rated area,” Ms. DeWoody, a slim woman in her mid-60s, was saying downstairs in a corner gallery of the Bunker. Dressed in tropical fruit colors, and with her third husband, Firooz Zahedi, a photographer, and their small white poodle following, she passed a Paul McCarthy white silicone bust with a sex toy. A Nick Cave assemblage had one, too. There was a painting depicting a crucifix-

CONTINUED ON PAGE C6

Beth Rudin DeWoody, collector and owner of the Bunker Artspace in West Palm Beach, Fla., with wallpaper commissioned from Fallen Fruit.



From left, the Metropolitan Opera stars Barry Banks, Paul Groves and Susan Graham performing karaoke at Whispers in New York City.

NINA WESTERVELT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

When the Opera Stars Take Over a Karaoke Bar

On their night off from the Met, singers perform “Bohemian Rhapsody,” not “La Bohème.”

By MICHAEL COOPER

The bar hushed as one of the most dangerous songs to be found on any karaoke machine began to play: Queen’s “Bohemian Rhapsody.” Its Freddie Mercury high notes and falsetto rock choruses once led Buzzfeed to warn: “Do not attempt without alcohol.” No Dutch courage was necessary for these singers, though. Those perilous high

notes rang out effortlessly (“Galileo!”), and the song’s mock-operatic passages sounded second nature — because they were. These rhapsodists were actually Metropolitan Opera stars, cutting loose on their night off with a slightly different art form on the Saturday of Thanksgiving weekend. It was a week before accusations of sexual abuse against the Met’s longtime conductor, James Levine, would emerge, roiling the company and the opera world. This was a rare opportunity to hear opera stars sing for the sheer joy of it. The ringleaders were the mezzo-soprano Susan Graham and the tenor Paul Groves, who had spent the day rehearsing Lehar’s “The Merry Widow,” which runs at the Met

CONTINUED ON PAGE C2

Classical Music

ZACHARY WOOLFE | OPERA REVIEW



PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Falling in Love Again

The Metropolitan Opera revives Lehar’s ‘Merry Widow.’

I ENVY MY New York Times colleague Michael Cooper, who recently got to see the Metropolitan Opera stars Susan Graham and Paul Groves off duty, belting Queen and Journey at a karaoke bar on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. It turns out that this is something of a tradition for the Met’s divas and divos; the karaoke nights, as Mr. Groves related it, offer these artists a chance to sing for the sheer pleasure of it. Their talents are being used to far less pleasure at the Met itself, where they are featured in a revival of Lehar’s operetta “The Merry Widow” that opened on Thursday. This “Widow,” in Jeremy Sams’ strained English-language adaptation and Susan Stroman’s dance-laden, Broadway-broad staging, had its sleepy premiere two New Year’s Eves ago, starring Renée Fleming.

Ms. Graham, long one of the Met’s beloved mezzo-sopranos, took over from Ms. Fleming for a few performances that spring, and the production immediately benefited from her good-natured, straight-talking presence. Her depiction of Hanna Glawari — the widow of the title, who is sought after by cads and diplomats alike for



her inherited wealth — had low-key charm. It still does, even as Ms. Graham’s mellow, intimate voice has grown paler. Her “Vilja Song,” the character’s nostalgic showpiece, was a tender highlight, but more frenetic moments, and more orchestral cover, found her tone fading. There’s humanity in her, as ever, but not much liveliness.

His tenor also lacking juice, Mr. Groves plays Danilo, the count Hanna loved and lost and may yet love again. This character is supposed to be an endearing playboy, enjoying his drink and his showgirls, and his

and Hanna’s reunited romance should crackle with competitive warmth: operetta’s Beatrice and Benedict. But Mr. Grove, while game, seemed too much a schoolboy to convince us he’s rakish, and he and Ms. Graham had little of the onstage chemistry that’s crucial in selling this thin romance.

Andriana Chuchman has a tidy soprano that truly shines in its high notes, but Valencienne, the ingénue, needs — well, not perkiness, exactly, but more acuteness and vibrancy. Her love interest, Camille, was here a similarly muted David Portillo.

Thomas Allen, like Ms. Graham and Mr. Groves a Met veteran, comfortably fit into the role of a perplexed baron. In his Met debut, the young American conductor Ward Stare gave a lilting, relaxed reading of the score, occasionally overindulgent of slower, lyrical moments but never too syrupy.

While the revival is not without passages of cheesy appeal, if I were choosing what to see at the Met over the holidays, this “Widow” would come last: “Le Nozze di Figaro” is a far greater opera; “Hansel and Gretel” has a haunting staging; “Tosca,” in a new production opening on New Year’s Eve, will be an event. Rather than buying a ticket to the Lehar, you may well be happier haunting Manhattan karaoke bars and hoping to happen upon Ms. Graham, wiling out to “Bohemian Rhapsody.”

Above, Susan Graham as Hanna Glawari in the Met’s revival of “The Merry Widow”; left, Thomas Allen, Adriana Churchman and David Portillo.

The Merry Widow
Through Jan. 11 at the Metropolitan Opera; 212-362-6000, metopera.org.

When the Opera Stars Take Over a Karaoke Bar

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

through Jan. 11. In recent years they have made a habit of organizing karaoke nights with castmates around their appearances together in cities including Paris, Chicago, San Francisco and New Orleans.

The singers found themselves trading lines in “Bohemian Rhapsody” with the ebullient tenor Barry Banks and rocking out with air guitar solos that would have been right at home in the movie “Wayne’s World.” When the bar door opened and the mezzo-soprano Jamie Barton (currently starring in a revival of “Norma”) walked in, they pulled her to a microphone just in time to join them for the song’s melancholy “nothing really matters” finale. They basked in the whoops and cheers of colleagues and strangers alike.

“We all grew up on these songs,” said Mr. Groves, who added that the karaoke nights offered them a chance to sing for the sheer pleasure of it — and to unwind a bit.

Their karaoke night, on the Saturday of Thanksgiving weekend, brought several operas’ worth of singing talent to Whispers, an Upper West Side bar about a mile and a half north of the Met. It offered a rare chance to see top-flight professionals display their talents on a field that usually belongs to amateurs. (It was a bit like going ice skating at Rockefeller Center, only to discover that Michelle Kwan was also there, breezing through axels and lutzes.)

The result was something like an opera gala with highly eccentric programming, or perhaps a jukebox musical with a very distinguished cast. Mr. Groves showed himself more than proficient in the collected oeuvre of Journey: He got things going with “Separate Ways (Worlds Apart)” and returned later with “Don’t Stop Believin’.” The rising

Above right, Barry Banks, left, and Todd Michael Simpson, center, put some flair into their performance. Below right, Victor Ryan Robertson takes his turn in front of the crowd at Whispers.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY NINA WESTERVELT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The result was something like an opera gala with highly eccentric programming.

soprano Andriana Chuchman, who just starred in Gluck’s “Orphée et Eurydice” at the Lyric Opera of Chicago, traded her Eurydice for the Eurhythmics, singing a duet of “Sweet Dreams (Are Made of This)” with the tenor Victor Ryan Robertson. All will join Ms. Graham and Mr. Groves in “The Merry Widow.”

The baritone Michael Todd Simpson channeled his inner Garth Brooks with “Friends in Low Places,” looking the part in a buffalo check shirt and baseball cap. Mr. Banks proved himself the evening’s scene-stealer, throwing himself into a fully committed rendition of Celine Dion’s “My Heart Will Go On.” And it turns out that the baritone Jeff Mattsey is also quite a harmonica player: He did a mean blues harp solo over one track.

As the mojitos and martinis flowed, and the laughter and dancing increased, the operatic karaoke night began to resemble ordinary ones. But only to a point, as it became clear when “Mona Lisa,” the song made famous by Nat King Cole, began to play and Ms. Graham smiled at a sudden memory.

“I once sang this in the Louvre, for a private function, in front of the Mona Lisa,” she recalled.

The owner of Whispers, Carlos Vega, surveyed the scene happily as the opera singers filled his bar with sound. “This is what we aim for,” he said, as the singers took turns belting out everything from Dolly Parton to Michael Jackson. “This is a little more hyped-up.”

Arts, Briefly

NEWS FROM THE CULTURAL WORLD

Tavis Smiley Stage Tour Suspended Over Claims

A staged adaptation of a book written by Tavis Smiley about the final year of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s life, set for a 40-city tour coinciding with the 50th anniversary of King's death, was suspended on Friday in the wake of sexual misconduct allegations against Mr. Smiley.

The announcement came two days after PBS said it would no longer distribute Mr. Smiley's talk show after an investigation found "credible evidence" of misconduct. Mr. Smiley has strongly denied the allegations.

The show, "Death of a King," was canceled the same week that rehearsals began. Mr. Smiley was going to narrate the production, which was heavily drawn from his book and featured photographs and film clips from King's life. The pianist Marcus Roberts had composed accompanying music. The tour was to begin on Jan. 15, King's birthday, in Brooklyn.

The production company, Mills Entertainment, announced it was ending the project in a statement on Friday.

"We believe deeply in the message of this production and the importance of commemorating Dr. King in this crucial moment," the company said in a statement. "However, we take seriously the allegations and will be suspending our relationship with Tavis Smiley and T.S. Productions."

ADAM NAGOURNEY

Morgan Spurlock Quits After Self-Confession

Morgan Spurlock, the American documentary filmmaker, stepped



ILVY NJOKI/TIJEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

down from his production company on Thursday, one day after he published a post saying that he had committed sexual misconduct in the past, including settling a harassment allegation and cheating on his wives and girlfriends.

An emailed statement from Warrior Poets, the independent production company that Mr. Spurlock helped found, said that the decision was effective immediately, and that the company would be led by its co-founder Jeremy Chilnick and another partner, Matthew Galkin. It did not give a reason and did not say whether the departure was permanent.

The announcement came after Mr. Spurlock posted a statement on Twitter late on Wednesday saying that as he was watching women publicly accuse high-profile men in a range of indus-

tries of sexual misconduct, it was "time for me to be truthful as well."

"As I sit around watching hero after hero, man after man, fall at the realization of their past indiscretions, I don't sit by and wonder, 'Who will be next?' he wrote in the statement, which was linked to his verified Twitter account. "I wonder, 'When will they come for me?'"

"You see, I've come to understand after months of these revelations that I am not some innocent bystander, I am also a part of the problem," Mr. Spurlock said.

Mr. Spurlock, 47, was propelled to fame by his 2004 documentary assault on fast food, "Super Size Me," in which he probed the effects on his health — including gaining 25 pounds — while eating nothing but McDonald's food for a month. He went on to make

more than a dozen other movies with credits for producing, directing, acting and writing.

In his post, he reflected on the details of an encounter that he had when he was a student in college. In that account, he said he "hooked up" with a woman who later wrote a short story for a class about it, accusing him by name of rape.

He said he was "floored" when a friend told him about the woman's short story. "This wasn't how I remembered it at all," he said.

CHRISTINE HAUSER

A Sentimental Favorite Gets a Koolhaas Assist

The renowned Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas has designed landmark buildings in cities from Miami Beach to Beijing, so it

would be natural for him to delegate the task of rehanging a local museum's collection. But because the museum in question is the Stedelijk in Amsterdam, which Mr. Koolhaas visited regularly in his youth, he took a very personal interest.

"From age 12 to 18, I was here every day," Mr. Koolhaas said recently, as he oversaw the re-mounting of artworks, and a test audience of 70 visitors meandered through the new space. "My entire visual sensibility was defined by this museum."

On Saturday, the museum, left, will unveil Stedelijk Base, its new permanent collection presentation of about 700 highlights, including works by Alexander Calder, Marlene Dumas, Yves Klein, Jeff Koons, Kazimir Malevich, Piet Mondrian, Cindy Sherman and Jean Tinguely. The permanent display was relocated from the museum's older part to its newest wing, designed by the Dutch architect Mels Crouwel and opened in 2012.

For the last five years, this space, known as "the bathtub" from its basinlike exterior, has been used for temporary exhibitions of works by living artists. But a former director, Beatrix Ruf, who ran the museum until October, decided to flip the script and use the new wing for its permanent collection.

"It feels like a second reopening," said Margriet Schavemaker, the Stedelijk's head of collections and research, who worked with a team of about a dozen curators and project architects to choose the 700 artworks from the museum's trove of about 90,000 paintings, photographs, objects and furniture. She added, "It's a very fresh and radical way to approach it, countering the idea that the new wing should be used to show new work."

NINA SIEGAL

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YOUR DAILY ARTS FIX



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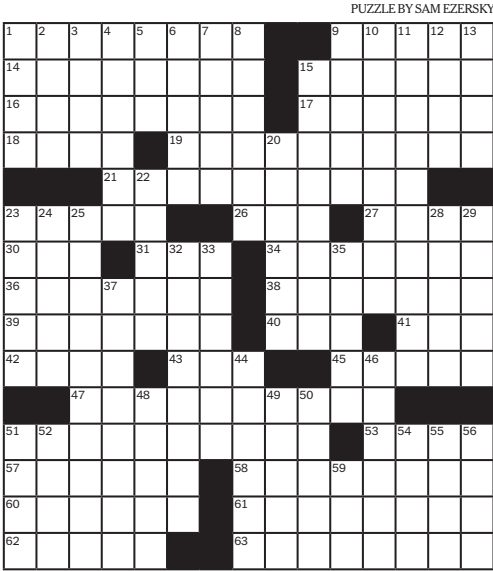
YEAR ONE

St. Martin's Press

Crossword

Edited by Will Shortz

- ACROSS**
- 1 Extra-special delivery?
- 9 Rocker whose best-selling album was the punnily titled "Sheik Yerbouti"
- 14 Hit reality show starting in 2011
- 15 Formed ranks
- 16 "If I'm being honest," in modern slang
- 17 Position
- 18 Singer/songwriter on Canada's Walk of Fame
- 19 Feed for news headquarters
- 21 W.W. I horror
- 23 Bazaar parts
- 26 Least bit, in a phrase
- 27 "Sounds like a plan!"
- 30 "The ___ and the Fox" (Aesop fable)
- 31 Something a mantis has only one of, surprisingly
- 34 "Ah, makes sense"
- 36 One of two Harrison compositions on the Beatles' "Let It Be"
- 38 Not natural
- 39 Drumming sound
- 40 Goal for aspiring comedians, for short
- 41 When the P.G.A. Championship is held annually: Abbr.
- 42 Hard-to-solve problem
- 43 "Skedaddle!"
- 45 Uncommon blood classification
- 47 Informal question to someone who's late
- 51 Spanish football powerhouse
- 53 Magic charm
- 57 Group of PC gurus
- 58 Onetime RCA rival
- 60 "In actuality ..."
- 61 Absolutely clobbered
- 62 One of the Kennedys
- 63 Redeemed



PUZZLE BY SAM EZERSKY

12/16/17

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

A	T	A	N	A	N	G	L	E		A	S	S	E	R	T
T	A	C	O	S	A	L	A	D		D	E	A	L	E	R
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		I	S	A	C	S		M	G	M	L	I	O	N	
R	E	V	E	R	S	I		R	I	S	E		R	O	D
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B	L	U	I	N	G		A	R	E	C	A	P	A	L	M
S	E	T	T	E		L	A	S	T	N	A	M	E	S	

- DOWN**
- 1 De ___ manera (elsewise: Sp.)
- 2 TV host Julie
- 3 Material for outdoor furniture
- 4 Tanning salon fixture
- 5 Bad thing to go to
- 6 They're beyond belief
- 7 Brilliance
- 8 William Shatner sci-fi novel
- 9 Astronaut's experience
- 10 One way to Rome
- 11 Courteous host's request
- 12 Notification sound
- 13 Penny, maybe
- 15 Enticing pics of things to eat
- 20 Some West African money
- 22 Start of a fitness motto
- 23 Duck
- 24 Rambo, for one
- 25 Up-and-comer
- 28 Do some course prep?
- 29 Papyrus, e.g.
- 32 Goes from Tokyo to Kyoto, say
- 33 Fixed, as a bow
- 35 TV M.D.
- 37 Certain high school whiz kid
- 44 Locale for touchdowns
- 46 Taqueria offering
- 48 Modern torrent
- 49 Wild West show prop
- 50 Nips
- 51 Replete
- 52 French government
- 54 He wrote "The sharp thorn often produces delicate roses"
- 55 Bon ___
- 56 Creatures captured in Hercules' 10th labor
- 59 Informal turndown

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LADY BIRD

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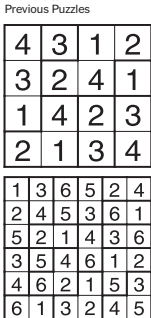
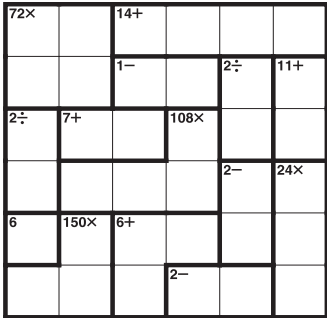
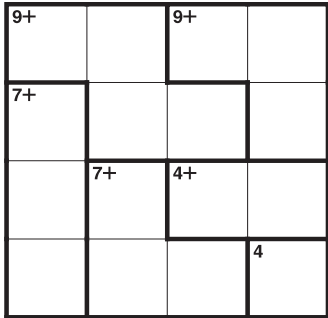
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ALASTAIR MACAULAY | CRITIC’S NOTEBOOK

Moving in Different Worlds



ANDREA MOHIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Two companies’ performances employ diametrically opposed languages of motion.

THE STAGE WORLD of a Butoh performance is often a shock to the system for a Western audience. At first so little seems to be happening. When the performers move, they often seem stuck in ruts, teetering or twitching in states of insecurity, locked into tiny zones of space with small spasms and tics. Or they take ages to deliver arm or leg movements that most of us can do quickly and without effort. A few steps to and fro on half toe, the slow flexing of a foot, the vibration of a wrist, the roll of an isolated shoulder — these are often parts of the dance language here.

So it is with the members of Kota Yamaza-

Koto Yamazaki’s Fluid Hug-Hug
“Darkness Odyssey Part 2,” performed this week at the Baryshnikov Arts Center.
Indah Walsh
“homespun (please remove your shoes),” through Saturday at Danspace Project.

ki’s Fluid Hug-Hug (twee name, but never mind) in “Darkness Odyssey Part 2: 1 or Hallucination,” performed this week at the Baryshnikov Arts Center. This is different from pure Butoh, and it certainly lacks some Butoh accouterments (no white makeup here), but the family resemblance is nonetheless strong. We might be watching people in trauma — but once you realize that, and have no objection to it, you begin to feel the Butoh-like spell.

What’s Butoh? A form of Japanese dance theater, it developed after World War II. It resists fixity — and it has long been associated with distress. Watching “Darkness Odyssey,” I remembered the Zen saying passed on by John Cage: “If something is



STEPHANIE BERGER

boring after two minutes, try it for four. If still boring, try it for eight, 16, 32 and so on. Eventually one discovers that it’s not boring at all, but very interesting.”

Fluid Hug-Hug fields five performers for “Darkness Odyssey,” with Mr. Yamazaki in the smallest role. Each soon registers as an individual character. At first, they’re all mainly isolated from one another. But connections, echoes and parallels sometimes develop. And the physical dynamics undergo change. There are sections in which the dancers move limbs and torsos with fluent control. Even though they move neither far nor fast, the change feels heroic.

Cage’s Zen saying begins to lose validity in this case, however, after 30 or 40 minutes. “Darkness Odyssey” doesn’t become boring, but it does become a willful exercise in preciousity, in artful effects. This is least true of Julian Barnett, who produces real intensity and force within the muted, limited vocabulary of Butoh. Fluid Hug-Hug was founded in New York in 2002; Mr. Yamazaki, born in Japan, works internationally. I’m curious to know how representative “Darkness Odyssey” is of his work.

The moment you enter Danspace Project at St. Mark’s Church to see Indah Walsh’s “homespun (please remove your shoes),”

also being performed this week, you’re in a diametrically different world: benign, playful, welcoming. Children and adults are invited to draw, play, build. Ms. Walsh and four dancers charm the audience. One section (on Thursday, most people joined in) is like a mild keep-fit session; it is followed by a 15-minute section (few among Thursday’s attendees did so) in which people are invited to move to music. Finally, the five main dancers perform a sweetly forgettable choreographed number to baroque-type music. There’s no harm in it, but this is an exercise in agreeable blandness.

Top left, members of the Indah Walsh Dance Company performing in “homespun (please remove your shoes).” Above, Raja Feather Kelly and Mina Nishimura in Kota Yamazaki’s “Darkness Odyssey Part 2: 1 or Hallucination.”

AMANDA HESS | CRITIC’S NOTEBOOK

A Podcast Genre Books History Itself as a Guest

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

melting pot and the accessibility of the American dream. It makes sense that podcasters would seize on this moment of uncertainty to try to shop some answers. But is our collective historical knowledge really so backward that we need this many podcasts to straighten it out? And how effective is a narrative twist in a podcast episode at actually illuminating our past?

These podcasters have to make certain assumptions about the listener’s understanding of history before they can claim to upend it. That can sometimes feel less like revealing a hidden truth and more like building a straw man and blowing it down.

In a news release, Wondery played up its new show “Young Charlie” with the claim that “many don’t know the largely under-reported formative days of the world’s most notorious mass murderer.” (Maybe if you discard the 2013 best-selling biography by Jeff Guinn.) The “What Really Happened?” episode revisiting Britney Spears’s 2007 meltdown might be illuminating if you haven’t yet digested recent investigative reporting and feminist analysis on Ms. Spears or if humanizing details about female celebrities (like that Ms. Spears is probably not as dumb as she’s portrayed in the tabloids) strike you as world-shifting.

The genre’s potential pitfalls are baked into the Gladwell model. It’s difficult for even a storyteller as skilled as Mr. Gladwell to engineer surprise re-readings of history on wildly different topics. At its best, “Revisionist History” turns a dry policy matter into a rollicking tale — like the second season opener’s tirade against golf that unfolds into an appalling exposé of the lengths the wealthy will go to bend tax law their way.

But at its worst, it drives an anecdote to an unreasonable conclusion. In an episode investigating the sadness of country music, Mr. Gladwell plays a Vince Gill track and opines: “Listening to that song makes me wonder if some portion of what we call ‘ideological division’ in America actually isn’t ideological at all. How big are the political differences between red and blue states anyway? In the grand scheme of things, not that big. Maybe what we’re seeing instead is a difference of emotional expression.”

Probably not, though. Sometimes the counterintuitive take is just wrong.

The most absorbing entrants to the revised-history genre are the ones that dive into singular historical events with great modern resonance, as “Uncivil” does with the Civil War. The hosts Chenjerai Kumanyika and Jack Hitt make swaggering pronouncements of their work as “ransacking American history” and “punching it in the face,” but the idea underpinning “Uncivil” — that the cultural and political factors that divided Americans and erupted into war are still in play today — is hardly a Gladwellian counternarrative. That’s a

good thing. The podcast is sturdily grounded in historical fact, never the argumentative whim of its hosts. The tension and drama come from the fact that the real history of the war, slavery and race in America is constantly being relitigated and rewritten by politically motivated actors.

One recent episode, “The Spin,” jumps off a recent quote from the White House chief of staff, John F. Kelly, that Robert E. Lee was “an honorable man” who was simply expressing his “loyalty to state.” That view is, as the hosts put it, “an achievement of a P.R. campaign that goes back 150 years,” and the episode succinctly tracks the effort to paper over the Confederate pro-slavery cause with the euphemistic label “states’ rights.”

Watergate presents a less easy comparison to our current moment. Two embattled administrations over 40 years apart are grounded in such specific circumstances, it’s hard to trace live historical connections like the ones unearthed in “Uncivil.” So “Slow Burn,” hosted by the Slate reporter Leon Neyfakh, excels by taking a sidelong

Think you know a lot about the past? These podcasts aren’t so sure.

look at Watergate, drawing lessons from the experience of living through a scandal as it unfolds. “We are living in a time right now when it feels like anything could happen,” Mr. Neyfakh says in the first episode. “It makes you wonder: If we were living in the next Watergate, would we know it?”

An early allusion, in the podcast’s first episode, between the Nixon-era loudmouth Martha Mitchell and the Trump-era loudmouth Anthony Scaramucci feels a little stretched, mostly because we don’t yet know how Mr. Scaramucci’s story will settle in the historical record.

These podcasts benefit from their depth of focus, which allows for nuances that often feel shaved away from the tidier, one-episode historical tales. Not that listeners seem to mind, judging by the download numbers and starred reviews racking up all across the genre. Mr. Gladwell’s books have annoyed academics and critics alike for cherry-picking anecdotes and building hunches into sweeping pop scientific “laws.” But the podcast form is kind to the cherry picker. Only so much supporting evidence can be packed into an audio tale.

Even more so than with the written word, listeners are made helpless to the host’s narrative, rendered incapable of clicking a link or checking an index for more information. And when it’s over, it’s a chore to go back and pin down exactly what was said. That all lends itself to the kind of immersive experience that makes history feel new, even if it’s not.



DIAMONDS & ALCHEMY

A story spanning two continents and centuries of craft, where a core element of the codes of Gabrielle Chanel’s legendary 1932 high-jewelry collection is fused with the artistry of Chanel’s Studio de Création and the expertise of a famed Japanese lacquer master to create one extraordinary collection – Plume de Chanel.

CHANEL

NYTIMES.COM/PLUMEDECHANEL



PHOTOGRAPHS BY YSA PÉREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mar-a-Lago’s Bold New Artsy Neighbor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
ion by George Condo that might not be pleasing to some of her more conservative neighbors, and a deer’s head made of zippered black leather likely only to please a sadomasochist. Nearby a doll size sculpture by John Waters was having a play date with a Charles Manson doll.

Ms. DeWoody, who is president of the Rudin Family Foundations and on the boards of the Whitney Museum of American Art and the Hammer Museum, owns more than 10,000 pieces of art, including a vast array of work that is lyrical, artisanal and playful. But she has a special fondness for the big button-pushers that other collectors of her caliber might be more inclined to eschew. “I think art should be provocative,” she said.

The Bunker, which is open by appointment, is in a workaday area in West Palm Beach, across the Intracoastal Waterway from Palm Beach. Hers is not unlike the spaces of other collectors, including those of the Rubell family, Martin Margulies and Rosa and Carlos de la Cruz — all in Miami and now open with regular visiting hours. But the Miami area, with its mammoth fair, satellite fairs and myriad museums, including the newly reopened Bass Museum and the Institute of Contemporary Art, is in a state of art overdrive.

Until now the Palm Beach metropolitan area — with only one art museum, the Norton, that sometimes shows contemporary work — has been mostly considered a city for safe, sedate exhibitions. Collectors here, including Republicans like the commerce secretary, Wilbur L. Ross, tend to have more recognizably blue-chip art. Contemporary galleries stick to the familiar, too — catering to customers who have art advisers and decorating needs for winter homes.

Along with Ms. De Woody, a few provocateurs are shaking things up. Sarah Gavlak’s contemporary gallery doesn’t shy away from selling sexually explicit and politically confrontational art on Worth Avenue, home to luxury stores and dealers offering soothing work by recognizable artists. (A recent front-page article in The Palm Beach Daily News about Ms. Gavlak’s organization of the city’s first “art weekend” ran next to one about a local descendant of Pocahontas who is a Mar-a-Lago club member.)



Yvonne Force Villareal, who helped found the Art Production Fund, a nonprofit that helps support risk-taking art around the world, was recently here to collaborate on a video and sound installation inside an abandoned West Palm Beach Macy’s.

“There are good people around,” said Andrew Hall, the financial trader, who along with 600 invited guests attended a lavish opening night party for the Bunker on Dec. 2. Mr. Hall has a Palm Beach home with his wife, Christine, and oversees exhibition spaces showing his own vast collection in Vermont, Germany and at Mass MoCA. “Seeing a space like this open up right now is kind of reassuring,” he added.

Nearby, Ms. DeWoody breezed through a room with early works by Edward Hopper, Man Ray, William Wegman and Jean-Michel Basquiat. She stopped and smiled at a lurid ceramic sculpture with a cartoon quality called “The Mad Doctor’s Operation” by Clayton Bailey and Peter Saul from the 1970s Bay Area Funk movement.

“I’m just a hopeless and perpetual collector, and I know I’ve overdone it,” she said, “but it’s just very hard for me to say no.”

This is what has made Ms. DeWoody, who grew up in Manhattan and takes her name from her first husband, James DeWoody, an artist (her two adult children are from that marriage), a fairy godmother to many young artists, waving around her check-book like a magic wand.

“She’s the consummate art shopper and gets in on artists early,” said Angela West-



Clockwise from top: At Beth Rudin DeWoody’s Bunker Artspace in Florida, works by, from left, Jeff Colson, Vito Acconci and Robert Arneson; Alex Egan’s “Book #2” and Ti-Rock Moore’s “Flint”; Ray Beldner’s “Gelt Suit”; Michael Combs’s “Big Game”; John Waters’s “Playdate,” with Michael Jackson and Charles Manson dolls.



water, the gallerist who sold Ms. DeWoody early work by Tom Sachs.

Often she makes introductions to help promote a young artist’s career. Years ago, when Ms. DeWoody, who resides between New York, Los Angeles and West Palm Beach, visited the Harlem studio of Kehinde Wiley, he was struggling. The \$5,000 she spent on one of his portraits, he later told her, was more important than bigger sums that followed because it helped him survive. Now he is an art world superstar and has been selected to paint the official portrait of former President Barack Obama for the Smithsonian’s National Portrait Gallery.

“I don’t think of buying art as investing,” Ms. DeWoody said. “But at times it works out that way.”

In every corner of the packed 20,000-square-foot space guests were taking in a collection of about 300 works that had been humorously organized into rooms by Phillip Estlund, Laura Dvorkin and Maynard Monrow. Each had a theme, including early and atypical work, art about art, food, ecology and the color silver. “It’s all very Beth,” said Melissa Soros, an arts patron.

The occasion seemed to provide a balm to residents of a city of royal palms and a reminder to step away from the drama of politics to let art uplift and amuse. Drag performers handed out “Fallen Fruit” cocktails. Anne Pasternak, the director of the Brooklyn Museum, was there, as was the artist Mike Starn, her husband. So was Harry Benson, the celebrity photographer. The list included all political stripes and affiliations from the art world and beyond. Well, almost. Ivanka Trump, a contemporary collector, was not invited.

Late in the evening, Adam Weinberg, the affable Whitney director, hustled along with Ms. DeWoody. “Her collection is more intuitive and associative than linear,” he said. “And it’s all about opening up, not shutting down.” She showed him one work after another, from an early Cindy Sherman collage to a drinking fountain by Ti-Rock Moore emitting brown water with a sign that said “colored” above it, recalling the days of segregation. She had something to say about each of the artists, as if they were family.

“Come,” Ms. DeWoody said as she nudged Mr. Weinberg along. “I have to show you something else.”

ELISABETH VINCENTELLI | THEATER REVIEW

A Holiday Diversion, but Hold the Wooden Soldiers

The British pantomime tradition finds a welcoming home on the Lower East Side.

AMERICA HAS AN ACUTE case of Anglophilia, but it’s a highly selective one. We love “Downton Abbey,” Shakespeare and John Oliver but studiously ignore prawn-cocktail-flavored crisps, Cliff Richard and pantomime. The new Off Broadway show “Jack and the Beanstalk,” presented at the Abrons Arts Center, may help rectify the situation regarding panto, a vaudeville-derived, proudly lowbrow genre that happily endorses an anything-goes approach.

In Britain, pantos are beloved Christmas staples delighting children and adults alike thanks to a cartoonish mix of slapstick, drag, clowning, recycled pop songs, groan-inducing puns and active audience participation; suggestive double entendres are also included for the parents’ benefit.

As a newcomer to the genre, I was instantly converted by this funny, big-hearted and utterly charming production, and I hope it will set an example for local family programming for many holidays to come.



NORMAN BLAKE

Matt Roper, as Silly Simon, in “Jack and the Beanstalk,” which was adapted from the fairy tale of the same title.

“Jack and the Beanstalk” was adapted from the fairy tale of the same title by the English actor-musician Mat Fraser (“American Horror Story: Freak Show”), who also plays drums in the two-person band (the music director Meghan Kelleher is at the keyboard); Mr. Fraser’s wife, the neo-bur-



Jack and the Beanstalk
Through Dec. 23 at the Abrons Arts Center, Manhattan; 811-4111, abronsartscenter.org. Running time: 2 hours.

lesque star Julie Atlas Muz, directed. The new show is a stark departure both from their usual work, such as the adults-only “Beauty and the Beast,” and the slick, corporate-flavored entertainment that often dominates the holidays.

As Silly Simon, Matt Roper (Chico in last year’s revival of the Marx Brothers Broadway show “I’ll Say She Is”) acts as our guide to both the plot and the wacky world of panto, helping the audience figure out what to say and when. On Friday, at least, we did not need much prompting to clap, yell warnings (“behind you!”) or loudly heckle the villainous Dastardly Dick (Hawthorn Albartross III), whose name fuels many of the aforementioned bawdy jokes.

A number of others come courtesy of Michael Johnnie Lynch’s riotous Dame Delancey — the dame part is traditionally played by a man, while a woman handles the male lead — who brought down the

house with a rendition of Peggy Lee’s “I’m a Woman.” Mary the Good Fairy (portrayed by another downtown regular, Dirty Martini) also sparkled with her “Both Sides Now.”

Now set in a land called Stoneybroke, which feels awfully like the Lower East Side, the story preserves the main elements — a beloved cow traded for magic beans; the climbing of a huge stalk to face a giant, here created by the puppeteer Basil Twist — while adding locally sourced flourishes. Jack Delancey (Jenni Gill) has a crush on the daughter (Christina Duryea) of Mayor De Blasé (David Ilku), and the gluttonous Giant Rump orders his henchman Dick to raise taxes and rents (boo! hiss!).

Over all, though, the show keeps a light touch when it comes to pointed references, preferring to deliver a message of inclusion and generosity — along with copious helpings of delectably terrible puns, of course.

Fine, Britain, you win: We will have panto. But by all means, keep Marmite.

Do not forget the Neediest!

EVENING											
	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	12:00
2	wcbs	Paid Program Paid programming. (G)	Paid Program Paid programming. (G)	NCIS: Los Angeles "767." Callen and Sam go under cover. (14)	S.W.A.T. "Radical." The SWAT team races to find a bomber. (14)	48 Hours "The DNA of a Killer." A DNA match leads to the wrong man. (PG)	CBS 2 News at 11P (N)	JetLife (11:35)	Blue Bloods "Absolute Power." (12:05)		
4	wnbc	Paid Program Paid programming. (G)	1st Look (PG)	Will & Grace "Grandpa Jack." (14)	Superstore A memorial service for Brett. (PG)	Dateline NBC "Good & Evil." A body turns up at a trash facility. (PG)	Saturday Night Live (N) (14)	News 4 NY at 11	Saturday Night Live Host Kevin Hart; Foo Fighters perform. (N) (Live) (11:29)	Whacked Out Sports	
5	wnyv	The '60s The '60s was a time of change.	Yoga Retreat!	U.F.C. Fight Night: Lawler vs. Dos Anjos	From Winnipeg.		Fox 5 News at 10 (N)	Hell's Kitchen "It's All Gray." A blind taste test challenge. (14v)			
7	wabc	Eyewitness News (N)	A New York Holiday (N)	I Want a Dog for Christmas, Charlie Brown! Animated. Snoopy and Spike provide holiday cheer. (G)	Ten Days in the Valley "Day 5: Back to Ones." Jane is determined to get Lake back. (N) (14)	Ten Days in the Valley "Day 6: Down Day." Jane gets a call about who has Lake. (N) (14)		Eyewitness News at 11 (N)	Scandal "Tick, tock." (14)		
9	wwor	Major Crimes "Thick as Thieves." (14)	Family Feud (PG)	Family Feud (PG)	Family Feud (PG)	Family Feud (PG)	Anger Management (14)	Anger Management (14)	Giants Access Blue	American Latino TV (PG)	Latina! (PG)
11	wpx	Barney Miller "Discovery." (PG)	Barney Miller "You Dirty Rat."	All in the Family (PG)	All in the Family (PG)	The Homeymooners (G)	The Homeymooners (14)	PIX11 News at Ten (N)	The Homeymooners (14)	The Homeymooners (G)	Friends (Part 2 of 2) (14)
13	wnet	The This Old House Hour Installing a beam. (G)		Doc Martin "The Departed." Martin sits by a patient on a train. (PG)		★ The Caine Mutiny (1954). Humphrey Bogart, Jose Ferrer. Wouk's Navy-command drama. Stinging, often gripping, but marred by theatrics.		Moon (2009). Sam Rockwell. Lunar miner discovers he's not alone. Modest but haunting. (R) (11:10)			
21	wlwn	MetroFocus	A Chef's Life (G)	Agatha Raisin	Hinterland (Part 1 of 2) (PG) (8:45)	Hinterland (Part 2 of 2) (PG) (9:35)	Film School	Speakeasy (PG)			Austin City Limit
25	wvve	Her Big Idea	Build N.Y.C.	Globe Trekker (G)		Letter of Introduction (1938). Andrea Leeds.	92Y-N.Y.C.Life	Profiles (N)	Stories of Mind		Video Mus. Box
31	wpxn	A Husband for Christmas (2016, TVF).	Vivica A. Fox, Ricco Ross.		A Christmas Cruise (2017, TVF). A novelist finds love on a holiday cruise.			How Sarah Got Her Wings (2015). Derek Theler.			
41	wxvt	Crónicas de Sábado (N)		Vecinos	Premios Bandamax	Cobertura de la entrega de los Premios Bandamax.		Noticias	Noticiero Univí	Recuerda y	
47	wnuu	The Expendables (2010). Sylvester Stallone, Jason Statham. (R)		The Expendables 2 (2012). Sylvester Stallone, Jason Statham. (R)				Noticiero 47	Titulares y Más	Videos Asom.	
48	wrcy	Mercy Ships	Stevie Wonder	Jackie Gleason	The '60s	Try Yoga!	Bad Hair	Paid Program	Caught on Tape!	Know the Cause	Cue Vapor
49	cptv	This Old House	Garden Home	Prince Philip: The Plot to Make		★ Four Weddings and a Funeral (1994). Hugh Grant, Andie MacDowell. (R)		Secrets of Chatsworth (PG)			Antiques
50	wlwn	Rocktopia Live in Budapest: A Classical Evolution		Motown 25 (My Music Presents)	The 25th anniversary of Motown. (G)	Tommy Emmanuel:	Center Stage (G)				Frank Sinatra
55	wlwn	2 Broke Girls	Toni on	Mike & Molly	Mike & Molly	WLNY News at 9PM (N)	Bye Bye Fish Oil	Judge Judy (PG)	Entertainment Tonight (N)		Toni on
63	wmbc	Skin Secrets	Larry King	Sermon Time	Change-World	The Messages	Talk Show	Omega	Cook Smart	Omega	Balding
68	wfut	Su excelencia (1966). Cantinflas, Sonia Infante. (6)				Knight and Day (2010). Tom Cruise, Cameron Diaz.				La Hija de Moctezuma (2014). María Elena Velasco.	
PREMIUM CABLE											
FLIX	★	The Illusionist (2006). Edward Norton, Paul Giamatti. (PG-13) (6:05)	My Best Friend's Girl (2008). Dane Cook. Cad falls for best friend's ex-girl. A smattering of laughs. (R)		Disaster Movie (2008). Matt Langer. Disposable parody of many disposable Hollywood movies. (PG-13) (9:45)		Conan the Barbarian (1982). Long-ago warrior versus snake-cult sorcerer. Clanky and gory. (R) (11:15)				
HBO		Night at the Museum: Battle of the Smithsonian (2009). (PG) (6:10)	Going in Style (2017). Morgan Freeman. Three lifelong buddies hatch a scheme to rob a bank. (PG-13)		Boxing David Lemieux vs. Billy Joe Saunders. From Quebec. (9:40)						
HBO2		Unforgettable (2017). Rosario Dawson, Katherine Heigl. (R) (6:15)	The Bodyguard (1992). Kevin Costner, Whitney Houston. Pampered pop star and protector, in love and in danger. Misses the mark. (R)		★ Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves (1991). Kevin Costner, Morgan Freeman. Fast, thorny, pungent. (PG-13) (10:10)						
MAX		The Legend of Tarzan (2016). Alexander Skarsgard. (PG-13) (6:05)	Die Hard With a Vengeance (1995). Bruce Willis, Jeremy Irons. Blood, bombings, car chases, you know. (R)		S.W.A.T. (14) (10:10)						Basic (2003). (R) (12:10)
SHO		Bridge of Spies (2015). Tom Hanks, Mark Rylance. (PG-13) (5:30)	Shameless "Icarus Fell and Rusty Ate Him." Fiona reflects on her life.		The Rendezvous (2016). Stana Katic. A Jewish doctor and a Muslim become involved in a mystery.	SMILF (MA) (10:35)	Rush: Time Stand Still (2016). Narrated by Paul Rudd. Rush goes on tour for the last time. (11:05)				
SHO2		George Michael: Freedom (MA) (6:30)	Certain Women (2016). Kristen Stewart, Laura Dern. The lives of three women intersect in a small town. (R) (8:05)		Personal Shopper (2016). Kristen Stewart, Lars Eldinger. A woman in Paris starts to receive ambiguous messages. (R)		Punisher: War Zone (R) (11:50)				
STARZ		The Ugly Truth (2009). Katherine Heigl, Gerard Butler. (R) (6:21)	A Family Man (2016). Gerard Butler, Gretchen Mol. A headhunter comes to a crossroad when his son becomes sick. (R)		Outlander "Eye of the Storm." Claire searches for young Ian. (9:53)		Law Abiding Citizen (2009). Prosecutor is embroiled in prisoner's revenge scheme. Blunt and sadistic. (10:50)				
STZNC		Footloose (1984). Kevin Bacon, Lori Singer. Small-town spinoff of "Flashdance." Some good dancing, though. (PG) (7:10)	An American Werewolf in London (1981). David Naughton, Jenny Agutter. (R)		The Thing (1982). Kurt Russell. Antarctic scientist finds creature. Gory horror remake. Power-of-suggestion original was much better. (R) (10:40)						
TMC		Red Dragon (2002). Anthony Hopkins. Former F.B.I. agent asks Hannibal Lecter for help. Timid thriller, with a devil too familiar to fear. (R) (6:55)	The Prowler (1981). Farley Granger, Vicky Dawson. Gory. (R)		Black Christmas (1975). Keir Dullea, Olivia Hussey. Psychopathic college student. (R)		The Prowler (1981). Gory. (R) (12:10)				
CABLE											
	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	12:00
A&E	Live PD "Live PD, 12.08.17." Riding along with law enforcement. (14) (5)		Live PD: Rewind "Live PD: Rewind No. 69." (N) (14) (8:06)		Live PD "Live PD, 12.16.17." Riding along with law enforcement. (N) (Live) (14)						Live PD "Live PD, 12.16.17."
AHC	Mafia's Greatest Hits (14)	Son of Sam: The Hunt for a Killer	The investigation's twists and turns.			Mafia's Greatest Hits (N) (PG)	Son of Sam: The Hunt for a Killer (14)				
AMC	Happy Feet (2006). Voices of Elijah Wood, Robin Williams. (PG) (5:30)	★ Miracle on 34th Street (1947). Maureen O'Hara, Edmund Gwenn. The Macy's Santa comedy, warmly reassuring as ever.		★ White Christmas (1954). Bing Crosby, Danny Kaye. Back again, right off the assembly line. Sturdy seasonal cheer, to Irving Berlin nuggets. (10:15)							
APL	Cat vs. Dog (PG)	Cat vs. Dog (N) (PG) (8:01)	Cat vs. Dog (N) (PG) (9:04)	Cat vs. Dog (N) (PG) (9:04)	Cat vs. Dog (PG) (10:05)	Cat vs. Dog (PG) (11:05)	Cat vs. Dog (PG)				
BBCA	Star Trek: Voyager (Part 1 of 2)	Star Trek: Voyager (Part 2 of 2)	F.B.I. Agent's Holistic Detective	The Graham Norton Show (N) (14)	Star Trek: Voyager "The Fight."	Dirk Gently					
BET	Death at the Funeral (R) (5)	Big Momma's House 2 (2006). Martin Lawrence, Nia Long. F.B.I. agent reprises his disguise, posing as a nanny. Lawrence makes the most of it. (PG-13)		Big Mommas: Like Father, Like Son (2011). Martin Lawrence, Brandon T. Jackson. F.B.I. agent and stepson go undercover at girls school. Schlocky family comedy. (PG-13)							
BLOOM	LifeLock	Time for Global	The '60s	CMA Awards	Bob Hope	Chuck	Burnett	Suze Orman	Bloomberg Markets: Middle East	Bloomberg Real	
BRV	Married to Medicine "That Voodoo That You Do So Well." (14) (6:52)	The Real Housewives of Atlanta The ladies rally around Kenya. (7:54)	No Strings Attached (2011). Natalie Portman, Ashton Kutcher. Lifelong friends try to keep sex casual. Agreeable but lackluster. (R) (8:56)		No Strings Attached (2011). Natalie Portman, Ashton Kutcher. Lifelong friends try to keep sex casual. Agreeable but lackluster. (R) (8:56)		No Strings Attached (2011). Natalie Portman. (R) (11:28)				
CBSSN	College Basketball	College Basketball Arizona vs. New Mexico.		Rodeo National finals. From Las Vegas.							
CMT	Dear John (2010). Channing Tatum. (PG-13) (6)	Dear John (2010). Soldier and his love write letters. Go ahead and cry. (PG-13)		I'll Be Home for Christmas (2016, TVF). James Brolin.							
CNN	Teen Titans Go! (PG)	Cleveland Show	Family Guy (14)	Rick and Morty	Rick and Morty	Family Guy (14)	Dragon Ball	Dragon Ball Z	Black Clover	Jojo's Bizarre	
CNBC	American Greed "Badge of Dishonor." (PG)	American Greed "Sticky Fingers; Life in the Fraud Lane." (PG)	American Greed "Recipe for Murder." (PG)	American Greed "Deadly Gold Digger." A femme fatale sets a trap. (PG-13)							
CNN	CNN Newsroom With Ana Cabrera (N)	CNN Newsroom With Ana Cabrera (N)	The Eighties "Video Killed the Radio Star."								
COM	The Hangover Part III (2013). Bradley Cooper, Ed Helms. Wolfpack returns to Vegas. This time there's no cure. (R) (6:40)		Dodgeball: A True Underdog Story (2004). Gym owners compete for \$50,000 in Las Vegas tournament. Silly, but consistently funny. (PG-13)								
COOK	Carnival Eats (G)	Carnival Eats (G)	Carnival Eats (G)	Carnival Eats (G)	Carnival Eats (G)	Carnival Eats (G)	Carnival Eats "The Heat Is On." (G)				
CSPAN	Washington This Week		Public Affairs Events (G)								
CSPAN2	Jarvis Lanier, Dawn of the New Everything (N) (7:15)	Dan Rather, What Unites Us (N) (8:45)	After Words (N)								
CUNY	Eladrige & Co.	Tony Guida	One to One	Theater Talk (G)	Bad Day to Go Fishing (2009). Gary Piquer. A wrestler and his manager stage fake matches.		Puerto Rican Voices Doc				
DIS	Raven's Home (G)	Raven's Home (G)	Raven's Home (G)	Raven's Home "Dream Moms."	Raven's Home "Vest in Show."	Stuck in the Middle (N) (G)	Stuck in the Middle (N) (G)	Guardians of the Galaxy	Walk the Prank (V7)	MECH-X4 (G)	K.C. Undercover "Bounty Hunter."
DIY	Tiny House	Tiny House	First-Flippers	First-Flippers	First-Flippers	Bargain Mansion	Bargain Mansion	Bargain Mansion	Bargain Mansion	Bargain Mansion	First-Flippers
DSC	Moonshiners "Moonshiners xXmas." (14)		Moonshiners "Setbacks and Second Chances." Mark and Digger seek redemption. (N) (14)								
EI	Couples Retreat (2009). (5:30)	The Devil Wears Prada (2006). Meryl Streep, Anne Hathaway. (PG-13)									
ELREY	Wishmaster (1997). (R) (6)	Wishmaster 2 (1999). Andrew Divoff, Holly Fields. (R)		Wishmaster 3: Beyond the Gates of Hell (2001). A.J. Cook. (R)							
ESPN	College Football	College Football Raymond Media Camellia Bowl, Middle Tennessee State vs Arkansas State.		SportsCenter							
ESPN2	College Football N.C.A.A. Division II		Women's College Volleyball N.C.A.A. Tournament, Florida vs Nebraska.								
ESPNCL	30 for 30 (6)	Catching Hell What keeps Steve Bartman so silent.		30 for 30 N.C. State's run to the N.C.A.A. title.							
FOOD	Diners, Drive-Ins and Dives (G)	Diners, Drive-Ins and Dives (N) (G)	● Eat, Sleep, BBQ	Diners, Drive							
FOXNEWS	Fox Report (N)	Watters' World (N)		Justice With Judge Jeanine (N)							
FREEFRM	★ Elf (2003). Will Ferrell, James Caan. (PG) (7:05)		Dr. Seuss' How the Grinch Stole Christmas (2000). Jim Carrey, Jeffrey Tambor. (PG) (9:15)								
FS1	U.F.C. Prelims	College Basketball Kansas vs. Nebraska.		U.F.C. Post Fight Show							
FUSE	First Sunday (2008). (PG-13) (6)	Trivial	Trivial	Social Fabric	Hates Chris	Hates Chris	Hates Chris	Hates Chris	Hates Chris	Hates Chris	Hates Chris
FX	The Heat (2013). Sandra Bullock, Melissa McCarthy. (R) (5:30)	Grown Ups (2010). Adam Sandler, Kevin James. Five childish men relive their childhoods. It doesn't get worse than this. (PG-13)		Ride Along (2014). Ice Cube, Kevin Hart. Cop tales sister's boyfriend to work. Good if predictable laughs. (PG-13)							
FXM	Home (2015). Voices of Jim Parsons, Rihanna. Animated. Gentle aliens take over earth. Charming concoction. (PG)	Home (2015). Voices of Jim Parsons. Animated. Gentle aliens take over earth. Charming concoction. (PG) (8:50)		FXM Presents (10:38)							
FOX	The Amazing Spider-Man (2012). (5)	Thor: The Dark World (2013). Thor versus light-sucking Dark Elves. Whiffless. (PG-13)		Fantastic Four (2015). Miles Teller, Michael B. Jordan. (PG-13)							
FYI	Parking Wars	Parking Wars	Parking Wars	Parking Wars	Parking Wars	Parking Wars	Parking Wars	Parking Wars	Parking Wars	Parking Wars	Parking Wars
GOLF	Golf PNC Father/Son Challenge, day 1. (From Orlando, Fla. (6:30)										
GSN	Family Feud	Family Feud	Family Feud	Family Feud	The Chase "Sibling Rivalry." (PG)						
HALL	Finding Santa (2017, TVF). (6)	Christmas Next Door (2017, TVF). Jesse Metcalfe, Fiona Gubelmann.		With Love, Christmas (2017, TVF). Emilie Ullerup, Aaron O'Connell.							
HGTV	Property Brothers at Home	Property Brothers at Home	Property Brothers at Home	House Hunters	House Hunters	House Hunters	House Hunters	House Hunters	House Hunters	House Hunters	House Hunters
HIST	The Rise and Fall of El Chapo A drug kingpin rises from obscurity. (6)	Black Mass (2015). Johnny Depp, Joel Edgerton. Story of Boston gangster Whitey Bulger. More costume party than period drama. (R)		Knightfall "Find Us the Grail." (14) (10:33)							
HLN	Forensic Files	Forensic Files	Forensic Files	Forensic Files	Forensic Files	Forensic Files	Forensic Files	Forensic Files	Forensic Files	Forensic Files	Forensic Files
ID	Homicide Hunter: Lt. Joe Kenda "Fate Worse Than Death." (14)	Homicide Hunter: Lt. Joe Kenda "Knock Knock." (14)		Homicide Hunter: Lt. Joe Kenda "Raise the Dead." (14)							
IFC	Mission: Impossible III (2006). Tom Cruise. (PG-13) (5)	★ Batman Begins (2005). Christian Bale, Michael Caine. The boy who saw his parents murdered grows into Gotham City's masked avenger. Smashingly original. (PG-13)		The Legend of Hercules (2014). Kellan Lutz. Hercules is sold into slavery. Classical beefcake. (PG-13)							
LIFE	Wrapped Up in Christmas (2017, TVF). Tatyana Ali, Brendan Fehr. (6)	Snowed Inn Christmas (2017, TVF). Bethany Joy Lenz, Andrew W. Walker. Jenna and Kevin help to save a historic town inn.		My Christmas Prince (2017, TVF). Alexis Knapp, Callum Alexander. Samantha has to make a difficult choice during Christmas. (10:14)							
LIFEMOV	Give Me My Baby (2016). Couple encounter sinister fertility doctor. (6)	Pregnant at 17 (2016, TVF). Josie Bisset, Zoë De Grand Maison. Wife befriends husband's young lover.		My Baby Is Gone! (2017, TVF). Elisabeth Harnois, Anna Van Hooft. Woman fakes pregnancy while planning to steal neighbor's baby.							
	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	12:00
LOGO	Roseanne "BOOI" (G) (7:05)	Roseanne (G) (7:38)	Married... With Children (8:10)	Married... With Children "A Man for No Seasons." (PG) (8:43)	Married... With Children (9:16)	Married... With Children (9:49)	Married... With Children (10:22)	Married... With Children (10:55)	Married... With Children (11:27)	The Nanny "The Nanny-in-Law."	
MLB	★ Bull Durham (1988). Kevin Costner, Susan Sarandon. (R)			Brewster's Millions (1985). Richard Pryor, John Candy. (PG)				M.L.B. Network Countdown		M.L.B.	
MSG	Knicks Pregame	N.B.A. Oklahoma City Thunder vs. New York Knicks.		Knicks Post.	Jeff Hornacek	People Sports	Jeff Hornacek	N.B.A.			
MSGPL	N.H.L.	N.Y. Rangers	N.H.L. Los Angeles Kings vs. New York Islanders.	NY Islanders							
MSNBC	The Rachel Maddow Show	The Last Word		The 11th Hour							
MTV	The Parent Trap (1998). (PG) (5)	Mean Girls (2004). Lindsay Lohan, Rachel McAdams. (PG-13)		Friends With Benefits (2011). Justin Timberlake, Milla Kunis. (R)							
NBCS	N.H.L. Montreal Canadiens vs Ottawa Senators.			U.S. Olympic Trials Curling: Mixed doubles semifinal.							
NGEO	After Hitler "Part One." (Part 1 of 2)	After Hitler "Part Two." (Part 2 of 2)		Inside the SS "Hitler's Evil Elite."							
NICK	Henry Danger "Danger Games." (G)	Henry Danger		Full House (G)	Full House (G)	Fresh Prince	Fresh Prince	Friends (PG)	Friends (PG)	Friends (PG)	Friends (PG)
NICKJR	Shimmer, Shine	Shimmer, Shine	Hey Duggee (Y)	Hey Duggee (Y)	Peppa Pig (Y)	Peppa Pig (Y)	Paw Patrol (Y)	Paw Patrol (Y)	Blaze, Monster	Blaze, Monster	Team Umizoomi
NY1	Spotlight NY (N)	On Stage (N)	News Weekend	News Weekend	News Weekend	News Weekend	Spotlight NY	On Stage	News Weekend	News Weekend	News Weekend
OWN	Schindler's List	★ Dirty Harry (1971). Psychotic sniper vs. determined cop in San Francisco. Chilling bull's-eye. (R)		Meet Lee Black (1998). Brad Pitt. Death makes a deal. Big disappointment. (PG-13)							
OVA	227 (G)	227 (G)	Welcome to Sweetie Pie's (14)	Welcome to Sweetie Pie's (N) (14)							
OXY	Cold Justice (N) (14)		Homicide for the Holidays (14)	Cold Justice (14)							
SCIENCE	What on Earth? (PG)		What on Earth? "Dark Operations." (N) (PG)								
SMITH	Air Disasters "Deadly Delay." (14)		Air Disasters "Steep Impact." (14)	Air Disasters "Edge of Disaster."							
SNY	Mets Classics Mariano Rivera's send-off is a walk-off.			Jets Game Plan	SportsNite	SportsNite	SportsNite	SportsNite	SportsNite	SportsNite	SportsNite
SPIKE	Two/Half Men	Two/Half Men		The Longest Yard (2005). Jailed N.F.L. veterans train fellow inmates for game against Dallas. Sorry remake.							
STZFN	Narnia: Prince Caspian	★ WALL-E (2008). Voices of Ben Burtt, Elissa Knight. (PG)		The Cable Guy (1996). Jim Carrey, Matthew Broderick. (PG-13) (9:40)							
SUN	M*A*S*H (PG)	M*A*S*H (PG)	M*A*S*H "Kim." (PG)	M*A*S*H (PG)	M*A*S*H (PG)	M*A*S*H "The Sniper." (PG)	M*A*S*H "Carry On, Hawkeye."	M*A*S*H "The Incubator." (PG)	M*A*S*H "Deal Me Out." (PG)	M*A*S*H "Hotlips and Empty Arms."	
SYFY	Futurama "Ghost in the Machines." (G)	Futurama "Law & Oracle." (14)	Futurama (14)	Futurama "Yo Lee-la Leela." (14)	Futurama (14)	Futurama "Mobius Dick." (14)	Futurama (PG)	Futurama (PG)	Dawn of the Dead (2004). Sarah Polley. Flesh-eating zombies in Milwaukee mall. Second-rate remake. (R)		
TBS	Seinfeld "The Barber." (G)	Seinfeld "The Non-Fat Guy." (G)	The Big Bang Theory (PG)	The Big Bang Theory (Y) (14)	The Big Bang Theory (Y) (14)	The Big Bang Theory (Y) (14)	The Big Bang Theory (Y) (PG)	The Big Bang Theory (Y) (PG)	Full Frontal With Samantha Bee	Search Party "Search." (MA)	Search Party "Hysteria." (MA)
TCM	★ Lovely to Look At (1952). Kathryn Grayson, Howard Keel. (6)	★ Singin' in the Rain (1952). Gene Kelly, Debbie Reynolds. Hollywood, just as talkies came in. Honey of a musical. (G)		Bundle of Joy (1956). Debbie Reynolds. Store clerk takes foundling home and is mistaken for unwed mother. Grisly little sunbeam, with music.							
TLC	Say Yes: ATL	Say Yes: ATL	Say Yes: ATL	Say Yes: ATL	Say Yes: ATL	Say Yes: ATL	When Harry Met Meghan	Say Yes: ATL	Say Yes: ATL	Harry/Meghan	
TNT	Star Wars: Attack of the Clones (2002). Ewan McGregor. (PG) (4:54)	★ Star Wars: Revenge of the Sith (2005). Ewan McGregor, Natalie Portman. Anakin becomes Darth Vader. Best of the second batch. (PG-13)		★ Star Wars: A New Hope (1977). Mark Hamill, Harrison Ford. (PG) (11:05)							
TRAV	Ghost Adventures (PG)	Ghost Adventures (PG)		Ghost Adventures (N) (PG)							
TRU	Impactical Jokers	Impactical Jokers	Hack My Life	Hack My Life	Hack My Life	Hack My Life	Impactical Jokers	Impactical Jokers	Impactical Jokers	Impactical Jokers	Impactical Jokers
TVLAND	Golden Girls	Golden Girls	Love- Raymond	Love- Raymond							
USA	★ Mad Max: Fury Road (2015). Tom Hardy, Charlize Theron. (R) (5:30)	Shooter (2007). Mark Wahlberg, Michael Peña. Wounded sniper plots revenge against those who betrayed him. Mainly men and guns and things that go boom. (R)		Modern Family (PG) (11:31)							
VH1	The Twilight Saga: Breaking Dawn Part 2 (2012). (PG-13) (6:30)		★ Grease (1978). John Travolta. 50's teens singing and dancing their heads off. Fun. (PG)								
VICE	Demolition Man (1993). Sylvester Stallone, Wesley Snipes. (R)		Demolition Man (1993). Sylvester Stallone, Wesley Snipes. (R)								

What's on Saturday

TNT offers a "Star Wars" crash course. And the latest season of "Younger" comes to Hulu.

What's on TV



LUCASFILM/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hayden Christensen

STAR WARS: EPISODE III — REVENGE OF THE SITH (2005) 8 p.m. on TNT. If you haven't heard, the latest "Star Wars" film is now in theaters, and our critic gave it a great review. While the new trilogy has been widely praised as a welcome reboot after the lukewarm (no pun intended) public reception to the "prequel" trilogy, watching the final steps of the transformation of Anakin Skywalker (Hayden Christensen) into Darth Vader in "Revenge of the Sith" remains both thrilling and frightening — and this is the rare big-budget film in which the heroes don't really win. In his review for *The New York Times*, A. O. Scott called this title, the third of the prequels, "by far the best film in the more recent trilogy," though he did note that George Lucas's "indifference to two fairly important aspects of moviemaking — acting and writing — is remarkable." Still, there's no better time to revisit the films of "Star Wars" past, and those who want a more thorough refresher can also tune in to "Episode I: The Phantom Menace" at 1:54 p.m.; "Episode II: Attack of the Clones," at 4:54 p.m.; and "Episode IV: A New Hope," at 11 p.m.



Rashad Jones, left, and Don Cobbs.

EAT, SLEEP, BBQ 9 p.m. on Food Network. Guy Fieri aficionados will already know that "Eat, Sleep, BBQ" was one of two new shows that were greenlit in the finale of the "Guy's Big Project," in which Mr. Fieri, the spike-haired Food Network host, judged a number of shows in search of a new addition to the network's lineup. Hosted by the barbecue chef Rashad Jones, "Eat, Sleep, BBQ" will follow him as he sniffs out notable barbecue joints throughout America. The premiere episode focuses on innovative brisket, including barbecued brisket egg rolls and ramen made with, yes, barbecued brisket.

SECRETS OF THE UNDERGROUND 10 p.m. on Science Channel. The biologist Nor Nelson and the geophysicist Stefan Burns host this fact-rich show, exploring myths like Atlantis and the Lost Temple of Jerusalem. In this Season 2 finale, the pair search for gold-rush-era gold rumored to be buried in a Northern California cave. That makes them the latest in a long line of hopeful prospectors drawn to the region.

What's Streaming



Sutton Foster, left.

YOUNGER on Hulu. This TV Land comedy from the “Sex and the City” and “Melrose Place” creator Darren Star follows Liza (Sutton Foster), a mother in her 40s who starts pretending to be a millennial. The show, which also stars Hilary Duff and Miriam Shor, looks at the ways Liza’s “new” age affect her everyday life — from her career in the publishing world to her friendships and romantic relationships. In an interview with *The Times*, Ms. Foster said that the fourth season was the “best season but also the most torturous one.” She added: “When I read the finale, I was like, ‘This can’t be it!’ I was very invested and very empathic about it. I cornered one of our writers in a bathroom and was like, ‘You can’t end it this way! How could you do this!’” And now you can binge it on Hulu.

ONLINE: TELEVISION LISTINGS
 🖱️ *Daily television highlights, recent reviews by The Times's critics, series recaps and what to watch recommendations. [nytimes.com/tv](https://www.nytimes.com/tv)*

Definitions of symbols used in the program listings:

- ★ Recommended film
- ☆ Recommended series
- New or noteworthy program
- (N) New show or episode
- (CC) Closed-caption
- (HD) High definition

Ratings:

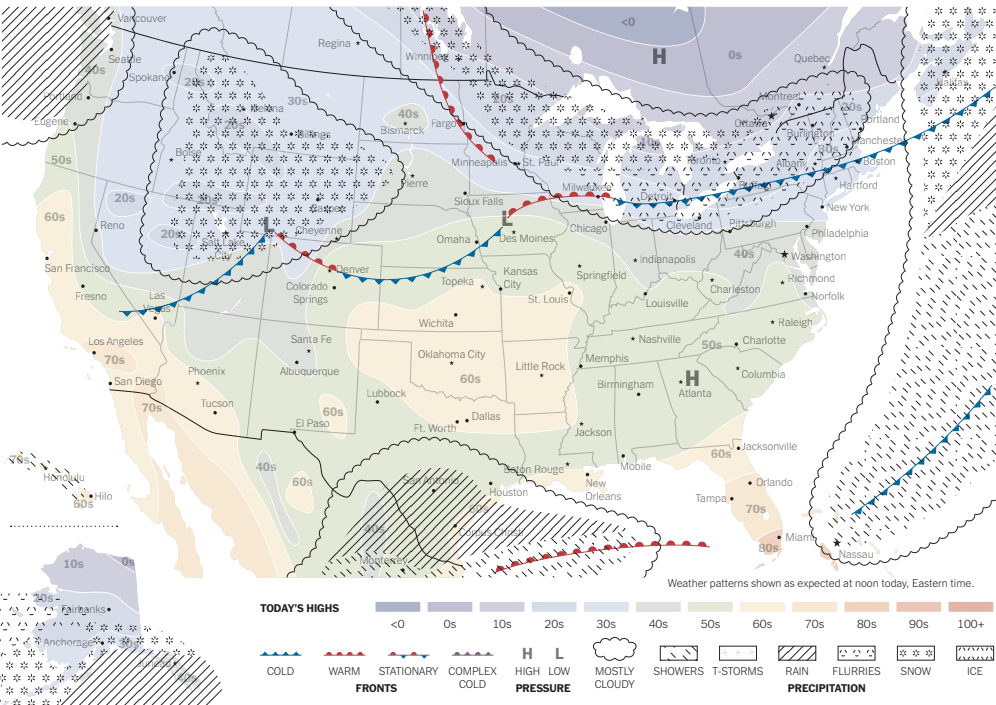
- (Y) All children
- (Y7) Directed to older children
- (G) General audience
- (PG) Parental guidance suggested
- (14) Parents strongly cautioned
- (MA) Mature audience only

Definitions of symbols used in the program listings:

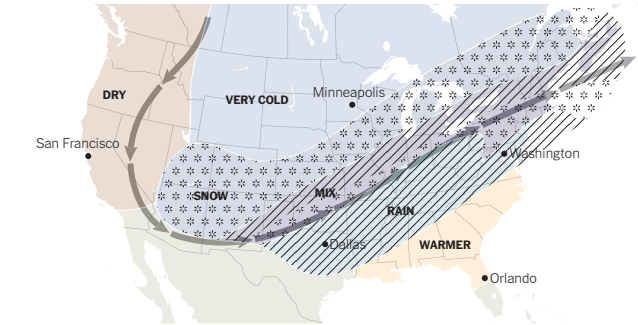
- ★ Recommended film
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Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Highlight: Possible Stormy Weekend



The weather across a large portion of the nation may turn stormy during the holiday weekend, bringing snow from the southern Rockies to the upper Midwest. Farther south, there is the potential for icy conditions from the southern Plains to the interior Northeast. The northern Plains will turn very cold, while drier air will return to the Northwest.

Cities				Little Rock				Los Angeles				Louisville				Memphis				Miami				Milwaukee				Minneapolis-St. Paul				Nashville				New Orleans				Norfolk				Oklahoma City				Omaha				Orlando				Philadelphia				Phoenix				Pittsburgh				Portland, Me.				Portland, Ore.				Providence				Raleigh				Reno				Richmond				Rochester				Sacramento				Salt Lake City				San Antonio				San Diego				San Francisco				San Jose				San Juan				Seattle				Sioux Falls				Spokane				St. Louis				St. Thomas				Syracuse				Tampa				Tucson				Tulsa				Virginia Beach				Washington				Wichita				Wilmington, Del.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																			
High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.				Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											

Metropolitan Forecast

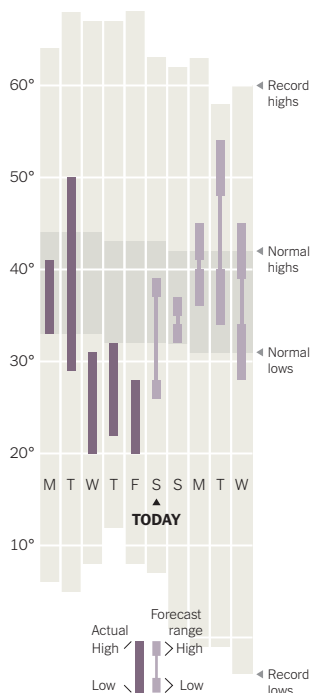
TODAYSome sunshine
High 38. A weak cold front to the north will produce patchy clouds but some sunshine as well. Temperatures will moderate somewhat, but it will remain colder than average for this time of year.

TONIGHTPartly cloudy
Low 27. An area of high pressure will begin to build east across the region. This will provide a dry night across the area along with a partly cloudy sky. It will still be colder than normal.

TOMORROWSome sun, then clouds
High 37. The day will begin with some sunshine, then clouds will increase as the next disturbance starts to approach. There will be periodic rain showers at night.

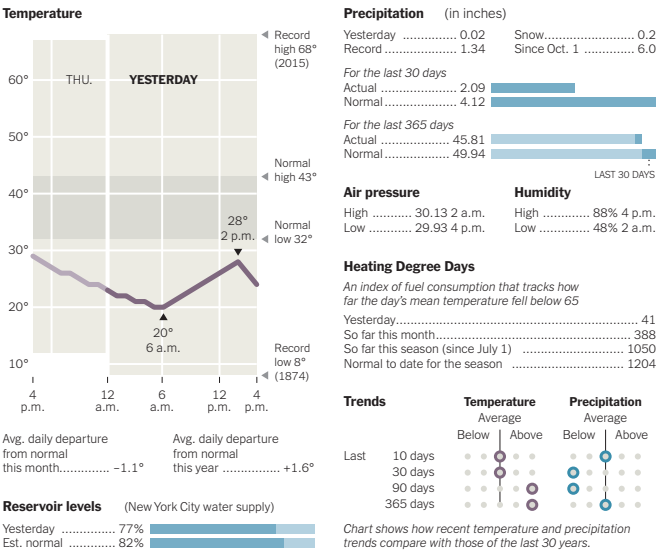
MONDAYRather cloudy
The disturbance will be moving away from the region, taking the rain along with it. A rather cloudy sky will prevail through the day. Temperatures will be seasonable.

TUESDAY
WEDNESDAYMilder, then chillier
Tuesday will be milder with times of clouds and sunshine. The high temperature will be 51 degrees. Wednesday will be partly sunny and colder. The high temperature will be 42 degrees.

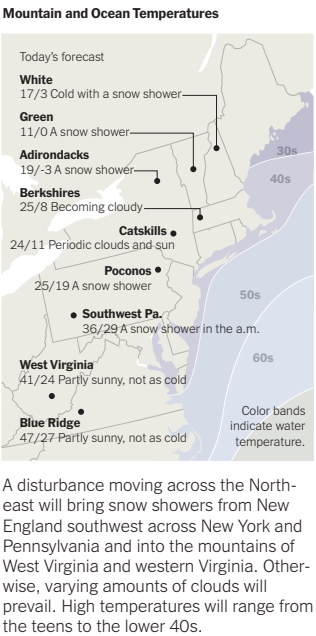
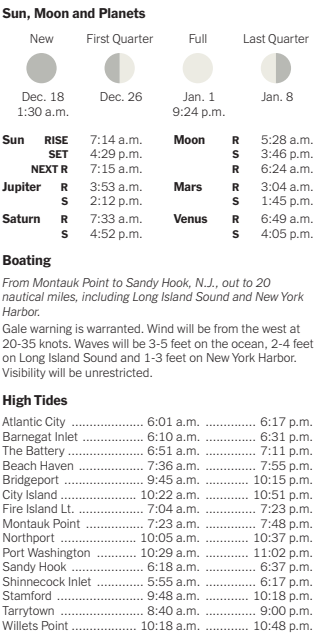


Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.



Recreational Forecast



A disturbance moving across the Northeast will bring snow showers from New England southwest across New York and Pennsylvania and into the mountains of West Virginia and western Virginia. Otherwise, varying amounts of clouds will prevail. High temperatures will range from the teens to the lower 40s.

OBAMA

THE CALL OF HISTORY

PETER BAKER

A vivid and in-depth illustrated account of the Obama presidency by Peter Baker, the chief White House correspondent of The New York Times.

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CALLAWAY

Juan Lagares alters his swing in a bid to impress the Mets.

Brazil's top soccer official has been suspended by FIFA.



For the Islanders' Jordan Eberle, New York offers a softer spotlight.

Sports Saturday

The New York Times



NIGEL RODDIS/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

The Title in Their Sights: Invincible

By VICTOR MATHER

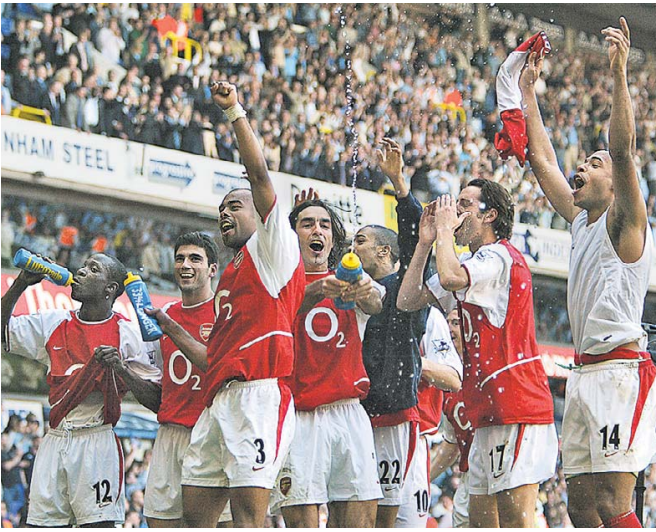
Manchester City, unbeaten in league play and winner of 15 in a row, will face Tottenham on Saturday as it chases an exclusive group.

Manchester City is not only off to the best start in Premier League history, but its record as it nears the halfway point of its schedule is also among the best in the history of England's top division. Through 17 games, City already has an 11-point lead at the top of the standings. It has scored 52 goals and has conceded only 11. Its record is imposing: 16 wins, 1 draw and — perhaps most important of all — zero losses.

City faces another tough test on Saturday, at home against fourth-place Tottenham Hotspur. But with an improved defense and fearsome attackers like Sergio Agüero, David Silva and Kevin de Bruyne at the team's disposal, fans, players and the news media are thinking not just about a title, which seems assured even before Christmas, but about something bigger: an undefeated season.

The English have a name for a team like this: Invincibles.

The term dates to the very first season of the Football League, English soccer's original top league, in 1888-89. Preston



ODD ANDERSEN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Nicolas Otamendi and Manchester City, top, with 16 wins and a draw, are off to the Premier League's best start. Arsenal, above, was unbeaten in 2003-4 behind 30 goals from Thierry Henry (14). Arsenal was the first team to go unbeaten in England's top tier since Preston North End in 1888-89.

North End, a team based in Lancashire, roared through the league season with a record of 18-0-4 to become the original Invincibles. To top off that season, Preston won the F.A. Cup, too.

John Goodall (20 league goals), who also played top-level cricket, and the Little Demon, Jimmy Ross (19), led the way. Preston's innovative 2-3-5 formation, although bizarre to today's eyes, soon became the league standard.

Preston would repeat as league champions a year later, but the club has not won the title since. (It currently plays in the Championship, the English game's second tier.) But if followers of the nascent league believed that an unbeaten season would be a regular thing, they were wrong.

There were good teams and great teams over the years, but all of them lost at least once in league play. In fact, English soccer went through the entire 20th century without another invincible team in the top division.

Continued on Page D2

Why Did Disney Expand Its Sports Empire With Out-of-Favor Networks?

By ZACH SCHONBRUN

Disney's chief executive, Robert A. Iger, woke up Friday morning as the most powerful person in United States sports, with a massive portfolio of media rights to the N.F.L., the N.B.A., tennis majors, college football and more than 40 major American sports teams.

No one has ever controlled such a vast swath of the sports broadcasting landscape at one time. But the portfolio, expanded this week in a megadeal in which the Walt Disney Company bought most of 21st Century Fox, will not necessarily make other sports media moguls envious.

Disney acquired 22 regional sports networks from 21st Century Fox valued

at about \$20 billion. But their long-term viability is questionable given consumers' rapidly changing viewing habits and the ongoing disruption in the pay-television market, experts say. The regional networks give Iger an outside sports kingdom, but many of them are widely considered undesirable.

"R.S.N.s seem to be the first thing that people want to get rid of, because it's so expensive," said Joel Lulla, a longtime sports industry consultant who teaches sports media at the University of Texas.

"When the bundle completely frays, how many people are really going to want to pay that kind of money for R.S.N.s?"

The agreement adds properties

throughout the country — Fox Sports Arizona, Fox Sports Carolinas, Fox Sports Midwest, Fox Sports West, etc. — to Disney's widening ESPN umbrella. But it is unclear how much access ESPN will gain to the broadcast rights for 44 professional teams in those local markets.

Each regional network — including the YES Network, which broadcasts Yankees games — has a series of complicated contracts with the teams and pay-television distributors that places limits on how the owners of the networks can exploit those rights. The contracts often make it especially difficult for anyone who does not have a cable subscription to buy access to the content, which is problematic as more and more con-



DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES

Robert A. Iger, the chief executive of Disney, which received 22 regional sports networks when it purchased most of 21st Century Fox this week.

sumers turn away from cable subscriptions.

Fox retained ownership of its two national networks, Fox Sports 1 and Fox Sports 2, as well as the Big Ten Network. Disney might also complete a \$15 billion acquisition of Sky, and its international sports offerings, of which Fox currently owns a 39.1 percent stake. Sky's signature property is soccer's Premier League. However, NBC Universal controls the Premier League's English-language rights in the United States.

Iger said on Thursday that he considered the regional sports networks more than just a toss-in to the package that included 20th Century Fox studios, FX and

Continued on Page D3

HOCKEY

New to the Islanders, and to a Big City Life

By ALLAN KREDA

When forward Jordan Eberle was traded to the Islanders from the Edmonton Oilers in June, he did not know what to expect. He had rarely lived outside Western Canada.

He was born in Regina, Saskatchewan, where he played junior hockey. He met his wife, Lauren Rodych-Eberle, when they were in high school in Calgary. Drafted 22nd over all in 2008 by the Oilers, he played seven seasons with Edmonton before the summer deal, which sent Ryan Strome to the Oilers.

The big city seemed intimidating, but the Eberles — who met in a 10th-grade math class and were married in July — quickly found a home in Garden City, and any trepidations quickly evaporated.

“I thought I may not be accustomed to what’s going on here,” said Eberle, 27, who had five seasons with 20 or more goals for the Oilers. “But the community I live in is very quiet, more like what I’ve been used to.”

Eberle also has adjusted well on the ice for the Islanders, who needed scoring depth beyond John Tavares and the rising star Anders Lee.

Eberle did not score in his first 10 games, but he now has 12 goals and 22 points overall for the Isles (17-12-3) heading into Saturday’s home game against the Los Angeles Kings.

In recent weeks he has developed chemistry on a line with the sizzling rookie center Mathew Barzal and the veteran left wing Andrew Ladd, who moved his family to Long Island last season when he signed a seven-year free-agent contract.

Eberle was originally envisioned as the right wing on a line with Tavares and Lee, but his shift to the second line has alleviated pressure on Tavares, the team’s leading scorer in seven of his eight seasons with the franchise.

The Islanders are in the playoff mix in a tight Metropolitan Division race, where four points separate the top five teams.

Eberle’s simmering intensity has impressed his coach.

“He’s been really solid, really confident; he’s a quiet leader,” said Doug Weight, a former Oiler whom Eberle looked up to when he was younger. “Jordan has stepped up and accepted every role we have given him in a good way.”

Playing with Ladd has helped Eberle. Their wives have bonded as native Albertans, and Ladd and Eberle are thriving alongside the



ABBIE PARR/GETTY IMAGES

Jordan Eberle, acquired by the Islanders from Edmonton in June, has 12 goals and 22 points.

20-year-old Barzal, a rookie of the year candidate with 28 points through 32 games, including a five-assist performance against the Colorado Avalanche on Nov. 5.

“Ebs has become one of my best friends, and Ladd is one of the great leaders I have been around,” Barzal said. “It helps me being a young guy playing with two veter-

For a former Oiler, New York offers a less-stressful playing environment.

ans. They make me feel comfortable.”

Eberle has fallen into the groove of many Long Islanders, riding the train to his workplace in Brooklyn instead of battling relentless traffic.

“The biggest change is taking the train to the game and learning to live that way,” he said. “There’s not as much driving here. It’s nice. I enjoy it.”

His wife had been teaching

voice and piano lessons in Calgary in recent years, and the cross-continent move meant she needed to be creative to keep her career thriving.

She conducts music lessons by Skype with her students in Alberta and also travels home for a week each month. She hopes to expand her music teaching to Long Island once her work visa comes through. She acknowledged that the chance to catch a Broadway musical on a whim was a major bonus to their New York life.

Thanks to his wife’s musical profession, Eberle has nurtured hobbies away from the game. She gave him a guitar several birthdays ago.

“I try to play every day,” he said. “It’s something that takes me away from hockey a little bit. Music helps since it means using a different side of the brain.”

Eberle said he was enjoying playing in a less-stressful environment than Edmonton, where the Oilers are in a constant news media spotlight. They made playoffs only once in his tenure.

“It’s different here, for sure,” he said. “In Edmonton you get recognized everywhere. It’s an adjust-

ment, but I enjoy it.”

The Islanders have reached the postseason three times in the past five seasons but have advanced past the first round only once since 1993. Amid tension about the future of Tavares, who could become an unrestricted free agent on July 1, they will need continued production from his supporting cast.

The Islanders also are eager to leave Brooklyn for a proposed new arena at Belmont Park, closer to their former home, Nassau Coliseum, which they left in 2015.

Eberle is eager for high-tension Eastern Conference rivalry games ahead, especially when the Islanders host the Rangers twice at Barclays Center later this season.

While his entire focus is currently on hockey, he is anticipating extra time in the area to play golf next summer on Long Island.

For now, there’s his first Christmas in New York to experience — jam-packed crowds and all. The seasonal snowfall reminds him of home.

“It’s funny how everyone panics here,” he said of a recent dusting in the area. “I’m used to getting 12 feet of snow.”

SOCCER

Brazilian Soccer Chief Is Suspended by FIFA

By REBECCA R. RUIZ

Marco Polo Del Nero, Brazil’s top soccer official, was provisionally barred from the sport by FIFA on Friday. The move came two years after American authorities announced seven counts of corruption charges against him, and as he continued to avoid facing those charges in an American court by remaining in Brazil.

The decision was announced by the ethics committee of FIFA, international soccer’s global governing body, which has been slow to discipline officials implicated in the sprawling American case focused on world soccer.

Of the more than 40 people charged by the United States in 2015, Mr. Del Nero was the last in power, presiding over Brazil’s soccer federation with impunity since the charges against him were unsealed. Those charges included money laundering, wire fraud and racketeering conspiracies.

As three of Mr. Del Nero’s former colleagues from South American soccer have faced trial in Brooklyn this month for similar charges, his name has figured prominently into the arguments. American prosecutors and criminal defense lawyers have called the conspicuously absent executive a linchpin in the web of corruption. According to evidence introduced in federal court, Mr. Del Nero accepted \$6.55 million in bribes from 2010 to 2016, soliciting that money from business executives in exchange for his vote to award them lucrative media and marketing contracts.

The provisional ban announced Friday was effective immediately, FIFA said. It is effective for 90 days and can be extended for an additional 45 days, as FIFA’s ethics investigators presumably continue an investigation into Mr. Del Nero’s conduct, first laid out in December 2015.

Brazil has been implicated in an outside way in the American case. Including Mr. Del Nero, at least six defendants are Brazilian, the most of any country.

José Maria Marin, one of the defendants on trial this month, preceded Mr. Del Nero as the head of



SERGIO MORAES/REUTERS

Marco Polo Del Nero was charged by American authorities in a graft case in 2015.

Brazil’s soccer federation. “Del Nero was actually running things,” a lawyer for Mr. Marin said in court on Thursday, ascribing to Mr. Del Nero the bribe deals that cooperating witnesses testified they had struck with Brazilian officials. The lawyer cited an email one such businessman had sent to remind himself to “call Marco Polo about transfer,” referring to a bribe payment.

Mr. Del Nero had shown every indication of carrying on in his job in recent months. In Brazil, which extradites its citizens only for drug crimes, he has remained a free man, though he has limited his international travel as authorities remain on alert for him.

Leading to the 2016 Summer Olympics, Mr. Del Nero met with Gianni Infantino, FIFA’s president, in Brazil. Far from shunning the accused criminal, Mr. Infantino posed for several pictures with him, smiling in one while holding up a Brazil jersey bearing Mr. Infantino’s name.

“The case has been bad for Brazil’s reputation,” Walter Feldman, the secretary general of the Brazilian soccer association, said last year, adding, “We’re used to a different system of justice, and we hope the American authorities end things soon.”

Vanishing Spray Lands FIFA in Court Trouble

By TARIQ PANJA

Just when it appeared that FIFA, the governing body of world soccer, was emerging from its morass of legal problems, the organization is back in trouble with the law.

Its latest misdeed? It has been accused of using a proprietary foam without respecting and supporting the patents of its inventor.

“FIFA robbed my idea; this is anti fair play,” said Heine Alle- magne, inventor of the aforementioned foam, which gained international renown after being used at the 2014 World Cup.

The product allows officials to paint a white foamy line, demarcating the minimum 10 yards between the ball and the closest defenders on a free kick. Mr. Alle- magne says that FIFA’s actions have allowed other companies to produce and sell rival sprays for use in organized soccer.

This week, after years of Alle- magne’s unsuccessful petitions for FIFA to respect his rights, a Rio de Janeiro court acknowledged his patent in 44 countries. The court ordered FIFA to stop using the spray in any of its competitions or risk a fine of \$15,000 per game.

FIFA said it couldn’t comment on the case because the dispute was continuing. The ruling can be appealed, though FIFA, which is based in Zurich, has spent more than \$100 million in legal fees since United States authorities in 2015 unsealed an indictment that accused several senior soccer officials of corruption dating back decades.

Mr. Alle- magne’s beloved spray is patented under the name 9J5 Fair Play Limit. South American leagues used it extensively before FIFA agreed to provide it to referees at the 2014 World Cup. Now referees commonly detach the can from hip holsters and spray lines of what looks like shaving cream near the sites of fouls.

Initially, FIFA tried to do right



DANNY MOLOSHOK/REUTERS

YES Network, which broadcasts Yankees games, was part of the 21st Century Fox deal.

such as YES, which was sold to Fox for \$3.9 billion in 2014. In 2016, a Nielsen study found that regional sports networks in certain markets, like Detroit and St. Louis, were more important to viewers than ESPN or HBO.

“Even with the cord-cutters, you’re still gaining 85 million subscribers,” said Lee Berke, a consultant who co-wrote the original business plan for YES Network. “That’s a substantial amount of revenue you can’t walk away from.”

Disney’s hope is that a new streaming service coming in May, ESPN Plus, will be able to recapture some of the viewers who have fled hefty cable fees. As an additional source for content, games from the regional networks could eventually appear on the service if contracts can be amended and fees can be agreed upon, reducing the network’s reliance on cable in local markets. But it is unclear how soon those offerings could take effect.

“It’s just not really clear to me how they’re going to integrate,” Lulla said.

Others, however, say betting against Iger is a losing proposition.

“Bob Iger is the best, smartest, most effective leader in media,” Ted Shaker, a consultant and former executive producer of CBS Sports, said. “If he sees it, I think it’s probably there.”

CALENDAR

TV Highlights

Basketball / N.B.A.	7:30 p.m.	Oklahoma City at Knicks	MSG, NBA
Basketball / College Men	Noon	Butler vs. Purdue	FOX
	Noon	Miami at George Washington	CBSSN
	Noon	Louisville vs. Memphis	ESPN2
	Noon	Detroit Mercy vs. Michigan	ESPNU
	Noon	U.N.C.-Greensboro at North Carolina State	YES
	12:30 p.m.	Syracuse at Georgetown	CBS
	2:00 p.m.	Virginia Tech at Kentucky	ESPN2
	2:00 p.m.	Michigan State vs. Oakland	ESPNU
	2:00 p.m.	Northwestern at DePaul	FS1
	2:00 p.m.	Oklahoma State vs. Florida State	FS2
	2:00 p.m.	East Tennessee State at Xavier	YES
	2:30 p.m.	Indiana vs. Notre Dame	FOX
	3:00 p.m.	Georgia at Massachusetts	NBCSN
	3:30 p.m.	Cincinnati at U.C.L.A.	CBS
	4:00 p.m.	Oklahoma at Wichita State	ESPN2
	4:30 p.m.	Florida vs. Clemson	FS2
	6:00 p.m.	Oregon at Fresno State	CBSSN
	8:00 p.m.	Arizona at New Mexico	CBSSN
	8:00 p.m.	Kansas at Nebraska	FS1
	11:00 p.m.	Utah at Brigham Young	ESPN2
Boxing	9:40 p.m.	David Lemieux vs. Billy Joe Saunders	HBO
Football / College	Noon	Celebration Bowl, North Carolina A&T vs. Grambling State	ABC
	1:00 p.m.	New Orleans Bowl, Troy vs. North Texas	ESPN
	2:30 p.m.	Cure Bowl, Western Kentucky vs. Georgia State	CBSSN
	3:30 p.m.	Las Vegas Bowl, Boise State vs. Oregon	ABC
	4:30 p.m.	New Mexico Bowl, Marshall vs. Colorado State	ESPN
	4:30 p.m.	N.C.A.A. F.C.S. Championship, South Dakota State at James Madison	ESPN2
	6:00 p.m.	N.C.A.A. Division II Championship, Texas A&M-Commerce vs. West Florida	ESPN2
	8:00 p.m.	Camellia Bowl, Middle Tennessee State vs. Arkansas State	ESPN
Football / N.F.L.	4:20 p.m.	Chicago at Detroit	NFL
	8:20 p.m.	Los Angeles Chargers at Kansas City	NFL
Golf	11:00 a.m.	PNC Father/Son Challenge, Day 1	GOLF
	10:00 p.m.	Indonesian Masters, final round	GOLF
Hockey / N.H.L.	5:00 p.m.	Rangers at Boston	MSG+2
	7:00 p.m.	Los Angeles at Islanders	MSG+
	7:00 p.m.	Montreal vs. Ottawa	NBCSN
Soccer	7:25 a.m.	Premier League, Crystal Palace at Leicester City	NBCSN
	9:30 a.m.	Bundesliga, Bayern Munich at VfB Stuttgart	FS1
	9:30 a.m.	Bundesliga, Schalke 04 at Eintracht Frankfurt	FS2
	9:55 a.m.	Premier League, Southampton at Chelsea	NBCSN
	11:30 a.m.	FIFA Club World Cup, final, Real Madrid vs. Grêmio	TEL
	12:30 p.m.	Premier League, Tottenham Hotspur at Manchester City	NBC

This Week

HOME	SAT	SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	
AWAY	12/16	12/17	12/18	12/19	12/20	12/21	12/22	
KNICKS	OKLA. CITY 7:30 p.m. MSG, NBA		CHARLOTTE 7 p.m. MSG			BOSTON 8 p.m. TNT	DETROIT 7 p.m. MSG	
NETS		INDIANA 6 p.m. YES			SACRAMENTO 7:30 p.m. YES		WASHINGTON 7:30 p.m. YES	
DEVILS			ANAHEIM 7 p.m. MSG+			RANGERS 7 p.m. MSG, MSG+2		
ISLANDERS	LOS ANGELES 7 p.m. MSG+			DETROIT 7 p.m. MSG+		ANAHEIM 7 p.m. MSG+		
RANGERS	BOSTON 5 p.m. MSG+2			ANAHEIM 7 p.m. MSG		DEVILS 7 p.m. MSG, MSG+2		
GIANTS	PHILADELPHIA 1 P.M. SUNDAY			FOX	NEW ORLEANS 1 P.M. SUNDAY			CBS

Remember the Neediest!



FRED TANNEAU/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES

A foam used to mark free kicks. FIFA has been accused of using the foam without supporting the patents of its inventor.

SCOREBOARD

Panthers Owner Is Accused of Misconduct

By KEN BELSON

Just days after workers at NFL Network were accused of sexual harassment, the Carolina Panthers said Friday that the team had begun an investigation into “allegations of workplace misconduct” made against the team’s owner, Jerry Richardson.

In a statement late Friday, the team said it had hired outside counsel to oversee the investigation. The team did not describe the allegations against Richardson, the franchise’s founder and the only owner in its 24-year history.

“The Carolina Panthers and Mr. Richardson take these allegations very seriously and are fully committed to a full investigation and taking appropriate steps to address and remediate any misconduct,” the statement said.

The investigation into Richardson brings a broadening focus on workplace harassment to the heart of the country’s wealthiest and most powerful sports league. While he has assumed a lower profile recently, Richardson for years traveled in the inner circle of the league’s business. He is the lone former N.F.L. player within the league’s ownership fraternity.

Richardson has served on many of the influential owners’ committees, and he played a large role in ending the N.F.L. lockout in 2011. In 2015, he was at the center of the league’s handling of domestic violence allegations. He announced the Panthers would not re-

sign defensive end Greg Hardy — who had been suspended by the league and convicted of domestic violence, though the conviction was later overturned. Richardson explained the decision simply: “We do the right things.”

The investigation into Richardson was first reported by ESPN.

The news of the investigation followed a report Monday that a former NFL Network wardrobe stylist had filed an amended complaint in a lawsuit that accused employees at the network of sexual harassment and assault. Six current and former NFL Network employees, including five former N.F.L. players, have been suspended.

N.F.L. Commissioner Roger Goodell said Wednesday at an owners meeting in Dallas that the league would investigate the claims in the lawsuit.

The Panthers announced that the team had hired the law firm Quinn Emanuel Urquhart & Sullivan to look into the allegations against Richardson, and that Erskine Bowles, a Clinton administration official and a minority owner of the team, would oversee the investigation.

Richardson, 81, has largely dropped out of view in the past two years. The turning point came when the league’s owners voted to let the Rams move from St. Louis to Los Angeles in 2016. He had recommended that the Oakland Raiders and San Diego Chargers be allowed to move there. (The Chargers moved to Los Angeles this year.)

Richardson did not attend Wednesday’s

day’s owners meeting, where a \$200 million contract extension for Goodell became official, but he did send the six owners on the commissioner’s compensation committee a letter that called for more transparency in how the committee did its work.

“We should not manage to avoid criticism, but work passionately to provide positive outcomes,” Richardson wrote. “Nothing less should be expected or accepted.”

Richardson played two seasons in the N.F.L., in 1959 and 1960. He later became a restaurant magnate, running a food service company that worked with the Hardee’s chain. He was awarded an N.F.L. expansion franchise in 1993, and the team began play in 1995.

It is unclear how independent the investigation will be because it is being led by a minority owner who is presumably close to Richardson. In other investigations of franchise owners, leagues have taken the lead, such as when the N.B.A. looked into racist remarks made by Donald Sterling, then the owner of the Los Angeles Clippers.

The N.F.L. updated its personal conduct policy in 2014, expanding the guidelines and penalties to cover not just players, but all employees. The league also set up its own investigative unit to look into claims of misconduct off the field.

Joe Lockhart, an N.F.L. spokesman, declined to comment on the investigation involving Richardson.



BRUCE BENNETT/GETTY IMAGES

GAME-WINNER Rick Nash scored a tiebreaking third-period goal Friday as the host Rangers beat the Kings, 4-2.

LUGE

Then, 0.004 Second Short; Now, an Olympian

Four years after failing Taylor Morris missed qualifying for the 2014 Olympic team by a mere four one-thousandths of a second, he claimed one of the 10 spots on the United States Olympic luge team for the 2018 Games on Friday. Morris did it by finishing fifth in a World Cup race in Lake Placid, N.Y. “It’s a long time coming,” he said.

Seven of the 10 spots on the United States team for Pyeongchang, South Korea, came down to the final day of competition in a weeks-long process. The women’s luge spots were already decided. One athlete, the 2014 bronze medalist Erin Hamlin, made her fourth Olympic team.

PRO BASKETBALL

Porzingis Said to Have No Major Injury

Kristaps Porzingis escaped a serious knee injury when he limped off against the Nets on Thursday but remains doubtful for the Saturday game against Oklahoma City, the Knicks said.

An M.R.I. scan revealed no structural damage. The diagnosis was a twisted left knee.

Porzingis said he believed that fans would give the former Knicks star Carmelo Anthony a generous reception when Anthony returns to Madison Square Garden with the Thunder for the first time since a preseason trade. “I think he was as professional as he can be in his time here in New York, so I don’t see why they would not receive him with love,” Porzingis said.

RAPTORS TROUNCE NETS In the Nets’ 120-87 loss to the Raptors in Toronto, Nik Stauskas had a brilliant Nets debut. He scored 22 points on only 9 field goal attempts, making 5 of 7 3-pointers. Jahlil Okafor, who with Stauskas was traded to the Nets by Philadelphia, scored 10. For Toronto, Kyle Lowry had a triple-double and DeMar DeRozan scored a game-high 31 points.

THUNDER WIN IN 3RD OVERTIME Oklahoma City beat host Philadelphia, 119-117, in triple overtime. Andre Roberson’s 3-pointer with nine seconds left proved to be the game-winner. Russell Westbrook had a triple-double, including 27 points. But he missed 23 of 33 shots from the field and 7 of 12 from the line. Carmelo Anthony and Paul George each added 24 points. Joel Embiid’s 32 points led the 76ers.

HOCKEY

Devils Win as Boyle Shines

Brian Boyle broke a tie with his 100th career goal and added an empty-net goal and an assist to help the host Devils beat the Dallas Stars, 5-2. Steven Santini, Blake Coleman and Nick Lappin also scored for the Devils, and Corey Schneider made 28 saves.

PRO FOOTBALL

Jets Leave Highest-Paid Player at Home

The Jets are not taking defensive end Muhammad Wilkerson to New Orleans for the game at the Saints on Sunday.

“It’s a coach’s decision,” Coach Todd Bowles said, adding that it was not injury-related but declining to elaborate. Wilkerson, who sat out the first few series against Kansas City on Dec. 3 for being late to a team meeting, was also

punished for tardiness in 2015 and 2016. He is the Jets’ highest-paid player, having signed a five-year, \$86 million contract in 2016.

COACHES FINED The head coaches Sean Payton of the Saints and Pete Carroll of the Seahawks, along with the Jaguars assistants Pat Flaherty and Keenan McCardell, have been fined \$10,000 each for improperly going on the field during Week 14 games.

PETERSON’S SEASON ENDS Adrian Peterson was placed on injured reserve because of a neck injury, ending his season after six games with the Arizona Cardinals. Acquired from New Orleans on Oct. 10, Peterson ran for 448 yards and two touchdowns on 129 carries and had nine catches for 66 yards for the Cardinals.

BASEBALL

Angels Sign an All-Star Infielder

The All-Star infielder Zack Cozart has agreed to a three-year, \$38 million contract with the Los Angeles Angels and is likely to shift from shortstop to third base.

Cozart, 32, was a first-time All-Star this year with Cincinnati, batting .297 with 24 home runs and 63 runs batted in. He has a .254 average in seven big league seasons, all with the Reds.

ROSE’S LAWSUIT DISMISSED A defamation lawsuit filed by Pete Rose against the lawyer who got him barred from baseball was dropped under an agreement by the two parties. Rose said in the suit that the lawyer, John Dowd, damaged his reputation and endorsement deals when, in a 2015 radio interview, he accused Rose of “statutory rape.” A woman gave testimony for the defense that she had a sexual relationship with Rose in the 1970s, starting when she was 14 or 15. Rose acknowledged that they had had a relationship but said it started when she was 16, the age of consent in Ohio.

TWINS ADD RODNEY The Minnesota Twins announced a one-year, \$4.5 million contract with the reliever Fernando Rodney. Rodney, 40, had 39 saves this year for Arizona.

BOXING

Mayweather-McGregor a Pay-Per-View Hit

Floyd Mayweather and Conor McGregor’s cross-combat match was the second-richest boxing bout in history, long-awaited final figures revealed.

A statement from Showtime sports said the August fight, in which the boxing star Mayweather defeated the mixed-martial-arts star McGregor, generated 4.3 million pay-per-view buys in North America. Only Mayweather’s 2015 bout with Manny Pacquiao has drawn more, racking up 4.6 million buys, to earn around \$600 million.

GYMNASTICS

Canadian Coach Faces Sex Charges

Gymnastics Canada’s women’s national team director faces multiple sex-related charges.

The police in Sarnia, Ontario, said the coach, Dave Brubaker, faces multiple charges, including three counts of sexual assault. Brubaker was released on bail with a February court date, the police said.

Brubaker was Canada’s head gymnastics coach at the 2016 Rio Olympics and was the women’s national team director at the 2017 world championships in October.

PRO BASKETBALL

N.B.A. STANDINGS

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Atlantic	W	L	Pct	GB
Boston	24	7	.774	—
Toronto	19	8	.704	3
Knicks	15	13	.536	7½
Philadelphia	14	14	.500	8½
Nets	11	17	.393	11½
Southwest	W	L	Pct	GB
Washington	16	13	.552	—
Miami	14	14	.500	1½
Orlando	11	19	.367	5½
Charlotte	10	18	.357	5½
Atlanta	6	23	.207	10
Central	W	L	Pct	GB
Cleveland	21	8	.724	—
Milwaukee	15	12	.556	5
Indiana	16	13	.552	5
Detroit	16	13	.552	5
Chicago	8	20	.286	12½

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Southwest	W	L	Pct	GB
Houston	22	4	.846	—
San Antonio	19	9	.679	4
New Orleans	15	14	.517	8½
Memphis	9	20	.310	14½
Dallas	8	21	.276	15½
Northwest	W	L	Pct	GB
Minnesota	17	12	.586	—
Portland	15	13	.536	1½
Denver	15	13	.536	1½
Oklahoma City	14	14	.500	2½
Utah	14	15	.483	3

THURSDAY
Detroit 105, Atlanta 91
Knicks 111, Nets 104
Cleveland 121, L.A. Lakers 112
Minnesota 119, Sacramento 96
Golden State 112, Dallas 97

FRIDAY
Detroit 104, Indiana 98
Miami 104, Charlotte 98
Oklahoma City 119, Phila. 117, 30T
Portland 95, Orlando 88
Washington 100, L.A. Clippers 91
Toronto 120, Nets 87
Utah 107, Boston 95
Chicago 115, Milwaukee 109
Memphis 96, Atlanta 94
New Orleans at Denver
San Antonio at Houston

SATURDAY
Portland at Charlotte, 7
Oklahoma City at Knicks, 7:30
Utah at Cleveland, 7:30
L.A. Clippers at Miami, 8
Milwaukee at Houston, 8
Phoenix at Minnesota, 8
Dallas at San Antonio, 8:30
Boston at Memphis, 9

SUNDAY
Sacramento at Toronto, 3:30
Orlando at Detroit, 4
Cleveland at Washington, 6
Indiana at Nets, 6

RAPTORS 120, NETS 87

NETS	Min	FG	M-A	FT	M-A	O-T	A	PTS
Harris	20	3-8	0-0	0-2	0	2	0	6
Hill-Iffron	21	4-6	1-1	1-4	0	1	0	9
Zeller	14	2-6	0-0	1-3	1	4	0	4
Dinwiddie	22	3-9	1-2	0-2	5	7	0	7
LeVert	25	1-7	0-0	0-2	1	2	0	2
Whitehead	33	5-12	0-2	0-3	13	13	0	13
Stauskas	28	6-9	5-5	0-7	2	22	0	22
Acy	25	1-4	5-6	1-7	1	7	0	7
Okafor	22	5-11	0-0	1-4	0	10	0	10
Mezzone	16	2-5	3-3	2-4	2	7	0	7
Totals	240	32-76	16-19	6-37	15	87		

Percentages: FG .421, FT .842, 3-Point Goals: 7-23, .304 (Stauskas 5-7, Whitehead 2-3, Acy 0-2, Dinwiddie 0-2, Okafor 0-2, LeVert 0-3, Harris 0-4); Team Rebounds: 7; Turnovers: 22 (35 PTS); Blocked Shots: 1 (Mezzone), Turnovers: 22 (Whitehead 4, Acy 3, Dinwiddie 3, Harris 2, LeVert 2, Mezzone 2, Okafor 2, Stauskas 2, Hollis-Jefferson, Zeller); Steals: 4 (Whitehead 2, Harris, Okafor); Technical Fouls: None.

TORONTOMin	M-A	FG	FT	Reb	O-T	A	PTS
Anunoby	21	1-4	0-0	2-3	0	3	3
Itakaka	28	8-15	0-0	1-8	2	18	18
Valanciunas	21	7-11	0-0	0-5	0	14	14
DeRozan	29	14-19	2-4	1-3	1	31	31
Lowry	30	4-9	0-0	3-10	12	10	10
Poeltl	26	5-6	1-3	2-4	1	11	11
Powell	22	5-8	0-0	1-5	3	11	11
Siakam	19	3-9	0-0	1-6	1	6	6
Wright	15	3-8	1-1	0-0	2	7	7
VanVleet	13	3-5	1-1	0-0	1	7	7
McKinnie	7	0-1	0-0	0-0	0	0	0
Brown	4	1-2	0-0	0-1	0	2	2
Totals	240	54-97	9-15	45	26	120	

Percentages: FG .557, FT .556, 3-Point Goals: 7-28, .250 (Itakaka 2-4, Lowry 2-5, Powell 1-1, DeRozan 1-2, Anunoby 1-4, Brown 0-1, McKinnie 0-1, Poeltl 0-1, Valanciunas 0-1, VanVleet 0-1, Wright 0-2, Siakam 0-5); Team Rebounds: 5; Team Turnovers: 8 (9 PTS); Blocked Shots: 5 (Itakaka 2, Valanciunas 2, Itakaka); Turnovers: 8 (Itakaka 2, Anunoby, DeRozan, Lowry, Poeltl, Powell, Valanciunas); Steals: 11 (Lowry 4, DeRozan 2, Anunoby, McKinnie, Poeltl, Siakam, Wright); Technical Fouls: None.

Nets	20	24	23	87
Toronto	30	28	33	29—120

A—19,800 (19,800). Officials—Eric Dalen, Randy Richardson, Bill Spooner

GOLF

INDONESIAN MASTERS

Friday
At Royale Jakarta Golf Club
Jakarta, Indonesia
Purse: \$750,000
Yardage: 7,324; Par: 72
Partial Second Round
Kiradech Aphibarnrat, Thailand 68-64=132
Giwahn Kim, South Korea . . . 65-68=133
P. Khongwatmai, Thailand . . . 65-69=134
Chikkarangappa S., India . . . 68-67=135
Sihwan Kim, United States . . . 68-67=135
Younghun Song, South Korea . . . 67-69=136
Choo Tze Huang, Singapore . . . 66-71=137
J. Janewattananond, Thailand . . . 69-68=137
Steve Lewton, Britain . . . 67-70=137
Shubhankar Sharma, Indonesia 71-67=138
Gaganjeet Bhullar, India . . . 67-71=138
Lu Wei-chih, Taiwan . . . 66-72=138
S. Yongcharoensai, Thailand . . . 72-66=138

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

BOWLS SCHEDULE

SATURDAY, DEC. 16
Celebration Bowl
ATLANTA
NC A&T (11-0) vs. Grambling State (11-1), Noon (ABC)
New Orleans Bowl
North Texas (9-4) vs. Troy (10-2), 1 p.m. (ESPN)
Cure Bowl
Orlando, Fla.
Georgia State (6-5) vs. Western Kentucky (6-6), 2:30 p.m. (CBSN)
Las Vegas Bowl
Boise State (10-3) vs. Oregon (7-5), 3:30 p.m. (ESPN)
New Mexico Bowl
Albuquerque
Colorado State (7-5) vs. Marshall (7-5), 4:30 p.m. (ESPN)
Camellia Bowl
Montgomery, Ala.
Arkansas State (7-3) vs. Middle Tennessee (6-6), 8 p.m. (ESPN)

PRO HOCKEY

N.H.L. STANDINGS

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Atlantic	W	L	OT	Pts	GF	GA
Tampa	23	6	2	48	117	75
Toronto	20	13	1	41	109	97
Boston	15	10	4	34	84	82
Montreal	14	14	4	32	87	100
Detroit	12	13	7	31	86	103
Florida	12	15	5	29	93	110
Ottawa	10	13	7	27	82	103
Buffalo	8	18	7	23	72	111
Metropolitan	W	L	OT	Pts	GF	GA
Columbus	20	11	1	41	94	84
Devils	18	9	5	41	100	96
Wash.	20	12	1	41	105	96
Rangers	17	12	3	37	105	94
Islanders	17	12	3	37	114	111
Pittsburgh	16	14	3	35	95	106
Phila.	13	11	7	33	89	89
Carolina	13	11	7	33	88	97

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Central	W	L	OT	Pts	GF	GA
Nashville	20	7	4	44	106	85
St. Louis	21	10	2	44	105	84
Winnipeg	18	9	5	41	108	92
Minnesota	17	11	3	37	91	88
Chicago	16	11	5	37	98	85
Dallas	18	14	1	37	98	97
Colorado	15	14	2	32	96	101
Pacific	W	L	OT	Pts	GF	GA
L.A.	20	10	3	43	100	77
Vegas	20	9	2	42	107	95
San Jose	17	10	3	37	82	71
Calgary	16	13	3	35	91	99
Anaheim	14	11	7	35	86	92
Vancou.	14	14	4	32	83	97
Edmonton	13	17	2	28	93	105
Arizona	7	22	5	19	76	118

NOTE: Two points for a win, one point for overtime loss. Top three teams in each division and two wild cards per conference advance to playoffs.

THURSDAY
Philadelphia 2, Buffalo 1
Washington 5, Boston 3
Columbus 6, Islanders 4
Montreal 2, Devils 1, OT
Chicago 5, Winnipeg 1
Anaheim 3, St. Louis 1
Minnesota 2, Toronto 0
Colorado 2, Florida 1
Tampa Bay 4, Arizona 1
Nashville 4, Edmonton 0
San Jose 3, Calgary 2
Vegas 2, Pittsburgh 1

FRIDAY
Rangers 4, Los Angeles 2
Devils 5, Dallas 2
Carolina 5, Buffalo 4, OT
Detroit 3, Toronto 1
San Jose at Vancouver

SATURDAY
Edmonton at Minnesota, 2
Rangers at Boston, 5
Los Angeles at Islanders, 7
Winnipeg at St. Louis, 7
Montreal at Ottawa, 7
Columbus at Carolina, 7
Dallas at Philadelphia, 7
Anaheim at Washington, 8
Pittsburgh at Arizona, 8
Tampa Bay at Colorado, 9
Nashville at Calgary, 10

SUNDAY
St. Louis at Winnipeg, 6
Minnesota at Chicago, 7
Calgary at Vancouver, 8
Florida at Vegas, 8

RANGERS 4, KINGS 2
Los Angeles 0 1 1—2
Rangers 1 1 2—4

First Period—1, Rangers, Kreider 11 (Shearnias, Shattlerick), 10:29 (pp).
Second Period—2, Los Angeles, Gabarik 5 (Jokinen), 3:46, 3, Rangers, Nash 9, 16:33, 6, Rangers, Miller 5 (Vesey, Zuccarello), 19:06.
Shots on Goal—Los Angeles 10-12-13—35.
Rangers 8-12-28—48 (22 pp).
Power-play opportunities—Los Angeles 0 of 1; Rangers 1 of 3.
Goalies—Los Angeles, Quick 15-10-1 (27 shots/saves). Rangers, Lundqvist 15-8-2 (35-33).
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Aline Griffith, New York Model Turned Spy, Author and Countess, Is Dead

By SAM ROBERTS

Aline Griffith, a former model from suburban New York City who transformed herself into a dressed-to-kill self-proclaimed spy and Spanish countess, died on Monday in Madrid. She was in her mid-90s.

Her death was confirmed by her family. She had been treated for emphysema for years.

Aline, Countess of Romanones, as she was known, was also the author of several books. Most of them, brimming with tales of her escapades as an American espionage agent, which began in Spain during World War II, were billed as memoirs — though they were believed to be heavily embroidered.

“Her supposedly factual accounts were completely fictional,” Rupert Allason, the British intelligence expert whose pen name is Nigel West, wrote in his “Historical Dictionary of Sexspionage” (2009).

Regardless, her purple prose beguiled readers and reviewers, and her recollections, real or fabricated, made spellbinding dinner conversation for the gaggle of celebrities she attracted.

“I always knew I had a good story,” she told The Los Angeles Times in 1991.

Time magazine once exclaimed that she “lived a life of glamour and danger that Ingrid Bergman only played at in ‘Notorious,’” Alfred Hitchcock’s 1946 spy melodrama.

“I’ve been jailed in Malaga, kidnapped in Madrid and attacked in Switzerland,” the countess was quoted as saying in The Boston Globe in 1987.

She wrote that after being abducted as she was leaving a dinner at a Madrid country-club dinner with high-ranking Nazis in 1944, she shot one of the kidnappers, who turned out to be a double agent. She was uncertain, though, whether she had actually killed him.

“Naturally, I didn’t wait to take his pulse,” she recalled.

She said that before her marriage in 1947 she promised her fiancé, a Spanish nobleman, that she would retire as a spy.

But the job was irresistible. By her account she later traced stolen Nazi art; enlisted Wallis Simpson, the Duchess of Windsor, in 1966 to help ferret out a Soviet mole who had infiltrated NATO; was assigned to prevent the assassina-



YVONNE HEMSEY/GETTY IMAGES

tion of King Hassan II of Morocco in 1971; and was dispatched to war-torn El Salvador in the early 1980s

“Espionage becomes like a drug,” she told People magazine in 1990.

Mary Aline Griffith was born in the Rockland County hamlet of Pearl River, N.Y. — on May 23, 1923, she said, although some records list her birth year as 1920.

Her father, William, manufactured printing presses at a plant owned by her grandfather and sold real estate and insurance. Her mother, the former Marie Dexter, was said to have been descended from the Pilgrims.

Mary Griffith attended the College of Mount Saint Vincent, a Roman Catholic school in the Bronx founded by the Sisters of Charity. She graduated with a degree in literature, history and journalism. Afterward she was hired as a model in Manhattan by Hattie Carnegie, the Vienna-born fashion entrepreneur.

When the United States entered

World War II, she sought a role overseas, she said, but was told she was too young.

Her fortunes changed, however, after she went on a blind date with an agent for the government’s Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency. Through him she got herself hired as a code clerk deciphering messages in the United States Embassy in Madrid, where she posed as a socialite employed by American oil companies.

O.S.S. files list her as a former employee under the name Marie Aline Griffith. Her code name, she said, was Tiger.

It was in Madrid that she met Luis de Figueroa y Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno, the count of Quintanilla and later of Romanones. He was heir to one of Spain’s largest fortunes and a grandson of a former foreign minister.

Her husband died in 1987. They had three sons, Alvaro, Luis and Miguel, who survive her, along with 13 grandchildren.



GIANNI FERRARI/GETTY IMAGES

Aline Griffith, the Countess of Romanones, in Madrid in the 1960s, above, and posing with one of her books, which were generously billed as memoirs, in 1991. “She epitomized why it was said that O.S.S. stood for ‘Oh So Social,’” the president of the espionage agency’s alumni association said.

Charles Pinck, the president of the O.S.S. Society, an alumni association, wrote of the countess in an email, “She epitomized why it was said that O.S.S. stood for ‘Oh So Social,’ as many of its members were drawn from the Social Register.”

Posing as a socialite, even before becoming one, was a good cover.

Posing as a socialite, even before she became one, was a good cover, the countess told The Los Angeles Times.

“With that, nobody’s going to think you’re doing anything worthwhile, except putting on your makeup or something,” she said.

She revealed her secret wartime role in 1987, when she published her first memoir, “The

Spy Wore Red: My Adventures as an Undercover Agent in World War II.”

Writing in The New York Times Book Review, Michael Gross described the book as “delightful as it dances before the eye, detailing dirty tricks.” Her narrative, he wrote, introduced a new genre: “café espionage.”

In 1990 she published a sequel, “The Spy Went Dancing.”

“This book falls under the heading: If the author didn’t have a noble title, would we care about the story she has to tell?” Joanne Kaufman wrote in The New York Times Book Review. “The answer: We would, but not nearly as much.”

The countess also wrote “The Spy Wore Silk” (1991); “The Well-Mannered Assassin” (1994), a novel based on the terrorist known as Carlos the Jackal; and another memoir, “The End of an Epoch” (2015).

“My stories,” she insisted, “are all based on truth.”

As a woman in the mostly male

world of espionage, she saw her femininity as a strength, she said. She found, for example, that women were better than men in extracting classified information from other men.

She also acknowledged that she had managed to live free of the typical restraints placed on women of the mid-20th century.

“I’m a feminist, and I’m not a feminist,” she told The Boston Globe. “I love it when men kiss my hand. I love good clothes. I would not like to be a West Point cadet. On the other hand, I think women should be able to do whatever they want to do.”

In “The Spy Wore Red,” she recalled her initial encounter with a recruiter for the O.S.S.

“I wanted to tell him I had three great-grandmothers who had braved crossing this country to lay down roots in the Midwest, despite Indian attacks, birth without doctors, sickness without medicine, helping to build homes with their own hands, but I was afraid he would laugh,” she wrote. “Instead I said, ‘I love adventure.’ ”

Sunny Murray, 81, Free-Flowing Drummer

By GIOVANNI RUSSONELLO

Sunny Murray, an influential drummer who was among the first to define a personal style in the free-jazz idiom, died on Dec. 7 in Paris. He was 81.

His half brother, Conny Murray, said the cause was multiple organ failure.

Mr. Murray was still finding his footing on New York’s jazz scene in 1960 when he met the pianist Cecil Taylor, a rising star of the avant-garde. The two played together at a jam session, and they clicked.

“I don’t know what I did, but he looked over his shoulder and said: ‘Do that again. You’ve got the will, so the spirits will do it.’ I’ll never forget that,” Mr. Murray told the writer A. B. Spellman for his 1966 book, “Four Lives in the Bebop Business.”

Mr. Murray and Mr. Taylor soon forged a partnership that, though short-lived, was a watershed in jazz history. They made only a few recordings together, but “Neferiti, the Beautiful One Has Come” — a double LP captured during a trio performance in Copenhagen in 1962 — would become a seminal document.



FRANS SCHELLEKENS/REDFERNS

Sunny Murray performing in the Netherlands in 1991. He moved to Paris in 1968 and spent most of the rest of his life in Europe.

friended Mr. Ayler, offering to split his room and wages with him for the rest of the tour if Mr. Taylor would let him join the band.

Mr. Murray’s partnership with Mr. Ayler was better documented than the one with Mr. Taylor. On “Spiritual Unity,” a classic album recorded in 1964, Mr. Ayler’s sound bursts forth, erupting in notes and smears and abrasions. Mr. Murray lathers him in cymbals and pattering snare drum, giving the music an elevated, almost celestial air. The task of keeping a pulse, even an irregular one, falls almost entirely to the bassist, Gary Peacock.

The next year, Mr. Murray recorded his first album as a bandleader, “Sonny’s Time Now,” the first of only three recordings to be released on Jihad, a label run by Amiri Baraka (who was then known as LeRoi Jones).

In 1966, Mr. Murray received DownBeat magazine’s “New Star” award in the drum category. Irritated that the award lacked a cash prize, he did something that manifested the frustration felt by many on the free-jazz scene: He took the award to the DownBeat offices and burned it on the floor.

“I decided to revolt,” he told Mr. Warburton.

James Marcellus Arthur Murray Jr. was born in Idabel, Okla., on Sept. 21, 1936, the son of James Murray, a preacher and gardener, and the former Myrtle Lee Rice, a domestic worker. He grew up in Philadelphia.

As a teenager, Mr. Murray became involved in gangs and spent a brief term in prison. When he got out, he survived a nearly fatal stabbing and an accident at a steel factory that sliced off parts of three fingers. He decided to leave Philadelphia soon after, moving to

New York in 1956.

Mr. Murray worked for a few years in the band of the hard-bop tenor saxophonist Rocky Boyld, and sometimes sat in with Jackie McLean and James Moody, both prominent saxophonists. Even in those relatively mainstream scenarios, he insisted on playing with an untethered approach that drew disdain from most of the musicians around him. It was not until he met Mr. Taylor that he found an ally.

After establishing a reputation alongside Mr. Taylor and Mr. Ayler, he recorded a string of albums as a leader, including “Sunny Murray,” a 1966 release on ESP-Disk, and, after a move to Paris in 1968, “Sunshine” and “Homage to Africa,” both recorded in 1969 for the European BYG label.

Mr. Murray returned to New York in the 1970s but soon moved back to Europe, where he lived for the rest of his life. He was seldom seen onstage in the United States after that, though he continued to perform and record regularly.

In an addition to his half brother, his survivors include his partner, Isabelle Soumilliard; three sons, James Jr., Haniff and Oforie; a daughter, Pia; and two grandchildren.

Years after their partnership ended, Mr. Taylor retained a special fondness for Mr. Murray. “He can play those drums,” he told the journalist Howard Mandel for his 2007 book, “Miles, Ornette, Cecil: Jazz Beyond Jazz,” comparing Mr. Murray favorably to three of his more famous forebears on the instrument: Tony Williams, Max Roach and Art Blakey.

“Tony, yes. Max, yes. And Blakey. But Sunny!”

A jazz partner who abandoned the time-keeping role.

Mr. Murray was establishing himself as the first drummer willing to match Mr. Taylor’s free-flowing method — namely by abandoning a time-keeping role, and treating the drum set as a palette of textures more than a percussion instrument. By creating friction between the tones of his drums and cymbals, he sought to create new dimensions and hues, rather than pulse.

“I was able to interpret the difference between the sharp, quick sound and the slow, deep sound of percussion and manipulate it, get a third sound out of things,” he told the journalist Dan Warburton in 2000. “I wanted to get more from the beat than just the beat.”

Touring with Mr. Taylor in 1962, Mr. Murray met Albert Ayler, a young American tenor saxophonist living in Europe. Impressed by his broad, ululating sound and his ambivalence toward linear melodies, Mr. Murray quickly be-

Deaths	Deaths	Deaths
APPLEBAUM—Eugene, The Palm Beach Country Club expresses its profound sorrow at the passing of our esteemed member, Eugene Applebaum, and expresses sincere sympathy to his wife Marcia and other members of his family. Jeffrey B. Lane, President Warren J. Spector, Secretary	BROWN—Jacqueline.  Jacqueline Cannon Brown, 79, peacefully passed away at home on December 9th with Snickers, her beloved Schnauzer, by her feet. Jackie was an independent, strong and fearless woman. She was a loving friend, sister, aunt, mother, and Gram-may. Born in Erie, PA to Isabelle Tollon Cannon and George Woodward Cannon, she is survived by her daughter Amanda (Matthew), grandson, Charlie, sister Jane (Charles) and preceded in death by her brother John (Naomi). Aunt to Scott, Betsy, Ann, Susan, John, David and Linda, she was loved by her family and many friends. In lieu of flowers, please send a donation to New Jersey Schnauzer Network, P.O. Box 36, Fairwood, NJ 07023. A party to celebrate Jackie's life will be held after the holidays.	CHAUT—Ernestine “Erna”, on December 13, 2017. Beloved mother of Ellen Seader, and Larry and Ilene Cohen. Loving grandmother of Jamie and Justin Lippiner, Scott Seader, Bari and David Klein, Kerri and Eytan Saperstein, and Andrew Cohen. Adored great-grandmother of Dillon and Preston Lippiner, and Tyler Klein. Cherished sister of the late Richard Rosenbloom, and Daniel, Arthur and Gerald Rosenbloom. Former Dean of Adelphi University. Funeral Sunday 11:00am at Boulevard Riverside Chapel, 1450 Broadway, Hewlett, NY. Interment at Beth Moses Cemetery, Pinelawn, NY.
BOBROW—Walter A., (92) Died in Augusta, GA, on December 14, 2017. Born, Brooklyn, NY, November 8, 1925 to Jacob and Sadye. Predeceased by brothers Leon and Henry and survived by sister, Lucy Lapid, beloved wife of 67 years, Edythe (Blestein), children: Judith Sosis (Richard), Oscar Bobrow (Kim), Sarah Bobrow-William (Franklin); grandchildren: Leah, Morgan, Corinne, Myles, Isaac, and Noah. Served proudly in combat during WWII. Graduated from NYU and Harvard Law School. Past President of Temple Israel and Brotherhood, Meals on Wheels, Rotary Club, and past board member of the Boys and Girls Club. Funeral services will be held on Sunday, December 17, 2017 at 1:00pm at Temple Israel of New Rochelle. Donations may be made in Walter's memory to the Boys and Girls Club of New Rochelle or to New Rochelle Meals on Wheels.	KATZ—Marilyn Ogus, passed away on December 14, 2017 at age 84. Marilyn was a professor of English at the Cooperative College of Mount Vernon, SUNY Purchase, and subsequently the Dean of Studies and Student Life at Sarah Lawrence College for nearly twenty years. She was a writer whose short stories have been published in numerous journals. Her short story collection, A Few Small Stones, is due out in March 2018 (Unsolicited Press). She lived a life of adventure and joy and was a mentor, friend, and inspiration to so many. She is survived by loving children Jimmy Katz and his wife Dena and Emily Anhalt and her husband Eduardo, longtime partner George Petty, grandchildren Erica and Ariela Anhalt, the extended Petty family, other wonderful relatives, and countless friends who felt like family. She was predeceased by husband Maurice B. (Mac) Katz. Family and friends are invited to attend a service at Riverside Memorial Chapel at 180 W. 76th St. on Sunday, December 17, at 10am. In lieu of flowers, donations in Marilyn's name may be made to Innisfree Garden, Sarah Lawrence College, Broadway Housing Communities, or The Watson Foundation.	HALPERN—Ida, on December 15, 2017 in her 97th year. Beloved wife of the late Wolf. Devoted mother of Anna Glick, the late Zelda Perl and the late Dr. Marilyn Lerner. Loving grandmother, great-grandmother and aunt. The service is Sunday, December 17th, 11:30am at “The Riverside,” 76th Street and Amsterdam Avenue.
MAHONEY—Cornelius A., 76, of Rockville Centre, NY on December 14, 2017. Devoted husband of Eleanor. Loving father of Marc, Melissa, the late Michael and stepfather of Margaret. Cherished grandfather of Michael and Shannon. Respected New York City maritime lawyer. Enjoyed his retirement on ski slopes and golf courses, boateys and all. Family will receive friends Sunday, 2pm-4pm and 6pm-8pm at the Perry Funeral Home, Inc., 118 Union Avenue, Lynbrook, NY. Cremation private. In lieu of flowers, the family request donations to The American Cancer Society.	HOERLICK—Rita Hermenze. Dec. 16, 1917-Oct. 5, 2001 ...up there, we presume.	SCHECHNER—Kenneth S. 12/16/56 - 12/23/97. Sadly missed, lovingly remembered. Your Loving Family
WILK-HARRIS—Ellen. It is impossible to comprehend that you have been gone for three years. The passage of time has not diminished, but made stronger the memories of 40 years of a well-lived life. Love, Rogie	Memorialize and celebrate a loved one in the pages of The New York Times. advertising.nytimes.com 1-800-458-5522 The New York Times NYTIMES.COM	

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