

## HACKING THE DEMOCRATS

### How Russia Honed Its Cyberpower and Trained It on an American Election



JUSTIN T. GELLERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### A Times investigation reveals missed signals, slow responses and an underestimation of foreign efforts to disrupt the 2016 presidential campaign.

By ERIC LIPTON, DAVID E. SANGER and SCOTT SHANE

WASHINGTON — When Special Agent Adrian Hawkins of the Federal Bureau of Investigation called the Democratic National Committee in September 2015 to pass along some troubling news about its computer network, he was transferred, naturally, to the help desk.

His message was brief, if alarming. At least one computer system belonging to the D.N.C. had been compromised by hackers federal investigators had named “the Dukes,” a cyberespionage team linked to the Russian government.

The F.B.I. knew it well: The bureau had spent the last few years trying to kick the Dukes out of the unclassified email systems of the White House, the State Department and even the Joint Chiefs of Staff, one of the government’s best-protected networks.

Yared Tamene, the tech-support contractor at the D.N.C. who fielded the call, was no expert in cyberattacks. His first moves were to check Google for “the Dukes” and conduct a cursory search of the D.N.C. computer system logs to look for hints of such a cyberintrusion. By his own account, he did not look too

hard even after Special Agent Hawkins called back repeatedly over the next several weeks — in part because he wasn’t certain the caller was a real F.B.I. agent and not an impostor.

“I had no way of differentiating the call I just received from a prank call,” Mr. Tamene wrote in an internal memo, obtained by The New York Times, that detailed his contact with the F.B.I.

It was the cryptic first sign of a cyberespionage and information-warfare campaign devised to disrupt the 2016 presidential election, the first such attempt by a foreign power in American history. What started as an information-gathering operation, intelligence officials believe, ultimately morphed into an effort to harm one candidate, Hillary Clinton, and tip the election to her opponent, Donald J. Trump.

Like another famous American election scandal, it started with a break-in at the D.N.C. The first time, 44 years ago at the committee’s old offices in the Watergate complex, the burglars planted listening devices and jimmed a filing cabinet. This time, the burglary was conducted from afar, directed by the Kremlin, with spear-phishing emails and zeros and ones.

An examination by The Times of the Russian operation —  
*Continued on Page A14*

A filing cabinet broken into during the 1972 Watergate burglary and a computer server breached by Russian hackers are displayed at the Democratic National Committee’s headquarters.

## FIGHT FOR ALEPPO ENDS WITH DEFEAT FOR SYRIA REBELS

### A SPASM OF BRUTALITY

#### Deal for Evacuation — U.N. Sees ‘Meltdown of Humanity’

By ANNE BARNARD

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Russia declared on Tuesday that the four-year battle over Aleppo, Syria’s largest city, was over, as the last remaining rebel fighters agreed to turn over their territory to the Syrian government. While pro-government forces were moving in, United Nations officials said they were receiving multiple reports of execution-style killings.

The deal was announced just as civilians inside the rebel enclave said they had lost hope. They had spent days huddled in abandoned apartments under heavy shelling, as those with a record of opposing the government said they were bracing for arrest, conscription or death.

Under the deal, evacuations were set to begin at 5 a.m. Wednesday. Earlier on Tuesday, fears had mounted as the United Nations said it had reports that Syrian troops or allied Iraqi militiamen were gunning down families in apartments and on the streets, with the toll reaching 82 civilians.

Several residents said they had lost contact with relatives in those same areas, and a monitoring group, the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, said the number of men forced to join the army upon fleeing to government areas had reached 6,000. And with no way to treat the wounded, bodies were piling up on the streets of the shrinking rebel territory.

But then came the deal, and the shelling quieted down. Russia, Turkey and Syrian rebel groups announced that they had agreed to evacuate all of the remaining fighters to rebel-held territory, with civilians free to join them or move to government-held areas, leaving the whole city of Aleppo in government hands.

If the deal is carried out, and all rebel fighters leave as agreed, it would mark a major turning point in Syria’s nearly six-year war. It would put all of the major cities along the country’s more populous western spine back under government control, though Kurdish militias and the so-called caliphate of the Islamic State continue to hold large areas to the east.

*Continued on Page A8*

## Perry Is Chosen as Energy Chief

By CORAL DAVENPORT

WASHINGTON — President-elect Donald J. Trump plans to name Rick Perry, the former governor of Texas, to lead the Energy Department, an agency far more devoted to national security and basic science than to the extraction of fossil fuels that is Mr. Perry’s expertise.

In choosing him to be secretary of energy, the president-elect is elevating him to a cabinet post that Mr. Perry once said he wanted to eliminate, a proposal that led to one of the most famous gaffes in

recent presidential politics. “Oops,” Mr. Perry said in 2011 as he racked his brain during a nationally televised Republican primary debate, trying to remember the three departments he wanted to dismantle. He mentioned the Commerce and Education Departments but could not recall the third: the Energy Department.

Texas is rich in energy resources, and Mr. Perry is an enthusiastic supporter of extracting them. But it is not clear how that

*Continued on Page A20*

## As Exxon Head, Tillerson Put Company’s Needs Over U.S. Interests



BRENDAN HOFFMAN/BLOOMBERG NEWS  
Rex W. Tillerson, the Exxon Mobil chief executive, in 2010.

This article is by Ben Hubbard, Dionne Searcey and Nicholas Casey.

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Struggling to keep Iraq from splintering, American diplomats pushed for a law in 2011 to share the country’s oil wealth among its fractious regions.

Then Exxon Mobil showed up. Under its chief executive, Rex W. Tillerson, the giant oil company sidestepped Baghdad and Washington, signing a deal directly with the Kurdish administration in the country’s north. The move undermined Iraq’s central gov-

ernment, strengthened Kurdish independence ambitions and contravened the stated goals of the United States.

Mr. Tillerson’s willingness to cut a deal regardless of the political consequences speaks volumes about Exxon Mobil’s influence. In the Iraq case, Mr. Tillerson and his company outmaneuvered the State Department, which he has now been nominated by President-elect Donald J. Trump to lead.

“They are very powerful in the region, and they couldn’t care less about what the State Department wants to do,” Jean-François Sez-

nec, a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council, a research group in Washington, said of Exxon Mobil’s pursuits in the Middle East.

As America’s biggest oil company, with operations on six continents and a stock market value of more than \$390 billion, Exxon Mo-

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**FOR THE INTERIOR** A Montana congressman and former Navy SEAL, Ryan Zinke. PAGE A20

**LATINOS FOR TRUMP** In Yuma County, Ariz., jobs appeared to matter more than a wall. PAGE A12

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#### Wave of Violence in Mexico

A surge of violence this year has unnerved Mexico and led many to wonder whether the country is on the brink of a bloody, all-out war among criminal groups. PAGE A4

#### British Soccer in Crisis

A growing child sexual abuse scandal in British soccer circles has shocked the country and amounts to “one of the biggest crises” in the sport’s history, as a former official put it. PAGE A6

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#### Artists Seek Space, and Safety

After a deadly fire at a warehouse in Oakland, Calif., there’s a sense of agitation among Brooklyn artists, who say they lack the resources to ensure their spaces are up to code. PAGE A24

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#### Split Decision on Abortion

Ohio’s governor signed a bill banning abortions after 20 weeks, but vetoed a more restrictive measure that would have prohibited abortions after a fetal heartbeat was detected. PAGE A22

### BUSINESS DAY B1-8

#### New Setback for Wells Fargo

Federal regulators have rejected Wells Fargo’s “living will” plan, designed to safeguard the American economy in the event of the bank’s failure. PAGE B1

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#### A Reunion of Powerhouses

Plácido Domingo, left, and James Levine join forces for their 329th performance together at the Met in the Verdi opera “Nabucco,” a biblical potboiler. PAGE C1

### FOOD D1-10

#### The Best of the Best

Pete Wells counts down his favorites among the new places he reviewed this year, highlighting the rise of tasting menus in New York City’s restaurant scene. PAGE D1

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#### Alan Thicke, ‘America’s Dad’

Mr. Thicke, an actor known for his genial warmth, most notably as the advice-dispensing father on the sitcom “Growing Pains,” was 69. PAGE A15

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Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A27



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## Inside The Times

## INTERNATIONAL

**Protests Erupt in Poland Over Public Gathering Law**

Recent moves to restrict public gatherings in Poland drew a stark demonstration from protesters who believe the country is sliding toward authoritarianism. PAGE A9

**Canada's Marijuana Shift**

A panel appointed by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau recommended a controlled system to bring marijuana out of the black market. PAGE A6

**Captain Sentenced in Italy**

A Tunisian captain who was piloting a fishing vessel crammed with migrants that collided with another ship, resulting in the deaths of about 700 people traveling to Italy from Libya, was sentenced to 18 years in prison. PAGE A9

## NATIONAL

**E.P.A. Says Fracking Can Contaminate Water**

The Environmental Protection Agency has concluded that hydraulic fracturing has contaminated drinking water in some circumstances. The agency's report comes as President-elect Donald J. Trump has vowed to roll back existing regulations on the process. PAGE A19

**Stein Ends Recount Bid**

Jill Stein, the Green Party presidential candidate, closed her long-shot bid to recount the votes in three battleground states, but said the effort revealed deep shortcomings in the elections system. PAGE A12

## NEW YORK

**One Small Switch Holds Up Subway Progress**

The notorious Second Avenue subway, nearly a century in the making, is inches from the finish line. Governor Andrew M. Cuomo has made it his mission to finish the project by New Year's Eve, but a "demonic device" has recently drawn his ire. PAGE A23

## BUSINESS

**An (Edible) Solution To Extend Shelf Life**

A start-up, Apeel, has developed an alternative to the wax and other tricks growers use to keep produce fresh longer. It may also reduce food waste. PAGE B1

**A Rare Netflix Cancellation**

Netflix has shut down the 13th-century drama "Marco Polo," which cost the streaming service at least \$180 million, after only two seasons. PAGE B2

**Asahi Eyes Growth Abroad**

Asahi Group, the Japanese beer giant, said that it would pay \$7.8 billion to buy a group of Central and Eastern European beer brands from Anheuser-Busch InBev. PAGE B4

## OBITUARIES

**Thomas C. Schelling, 95**

An economist and Nobel laureate, his interest in game theory led him to write important works on nuclear strategy and to use the concept of the tipping point to explain social problems. PAGE B14

## SPORTS

**A Lackluster Lineup For U.S. Football in London**

The National Football League is sending eight teams to London next season, but the lineup may test even the most enthusiastic Briton's patience. PAGE B9

**U.S. Focuses on Fed Cup**

Despite Serena Williams's domination of the women's tennis tour, and with 16 players in the top 100, the United States has a 16-year title drought in the Fed Cup, a team competition it once dominated. PAGE B10

## ARTS

**'Rogue One' Leaves Fans Wanting More and Less**

This newest "Star Wars" film, masquerading as a heroic tale of rebellion, falls short of the energy of its predecessors in the franchise. Review by A. O. Scott PAGE C1

**Tackling Dining Challenges**

Jeremiah Tower's "Table Manners" delivers advice for confronting unknowns (finger bowls, artichokes, fish knives) and other dining etiquette, including cellphone behavior. Books of The Times. PAGE C1

**Truth in Choreography**

Reggie Wilson's creations come from years of reading and research before stepping into the studio. The suggested reading list for "Citizen," his newest production, includes Valerie Boyd's biography of Zora Neale Hurston and a study of African-American culture during the Jazz Age. PAGE C2

## QUOTATION OF THE DAY

**“This was not something that was done casually, this was not something that was done by chance, this was not a target that was selected purely arbitrarily.”**

**ADM. MICHAEL S. ROGERS,**  
the director of the National Security Agency and commander of United States Cyber Command, on Russian efforts to disrupt the American presidential election. [A14]

## FOOD

**The High Cost Of Zero Tipping**

Tip-free restaurants pay all employees wages that reflect their skill and seniority. It's a new business model that brings many changes, including higher prices, revamped dishes and shrinking staffs. PAGE D1

**A Low-Cost Global Ticket**

Our Hungry City critic picks the favorite restaurants she visited this year in New York's rich global bazaar. Hungry City. PAGE D10

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## Corrections

## FRONT PAGE

A highlights listing on Monday with an article about pretrial intervention or diversion misstated the disposition of a case involving Robert Lavern Tucker. He pleaded no contest to felony theft; he did not plead guilty. (A no contest plea, though technically not an admission of guilt, is usually treated as such, which allows judges to sentence defendants as if found guilty.)

## INTERNATIONAL

An article on Nov. 14 about an earthquake in New Zealand measuring 7.8 magnitude misidentified the tectonic plate that includes North Island and the northern part of South Island, both in New Zealand. They are on the Australian plate, not the Pacific one. The article also reversed the directions of the Australian and Pacific plates. The Australian is moving north and the Pacific, west.

## NATIONAL

An article on Tuesday about the proportion of American adults who have taken a psychiatric drug

misstated the number of adults involved in a 2013 prescription drug survey done by the government. It was 37,421, not 242 million.

## BUSINESS DAY

The Itineraries article on Tuesday about giving travel experiences for the holidays misspelled, in some copies, the given name of a woman who said she valued time with her family more than any physical gift. She is Tere Thompson, not Teri. The article also misidentified, in some copies, the city in which her daughter works. It is Los Angeles, not New York.

Because of an editing error, an article on Friday about the costs of delays in the completion of the Dakota Access Pipeline misidenti-

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Public Editor: Readers concerned

fied the nation's largest pipeline operator. It is Kinder Morgan, not Energy Transfer Partners.

## SPORTS

An article on Friday about the Rule 5 draft in Major League Baseball contained an outdated figure for the minimum major league salary. It will be \$535,000 in 2017, not \$500,000. The article also misstated, in some copies, the year in which George Bell, a Rule 5 selection, was named the American League most valuable player. It was 1987, not 1985.

An article on Tuesday about Chicago Blackhawks forward Marian Hossa misstated, in some editions, his placement among the N.H.L.'s goal leaders at the time. With 15 goals, he was in a tie for

fourth place, not fifth place.

Because of an editing error, a picture caption on Tuesday with an article about the Olympic judo champion Kayla Harrison and her move to mixed martial arts misspelled, in some copies, the name of the city that hosted the 2016 Olympic Games. It is Rio de Janeiro, not Rio de Janiero.

An article on Friday about Montreal Canadiens forward Alexander Radulov misstated, in some copies, the number of days between the Canadiens' signing of Radulov on July 1 and the trade in which Montreal sent P.K. Subban to the Nashville Predators for Shea Weber. The trade was two days before Radulov's signing, not one.

## THE ARTS

An article on Tuesday about eight affordable theater shows with holiday themes misstated the website for "The Most Miserable Christmas Tree" at the Fort Hamilton Army Base Theater in Brooklyn. It is mostmiserablemusical.com.

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## Court Debates Which Cosby Accusers May Testify

By JON HURDLE

NORRISTOWN, Pa. — A prosecutor on Tuesday accused Bill Cosby of drugging and assaulting 13 women over several decades in a pattern of behavior so similar that he said it should be admitted as evidence in Mr. Cosby's criminal trial for sexual assault.

"The victims in each of these cases couldn't consent because of the intoxicated state that the defendant had put them in," Kevin R. Steele, the district attorney for Montgomery County said during a hearing ahead of the trial, scheduled for June.

Mr. Steele described 10 assaults that he said had preceded Mr. Cosby's encounter with Andrea Constand, a former Temple University employee who has said he drugged and assaulted her at his suburban Philadelphia home in 2004.

Mr. Cosby, who has denied assaulting any of the women, faces charges of aggravated indecent assault in the Constand case, the only accusation against him that has led to criminal charges.

Mr. Steele told the court that all the women were much younger than Mr. Cosby, who had become a mentor to them, then invited them to, say, a dinner or a club, plied them with alcohol and drugs and assaulted them.

Prosecutors are asking Judge Steven T. O'Neill to allow them to use the account of the 13 women as evidence in the Constand case under a state law that allows "prior



POOL PHOTO BY DAVID MAIALETTI

Bill Cosby entering court in Norristown, Pa., where lawyers are arguing over which accusers may testify in his criminal trial.

bad acts" to be admitted as evidence if they can be shown to establish a signature pattern of behavior consistent with the behavior outlined in a criminal complaint.

The judge's ruling is considered crucial because a jury would then hear not just Ms. Constand's account, but that of other women who say similar things occurred to them.

Defense lawyers have argued the women's testimony is inconsistent and that the encounters happened too long ago for their memories to be reliable. They asked the judge to consider hundreds of pages of new evidence that they said undermined the prosecution's claim of a pattern of

prior bad acts.

"It goes to the reliability of the allegations of a common scheme," said Angela Agrusa, an attorney for Mr. Cosby.

But Mr. Steele in his remarks tried to establish the pattern. He said "Prior Victim No. 3" had been a 24-year-old cocktail waitress in 1982 when, he said, Mr. Cosby raped her after persuading her to take pills that left her unconscious.

The prosecutor initially said Mr. Cosby was 31 at that time, but then corrected himself after being questioned by Judge O'Neill. Mr. Cosby joined in the discussion, shouting out his birth date — one of two times he shouted out answers during the proceedings. He

**A legal point led to a shouting match between the lawyers.**

sought to show that he had been 45 or 46 at the time.

Mr. Cosby, wearing a brown checked jacket and brown slacks, seemed more animated and attentive than he had been in prior court hearings. On his way inside during the morning, appearing jovial, he had told a court security officer, "Don't tase me, bro."

Earlier parts of the hearing were devoted to legal argument over what evidence can be used in the trial, and that led to a shouting match between Mr. Steele and Brian J. McMonagle, Mr. Cosby's lead attorney, over whether the women — many of whom have given interviews or news conferences — could be identified in court.

Mr. Steele repeatedly urged the judge not to allow Mr. Cosby's defense team to show a presentation containing the names of the 13 women.

"They want to stick them on a Power Point for everybody to see," Mr. Steele shouted.

That drew a rebuke from the judge who threatened to use sheriffs' deputies to restore order to the court.

"Both of you, stop," the judge said. "You don't want to get involved with the sheriff's office."

## Extensive Brain Defects Seen in Babies of Mothers With Zika

By DONALD G. McNEIL Jr. and PAM BELLUCK

Babies born to Zika-infected mothers are highly likely to have brain damage, even in the absence of obvious abnormalities like small heads, and the virus may go on replicating in their brains well after birth, according to three studies published Tuesday.

Many types of brain damage were seen in the studies, including dead spots and empty spaces in the brain, cataracts and congenital deafness.

There were, however, large differences among these studies in how likely it was that a child would be hurt by the infection.

One study, published by The Journal of the American Medical Association, assessed 442 pregnancies registered with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention between January and September in the continental United States and Hawaii, most of them in returning travelers.

That report found that 6 percent had birth defects. None of those birth defects occurred in infants born to women infected in the second or third trimester.

By contrast, in a study of 125 Zika-infected women in Rio de Janeiro done by Brazilian and American scientists and released by The New England Journal of Medicine, almost half of pregnancies had "adverse outcomes," ranging from fetal deaths to serious brain damage.

Of the 117 infants born alive, 42 percent had "grossly abnormal" brain scans or physical symptoms, the authors said.

Other studies from Colombia, Brazil and French Polynesia have suggested that brain damage rates are between 1 and 13 percent. But each one uses different measurements of brain damage and different definitions of which mothers to include, so the question remains unanswered.

The women in Rio were first selected for the study because they had rashes, and all were confirmed by testing for the virus itself, rather than by less accurate antibody testing.

Several scientists said the symptoms suggested that the women had more serious infections and were more likely to have damaged infants.

But a study author, Dr. Karin Nielsen-Saines of the David Geffen School of Medicine at the University of California, Los Angeles, said that other work by her group showed that women with no symptoms could have viral loads as high as women with rashes. Other studies that used antibody tests, she said, might have accidentally included women who never had Zika.

Dr. Deborah Levine, a professor of radiology at Harvard Medical School, noted that many of the Rio women had previous infections with dengue virus, which might have worsened their Zika infections or prompted more intense immune responses, in turn damaging their babies.

Both studies showed that only a very small percentage of the babies with brain damage had full-blown microcephaly, which is defined as a head size three standard deviations below the mean for the

baby's age.

"This shows once again that microcephaly is just the tip of the iceberg," said Dr. Albert I. Ko, a Yale epidemiologist who has worked in Brazil for years.

The Rio study also counters the idea that only first-trimester infections are threatening. The authors found that 55 percent of first-trimester infections produced bad outcomes, 52 percent of second-trimester ones did, and 29 percent of third-trimester ones did.

"You can't just say that the first and second trimester are the risk periods, and the third is not," said Dr. Roberta L. DeBiasi, the chief of

**Damage is found even in the absence of obvious abnormalities like small heads.**

pediatric infectious diseases at Children's National Health System.

In the third study, released by Emerging Infectious Diseases, a C.D.C. publication, the Zika virus was shown to be still replicating in the brains of infants days or even weeks after they were born. It was also shown to persist in placentas for up to seven months.

For that study, C.D.C. scientists analyzed autopsy brain tissue from eight infants who were born alive but died later — sometimes within a few hours, in one case after two months.

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# Mexico Grapples With a Surge in Violence, and Fears Rise

## Worries of War Among Gangs

By KIRK SEMPLÉ

CIUDAD JUÁREZ, Mexico — Five men shot dead in a barber-shop, their bodies slumped near the doorway. A decapitated body dumped next to a housing development. Three others killed behind a pool hall and several more in a bar called Tres Mentiras, or Three Lies.

By the end of October, at least 96 people had been killed in the border city of Ciudad Juárez. It was the highest monthly tally since 2012, sowing fears of a return to the gangland mayhem that once earned this city the title of the most violent place in the world.

Back then, the bloodshed in this city was in a class of its own. But now it has company, with other Mexican cities that are as bad or worse. In the last year, the number of homicides around Mexico has soared to levels not seen in several years.

In the first 10 months of this year, there were 17,063 homicide cases in Mexico, already more than last year's total and the highest 10-month tally since 2012. The relapse in security has unnerved Mexico and led many to wonder whether the country is on the brink of a bloody, all-out war between criminal groups.

"It's a trauma, it's a kind of fear, among all of us who saw a killing, who heard gunshots," said Carlos Nájera, an activist in Juárez. "Everyone's worried about a slide to the past."

The surge in violence around Mexico reflects an increasingly volatile criminal landscape and the limitations of North America's counternarcotics strategy, and it has contributed to the plummeting approval ratings of President Enrique Peña Nieto.

A longstanding cornerstone of the Mexican government's fight against organized crime — backed by hundreds of millions of dollars in American aid — has been to aim at the kingpins, on the theory that cutting off the head will wither the body. But the tactic has helped to fragment monolithic, hierarchical criminal enterprises into an array of groups that are more violent and uncontrollable, analysts said.

The rising insecurity poses a problem for President-elect Donald J. Trump, who has offered few insights into how he intends to approach the battle against narco-trafficking and crime in the hemisphere.

His campaign language suggested a strategy of containment, its centerpiece being the construction of a wall along the American border to thwart drugs and illegal immigration. Some analysts worry that, as part of this approach, Mr. Trump may withdraw the limited American support for initiatives in Mexico that seek to strengthen the rule of law, fortify state institutions and repair communities damaged by crime.

But a hands-off American approach may only give more space to violent criminal groups in Mexico and elsewhere, destabilizing the region, analysts said.

"A fortress America response is probably going to prove insufficient very quickly," said Alejandro Hope, a leading security analyst in Mexico.

He noted that all the heroin consumed annually in the United States, most of which comes from Mexico, "would fit into 1,800 to 2,000 pieces of luggage."

"You don't stop that with a wall," he said.

The Mexican government has



A soldier and a police officer at a scene in Acapulco, Mexico, where two people were killed in April. Violence has spread beyond notorious places like Ciudad Juárez.

been battling drug traffickers for decades, but the fight acquired new intensity in 2006 when the president at the time, Felipe Calderón, declared "war" on organized crime.

The Mexican military was partly successful in that approach, capturing or killing many of the most-wanted drug traffickers in the country. Monthly tallies of homicide cases, after climbing to a peak of 2,131 in May 2011, eventually began to fall.

Juárez saw some of the worst of the violence, becoming a symbol of Mexican dysfunction and tragedy: At the peak of the bloodshed, in October 2010, the city suffered 359 homicides, according to the Security and Justice Working Group in Juárez, an independent task force that includes representatives of civil society and government. But an intensive response

— including the saturation of the city by government security forces and a robust engagement by civil society — helped turn things around.

The national kingpin strategy, however, fell short in one important respect: Drug trafficking continued to flourish. And as leaders fell, the large drug organizations splintered into smaller criminal gangs, which waged battles of succession that led to greater violence.

"These groups, if you just kind of leave them alone, they're very powerful," said Steven Dudley, co-director of InSight Crime, a foundation that studies organized crime in the Americas. "And if you mess with them and they fragment, they're multiple, unwieldy beasts."

Since late 2014, the homicide numbers have trended upward,

an increase that Eduardo Guerrero, a security consultant in Mexico City, has named "the second wave of violence."

September — with 1,976 homicide cases around the country — was the deadliest month in Mexico since May 2012, and one of the deadliest on record, according to Mexico's Interior Ministry.

And while the violence that was a part of Mr. Calderón's presidency was mostly concentrated in a few places, like Juárez, the recent rise in homicides has been dispersed. Violence has erupted in places that had experienced relatively little of it until recently, including Colima, a once-tranquil Pacific Coast state, and the state of Guanajuato, a growing hub of the automotive industry and the location of San Miguel de Allende, a popular tourist destination for foreigners.

In September 2015, for instance, only two states had more than 100 homicide victims over the course of the month. In September 2016, 11 states suffered more than 100.

Though the clashes between remnant drug groups are widely thought to be a significant cause in the rising violence, analysts and government officials also point to other factors, including changes in political control of state and municipal governments after recent elections.

As old political power structures make way for new ones, cooperation between the corrupt authorities and criminal groups fall apart, analysts said.

"Groups try to mobilize themselves to have a better position to negotiate with the incoming government," Mr. Guerrero said. "The uncertainty of the criminals is very high, so their best weapon in the negotiations is to 'heat up the plaza.'"

In addition, criminal organizations have diversified their business models, branching out into extortion, theft, kidnapping, prostitution, illegal gambling, intellectual property piracy and fuel theft, analysts said.

"What you have is a transition in the criminal underworld that is from large-scale, relatively identifiable, hierarchically structured criminal organizations whose business was mainly about smuggling drugs to the United States, to diversified, smaller gangs, more local in scope, more predatory in nature," Mr. Hope said.

But while the nature of Mexico's criminal operations has shifted, the government response has not, he said. "They're great at capturing El Chapo but not so good at addressing the extortion of mom and pop stores in Guerrero," he said, referring to the captured drug kingpin Joaquín Guzmán Loera.

In August, the administration of Mr. Peña Nieto announced a plan to reinforce security in 50 municipalities that account for 40 per-

cent of the country's homicides. The government has yet to name the municipalities and for months offered few details about the strategy. But in response to written questions this week, the Interior Ministry said the plan involved the coordination of local, state and federal authorities and included the deployment of quick-reaction forces in each of the 50 municipalities, among other measures.

Even while acknowledging the increase in homicides, officials have apparently sought to play it down. At a news conference last month, Renato Sales Heredia, the national security commissioner, dismissed the increase as "not substantial." His office later clarified in an interview that he had not been referring to this year's surging violence, but to the smaller increase from 2014 to 2015.

Officials have also denied that the problem is widespread. In its responses to questions this week, the Interior Ministry said that 42 percent of homicides in Mexico were concentrated in 2 percent of the nation's municipalities, though it did not provide a time frame for that statistic.

The responses have left many analysts to conclude that the administration lacks a coherent strategy to address the problem.

"The only thing they do is to confront the consequences but not the causes, and they do so in a very marginal way," said Francisco Rivas, director of the Observatorio Nacional Ciudadano, a group that studies security and justice issues in Mexico.

Still, administration officials privately express deep concern about the rising numbers and about the possibility of a return to an all-out drug war.

In Juárez, that possibility is palpable. This year's increase in homicides has aggravated a kind of communal post-traumatic stress disorder, even if the num-

Continued on Page A8



A funeral in Juárez in October 2010, when there were 359 homicides and violence was at its peak.

# U.S., Concerned About Casualties in Yemen, Blocks Arms Sale to Saudi Arabia

By HELENE COOPER

WASHINGTON — The Obama administration has deepened its rift with its Gulf allies over the ongoing conflict in Yemen, blocking a transfer of precision munitions to Saudi Arabia because of concerns about civilian casualties that administration officials attribute to poor targeting.

Administration officials said on Tuesday that the White House had made the decision to block the sale by Raytheon of about 16,000 guided munitions kits, which upgrade so-called dumb bombs to smart bombs that can more accurately hit targets. The kits, if purchased over the life of the proposed contract, are valued around \$350 million.

But administration officials said that upgrading the bombs would not help targeting if the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen did

Eric Schmitt and Gardiner Harris contributed reporting.

not choose its targets properly, an ongoing concern since the start of bombing campaign. This year, the United States blocked a sale of cluster munitions to Saudi Arabia because of similar concerns.

The administration's decision is a setback for Raytheon, which officials say pushed hard for approval of the sale. Administration officials said that Raytheon's chief executive, Thomas A. Kennedy, personally lobbied Tony Blinken, the deputy secretary of state, and also reached out to Secretary of State John Kerry and Susan Rice, the national security adviser. It was unclear if he connected with Mr. Kerry or Ms. Rice.

Josh Earnest, the White House press secretary, said on Tuesday that the Obama administration has "long expressed some very significant concerns about the high rate of civilian casualties" in the Yemeni conflict. Administration officials pointed to the bombing in October of a funeral hall in

Yemen that killed over 100 people and wounded hundreds of others. The Saudi-led military coalition involved in Yemen's war acknowledged that one of its jets carried out the attack, for which it blamed faulty intelligence.

The funeral bombing prompted the administration review of the United States' engagement in the conflict. A senior administration official said that until what he called "flaws" in Saudi Arabia's targeting of Iranian-backed Houthi rebels is addressed, the United States would block the arms sale.

The blocking of the sale is bound to further deteriorate an already shaky relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia, which has worsened during the Obama administration. Sunni Arabs are alarmed about a stronger Shiite-majority Iran, and object to the Iran nuclear deal signed by the United States and five other countries.

Some Sunni Arab allies have expressed hope that President-elect Donald J. Trump might adopt a more conciliatory tone toward Saudi Arabia, but foreign policy experts caution that no one, at this point, has a firm idea of how Mr.

## Refocusing training to better choose bombing targets.

Trump, who has made fighting radical Islamic militant groups a centerpiece of his campaign, will conduct foreign policy in the region.

Yemen's conflict began in 2014 when the Houthis, from the country's north, allied with rogue army units and stormed the capital, Sana, pushing the internationally

recognized government into exile. Last year, Saudi Arabia formed a military coalition that has been bombing the rebels, seeking to dislodge them from the capital and restore the government.

All of the warring parties have been accused of war crimes, including indiscriminate attacks on civilian areas and the recruitment of child soldiers. The United Nations says more than 10,000 people have been killed, and much of the country is short of food.

Besides halting the munitions sales, first reported by Reuters, the White House is also cutting back on some intelligence sharing with Saudi Arabia, which administration officials acknowledge could potentially lead to even more civilian casualties. To try to prevent that, an administration official said that the United States would refocus training with the Saudi Air Force in how to better choose bombing targets.

But some American support for

the Saudi-led campaign will continue, administration officials said. The American military will continue to refuel coalition aircraft. In addition, officials said that the United States would increase intelligence sharing with Saudi Arabia about threats to the Saudi border.

Human rights organizations, which have sharply criticized American support for the Saudi-led bombing in Yemen, said that blocking the arms sale was not enough. "The absence of a more comprehensive ban, given the ongoing unlawful strikes and the potential U.S. complicity, is deeply concerning," said Sarah Margon, the Washington director at Human Rights Watch.

She added that the organization found it "disappointing that the review has not been made public as doing so would send a clear message to Riyadh that opacity is not acceptable given the scale and scope of the civilian casualties."


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# Child Sexual Abuse Scandal Plunges British Soccer Into Crisis

## Youth Coaches Preyed on Boys

By KATRIN BENNHOLD

MARTON, England — Andrew Woodward grew up with a soccer ball between his feet. His room, in a working-class housing estate, was filled with posters of famous players and his head with dreams of becoming a defender for England. When he was 9, he scored a goal from the halfway line in a school match and raced across the field into the arms of his father, who said he was “the proudest dad in the world.”

Two years later, Mr. Woodward was spotted by Barry Bennell, a well-known soccer scout and youth coach in northern England. It was September 1984, and Mr. Bennell told Mr. Woodward’s parents that he could turn their son into a professional player. Could he come train at Crewe Alexandra, a professional club, and stay with him on weekends to improve his skills?

It would prove to be the beginning of a four-year ordeal of harrowing sexual abuse — and it has turned out not to be the only one.

After scandals in children’s homes, in the Roman Catholic Church, in the police and in the entertainment industry, where the child abuser Jimmy Savile is said to have assaulted dozens of youngsters, soccer is the latest British institution to face allegations of the sexual exploitation of children on a broad scale.

The nature and extent of the abuse has come as a shock to the country that invented modern soccer and is home to the Premier League, the richest and most widely watched league in the world. Just as troubling is the apparent reluctance at club level to act decisively to stop the abuse then, and more recently.

Two years ago, Chelsea, one of the richest clubs in the world, paid a former player, Gary Johnson, 50,000 pounds, about \$63,000, in an agreement that stopped him from going public with his allegations of sexual abuse at the hands of a former Chelsea youth coach.

Four weeks ago, Mr. Woodward, who eventually became a defender for Crewe Alexandra, became the first professional soccer player to go public with his claims of abuse. Since then, at least 20 other former players have followed, and many more have contacted the po-



PAUL ELLIS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Andrew Woodward, above, was the first professional soccer player in Britain to go public with claims of sexual abuse. His former coach Barry Bennell, far left, Mr. Woodward, left, playing with Bury during a 1998 game against Manchester United.



WILL DICKEY/THE FLORIDA TIMES-UNION



REUTERS

lice privately. A help line has fielded over 1,000 calls. At least 20 police forces across Britain have opened investigations into 83 suspects in cases involving about 350 possible victims and 98 soccer clubs from the amateur level to the Premier League.

In the words of Greg Clarke, the chairman of the Football Association, the governing body that oversees much of soccer in England, it is “one of the biggest crises” in the sport’s history, one that has left Mr. Woodward and many

others who suffered at the hands of coaches and officials permanently scarred.

At first, Mr. Woodward recalled in an interview last week, the opportunity to become a professional player seemed almost too good to be true. Mr. Bennell could spin a ball on his finger, flick it off his shoulders and rest it on his neck before catching it with his heel. “Like a magician,” Mr. Woodward said. The coach’s home, an isolated cottage on the edge of the Peak District in the middle of Eng-

land, was the stuff of a boy’s dreams. There was a pool table and a jukebox and a monkey that would sit on Mr. Woodward’s shoulder and eat cucumbers. Mr. Woodward said the television was the biggest he had ever seen.

The first time Mr. Woodward stayed at the cottage, Mr. Bennell gave him a pair of soccer cleats to keep. The second time, he asked him to come into bed and play a game he called “follow me,” where they took turns touching each other, at Mr. Bennell’s direction.

The third time, the rapes started and they continued for four years: in a bunk bed with another boy lying above; in a car on the way to training; in youth hostels during soccer tournaments; and, occasionally, in Mr. Woodward’s own house, after Mr. Bennell had eaten dinner with Mr. Woodward’s family.

When Mr. Woodward resisted, he would be dropped from the next match and made to sit on the bench. “I can ruin your football tomorrow,” Mr. Bennell would tell him, warning: “Keep quiet or you’re finished.”

Mr. Woodward did keep quiet, until 1998, when the police knocked on his door and told him that Mr. Bennell faced charges of sexual abuse. Mr. Woodward became an anonymous witness in a case in which Mr. Bennell, now 62, was sent to jail for nine years on 23 charges of sexual abuse, including buggery, against six boys. Mr. Bennell had already served a prison sentence in the United States for raping a 13-year-old boy at a soccer holiday camp, and he was convicted again as recently as 2015.

Since then, Mr. Bennell has been living under an assumed

name, but he was taken back into custody after Mr. Woodward went public with his story in *The Guardian*, a British newspaper, on Nov. 16. Mr. Bennell now faces eight counts of child sexual assault, the Crown Prosecution Service announced last month.

For years, Mr. Bennell and other pedophilic coaches appear to have been protected by powerful individuals at the clubs where they worked.

The manager of Crewe Alexandra when Mr. Woodward was being abused, Dario Gradi, was still employed as the club’s director of football until this last weekend. Mr. Gradi was suspended by the Football Association only after another former player said that when Mr. Gradi was assistant manager of Chelsea in the 1970s, he had visited the player’s parents to smooth over the sexual advances of another youth coach, Eddie Heath. Mr. Gradi, who in 1998 was honored by Queen Elizabeth II for his services to soccer, could not be reached for comment.

In the past, when players tried to bring abuse to the attention of the soccer authorities, they found little sympathy.

The settlement between Chelsea and Mr. Johnson, who says he was also abused by Mr. Heath, who is now dead, came after Mr. Johnson tried in 2013 to tell the police and soccer authorities about the abuse, prompted by the investigation into Jimmy Savile’s actions. He was ignored every step of the way, Mr. Johnson says. Only last week did Chelsea’s leadership apologize to Mr. Johnson in person, after the club waived the condition that he remain silent.

The Heath problem has been an internal headache for Chelsea for

some time, according to one lawyer familiar with the case, speaking on condition of anonymity because of a continuing investigation.

The instinct to close ranks and protect the club is one of the reasons Richard Scorer, a lawyer at Slater and Gordon who has worked on sexual abuse cases for 20 years, says he believes that the scandal in soccer will snowball. His firm represented abuse victims in children’s homes in the mid-1990s, in the Catholic Church in the late 1990s, and, more recently, Mr. Johnson. “Professional football unites all the risk factors,” he said.

Like priests, soccer coaches have easy access to children and the trust of parents. But they also have the opportunity for intimate contact with children in showers, changing rooms and on tours.

Above all, coaches have a relationship with their players characterized by what Mr. Scorer called “near absolute power.”

“They are the gatekeepers of dreams,” he said.

Mr. Bennell always had two boys to stay for the weekend and sometimes three. During the day, he played soccer with them, took them to matches and treated them to McDonald’s. At night, he showed scary movies to frighten them and then pull them close.

Mr. Bennell had a nunchaku — a weapon made of two short bars with a chain in the middle — that he liked to show off. He made the boys hold a newspaper and then split it in two with the chain. “What we have is special,” he would say. “Don’t ruin it.”

Mr. Woodward, dark-haired and introverted, was his favorite. “He would always pick the soft ones with the quiet parents who were less likely to challenge him,” Mr. Woodward recalled.

Mr. Bennell would come for dinners at his home and wink at him across the table. Sometimes he would stay over in the room next to his parents’ bedroom. Mr. Woodward’s mother would ask her son why he was so quiet when his coach visited.

When Mr. Woodward was 14, Mr. Bennell began seeing his 16-year-old sister. Two years later, he married her. It is a subject Mr. Woodward cannot bear to talk about except to say that his sister left Mr. Bennell in 1998, the year his former coach went to prison and he finally mustered the courage to tell his family about the years of abuse.

Coming forward has been a relief, said Mr. Woodward, who has been told he has post-traumatic stress disorder and who has tried to take his life several times. His soccer career ended because of recurring panic attacks on the field. “I was playing under a cloud,” he says today.

For 12 years, he worked for the police, but he was recently dismissed after a disciplinary tribunal over his having had a relationship with the adult sister of a victim of a crime.

Even now, age 43, when the soccer results are read out on the radio and his old club is mentioned, he says his stomach turns. He has never returned to Crewe, though it is less than an hour’s drive from his house.

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## Marijuana Proposals Issued in Canada

By IAN AUSTEN

MONTREAL — Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has promised to legalize the recreational use of marijuana, but that doesn’t mean Canada will turn into a giant, smoke-filled set for a Cheech and Chong movie.

If Mr. Trudeau adopts the recommendations of a panel he appointed, marijuana’s move from the black market to the open market will be highly bureaucratic, heavily taxed and tightly controlled, with advertising and promotion virtually banned.

“The government doesn’t want to have a country consuming marijuana,” said Bruce Linton, the chairman and chief executive of Canopy Growth, which owns Tweed, one of 36 companies currently allowed to grow and sell medical marijuana. “They want a system for those who choose to consume it.”

The recommendations of the panel, which was led by Anne McLellan, a former cabinet minister from Mr. Trudeau’s Liberal Party, were made public on Tuesday. They propose that the government create a tightly controlled system that would lift marijuana out of the black market, but perhaps without exposing it to full sunlight.

“Now is the time to move away from a system that has, for decades, been focused on the prohibition of cannabis into a regulated legal market,” Ms. McLellan said at a news conference.

Mr. Trudeau has promised to introduce new laws by the spring.

Among other things, the panel suggested that the coming Canadian rules for cigarette packages, which are being contested by the tobacco industry, also be adopted for marijuana. They will require plain packages without logos or slogans, and with standardized

designs and fonts. The panel also recommended mirroring current rules on tobacco advertising, which essentially ban it.

Sales, the panel said, should be handled through special stores and not, as the province of Ontario had hoped, through government liquor stores. And the minimum buying age, it said, should be at least 18 or match provincial rules for alcohol.

It noted that marijuana stores, which have been popping up in Canadian cities in anticipation of Mr. Trudeau’s efforts to fulfill his election promise, are clearly ille-

### Moving from the black market to bureaucratic control.

gal, suggesting that they are unlikely to be part of a new system.

Over all, the panel acknowledged that its system would be even tougher than current Canadian limits on alcohol and cigarettes, which are themselves severe by the standards of many other countries. But, the report said, that simply reflects the need to do more about alcohol and tobacco.

“In designing a regulatory system for cannabis, we have an opportunity to avoid similar pitfalls,” the report said.

Under the proposed system, householders could own up to four plants, none taller than one meter, or about 3.3 feet. While the panel suggested that the law should allow people to share their stash with friends, individuals would not be allowed to possess more

than 30 grams. The panel also recommended maintaining stiff penalties against illegal sales.

The report found that there was no agreement on how to define when motorists are impaired by marijuana, and it urged governments to fund further research on that question.

The panel also said that taxes would have to be adjusted to reflect the concentration of active ingredients in different kinds of marijuana and to avoid prices that are so high as to drive buyers back to the black market.

Several medical marijuana producers, including Canopy, have attracted additional investment in anticipation of a legal recreational market in Canada.

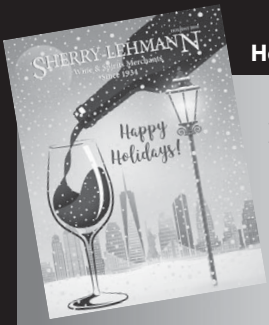
For them, however, the recommendations were a mixed bag. The panel recommended keeping the current medical marijuana system and called for recreational production to adopt the same tight licensing and control.

But it may be difficult for producers to distinguish themselves and establish brands in a market with plain packages and few marketing opportunities.

Tweed, perhaps pushing the limits of the medical marijuana system’s rules, formed a marketing partnership with the rapper Snoop Dogg, who co-hosts a cooking show with Martha Stewart. At the time, the company described him as “one of the world’s most respected cannabis icons.”

It is unclear what value that arrangement would have in a system that effectively bans advertising and other promotion. But Mr. Linton said he was confident that the partnership would still be an asset.

“Brands have already begun and exist,” he said. “I don’t think you can extinguish what people already know.”



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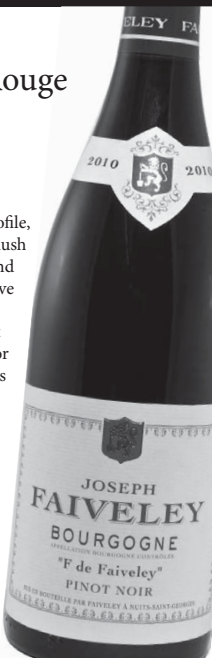
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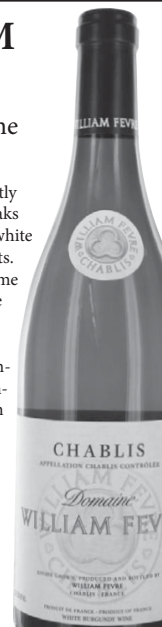
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GEORGE OURFALIAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Forces loyal to President Bashar al-Assad of Syria walked near the remains of the ancient Umayyad mosque in Aleppo on Tuesday after retaking the city.

## 4-Year Battle for Aleppo Ends in Defeat for Syrian Rebels

From Page A1

A full evacuation from Aleppo would be the largest success of the government's starve-or-surrender strategy, bombing and besieging areas out of its control until fighters and residents agree to surrender. It would leave the armed opposition to the Syrian president, Bashar al-Assad, in control of just one provincial capital, Idlib — where rebel fighters from Aleppo will be based — as well as stretches of rural territory

Reporting was contributed by Hwaida Saad from Beirut, Nick Cumming-Bruce from Geneva, Somini Sengupta from the United Nations, Karam Shoumali from Istanbul, Oleg Matsnev from Moscow and Falih Hassan from Baghdad.

in northern and southern Syria and several other isolated patches.

But the victory leaves Mr. Assad more dependent than ever on Iran and Russia, and so despised by his opponents, including many of Syria's majority Sunnis, that they might never again accept him as a legitimate ruler. The territory he has reconquered has been won at a devastating cost, and much of the country remains in the hands of his enemies.

The battle over Aleppo has been a particularly painful chapter of the war, dividing and largely destroying one of the world's oldest and most beautiful cities, a World Heritage site, amid mounting human suffering. The eastern, rebel-held half of Aleppo had become unlivable, with rebels unable to

stop the government's indiscriminate bombing, which destroyed entire neighborhoods, let alone deliver a better life. The government-held districts were far less damaged, and daily life there was more normal, but residents there suffered too, from indiscriminate rebel shelling.

Tens of thousands of residents — Russia says at least 100,000, the United Nations puts the number at 37,000 — left the rebel-held districts as pro-government forces moved in. Thousands more fled to rebel- or Kurdish-held areas. The government said rebels were keeping most people inside by force; some residents said in interviews that fighters had stopped them from leaving, others said they guided them out.

When the agreement was an-

nounced Tuesday, the remaining residents — who just hours before had been sending what they thought were their last farewells — suddenly had to reckon with their mixed feelings about a bitter-sweet and uncertain escape.

Now, it seemed, they would survive, and avoid arrest in a country where dissent can be punished by torture. Yet now they would have to leave their city, perhaps forever.

"I don't know whether to laugh or cry," Bassem Ayoub, a longtime antigovernment activist, posted on Facebook. "My soul is leaving my body. Aleppo, my life, my life."

Hours earlier, he and his family made an excruciating decision. His wife and children, he said, went in search of a route to government-held territory, hoping to fade into crowds of the displaced and not be discovered as the relatives of a man the government considers a terrorist. He stayed behind, unsure when he would see them again, but certain that if he tried to flee, he would be arrested.

"Some are crying from happiness, others are sad they will no longer be able to kneel to pray in Aleppo," said Malek, an activist who hopes to join his pregnant wife in northern Aleppo Province. "I'm sad, as well — I paid blood for Aleppo, but I can never again set foot here. Tyranny has won."

Others expressed their bitterness about a revolt that started with protests for political reform but curdled as the government bombarded rebel-held neighborhoods and Islamist extremists rose to power within the insurgency. "The Islamists and love of power screwed up the revolution," Zaher al-Zaher, another activist, wrote in a text message. "I lost my house, and my family are away from me. My heart is burning."

As preparations began for the departures from eastern Aleppo, government supporters celebrated in the streets.

Rebels, activists and aid workers in eastern Aleppo said they had been told that civilians and fighters could all leave and travel to rebel-held areas. That satisfied a key demand that both groups have an option to avoid going to government-controlled areas, where dissidents and medical and humanitarian workers working in rebel-held areas have been punished as terrorists.

But there were still doubts and fears about whether the way out would be smooth or safe. In previous agreements, like one in Homs in 2014, pro-government militias, angry that fighters they saw as terrorists were allowed to leave alive, have fired on evacuees.

Signs of friction emerged early Wednesday in Aleppo. About 1

a.m., four hours before the 5 a.m. departures set out under the agreement, a convoy of vans carrying 70 wounded people, mostly fighters and their families, were filmed pulling out of the enclave. But a short time afterward, residents reported the convoy had been turned back by pro-government Shiite militiamen and told it could depart after 6 a.m.

There were concerns that cracks were already emerging in the deal, perhaps over tensions between Mr. Assad's two main allies, Russia and Iran, which trains and backs pro-government Shiite militias from Iraq and elsewhere.

The deal was struck after widespread concern about the fate of civilians, with the United Nations warning of "a complete meltdown of humanity" and protests breaking out at United Nations headquarters in New York and Russian embassies in several cities, including London, Stockholm and Istanbul.

Hundreds of civilians have died in the offensive; the full toll is not known because the humanitarian groups that rescued and treated civilians and tracked casualties largely collapsed under fire in recent days.

The United Nations said the 82 summary killings were reported in four neighborhoods — Bustan al-Qasr, al-Fardous, al-Kallaseh and al-Saleheen — and included at least 11 women and 13 children, some shot in the streets as they tried to escape, said Rupert Colville, a spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Mr. Colville cited reports that the world body had received from reliable contacts inside and outside the city.

Later on Tuesday, the United Nations Syria envoy, Staffan de Mistura, revealed new details of what officials knew of the reported killings: The dead had been shot with handguns, but it was not clear who had killed them.

Russia categorically denied what the United Nations secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, said were "credible reports" of atrocities, including executions. Mr. Ban said the United Nations had been unable to verify the reports because the Syrian government had repeatedly denied permission to United Nations staff to monitor the evacuations and aid civilians stuck on the battlefield.

Asked if there was concern that Idlib Province, where surrendering rebels and civilians from other cities have been taken, could be "the next Aleppo," Mr. de Mistura acknowledged that grim possibility, adding, "We are working on that."

## 3 Operatives From ISIS Are Killed In U.S. Strike

By RUKMINI CALLIMACHI

ERBIL, Iraq — The Pentagon announced on Tuesday that a United States airstrike had killed three Islamic State operatives who were involved in mounting terrorist attacks in Europe, including the deadly assault in Paris in November 2015.

The three men were killed on Dec. 4 in an airstrike in Raqqa, Syria, the Islamic State's declared capital, said Peter Cook, the Pentagon press secretary. He described the men as "leaders, directly involved in facilitating external terror operations and recruiting foreign fighters."

Until his reported death by drone strike in August, Abu Muhammad al-Adnani, the Islamic State's spokesman, led its external operations branch, and he in turn relied on two lieutenants. Those men have been identified by other members of the group by their noms de guerre, Abu Souleymane and Abu Ahmad, and their real identities remain debated.

Beyond these figures, little is known about the hierarchy of the branch of the Islamic State — also known as ISIS or ISIL — responsible for projecting terrorism abroad. The Pentagon's announcement on Tuesday adds at least three more names to the mix.

Salah Gourmat and Sammy Djedou, two of the three operatives the Pentagon said had been killed this month, were described as "close associates" of Mr. Adnani, helping him carry out the Nov. 13, 2015, Paris attacks, which killed 130 people. Killed along with them was Walid Hamman, described as "a suicide attack planner," who was convicted in absentia in Belgium for a plot that was thwarted in 2015.

The presence of those names together evokes a fourth: All three were part of a network led by Boubaker al-Hakim, a senior French jihadist and "one of the most dangerous terrorists in the world," according to Jean-Pierre Filiu, a specialist at the Institute of Political Studies in Paris. The United States announced that Mr. Hakim had been killed in an airstrike in Raqqa on Nov. 26.

Mr. Hakim, 33, a French citizen of Tunisian descent, was accused of acting as the mentor to the brothers who carried out the attack on the offices of the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo in Paris, killing 12 people on Jan. 7, 2015. He is also suspected of having inspired the Islamic State-led attack on the National Bardo Museum in Tunisia two months later, killing 22 people.

Besides giving one interview in the Islamic State's online magazine, Mr. Hakim had kept a low public profile after moving to Syria to join the terrorist group. Though his name surfaced repeatedly among counterterrorism analysts as a possible senior figure involved in the Paris attacks, there has been no concrete confirmation of such involvement.

The Pentagon's announcement on Tuesday that some of Mr. Hakim's killed associates were involved in the Paris attacks goes a step further in suggesting that he was involved, too. In announcing his death, the Pentagon stopped short of that, describing his removal as one that "degrades" the terrorist group's "ability to conduct further attacks in the West."

Much remains unknown about how the Islamic State slipped 10 operatives into Paris. To date, more than a year after the devastating attack in Paris, even their exact route to the French capital from Syria remains unknown, with only two of the attackers appearing in Greek immigration records on the island of Leros, where they arrived by boat.

The Pentagon said the airstrikes had been carried out through the "rapid exploitation of intelligence material" collected in areas ISIS formerly held. Mr. Cook said that Mr. Gourmat, Mr. Djedou and Mr. Hamman "were working together to plot and facilitate attacks against Western targets at the time of the strike."

The airstrikes occurred as a highly classified campaign by the Pentagon's expeditionary targeting force, a team of commandos from the Joint Special Operations Command, has intensified drone strikes and raids against the Islamic State's external operations planners in recent months.

American officials say that detailed personal information recovered from laptops, cellphones and other electronic devices and materials seized in the raids has helped lead to more attacks against important terrorist leaders.

"Since we began accelerating our campaign last year, we've killed the majority of ISIS's most senior leaders," Defense Secretary Ashton B. Carter said at a security conference in Bahrain on Saturday.

Eric Schmitt contributed reporting from Doha, Qatar, and Gardiner Harris from Washington.



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## Mexico Grapples With Violence

From Page A4

bers are still well off the peak of the violence that engulfed this city several years ago — dropping to 33 in November from 96 in October, according to El Diario de Ciudad Juárez.

"They say Juárez is reborn, it's new. Horrible lies!" said Sergio Meza de Anda, director of Plan Estratégico de Juárez, a community-based organization. "The underlying causes persist."

He rattled off problems as much national as local, including corruption, impunity, weak public institutions, poverty, income in-

Azam Ahmed and Paulina Villegas contributed reporting from Mexico City.

equality and insufficient development.

"The state is an accomplice to the disorder," he said.

The Rev. Mario Manriquez, a prominent priest in Juárez, has seen the cost of neglect on the streets and in the homes of his parish in a southern neighborhood of the city — the broken families, the lives cut short.

"The violence never went away," he said.

On the edge of the park in front of his church, he has built a monument to the victims of the city's drug war. It is covered with plaques bearing the names of some of those who have been killed. The memorial is only three years old, but he is already running out of space for new names.

# Poles Protest New Law on Public Gatherings

## Governing Party Tightens the Rules

By RICK LYMAN  
and JOANNA BERENDT

WARSAW — When supporters of Poland's governing party met for their monthly gathering last weekend outside the presidential palace to commemorate the 2010 plane crash that killed many of the country's top leaders, they found that a group of protesters had already commandeered their usual spot.

The police quickly cleared them out. But it was a stark demonstration — along with larger dueling protests on Tuesday, the 35th anniversary of the imposition of martial law — of the disquiet over the right-wing government's recent moves to restrict public gatherings.

"They are destroying everything I fought for," said Lech Walesa, the former Solidarity leader, in an interview. "Free and democratic Poland is in danger."

A year after roaring into office with a majority in the Polish Parliament, the governing party, Law and Justice, has embarked on a new round of what it calls necessary reforms to strengthen the power of the executive branch. Opponents call it a troubling slide toward authoritarianism.

Shortly after assuming power, the party — led by Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the twin brother of Lech Kaczynski, the Polish president killed in the 2010 crash in Smolensk, Russia — passed laws that effectively hobbled the highest constitutional court and firmed up government control over public news media and state prosecutions.

Now, the government is cracking down on public gatherings as well as moving to regulate and monitor civic, nongovernmental organizations.

"This is sort of the second wave of their revolution," said Aleksander Smolar, president of the Stefan Batory Foundation, which promotes civic issues. "Or rather, I would use the term Kaczynski used himself. This is cultural counterrevolution against all those liberals. This is a time of reaction."

Supporters of the governing party, meanwhile, say opponents are overreacting wildly to what is simply an attempt to keep public order at a time of growing discord. "The reactions to this project are absolutely blown out of proportion," said Tadeusz Cymanski, deputy chairman of Law and Justice's parliamentary bloc. "The opposition is clueless about what it should look like or what it should do. This new bill is not a reason, but an excuse, to clamor."

Under the bill passed in early December by the lower house of Parliament, applicants could reserve a specific site for regular gatherings for up to three years while any counterdemonstrations



BARTLOMIEJ ZBOROWSKI/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

An antigovernment demonstration in Warsaw on Tuesday, the 35th anniversary of martial law.

had to be kept 100 meters away. In addition, government and church organizations were to be given priority for the use of any site.

The groups that have been staging regular antigovernment protests erupted. "This ends the period of the right of assembly in Poland as a civic liberty," said Andrzej Potocki, deputy chief of the Freedom, Equality, Democracy protest coalition.

Poland's Supreme Court ruled last week that the law, as passed by the lower house, was unconstitutional. It ruled that "the right to freedom of peaceful assembly is universally granted."

A group of 77 nongovernment organizations issued a statement saying the proposed law "seems to be dictated by political considerations and by what is convenient for authorities."

After top officials at the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe echoed those concerns, Poland's governing party decided to amend the law before its passage in the upper house of Parliament last week.

The provision giving the government and the Catholic Church priority at any protest site was removed, but party leaders retained rules allowing groups to reserve sites for regular gatherings and preventing counterdemonstrators from getting close to them.

Witold Waszczykowski, the Polish foreign minister, defended the bill in Brussels last week.

"We have not violated any international conventions," he said. "We simply want to introduce some order, seeing as there seems to be a fashion for demonstrating lately."

At the memorial gathering outside the presidential palace on Saturday, Mr. Kaczynski defended the police action to remove the protesters, even though they had a permit to be there.

"Today we have the first direct attempt to disrupt our ceremonies," he said. "Those who are here say, 'We are doing this legally.' Yes, formally their actions are legal. But what about their goals? Are they legal or permissible? Is it legal to take away someone's right to pray? It's all illegal. We need to say it clearly."

The government was stunned in October when thousands of people — most of them women dressed in black and carrying black umbrellas, the symbol of their movement — took to the streets to protest a proposed law

### A series of measures to strengthen the executive branch.

that would have made all abortions illegal. The measure was withdrawn.

Many see this new law to regulate public assemblies as an attempt to stop such movements from spreading. "This is the sort of effort they are most afraid of," Mr. Smolar said.

But while much of the attention on the new law has focused on its effect on government opponents, Kazimierz Kik, a political scientist at the Polish Academy of Sciences, said the governing party's real worry may be its own extreme, right-wing supporters attacking opponents on the streets.

"That would be a shambles, and the whole of Europe would cry in outrage," Mr. Kik said. "This new law is supposed to protect the government from some of its own supporters."

In competing protests on Tuesday, thousands of pro-government demonstrators waited with Polish

flags flying as counterprotesters from the Committee for the Defense of Democracy passed by.

"Use a sickle, use a hammer, smash the red rabble," the government supporters chanted.

"Here people have their rights, here Warsaw is free," the antigovernment protesters replied.

Halina Szymaszek, 74, a government supporter, scoffed at claims that democracy was threatened.

"Oh please, there's no threat to their rights," Ms. Szymaszek, a retired lawyer, said. "They are furious because they were broken away from the trough and so now they are squealing."

Mr. Walesa, the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983 and a symbol of Polish independence for many around the world, has thus far steered clear of the antigovernment protests. But he does not mince words when discussing his disdain for the current government, whose leaders have also attacked him and tried to play down his role during the Solidarity years.

"In my opinion, this is the worst government Poland has ever had," he said. "They are populists and demagogues. Even Communists were better."

Mr. Cymanski said government critics should just calm down.

"We have another election in three years, and if we are as bad as everyone says we are, if we indeed pose a threat to any democratic freedoms, people will speak up by voting against us," he said.

But not all government critics think Polish democracy can survive unscathed for that long.

"It's not just Poland's problem," Mr. Walesa said. "It's the world's problem. Everywhere in the world, people turn either too far right or too far left, and in the U.S. they elected someone like Donald Trump. This is a completely new reality."

# Captain of Migrant Ship Jailed for Deadly Wreck

By GAIA PIANIGIANI  
and NICK CUMMING-BRUCE

ROME — A Tunisian captain who was piloting a fishing vessel crammed with migrants that collided with another ship, resulting in the deaths of about 700 people traveling to Italy from Libya, was sentenced on Tuesday to 18 years in prison.

The captain, identified as Ali Malek Mohammed, 28, was convicted by a court in Catania, Sicily, of multiple manslaughter, human trafficking and causing the disaster in April 2015, the Mediterranean's deadliest known shipwreck.

Prosecutors said he had steered the fishing boat into a Portuguese freighter, the King Jacob, off the Italian island of Lampedusa. The King Jacob was sent to the area to help after the Italian authorities received an emergency call, prosecutors said.

The victims were part of a huge influx of migrants fleeing war and economic desperation who have risked their lives in an effort to reach Europe. More than 4,740 migrants died trying to cross the Mediterranean in 2016, according to an estimate by the International Organization for Migration, far surpassing the 2015 total of 3,660 deaths.

The migrant vessel capsized after a violent collision with the Portuguese ship, and only 28 survivors were found after a vast search-and-rescue operation.

The judges also convicted a Syrian man, Bikhit Mahmud, 26, who was serving as first mate, to five years in prison for engaging in illegal immigration.

Both defendants denied being involved in human trafficking, and Mr. Mohammed's lawyer, Massimo Ferrante, said he would appeal the verdict. "My client says he was a mere passenger," Mr. Ferrante said in a telephone interview.

That account was disputed by



TULLIO M. PUGLIA/GETTY IMAGES

Ali Malek Mohammed, center, the captain, was sentenced to 18 years. Bikhit Mahmud, right, the first mate, received five years.

survivors, who attributed the collision to Mr. Mohammed's ineptitude at steering the vessel.

The central Mediterranean route to Italy has become increasingly deadly — compared with a simpler, shorter route across the sea to Greece from Turkey — with around 4,240 migrants dying in 2016 so far, compared with about 2,860 in the same period last year.

Even before they undertake risky voyages on rickety, overcrowded boats, refugees waiting for passage from Libya face horrific abuse at the hands of Libyan authorities, human traffickers and extremists linked to the Islamic State, the United Nations said on Tuesday in Geneva.

Armed groups and criminal gangs, taking advantage of the government collapse that followed the downfall of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi in 2011, compete in smuggling operations, the world body said in a report compiled by its mission in Libya and its human rights office in Geneva. Migrants are routinely subject to death, torture, rape and sexual abuse, the report said.

But state institutions are also involved. Survivors interviewed by United Nations officials in Italy described being held for weeks,

ies of 169 migrants from Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Gambia, Mali and Senegal were retrieved. Hundreds more were trapped in the boat and were recovered only after the vessel was taken to shore in June by the Italian Navy, after a challenging, monthslong operation.

Italy's prime minister at the time, Matteo Renzi, strongly pushed for the recovery mission — despite the high cost and the complex identification process — as a way to highlight the human aspect of migration in the central Mediterranean.

Officials removed remains from the vessel over the summer, examining them to create a database with information about the victims. Teams of forensic experts worked around the clock in the Sicilian port of Augusta to collect body markings and DNA samples to confirm the identities of the victims and to inform their families.

The grim task of retrieving the corpses fell to firefighters in Sicily, who said they had found the decomposing bodies scattered around the sunken ship, which was under about 1,200 feet of water for over 14 months. Firefighters were called in because they had been trained to work in chemically and biologically dangerous situations.

A spokesman for the service, Luca Cari, said 400 volunteer firefighters, working in 20-minute shifts and protected by sealed chemical suits and oxygen masks, had removed hundreds of corpses, skeletons and other bodily remains from every corner of the fishing boat.

Hundreds of bodies were found in the well of the hull, in the engine room and even on the bridge.

"It was evident from many corpses' positions that they had struggled to exit when the vessel capsized," Mr. Cari said. "But the hatchway was closed."

"It was touching even for professionals like us," he added. "These men and women traveled the Mediterranean standing five per square meter. It's inhumane."

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# A Political Rival Accuses an Afghan Leader of Torture

## 'I Can Kill You Right Now'

By MUJIB MASHAL  
and FAHIM ABED

KABUL, Afghanistan — A political rival of Vice President Abdul Rashid Dostum of Afghanistan said on Tuesday that he had been tortured and raped with an assault rifle after being abducted by General Dostum last month.

In an interview with The New York Times, the political rival, Ahmad Ishchi, said he was badly abused by the general, who was the acting president at the time because President Ashraf Ghani was out of the country, and by the general's men.

"I can kill you right now, and no one will ask," Mr. Ishchi said General Dostum told him. He claimed the vice president stepped on his throat and pressed down after he had already been beaten and bloodied.

General Dostum's office, in a statement, called the accusation a conspiracy to defame the vice president. The statement said Mr. Ishchi had not been abducted, but rather had been arrested by security forces on charges of supporting the opposition, for which he remains under investigation.

"It's clear there are puppet elements that are trying to influence the international perceptions, and our advice to them is to avoid rushing and premature judgments," the statement said.

Multiple witnesses reported seeing General Dostum personally beating Mr. Ishchi and having his men drive away with him in a truck during a buzkashi match in northern Afghanistan last month. Despite repeated requests, General Dostum and his staff would not comment on the accusations at the time.

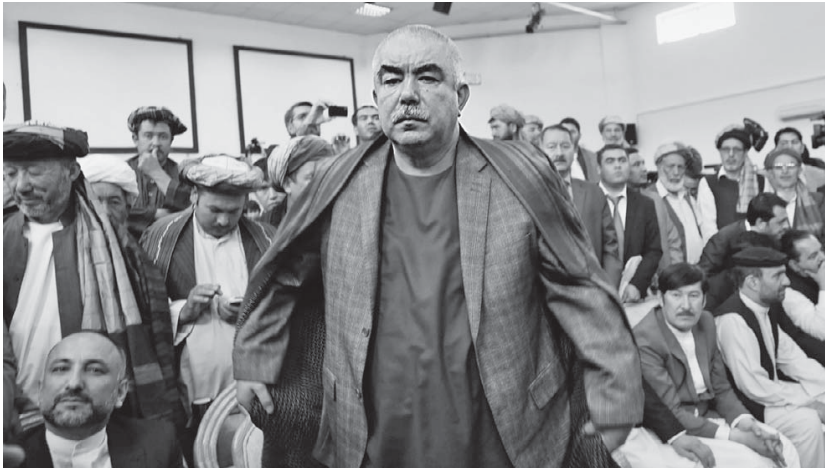
"If he has animosity with me, I would have no problem if he had killed me with a bullet," Mr. Ishchi said in the interview. "My character needs to be restored, my rights have been trampled. They should tell me the reasons. If he is the vice president, I am also a human, I have a right to live in this country."

Many of the Western embassies in Kabul expressed concern on Tuesday about Mr. Ishchi's accusations, which he also made to other news organizations, and called for an investigation.

"The E.U. and its member states present in Kabul, Australia, Canada and Norway, call for a fair and transparent official investigation as regards reports of gross human rights' violations and abuses against Mr. Ahmad Ishchi as well as concerning the allega-



FAHIM ABED



S. SABAWOON/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Ahmad Ishchi, top, in an interview on Tuesday in Kabul, Afghanistan. He said he was tortured last month after being abducted by Vice President Abdul Rashid Dostum, above in 2013.

tions made against the 1st Vice President, General Abdul Rashid Dostum," the European Union said in a statement on Tuesday.

Haroon Chakhansuri, a spokesman for the president, said the government was committed to investigating the accusations.

"For Afghan government, nobody is above the law," Mr. Chakhansuri said. "We will fully investigate the allegation. Rule of law and accountability begins from government itself, and we are committed to it."

General Dostum is a former warlord with a history of accusations of human rights violations and abuse, including physical acts of retaliation against allies and ri-

vals. In the past, the United States government, despite counting General Dostum as one of its earliest allies in the war, had urged the former president, Hamid Karzai, against using the general as a campaign ally.

When President Ghani, a Western-educated technocrat, selected General Dostum as his running mate two years ago in an effort to gain the support of his ethnic Uzbek constituency, it immediately raised concerns. Many feared that Mr. Ghani would struggle to contain a man he had once described as "a known killer."

As part of a campaign to improve the general's public image, Mr. Ghani's aides convinced Gen-

eral Dostum to release a statement apologizing for past crimes and privately stressed that he would have limited authority as vice president.

In the years since then, however, that sense of marginalization has sparked several outbursts by General Dostum in which he complained about not being trusted. And in a news conference in October, he issued a veiled threat that he might turn his anger against the government if disrespect of him continued.

"When Ghani brought Dostum onto his ticket in 2014, he repeated the same mistake that has plagued Afghanistan since 2001: subordinating human rights and

governance to political expediency," said Patricia Gossman, senior researcher on Afghanistan for Human Rights Watch. "Ghani knew Dostum's record, and he knew the risks — and wrangled an 'apology.' But the fact is warlords and strongmen throughout Afghanistan continue to operate with impunity, and that's why the effort to build a stable Afghan state, one where there's respect for the rule of law, has largely failed."

The rivalry between Mr. Ishchi and General Dostum dates back about three decades, to the final days of the Soviet-backed Communist government in Afghanistan. General Dostum outmaneuvered Mr. Ishchi to become the head of a regional paramilitary force, but Mr. Ishchi refused to serve as a subordinate of the general, remaining one of the political pockets that the general could not control in his northern stronghold.

The recent hostility broke out on Nov. 25, in northern Jowzjan Province, during a game of buzkashi between horsemen belonging to Mr. Ishchi on one side and General Dostum on the opposite. Mr. Ishchi, 63, said that the vice president summoned him over and was already fuming when he met him. He said General Dostum started insulting him, and then had his bodyguards throw Mr. Ishchi to the ground and stepped on his throat.

"He pressed for about two minutes like that," Mr. Ishchi said. "There were around 2,000 people in the arena watching."

He said his hands were tied behind him, and he was driven to General Dostum's home in the back of an armored vehicle. "They stuck to me like a wolf does to sheep — tearing my vest, taking off my cape, my boots, and my pants," he said.

In General Dostum's private prison, he said he suffered intense abuse, including repeated beatings and being raped with the barrel of a Kalashnikov rifle by one of Mr. Dostum's men, leaving him internally injured. His account could not be independently verified.

Mr. Ishchi said he remained a prisoner of General Dostum for five days before being handed over to local intelligence officers. The agency kept him for 10 days, releasing him after his wounds — he said his face looked "like a liver" the first time he looked in a mirror — were mostly healed, under the care of a doctor at the intelligence agency.

"What is my crime?" said Mr. Ishchi, showing a reporter bruises on his legs. "What right does he have to beat me up, to take me to his private prison? I will do anything I can to restore my honor, any door I can go to."

## Church Blast In Egypt Was Prelude, ISIS Warns

By DECLAN WALSH  
and NOUR YOUSSEF

CAIRO — Egypt faced the prospect of a surge in sectarian bloodshed on Tuesday after the Islamic State claimed responsibility for the bombing of a Coptic cathedral in Cairo that killed 25 people on Sunday. The group warned of more attacks to come.

As Christians gathered in churches to pay their respects to the victims, most of them women, the Islamic State said it had sent a suicide bomber to the chapel on the grounds of St. Mark's Coptic Orthodox Cathedral, the seat of the Egyptian Orthodox Church.

The Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL, identified the bomber by his nom de guerre, Abu Abdallah al-Masri. The Egyptian authorities on Monday identified the attacker as Mahmoud Shafik Mohamed Mostafa, but said he had used a different alias. There was no immediate explanation for the discrepancy.

A surveillance video made public by the Egyptian authorities showed a figure, said to be Mr. Mostafa, as he entered the church, followed moments later by a blast. It was the deadliest militant attack on Egyptian civilians in years, and the country's worst act of sectarian violence since another Islamist group bombed a Coptic church in Alexandria in 2011.

The Islamic State vowed to escalate its "war on polytheism" — a phrase that, in the Egyptian context, is a thinly veiled reference to Christianity. The threat suggested that the group, which has been battling the Egyptian military in the Sinai Peninsula for years, planned to intensify its operations in Egypt's biggest cities.

It was an embrace of sectarian violence on a scale rarely seen before in Egypt, with the Islamic State suggesting that it was prepared to single out Egyptian Christians much as it did minority Shiites in countries like Iraq and Syria.

All of that poses a new challenge for President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, who is already grappling with an economic crisis that has caused widespread discomfort and a slump in his popularity.

Until now, Mr. Sisi has tended to reflexively attribute most violent attacks to his enemies in the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamist political movement whose leader, Mohamed Morsi, was ousted by the military in 2013. On Monday, the Interior Ministry said that exiled Brotherhood leaders had provided "financial and logistical support" for the church bombing.

But the Islamic State's statement appeared to pour cold water on that assertion. Militancy experts said it was unlikely that the Brotherhood would have financed an Islamic State operation, although there is broad agreement that the man accused in the bombing, Mr. Mostafa, was arrested at a Muslim Brotherhood protest in 2014.

Mr. Mostafa's family said he was jailed and released some time later, when they lost contact with him. His lawyer said he had been tortured in jail, which may have led to his radicalization.

On Tuesday, images of grief-stricken parents clutching the coffins of their children were circulated on social media. The pictures provoked an outpouring of sympathy, but also a renewed wave of fury directed at Mr. Sisi for his government's failure to secure the cathedral.

Egyptian Copts, who are about 10 percent of the population, have long complained of systematic discrimination. But Mr. Sisi's government, in keeping with its usual reaction to major crises this year, chose instead to turn its focus on its foreign critics.

In a statement, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs denounced Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch for statements issued after Sunday's bombing, criticizing Egypt's record in protecting minority Christians.

A ministry spokesman, Ahmed Abu Zeid, said the human rights groups had shown an "unacceptable tolerance to terrorism."

If the Islamic State does escalate its attacks against civilians, Mr. Sisi faces some tough choices. He could come under pressure to take more punitive measures, like executing more of the prisoners on death row, said Mokhtar Awad, a research fellow at the Program on Extremism at George Washington University.

But faced with an increased threat from a foe like the Islamic State, Mr. Sisi should take a new approach to counterterrorism policy that is "more nimble and nuanced, focused on intelligence and how to stem the tide of radicalization in the country," Mr. Awad said. "This is the challenge for Egypt."

Do not forget the Neediest!

### KUNDUZ JOURNAL

## In a Battle-Torn City, Tending to the Dead and the Living

By MUJIB MASHAL

KUNDUZ, Afghanistan — Allah Mohammed, 37, helps sustain life, baking bread all day in the small oven of his corner shop in Kunduz City. Part of his bakery's ceiling remains caved in where it was hit by a rocket during the latest Taliban siege.

In another corner of the city, Abdul Rassoul, 65, comes in after life has gone. He digs graves and then waters the trees that dot the cemetery. He also chases away addicts trying to steal a grave railing, or shepherd boys whose herds stumble on the graves — pelting them with rocks and cursing them.

Both men wake up around 3 a.m. when the rest of Kunduz's residents are fast asleep, barring just a few.

Their everyday lives are woven into a larger pattern of hardship and resilience in the city. The bullet holes in the walls after each siege — two Taliban takeovers in just over a year — are reminders that it could easily happen again, and most likely will. So the people of Kunduz try to shrug it off as just another disruption in a long stream of them.

After their awakening in the dark, Mr. Mohammed and his two bakery workers work through two sacks of flour, about 150 pounds in total, as they begin preparing their first batch of dough.

Among the few other residents up with them then is an elderly night watchman on their block who has walked for hours among the closed shops along the way — construction materials, polished window frames, medicines. After handing his watch shift over to his son, he curls up in a corner of the bakery to sleep, warmed by a blanket and the oven's warmth as the baking begins.

Allowing the dough time to rise, the bakers start the fire in the oven as the call for dawn prayer begins to echo in the city. At each meal, they will sell about 500 flat loaves, each for 10 afghanis, or about 15 cents.

Najim Rahim contributed reporting.



Allah Mohammed, left, preparing dough in the small oven of his corner shop in Kunduz, Afghanistan. At the opposite end of life's spectrum in the battle-scarred city is Abdul Rassoul, a gravedigger, gathering his belongings at the end of a day's work.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY NAJIM RAHIM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

When the Taliban overran parts of the city again in October and heavy fighting broke out, sales dropped away. Even hungry, most wouldn't dare cross the street.

"They said the Taliban had taken the main roundabout, but I didn't believe them," said Ghulam Rasoul, 27, one of the bakery workers. "When the Taliban came here to buy bread, I said, 'O.K., the city has fallen.'"

Many bakers around the city increased the price of bread then, trying to make a profit in desperate times — or because the cost of ingredients had gone up. Mr. Mohammed said he held firm, though. For the three days of fighting that he remained open before the rocket damaged the roof and forced him to close shop for a while, he said he kept the price at 15 cents.

"How could I do that? If I increase the price in difficult days, how could I look the people in the eye the day after?" Mr. Mohammed said.

The same understanding prevailed at the cemetery in those tough days, where few bodies arrived for burial while the fighting persisted. Among the handful of dead the gravedigger buried during the two-week siege were three drug addicts who had stayed on the streets and been shot. Someone took them to the cemetery on the back of a motor-cycle wagon.

"We buried them for free," said

Mohammed Massoud, the gravedigger's 15-year-old son and helper. "What can one get from an addict?"

The fighting did not change the gravedigger's routine much. At 3 a.m., with the sound of bullets cracking in the morning calm, Mr. Rassoul would wake up his son and the two would make their way to the cemetery. They wanted to be there first, ready in case an early burial was needed. Some nights, Mr. Rassoul sleeps

### A gravedigger and a baker, enduring desperate days.

in the back seat of a damaged truck at the back of the cemetery, to make sure he is at work as early as possible.

On a normal day, they charge \$20 a grave. They have dug them for all kinds of people: four members of a family who died in an avalanche; two brothers who drowned on their way to Europe; a 35-year-old Pashtun man named Gul Ahmad who died in an American military bombing.

Mr. Ahmad's gravestone is adorned by a daring, but plagiarized, poem.

I, Gul Ahmad, will rise in my

shroud

If I learn that a Pashtun has become the slave of others.

One time, they had dug a grave for an Afghan soldier killed on a southern battlefield, but the body did not arrive for 16 days. On the 14th day, they gave the grave to another family, and they dug a new one for the soldier when he finally arrived. Another time, a woman came and asked if they could unearth her husband's body, dead for years, because she had dreamed he was alive.

"Who unearths a grave?" the young Massoud asked with astonishment. "The dead will just drag you in."

One Tuesday morning, a little baby — just three days old — was brought to be buried. About two dozen men arrived in a small convoy. The baby's father, a preacher, took off his shoes and socks and got down into the grave to place the tiny body, wrapped in a prayer rug.

"If somebody's child passes away and he shows patience, God will give him a palace made of glass in paradise," the father said in his sermon once the men were done shoveling the dirt.

"It's built of glass — you can see its inside from outside and outside from its inside. It has doors and golden beds. We don't have the ability to comprehend it now. They call it the house of thanks

# Beauty Pageant Restricts Contestant at U.S. Event

By ANDREW JACOBS

After the Chinese authorities blocked the Canadian beauty queen Anastasia Lin from attending the 65th annual Miss World pageant in China last year, the event's British organizers offered her a consolation prize, of sorts: They promised to allow her a chance to compete in the 2016 finals, which are currently underway in suburban Washington.

What they did not tell her was that she could smile but not speak out publicly during the event, which is largely sponsored by Chinese companies.

Over the past three weeks, as she and her fellow contestants have rehearsed for Tuesday's finale, Ms. Lin, 26 — an actress, classically trained pianist and outspoken critic of Chinese human rights abuses — has been barred from speaking to the news media, friends and relatives said.

They said that officials with the London-based pageant have also refused to allow Ms. Lin to attend the American premiere of a movie in which she appears. The film, "The Bleeding Edge," has angered Beijing with its dramatization of what human rights advocates describe as government-sanctioned programs that harvest the organs of Chinese prisoners of conscience.

And last week, when a State Department official requested a meeting with Ms. Lin, to discuss the continuing harassment of her father in China, pageant execu-

Since 2003, the Miss World pageant has been held six times in Sanya, a tropical city in southern China, and Chinese companies have become the main sponsors of the decades-old competition. The local government has spent \$31 million to upgrade infrastructure for the competition, according to the Chinese media.

Last year, after the Chinese authorities refused to issue Ms. Lin a visa to attend the finals, she flew to Hong Kong, hoping to obtain a visa at the border. She was turned away, and her photo disappeared from the pageant's official website. "Why is a powerful country like China so afraid of a beauty queen?" she said at the time.

Beijing's efforts to silence Ms. Lin appear to have had the opposite effect. In the year since she was barred from the competition, she has been invited to speak at Oxford University, the National Press Club in Washington and the Oslo Freedom Forum.

Ms. Lin has been especially outspoken on the repression of Falun Gong, a spiritual movement that is banned in mainland China. Ms. Lin is a practitioner of Falun Gong, which the Chinese government has deemed "an evil cult."

Sophie Richardson, the China director of Human Rights Watch, said that Beijing's attempt to muzzle Ms. Lin highlighted its increasingly aggressive campaign to shape global public opinion about a government that takes a dim view of Western-style liberties.

"Whether it's choosing what movies you get to see or what information can be censored online, Chinese authorities are increasingly trying to insist that the restrictions they impose at home become the norm abroad," she said. "That they deem it necessary to try to manipulate international beauty pageants would be puzzling or quirky if it weren't indicative of a far more serious pathology."

In Ms. Lin's case, the attempted manipulation has taken a sinister turn. In an earlier interview, she described how public security officials harassed her father, the owner of a medical supply company in China, and forced customers to withdraw their business, pushing him into bankruptcy. Family members said Chinese officials had also refused to allow him to travel to Washington for the finals.

The Miss World Organization has been aggressive in its effort to prevent reporters from speaking to Ms. Lin. Two weeks ago, pageant officials interrupted an interview she was giving to Jeff Jacoby, a Boston Globe columnist, in the lobby of a Washington-area hotel. "Two of them hustled Lin from the lobby, angrily accusing her of breaching the rules and causing trouble," he wrote. "The third blocked me from talking to Lin, and assured me that my interview would be scheduled the next day. It wasn't, of course."

Such restrictions apparently do not apply to the Chinese media. Over the past few weeks, reporters from two Chinese media outlets have been given free rein to interview contestants.

"You'd expect this kind of thing if it were taking place in China, but for her to be silenced in Washington is extraordinary," said Benedict Rogers, the deputy chair of the Conservative Party Human Rights Commission in the United Kingdom and a friend of Ms. Lin's who has spoken to her by phone. "It's all very alarming."

predecessor, Dilma Rousseff.

Mr. Temer insisted on Tuesday that the spending cap was needed to lift Brazil out of the country's most severe economic crisis in decades. He called the Senate vote an "extraordinary victory," though various senators from his coalition refrained from voting, diminishing support for the measure after a first round of voting.

The positioning against Mr. Temer comes as he grapples with claims that he solicited millions of dollars in illegal campaign donations from Odebrecht, a Brazilian construction giant. In addition, Mr. Temer is embroiled in a scandal over claims that he pressured a cabinet minister to assist an ally in a property deal.

Mr. Temer has said that he has no plans to step down, despite increasing pressure from his own allies to do so.

Ronaldo Caiado, a powerful senator from Goiás State who has been a leader of Mr. Temer's coalition, stunned some in Brazil's political establishment on Tuesday by asserting that the president should resign.

"He should be sensible in terms of provoking the streets," Mr. Caiado said of Mr. Temer.



STEFAN WERMUTH/REUTERS

Prime Minister Theresa May, who has championed struggling Britons, was criticized for wearing costly designer leather trousers.

## Fingers Wag in Britain Over Leader's \$1,250 Pants

By DAN BILEFSKY

LONDON — Never mind Britain's tortuous decision to leave the European Union. Lately, another matter of state has been preoccupying Britons across the realm: a \$1,250 pair of "desert khaki" leather pants.

The uproar, referred to as "Trousergate" by tabloid newspapers in Britain, which has raised cries of sexism and ageism, began about two weeks ago when The Sunday Times Magazine in London published a photograph of Prime Minister Theresa May, smiling and sitting casually on a sofa in her home, wearing chic leather trousers by the designer Amanda Wakeley.

Rather than focusing on the uncharacteristically personal reflections Mrs. May, 60, revealed in the article about being the only child of a clergyman, or her sleepless nights over Britain's decision to leave the European Union, self-appointed arbiters of taste and propriety began wagging fingers about the no-nonsense prime minister's expensive attire.

"I don't have leather trousers. I don't think I've ever spent that much on anything, apart from my wedding dress," Nicky Morgan, a former education secretary, told The Times of London, adding that Mrs. May's sartorial choice had been "noticed and discussed" in the Conservative Party she leads.

Mrs. Morgan, who was fired from the cabinet in July and who has clashed with Mrs. May over European, immigration and education policy, suggested that the prime minister's upmarket fashion sense was misplaced in this age of austerity. "My barometer is always, 'How am I going to explain this in Loughborough market?'" she said, referring to her parliamentary constituency in Leicestershire, a slice of middle-class England that is the home of Red Leicester cheese and pork pies.

Soon, The Guardian reported that Downing Street, where the prime minister works and lives, had disinvented Mrs. Morgan from a private meeting with Mrs. May to discuss plans for Britain's exit from the European Union, prompting criticism that the British leader was vengeful and thin-skinned.

Mrs. May's office added to the intrigue by refusing to be drawn into a debate over whether the now-famous garment had been purchased with a discount card. Asked on a flight to Bahrain whether the trousers could signal that she was out of touch with the common voter, Mrs. May extolled "the importance of a country that works for everyone."

At a time of working-class revolt on both sides of the Atlantic, the accusations of elitism have been particularly awkward for Mrs. May. An Oxford-educated former home secretary, she has railed against the establishment and promised to champion Britons who are "just about managing," people she referred to as "Jams" in her first speech as prime minister.

"Glad @theresa\_may is nice and warm in her £2000 leather trousers while so many can't afford to heat their homes, #ToriesOut," Theresa D., a Labour supporter and 40-something mother, wrote on Twitter, referring to an exaggerated cost of \$2,500, or double the real price of the pants.

"Job seekers allowance for a year is £3796. One pair of Theresa May Trousers £1000. So glad she is in touch with the common people," Pamela Fitzpatrick, a counselor in Harrow for the opposition Labour Party, wrote on Twitter, referring to unemployment benefits.

One political cartoon making the rounds on social media showed a diabolical-looking Mrs. May, hunched over an old-fash-

ioned sewing machine, making leather trousers from the skin off the back of her divisive foreign secretary, Boris Johnson. "In the spirit of austerity, from now on, I shall be making ... my own leather trousers," the cartoon reads.

For all the tut-tutting, many commentators of both sexes argued that Mrs. May was the victim of a double standard, asking whether anyone would question the cost of her trousers if she were a man, or comment on her fashion sensibilities — including her much-discussed penchant for kitten-heel animal-print shoes.

After all, President-elect Donald J. Trump had been able to fashion himself as a working-class hero despite his luxurious Brioni suits, which can cost as much as \$17,000. Mrs. May's predecessor, David Cameron, who attended an elite boarding school, meanwhile, sometimes wore made-to-measure suits from Richard James, estimated at more than \$4,000. Conversely, the Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn has been criticized for his

scruffy appearance but has worn his frumpiness like a badge of honor.

The online fashion editor of The Guardian, Morwenna Ferrier, lamented that even as the number of women in government grows, there is still no political uniform for them equivalent to a men's

### Cries of elitism turn into a debate about sexism and ageism.

suit, leaving female politicians more vulnerable to unjustified scrutiny of their clothing choices. "Hillary Clinton's Ralph Lauren pantsuit is as close as it gets," she wrote on The Guardian's website. "But even she was vilified for dressing like a flag (she wore red, white and blue for each of the three debates)."

Mrs. Clinton was also criticized

for wearing an Armani coat that retails for \$12,495 while warning about the perils of social inequality in a speech celebrating her victory in New York's Democratic primary.

The Daily Telegraph's fashion director, Lisa Armstrong, pointed at unfair judgments about age and gender playing out in the trousers tussle, saying that female politicians were expected to be stylish yet were maligned if they tried too hard. "First it was: Leather at her age — really?" she wrote. "Now it's, £1,000 for leather trousers — how dare she?"

If male politicians "frequent Savile Row, where a suit can easily cost £5,000, they're praised for supporting a national craft," Ms. Armstrong noted.

She added, "Theresa May is damned if she does and sneered at if she doesn't."

In the end, Mrs. May could have the last laugh: In recent days, the Amanda Wakeley leather trousers have almost sold out on the fashion label's website.

ADVERTISEMENT

### ECON. RAFAEL CORREA, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR, TO AB. LEONARDO BERREZUETA, MINISTER OF LABOR, TO ECUADOR

In the Constitutional Court, there is a pending appeal due the unconstitutionality of the judgment handed down in a collective labor dispute filed against the company Agrícola Bananera Clementina by workers of Hacienda Clementina, which is fully known to the Ministry of Labor.

The unconstitutionality of the referred judgment is based on the following fundamental legal bases:

1. The termination notice, form of terminating the employment relationship, must be expressly requested and in writing either by the worker or the company;
2. Neither the workers nor the company requested the termination;
3. Notwithstanding the above, the judgment orders the payment of termination benefits.

Without waiting for the Constitutional Court to rule, the Ministry of Labor proceeds to execute an unlawful judgment and orders the seizure of a property, not owned by the company Agrícola Bananera Clementina S.A. but, instead owned by the company Industria Cartonera Ecuatoriana S.A. making it jointly and severally liable, which makes it a violation of existing legal regulations.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Labor orders the auction of the property owned by INDUSTRIA CARTONERA ECUATORIANA S.A. violating the existing legal system relating to this action because:

1. No qualified expert is appointed to carry out the appraisal of the property;
2. No expert report exists and is not brought to the attention of the parties to exercise their legitimate right to either adhere or contest the appraisal;
3. A municipal appraisal is used as the basis for the auction, which has no value for purposes of this type of auction;
4. The publication of the auction notice is made without respecting the publications and the deadlines that must transpire between each publication.

In other words, it was intended to auction a real estate asset to pay for an illegitimate compensation, leaving more than hundreds of workers unemployed. In order to prevent such arbitrariness from being executed, there was no alternative but to pay, reserving us the right to file any action necessary to compensate us for this outrageous act.

Respect for legal security is essential in a society of rights and a democratic regime, but in Ecuador it does not exist and that is why during the 10 years of the government of Rafael Correa, national and foreign investment is practically non-existent. For this reason, every time the Government of Ecuador issues bonds and offers them in the international market, it has serious difficulties to sell them, even offering them at high interest rates.

We think that due to political persecution against the Ab. Alvaro Noboa, this type of arbitrariness is carried out and the laws in Ecuador are disrespected openly and without limits.

**Leonardo Noboa Ycaza**  
**General Manager**  
**INDUSTRIA CARTONERA ECUATORIANA S.A.**  
**lnoboa@ice.com.ec**



IAN WILLMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Anastasia Lin of Canada has been a vocal critic of Chinese human rights abuses.

tives refused to let her go, a State Department official said. They only relented after Ms. Lin agreed to be accompanied by a pageant employee, who insisted on attending the meeting. The chaperone later turned down a State Department request to post a photo of the meeting on Twitter.

Jacob Wallenberg, a friend who has spoken to Ms. Lin by phone, said pageant employees warned her that she would be ejected from the competition if she spoke to reporters. "They have specifically told her not to talk about human rights during the pageant, even though that is her official platform," he said. "She is very frustrated."

The Miss World organization declined to answer questions about the restrictions it has placed on Ms. Lin, but friends say they have little doubt about its motivations: Pageant officials, they said, are simply doing the bidding of the Chinese government, which has spent the last year trying to silence Ms. Lin, who was born in China but emigrated to Canada at 13.

## Protests Hit Brazil as Senate Votes for Austerity Measure

By SIMON ROMERO

RIO DE JANEIRO — Protests flared in cities around Brazil on Tuesday after the Senate approved a 20-year cap on federal spending, a cornerstone of President Michel Temer's proposed austerity measures aimed at restoring confidence in the country's ailing economy.

Evoking some of the fierce protests that have rattled the country in recent years, demonstrators attacked the iconic headquarters of the Federation of Industries in São Paulo, smashing the building's windows before being dispersed by security guards.

Protests were reported in at least 15 cities, including in major urban centers like Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Porto Alegre, and security forces arrested dozens of protesters in the capital, Brasília.

The protests reflect anger over the Senate vote, which could limit spending to the rate of inflation for as long as two decades, and Mr. Temer's fledgling government, which is mired in graft scandals just months after the ouster of his

Remember the Neediest!

# National

## The New York Times

### Top Defender Is Preparing To Cede Chair to His Client

#### Sidelined by Defendant in Church Massacre Trial

By ALAN BLINDER

CHARLESTON, S.C. — David I. Bruck has spent decades crafting legal strategies to keep people out of the country's execution chambers. He has argued before the United States Supreme Court on seven occasions, winning six times. He has frustrated prosecutors, challenged judges and softened grim-faced juries.

But on the first day of the federal trial of Dylann S. Roof, the self-described white supremacist who is charged with killing nine black parishioners at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Mr. Bruck told jurors something unusual: "This is the only phase of the case in which Mr. Roof will be represented by counsel."

Mr. Roof, 22, has elected to defend himself during the portion of the trial, ex-

pected early next year, when jurors are poised to decide whether to sentence him to death. Mr. Roof could reverse his unexplained decision, but for now, Mr. Bruck is left to prepare his final words to the jury before ceding the defense lawyer's chair to the defendant.

It is most likely a disorienting, disappointing reality for a capital defense lawyer like Mr. Bruck, a death penalty foe who is being paid with tax dollars and who has effectively been discarded by a client who has confessed to the June 2015 killings. It is also a peculiar twist in a case that simultaneously shook Mr. Bruck, who described the massacre in court as "an astonishing, horrible attack," and led him, a longtime champion of racial equality, to defend a white supremacist.



SEAN RAYFORD/GETTY IMAGES

Although Mr. Roof's self-representation could lead to years of appeals, there is little Mr. Bruck can do now beyond making both overt and surreptitious efforts to raise a penalty phase defense before the verdict on guilt or innocence is even reached.

Mr. Bruck's tactics in Federal District

Court here — using his opening statement, for example, to suggest that jurors contemplate both "the crime and everything that led up to it," such as Mr. Roof's mental health — have repeatedly provoked objections from prosecutors, including one who complained that Mr. Bruck stepped beyond the guilt phase of

David I. Bruck at the federal courthouse in Charleston, S.C., last year. His client, Dylann S. Roof, will represent himself in the penalty phase.

the trial: "He knows what he's doing, your honor."

Almost certainly so.

"He's in the trenches. He knows how the system works," said George H. Kendall, a death penalty litigator who has known Mr. Bruck since the late 1970s. "At the same time, he can, not in a flashy or loud way, very, very effectively put together a case and deal with all of the heat in the trial setting and really, unless the judge or prosecutor or client interferes, put the best foot forward."

Mr. Bruck, 67, has practiced in this state for decades. He studied at Harvard and interviewed Richard M. Nixon for The Harvard Crimson, and earned a law degree from the University of South Carolina. Many of his clients have been poor and black, and in court, on Capitol Hill and in his writings, he has railed against capital punishment, arguing it is a politically motivated cudgel that is unequally applied.

Continued on Page A22

## Where Jobs Mattered More Than a Wall

By FERNANDA SANTOS

YUMA, Ariz. — For all the talk on the campaign trail of a border wall and mass deportations, it was Donald J. Trump's pledge to create more jobs, lift wages and increase opportunities that persuaded Latinos in this majority-minority city 30 miles north of Mexico to vote for him.

Take Anthony Martinez, who is 28 and has three young children. His grandfather worked the fields of leafy greens that fuel the region's economy, a \$3 billion-a-year business that employs tens of thousands of workers, though only seasonally and for only just above the minimum wage.

His father, Antonio Martinez, began in one of those humble jobs after coming from Mexico illegally in 1995. He has since become a citizen through marriage and opened two barbershops in Yuma, where Mexican farm workers and Canadian snowbirds are the bulk of his winter clientele, which his shop serves from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., six days a week.

"If not the fields or the barbershop," said Anthony Martinez, who helps manage his father's businesses, "what else is there for my kids?"

### Support for Trump among Latinos in a border county.

Yuma County is a lot like other counties along the southern border, a place that is anchored on the globalist trade policies and mass immigration that Mr. Trump has fervently opposed. Its agricultural industry relies almost entirely on Mexican laborers. Every morning from November through March, as many as 40,000 of them cross legally into the United States to pick most of the lettuce consumed by Americans in the cold months.

But unlike the majority of border counties, this one voted for Mr. Trump by five percentage points.

Its residents now hope that he did not mean everything he said during the campaign. Instead, they want him to recognize that their economic prosperity, which they agree needs to rely on more than just agriculture, depends on maintaining connections to Mexico.

"The communities are really connected," said Mayor Douglas J. Nicholls of Yuma, a Republican. "You can't think about this region without considering both sides."

Yuma, the county seat, stands about halfway between Phoenix and San Diego, though it is culturally and geographically isolated from both. To drivers making the trip, it is a pit stop; there is a glut of fast-food restaurants right off highway exit ramps, for a quick in and out.

The city is home to an Army Proving Ground and a Marine Corps Air Station, fortified islands that nonetheless help shape the county's law-and-order disposition. Latinos, whose roots in the area straddle two countries, make up 62 percent of the county's 201,000 residents, and the closer one gets to the border, the more predominant they become. In the city of San Luis, which adjoins Mexico, virtually every resident is Latino.

Not all of them can vote, though, and among those who can, there are many who do not because they are not engaged politically. One thing that makes Yuma stand out is its success in at least one key element of Mr. Trump's approach to border security: Unauthorized immigrants plummeted to roughly 6,000 last year from 140,000 in 2005, after a barrier that already existed was fortified and augmented.

Eleven years ago, unauthorized immigrants would rush at the border by the hundreds, knowing that federal agents could not catch them all. These days, it is mostly Central American and Haitian migrants who are keeping the agents busy, turning themselves in at the port of entry in San Luis and asking for asylum.

"Illegal immigration isn't something that's on people's minds around here, Hispanic or not Hispanic," said Capt.

Continued on Page A22



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAITLIN O'HARA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, Antonio Martinez and a student, Steven Burney, cutting Omar Verdugo's hair last month in Yuma, Ariz. Middle, a crew harvesting romaine lettuce last month between Yuma and San Luis, Ariz. Above, a couple dressed for working in the fields after the workday in San Luis.

## Stein Drops Recount Bid; Says It Bared Voting Flaws

By STEVE EDER

Jill Stein, the Green Party presidential candidate, on Tuesday closed her long-shot bid to recount the votes in three battleground states, saying that the effort encountered bureaucratic hurdles and revealed deep shortcomings in the elections system.

"We do not have a voting system we can trust, and the recount was essentially stopped in its tracks," Ms. Stein said in a conference call with reporters.

Since finishing a distant fourth in the Nov. 8 election, Ms. Stein has played a prominent role as she pushed for recounts while saying, without proof, that the vote may have been hacked. Her lawyers doggedly pursued recounts in three states — Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania — where Donald J. Trump led Hillary Clinton by a combined margin of roughly 75,000 votes.

After repeated legal clashes with Mr. Trump and his allies, only Wisconsin conducted a full recount, which added 131 votes to his margin of victory. Several state and federal court rulings ultimately blocked the requests to review the votes in Pennsylvania and Michigan.

Mr. Trump, who criticized the recount effort despite his own baseless claims that "millions" had voted illegally, took to Twitter to celebrate the results. "The Dems and Green Party can now relax," he said, calling the effort a "scam."

While the effort had no impact on the outcome of the presidential race, critics said, it highlighted a number of concerns about the election system and recount procedures, including arcane rules, conflicting court opinions and hefty costs.

"The recount has shone a light on that mess, and has really lifted up the call for a voting system we can trust," Ms. Stein said.

In Michigan, a recount was underway for three days until it was halted last week after court rulings. But questions over the election there are not over.

Officials from the Michigan secretary of state's office have announced that they will pursue an audit of the vote in 20 precincts in Detroit after the recount turned up inconsistencies. By some estimates, a third of the city's precincts were deemed not "recountable" because the number of voters recorded on Election Day did not match the number of ballots stored in containers in case of a recount.

Local officials have said the discrepancy does not suggest that the results were counted improperly, but more likely that poll workers did not remove ballots from tabulator bins to put them in other containers in case of a recount. In one precinct where some 300 people had voted, said Fred Woodhams, of the secretary of state's office, only about 50 ballots were found in the container.

"We need to find an explanation," Mr. Woodhams said.

In Pennsylvania, Ms. Stein's lawyers asked a federal judge to order a state-wide recount and forensic exam of voting machines. But the judge, Paul S. Ryan, ruled on Monday that there were at least six grounds for denying the request. Among them, the judge wrote, was that there was no credible evidence of hacking and that a recount would mean Pennsylvania's votes would not be certified in time for the state's electors to meet to cast ballots on Dec. 19, as scheduled.

"Such a result would be both outrageous and completely unnecessary; as I have found, suspicion of a 'hacked' Pennsylvania election borders on the irrational," he wrote.

Ms. Stein's lawyers said they would press on with litigation in Pennsylvania to seek reforms.

Ms. Stein raised \$7.3 million to cover recount costs. An accounting estimate released on Tuesday said \$7.4 million had been spent. If some money is recouped, she said it would be donated to an election reform organization.

Julie Bosman and Monica Davey contributed reporting.

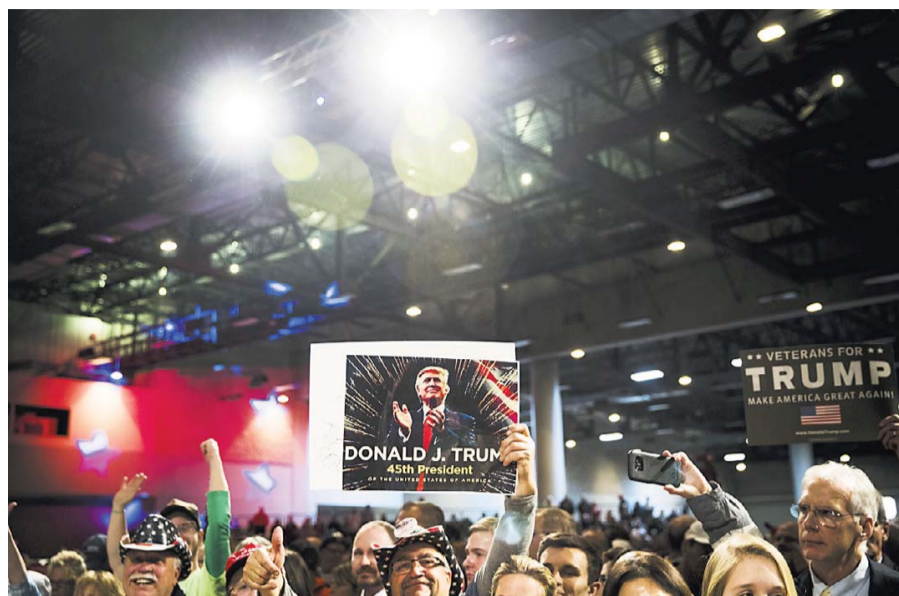
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**Hacking the Democrats** Limited Defenses



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

# How Russian Cyberpower Was Honed and Trained On an American Election

From Page A1

based on interviews with dozens of players targeted in the attack, intelligence officials who investigated it and Obama administration officials who deliberated over the best response — reveals a series of missed signals, slow responses and a continuing underestimation of the seriousness of the cyberattack.

The D.N.C.'s fumbling encounter with the F.B.I. meant the best chance to halt the Russian intrusion was lost. The failure to grasp the scope of the attacks undercut efforts to minimize their impact. And the White House's reluctance to respond forcefully meant the Russians have not paid a heavy price for their actions, a decision that could prove critical in deterring future cyberattacks.

The low-key approach of the F.B.I. meant that Russian hackers could roam freely through the committee's network for nearly seven months before top D.N.C. officials were alerted to the attack and hired cyberexperts to protect their systems. In the meantime, the hackers moved on to targets outside the D.N.C., including Mrs. Clinton's campaign chairman, John D. Podesta, whose private email account was hacked months later.

Even Mr. Podesta, a savvy Washington insider who had written a 2014 report on cyberprivacy for President Obama, did not truly understand the gravity of the hacking.

By last summer, Democrats watched in helpless fury as their private emails and confidential documents appeared online day after day — procured by Russian intelligence agents, posted on WikiLeaks and other websites, then eagerly reported on by

ing that other factors — Mrs. Clinton's weaknesses as a candidate; her private email server; the public statements of the F.B.I. director, James B. Comey, about her handling of classified information — were also important.

While there's no way to be certain of the ultimate impact of the hack, this much is clear: A low-cost, high-impact weapon that Russia had test-fired in elections from Ukraine to Europe was trained on the United States, with devastating effectiveness. For Russia, with an enfeebled economy and a nuclear arsenal it cannot use short of all-out war, cyberpower proved the perfect weapon: cheap, hard to see coming, hard to trace.

"There shouldn't be any doubt in anybody's mind," Adm. Michael S. Rogers, the director of the National Security Agency and commander of United States Cyber Command said at a postelection conference. "This was not something that was done casually, this was not something that was done by chance, this was not a target that was selected purely arbitrarily," he said. "This was a conscious effort by a nation-state to attempt to achieve a specific effect."

For the people whose emails were stolen, this new form of political sabotage has left a trail of shock and professional damage. Neera Tanden, president of the Center for American Progress and a key Clinton supporter, recalls walking into the busy Clinton transition offices, humiliated to see her face on television screens as pundits discussed a leaked email in which she had called Mrs. Clinton's instincts "suboptimal."

"It was just a sucker punch to the gut every day," Ms. Tanden said. "It was the worst professional experience of my life."

The United States, too, has carried out cyberattacks, and in decades past the C.I.A. tried to subvert foreign elections. But the Russian attack is increasingly understood across the political spectrum as an ominous historic landmark — with one notable exception: Mr. Trump has rejected the findings of the intelligence agencies he will soon oversee as "ridiculous," insisting that the hacker may be American, or Chinese, but that "they have no idea."

Mr. Trump cited the reported disagreements between the agencies about whether Mr. Putin intended to help elect him. On Tuesday, a Russian government spokesman echoed Mr. Trump's scorn.

"This tale of 'hacks' resembles a banal brawl between American security officials over spheres of influence," Maria Zakharova, the spokeswoman for the Russian Foreign Ministry, wrote on Facebook.

Over the weekend, four prominent senators — two Republicans and two Democrats — joined forces to pledge an investigation while pointedly ignoring Mr. Trump's skeptical claims.

"Democrats and Republicans must work together, and across the jurisdictional lines of the Congress, to examine these recent incidents thoroughly and devise comprehensive solutions to deter and defend against further cyberattacks," said Senators John McCain, Lindsey Graham, Chuck Schumer and Jack Reed.

"This cannot become a partisan issue," they said. "The stakes are too high for our country."

## A Target for Break-Ins

Sitting in the basement of the Democratic National Committee headquarters, below a wall-size 2012 portrait of a smiling Barack Obama, is a 1960s-era filing cabinet missing the handle on the bottom drawer. Only a framed newspaper story hanging on the wall hints at the importance of this aged piece of office furniture.

"GOP Security Aide Among 5 Arrested in Bugging Affair," reads the headline from the front page of The Washington Post on June 19, 1972, with the bylines of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein.

Andrew Brown, 37, the technology director at the D.N.C., was born after that famous



break-in. But as he began to plan for this year's election cycle, he was well aware that the D.N.C. could become a break-in target again.

There were aspirations to ensure that the D.N.C. was well protected against cyberintruders — and then there was the reality, Mr. Brown and his bosses at the organization acknowledged: The D.N.C. was a nonprofit group, dependent on donations, with a fraction of the security budget that a corporation its size would have.

"There was never enough money to do everything we needed to do," Mr. Brown said.

The D.N.C. had a standard email spam-filtering service, intended to block phishing attacks and malware created to resemble legitimate email. But when Russian hackers started in on the D.N.C., the committee did not have the most advanced systems in place to track suspicious traffic, internal D.N.C. memos show.

Mr. Tamene, who reports to Mr. Brown and fielded the call from the F.B.I. agent, was not a full-time D.N.C. employee; he works for a Chicago-based contracting firm called The MIS Department. He was left to figure out, largely on his own, how to respond — and even whether the man who had called in to the D.N.C. switchboard was really an F.B.I. agent.

"The F.B.I. thinks the D.N.C. has at least one compromised computer on its network and the F.B.I. wanted to know if the D.N.C. is aware, and if so, what the D.N.C. is doing about it," Mr. Tamene wrote in an internal memo about his contacts with the F.B.I. He added that "the Special Agent told me to look for a specific type of malware dubbed 'Dukes' by the U.S. intelligence community and in cybersecurity circles."

Part of the problem was that Special Agent Hawkins did not show up in person at the D.N.C. Nor could he email anyone there, as that risked alerting the hackers that the F.B.I. knew they were in the system.

Mr. Tamene's initial scan of the D.N.C. system — using his less-than-optimal tools and incomplete targeting information from the F.B.I. — found nothing. So when Special Agent Hawkins called repeatedly in October, leaving voice mail messages for Mr. Tamene, urging him to call back, "I did not return his calls, as I had nothing to report," Mr. Tamene explained in his memo.

In November, Special Agent Hawkins called with more ominous news. A D.N.C. computer was "calling home, where home meant Russia," Mr. Tamene's memo says, referring to software sending information to Moscow. "SA Hawkins added that the F.B.I. thinks that this calling home behavior could be the result of a state-sponsored attack."

Mr. Brown knew that Mr. Tamene, who declined to comment, was fielding calls

from the F.B.I. But he was tied up on a different problem: evidence suggesting that the campaign of Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, Mrs. Clinton's main Democratic opponent, had improperly gained access to her campaign data.

Ms. Wasserman Schultz, then the D.N.C.'s chairwoman, and Amy Dacey, then its chief executive, said in interviews that neither of them was notified about the early reports that the committee's system had likely been compromised.

Shawn Henry, who once led the F.B.I.'s cyber division and is now president of CrowdStrike Services, the cybersecurity firm retained by the D.N.C. in April, said he was baffled that the F.B.I. did not call a more senior official at the D.N.C. or send an agent in person to the party headquarters to try to force a more vigorous response.

"We are not talking about an office that is in the middle of the woods of Montana," Mr. Henry said. "We are talking about an office that is half a mile from the F.B.I. office that is getting the notification."

"This is not a mom-and-pop delicatessen or a local library. This is a critical piece of the U.S. infrastructure because it relates to our electoral process, our elected officials, our legislative process, our executive process," he added. "To me it is a high-level, serious issue, and if after a couple of months you don't see any results, somebody ought to raise that to a higher level."

The F.B.I. declined to comment on the agency's handling of the hack. "The F.B.I. takes very seriously any compromise of public and private sector systems," it said in a statement, adding that agents "will continue to share information" to help targets "safeguard their systems against the actions of persistent cybercriminals."

By March, Mr. Tamene and his team had met at least twice in person with the F.B.I. and concluded that Agent Hawkins was really a federal employee. But then the situation took a dire turn.

A second team of Russian-affiliated hackers began to target the D.N.C. and other players in the political world, particularly Democrats. Billy Rinehart, a former D.N.C. regional field director who was then working for Mrs. Clinton's campaign, got an odd email warning from Google.

"Someone just used your password to try to sign into your Google account," the March 22 email said, adding that the sign-in attempt had occurred in Ukraine. "Google stopped this sign-in attempt. You should change your password immediately."

Mr. Rinehart was in Hawaii at the time. He remembers checking his email at 4 a.m. for messages from East Coast associates. Without thinking much about the notification, he clicked on the "change password" button and half asleep, as best he can remember, he typed in a new password.



POOL PHOTO BY ALEXEI NIKOLSKIY

**'There's no plausible actor that has an interest in all those victims other than Russia.'**

DMITRI ALPEROVITCH, co-founder of CrowdStrike, a cybersecurity firm retained by the D.N.C.

the American media, including The Times. Mr. Trump gleefully cited many of the purloined emails on the campaign trail.

The fallout included the resignations of Representative Debbie Wasserman Schultz of Florida, the chairwoman of the D.N.C., and most of her top party aides. Leading Democrats were sidelined at the height of the campaign, silenced by revelations of embarrassing emails or consumed by the scramble to deal with the hacking. Though little-noticed by the public, confidential documents taken by the Russian hackers from the D.N.C.'s sister organization, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, turned up in congressional races in a dozen states, tainting some of them with accusations of scandal.

In recent days, a skeptical president-elect, the nation's intelligence agencies and the two major parties have become embroiled in an extraordinary public dispute over what evidence exists that President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia moved beyond mere espionage to deliberately try to subvert American democracy and pick the winner of the presidential election.

Many of Mrs. Clinton's closest aides believe that the Russian assault had a profound impact on the election, while conced-

Kitty Bennett contributed research.



PAVEL GOLOVKIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**An American counterstrike has ‘got to be overt. It needs to be seen.’**

MICHAEL MORELL, former deputy director of the C.I.A.

scribing a little-known American effort to broker a deal in Ukraine, then in political turmoil.

They were not the only ones on whom the Russians used the steal-and-leak strategy. The Open Society Foundation, run by George Soros, was a major target, and when its documents were released, some turned out to have been altered to make it appear as if the foundation was financing Russian opposition members.

Last year, the attacks became more aggressive. Russia hacked a major French television station, frying critical hardware. Around Christmas, it attacked part of the power grid in Ukraine, dropping a portion of the country into darkness, killing backup generators and taking control of generators. In retrospect, it was a warning shot.

The attacks “were not fully integrated military operations,” Mr. Sulmeyer said. But they showed an increasing boldness.

**Cozy Bear and Fancy Bear**

The day before the White House Correspondents’ Association dinner in April, Ms. Dacey, the D.N.C.’s chief executive, was preparing for a night of parties when she got an urgent phone call.

With the new monitoring system in place, Mr. Tamene had examined administrative logs of the D.N.C.’s computer system and found something very suspicious: An unauthorized person, with administrator-level security status, had gained access to the D.N.C.’s computers.

“Not sure it is related to what the F.B.I. has been noticing,” said one internal D.N.C. email sent on April 29. “The D.N.C. may have been hacked in a serious way this week, with password theft, etc.”

No one knew just how bad the breach was — but it was clear that a lot more than a single filing cabinet worth of materials might have been taken. A secret committee was immediately created, including Ms. Dacey, Ms. Wasserman Schultz, Mr. Brown and Michael Sussmann, a former cybercrimes prosecutor at the Department of Justice who now works at Perkins Coie, the Washington law firm that handles D.N.C. political matters.

“Three most important questions,” Mr. Sussmann wrote to his clients the night the break-in was confirmed. “1) What data was accessed? 2) How was it done? 3) How do we stop it?”

Mr. Sussmann instructed his clients not to use D.N.C. email because they had just one opportunity to lock the hackers out — an effort that could be foiled if the hackers knew that the D.N.C. was on to them.

“You only get one chance to raise the drawbridge,” Mr. Sussmann said. “If the adversaries know you are aware of their presence, they will take steps to burrow in, or erase the logs that show they were present.”

The D.N.C. immediately hired CrowdStrike, a cybersecurity firm, to scan its computers, identify the intruders and build a new computer and telephone system from scratch. Within a day, CrowdStrike confirmed that the intrusion had originated in Russia, Mr. Sussmann said.

The work that such companies do is a computer version of old-fashioned crime scene investigation, with fingerprints, bullet casings and DNA swabs replaced by an electronic trail that can be just as incriminating. And just as police detectives learn to identify the telltale methods of a veteran burglar, so CrowdStrike investigators recognized the distinctive handiwork of Cozy Bear and Fancy Bear.

Those are CrowdStrike’s nicknames for the two Russian hacking groups that the firm found at work inside the D.N.C. network. Cozy Bear — the group also known as the Dukes or A.P.T. 29, for “advanced persistent threat” — may or may not be associated with the F.S.B., the main successor to the Soviet-era K.G.B., but it is widely believed to be a Russian government operation. It made its first appearance in 2014, said Dmitri Alperovitch, CrowdStrike’s co-founder and chief technology officer.

It was Cozy Bear, CrowdStrike concluded, that first penetrated the D.N.C. in the summer of 2015, by sending spear-phishing emails to a long list of American government agencies, Washington non-profits and government contractors. Whenever someone clicked on a phishing message, the Russians would enter the network, “exfiltrate” documents of interest and stockpile them for intelligence purposes.

“Once they got into the D.N.C., they found the data valuable and decided to continue the operation,” said Mr. Alperovitch, who was born in Russia and moved to the United States as a teenager.

Only in March 2016 did Fancy Bear show up — first penetrating the computers of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and then jumping to the D.N.C., investigators believe. Fancy Bear, sometimes called A.P.T. 28 and believed to be directed by the G.R.U., Russia’s military intelligence agency, is an older outfit, tracked by Western investigators for nearly a decade. It was Fancy Bear that got hold of Mr. Podesta’s email.

Attribution, as the skill of identifying a cyberattacker is known, is more art than science. It is often impossible to name an attacker with absolute certainty. But over time, by accumulating a reference library of hacking techniques and targets, it is possible to spot repeat offenders. Fancy Bear, for instance, has gone after military and political targets in Ukraine and Georgia, and at NATO installations.

That largely rules out cybercriminals and  
*Continued on Following Page*

What he did not know until months later is that he had just given the Russian hackers access to his Gmail account.

Hundreds of similar phishing emails were being sent to American political targets, including an identical email sent on March 19 to Mr. Podesta, chairman of the Clinton campaign. Given how many emails Mr. Podesta received through this personal email account, several aides also had access to it, and one of them noticed the warning email, sending it to a computer technician to make sure it was legitimate before anyone clicked on the “change password” button.

“This is a legitimate email,” Charles Delavan, a Clinton campaign aide, replied to another of Mr. Podesta’s aides, who had noticed the alert. “John needs to change his password immediately.”

With another click, a decade of emails that Mr. Podesta maintained in his Gmail account — a total of about 60,000 — were unlocked for the Russian hackers. Mr. Delavan, in an interview, said that his bad advice was a result of a typo: He knew this was a phishing attack, as the campaign was getting dozens of them. He said he had meant to type that it was an “illegitimate” email, an error that he said has plagued him ever since.

During this second wave, the hackers also gained access to the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and then, through a virtual private network connection, to the main computer network of the D.N.C.

The F.B.I. observed this surge of activity as well, again reaching out to Mr. Tamene to warn him. Yet Mr. Tamene still saw no reason to be alarmed: He found copies of the phishing emails in the D.N.C.’s spam filter. But he had no reason, he said, to believe that the computer systems had been infiltrated.

One bit of progress had finally been made by the middle of April: The D.N.C., seven months after it had first been warned, finally installed a “robust set of monitoring tools,” Mr. Tamene’s internal memo says.

**Honing Stealthy Tactics**

The United States had two decades of warning that Russia’s intelligence agencies were trying to break into America’s most sensitive computer networks. But the Russians have always managed to stay a step ahead.

Their first major attack was detected on Oct. 7, 1996, when a computer operator at the Colorado School of Mines discovered some nighttime computer activity he could not explain. The school had a major contract with the Navy, and the operator warned his contacts there. But as happened two decades later at the D.N.C., at first “everyone was unable to connect the dots,” said

Thomas Rid, a scholar at King’s College in London who has studied the attack.

Investigators gave it a name — Moonlight Maze — and spent two years, often working day and night, tracing how it hopped from the Navy to the Department of Energy to the Air Force and NASA. In the end, they concluded that the total number of files stolen, if printed and stacked, would be taller than the Washington Monument.

Whole weapons designs were flowing out the door, and it was a first taste of what was to come: an escalating campaign of cyberattacks around the world.

But for years, the Russians stayed largely out of the headlines, thanks to the Chinese — who took bigger risks, and often got caught. They stole the designs for the F-35 fighter jet, corporate secrets for rolling steel, even the blueprints for gas pipelines that supply much of the United States. And during the 2008 presidential election cycle, Chinese intelligence hacked into the campaigns of Mr. Obama and Mr. McCain, making off with internal position papers and communications. But they didn’t publish any of it.

The Russians had not gone away, of course. “They were just a lot more stealthy,” said Kevin Mandia, a former Air Force intelligence officer who spent most of his days fighting off Russian cyberattacks before founding Mandiant, a cybersecurity firm that is now a division of FireEye — and the company the Clinton campaign brought in to secure its own systems.

The Russians were also quicker to turn their attacks to political purposes. A 2007 cyberattack on Estonia, a former Soviet republic that had joined NATO, sent a message that Russia could paralyze the country without invading it. The next year cyberattacks were used during Russia’s war with Georgia.

But American officials did not imagine that the Russians would dare try those techniques inside the United States. They were largely focused on preventing what former Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta warned was an approaching “cyber Pearl Harbor” — a shutdown of the power grid or cell-phone networks.

But in 2014 and 2015, a Russian hacking group began systematically targeting the State Department, the White House and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. “Each time, they eventually met with some form of success,” Michael Sulmeyer, a former cyberexpert for the secretary of defense, and Ben Buchanan, now both of the Harvard Cyber Security Project, wrote recently in a soon-to-be published paper for the Carnegie Endowment.

The Russians grew stealthier and stealthier, tricking government computers into sending out data while disguising the electronic “command and control” messages that set off alarms for anyone looking for

malicious actions. The State Department was so crippled that it repeatedly closed its systems to throw out the intruders. At one point, officials traveling to Vienna with Secretary of State John Kerry for the Iran nuclear negotiations had to set up commercial Gmail accounts just to communicate with one another and with reporters traveling with them.

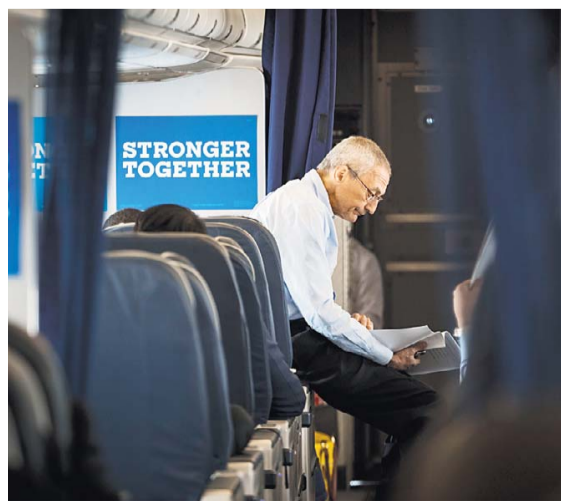
Mr. Obama was briefed regularly on all this, but he made a decision that many in the White House now regret: He did not name Russians publicly, or issue sanctions. There was always a reason: fear of escalating a cyberwar, and concern that the United States needed Russia’s cooperation in negotiations over Syria.

“We’d have all these circular meetings,” one senior State Department official said, “in which everyone agreed you had to push back at the Russians and push back hard. But it didn’t happen.”

So the Russians escalated again — breaking into systems not just for espionage, but to publish or broadcast what they found, known as “doxing” in the cyberworld.

It was a brazen change in tactics, moving the Russians from espionage to influence operations. In February 2014, they broadcast an intercepted phone call between Victoria Nuland, the assistant secretary of state who handles Russian affairs and has a contentious relationship with Mr. Putin, and Geoffrey Pyatt, the United States ambassador to Ukraine. Ms. Nuland was heard de-

Top left, supporters of President-elect Donald J. Trump at a “thank you” rally last week in Des Moines. Above, the headquarters of the Russian F.S.B., the main successor to the Soviet-era K.G.B., in Moscow. Left, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

John D. Podesta, Hillary Clinton’s campaign chairman.

## Hacking the Democrats Digital Clues

# How Russian Cyberpower Invaded the U.S. Election

From Preceding Page

most countries, Mr. Alperovitch said. “There’s no plausible actor that has an interest in all those victims other than Russia,” he said. Another clue: The Russian hacking groups tended to be active during working hours in the Moscow time zone.

To their astonishment, Mr. Alperovitch said, CrowdStrike experts found signs that the two Russian hacking groups had not coordinated their attacks. Fancy Bear, apparently not knowing that Cozy Bear had been rummaging in D.N.C. files for months, took many of the same documents.

In the six weeks after CrowdStrike’s arrival, in total secrecy, the computer system at the D.N.C. was replaced. For a weekend, email and phones were shut off; employees were told it was a system upgrade. All laptops were turned in and the hard drives wiped clean, with the uninfected informa-

tion on them imaged to new drives.

Though D.N.C. officials had learned that the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee had been infected, too, they did not notify their sister organization, which was in the same building, because they were afraid that it would leak.

All of this work took place as the bitter contest for the Democratic nomination continued to play out between Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Sanders, and it was already causing a major distraction for Ms. Wasserman Schultz and the D.N.C.’s chief executive.

“This was not a bump in the road — bumps in the road happen all the time,” she said in an interview. “Two different Russian spy agencies had hacked into our network and stolen our property. And we did not yet know what they had taken. But we knew they had very broad access to our network. There was a tremendous amount of uncertainty. And it was chilling.”

The D.N.C. executives and their lawyer had their first formal meeting with senior F.B.I. officials in mid-June, nine months after the bureau’s first call to the tech-support contractor. Among the early requests at that meeting, according to participants: that the federal government make a quick “attribution” formally blaming actors with ties to Russian government for the attack to make clear that it was not routine hacking but foreign espionage.

“You have a presidential election underway here and you know that the Russians have hacked into the D.N.C.,” Mr. Sussmann said, recalling the message to the F.B.I. “We need to tell the American public that. And soon.”

## Following the Links

The Central Intelligence Agency concluded that the Russian government deployed computer hackers to help elect Donald J. Trump.



Russian government

American intelligence officials said they believed that the hackers were associated with two Russian intelligence agencies.

### STATE-SPONSORED HACKERS

June 2015

April 2016

#### Federal Security Service

A hacking group possibly linked to the agency, the main successor to the K.G.B., entered Democratic National Committee servers undetected for nearly a year, security researchers said. The group was nicknamed Cozy Bear, the Dukers or A.P.T. 29 for “advanced persistent threat.”

#### G.R.U.: Military Intelligence

Investigators believe that the G.R.U., or a hacking group known as Fancy Bear or A.P.T. 28, was the second group to break into the D.N.C., but it has played a bigger role in releasing the committee’s emails.

### LEAKERS

#### Guccifer 2.0

A self-proclaimed hacker that investigators believe was a group acting as an agent of the G.R.U. It published documents itself and leaked a series of D.N.C. documents.

#### DCLeaks

Investigators say it is a front for the Russian hackers who have tried to disrupt the election this year. It appeared in June as the release of the stolen Democratic Party documents began.

### PUBLISHERS



WikiLeaks

The website released about 50,000 emails from the D.N.C.’s computer servers. It is unclear how WikiLeaks obtained the emails. But Russian intelligence agencies are prime suspects, researchers said.

#### Media

Dozens of newspapers, television stations, bloggers and radio stations around the United States — including The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal — pursued reporting based on the hacked material, significantly increasing the effects of the cyberattack. In some cases, Guccifer 2.0 and DCLeaks took requests from reporters, releasing documents to them directly.

### RESULTS



#### Obama ordered a report about Russian influence

President Obama warned President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia in early September to stay away from the American election. In December, he ordered intelligence agencies to assemble a “lessons learned” report before he leaves office on Jan. 20. The goal of the report, in part, is to create a comprehensive history of the Russian effort to influence the election.



#### The leaks cast doubt on the electoral process

According to intelligence officials, the Russians were as surprised as everyone else by Mr. Trump’s victory. But the leaks disrupted the campaign and undercut confidence in the integrity of the vote.



#### House races in a dozen states were affected

Tens of thousands of pages of hacked D.N.C. documents were selectively released by Guccifer 2.0 to political bloggers and newspaper reporters, causing a backlash against Democrats, like Annette Taddeo, pictured left, running for the House in highly competitive contests.



#### The hacked Podesta emails dominated news

Weeks before the election, about 60,000 hacked emails from the account of John D. Podesta, Hillary Clinton’s campaign manager, were released, in small amounts, spread over many days. They sparked extensive news coverage about the campaign’s internal dynamics (as well as fake news stories).



#### The leaks fueled a rift in the Democratic Party

The emails forced the resignation of Debbie Wasserman Schultz as chairwoman of the D.N.C. and added to the divide between supporters of Senator Bernie Sanders and Mrs. Clinton’s campaign.

## The Media’s Role

In mid-June, on Mr. Sussmann’s advice, D.N.C. leaders decided to take a bold step. Concerned that word of the hacking might leak, they decided to go public in The Washington Post with the news that the committee had been attacked. That way, they figured, they could get ahead of the story, win a little sympathy from voters for being victimized by Russian hackers and refocus on the campaign.

But the very next day, a new, deeply unsettling shock awaited them. Someone calling himself Guccifer 2.0 appeared on the web, claiming to be the D.N.C. hacker — and he posted a confidential committee document detailing Mr. Trump’s record and half a dozen other documents to prove his bona fides.

“And it’s just a tiny part of all docs I downloaded from the Democrats networks,” he wrote. Then something more ominous: “The main part of the papers, thousands of files and mails, I gave to WikiLeaks. They will publish them soon.”

It was bad enough that Russian hackers had been spying inside the committee’s network for months. Now the public release of documents had turned a conventional espionage operation into something far more menacing: political sabotage, an unpredictable, uncontrollable menace for Democratic campaigns.

Guccifer 2.0 borrowed the moniker of an earlier hacker, a Romanian who called himself Guccifer and was jailed for breaking into the personal computers of former President George W. Bush, former Secretary of State Colin L. Powell and other notables. This new attacker seemed intent on showing that the D.N.C.’s cyberexperts at CrowdStrike were wrong to blame Russia. Guccifer 2.0 called himself a “lone hacker” and mocked CrowdStrike for calling the attackers “sophisticated.”

But online investigators quickly undercut his story. On a whim, Lorenzo Franceschi-Bicchierai, a writer for Motherboard, the tech and culture site of Vice, tried to contact Guccifer 2.0 by direct message on Twitter. “Surprisingly, he answered right away,” Mr. Franceschi-Bicchierai said. But whoever was on the other end seemed to be mocking him. “I asked him why he did it, and he said he wanted to expose the Illuminati. He called himself a Gucci lover. And he said he was Romanian.”

That gave Mr. Franceschi-Bicchierai an idea. Using Google Translate, he sent the purported hacker some questions in Romanian. The answers came back in Romanian. But when he was offline, Mr. Franceschi-Bicchierai checked with a couple of native speakers, who told him Guccifer 2.0 had apparently been using Google Translate as well — and was clearly not the Romanian he claimed to be.

Cyberresearchers found other clues pointing to Russia. Microsoft Word documents posted by Guccifer 2.0 had been edited by someone calling himself, in Russian, Felix Edmundovich — an obvious nod to the founder of the Soviet secret police, Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky. Bad links in the texts were marked by warnings in Russian, generated by what was clearly a Russian-language version of Word.

When Mr. Franceschi-Bicchierai managed to engage Guccifer 2.0 over a period of weeks, he found that his interlocutor’s tone and manner changed. “At first he was careless and colloquial. Weeks later, he was curt and more calculating,” he said. “It seemed like a group of people, and a very sloppy attempt to cover up.”

Computer experts drew the same conclusion about DCLeaks.com, a site that sprang up in June, claiming to be the work of “hacktivists” but posting more stolen documents. It, too, seemed to be a clumsy front for the



same Russians who had stolen the documents. Notably, the website was registered in April, suggesting that the Russian hacking team planned well in advance to make public what it stole.

In addition to what Guccifer 2.0 published on his site, he provided material directly on request to some bloggers and publications. The steady flow of Guccifer 2.0 documents constantly undercut Democratic messaging efforts. On July 6, 12 days before the Republican National Convention began in Cleveland, Guccifer released the D.N.C.’s battle plan and budget for countering it. For Republican operatives, it was insider gold.

Then WikiLeaks, a far more established outlet, began to publish the hacked material — just as Guccifer 2.0 had promised. On July 22, three days before the start of the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, WikiLeaks dumped out 44,053 D.N.C. emails with 17,761 attachments. Some of the messages made clear that some D.N.C. officials favored Mrs. Clinton over her progressive challenger, Mr. Sanders.

That was no shock; Mr. Sanders, after all, had been an independent socialist, not a Democrat, during his long career in Congress, while Mrs. Clinton had been one of the party’s stars for decades. But the emails, some of them crude or insulting, infuriated Sanders delegates as they arrived in Philadelphia. Ms. Wasserman Schultz resigned under pressure on the eve of the convention where she had planned to preside.

Mr. Trump, by now the Republican nominee, expressed delight at the continuing jolts to his opponent, and he began to use Twitter and his stump speeches to highlight the WikiLeaks releases. On July 25, he sent out a lighthearted tweet: “The new joke in town,” he wrote, “is that Russia leaked the disastrous D.N.C. e-mails, which should never have been written (stupid), because Putin likes me.”

But WikiLeaks was far from finished. On Oct. 7, a month before the election, the site began the serial publication of thousands of private emails to and from Mr. Podesta, Mrs. Clinton’s campaign manager.

The same day, the United States formally accused the Russian government of being behind the hackings, in a joint statement by the director of national intelligence and the Department of Homeland Security, and Mr. Trump suffered his worst blow to date, with

the release of a recording in which he bragged about sexually assaulting women.

The Podesta emails were nowhere near as sensational as the Trump video. But, released by WikiLeaks day after day over the last month of the campaign, they provided material for countless news reports. They disclosed the contents of Mrs. Clinton’s speeches to large banks, which she had refused to release. They exposed tensions inside the campaign, including disagreements over donations to the Clinton Foundation that staff members thought might look bad for the candidate and Ms. Tanden’s complaint that Mrs. Clinton’s instincts were “suboptimal.”

“I was just mortified,” Ms. Tanden said in an interview. Her emails were released on the eve of one of the presidential debates, she recalled. “I put my hands over my head and said, ‘I can’t believe this is happening to me.’” Though she had regularly appeared on television to support Mrs. Clinton, she canceled her appearances because all the questions were about what she had said in the emails.

Ms. Tanden, like other Democrats whose messages became public, said it was obvious to her that WikiLeaks was trying its best to damage the Clinton campaign. “If you care about transparency, you put all the emails out at once,” she said. “But they wanted to hurt her. So they put them out 1,800 to 3,000 a day.”

The Trump campaign knew in advance about WikiLeaks’ plans. Days before the Podesta email release began, Roger Stone, a Republican operative working with the Trump campaign, sent out an excited tweet about what was coming, saying “Wednesday @HillaryClinton is done #WikiLeaks.”

But in an interview, Mr. Stone said he had no role in the leaks; he had just heard from an American with ties to WikiLeaks that damning emails were coming.

Julian Assange, the WikiLeaks founder and editor, has resisted the conclusion that his site became a pass-through for Russian hackers working for Mr. Putin’s government or that he was deliberately trying to undermine Mrs. Clinton’s candidacy. But the evidence on both counts appears compelling.

In a series of email exchanges, Mr. Assange refused to say anything about WikiLeaks’ source for the hacked material. He

From: Charles Delavan <cdelavan@hillaryclinton.com>  
Date: March 19, 2016 at 9:54:05 AM EDT  
To: Sara Latham <slatham@hillaryclinton.com>, Shane Hable <shable@hillaryclinton.com>  
Subject: Re: Someone has your password

Sara,

This is a legitimate email. John needs to change his password immediately, and ensure that two-factor authentication is turned on his account.

He can go to this link: <https://myaccount.google.com/security> to do both. It is absolutely imperative that this is done ASAP.

Charles Delavan, a Clinton campaign aide, incorrectly legitimized a phishing email sent to Mr. Podesta’s personal account.



AL DRAGO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Obama and Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. outside the White House after delivering remarks about the election results last month.

denied that he had made his animus toward Mrs. Clinton clear in public statements (“False. But what is this? Junior high?”) or that the site had timed the releases for maximum negative effect on her campaign. “WikiLeaks makes its decisions based on newsworthiness, including for its recent epic scoops,” he wrote.

Mr. Assange disputed the conclusion of the Oct. 7 statement from the intelligence agencies that the leaks were “intended to interfere with the U.S. election process.”

“This is false,” he wrote. “As the disclosing party we know that this was not the intent. Publishers publishing newsworthy information during an election is part of a free election.”

But asked whether he believed the leaks were one reason for Mr. Trump’s election, Mr. Assange seemed happy to take credit. “Americans extensively engaged with our publications,” he wrote. “According to Facebook statistics WikiLeaks was the most referenced political topic during October.”

Though Mr. Assange did not say so, WikiLeaks’ best defense may be the conduct of the mainstream American media. Every major publication, including The Times, published multiple stories citing the D.N.C. and Podesta emails posted by WikiLeaks, becoming a de facto instrument of Russian intelligence.

Mr. Putin, a student of martial arts, had turned two institutions at the core of American democracy — political campaigns and independent media — to his own ends. The media’s appetite for the hacked material, and its focus on the gossipy content instead of the Russian source, disturbed some of those whose personal emails were being reposted across the web.

“What was really surprising to me?” Ms. Tanden said. “I could not believe that reporters were covering it.”

### Devising a Response

Inside the White House, as Mr. Obama’s advisers debated their response, their conversation turned to North Korea.

In late 2014, hackers working for Kim Jong-un, the North’s young and unpredictable leader, had carried out a well-planned attack on Sony Pictures Entertainment intended to stop the Christmas release of a comedy about a C.I.A. plot to kill Mr. Kim.

In that case, embarrassing emails had also been released. But the real damage was done to Sony’s own systems: More than 70 percent of its computers melted down when a particularly virulent form of malware was released. Within weeks, intelligence agencies traced the attack back to the North and its leadership. Mr. Obama called North Korea out in public, and issued some not-very-effective sanctions. The Chinese even cooperated, briefly cutting off the North’s internet connections.

As the first Situation Room meetings on the Russian hacking began in July, “it was clear that Russia was going to be a much more complicated case,” said one participant. The Russians clearly had a more sophisticated understanding of American politics, and they were masters of “kompro-

mat,” their term for compromising information.

But a formal “attribution report” still had not been forwarded to the president.

“It took forever,” one senior administration official said, complaining about the pace at which the intelligence assessments moved through the system.

In August a group that called itself the “Shadow Brokers” published a set of software tools that looked like what the N.S.A. uses to break into foreign computer networks and install “implants,” malware that can be used for surveillance or attack. The code came from the Tailored Access Operations unit of the N.S.A., a secretive group that mastered the arts of surveillance and cyberwar.

The assumption — still unproved — was that the code was put out in the open by the Russians as a warning: Retaliate for the D.N.C., and there are a lot more secrets, from the hackings of the State Department, the White House and the Pentagon, that might be spilled as well. One senior official compared it to the scene in “The Godfather” where the head of a favorite horse is left in a bed, as a warning.

The N.S.A. said nothing. But by late August, Admiral Rogers, its director, was pressing for a more muscular response to the Russians. In his role as director of the Pentagon’s Cyber Command, he proposed a series of potential counter-cyberstrikes.

While officials will not discuss them in detail, the possible counterstrikes reportedly included operations that would turn the tables on Mr. Putin, exposing his financial links to Russia’s oligarchs, and punching holes in the Russian internet to allow dissidents to get their message out. Pentagon officials judged the measures too unobtrusive and ordered up their own set of options.

But in the end, none of those were formally presented to the president.

In a series of “deputies meetings” run by Avril Haines, the deputy national security adviser and a former deputy director of the C.I.A., several officials warned that an overreaction by the administration would play into Mr. Putin’s hands.

“If we went to Defcon 4,” one frequent participant in Ms. Haines’s meetings said, using a phrase from the Cold War days of warnings of war, “we would be saying to the public that we didn’t have confidence in the integrity of our voting system.”

Even something seemingly straightforward — using the president’s executive powers, bolstered after the Sony incident, to place economic and travel sanctions on cyberattackers — seemed too risky.

“No one was all that eager to impose costs before Election Day,” said another participant in the classified meeting. “Any retaliatory measures were seen through the prism of what would happen on Election Day.”

Instead, when Mr. Obama’s national secu-

rity team reconvened after summer vacation, the focus turned to a crash effort to secure the nation’s voting machines and voter-registration rolls from hacking. The scenario they discussed most frequently — one that turned out not to be an issue — was a narrow vote in favor of Mrs. Clinton, followed by a declaration by Mr. Trump that the vote was “rigged” and more leaks intended to undercut her legitimacy.

Donna Brazile, the interim chairwoman of the D.N.C., became increasingly frustrated as the clock continued to run down on the presidential election — and still there was no broad public condemnation by the White House, or Republican Party leaders, of the attack as an act of foreign espionage.

Ms. Brazile even reached out to Reince Priebus, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, urging him twice in private conversations and in a letter to join her in condemning the attacks — an offer he declined to take up.

“We just kept hearing the government would respond, the government would respond,” she said. “Once upon a time, if a foreign government interfered with our election we would respond as a nation, not as a political party.”

But Mr. Obama did decide that he would deliver a warning to Mr. Putin in person at a Group of 20 summit meeting in Hangzhou, China, the last time they would be in the same place while Mr. Obama was still in office. When the two men met for a tense pull-aside, Mr. Obama explicitly warned Mr. Putin of a strong American response if there was continued effort to influence the election or manipulate the vote, according to White House officials who were not present for the one-on-one meeting.

Later that day, Mr. Obama made a rare reference to America’s own offensive cyber-capacity, which he has almost never talked about. “Frankly, both offensively and defensively, we have more capacity,” he told reporters.

But when it came time to make a public assertion of Russia’s role in early October, it was made in a written statement from the director of national intelligence and the secretary of homeland security. It was far less dramatic than the president’s appearance in the press room two years before to directly accuse the North Koreans of attacking Sony.

The reference in the statement to hackings on “political organizations,” officials now say, encompassed a hacking on data stored by the Republicans as well. Two senior officials say the forensic evidence was accompanied by “human and technical” sources in Russia, which appears to mean that the United States’ implants or taps in Russian computer and phone networks helped confirm the country’s role.

But that may not be known for decades, until the secrets are declassified.

A week later Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. was sent out to transmit a public warning to Mr. Putin: The United States will retaliate “at the time of our choosing. And under the circumstances that have the greatest impact.”

Later, after Mr. Biden said he was not concerned that Russia could “fundamentally alter the election,” he was asked whether the American public would know if the message to Mr. Putin had been sent.

“Hope not,” Mr. Biden responded.

Some of his former colleagues think that was the wrong answer. An American counterstrike, said Michael Morell, the former deputy director of the C.I.A. under Mr. Obama, has “got to be overt. It needs to be seen.”

A covert response would significantly limit the deterrence effect, he added. “If you can’t see it, it’s not going to deter the Chinese and North Koreans and Iranians and others.”

The Obama administration says it still has more than 30 days to do exactly that.

### The Next Target

As the year draws to a close, it now seems possible that there will be multiple investigations of the Russian hacking — the intelligence review Mr. Obama has ordered completed by Jan. 20, the day he leaves office, and one or more congressional inquiries. They will wrestle with, among other things, Mr. Putin’s motive.

Did he seek to mar the brand of American democracy, to forestall anti-Russian activism for both Russians and their neighbors? Or to weaken the next American president, since presumably Mr. Putin had no reason to doubt American forecasts that Mrs. Clinton would win easily? Or was it, as the C.I.A. concluded last month, a deliberate attempt to elect Mr. Trump?

In fact, the Russian hack-and-dox scheme accomplished all three goals.

What seems clear is that Russian hacking, given its success, is not going to stop. Two weeks ago, the German intelligence chief, Bruno Kahl, warned that Russia might target elections in Germany next year. “The perpetrators have an interest to delegitimize the democratic process as such,” Mr. Kahl said. Now, he added, “Europe is in the focus of these attempts of disturbance, and Germany to a particularly great extent.”

But Russia has by no means forgotten its American target. On the day after the presidential election, the cybersecurity company Volatility reported five new waves of phishing emails, evidently from Cozy Bear, aimed at think tanks and nonprofits in the United States.

One of them purported to be from Harvard University, attaching a fake paper. Its title: “Why American Elections Are Flawed.”



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hillary Clinton supporters at the Javits Center in New York on election night.

## The 45th President Oil's Global Reach

# Trump Lines Up Republicans to Endorse Tillerson for Secretary of State

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — After waging an 18-month assault on the Republican establishment, President-elect Donald J. Trump changed course on Tuesday and enlisted the party's high priests of foreign policy to help him win the confirmation of Rex W. Tillerson as secretary of state.

Several former Republican secretaries of defense and state sought to dismiss bipartisan concerns about Mr. Tillerson, the Exxon Mobil chief executive, over his two-decade relationship with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia. At the center of the debate are questions about Mr. Tillerson's vocal opposition to American sanctions imposed on Russia as he pursued oil and gas deals in that country.

Their mobilization showed how much Mr. Tillerson's nomination is already a congressional proxy fight over Mr. Trump's embrace of Russia and Mr. Putin. Democrats issued blunt denunciations of the idea that a globe-trotting energy executive could adequately represent the nation's interests. So did several leading Republicans, whose party orthodoxy has been anti-Kremlin for decades.

"I have serious concerns about his nomination," said Senator Marco Rubio, Republican of Florida. Senator Ben Cardin, Democrat of Maryland, declared himself "deeply troubled" by Mr. Tillerson's opposition to sanctions imposed by the United States on Russia after its intervention in Ukraine in 2014.

Democrats and liberal activists also expressed deep concern

Jennifer Steinhauer and Jeremy W. Peters contributed reporting.

about the fate of human rights and climate change under a State Department led by Mr. Tillerson, a 40-year veteran of the country's largest oil company. At the other end of the political spectrum, social conservatives condemned him for playing a role in reversing the Boy Scouts' longstanding policy of excluding gay people, an issue that became a cultural flash point for the religious right.

And when he faces lawmakers during hearings before the Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Tillerson will almost certainly be grilled about his finances, his tax

### A proxy fight over the president-elect's embrace of Russia.

returns and his personal investments — questions that Mr. Trump managed to largely avoid answering about himself during his presidential campaign.

"Rex Tillerson's philosophy on international religious freedom, Middle East instability, foreign assistance and relations with countries like Russia and China must be closely examined before confirmation," Senator James Lankford, Republican of Oklahoma, said on Tuesday in a statement on Facebook.

Mr. Trump's effort to counter those concerns began early Tuesday morning, almost immediately after his Twitter message making the nomination official: "I have

chosen one of the truly great business leaders of the world, Rex Tillerson, Chairman and CEO of

ExxonMobil, to be Secretary of State," he posted at 6:43 a.m.

A series of statements followed from former Vice President Dick Cheney and former secretaries of state James A. Baker III and Condoleezza Rice, among others. In an interview, Robert M. Gates, who served as secretary of defense under President Obama and President George W. Bush, strongly endorsed Mr. Tillerson, a longtime friend, calling him someone who "knows the world like the back of his hand."

Mr. Gates, whose consulting firm has represented Exxon Mobil, said that senators concerned about Mr. Tillerson's relationship with Mr. Putin are basing their criticism "on a superficial watching" of video clips of the Exxon executive receiving the Russian Order of Friendship in 2013.

Mr. Gates said he recommended Mr. Tillerson to the president-elect because he is someone with decades of experience negotiating with foreign leaders.

"I think it's a mistake to confuse having a friendly relationship based on business with sympathy or friendship," said Mr. Gates, who has said that Exxon has been a client. "I think Rex is a hard-eyed realist, and I think he will absolutely put America's interests first in any negotiation."

During the 2016 primary campaign, Mr. Trump often railed against a Republican establishment that he accused of trying to prevent him from becoming president. On Tuesday, his transition staff proudly released statements of support for Mr. Tillerson that included some of his fiercest critics, including Jeb Bush, the former Republican governor of Florida who fought a losing battle for the party's presidential nomination.



"I have serious concerns about his nomination," said Senator Marco Rubio, Republican of Florida, of Rex W. Tillerson.

Mr. Gates had written one of the most scathing statements, writing in a Wall Street Journal op-ed article in September that "a thin-skinned, temperamental, shoot-from-the-hip and lip, uninformed commander-in-chief is too great a risk for America."

Mr. Trump's willingness to embrace the very establishment that he once scorned is partly a reflection of the difficulty that Mr. Tillerson faces in his confirmation battle. Over the past several days, Republican and Democratic lawmakers warned that Mr. Tillerson would face intense scrutiny about his relationship with Russia and with Mr. Putin. Mr. Tillerson has been publicly skeptical about Russian sanctions, which have halted some of Exxon's biggest projects in Russia, including an agreement with the state oil company to explore and pump underground resources in Siberia that could be worth tens of billions of dollars.

Democrats seized on Mr. Tillerson's background as the leader of an oil company to raise doubts about his commitment to environmental issues. Mr. Tillerson, 64, runs a company with operations in about 50 countries, and has cut deals to expand businesses in Venezuela, Qatar, Kurdistan and elsewhere.

"He and other company executives led Exxon Mobil in funding outside groups to create an illusion of scientific uncertainty around the overwhelming scientific consensus on climate change," Neera Tanden, the president of the Center for American Progress, said in a statement.

Amnesty International said in a statement that "Rex Tillerson's nomination is deeply troubling and could undermine human rights in the U.S. and abroad."

A former national president for the Boy Scouts, Mr. Tillerson was involved in opening the Scouts up

to gay scouts and leaders. Tony Perkins, the president of the Family Research Council, wrote on his organization's website that Mr. Tillerson "caved to the pressure of the far left, irreparably splitting the Scouts and destroying a proud and honorable American tradition." Mr. Perkins also cited Exxon's financial donations to Planned Parenthood, calling them "upsetting at best."

Mr. Trump appeared unfazed by the potential roadblocks to Mr. Tillerson's confirmation. In his statement making official his decision to nominate Mr. Tillerson, the president-elect lavished praise on the Exxon executive for his business acumen and knowledge of the world.

"His tenacity, broad experience and deep understanding of geopolitics make him an excellent choice for secretary of state," Mr. Trump said. "Rex knows how to manage a global enterprise, which is crucial to running a successful State Department, and his relationships with leaders all over the world are second to none."

Mr. Tillerson said in the statement that he shared Mr. Trump's vision for "restoring the credibility of the United States' foreign relations."

Senator Bob Corker, Republican of Tennessee, who was a finalist for secretary of state and will oversee confirmation hearings as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, issued an enthusiastic statement.

"Mr. Tillerson is a very impressive individual and has an extraordinary working knowledge of the world," Mr. Corker said. "I congratulate him on his nomination and look forward to meeting with him and chairing his confirmation hearing."

## As Exxon Head, Tillerson Put the Company First

From Page A1

bil is in some ways a state within a state. While Mr. Tillerson has never officially been a diplomat, he has arguably left an American footprint on more countries than any nominee before him — with an agenda overseas that does not always mesh with that of the United States government.

Under Mr. Tillerson, Exxon Mobil has struck lucrative deals with repressive governments in Africa, clashed with China and befriended Vietnam over disputed territory in the South China Sea, learned from hard experience in Venezuela, and built a close rapport with Russia at a time of deepening mistrust between the Kremlin and the West.

Mr. Trump emphasized the unique role Mr. Tillerson had played in pursuing his company's interests around the world, announcing the selection on Tuesday by saying that Mr. Tillerson's "tenacity, broad experience and deep understanding of geopolitics make him an excellent choice for secretary of state."

But the task is a new one for Mr. Tillerson, who as chief executive made it clear that a broad range of national interests and diplomatic priorities were not his main concern. His focus was access to energy.

"And if we're able to do that, where it comes from should be of little consequence to us, if it's reliable," he said at the Council on Foreign Relations in June 2012.

Mr. Tillerson's first big overseas test came soon after he became Exxon Mobil's chief executive in 2006, when he confronted the government of Venezuela head-on — and suffered the consequences.

The company had worked in Venezuela for decades, but then President Hugo Chávez, calling for a Socialist-inspired revolution to benefit the poor, began renegotiating the industry's contracts. By 2007, the Venezuelan government set its sights on projects that included oil industry titans like Exxon Mobil, Chevron and Total.

Foreign companies soon began cooperating with Mr. Chávez's government, but Exxon Mobil and another company, ConocoPhillips, balked at the changes.

"From the very beginning, Exxon sent strong signals that they would not be run over, they would use all their legal rights, and they would be more confrontational," said Francisco Monaldi, a former consultant for Venezuela's state oil company, PDVSA.

In response, Venezuela expropriated the assets of both companies. Exxon Mobil took Venezuela

Ben Hubbard reported from Beirut; Dionne Searcey from Dakar, Senegal; and Nicholas Casey from New York. Reporting was contributed by Clifford Krauss from Houston, Andrew E. Buckley from Moscow, and Chris Buckler and Jane Perlez from Beijing.

to an arbitration court, and got a disappointing outcome. In 2014, seven years after the dispute began, the World Bank's international arbitration court found in the company's favor, but awarded only about one-tenth of what Exxon Mobil said the assets were worth.

The company has not operated in Venezuela since.

"In my opinion, he took it very personal with Chávez," said Ghasan Dagher, a Venezuelan oil industry consultant, adding that Mr. Tillerson "fell into the trap completely."

It was a lesson that may have helped inform Mr. Tillerson's dealings with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, he said.

"Once Exxon finished with Chavez's story, they said, 'We're not going to make the same mistake.' That's why they became so close to Putin."

Mr. Tillerson has had success guiding his company through the rough-and-tumble politics of the Russian oil business.

Exxon Mobil executives said Mr. Tillerson was not available for an interview. But they argued that he and Mr. Putin are not friends, countering criticism in the United States that Mr. Tillerson is too close to Russia to take a strong stance against it. Mr. Putin awarded Mr. Tillerson a medal of friendship for concluding corporate deals in Russia.

Not long after, the United States imposed sanctions on Russia's oil industry in 2014 over Moscow's deadly intervention in Ukraine, leading American foreign policy and the company's investment goals to diverge. Exxon Mobil now has billions of dollars in deals that will move forward only if the sanctions are lifted.

Some officials and executives argue that Mr. Tillerson's business-minded approach to Russia could ease tensions, a view questioned by many diplomats, rights groups and advocates of disarmament.

Yuri Ushakov, a foreign policy adviser to Mr. Putin, praised Mr. Tillerson, saying Russia was ready to find a way out of the "ridiculous condition" between the two great powers. "We want out of this crisis situation," he said.

In West Africa, Exxon Mobil has made lucrative deals with the government of Equatorial Guinea, which arbitrarily detains and tortures critics, disregards elections, and has faced international prosecution for using oil profits to enrich the president's family.

Tutu Alicante, the director of the watchdog organization EG Justice, said that by doing business in Equatorial Guinea, Exxon Mobil was complicit in reinforcing President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo — a strongman who has held office since 1979.

"Exxon definitely has enabled a government that once upon a time was very repressive but didn't have the resources to keep itself in



POOL PHOTO BY MIKHAIL KLIMENTYEV



REUTERS

Above, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia presenting Rex W. Tillerson with a medal in 2012 in St. Petersburg. Left, supporters of President Hugo Chávez of Venezuela protesting at a Mobil service station in Maracaibo in February 2008.

producer.

When Exxon, the precursor of Exxon Mobil, acquired Mobil's operations in Nigeria in the late 1990s, it was given credit for righting misdeeds, including bribery and negligence, said Matthew Page, a consultant who until recently was the State Department's top expert on Nigeria. "They came in with a much more rigid, by-the-book management culture and totally cleaned up Mobil's operations there," he said.

More recently, under Mr. Tillerson's tenure, Exxon Mobil's offshore facilities have been attacked by militants in the Niger Delta who contend that the nation's oil wealth overwhelmingly benefits a small circle of Nigerian elites, yet causes broad environmental damage like oil spills.

The company says it takes environmental protections seriously, including in places that have weak regulations or enforcement.

"We'll impose environmental standards on our own operations that may not necessarily be required by law," Mr. Jeffers said. "It's a good practice as a responsible operator."

Mr. Page said that Mr. Tillerson's experience in negotiating deals around the world would help him in the role of America's top diplomat. "Exxon has this reputation as being take-no-prisoners in terms of its negotiations in other countries, and Tillerson was the big hitter," he said. "He would fly around the world negotiating these deals with foreign heads of state. From that viewpoint, he's a

natural for secretary of state."

But under Mr. Tillerson, Exxon Mobil has also been criticized for a lack of transparency in dealings with the Nigerian government. The country's Economic and Financial Crimes Commission is investigating a 2009 license renewal deal for Exxon Mobil, after allegations that the company was significantly outbid by a Chinese competitor. Critics contend that the deal was done illegally.

"They were running a very corrupt and opaque renewal process," Olanrewaju Suraju, the chairman of the Civil Society Network Against Corruption in Nigeria, said of the Nigerian government in power at the time.

Some analysts said that Exxon Mobil had a singular goal overseas.

"The one clear trend that runs through Exxon's foreign policy is that they are really all about business and doing what is best for shareholders," said Ben Van Heuvelen, the managing editor of Iraq Oil Report. "They are willing to look the other way in the face of a whole host of problems."

But Robert M. Gates, who served as secretary of defense under President Obama and President George W. Bush, said he had recommended Mr. Tillerson to Mr. Trump. Mr. Gates said Mr. Tillerson would be more than capable as America's top diplomat: "I think Rex is a hard-eyed realist, and I think he will absolutely put America's interests first in any negotiation."

## The 45th President Energy and the Environment

# Views on State Dept. Pick Hinge on Oil Industry

## Chief of Exxon Seen as a Flexible Pragmatist or a Climate Change Villain

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS  
and JOHN SCHWARTZ

HOUSTON — Three years ago, Rex W. Tillerson, the chief executive of Exxon Mobil and now President-elect Donald J. Trump's nominee for secretary of state, was probably the man least expected to show up at a town council meeting in North Texas to oppose a local construction project.

His complaint: A proposed water tower in Bartonville, Tex., meant to help use hydraulic fracturing to coax natural gas out of a shale field, would decrease the property value of his nearby ranch. He joined a suit to halt construction.

Mr. Tillerson dropped out of the suit after a judge threw out his complaint — and after news media reports implied he was hypocritically pursuing his backyard interests in opposing a project of a sort that Exxon Mobil has engaged in around the world. Admirers might cite Mr. Tillerson's willingness to change course as a sign of being nimble when necessary.

Depending on the circumstances, Mr. Tillerson has shown toughness or flexibility, whether in international negotiations, or on climate change policy and with gay rights — when he quietly lobbied for reform in the Boy Scouts.

As the leader of the biggest oil company in the United States, and with his close relations to President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and a controversial record on climate change, Mr. Tillerson, 64, is likely to be a lightning rod for Democratic and some Republican senators as he seeks confirmation.

But executives at Exxon Mobil and around the oil business have said that Mr. Tillerson has learned to get along with Mr. Putin strictly for business reasons, but that he does not have a particular fondness for him. And supporters extol Mr. Tillerson's intelligence.

"He's a man with a tremendous capacity to absorb information and make decisions," said Daniel Yergin, an energy historian and vice chairman of IHS Markit. "He's very measured and disciplined and takes a long view."

Detractors, though, view him as the epitome of an industry whose activities harm the environment and whose interests lie squarely with lifting sanctions on Russia.

"By appointing Rex Tillerson," said Trip Van Noppen, the president of Earthjustice, a nonprofit environmental law group, "Donald Trump is showing Americans and the world that he quite literally intends that the interests of large corporations dominate our country's decision-making."

Exxon Mobil said Mr. Tillerson was not available for an interview on Tuesday.

If Mr. Tillerson is confirmed, the State Department would be the latest step up in a career and life with humble origins. He has a strong Texas twang as befits a man born in Wichita Falls, a North Texas town known mainly for its Air Force base and its tornadoes.

He grew up in a family of modest means; his father was an ad-



JESSICA RINALDI / REUTERS

Rex W. Tillerson, chairman and chief executive of Exxon Mobile, is President-elect Donald J. Trump's pick for secretary of state.

ministrator for the Boy Scouts. Mr. Tillerson became an Eagle Scout at age 13; he later graduated with a degree in civil engineering from the University of Texas at Austin, where he played drums in the Longhorns' marching band.

Married and with four children, he is known as an observant Christian and political conservative. He has said his favorite book is "Atlas Shrugged," a libertarian novel by Ayn Rand.

Those who know him say he has a Texas-size ego and can show flashes of anger when things do not go his way.

Throughout his professional life, Mr. Tillerson has been involved in charities. He was a national president of the Boy Scouts of America and is a former director of the United Negro College Fund.

He showed interest in foreign affairs when serving as a trustee for the Center of Strategic and International Studies. He was on that Washington think tank's board with Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, a former national security adviser, and Henry A. Kissinger, a former secretary of state, among others.

Under the leadership of Mr. Tillerson, who has been chairman and chief executive since 2006, Exxon Mobil shifted its approach to climate policy — although environmentalists may disagree. The company has acknowledged the science underlying climate change, and has stopped funding some groups that spread false data about global warming. The company also put support behind carbon taxes and last December's Paris climate agreement.

Having spent his entire career with Exxon Mobil and having been considered in some circles a leading spokesman of the oil industry, Mr. Tillerson is generally viewed as an unconventional choice for secretary of state. He has never held a diplomatic job nor a position in government. He rarely, if ever, speaks publicly on matters outside energy policy.

But he has extensive international business experience. He led the negotiations of an oil consortium seeking to build a gas export plant in Yemen, and oversaw increasing company involvement in Russia's oil and gas fields.

Mr. Tillerson has managed partnerships with Russian and Qatari state oil businesses, and supervised the activities of Exxon Mobil, which has operations in more than four dozen countries. In Iraq, the company has worked with the Baghdad government, but also with regional Kurdish leaders whose independence sometimes irks the Iraqi government.

From the very beginning of his leadership, he has faced international crises.

Shortly after he took over the company, President Hugo Chávez of Venezuela moved to nationalize the assets of more than 20 foreign oil companies. Exxon Mobil was one of two that resisted, and took Venezuela to international arbitration court. The company won a settlement of \$1.6 billion, although that was a small fraction of what the company lost.

Bigger challenges awaited him in Russia. When Mr. Putin pressured Royal Dutch Shell to sell a major stake in its \$20 billion Sakhalin Island oil and gas project to

the state company Gazprom, Exxon Mobil avoided similar treatment. Executives said Mr. Tillerson dug in his heels and was a tough bargainer.

When the United States and its European allies sought to punish Russia in 2014 for its aggression in Ukraine, Mr. Tillerson found legal ways to work around initial sanctions. But when the sanctions were tightened, he froze many activities in the country.

Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, a Republican, has already cited Mr. Tillerson's ties to Russia as concerning. "The next secretary

of state must be someone who views the world with moral clarity, is free of potential conflicts of interest, has a clear sense of America's interests and will be a forceful advocate for America's foreign policy goals," Mr. Rubio said.

## Making deals in Iraq and Russia, but for the private sector.

of state must be someone who views the world with moral clarity, is free of potential conflicts of interest, has a clear sense of America's interests and will be a forceful advocate for America's foreign policy goals," Mr. Rubio said.

But it may be on the issue of climate change that Mr. Tillerson has been viewed with the most skepticism.

Reporting by Inside Climate News and the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, published in The Los Angeles Times, has criticized Exxon Mobil for publicly questioning the scientific consensus on climate change even while its researchers were warning Exxon executives that

the use of fossil fuels was a threat to the planet.

Mr. Tillerson has led the company in aggressively disputing those reports and in resisting investigations by state attorneys general, including Eric T. Schneiderman of New York, into allegations of a decades-long deception by Exxon Mobil.

The state inquiries include questions of whether the company is fraudulently misleading shareholders and consumers about climate change and the long-term prospects for fossil fuels, for example, in the way it assigns value to its oil and gas reserves.

Scientists have suggested that to avoid the worst effects of warming, companies like Exxon Mobil will not be able to extract a large portion of its oil and gas reserves. The federal Securities and Exchange Commission is also investigating Exxon Mobil's bookkeeping on reserves, and the company recently conceded it may have to write down some of those values, particularly in Canada, because of continuing low prices.

Lee Wasserman, the executive director of the Rockefeller Family Fund, a charitable group whose work includes environmental protection, said that under Mr. Tillerson, Exxon Mobil "has done the minimum possible in an apparent attempt to avoid major liability for misrepresenting a critical fact about their business model: Their product is responsible for catastrophic climate change."

The company takes a different view. "Our position evolved as the science evolved," said Alan Jeffers, an Exxon Mobil spokesman.

## E.P.A. Shifts On Fracking, Citing Harm To Water

By CORAL DAVENPORT

WASHINGTON — The Environmental Protection Agency has concluded that hydraulic fracturing, the oil and gas extraction technique also known as fracking, has contaminated drinking water in some circumstances, according to the final version of a comprehensive study first issued in 2015.

The new version is far more worrying than the first, which found "no evidence that fracking systemically contaminates water" supplies. In a significant change, that conclusion was deleted from the final study.

"E.P.A. scientists chose not to include that sentence. The scientists concluded it could not be quantitatively supported," said Thomas A. Burke, the E.P.A.'s science adviser, and deputy assistant administrator of the agency's Office of Research and Development.

The report, the largest and most comprehensive of its kind to date on the effects of fracking on the water supply, comes as President-elect Donald J. Trump has vowed to expand fracking and roll back existing regulations on the process. His choice to run the E.P.A., Scott Pruitt, the attorney general from Oklahoma, has built his career on fighting E.P.A. regulations on energy exploration.

Among Mr. Trump's key energy policy advisers are Harold Hamm, the chief executive of Continental Resources, an energy firm that has been at the forefront of the fracking boom, and Representative Kevin Cramer, Republican of North Dakota, a state transformed by fracking.

Now that team must contend with scientific findings that urge caution in an energy sector that Mr. Trump wants to untether. Mr. Burke said the new report found evidence that fracking has contributed to drinking water contamination in all stages of the process: acquiring water to be used for fracking, mixing the water with chemical additives to make fracking fluids, injecting the chemical fluids underground, collecting the wastewater that flows out of fracking wells after injections, and storing the wastewater.

Still, Mr. Burke said that the report remained "full of gaps and holes," and that the issue required far more study. He declined to offer policy recommendations based on the study, saying that it will "give a lot of information to help communities and decision makers do better in protecting water supplies."

What kind of audience the new team of decision makers will be seems clear. In September, Mr. Trump promised a corporate conference of fracking executives in Pittsburgh that "the shale energy revolution will unleash massive wealth for America," as he vowed to end regulations on fracking.

"I think probably no other business has been affected by regulation than your business," he told the gas executives.

# How Trump Can Influence Climate Change

By JASMINE C. LEE and ADAM PEARCE

During the presidential campaign, Donald J. Trump said he would take the United States out of the Paris agreement and get rid of the Clean Power Plan, which the Supreme Court suspended earlier this year.

A Trump administration may decide to move against efforts undertaken by the Obama administration — by limiting the budget of the E.P.A. or slowing progress on federal actions.

In choosing Scott Pruitt, a close ally of the fossil fuel industry, to run the Environmental Protection Agency, and

Rex W. Tillerson to be secretary of state, Mr. Trump has signaled a desire to dismantle President Obama's actions to counter climate change.

Mr. Trump's decisions will be important but not the sole factor in how close the United States gets to reaching the emissions goal.

Energy markets are shifting; coal power has been declining while wind and solar power use have made gains recently.

This summer, California strengthened policies to limit greenhouse gas

emissions. Nine northeastern states began working together in 2009 under a cap-and-trade program.

Last month, more than 300 companies called for the United States to continue with its emission reduction plans.

Andrew Jones, co-director and co-founder of Climate Interactive, says that reducing emissions requires a number of strategies. "The contributors to global warming are diverse," Mr. Jones said. "Therefore the response to it by the United States is going to be

diverse as well."

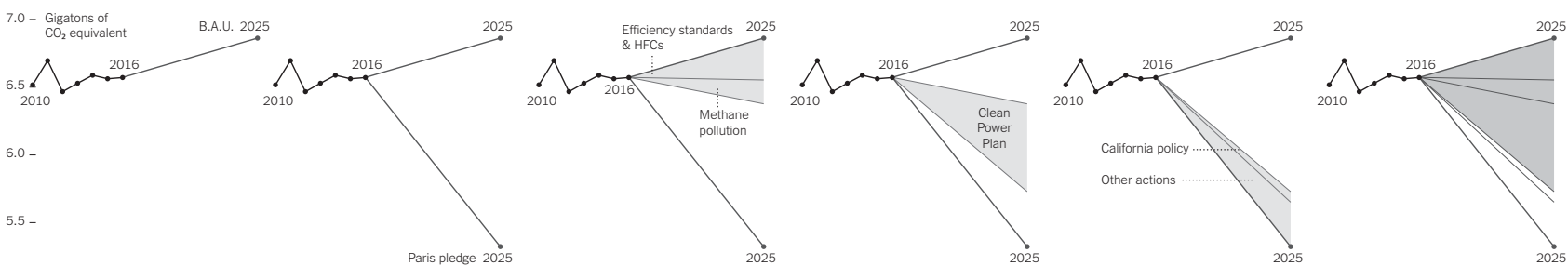
The United States is the second-largest greenhouse gas emitter, behind China. If America does not fulfill its pledge, the world may not be able to slow the increase in global temperatures.

Other nations are not expected to back out of their pledges if the United States does not participate, but there is concern over how much developing countries will be able to do.

Part of the global climate conversation is focused on financial assistance to

poorer countries. Developed nations agreed to give \$100 billion a year by 2020, which will require coordination and planning on a large scale, and the United States may have a critical role in that planning.

There may also be concern over how aggressively other countries will target emissions. "The challenge," Mr. Jones said, "is the potential lack of bold leadership globally at a time when the world needs increased ambition to reduce emissions and stay within the Paris limits."



If the United States continues to create greenhouse gases at the so-called **business-as-usual** level, net emissions could reach 6.9 gigatons by 2025.

But the country is poised for big reductions. Last year, when 195 nations agreed to reduce emissions together, the United States pledged to lower its share to **26 percent to 28 percent below 2005 levels** by 2025.

Many strategies are in place or proposed to reach this goal. Federal regulations governing **energy efficiency, hydrofluorocarbons and pollution from methane** and other gases get national emissions 31 percent of the way to the pledge.

A large part of the American pledge relies on an Obama administration policy, called the **Clean Power Plan**, that would steer power plants toward renewable energy.

**California state policy** on greenhouse gases could contribute another 5 percent. But even if all these strategies are put into effect, the United States will not reach its goal. **Other actions**, involving energy markets and new state laws, may close the gap.

The Trump administration will have the ability to **weaken or do away** with many of the policies in the areas highlighted above.

## The 45th President Congress and the Cabinet



AL DRAGO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator John McCain, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, said his panel would investigate Russian electoral intrusions.

## Russians May Have Revived Bipartisan Oversight

WASHINGTON — Russian meddling in the presidential election could have one unintended but potentially positive consequence: reviving a congressional willingness to conduct serious bipartisan investigations even if they pose political risks.

If members of Congress find a way to move forward together to investigate the Russian activities, it would represent a reversal from recent years when lawmakers were driven to mount full-fledged inquiries only if they could damage the opposition party and not their own. It could also provide a model for how Congress approaches future clashes with the incoming Trump administration.

Watchdog groups caution that the galvanizing force in this case is Russia, a subject that leaders of both parties are likely to rate an easy target.

“The Russians are not our friends,” Senator Mitch McConnell, the Kentucky Republican and majority leader, told reporters on Monday.

And two of the Republicans joining Democrats in the push for a wider bipartisan inquiry are Senators John McCain of Arizona and Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, both deeply suspicious of Russia and who have their own reasons for challenging Mr. Trump, as well as a history of going their own way.

Mr. Graham, an often bitter foe of Mr. Trump during the presidential primaries, criticized him throughout the campaign. Mr. Trump belittled Mr. McCain for being captured and held as a prisoner during the Vietnam War and they clashed on other issues, though Mr. McCain often held his tongue since he was in his own re-election fight.

Still, proponents of better oversight say they sense a new

receptiveness on Capitol Hill to restoring a more traditional role, opening the possibility of Congress reasserting itself on questions beyond the Russian election interference.

“There are definitely glimmers from both chambers, but more on the Senate side,” said Danielle Brian, the executive director of the nonpartisan Project on Government Oversight. “Separate from the Russian question, there are questions of whether it violates the Constitution if the president has entanglements with foreign entities. There are actually a lot of Republicans who care about this question.”

The immediate question is how far any investigation will go in the Russian case. Mr. McConnell said he was supportive of the “regular order” — meaning that any inquiry should proceed through the relevant committees.

He noted that the Intelligence Committee headed by Senator Richard Burr, the newly re-elected Republican from North Carolina, was well equipped to handle such an investigation. But he said Mr. McCain’s decision to conduct his own investigation within the Armed Services Committee that he leads “will be useful,” though Mr. McConnell framed it mainly as a need to explore cyberwarfare.

Those plans fell well short of what Democrats would like, leading to an escalation on Monday of their campaign for a separate special committee or commission to explore the Russian role. A group of Democratic senators even suggested a name: The Commission to End Russian Interference in United States Elections.

Democrats say a special committee with its own investigators devoted to the job would be more likely to get to the bottom of whatever Russia did to influence the election.

There are other advantages as

well. The establishment of a special commission or select committee suggests added import, making clear the subject is a matter of grave significance. The Kennedy assassination and the Sept. 11 attacks had special commissions.

Even though Mr. McConnell’s comments fell short of what many wanted, some top Democrats welcomed them. They view his approach as a first step toward drawing Republicans into a wider investigation of a subject that could have political implications for them if the Russian involvement was seen as playing a significant role in the election

### Questions of electoral interference could prod Congress to resume a tradition.

or was done to tip the scale for Mr. Trump, as some of the intelligence analysis suggests.

At the moment, the Senate seems much more likely than the House to take an aggressive oversight posture.

Despite their record of aggressively investigating the Obama administration on a range of issues such as the Benghazi attack, House Republican leaders are showing somewhat less appetite than the Senate about the Russian actions.

Representative Devin Nunes, the California Republican who heads the Intelligence Committee and is a member of the Trump transition team, said that his panel would continue to monitor investigations by the intelligence community. “The House Intelligence Committee is conducting vigorous oversight of the

investigations into election-related cyberattacks,” Mr. Nunes said, adding that “cyberattacks, including Russian attacks, have been one of the committee’s top priorities for many years.” But he said he saw no benefit in opening new investigations.

Speaker Paul D. Ryan said he supported keeping the House investigation in the hands of Mr. Nunes’s committee even as he was sharply critical of the Kremlin as “an aggressor that consistently undermines American interests.”

Once a proud tradition in Congress, bipartisan oversight has suffered in the last few decades as Congress became increasingly polarized and lawmakers grew reluctant to take on presidents of their own party for fear of giving ammunition to the other side.

It has been part of a steady trend of Congress ceding authority to the executive branch — a pattern that lawmakers of both parties acknowledge but have done little about.

Ms. Brian said she believed a major factor in the House was a shift by Republicans away from picking committee chairs on the basis of seniority and expertise and more on fund-raising and ties to the leadership.

“That changed everything,” she said. “It meant there was no longer an institutional pride in the committee’s work. It was all about how you were helping your party vis-à-vis the other side.”

“That change ripped the heart out of congressional oversight,” she said.

Leaders of both parties say they want Congress to regain some of its stature and power as a coequal branch of government. How lawmakers respond to accounts of Russian interference, and what are certain to be other disputes with the new administration, will help determine if they do so.

## Montana Congressman Said to Be Interior Choice

By CORAL DAVENPORT

WASHINGTON — President-elect Donald J. Trump has offered the position of secretary of the interior to Montana’s freshman representative, Ryan Zinke, a former Navy SEAL commander, two officials familiar with Mr. Trump’s decision confirmed on Tuesday.

The appointment of Mr. Zinke would round out Mr. Trump’s choices to lead the four agencies that will shape the future of the nation’s energy and climate change policies.

Last week, he named Scott Pruitt, the Oklahoma attorney general who has built a career out of suing the Environmental Protection Agency, to lead that office. On Tuesday, transition officials said he would name Rick Perry, the former Texas governor who vowed to eliminate the Energy Department, to run that agency.

Mr. Trump has also chosen Rex W. Tillerson, the chief executive of Exxon Mobil, to head the State Department, which negotiates international climate change agreements.

Mr. Zinke, 55, called Hillary Clinton “the Antichrist” as he campaigned for the House in 2014. Asked that year about the established science of human-caused climate change, Mr. Zinke was quoted in the Billings Gazette, a Montana newspaper, as saying, “It’s not a hoax, but it’s not proven science either.”

Scientists overwhelmingly hold that human-caused climate change is proven.

Mr. Zinke was an early supporter of Mr. Trump. His wife, Lolita, is on Mr. Trump’s transition team for the Department of Veterans Affairs.

In some ways, Mr. Zinke appears to be an incongruous choice to lead the agency that oversees energy exploration on the nation’s public lands and waters. As interior secretary, Mr. Zinke would be charged with carrying out the aggressive pro-drilling agenda that Mr. Trump championed on the campaign trail.

Mr. Zinke has spent most of his life in the military, and he ran for office largely on a national security platform. He played football at the University of Oregon and earned a degree in geology before joining the Navy. He later became a member of the SEALs. He has served in Iraq, Bosnia, Kosovo and the Pacific. His autobiography, “American Commander,” was published recently.

Mr. Zinke conforms with Mr. Trump’s love of military figures. He would join two retired generals, John F. Kelly and James N. Mattis, in the cabinet. Another, Lt.

Maggie Haberman contributed reporting from New York, and Michael D. Shear from Washington.



SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative Ryan Zinke of Montana at Trump Tower in Manhattan on Monday. He backs mining on public lands.

Gen. Michael T. Flynn, has been named national security adviser.

Mr. Zinke would be a continuation of the long tradition of interior secretaries from western states, where the agency oversees millions of acres of federal lands. A third-generation Montanan who grew up in Whitefish, a small railroad and logging town, he has defended keeping the nation’s public lands in federal hands, saying he would never advocate their sale or transfer. But he has also been a staunch advocate of mining and logging on those lands.

He has also consistently voted in favor of maintaining the Land and Water Conservation Fund, which is funded by royalties from oil and gas exploration on public lands but intended to preserve other natural habitats.

Mr. Trump hopes his interior secretary will reverse the Interior Department’s role under President Obama, who used the agency to advance his climate change, land conservation and renewable energy agenda. Under Mr. Obama’s interior secretary, Sally Jewell, the department put forward plans to block oil and gas drilling on expanses of public land and water, freeze new leases for coal mining on public lands, and pro-

### A former Navy SEALs member who will help shape climate policies.

mote the development of renewable energy on federal property.

Mr. Zinke would have the authority to reverse most of those initiatives, although some changes could take as long as three or four years to put in effect.

Environmental groups said they feared that Mr. Zinke would be prepared to carry out Mr. Trump’s agenda.

“Though Mr. Zinke has expressed support for the Land and Water Conservation Fund and opposes the sale of public lands, he has prioritized the development of oil, gas and other resources over the protection of clean water and air, and wildlife,” said Theresa Pierno, president and chief executive of National Parks Conservation Association. “Mr. Zinke has advocated for state control of energy development on federal lands, a move that threatens our national parks.”

But his confirmation could help Democrats in the Senate. Senator Jon Tester of Montana is one of 10 Democrats up for re-election in 2018 in states carried by Mr. Trump. If the Interior post suits Mr. Zinke, Mr. Tester has lost a formidable challenger.

## Perry Named to Lead Energy Department, Which He Once Said He Wanted to Cut

From Page A1

experience would translate into leading the Energy Department.

Despite its name, the department plays the leading role in designing nuclear weapons, thwarting their proliferation, and ensuring the safety and reliability of the nation’s aging nuclear arsenal through a constellation of laboratories considered the crown jewels of government science.

“The Rick Perry choice is so perplexing,” said former Senator Byron L. Dorgan, Democrat of North Dakota, who for years led the committee that oversees the Energy Department’s budget.

“I think very few people understand that the Energy Department, to a very substantial degree, is dealing with nuclear weapons,” he said. “And Rick Perry suggested the agency should be abolished. That suggests he thinks it doesn’t have value.”

Still, the former energy secretaries Spencer Abraham, a Republican, and Bill Richardson, a Democrat, said they could envision Mr. Perry adapting.

“There’s a lot of elements to the department that people don’t necessarily know about until you get there,” said Mr. Abraham, who, as a senator from Michigan, also frequently called for the abolition of the Energy Department. He said his views evolved after he was



Rick Perry at Trump Tower. He is enthusiastic about fossil fuels, but the Energy Department focuses on security and science.

named its leader in President George W. Bush’s first term. “You find yourself surprised by what it really entails,” he said.

About 60 percent of the Energy Department’s budget is devoted to the National Nuclear Security Administration, which defines its mission as enhancing national security through the military application of nuclear science. Under President Obama, the Energy Department helped secure an agreement with Iran to dismantle its nuclear weapons program and took on a larger role in efforts to combat global warming, particularly through scientific research. It also established the Advanced Re-

search Projects Agency-Energy to support breakthrough research on clean energy technology.

The last two energy secretaries, Ernest J. Moniz of M.I.T. and Steven Chu of Stanford, brought to the office their doctorates in physics, academic credentials and, in Dr. Chu’s case, a Nobel Prize.

Mr. Perry, 66, would bring a different set of credentials. He is the longest-serving governor of Texas — in office from 2000 to 2015 — and before that was the Texas agriculture commissioner. He holds a bachelor’s degree in animal science from Texas A&M University.

In his 2010 book, “Fed Up! Our Fight to Save America From

Washington,” Mr. Perry called the established science of human-caused climate change a “contrived, phony mess.” His views align with those of Mr. Trump, who has called climate change a hoax perpetuated by the Chinese.

More recently, Mr. Perry was a contestant on the television show “Dancing With the Stars,” but was eliminated in an early round.

He was briefly a front-runner for the 2012 Republican presidential nomination, but his Energy Department “oops moment,” as he called it, is widely seen as having sunk his candidacy. His run for the 2016 nomination ended in late 2015, but not before he called Mr. Trump a “barking carnival act” and a “cancer on conservatism.”

Mr. Perry did campaign energetically for Mr. Trump later.

Mr. Trump’s selection of Mr. Perry appears to line up with his appointment last week of the Oklahoma attorney general, Scott Pruitt, to run the Environmental Protection Agency. Mr. Pruitt — who, like Mr. Perry, is skeptical of climate change — has built a career out of suing the agency he is now set to lead and seeking to dismantle its rules and authority.

Mr. Abraham noted that current events often dictate the energy secretary’s role. When he took the job in 2001, he said, his focus was on rolling backouts in California and the Enron electric utility scan-

dal. But after the Sept. 11 attacks, his attention shifted to counterterrorism and nuclear weapons and nonproliferation programs.

Mr. Chu was brought in by Mr. Obama to focus on climate change programs, but in the summer of 2010, he became consumed with personally helping to engineer a way to stop the oil gushing from a blown BP well in the Gulf of Mexico. Mr. Moniz’s tenure centered on brokering the Iran deal.

“The thing about the department is its diversity, and no one can have a foot in every single department door,” Mr. Abraham said. “You’ve seen people with a science background, a military background. Rick Perry has background running a big bureaucracy, the state of Texas. I think he’ll do a great job.”

And Mr. Richardson, a former governor of New Mexico who served as Bill Clinton’s energy secretary, said Mr. Perry’s experience leading a state with a diverse energy economy could serve him well — with one major caveat.

“Over all, Governor Perry is a sound choice, because you need a strong leader with political stature and a megaphone for the job, and Rick has both,” he said, noting that he and Mr. Perry had often worked together as governors of adjoining southwestern states. But “as a big fossil fuel advocate, my concern is that Perry will get

sucked in by the Trump climate deniers and try to dismantle the valuable renewable energy and climate change programs that the department manages.”

Already, Mr. Trump’s transition team has raised fear that he will target the agency’s climate change programs and the people who run them. This month, the transition team circulated an unusual 74-point questionnaire at the Energy Department that requested the names of all employees and contractors who had attended climate change policy conferences, as well as emails and documents about the conferences.

Former department employees and presidential transition officials said a request for lists of specific people involved in shaping climate policy was irregular and alarming. Employees said Tuesday that the choice of a secretary who has vowed to eliminate the agency compounded those fears.

An Energy Department spokesman, Eben Burnham-Snyder, said the agency had refused to give the names. “Some of the questions asked left many in our work force unsettled,” he wrote in an email.

“We are going to respect the professional and scientific integrity and independence of our employees at our labs and across our department,” he wrote. “We will not be providing any individual names to the transition team.”

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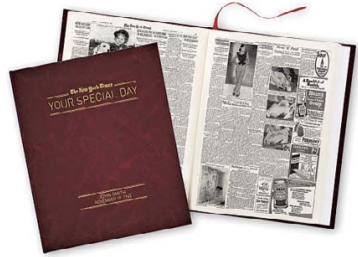


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## The 45th President Expectations and Celebrations

# From Midtown to Midwest, Presidential Reality Show Rolls On

By MARK LANDLER

WEST ALLIS, Wis. — President-elect Donald J. Trump said on Tuesday that his nominee for secretary of state, Rex W. Tillerson, would reverse “years of foreign policy blunders and disasters,” and that his close ties to antagonistic foreign leaders — a potential hurdle to his confirmation by the Senate — was one of the reasons he had picked him.

“Rex is friendly with many of the leaders in the world who we don’t get along with,” Mr. Trump said to a boisterous crowd here. “And some people don’t like that. They don’t want him to be friendly.” But he added, “That’s why I’m doing the deal with Rex, because I like what this is all about.”

Mr. Trump did not refer specifically to Mr. Tillerson’s longstanding ties to President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, a relationship he cultivated as chief executive of Exxon Mobil. But the president-elect described Mr. Tillerson as a “great diplomat, a strong man, a tough man,” noting that he had been endorsed by Republican foreign-policy elders including James A. Baker III, Robert M. Gates and Condoleezza Rice.

“People are looking at this résumé and honestly, they’ve never seen a résumé like this before,” he said.

Mr. Trump’s visit to Wisconsin was the latest stop on his “thank-you” tour of battleground states, and one of the most resonant, given that his slim victory in this previously reliable Democratic bastion was so unexpected, and for Hillary Clinton, so devastating.

During his remarks, Mr. Trump savored the results of a recount that reaffirmed his victory over Mrs. Clinton by close to 23,000 votes. “I refuse to say it was a scam tonight,” he said, before saying that Democrats were behind the recount campaign.

The rally also showed how victory can heal rifts: Gov. Scott Walker, a bitter primary rival of Mr. Trump’s who offered only a tepid endorsement and steered clear of him during the campaign, introduced the president-elect as a stalwart leader who had nominated Gen. James N. Mattis to serve as defense secretary.

The House speaker, Paul D. Ryan, who initially held off on endorsing Mr. Trump, thanked him for the Republican victory here. Mr. Trump said he looked forward to working with Mr. Ryan to pass his legislative agenda, but added rather pointedly, “We’re going to build the wall, Paul.”

Mr. Trump also lashed out at a familiar litany of foes, including



President-elect Donald J. Trump and Vice President-elect Mike Pence on Tuesday in West Allis, Wis., as part of their victory tour.

the news media and Mrs. Clinton, drawing cries of “CNN sucks” and “Lock her up,” neither of which he tried very hard to dampen.

The rally came after a theatrical day of meetings at Trump Tower in Midtown Manhattan, with visitors including Kanye West, Bill Gates and the retired football stars Jim Brown and Ray Lewis. There were cameos by familiar bit

### A raucous rally after meetings with Kanye West and Bill Gates.

players: the Naked Cowboy and a man who paces through the lobby reading aloud from books like “Night,” by Elie Wiesel.

The scene showcased yet again how Mr. Trump has turned his transition into a kind of political reality show, with twists and turns, special guests and a running narrative built around his own celebrity.

Since soon after he was elected, he has summoned people to inter-

view for cabinet jobs — a public spectacle that includes a ritual parade before a phalanx of reporters and cameras. But on Tuesday, with Mr. Tillerson’s nomination, he ended one of the longest-running personnel dramas.

With many of the major cabinet posts filled, Mr. Trump’s guest list has broadened to include people who are simply there to advise him, talk about big ideas or perhaps run a project by him. Sometimes, as with Mr. West, the purpose of the visit is not all that clear.

Shortly before 10 a.m., the polymorphous hip-hop star and the president-elect emerged from the gold elevators in the building’s lobby to pose for photographers and to engage in a stilted question-and-answer session with the scrum of waiting reporters.

Asked the reason for their meeting, Mr. Trump said: “Just friends, just friends. He’s a good man. Long time. Friends for a long time.” Mr. West stood silently next to him, arms crossed over his chest. The two continued to pose — Mr. Trump smiling; Mr. West glowering — while reporters tried to extract a comment from the normally opinionated musician.

“I’m just here to take a picture,” Mr. West said, before cracking a smile and offering a thumbs-up gesture, as Mr. Trump grabbed his hand and patted him on the shoulders to say goodbye.

Hours later, Mr. West wrote on Twitter that he had come to discuss “multicultural issues” with Mr. Trump, believing “it is important to have a direct line of communication with our future President if we truly want change.” Mr. Trump had characterized their conversation as being about “life.”

Mr. Gates, the billionaire philanthropist who arrived at noon for his meeting, avoided such awkwardness by talking to reporters alone, and offering them only crumbs. “It was a good time,” he said of his encounter with Mr. Trump. The two talked about the “power of innovation,” Mr. Gates said before heading toward the exit.

It was a different story a few minutes earlier when Mr. Lewis and Mr. Brown emerged. They were accompanied by Darrell C. Scott, a Cleveland pastor and supporter of Mr. Trump. He wanted the news media to know about their sales pitch to Mr. Trump:

that he throw his administration’s weight behind Amer-I-Can, a program co-founded by Mr. Brown to help young people caught up in gang violence.

“We couldn’t have had a better meeting,” said Mr. Brown, the legendary fullback who held a cane engraved with the name of his pro football team, the Cleveland Browns. “The graciousness, the intelligence; the reception we got was fantastic.”

Mr. Scott said Mr. Trump had made a verbal commitment to “put the government behind it,” put the Trump administration behind it.” Mr. Lewis, a former Baltimore Ravens linebacker, said the men had appealed to him by promoting the program, which has helped 30,000 to 40,000 gang members transform their lives, as a job-creation machine.

“Urban development and job creation are everything,” Mr. Lewis said.

When a reporter asked the men whom they had voted for, they became less chatty.

“The election is over,” Mr. Scott said, as the Naked Cowboy sauntered behind him, swaddled in a stars-and-stripes boxing robe.

## In an Arizona County Where Latinos Have an Edge, So Did Trump

From Page A12

Eben Bratcher of the Yuma County Sheriff’s Office.

The area’s political balance has been slowly tilting left, as the county’s demographics are changing, mirroring the rise in the number of Latinos throughout Arizona. For the first time since 2004, voters elected more Democrats than Republicans for the Board of Supervisors. Still, “in the Hispanic community, there was a lot of disagreement over Trump,” said Tony Reyes, a county supervisor for 18 years and the vice chairman of the county’s Democratic Party.

“There were some people who judged him by his statements on Mexicans and Mexico,” Mr. Reyes said. “Then there’s those who picked him because of his message on jobs.”

Still, they considered his portrayal of the border as lawless and unsafe, and his denunciation of NAFTA as unfair to American workers, as overly broad generalizations.

There are automotive plants in

Ciudad Juárez, across from El Paso; aerospace plants in Mexicali, southwest of Yuma; and medical devices’ manufacturers in Tijuana, near San Diego. On the American side, there is a mix of retail stores, warehouses and trucking companies whose task is to move what is made in Mexico deeper into the United States and on to Canada.

“The two sides, they’re like photonegatives of each other,” said Erik Lee, executive director of the North American Research Partnership, which analyzes the economic dynamic of the southern border.

When workers in foreign-owned factories, known in Spanish as maquiladoras, get paid, they come across to shop at the clothing stores of San Luis and the big-box stores of Yuma.

Gregorio Garcia, 68, Mayor Nicholls’s father-in-law, closed his wholesale food business during the Mexican peso crisis of 1994. That same year, NAFTA was signed and he opened a cross-border transportation business to bring spinach, leeks, radishes and green onions all year from Mexico to the



Fields near Somerton, Ariz. Leafy greens fuel the region’s economy, a \$3 billion-a-year business that employs thousands.

United States, tariff-free.

“I’ve given my wife and two daughters a good life, thanks to Mexico,” said Mr. Garcia, who voted for Mr. Trump.

“I liked what Trump said about keeping American companies in America,” he said. “Yuma can use some of that. We need jobs, but we

also need workers.”

On the edge of a field of lettuce off U.S. Highway 95, which links Yuma to San Luis, a sign read, “Se solicitan empleadros” — workers wanted.

Nearby, Miguel Martínez, 28, managed a crew picking romaine lettuce on a patch of land before

### Looking for opportunities beyond working in the fields.

him, having already computed his losses because he could not find enough people to harvest the lettuce on a field to his left.

“I voted for Trump — we need to shake things up. But I’d like to hear his plan to give more visas for agricultural workers,” Mr. Martínez said. “If no American wants these jobs, are we going to let the lettuce go rotten?”

For Antonio Martínez, the barber-shop owner, who also voted for Mr. Trump, agriculture has its needs, but the jobs it offers are “dead-end jobs,” he said.

“A lot of us here, we’ve studied hard, we work hard; we don’t want to work on the fields, and we don’t want handouts,” he said. “What we want — what we need — are more opportunities.”

## Top Defender Prepares to Cede Chair to Client in Church Massacre Trial

From Page A12

“Justice does demand that murderers be punished,” Mr. Bruck, who declined to comment for this article, wrote in *The New Republic* in 1985. “And common sense demands that society be protected from them. But neither justice nor self-preservation demands that we kill men whom we have already imprisoned.”

The views of the soft-spoken Mr. Bruck, whom people in the courtroom sometimes strain to hear, are not typical in South Carolina, a conservative state that in the 1990s executed nearly double the number of prisoners as North Carolina, its larger neighbor. Prosecutors sometimes disdained Mr.

Kevin Sack contributed reporting.

Bruck as a liberal interloper who protected murderers and, as Justice Antonin Scalia wrote in a dissent in a Bruck-argued case, advanced a “guerrilla war to make this unquestionably constitutional sentence a practical impossibility.”

But there were many victories. By the summer of 1995, only three of the roughly 50 South Carolina murder defendants he had represented had been put to death. That year, he secured a life sentence for Susan Smith, the South Carolina mother who drowned her two young sons. In that case, as he did for the current phase of Mr. Roof’s trial and during last year’s proceedings against Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, who was ultimately convicted and sentenced to death for the Boston Marathon bombings, Mr. Bruck did not dispute the guilt

of his clients.

“They’ve developed a pretty wise strategy of not banging their head against the wall, not trying to try the guilt phase when it would only lose their credibility to do so,” said Thomas E. Pope, who prosecuted Ms. Smith.

The Smith case strengthened the reputation of Mr. Bruck as a go-to lawyer for the country’s most vilified defendants.

“I know that the loneliest place in the world for David is sitting next to one of the most reviled people of this century,” said William N. Nettles, who was the United States attorney for South Carolina when Mr. Roof was indicted. “But David is ahead of his time, and history will be kind to him when history catches up to him.”

This week, Judge Richard M.

Gergel, who has clashed often with Mr. Bruck, rejected a defense request “to admit relevant evidence of the defendant’s state of mind and personal characteristics.”

Prosecutors on Tuesday continued their reconstruction of Mr. Roof’s behavior in the months leading up to the killings, when he made repeated trips to Charleston and, as early as August 2014, downloaded a history of the Ku Klux Klan.

A crime scene investigator testified that a search of Mr. Roof’s bedroom after the attack turned up a pillowcase cut into a triangular shape that could have represented a Ku Klux Klan hood.

Lawyers could make their closing arguments on Thursday.

Although the Justice Department rejected Mr. Bruck’s pro-

posal that Mr. Roof plead guilty in exchange for a sentence of life in prison, recent history suggests that Mr. Roof could avoid the death penalty. Since 1988, according to the Federal Death Penalty Resource Counsel Project, federal juries have opted for life sentences for nearly two-thirds of defendants convicted of capital crimes.

But capital punishment specialists typically represented those defendants, and here, Mr. Roof appears intent on forging his own strategy. He dismissed Mr. Bruck and his other lawyers after the defense questioned Mr. Roof’s mental competency, and then he chose to bring them back for the first part of his trial. Some in this courthouse believe that Mr. Roof may reverse course again and reinstate Mr. Bruck.

## Kasich Signs Abortion Bill But Vetoes Stricter Ban

### ‘Heartbeat’ Measure Won’t Be Ohio Law

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

WASHINGTON — Gov. John Kasich of Ohio on Tuesday signed into law a ban on abortion after 20 weeks of pregnancy, but vetoed a far more restrictive measure that would have barred abortions after a fetal heartbeat was detected, as early as six weeks into a pregnancy.

In reaching the split decision on the two bans, adopted last week by the Ohio legislature, Mr. Kasich said the so-called heartbeat bill was “clearly contrary to the Supreme Court’s current rulings on abortion.” He called the 20-week ban the “best, most legally sound and sustainable approach to protecting the sanctity of human life.”

The 20-week ban has no exceptions for rape or incest, and abortion rights advocates consider it extreme. Under existing Ohio law, there will be an exception for a life of the mother, Mr. Kasich’s office said. Ohio currently bars abortions after 24 weeks of pregnancy.

With the governor’s signature, Ohio becomes the 18th state to adopt a 20-week abortion ban, though two of the bans — in Arizona and Idaho — have been struck down as unconstitutional by federal courts. Legal experts say Ohio’s 20-week ban is far more likely to survive a constitutional challenge than the heartbeat bill.

Barring court action, the law will take effect in 90 days, but a legal challenge appears inevitable. The American Civil Liberties Union of Ohio, which said on Tuesday that the measure was “unconstitutional and will harm women and families,” was expected to file a suit to block it.

“There’s no way we’re going to

### Passing a 20-week ban with no exceptions for rape or incest.

take this lying down,” said Gabriel Mann, a spokesman for Nara Pro-Choice Ohio, an advocacy group. “It’s too horrific of a restriction for women who are facing medical complications and situations where they need an abortion around that 20-week period.”

About 20,000 abortions are performed in Ohio each year, Mr. Mann said, and fewer than 2 percent occur after 20 weeks of pregnancy.

While the state keeps track of the number of abortions, it does not track the reasons for termination. Abortion opponents argue that one abortion is one too many.

Mr. Kasich’s actions come as abortion rights advocates and abortion opponents around the country are gearing up for intense battles in the wake of the election of Donald J. Trump to the White House. Mr. Trump’s victory has changed the political winds around abortion politics, emboldening the anti-abortion movement.

People on both sides of the debate see abortion rights in greater danger than at any time since the Supreme Court’s landmark *Roe v. Wade* decision in 1973, which found a legal right to abortion within the 14th Amendment. Mr. Trump has committed to appointing Supreme Court justices who would overturn *Roe*.

Even so, anti-abortion movement leaders in Ohio feared that the heartbeat bill would bring on a court challenge, and could ultimately set back their cause, given the current makeup of the Supreme Court.

In June, after the death in February of Justice Antonin Scalia, the court struck down a far-reaching Texas anti-abortion bill, 5-3.

But even if Mr. Trump fills Justice Scalia’s seat, the balance of the court will not change; it will still tip in favor of *Roe*, 5-4, said Michael Gonidakis, the president of Ohio Right to Life, the organization that pushed for the 20-week ban.

“The governor got this right,” Mr. Gonidakis said. “At the end of the day, he had to exercise great restraint in what legislation he signed.”

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## With Others, A Woman Saw What Could Be

The car coasted down her sister's old block in Brownsville, Brooklyn, and in the front seat Janis Borden glanced out the window and, for an instant, saw not a Monday in December 2016, but an evening in the late 1970s or early 1980s.

**JIM DWYER**  
ABOUT NEW YORK  
"I used to hate coming over here to babysit for her," Ms. Borden said. "The neighborhood wasn't like this — it was all knocked down."

The street she looked at Monday afternoon had rows of tiny, tidy one-family homes, children spilling along the sidewalks, traffic with legitimate purposes. It is unthinkable in the New York of 2016 that here, and on hundreds of acres of the city in the 1970s and 1980s, the blocks teemed with menace.

Street signs were stolen for their scrap metal value. A falsely named "urban renewal" project bulldozed entire blocks, then left the lots vacant. In the husks of dead buildings, copper pipes were ripped from the walls, the flashing stripped from roofs, banisters wrenched from stairs.

Against the march of decay stood, among others, Ms. Goffe, who grew up in Brownsville and died last week at 68.

On her own, she raised three children while working at various times as a bank teller, subway conductor and train tower operator. And with other barely visible, little-celebrated people and groups, Ms. Goffe helped replace the broken world of 30 to 40 years ago with one that is alive and able to thrive. She was one of the founders of East Brooklyn Congregations, which has built or rebuilt about 5,000 homes for working people of modest means since 1980. (Another founder, Bishop E. L. White, also died this month.)

"They saved East Brooklyn and helped save New York City as surely as any mayor or governor or banker did," said Michael Gecan, a co-director of the

## Saving East Brooklyn 'as surely as any mayor or governor' did.

Industrial Areas Foundation, a network of faith and community organizations.

This was not the work of gurus or messiahs or political egomaniacs.

Ms. Goffe was one in a family of four sisters who grew up in the Van Dyke Houses. She attended Thomas Jefferson High School. The family belonged to Pilgrim Baptist Church. The Brownsville of their youth, with its strivers and the lively stretches of Pitkin Avenue, began to give way by the '60s to depopulation and disintegration. But Ms. Goffe did not lose track of what had been, and saw it as the shape of what could be again, Ms. Borden said.

"It was part of her personality," Ms. Borden said. "We grew up here. We felt safe here."

The car passed a stately building on Glenmore Avenue, one that seemed to have lasted from an earlier time. "Here was our library," Ms. Borden said. "We were in there all the time."

An encounter with an after-school program backed by the Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn gave a focus to Ms. Goffe's activism. She joined with Doug Shafer and John Reynolds in starting East New York Christian Fellowships, which became a founding member of East Brooklyn Congregations in 1980.

With both vacant land and despair in abundance, East Brooklyn Congregations approached the city with a startling proposal: It would build single-family houses for about \$50,000 each if the city would give it the land and abate the real estate taxes. The project was called Nehemiah, for a prophet who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem.

At a time when hardly anyone seemed to have ideas that worked, the Nehemiah homes became a roaring success in Brooklyn and the Bronx. It is hard to imagine the city's renaissance without the vibrant foundation of Nehemiah. (A video on East Brooklyn Congregations' website, shows the transformation.)

Ms. Goffe bought a Nehemiah home in Brownsville, and became the head of the homeowners association.

"You couldn't possibly pay her for all she did," said Sheila Bennett, an administrator with East Brooklyn Congregations. "She was always on. She was always negotiating."

If fences were mistakenly built over drainage lines, she worked out solutions. When people in an apartment building and Nehemiah owners were getting on each other's nerves, Ms. Goffe opened diplomatic channels.

She sang "Battle Hymn of the Republic" with the Brooklyn Tabernacle Choir at President Obama's second inauguration, and ran a weekly circle that is making a giant quilt about Brownsville.

History is not made by speeches or Twitter posts; it is what people create of the world around them with their lives. "Carmelia," Ms. Borden said, "took care of business."

Email: [dwyer@nytimes.com](mailto:dwyer@nytimes.com)  
Twitter: @jimdwyrny

# State Orders New York City to Hire Child Welfare Monitor

By NIKITA STEWART

The state has ordered New York City to install an independent monitor to review the city's troubled child welfare agency, the latest fallout from the recent deaths of children who had been the subjects of abuse reports to the agency.

The plan to hire a monitor became public on Tuesday at an unrelated news conference, when Mayor Bill de Blasio was asked about the turmoil at the agency, the Administration for Children's Services. A day earlier, its commissioner, Gladys Carrión, had abruptly stepped down.

In his remarks to reporters on Tuesday, the mayor did not indicate that the city had been compelled to hire a monitor. But a report about one of the child deaths, released late Monday by the state Office of Children and Family Services, made clear that the independent monitor was not a voluntary step by the de Blasio administration. Early Tuesday night, the city released its own report on the death.

Taken together, the state and city reviews provided the most detailed public findings about the death of Zymere Perkins, a 6-year-old who was fatally beaten in September and whose case echoed other infamous child abuse deaths in the city, like Elisa Izquierdo in 1995 and Nixzmary Brown in 2006.

In tearful testimony to the City Council in October, Ms. Carrión said she took re-

## New Details Emerge in Beating Death of Boy

sponsibility for Zymere's death. The boy's mother, Geraldine Perkins, and her boyfriend, Rysheim Smith, have been charged with endangering the welfare of a child, and several agency workers had been disciplined because of suspected lapses in how the agency investigated reports that Zymere was being abused.

The agency came under more scrutiny in recent days after the death of Jaden Jordan, 3, who had been brought to a hospital on Nov. 28 with grave injuries. A suspicion of abuse had been relayed to the agency two days earlier, but social workers sent to look for the boy and his family were unable to locate him, apparently because of an incorrect address. He died on Dec. 3.

With the two deaths, the agency has faced pointed criticism, even from some who understand the challenges of its mission.

On Tuesday, Mr. de Blasio, a Democrat, accepted blame and said the child welfare agency had failed Zymere. "Pro-

cedures were not followed, common sense was not exercised, and due diligence was lacking up and down the chain of command responsible for Zymere," he said. "I will not accept excuses for this failure and I will not accept the notion that every single one of these tragedies cannot be prevented. The buck stops with me."

The city is seeking to fire three employees, has demoted four others and has initiated suspensions for two other staff members.

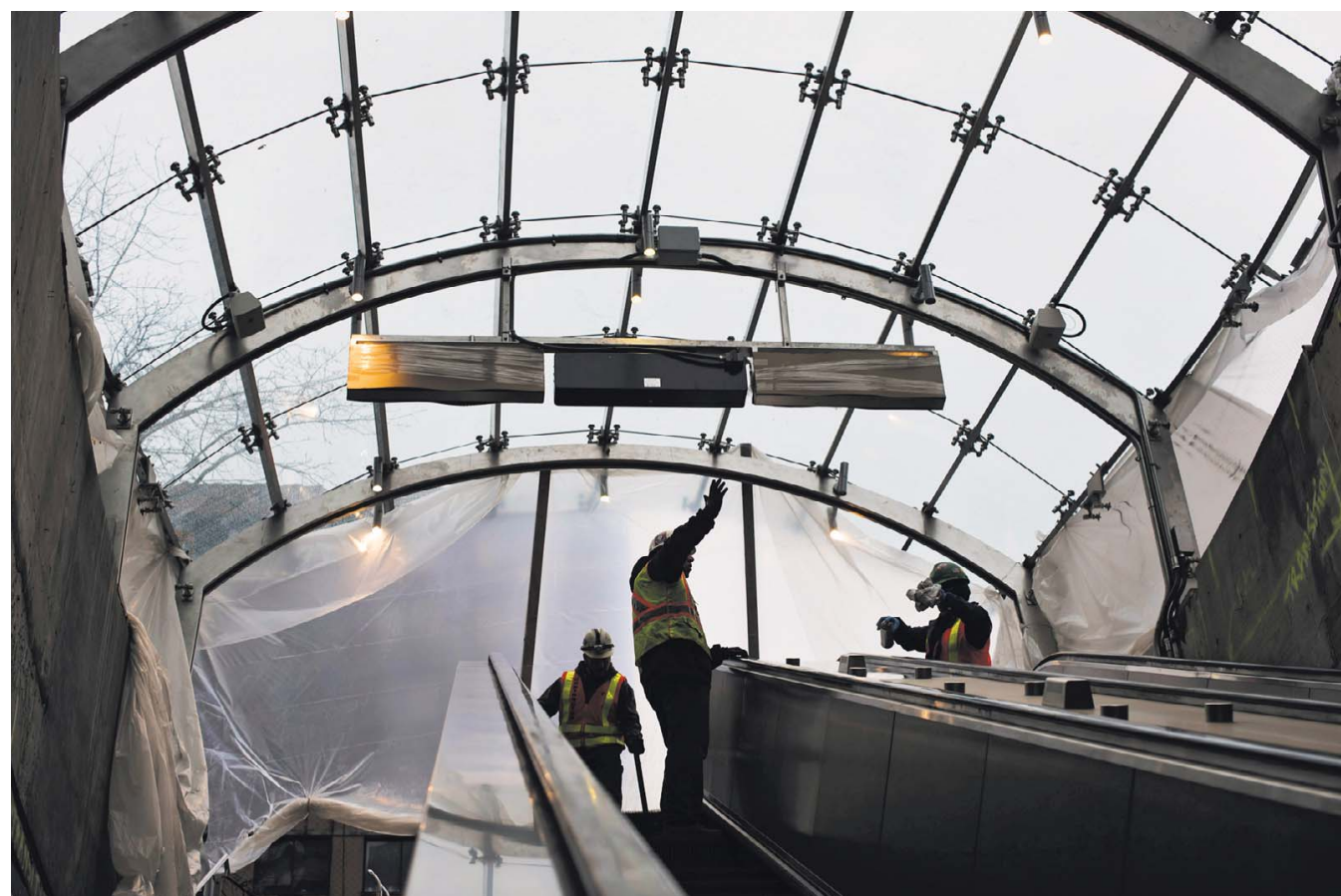
The state and the city reviews found that in Zymere's case, social workers in the field failed to adequately investigate allegations of abuse and neglect and supervisors failed to scrutinize those reports. The reviews catalog a series of missed chances by investigators: They did not talk to doctors who had contact with the family, they did not contact or even locate relatives who could have shed light on the family, and they did not investigate signs of domestic abuse.

According to the state report issued on Tuesday, the "ACS documentation was convoluted with no focus on attempting to grasp an understanding of the subject child's account of events leading to the injuries."

Zymere's family had come into contact



Zymere Perkins



PHOTOGRAPHS BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Hands On, With an Eye To the Future

### Governor Immersed In 2nd Ave. Project

By EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

As governor of New York, Andrew M. Cuomo has no shortage of complex problems demanding his attention. But his ire has recently been focused on a small switch in a subway station deep below the streets of Manhattan.

Delays with the switch, known as a shunt trip breaker, were holding up progress on the Second Avenue subway — a "demonic device that has frustrated us for months," Mr. Cuomo said as he inspected a new station at 96th Street on the Upper East Side on Monday.

"There's 800 little things like shunt trip breakers that you have to get past," the governor said. "Each station has its own little problems."

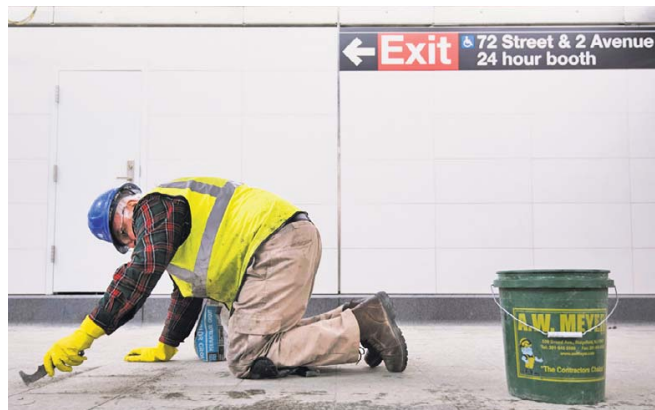
The notorious Second Avenue subway, nearly a century in the making, is inches from the finish line, and Mr. Cuomo, a Democrat, has made it his mission to complete the project by New Year's Eve. On regular visits to the line's three new stations, he obsesses over design details and equipment glitches at a surprising level of involvement for a governor, which some critics say seems primarily aimed at promoting his image.

A 24-block trek with Mr. Cuomo this week through the new subway tunnels and stations offered a rare glimpse inside the long-delayed \$4.4 billion project that for many New Yorkers had come to symbolize a dream that might never be realized. The shiny modern stations are filled with dozens of workers and a steady whir of buzz saws, but the line appears remarkably close to being done.

Yet with 18 days left in the year, the



Workers inside the new 96th Street station on the Second Avenue subway line in Manhattan on Monday. Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo visited the station that morning — at least his third trip to the line in four days.



The 72nd Street station. Mr. Cuomo has made it his mission to complete the project by New Year's Eve. "Each station has its own little problems," he said.

Metropolitan Transportation Authority has not announced an opening date for this first phase of the line. Though Mr. Cuomo said he was optimistic about meeting the year-end deadline, he con-

ceded that any problems with a series of final tests could delay the opening.

"This fire safety test could go bad, and then you're nowhere," Mr. Cuomo said after climbing a ladder onto the platform at

the 86th Street station, clad in work boots and khaki pants, though notably missing the hard hat worn by others.

For Mr. Cuomo, the opening of the Second Avenue subway is part of an ambitious Robert Moses-style agenda to improve the region's infrastructure, which includes a new Tappan Zee Bridge and overhauls of La Guardia Airport and Pennsylvania Station. He says he wants to prove that government can do big things, but the plans also appear aimed at burnishing his legacy, possibly with an eye toward seeking higher office in 2020.

A day after visiting the new stations, Mr. Cuomo was aboveground on Tuesday, standing in front of the Tappan Zee Bridge in Tarrytown to trumpet progress toward a 2018 opening. During the subway tour on Monday — at least his third trip to the line in four days — Mr. Cuomo marveled at the work it took to dig the tunnels to the 72nd Street station.

"When was the last time we built something that we said, 'Wow?'" he said. "This is wow."

His push to meet the deadline is an effort to improve the reputation of the of-

Continued on Page A24

# Brooklyn Artists, With a Nod to Safety Concerns, Vow to Keep Party Spaces

By SARAH MASLIN NIR

Just before midnight on Wednesday, two young women with shaved heads slipped into a hallway during a party at a commercial building in Brooklyn and removed their clothes. While a man wearing a neoprene jumpsuit and knee-high boots crooned in a nearby room, the women crawled under a plastic tarp and began to grapple, a 10-minute piece of performance art that ended with them covered in handprints of black ink as an appreciative audience applauded.

It was the first night of a four-day art event called Chasm, which filled an industrial space in the Bushwick neighborhood with LED sculptures, performers and a D.J. who spun not music, but pulsing digital art made in real time and projected on the walls.

But halfway through the event it was over. The three-level space is zoned for industry, not parties, and organizers feared it would be raided. New York City officials have been policing similar events with renewed vigor since a fire killed 36 people at a warehouse party in Oakland, Calif., on Dec. 2. In industrial pockets of Brooklyn, the same kind of scene thrives, throwing pop-up parties in places like the shells of an ancient cannonball factory or an abandoned hospital.

“Artists need to be in major cities to get any sort of chance of a lifelong career, but most people can’t afford to have up-to-code fancy spaces for their art studios or for their events,” said Julia Sinelnikova, 26, a sculptor and light artist who organized the Chasm spectacle.

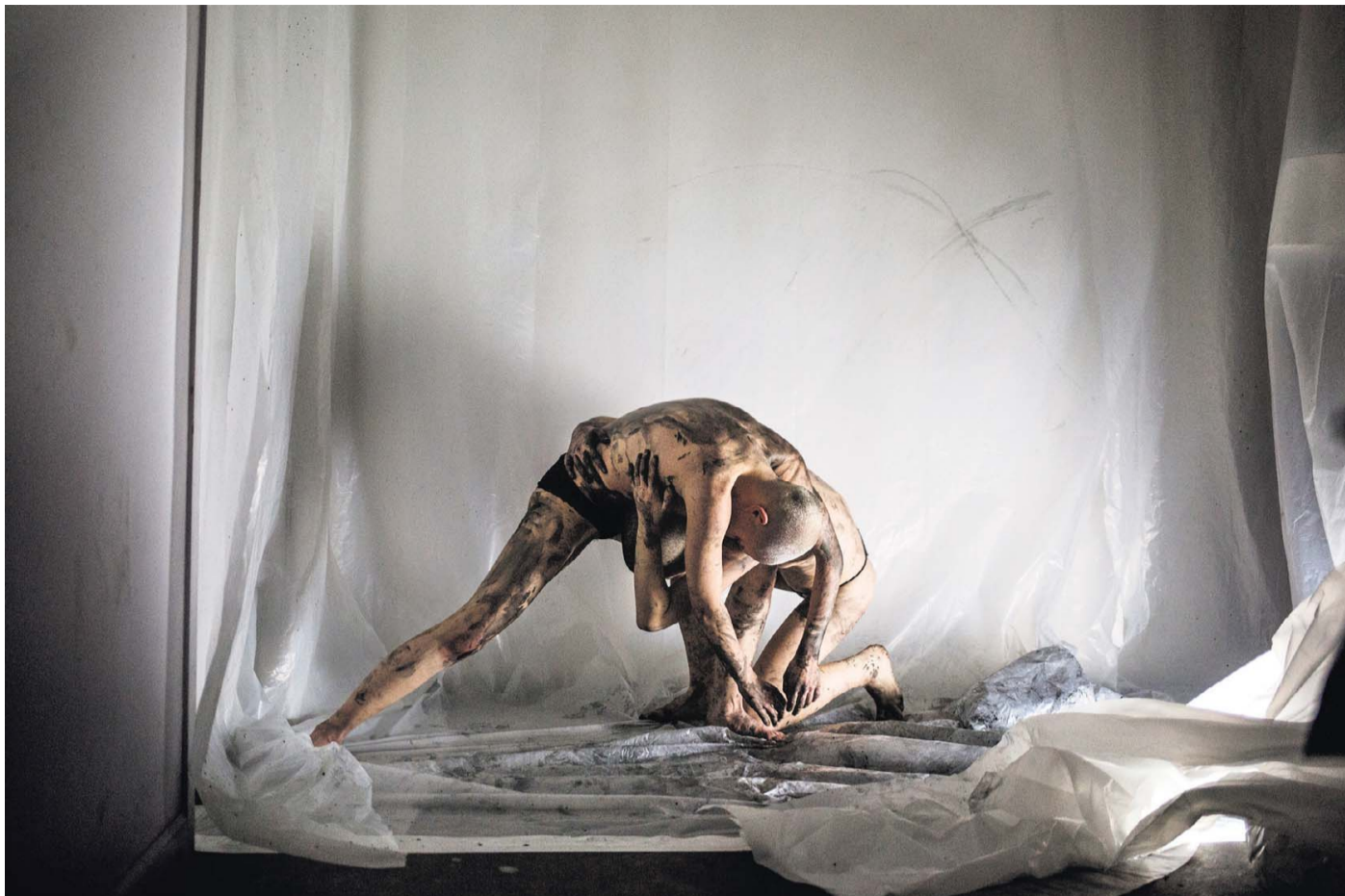
Echoing many peers in the do-it-yourself scene, Ms. Sinelnikova criticized the authorities for shutting down events if they lack permits or are set in spaces without safety features like sprinklers or escape routes. The result, she said, is that Brooklyn’s artists celebrate even deeper in the shadows. “They send a huge message to people trying to present culture in a classy way that it should be marginalized, that it should be underground,” she said. “They are always focused on demonizing people who are presenting this culture in the world.”

City officials maintain that the issue is not the preservation of culture, but the preservation of life by abiding by safety regulations.

The authorities have said the deadly fire at the Oakland warehouse, known as the Ghost Ship, trapped partygoers in a jury-rigged warren of art studios and living spaces. The loss has been deeply felt in Brooklyn. But while the deaths have stirred new introspection and prompted vows to be safer, the risky venues will persist, viewed by users as essential to emerging artists as radio was to rock ‘n’ roll.

Yet as obituary after obituary has streamed across Facebook feeds in the days since the California tragedy, there is a growing sense of deep agitation. Cities value the creative class, but do little to support it, artists say. And in expensive cities like New York, running legitimate galleries and dance clubs, or bringing existing ones up to code with sprinklers and adequate exits, requires deeper pockets than most artists have.

In New York, to throw a legal party in a space like a warehouse, organizers must apply for a permit from the city’s Buildings De-



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A performance piece by Laura Duvall, left, and Margaret Velvet at an event last week in an industrial space in Bushwick, Brooklyn, that is not zoned for such events.



JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Ghost Ship warehouse in Oakland, Calif., where a fire killed 36 people on Dec. 2. Partygoers were trapped in a jury-rigged warren of art studios and living spaces.

partment. The agency notifies the Fire Department, which then inspects the site, noting things like well-lighted entryways as well as capacity. Not all pass muster. A party expected to attract 4,500 revelers in the Gowanus Ballroom, a former steel mill built in the 19th century along the Gowanus Canal, was canceled in September after fire inspectors found the building unsafe.

But those steps are often bypassed in handshake deals between warehouse owners and party promoters. “When you hold an event, in any kind of venue and you’re not adhering to rules and laws that are in place to protect

people, you’re doing something very dangerous,” Frank Dwyer, a spokesman for the Fire Department, said. “You’re putting your customers and first responders in potential danger.”

“Art does not trump safety,” he added.

The department could not provide a number for how many such spaces had been shuttered, because the city does not differentiate among the kinds of establishments that are shut down for fire code violations, which could include restaurants, bars and commercial spaces.

Since the Oakland fire, event spaces in cities as far away as Dal-

las and Dubuque, Iowa, have come under intense scrutiny. While gentrification has been underway in New York for far longer than in Oakland, leaving fewer unregulated art spaces, some still remain.

To Brooklyn’s D.I.Y. community, the fallout seems more about scapegoating than safety. “The upper-crust community is obviously not cracked down on,” a 24-year-old who works in the music industry said. He asked that his name not be used because he runs an unauthorized Bushwick venue in the basement of a three-level home he shares with 12 room-

mates. “I’d argue that we are ful-

filling a more interesting and vital cultural function,” he said. “And to put us under a magnifying glass definitely inhibits art.”

His home regularly hosts 250 or so people in a basement with no sprinkler system. The next scheduled event is to be a fund-raiser for victims of the Oakland fire this weekend. “The irony is not lost on me,” he said. “It doesn’t stop us because these people need an outlet.” The basement, he said, is a rare space where otherwise marginalized people can feel free to perform, like a transgender D.J. who recently spun during an electronic music night.

What is needed, many in Brooklyn’s under-the-radar art scene say, is support from the city, rather than restrictions. Last week, Oakland’s mayor, Libby Schaaf, announced a \$17 million fund to bolster and secure the many artist communes that dot industrial Oakland. Such subsidies for artist communities exist throughout Europe.

In New York, the party scene is primarily concentrated in Brooklyn, though unsanctioned events also take place in parts of Queens like Ridgewood.

The Oakland disaster prompted the New York City’s Cultural Affairs Department to engage with the Fire Department and entities like CultureAID, a network of organizations that support arts communities after disasters, about how to aid the D.I.Y. scene, a spokesman for the cultural affairs agency said.

“From long-established institutions to emerging artists and arts collectives, New York’s cultural community is a tremendous source of energy and vitality — but safety and creativity are not mutually exclusive,” the spokes-

man, Ryan Max, said in an email. “We will not allow code violations that undermine the safety of artists and audiences to go unaddressed.”

Some are taking safety into their own hands.

Once a month, Silent Barn, an arts collective in Bushwick, undergoes what the artists and the musicians who live and work there call Bummer Patrol. A team of members takes a step back from the freewheeling ethos to inspect studios, lofts and living spaces in the building in an effort to uncover potentially hazardous violations like overloaded sockets, unused space heaters left plugged in or improperly stored art supplies, like paint thinner, which is highly combustible.

“We saw a really important responsibility here,” Eli Dvorkin, one of Silent Barn’s founding members, said. “On the one hand create a space that is as weird and vibrant and open to experimentation and creative risk, but to do it in the way that was following the rules in such a way as to keep everybody safe.”

That can be expensive. Silent Barn’s current site is a building on Bushwick Avenue; its original homespun venue, started by a group of roommates in their living room, was shut down after accruing a host of violations from several city agencies in 2011. To fund its new, up-to-code home, Silent Barn began a Kickstarter campaign, received grants and solicited supporters — “a whole bunch of broke people,” Mr. Dvorkin said.

In the fall of last year, a fire broke out in the new space. Some residents lost all of their belongings. But everyone escaped un-

## In Second Ave. Line, Cuomo Plays a Hands-On Role With an Eye to the Future

From Page A23

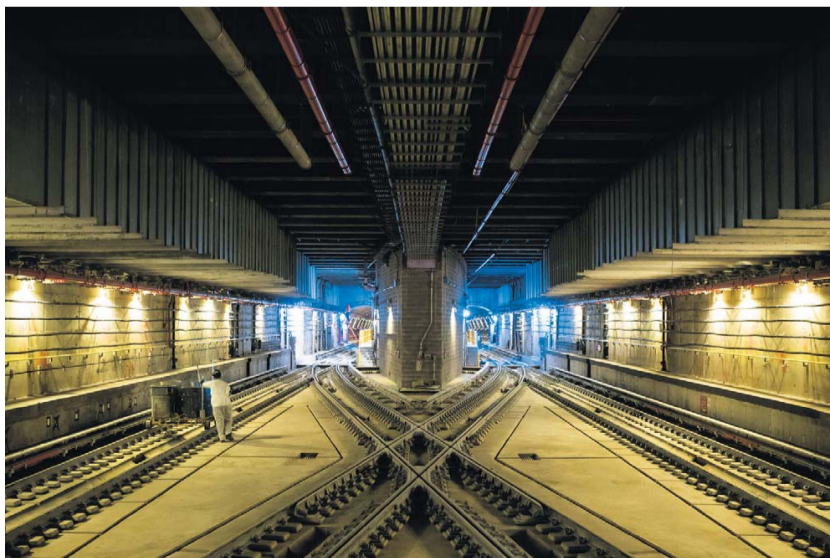
ten-maligned transportation authority, which runs the region’s subways, buses and commuter railroads and is known for delays on major construction projects. Beyond the required testing, workers are still racing to finish station entrances and other final work.

“If we’re not done January 1,” the governor said, “I will stand up and say we failed to make the deadline, and I’m disappointed.”

For months, Mr. Cuomo has held weekly meetings at his office with the project’s leadership team to address — and sometimes vent about — the latest issues and concerns. He became more involved about a year and a half ago, he said, when officials at the authority told him they wanted to push back the long-established December 2016 deadline by a year or two.

“The meetings are not a love fest,” said Charlie Hall, a construction manager from the engineering firm Parsons Brinckerhoff who is overseeing the project. “The meetings started because there were issues, and things weren’t getting done. People are challenged in those meetings.”

On an unannounced stop at the 86th Street station a few months ago, Mr. Cuomo was angered to see no one was working on a prob-



KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Train tracks crisscross as they wind through the Second Avenue subway tunnel south of the 96th Street station. After years of delays, the subway line is preparing to open by the end of the month.

lematic escalator, Melissa De-Rosa, his chief of staff, said. He walked around shouting, “Who is working on the escalator?” until the person appeared, she added.

While many business leaders and transportation experts wel-

come the governor’s attention to long-festering problems, some have questioned how he will finance all of the plans and his increased efforts to influence the transportation authority, as well as the Port Authority of New York

and New Jersey. A bitter fight at the Port Authority this month over building a new bus terminal in Manhattan led the agency’s chairman, John J. Degnan, to publicly criticize Mr. Cuomo’s behind-the-scenes maneuvering.

And after Mr. Cuomo announced plans in October to eliminate tollbooths at the transportation authority’s bridges and tunnels, some board members bristled at being asked to quickly approve the proposal with few details. James E. Vitiello, a board member from Dutchess County,

### A surprising level of involvement for a governor.

expressed concern that electronic tolling could lead to lower revenue for the agency.

The governor’s strong sway raised the question, Mr. Vitiello said, “Are we a perfunctory board, or are we really a board of independent fiduciaries?”

Mr. Cuomo says he wants to streamline the authority’s bureaucracy. He argues he is overseeing the largest building effort in the region since the era of Mr. Moses, the hard-charging and imperial 20th-century dealmaker whose biography “The Power Broker” Mr. Cuomo says he has read “multiple times in my life.” Asked about their similarities, the governor said Mr. Moses was “dictatorial,”

whereas he himself believed in a more inclusive approach.

“You have to get it done,” he said. “But you have to get it done in a way that brings the community along.”

Officials hope to finish testing at the Second Avenue stations by Dec. 22, giving workers a week-long “cushion” in case there is a problem, Mr. Cuomo said. They are unlikely to set a firm opening date for the line, which will run as an extension of the Q train, before the tests are completed. Mr. Cuomo said he did not favor an idea transit officials had discussed to possibly skip any stations that were not ready, in order to say the line opened on time.

As Upper East Side residents and transit enthusiasts eagerly await the opening, some advocates are focused on making sure construction begins quickly on the second phase of the line, which would extend it to 125th Street in Harlem. Others would like to see Mr. Cuomo devote a similar level of energy to the problems facing New York City’s entire transit system, like slow bus service and severe subway overcrowding.

“When the governor puts his mind to something, it happens,” said Nick Sifuentes, the deputy director of the Riders Alliance, an advocacy group. “That’s what we need for the whole system.”



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## A Rough Ride for Mr. Trump's Picks

Worried about the corporate gazillionaires whom Donald Trump is naming to his cabinet? Don't fret — it could be months, if ever, before these people set foot inside the federal government. Mr. Trump's transition team is seriously behind — some in Washington say they've gotten nowhere — on vetting his nominees for potential conflicts of interest. Whatever one thinks of his choices, this does not bode well for a smooth transfer of power.

Unlike his reality TV show, Mr. Trump doesn't get the final say on hiring. Nominees face a long process to ensure they'll be working for the American people, not for their own enrichment. By law, they must submit hundreds of pages of financial disclosures, shed assets and jobs and take other steps to avoid conflicts of interest. They must undergo an F.B.I. background check that looks back 15 years. That's just the executive branch. The Senate, which has the power to confirm or reject nominees, has its own disclosure requirements.

Mr. Trump, as everyone knows, has yet to abide by the same procedures. Though not required by law to do so, past presidents have shed their business interests, partly to show they have nothing to hide and partly to demonstrate the same commitment to public service that the law demands from their teams. Mr. Trump has not only failed to divest himself of his principal holdings but is unwilling even to quit his job at "The Celebrity Apprentice."

His nominees are mostly new to Washington, so they probably know little about the layers of screening and divestiture that lie ahead, or the laws behind them. The main law, enforced by the Office of Government Ethics, is 18 U.S.C. §208. This criminal conflict-of-interest statute prohibits an executive branch employee from participating "personally and substantially" in government matters affecting his or her own financial interests or those of a spouse or underage child, general partner, organization in which he or she serves as an officer, director, trustee, general partner or employee, as well as anyone with whom he or she is negotiating for or has an arrangement concerning prospective employment.

That means Mr. Trump's team members, whether paid or not, cannot hold any job with an overlapping interest. They must leave their companies and corporate boards; sell stock; and disclose payments, lawsuits or other arrangements that present a potential conflict.

So many pitfalls exist that most administrations don't release potential nominees' names until they've been preliminarily vetted. In the Obama administration that involved a 63-question survey designed to root out potentially disqualifying surprises. Even then some arose, like the \$140,000 in unpaid taxes that sank the nomination of Tom Daschle for health and human services secretary.

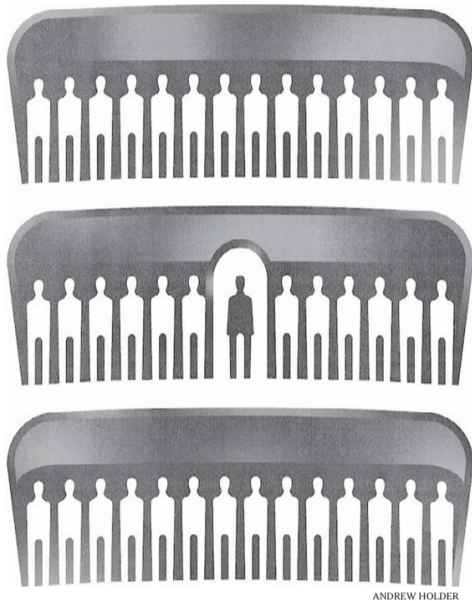
The Trump campaign says it has been pre-vetting candidates, but it has provided no proof of that. A spokes-

woman said the team has "procedures and protocols" in place but didn't describe them or answer questions about the lagging progress.

Public disclosures for Penny Pritzker, President Obama's commerce secretary and an heir to the Hyatt hotels fortune, show how complicated the process can be for wealthy businesspeople new to government. Nominees begin with Form 278, an intrusive dive into financial holdings and history. Ms. Pritzker's form was 184 pages long. She also filed a detailed ethics agreement letter pledging to sell off her financial stakes in 221 different entities.

Steven Rattner, the investment banker who oversaw the Obama administration's auto industry rescue, spent \$400,000 in lawyers' fees to navigate this process for an unpaid job he held for less than a year. "The people who want to do this make enormous sacrifices," said Mr. Rattner, who is a contributing writer to The Times. Mr. Trump, on the other hand, "is basically proposing to sacrifice nothing. He's just going to do it his way, and it's not compliant with what anyone else who goes into the government would have to do."

Painstaking vetting is crucial to honest government. The low priority Mr. Trump is giving to this process, as well as his failure to disclose his own financial interests, signals that he either doesn't understand why it's important, or doesn't care.



ANDREW HOLDER

## Ohio Leads an Anti-Abortion Charge

Last year, Teresa Fedor, an Ohio state representative, a veteran and a former public-school teacher, told the story of her abortion after a rape in a statement on the House floor. "I dare you to walk in my shoes," she said to lawmakers who were supporting a bill to ban abortion as soon as a fetal heartbeat could be detected, as early as six weeks. "I understand your story, but you don't understand mine."

On Tuesday, Gov. John Kasich vetoed this year's version of the unconstitutional "heartbeat bill." But he signed into law a bill that would ban the procedure at 20 weeks after fertilization. The new law makes no exception for rape or incest and, like the heartbeat bill, is part of a dangerous nationwide effort to roll back abortion rights that has gained momentum with Donald Trump's election.

Under Mr. Kasich's leadership, Ohio has been especially aggressive in restricting reproductive rights. He has signed 17 new restrictions since taking office, and the number of abortion providers in the state has dwindled to nine from 16. The 20-week ban will make abortion illegal in all cases, except when necessary "to prevent the death of the pregnant woman or a serious risk of the substantial and irreversible impairment of a major bodily function."

The Supreme Court has ruled that states cannot ban abortion before viability, which most experts put around 24 weeks. The court has also ruled that legislatures cannot establish a specific gestational age after which abortions are prohibited, because fetal viability varies from pregnancy to pregnancy. Nonetheless, Ohio and 17 other states have passed 20-week bans, with a vast majority of them

based on the unproved claim that fetuses feel pain around 20 weeks.

Two 20-week bans have been struck down in federal courts as unconstitutional. But abortion opponents in Ohio believe the new law will withstand legal challenges, perhaps even at the Supreme Court. Robert Cupp, a Republican state representative, says he thinks the court will be swayed by medical advances allowing more very premature babies to survive. A victory at the Supreme Court could open the door for a federal 20-week ban, which was introduced last year but blocked by Senate Democrats.

This week, the anti-abortion group Americans United for Life released a report alleging a "public health crisis in America's abortion clinics," part of its national campaign for more abortion restrictions. This year, measures based on the group's model legislation passed in Alabama, Idaho and Indiana.

Ms. Fedor fears that the 20-week ban will damage women's health. But taking choice away from women and their doctors, she believes, will result in a backlash against anti-abortion forces. In Ohio, she says, there's "a new sense of outrage" and a growing sense of urgency in fighting for reproductive rights.

Since the abortion bills passed the Legislature last week, thousands of protesters have marched, sent letters or made calls opposing them. Some protesters hung messages attached to wire hangers on the Ohio statehouse fence, reminders of an earlier era of unsafe abortion. One of the messages read, "We won't go back."

## Will Rick Perry Be the Energy Dept.'s Undoing?

President-elect Donald Trump has picked several people to lead federal departments who are hostile to the work of those agencies. On Tuesday, he went a step further by choosing Rick Perry, the former Texas governor, to head the Department of Energy, an agency that Mr. Perry once promised to eliminate.

During a televised debate in 2011, Mr. Perry said he wanted to abolish the department but struggled to recall its name. That incident — which helped doom his campaign for the 2012 Republican presidential nomination — betrayed not only poor memory but also ignorance about the department's critical national security role. About 60 percent of the department's budget is dedicated to managing the nation's nuclear weapons arsenal and operating nuclear nonproliferation and counterterrorism programs. Much of the rest of its budget finances research in basic sciences, fossil fuels and newer sources of energy, like wind and solar power.

Mr. Perry has denied that human activity is responsible for climate change, something that virtually all scientists agree on. Mr. Trump himself has described climate change as a "hoax" perpetrated by China, a preposterous claim backed by no evidence. This month, Mr. Trump's transition team sent a questionnaire to the Energy Department asking for the names of employees who had attended certain climate change meetings. The Obama administration rejected the request, fearing that the employ-

ees would be marginalized or targeted for retaliation by the new administration.

As governor of Texas, Mr. Perry was a champion of the oil and gas industry, but he also supported wind power, which boomed in the state under his watch. He backed policies requiring the use of renewable energy sources and a \$5 billion investment in transmission lines to bring power from wind farms in remote areas to big cities. Wind turbines accounted for 12 percent of all electricity produced in Texas in 2015, up from 3 percent in 2007.

Mr. Perry could prove his doubters wrong by expanding investment in breakthrough energy technologies like advanced nuclear reactors, high-capacity batteries and electrical grids that can better accommodate variable power suppliers. Doing so could bolster the economy, create good-paying jobs and reduce the cost of energy, according to a report published on Tuesday by the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation. Those efforts would also help avert the worst effects of climate change, something that would benefit large parts of Texas and the country that are vulnerable to more intense storms and droughts and rising sea levels.

The big question, of course, is whether Mr. Perry and Mr. Trump have the interest or ability to pursue an ambitious agenda, or whether they are determined to carry on an ideological war against climate science.

## The Faces in Donald Trump's Cabinet

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Chief of Exxon Is Trump's Pick for State Dept." (front page, Dec. 13):

The nomination of Exxon Mobil's chief executive, Rex Tillerson, as secretary of state is disturbing on so many levels. Like Donald Trump, Mr. Tillerson has no experience in the delicate and sensitive art of diplomacy. Instead, both men's entire professional careers have been myopically devoted to expanding their own business empires.

Both have a financial stake in closer ties to President Vladimir Putin. Mr. Trump and Mr. Tillerson are both experts at disinformation. Mr. Trump picked Steve Bannon, who famously traffics in propaganda and fake news, as his chief strategist. Mr. Tillerson established a propaganda machine to support climate change denial.

Lastly, Mr. Trump and Mr. Tillerson both use their power to crush ordinary citizens. Trump businesses declare bankruptcy to avoid paying wages of working-class contract laborers. Likewise, when people lost their livelihoods to the Exxon Valdez oil spill disaster in 1989, Exxon Mobil could have paid damages to its victims. Instead, it tied up courts for years to appeal judgments until claimants were forced to accept pennies on the dollar.

How can either one honestly claim to represent the interests of all Americans? Do men with these characteristics truly represent our nation to the world?

JOHN WRIGHT  
Seattle

*The writer is the co-author of "Life Without Oil."*

TO THE EDITOR:

What galls me about the nomination of Rex Tillerson — as much as his business ties to the very leaders he will be making political deals with — is that someone without a shred of diplomatic experience is now expected to manage our relationship with China, ponder our involvement in Middle East wars, discuss drug smuggling with leaders of South America and prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

The business leaders whom Donald Trump is putting in his cabinet would never, ever hire a deputy who had no business experience. They would be laughed out of town. The fact that they believe they can run huge swaths of our government with zero experience not only reveals a dangerous sense of hubris but also a deeply mistaken belief that a government can be run like a business.

Hey guys: It can't. CARRIE ABELS  
Montpelier, Vt.

TO THE EDITOR:

Rex Tillerson has no government or diplomatic experience, has disturbingly close ties to Vladimir Putin and has enriched himself by selling an environmentally destructive product while lying about how destructive it really is.

In other words, he is a perfect fit for Donald Trump's cabinet.

Why? Just look at who else is in there.

## Rise of Authoritarianism

TO THE EDITOR:

Evan McMullin observes that we are becoming "desensitized" to the authoritarianism of Donald Trump to the detriment of our democratic institutions ("The Constitution in Danger," Op-Ed, Dec. 5).

It's been said that a frog, if dropped into a pot of boiling water, will immediately leap out in shock; but if initially cold water is slowly brought to a boil, the frog in the pot will stay and die, inured to incremental increases in temperature.

Like the proverbial frog in the pot, the American people are each day becoming more and more accustomed to the rise of authoritarianism one small, seemingly insignificant degree at a time.

STEPHEN BERTMAN  
West Bloomfield, Mich.

*The writer is the author of "Cultural Amnesia: America's Future and the Crisis of Memory."*

## Safe Playgrounds?

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "For Seesaws in Public Parks, the Only Direction Is Down" (news article, Dec. 12):

As a veteran of the seesaw generation who loved the sensation of moving upward and downward through space against a playmate, I was dismayed to read about the further eroding of the pleasures of playgrounds.

Sandboxes are under attack for being "unclean." Monkey bars are gone. Rubber mats line the ground. The sense of adventure, of taking risks and, yes, even proudly getting cuts and bruises were all part of the process of growing and venturing out in the world.

Safe spaces and trigger warnings go hand in hand with "safe" playgrounds in this increasingly pampered society.

What's next? Barring children from playgrounds?  
ELLEN SHIRE  
New York

Mr. Trump's choice for energy secretary wanted to abolish the department. His education secretary is a threat to public education. His attorney general opposes the Voting Rights Act. His housing secretary opposes the Fair Housing Act. His health and human services secretary wants to restructure Medicare. His Treasury secretary helped cause the financial crisis, then profited from it. His E.P.A. chief is a climate change denier who has spent much of his career fighting the very agency he was appointed to lead.

You can't make this stuff up. Choosing Mr. Tillerson for secretary of state should cause a scandal. But it won't. We have come to expect nothing less (and nothing more) from Mr. Trump.

WES HENRICKSEN  
Orlando, Fla.

TO THE EDITOR:

"Flawed Choices for the State Dept." (editorial, Dec. 13) criticizes the nomination of Rex Tillerson as secretary of state because he "has no background in diplomacy" and his apparent closeness with Vladimir Putin in light of the fact that "American-Russian relations are at their worst since the Cold War, a result of Mr. Putin's annexation of Crimea, the war in eastern Ukraine, his attempts to destabilize countries in Europe, and bombings of civilians in Syria."

But each of these events occurred under President Obama's watch without any effective American response. As to Mr. Tillerson's experience, how much diplomatic experience did Hillary Clinton have? JACK GUMPERT WASSERMAN  
New York

TO THE EDITOR:

While most of Donald Trump's cabinet nominations so far range from bad to appalling, there is one that, for the sake of future generations, *must* be blocked.

I do not refer to the Russophile Rex Tillerson, who, if he were to become secretary of state, would merely threaten world peace and order. But if Scott Pruitt were to take over the Environmental Protection Agency, that would threaten the planet itself, and the lives of our grandchildren and their children will lead on it.

It is inconceivable that two willful, scientifically ignorant Americans — Donald Trump and Scott Pruitt — should actually have the power to reverse the small but vital steps that nations have now made toward limiting, and eventually reversing, human-made global warming.

If Mr. Pruitt does indeed take over the E.P.A., that could foreclose humankind's last, best hope of saving the only home we will ever have in the universe. It is up to Senate Democrats to find a handful of responsible Republican colleagues and block this potentially catastrophic nomination.  
RON BONN  
San Diego

*The writer created the environmental series "Can the World Be Saved?" for "CBS Evening News With Walter Cronkite."*

## Tourism Highway Signs

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Signs for New York Draw Federal Disapproval" (news article, Dec. 1):

There is an important issue related to those concerning the federal disapproval of the New York State tourism signs. You report that federal officials said the signs are "dangerous distractions to drivers."

Having thus been placed on constructive notice, the state may become party to costly negligence suits involving any crashes in which drivers may allege that they were distracted by the signs. Therefore, we need a solution that will save the state from what could become an epidemic of litigation.

ARTHUR FREED  
White Plains

*The writer is a former chief of operations and traffic engineer for Westchester County.*

TO THE EDITOR:

The feds' disapproval of New York State's highway tourism promotion signs as driver distractions is the kind of action that makes many dislike bureaucratic big government.

It is more likely texting and cellphone use that distract drivers enough to cause accidents, not signs scattered along thousands of miles of the state's highways.

If the South Fork elite don't want the signs near them, fine. But upstate especially needs the job-creating tourism dollars that signs like these can help grow.

Memo to the federal D.O.T.: Don't sweat the small stuff.

JOHN L. GANN JR.  
Glen Ellyn, Ill.

*The writer is a consultant who has written regular columns on sign regulation for two national sign industry magazines.*

## ONLINE: MORE LETTERS

➔ A reader takes issue with the way Citi Bike stations are placed on New York streets. [nytimes.com/opinion](https://www.nytimes.com/opinion)

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## Remembering Reconstruction

By Gregory P. Downs,  
Eric Foner and Kate Masur

ALTHOUGH Americans are already looking ahead to the next presidential administration, President Obama retains the power to shape his legacy and our nation in his remaining weeks in office. He has already used his final months to create several national monuments, and we urge him to create another, one that will speak as much to the nation's present and future as it does to its past: the first national monument dedicated to Reconstruction — the turbulent, misunderstood era after the Civil War — in Beaufort, S.C., which has one of the country's highest concentrations of Reconstruction-related sites.

Work on the monument is already underway. Community leaders in Beaufort

Gregory P. Downs is an associate professor of history at the University of California, Davis; Eric Foner is a professor of history at Columbia; and Kate Masur is an associate professor of history at Northwestern.

have submitted a formal request to the National Park Service for a monument that encompasses key sites of emancipation and postwar community-building. In May, two South Carolina representatives — James Clyburn, a Democrat, and Mark Sanford, a Republican — sponsored a resolution to establish a national monument to the Reconstruction era. And last month, a group of 17 historians who have been helping the National Park Service study Reconstruction, as well as the American Historical Association and other professional historical groups, endorsed this effort.

This is a crucial time to commemorate Reconstruction. The period after the Civil War created the modern United States: Three constitutional amendments ended slavery, created equal legal protection and birthright citizenship, and prohibited racial discrimination in voting laws. Four million formerly enslaved Americans reconstructed their families and communities, establishing thousands of churches and schools and civic organizations.

Reconstruction was the nation's first great experiment in biracial democracy, with hundreds of thousands of black men able to vote for the first time, and signifi-

cant numbers holding elective office. Largely for that reason, Southern planters led coups against local governments that supported Reconstruction, and went on to bar blacks and many poor whites from voting and to construct a system of Jim Crow racial exclusion.

The story of Reconstruction remains a rich and troubling one for a nation that

### Obama still has time to create a monument to that critical era.

prefers stories of progress over those of regression. It reminds us of the centrality of race-based slavery to our nation's history; of the idealism of those, white and black, who sought to build a society based on racial equality upon the ashes of slavery; and of the violent overthrow of the experiment in biracial democracy. More broadly it reminds us that rights we some-

times take for granted can be taken away. Nevertheless, Reconstruction often disappears from our national story. Historians long characterized it as a failure, disseminating myths of corruption or of African-American incapacity. Over the last half-century, scholars have overturned that interpretation, noting the extraordinary vitality and promise of Reconstruction, but this knowledge has too infrequently reached the public. Many Americans know nothing at all about the period.

A National Park Service monument to Reconstruction in Beaufort would be a significant step toward commemorating this crucial part of the nation's history. After the Union victory on Port Royal Sound in 1861, the scenic town of Beaufort and the surrounding Sea Islands was a rehearsal for Reconstruction. Former slaves on nearby St. Helena and Hilton Head Islands attended the Penn School established by Northern reformers, established religious services at Brick Baptist Church, created self-governing communities like Mitchelville on Hilton Head Island and served alongside Harriet Tubman in the nearby Combahee ferry raid, an 1863 foray into Confederate territory that liberated hundreds of slaves.

In alliance with some white Carolinians, they elected a war hero and former slave, Robert Smalls, to the state constitutional convention of 1868 and then to five terms in Congress. Smalls lived long enough to see the end of Reconstruction, defending civil and voting rights at the 1895 state constitutional convention that disfranchised African-Americans, and maintaining a rare biracial alliance in Beaufort until his death in 1915.

Traces of this history remain around Beaufort. From the Penn Center at the old Penn School to the Brick Baptist Church to Smalls's own home, visitors to the Reconstruction national monument would be able to stand where these historical actors stood and reckon with the legacy of their struggle for genuine freedom. A recent National Historic Landmark study found that Beaufort has the greatest density of important historical sites for Reconstruction in the country.

Without the changes of Reconstruction, Barack Obama could not have been elected president. And now the choice is his — under the Antiquities Act, he has the power to create a monument on sites designated by local officials. By acting upon this request from Beaufort, President Obama can bequeath to the nation a site where Americans can contemplate how the Civil War and the destruction of slavery changed the nation — and the long struggle for equal rights that followed. □

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

## A Fresh Start Or Crazy Reckless?

Maybe it will all turn out O.K. If it does, put me down as promising to applaud.

But my fellow Americans, whatever mix of motives led us to create an Electoral College majority for Donald Trump to become president — and overlook his lack of preparation, his record of indecent personal behavior, his madcap midnight tweeting, his casual lying about issues like “millions” of people casting illegal votes in this election, the purveying of fake news by his national security adviser, his readiness to appoint climate change deniers without even getting a single briefing from the world's greatest climate scientists in the government he'll soon lead and his cavalier dismissal of the C.I.A.'s conclusions about Russian hacking of our election — have no doubt about one thing: We as a country have just done something incredibly reckless.

There is actually something “prehistoric” about the cabinet Trump is putting together. It is totally dominated by people who have spent their adult lives drilling for, or advocating for, fossil fuels — oil, gas and coal.

You would never know that what has actually made America great is our ability to attract the world's smartest and most energetic immigrants and our ability “to develop technology and to nurture our human capital” — not just drill for coal and oil, remarked Edward Goldberg, who teaches at N.Y.U.'s Center for Global Affairs and is the author of “The Joint Venture Nation: Why America Needs a New Foreign Policy.”

Don't misunderstand me: It is excusable to raise questions about climate change. But it is inexcusable not to sit down with our own government experts at NASA and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration for a briefing before you appoint flagrant climate deniers with no scientific background to every senior environmental position.

It is excusable to question if Russia really hacked our election. But it is inexcusable to dismiss the possibility without first getting a briefing from the C.I.A., some of whose agents risked their lives for that intelligence.

That is reckless behavior — totally unbecoming a president, a professional or just a serious adult.

It's not that all of Trump's goals are wrongheaded or crazy. If he can unlock barriers to innovation, infrastructure investment and entrepreneurship, that will be a very good thing. And I am not against working more closely with Russia on

### What to make of the Trump administration.

global issues or getting more tough-minded on trade with China.

But growth that is heedless of environmental impacts, collaboration with Russia that is heedless of Vladimir Putin's malevolence, and greater aggressiveness toward China that is heedless of the carefully crafted security balance among the U.S., China and Taiwan — which has produced prosperity and stability in Asia for over four decades — is reckless.

For an administration that lost the popular vote by such a large margin to suddenly take the country to such extreme positions on energy, environment and foreign policy — unbalanced inside by any moderate voices — is asking for trouble, and it will produce a backlash.

Already, some G.O.P. lawmakers who love our country more than they fear Trump's tweets — like Senators Lindsey Graham and John McCain — are insisting that Russia's apparent cyberhacking to help Trump win election be investigated by Congress. If Congress affirms what the intelligence community believes — that Russia intervened in our democratic process — that is an act of war. And it calls for the severest economic sanctions.

At the same time, Trump's readiness to dismiss the entire intelligence community because its conclusions contradicted his instincts and interests could really haunt him down the road.

Let's imagine that in six months the C.I.A. concludes that North Korea is about to perfect a nuclear missile that can reach our West Coast and President Trump orders a pre-emptive strike, one that unleashes a lot of instability in Asia. And then the next day Trump and his national security adviser, Mike Flynn, the purveyor of fake news about Hillary Clinton, defend themselves by saying, “We acted on the ‘high confidence’ assessment of the C.I.A.” Who's going to believe them after they just trashed the C.I.A.?

Finally, Trump has demonstrated a breathtaking naïveté toward Putin. Putin wanted Trump to win because he thinks that he'll be a chaos president who will weaken America's influence in the world by weakening its commitment to liberal values and will weaken America's ability to lead a Western coalition to confront Putin's aggression in Europe. Putin is out to erode democracy wherever he can. Trump needs to send Putin a blunt message today: “I am not your chump.”

As Stanford University democracy expert Larry Diamond noted in an essay on Atlantic.com last week: “The most urgent foreign-policy question now is how America will respond to the mounting threat that Putin's Russia poses to freedom and its most important anchor, the Western alliance. Nothing will more profoundly shape the kind of world we live in than how the Trump administration responds to that challenge.” □

Frank Bruni is off today.

## How Trump Can Avoid the Ethical Tar Pit

By Tom Fitton

OVER the years, Judicial Watch has called out many White House conflicts of interest. We fought in court against President Bill Clinton's taking money to pay his legal bills through a legal-defense fund. During the George W. Bush administration, we questioned the propriety of his father, President George H.W. Bush, working for Carlyle Group, an investment company that was, in effect, a major defense contractor. We also investigated and sued over the connections between another defense contractor, Halliburton, and Vice President Dick Cheney, the company's former C.E.O. We highlighted in 2014 how Bill Clinton was getting unusually large six-figure speaking fees from foreign governments while Hillary Clinton was secretary of state.

Soon, Donald J. Trump could face some very serious conflict of interest problems of his own. He acknowledged as much recently when he tweeted out plans for a “major news conference” on Thursday, since delayed, to explain how he intended to leave behind his “great business in total to fully focus on running the country.”

In a tweet on Monday, he promised without elaborating that “no new deals will be done” by his business while he is president. This sounds interesting. Americans should expect that the new presi-

Tom Fitton is president of Judicial Watch, a conservative nonprofit that promotes government transparency and accountability.

dent will take reasonable steps to separate his public office from his personal business.

But it would be unfair to insist that Mr. Trump destroy his business to become president. This would create a dangerous precedent that would, in effect, deter those who had succeeded in their private lives from bringing their substantial skills to the public arena.

Mr. Trump said recently that he intended to allow his family to take the helm after he assumes office. “I've built a very great company and it's a big company and

### He should separate himself completely from the company he built.

it's all over the world,” Mr. Trump said, adding, “I don't care about my company. It doesn't matter. My kids run it.” But of course it does matter; otherwise, he would liquidate his businesses, put the proceeds in a blind trust, send the kids out to find new jobs, and be done with the issue.

Given the potential for conflicts, it makes sense for the American people to demand assurances that the public interest won't be harmed by the continued operation of Trump Inc. So, what to do?

First, let's not pretend that the Trump children will not be conflicted in running

the company for their father. That is why Mr. Trump should formalize his complete separation from his company and stop working on any aspect of his business. He should draw no pay. And, difficult as it may be, he should vow not to discuss any aspect of the Trump empire with his children — or any other Trump executive.

Mr. Trump and those at the company's helm should commit to full transparency by making public any contracts with any federal agency, foreign government or foreign corporation. Our nation's enemies, and some of our friends, will seek to either curry favor with or damage America through the Trump businesses. By providing full transparency, Mr. Trump and his family can show that they take seriously that, as Mr. Trump has tweeted, it is “visually important, as president, to in no way have a conflict of interest with my various businesses.”

It would be in the company's best interest to set up an internal watchdog to help develop procedures that could help avoid conflicts.

Judicial Watch has already analyzed a number of current foreign entanglements that will require Mr. Trump and his family to demonstrate thorough transparency:

In China, a frequent Trump target on the campaign trail, the government-controlled Bank of China is part of a group that lent a Trump-affiliated office building in Manhattan \$950 million. In India, Trump business partners are building luxury apartment complexes. Three Indian developers flew to New York recently and met with the president-elect. And in Germany, troubled Deutsche Bank has been involved in \$3.5 billion in loans to Trump

entities since 1998.

These connections would create more than enough controversy for most administrations. So it would be a good practice for the Trump progeny to avoid any new foreign entanglements. The Constitution's Emoluments Clause bars the president from earning any compensation from a foreign government. Mr. Trump ought to consider a partial divestment from his company by either selling outright or rejecting the proceeds of any stakes with foreign government partners.

He should refuse any third party contributions to his personal foundation.

Above all, the Trump administration should be completely transparent on any government dealings with the Trump empire.

His refusal to release his tax returns is another issue that will dog him. The law doesn't require Mr. Trump to release them, and he has been advised by his lawyer not to do so while he is under audit. It would obviously be good transparency and good politics to make them public. But critics should take seriously how the release of the confidential tax information could damage the company and family.

In the best of circumstances, the Trump family business and questions about conflicts will be a burden to his presidency. There is no off-the-shelf ethics plan that would cover every possible conflict.

Judicial Watch, and the left's planned Judicial Watch imitators, will monitor this issue. If he mishandles his devolvement from his business, he may tarnish his presidency. It would be ironic if Mr. Trump's business success put his political and business legacy at risk. □

## Buck Up, Democrats, and Fight Like Republicans

By Dahlia Lithwick  
and David S. Cohen

ON Monday, members of the Electoral College will vote in Donald J. Trump as president. Though he lost the election by nearly three million votes and almost daily generates headlines about new scandals, the Democratic Party is doing little to stop him. If you've been asking yourself “Where are the Democrats?” you're not alone.

Since the election, top Democrats have been almost absent on the national stage. Rather, they have been involved largely in internecine warfare about how much to work with Mr. Trump. The Hillary Clinton campaign, trying to encourage a peaceful transition, has gone almost completely dark, with her most notable appearances coming in selfies with strangers. Nobody deserves downtime more than Mrs. Clinton, but while she is decompressing, the country is moving toward its biggest electoral mistake in history.

We have recently learned that President-elect Trump has ethical and business conflicts that seem to violate the Constitution; is skipping his national security briefings while dangerously departing

Dahlia Lithwick is a senior editor at Slate. David S. Cohen is a law professor at Drexel University's Thomas R. Kline School of Law.

from longstanding bipartisan foreign policy; has criticized union workers and protesters on his Twitter feed; and plans to staff much of his cabinet and high-level leadership with billionaires dedicated to eradicating the very programs they are tasked with overseeing. In the meantime, the most recent reports from the C.I.A. are that Russia interfered with the election.

There's no shortage of legal theories that could challenge Mr. Trump's anointment, but they come from outsiders rather than the Democratic Party. Impassioned citizens have been pleading with electors to vote against Mr. Trump; law professors have argued that winner-take-all laws for electoral votes are unconstitutional; a small group, the Hamilton Electors, is attempting to free electors to vote their consciences; and a new theory has arisen that there is legal precedent for courts to give the election to Mrs. Clinton based on Russian interference. All of these efforts, along with the grass-roots protests, boycotts and petitions, have been happening without the Democratic Party. The most we've seen is a response to the C.I.A. revelations, but only with Republicans on-board to give Democrats bipartisan cover.

Take the recount efforts in Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin. While the Democratic Party relitigates grudges in the press, Jill Stein, the Green Party candidate who received about 64 million fewer votes than Mrs. Clinton, has led the effort. The Democrats have grudgingly participated from the sidelines, but only because public perception forced them to.

This effort has proved feeble, with a Pennsylvania judge denying the request because it was “later than last minute.”

Contrast the Democrats' do-nothingness to what we know the Republicans would have done. If Mr. Trump had lost the Electoral College while winning the popular vote, an army of Republican lawyers would have descended on the courts and local election officials. The best of the Republican establishment would have been filing lawsuits and infusing every public statement with a clear pronouncement

### The party has accepted defeat too quickly.

that Donald Trump was the real winner. And they would have started on the morning of Nov. 9, using the rhetoric of patriotism and courage.

How can we be so certain? This is what happened in 2000. When Florida was still undecided after election night, the Republicans didn't leave their fate in the hands of individuals or third-party candidates. No, they recruited former Secretary of State James A. Baker III to direct efforts on behalf of George W. Bush. They framed their project as protecting Mr. Bush's victory rather than counting votes. They were clear, consistent and forceful, with the biggest names in Republican politics working

the process.

Moreover, they didn't cop to the possibility that their theories might lose or look foolish in retrospect. Take the theory that ultimately succeeded in the Supreme Court. There was no precedent for the idea that the Constitution's Equal Protection Clause required a uniform recount within a state. However, the Republicans pressed that theory and convinced a majority, even though the justices acknowledged that the argument was both unprecedented and not to be used again. It was a win for pure audacity.

Fast forward to 2016, and the Democrats are doing nothing of the sort. Instead, they are leaving the fight to academics and local organizers who seem more horrified by a Trump presidency than Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama and the Democratic Party. The Republicans in 2000 threw everything they could muster against the wall to see if it stuck, with no concern about potential blowback; the Democrats in 2016 are apparently too worried about being called sore losers. Instead of weathering the criticism that comes with fighting an uphill, yet historically important battle, the party is still trying to magic up a plan.

As Monday's Electoral College vote approaches, Democrats should be fighting tooth and nail. Instead, we are once again left with incontrovertible proof that win or lose, Republicans behave as if they won while Democrats behave as if they lost. What this portends for the next four years is truly terrifying. □

*The list wine lovers are waiting for...*

# Wine Spectator's Top 100 Wines of 2016



*Wine Spectator* editors blind-tasted more than 18,000 wines in 2016. Now, in our Dec. 31 issue, we present the Top 100 Wines of the Year. It's our most anticipated issue, and there are surprises as well as familiar names on the list. Plus we present a list of 100 top values, terrific wines that are all \$20 or less per bottle.

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# Wine Spectator

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Self-Driving Spinoff

With a move to an independent company, a project seems ready for commercialization. **3**



Pieces of Aviation History

Two factories built by the Wright brothers are being preserved in Dayton, Ohio. **7**



Win, or Else

Michael van Gerwen is the best darts player around, but he needs more world titles. **9**



# Business Day

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2016

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## U.S. Says Crisis Plan For Bank Is Lacking

By MICHAEL CORKERY

Wells Fargo has run afoul of banking regulators once again: On Tuesday, for the second time this year, the bank did not pass a key regulatory test that was created after the 2008 financial crisis to reduce the threats that large banks pose to the broader economy.

In April, regulators announced that they had rejected the "living will" plans proposed by Wells Fargo and four other major banks. Each bank had been required to submit a plan to unwind itself in a way that would safeguard the economy in case of the bank's failure. Since then, all five banks have resubmitted their disaster-preparedness plans; only Wells Fargo's plan did not pass muster.

Because of the continuing problems with Wells Fargo's plan, the Federal Reserve and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation will prohibit it from establishing new international units or acquiring a subsidiary that is not a bank.

Those penalties can be lifted if Wells Fargo fixes its plan by

**Wells Fargo must submit its 'living will' for a third time.**

March 31. Wells has until then to submit its plan a third time; if the problems linger too long, regulators could place additional limits on the company.

For instance, the bank could be forced to start selling assets in certain units, including at its brokerage arm.

In a statement on Tuesday, Wells Fargo said it believed it had already addressed the areas with which regulators had found fault.

"We will continue to work closely with the agencies to better understand their concerns so that we can bring our resolution process in line with their expectations," the bank said.

Regulators said the issue with Wells Fargo's plan was not related to its huge sham accounts fraud, which has plunged the bank into turmoil since September. Wells is still struggling to investigate and contain the damage from that scandal, in which thousands of bankers were fired for creating secret and unwanted accounts on behalf of customers, some of whom lost money or had their credit records damaged.

Still, the living-will issue is the latest black eye for Wells Fargo, which was only a few months ago was considered one of the nation's most well-managed banks.

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**BANKS APPEAL TO SUPREME COURT**

Big banks say regulators took too long to file claims against them after the financial crisis. Page 5.



MATHEW SCOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Apeel's founder, James Rogers, inspecting avocados at his California lab. His coating can delay spotting.

# Fresh Fruit, Without the Wax?

By STEPHANIE STROM

SANTA BARBARA, Calif. — What if a Florida tomato could be left on the vine long enough to turn red and fully develop its flavor — and still be ripe and juicy when it arrived at a grocery store in New York days later?

That is precisely the promise of a start-up here in Southern California, Apeel Sciences, that aims to make obsolete the gas, wax and other tricks growers use to keep fruits and vegetables fresh over time.

Using leaves, stems, banana peels and other fresh plant materials left behind after fruits and vegetables are picked or processed, Apeel has developed a method

Apeel extends the shelf life of produce with an edible coating made from plant detritus.

for creating imperceptible, edible barriers that the company says can extend the life of produce like green beans and berries by as much as five times. Apeel can even deliver a day-of-the-week bunch of bananas, each ripening on a different day.

An Apeel product already has been used to stretch the shelf life of cassava in Africa.

"It takes 30 days to get blueberries grown in Chile to market in the United States, which means they have to be picked before they're ripe and shipped under heavy refrigeration," said James Rogers, the founder and chief executive of

Apeel. "We can change that."

If the product performs as advertised, it could bring sweeping changes to the produce industry and grocery aisles. It could reduce food waste and the use of pesticides and increase the varieties of fruits and vegetables available.

But the company's product is still largely untested at a commercial level, and it faces several potential hurdles beyond effectiveness. Consumers may be wary of a new coating on fresh food, for example, and growers may decide it adds too much cost.

"The socioeconomic factors are as im-

Continued on Page 4

## Trump's Aim: Ignite Growth. Fed's Aim: Prevent Overheating.

By BINYAMIN APPELBAUM

WASHINGTON — Investors in financial markets, and those predicting faster economic growth in 2017, would do well to remember the famous words that William McChesney Martin Jr., the former Federal Reserve chairman, uttered way back in 1955: The Fed's job is to remove the punch bowl just as the party gets going.

President-elect Donald J. Trump's promises to cut taxes and regulation and to increase spending on infrastructure and defense have convinced many that a

sugar high in the near term will goose the economy. But Fed officials say the economy is already expanding at something close to its maximum sustainable pace, meaning faster growth would drive inflation toward unwelcome levels.

To avoid overheating, the Fed could respond by raising interest rates more quickly. The more Mr. Trump stimulates growth, the faster the Fed is likely to increase rates.

"I guess I would argue that I think people have gotten a bit ahead of themselves about what a Trump presidency would mean," said Lewis Alexander, the chief

United States economist at Nomura. "If we have a big stimulus, the logical thing for the Fed to do is to raise rates faster. There isn't a whole heck of a lot of scope to just let the economy run under those circumstances. There's a big question about whether fiscal stimulus under Trump just leads to higher interest rates."

Underscoring that question, the Fed is expected to raise its benchmark rate on Wednesday for the first time since last December in light of new economic data. The rate sits in a range of 0.25 percent to 0.5 percent, a low level intended to stimulate economic

Continued on Page 2

## President-Elect Found Votes Where the Jobs Weren't

Did the white working class vote its economic interests?

The day after the presidential election — in a long and brooding interview with Rolling Stone magazine — President Obama offered his take on why blue-collar whites had flocked so decidedly to Donald J. Trump.

EDUARDO PORTER

ECONOMIC SCENE

"This is not simply an economic issue," Mr. Obama concluded. "This is a cultural issue. And a communications issue." From family leave and overtime rules to Obamacare, he noted, his administration offered a steady stream of policies to help working-class communities. But "whatever policy prescriptions that we've been proposing don't reach, are not heard, by the folks in these communities."

This view fits a common narrative among liberal analysts of American politics, most prominently conveyed in "What's the Matter With Kansas?," the 2004 best-selling book by Thomas Frank: Republi-

cans use cultural issues like abortion, guns and gay marriage to gain the votes of struggling workers who nonetheless stand to lose the most from the Republicans' small-government agenda.

But it largely misses the mark. Yes, the economy has added millions of jobs since Mr. Obama took office. Even manufacturing employment has recovered some of its losses. Still, less-educated white voters had a solid economic rationale for voting against the status quo: Nearly all the gains from the economic recovery have passed them by.

There are almost nine million more jobs than there were at the previous peak, in November 2007, just before the economy tumbled into recession. But the gains have not been evenly distributed.

Despite accounting for less than 15 percent of the labor force, Hispanics got more than half of the net additional jobs. Blacks and Asians also gained millions more jobs than they lost. But whites, who

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DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President-elect Donald J. Trump this month in Cincinnati. He won support from working-class white voters who had largely missed out on the gains of the economic recovery.

# Overhaul at UniCredit Is Viewed as a Barometer for Troubled Banks in Italy

By CHAD BRAY and JACK EWING

UniCredit, Italy's largest bank by assets, said on Tuesday that it planned to cut 14,000 jobs over the next three years and that it would seek to raise nearly \$14 billion, part of a strategic overhaul that comes at a crucial time for the country's troubled banking sector.

The latest reshaping of UniCredit under Jean-Pierre Mustier, who became chief executive in July, will be closely watched for what it says about the willingness of investors to help troubled banks in Italy, where lenders have an estimated 360 billion euros, or \$380 billion, in problem loans.

After Italians voted this month against changes to the Constitution, prompting Prime Minister Matteo Renzi's resignation, there are fears that political instability could deter investors who are needed to provide capital and to help Italian banks dispose of bad debt.

Banks can sell packages of de-

linquent loans at a discount to get them off their books, but only if private equity companies and other investors are willing to buy.

The plan unveiled by UniCredit would look to address those problems by raising €13 billion and cutting nearly a tenth of the lender's workforce. The new capital would help the bank absorb the cost of a plan, also announced on Tuesday, to sell €17.7 billion in problem loans to investors.

"We have developed a plan, based on conservative assumptions, that is pragmatic, with tangible and achievable targets," Mr. Mustier said at the lender's investor day in London on Tuesday.

"To be in control of the levers of the execution of the plan is a very important key for its success," he added. "That means that, going forward, we will deliver recurring value to our shareholders and become one of Europe's most attractive banks."

UniCredit shares rose nearly 9 percent in afternoon trading in

Milan after the announcement.

The lender said it would cut an additional 6,500 positions, bringing total job reductions to 14,000 by 2019. That would result in lowering personnel costs by an estimated €1.1 billion. As of Sept. 30, UniCredit had more than 142,000 employees, including the joint venture it operates with the Turkish company Koc Financial Group.

Over all, UniCredit said it expected to cut costs by €1.7 billion annually, resulting in a cost base of €10.6 billion in 2019. A majority of those reductions would happen in the next two years, the bank said.

Since Mr. Mustier joined the company, UniCredit has sold assets including stakes in a Polish bank and in an online banking and brokerage arm. On Monday, it agreed to sell its Pioneer Investments business to the French asset manager Amundi for €3.6 billion.

The lender said on Tuesday that

it had reached separate agreements with the private equity firm Fortress Investment Group and the bond giant Pimco to transfer a portfolio of €17.7 billion of nonperforming loans to two newly-created entities, with UniCredit taking a minority position in each.

Those transactions are ex-

**Planning to cut 14,000 jobs while raising nearly \$14 billion.**

pected to be completed by the end of the first half of 2017.

In the fourth quarter, the lender said that it would take charges of €12.2 billion as part of its efforts to clean up its balance sheet, including €8.1 billion in loan-loss provisions.

"These actions are consistent with our expectations, and we

think they represent a good trade-off between profitability and capital strengthening," Paola Sabbiore, a Deutsche Bank analyst, said in a research note on Tuesday.

The restructuring and capital plan was unveiled just before the lender's capital markets day for analysts and investors in London on Tuesday. Shareholders are expected to vote on Jan. 12 on whether to approve the plan to raise capital.

Contrary to expectations, shares of Italian banks including UniCredit have risen since Dec. 4, the day of the referendum on the constitutional overhaul.

But the share gains are not necessarily a sign of confidence in the banks. Some investors may be speculating that fear of political populism in Italy will prompt the European Commission, the European Union's executive arm, and the European Central Bank to support a bank rescue with public funds.

Analysts warn that investor

good will toward Italian banks could evaporate quickly.

"We have seen during 2016 how fast markets can revise their views, sometimes for no clear reason," analysts at Deutsche Bank said in a report last week on the Italian banking sector.

The Italian news media has speculated that the government would contribute €15 billion to €20 billion in guarantees to encourage private sector investors to provide banks with new capital. But using government money for a rescue is complicated because of European Union rules intended to prevent taxpayers from bearing the burden of mistakes by bank executives.

A rescue would be simpler if Italy were allowed to support the banks without invoking rules that would impose some of the burden on middle-class investors. Many Italians own bank bonds. If they have to share the pain, the backlash could play into the hands of populist parties and result in even more political instability.



PHIL BRAY/NETFLIX

Uli Latukefu, left, and Mahesh Jadu in "Marco Polo," a 13th-century drama that is being canceled after two seasons.

## Rare Netflix Cancellation: Costly 'Marco Polo' Is Done

By JOHN KOBLIN

Here's a rule in today's ever-changing TV landscape: Big hits are very hard to come by.

Here's another: Netflix only rarely cancels shows.

On Monday, however, the streaming service said that it was pulling the plug on "Marco Polo," its pricey 13th-century drama about the Mongol empire, after only two seasons.

Despite devoting billions to original programming, introducing dozens of new TV shows, Netflix has been reluctant to cancel its offerings. It previously pulled "Lilyhammer" and "Hemlock Grove," and announced in September that "Bloodline" would not be returning. Those shows, however, lasted three seasons; "Marco Polo" will not.

Netflix — along with the other streaming services like Amazon and Hulu — does not disclose ratings, so it's difficult to know just how poorly "Marco Polo" fared. But reviews for the series were unkind, and there has been next to no cultural excitement surrounding it.

And the series was costly. Originally developed for the cable channel Starz, it was produced by the Weinstein Company, whose co-chairman Harvey Weinstein once boasted that it would be "one of the most expensive shows ever done for pay TV."

As costs escalated, the series moved over to Netflix, and the production was indeed lavish. With an estimated budget of at least \$180 million over two years, the series was filmed in far-flung locations like Italy, Kazakhstan and Malaysia, and received an extensive marketing campaign.

In a statement, Mr. Weinstein said: "Netflix has been incredible to give us the room to make a series with a cast true to every principle of diversity. It's a bold network that allows you to do that and support us in the way that Netflix did."

In the four years that Netflix has been streaming original shows, the service has been in a historic buildup mode that has it outpacing every competitor, including HBO and Amazon. Netflix said in October that it would spend \$6 billion on content in 2017, much of it on original programming.

When Netflix landed shows like the Aziz Ansari comedy "Master of None" and the period drama "The Crown," FX's chief executive, John Landgraf, said that the streaming service had provided "shock-and-awe levels of money and commitment" for both projects.

But the "Marco Polo" cancellation may be a sign that Netflix will become more selective about endlessly devoting resources to original series. The streaming service has not committed to a second season for its pricey show "The Get Down" (the second half of its first season will debut next year). And it's unclear how projects like the Chelsea Handler talk show are doing.

The streaming service does not disclose ratings because it works on a subscription model, it said, and does not sell advertising to adults under 50, as most TV networks do.

Ted Sarandos, Netflix's chief content officer, said this year that "if we were spending a lot of money on shows that people weren't watching," subscribers would drop the service.

The service has more than 86 million subscribers worldwide.

Netflix did get some good news on Monday: Both "The Crown" and "Stranger Things" were nominated for the best drama Golden Globe, filling two of the five nominee slots. Though Netflix series like "House of Cards" and "Orange Is the New Black" have garnered numerous nominations, the streaming service is still looking for its first Globe or Emmy for best drama or best comedy.

## Trump Seeks a Boom, but the Fed Fears Overheating

From First Business Page

growth by encouraging borrowing and risk-taking. Analysts predict the Fed will shift the range upward by a quarter of a percentage point, modestly reducing those incentives.

The rate increase is widely regarded as a foregone conclusion. The odds, derived from asset prices, topped 95 percent on Monday, according to the CME Group. The looming question is how quickly the Fed will continue to raise rates in 2017.

Economic forecasts always require large assumptions, but that is particularly true in the present case because Mr. Trump has provided relatively few details about his plans. Perhaps the most accurate thing that can be said about Mr. Trump's victory is that it has increased the uncertainty of the economic outlook.

"At this juncture, it is premature to reach firm conclusions about what will likely occur," William C. Dudley, the president of the New York Fed, said in a recent speech. During his campaign, Mr. Trump predicted a 4 percent annual growth, and his actions since Election Day point to a single-minded goal of short-term job creation.

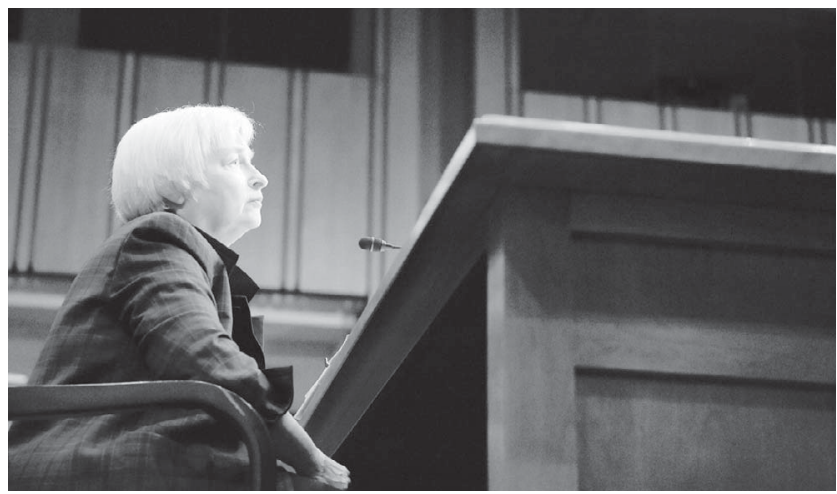
"Our No. 1 priority is going to be the economy, get back to 3 to 4 percent growth," Steven Mnuchin, Mr. Trump's pick to serve as Treasury secretary, said last month.

Many economists regard such growth predictions as fanciful; the economy has been mired in an extended period of slow growth, and the reasons, including an aging population and a dearth of innovation, are unlikely to change quickly. Some think Mr. Trump is more likely to push the economy into recession than to catalyze a new boom.

Even if Mr. Trump is right, however, the Fed does not want 4 percent growth.

The central bank's outlook has become increasingly gloomy. Officials estimated in September that annual growth of 1.8 percent was the maximum sustainable pace, and they predicted growth would not exceed 2 percent in the next three years. They will update those forecasts on Wednesday, but large shifts are unlikely.

Fed officials are also increasingly convinced that steady job



SUSAN WALSH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Janet L. Yellen, the Federal Reserve's chairwoman, has urged caution about a fiscal stimulus.

growth has substantially eliminated the post-recession backlog of people seeking work. The unemployment rate fell to 4.6 percent in November, a level the Fed regards as healthy.

For years, Fed officials urged Congress to increase fiscal spending. Now, Mr. Trump is promising to do just that — and the Fed has concluded that it is too late.

Stanley Fischer, the Fed's vice chairman, said last month that the Fed might still benefit from fiscal stimulus because it could raise rates more quickly. That would increase the Fed's ability to respond to future downturns by reducing interest rates.

But such gains would come at real cost: A fiscal stimulus would increase the federal government's debt burden, which is already at a high level by historical standards, reducing the room for a fiscal response to a future downturn. Janet L. Yellen, the Fed's chairwoman, urged Congress last month to be mindful that the government is already on the hook for more spending as baby boomers age into retirement.

"With the debt-to-G.D.P. ratio at around 77 percent, there's not a lot of fiscal space, should a shock to the economy occur, an adverse shock, that did require fiscal stimulus," she said.

The tension between fiscal and monetary policy is likely to unfold

in slow motion.

Mr. Trump has promised to press for rapid changes in government policy, but Congress is not built for speed. A similar effort to cut taxes at the beginning of the George W. Bush administration, for example, was signed into law on June 7, 2001. The impact of new cuts, and any increase in infrastructure spending that Mr. Trump can persuade dubious Re-

**Although a rate increase is expected, uncertainties abound.**

publicans to embrace, would be felt mostly in future years.

Mark M. Zandi, the chief economist at Moody's Analytics, predicted that tax cuts, regulatory rollbacks and deficit-financed spending would fuel faster growth in the first half of Mr. Trump's four-year term. But he said that the Fed's rate increases, and restrictions on trade and immigration, would gradually begin to take a larger toll. By the end, Mr. Zandi predicted, the American economy would be "unwillingly close" to recession.

"The Fed and markets in general will ultimately wash out any benefit," Mr. Zandi said Monday. "The economy under President Trump ultimately will be diminished."

Other economists are more optimistic, predicting that the stimulus will not be fully offset by Fed policy. Mr. Dudley appeared to endorse this view in his recent speech, suggesting that the rise in financial markets was "broadly appropriate."

Some of Mr. Trump's proposals could also increase the economy's potential growth rate — for example, by improving infrastructure or encouraging corporate investment.

On the other hand, the Fed's march toward higher rates may be amplified by the bond market. Rates are already rising, and investors concerned about inflation and larger federal deficits are likely to generate persistent upward pressure.

Those effects are already visible. Stock prices have climbed since Mr. Trump's surprising victory, increasing the wealth of shareholders. But borrowing costs also climbed. The average rate on a 30-year mortgage loan was 4.13 percent last week, according to Freddie Mac, up from 3.54 percent just before the election.

### STOCKS & BONDS

## Wall St. Soars, Energy Climbs and Dow Sets Record Anew

By The Associated Press

Major stock indexes on Wall Street set records again Tuesday as energy shares continued to climb following international deals that will cut oil production. Big-name technology companies like Apple and IBM also traded higher as the Dow Jones industrial average closed above 19,900 for the first time.

The Dow finished at a record high for the seventh consecutive trading day. The biggest gain went to IBM, while Apple and Exxon Mobil also finished near the top.

The Dow climbed 14.78 points, or 0.6 percent, to 19,911.21. The index went as high as 19,953. The Standard & Poor's 500-stock index picked up 14.76 points, or 0.7 percent, to 2,271.72. The Nasdaq composite climbed 51.29 points, or 1 percent, to 5,463.83.

Energy companies rose for the ninth day out of the last 10 as investors anticipated steadier oil prices and larger profits.

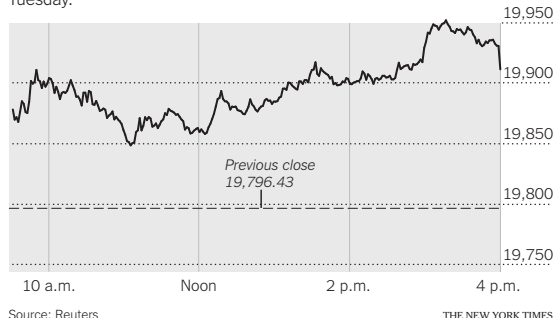
Exxon Mobil climbed \$1.60, or 1.8 percent, to \$92.58 and Noble Energy advanced \$1.80, or 4.5 percent, to \$41.64.

Benchmark United States crude rose 15 cents to \$52.98 a barrel in New York. Brent crude, the international standard, added 3 cents to \$55.72 a barrel in London.

Technology companies were up as a group of tech executives, including the chief executives of Ap-

### The Dow Minute by Minute

Position of the Dow Jones industrial average at 1-minute intervals on Tuesday.



Source: Reuters

THE NEW YORK TIMES

ple and Microsoft, prepared to meet with President-elect Donald J. Trump on Wednesday.

On Tuesday, Apple added \$1.89, or 1.7 percent, to \$115.19. IBM was the biggest gainer on the Dow, picking up \$2.79, or 1.7 percent, to \$168.29.

Consumer-focused companies rose more than the rest of the market. Online retailer Amazon rose \$14.22, or 1.9 percent, to \$774.34 and home improvement retailer Home Depot jumped \$1.96, or 1.5 percent, to \$136.54. Newell Brands, which owns companies including Rubbermaid, Elmer's and Mr. Coffee, picked up 82 cents, or 1.8 percent, to \$47.30.

Some companies that have per-

formed very well in the last five weeks lost ground. Basic materials and industrial companies traded slightly lower. Banks, which have soared since the election, rose less than the rest of the market.

Japanese brewer Asahi Group said it would pay \$7.8 billion to buy five beer brands in Eastern Europe from Anheuser-Busch InBev, the maker of Budweiser. The brands include Pilsner Urquell. In October, AB InBev bought rival SABMiller, and during those negotiations Asahi bought a group of Western European brands including Peroni and Grolsch. AB InBev picked up \$1.36, or 1.3 percent, to \$105.05.

Investors expect the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates when it ends a policy meeting Wednesday. The central bank last raised interest rates a year ago. It has kept rates very low since the 2008 financial crisis, but its leaders have suggested that the United States economy is improving enough to start gradually raising rates.

United States government bond prices rose slightly. The yield on the 10-year Treasury note dipped to 2.47 percent from 2.48 percent, its highest level since June 2015.

The dollar rose to 115.16 yen from 114.98 yen. The euro fell to \$1.0618 from \$1.0634.

Gold fell \$6.80 to \$1,156.70 an ounce. Silver lost 21 cents, or 1.2 percent, to \$16.98 an ounce. Copper fell 2 cents to \$2.60 a pound.

The FTSE MIB in Italy jumped 2.5 percent, and UniCredit, the largest Italian lender, soared 16 percent after it said it would unload \$18.8 billion in soured loans, raise billions in cash and cut thousands more jobs.

Germany's DAX rose 0.8 percent and the French CAC 40 was gained 0.9 percent. In Britain, the FTSE 100 rose 1.1 percent. Blue-chip stocks also led the way in Europe.

Tokyo's Nikkei 225 rose 0.5 percent. The Kospi in South Korea climbed 0.4 percent and the Hang Seng of Hong Kong added 0.1 percent.

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FABRIZIO COSTANTINI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Enacting of a Transportation Department plan would make it possible for a car to detect if another was moving too fast in its direction and headed for a collision.

## Cars Talking to One Another? Under Proposed U.S. Rules, Yes

By CECILIA KANG

WASHINGTON — The federal government has bet on driverless vehicles as a way to reduce road fatalities. Now, it is also betting that drivers and passengers will be safer if cars can talk to one another to prevent accidents.

The Transportation Department proposed rules on Tuesday that all new cars and small trucks contain communications technology to broadcast data to one another about their speed, location and direction they are traveling.

Under the new rules, cars would be able to use wireless technology involving chips and a dedicated band of radio airwaves to detect if another vehicle around the corner and hundreds of yards away was moving too fast in its direction and headed for a collision. What happens next would be up to the automaker, which would decide if it would put in place automated response technology to brake or simply provide a visual or audio warning to a driver.

The proposed rules, combined with the department's recent guidelines on driverless cars, illustrate the government's embrace of car-safety technology after years of hesitation, even as distractions in vehicles contributed to the biggest annual percentage increase of road fatalities in 50 years.

The vehicle-to-vehicle communications technology, which is separate from driverless car tech,

is viewed by regulators as the most effective fix for vehicle deaths. Along with future plans for rules that would mandate that cars communicate with stoplights and signs, the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration says it believes that the communications technology can help reduce crashes — not including those involving drivers under the influence — by 80 percent.

“We are carrying the ball as far as we can to realize the potential of transportation technology to save lives,” Anthony Foxx, the transportation secretary, said in a call on Tuesday. He added that the vehicle-to-vehicle technology would provide “360-degree situational awareness on the road and will enhance vehicle safety.” The agency is considering similar rules for big trucks.

There are hurdles to Mr. Foxx's vision. The dedicated airwaves being considered for vehicle communications are being tested by the Federal Communications Commission for potential interference with other Wi-Fi users. There are also potential cybersecurity risks when cars are connected online. Mr. Foxx said the vehicle communications systems would be encrypted.

The proposal, which will be open for three months of public comment, requires cars to be able to broadcast and receive data from one another. The carmaker determines what to do with that data, be it automated braking or

### How vehicle-to-vehicle technology could work

The Transportation Department says the technology, which will use radio communications to send alerts to devices in the vehicles, has the potential to warn drivers in the following situations:

The risk of collision in an **intersection**.

The risk of collision when making a **left turn**.

When traffic is **slowing or stopping**.

The risk of **collision with a vehicle ahead**.

The presence of a vehicle in a **driver's “blind spot.”**

The presence of **oncoming traffic** (for drivers attempting to pass other vehicles).

visual warnings on a dashboard. A driver can turn off warnings or automated response features but will not be able to turn off the basic communications abilities under consideration, the N.H.T.S.A. said.

The rules would apply only to new vehicles. If the rules are passed, the agency predicted that it would take about two years before half of all new cars had the communications technology and four years for all new cars.

It is unclear how the Trump administration and the incoming transportation secretary, Elaine Chao, will view the technology mandates and guidelines for autonomous vehicles or vehicle-to-vehicle communications. Presi-

dent-elect Donald J. Trump has vowed to unravel regulations that have been onerous for businesses.

Mr. Foxx said he thought automakers would support his proposal.

“Many, many stakeholders in the automotive industry believe this rule is essential,” Mr. Foxx said. “I can't speak for the next administration, but from a safety perspective, this is a no-brainer.”

The rules were first discussed by the N.H.T.S.A. two years ago and build on a plan to generally make humans a smaller part of the driving experience.

The agency's long-term vision is for smart cars to be connected to one another and to road infra-

structure such as stoplights. Driverless cars, which mainly use GPS, cameras and radar to detect movements through streets, would also be enhanced with technology to communicate with other cars.

The conservative Competitive Enterprise Institute immediately called the new mandate a “midnight” political ploy by the Obama administration and said the incoming administration should abandon the plan.

The rules are “all pain, no gain,” said Marc Scribner, a research fellow at the organization, who added that “hypothetical safety benefits will be trivial for the next 15 years, at which point far superior automated vehicle technology may be deployed to consumers.”

AAA, which has supported Mr. Foxx's agenda on car technology and driverless vehicles, said even if new technologies eventually replaced radio communication among cars, the current proposal is a strong solution for safer roads.

“We need redundancy,” said Jill Ingrassia, AAA's managing director for government relations. “And we need critical mass for this to be effective.”

Ed Walters, an adjunct professor of robotics law at Georgetown University, said the rules were “100 percent good for safety.”

“You have all these carmakers developing autonomous vehicles,” he said, “but no one car is as smart as all cars together.”

## ConAgra Will Pay Record Fine In Outbreak

### A Salmonella Case Tied to Peanut Butter

By The Associated Press

A ConAgra subsidiary pleaded guilty Tuesday and agreed to pay \$11.2 million — including the largest criminal fine ever imposed for a food-borne illness in the United States — to resolve a decade-long criminal investigation into a nationwide salmonella outbreak blamed on tainted peanut butter.

ConAgra admitted to a misdemeanor count of shipping adulterated food. No individuals at the food conglomerate faced charges in the 2006 outbreak, which sickened at least 625 people in 47 states.

Disease detectives traced the salmonella to a plant in rural Sylvester, Ga., that produced peanut butter for ConAgra under the Peter Pan label and the Great Value brand sold at Walmart. In 2007, the company recalled all the peanut butter it had sold since 2004.

Leo Knowles, the president of ConAgra Grocery Products, entered the misdemeanor plea Tuesday on behalf of the Chicago-based corporation's subsidiary.

Though the Justice Department called \$8 million the largest criminal fine ever imposed in a United States food safety case, it represents just one-tenth of one percent of ConAgra's current \$8 billion market capitalization. The company will also pay \$3.2 million in cash forfeitures to the federal government.

The case began in 2006, as doctors around the country reported severe gastrointestinal illnesses caused by salmonella. Officials traced the common factor — peanut butter — to the Georgia plant.

In February 2007, ConAgra recalled its previous three years of peanut butter production, and Peter Pan vanished from store shelves for about six months. Despite the widespread illnesses, no deaths were confirmed to have been caused by the salmonella outbreak.

ConAgra said that it did not know that any peanut butter was contaminated with salmonella before it was shipped. However, the plea agreement documents noted that ConAgra knew peanut butter made in Georgia had twice tested positive for salmonella in 2004. The problems were not all fixed by the time of the outbreak.

None of the criminal penalties go to victims. United States District Court Judge W. Louis Sands said Tuesday that more than 150 people had filed paperwork seeking financial restitution, but that none could prove that they were sickened by salmonella caused by eating the recalled peanut butter.

## Google Parent Spins Off Self-Driving Car Project

By DAISUKE WAKABAYASHI

SAN FRANCISCO — Google's self-driving car is ready to take the wheel.

Google's parent company, Alphabet, said on Tuesday that its autonomous vehicle project was spinning off from its research lab X and would operate as a stand-alone company under the name Waymo.

Alphabet's decision to spin out Waymo is a signal that the company thinks its self-driving technology has advanced beyond research-project status and is ready for commercialization.

Autonomous vehicles are a hotly contested field of technology, pursued by other tech giants, promising upstarts and traditional automakers — all who see the potential of self-driving cars to upend the automobile industry.

Advancements in sensor technology coupled with breakthroughs in machine learning — the ability of computers to learn from vast amounts of data and improve over time — mean driverless cars (essentially supercomputers on wheels) could become a regular sight on the roads over the next few years.

“As we look at this space and the opportunities ahead of us, we see so much,” said John Krafcik, chief executive of Waymo. “We're a new company, but we've been at this for a while.”

Waymo joins the roster of Alphabet companies, which includes Google. Mr. Krafcik said the new arrangement allows Waymo to tap into the infrastruc-

ture and resources of Alphabet with the feel of an independent venture-backed company. He said Waymo's technology could have uses as varied as ride-sharing services and long-haul trucking, but he did not lay out a specific business strategy.

Alphabet was an early technological leader in the field, but its efforts to establish a business around the technology have fallen short. Since 2009, Alphabet's self-driving cars have logged 2.3 million driverless miles — the equivalent of more than 400 round-trip drives from New York to Los Angeles — on test drives in California, Arizona, Texas and Washington state. Waymo said it completed the world's first fully driverless ride on public roads last year in Austin, Texas, with a blind passenger in a car without a steering wheel or pedals.

Safely ensconced in Google's so-called moonshot factory, the self-driving car project did not face the type of financial pressure to commercialize its technology that a start-up or a company without Google's resources would have. Despite its head start, other companies have incorporated autonomous driving technology into their products and services more quickly.

Tesla Motors has a semi-autonomous feature called Autopilot that can take over for the driver for long stretches, and it is preparing for its newest cars to go fully autonomous as early as next year. Tesla also announced its intention to start a ride-hailing service once its driverless car technology is ready.

The ride-hailing service Uber is already testing self-driving cars to pick up customers in Pittsburgh



SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Google building in New York. The company's vehicles will operate under the name Waymo.

with a person on standby in the driver's seat. Lately, its driverless cars have been spotted on the streets of San Francisco.

At the same time, the list of companies with an eye on the space is growing. Apple has hundreds of employees working on autonomous car technology, and carmakers are snapping up tech talent. General Motors acquired the self-driving car start-up Cruise Automation this year, and Ford Motor is expanding aggressively in Silicon Valley with a research and development center.

For Google, the goal was to design a vehicle that is responsible for 100 percent of the driving. The company said this approach was more difficult and would take more time. However, Google said it was ultimately safer than semi-autonomous vehicles, which may require a driver to take back con-

trol of the car without awareness of the surroundings.

Waymo said its ultimate goal was to equip its driverless system on cars without steering wheels or pedals because it didn't want humans to feel as if they needed to monitor the vehicle. However, government regulations currently require a vehicle to have steering wheels and pedals.

In August 2015, Google brought in John Krafcik, a former Hyundai Motor executive, to lead the project and bring it closer to commercialization. It has also lost crucial personnel on the project, sometimes to competitors.

One of the project's founders, Anthony Levandowski, left Google in 2015 and started Otto, an autonomous trucking company that was acquired this year by Uber. He now oversees Uber's driverless car operations. Chris

Urmson, who led the project before Mr. Krafcik and served as its chief technology officer until his departure in August, is now working on his own self-driving car company, according to the technology site Recode.

“Google has struggled to find a way to come to market,” said Roger Lancot, an associate director at research firm Strategy Analytics. “We've come to the point where Google needs a return.”

The challenge for Google is to devise a successful strategy for making money from self-driving cars. Unlike Uber, it doesn't have a ride-hailing service that can generate fares — at least not yet. And unlike Tesla or other automakers, it doesn't have an auto manufacturing background to build cars or a network to sell them. Creating its own car would also require a significant investment to build a

### A signal that a new technology is ready for commercialization.

factory and establish a supply chain.

It could work with automakers to supply autonomous driving systems — akin to how Google provides the Android operating system software to smartphone manufacturers. However, car companies are apprehensive about losing control of that crucial technology to Google.

This year, Google reached a deal with Fiat Chrysler to equip its automated driving systems in 100 Pacifica minivans to try to make it easier for the technology to be installed on an assembly line.

“We've been really clear that we're not a car company,” Mr. Krafcik said. “We're not in the business of making better cars. We're in the business of making better drivers.”

The technology site The Information reported earlier that Waymo was considering building a ride-sharing network with the minivans. When asked about that possibility, Mr. Krafcik said: “We'll see.”

It's not just about money. It's also about data. Without a way of getting its systems on the road through a ride-sharing network or an automaker, Google may struggle to collect valuable on-the-road information — a crucial part of helping its driving systems learn and improve over time.

Dmitri Dolgov, who oversees the development of self-driving technology for Waymo, said the next step for his team would be to make the ride for driverless cars smoother and more natural, build out the map system to allow it to go to more places, and handle different weather conditions.

## Wells Fargo's Crisis Plan Is Rejected Again by U.S.

From First Business Page

All the largest American banks must submit to regulators their living wills, or strategies for unwinding themselves in an orderly way — something they lacked in 2008, when the federal government had to prop up sagging banks like Citigroup and Bank of America.

The living-will requirement, passed as part of the 2010 Dodd-Frank financial overhaul, is meant to prevent taxpayers from having to bail out big banks again in the event of a huge financial failure. Of all the rules passed in the wake of the crisis, this requirement is designed to address most directly the issue of big banks' being too big to fail.

Banking industry lobbyists have grumbled that the living wills are another costly exercise that requires companies to spend months trying, often unsuccessfully, to divine the will of regulators. In its statement, Wells Fargo said it had created an office within the bank dedicated to correcting problems with its living-will proposal.

Democrats are holding up the living wills as an example of the strength and success of Dodd-Frank at a time when Republicans are vowing to undo parts of the law once President-elect Donald J. Trump takes office.

Senator Sherrod Brown, an Ohio Democrat who is the ranking member of the banking committee, said, "Today's joint determination is a reminder that Wall Street reform is working to rein in the megabanks that crashed our economy and got bailed out by

taxpayers."

It is ironic, in some ways, that Wells is the one bank that continues to have problems proving to regulators that it could manage its unwinding itself in the event of a bankruptcy.

During the financial crisis, Wells avoided many of the mortgage missteps that nearly sank Wall Street. Compared with other large banks, it was relatively well capitalized to withstand the shocks of the 2008 crisis.

But its regulatory star has fallen since the sham account scandal erupted. The bank's longtime leader, John G. Stumpf, was called to testify twice before Congress, where he faced a barrage of criticism for failing to properly manage the bank and stamp out the bad behavior. Mr. Stumpf has since stepped down. In a settlement over the illegal accounts, Wells paid \$185 million — including \$100 million to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, the largest fine that agency had ever assessed.

The regulators cited specific technical deficiencies in Wells's living will, including issues of "shared services" and "legal entity rationalization." These problems generally point to the fact, regulators have said, that Wells has not figured out how to adequately unwind all of the many complex and interconnected parts of its banking empire.

Regulators said that the other four banks they had faulted in April — Bank of America, Bank of New York Mellon, State Street and JPMorgan Chase — had addressed the deficiencies in their plans.

## Asahi to Spend \$7.8 Billion On Anheuser Beer Brands

By NEIL GOUGH

Asahi Group, the Japanese beer giant, said on Tuesday that it would pay \$7.8 billion to buy a group of Central and Eastern European beer brands from Anheuser-Busch InBev, in the latest brand shuffle for the rapidly consolidating brewing business.

Anheuser-Busch InBev, based in Belgium, is selling the brands, including the Pilsner Urquell group, to allay the concerns of European competition regulators after it completed its merger with SABMiller in a deal valued at more than \$100 billion.

Shareholders approved the SABMiller deal in September, nearly a year after it was announced, creating an industry giant that would account for about 30 percent of global beer sales. Anheuser-Busch InBev then entered into a number of agreements to sell a variety of assets from the combined company to win over regulators.

Among the other deals it reached were a \$12 billion agreement to sell SABMiller's 59 percent stake in MillerCoors in the United States to Molson Coors Brewing. It also agreed to sell SABMiller's 49 percent holding in the maker of Snow, the world's best-selling beer, to China Resources Beer, a state-owned brewer, for \$1.6 billion.

Asahi, confronted with a gray and shrinking market at home in Japan, has meanwhile been looking overseas in recent years for growth.

In February, the brewer agreed to pay \$2.9 billion to buy the beer brands Peroni and Grolsch, as well as certain other European op-

erations of SABMiller, from Anheuser-Busch InBev, a deal that was accepted in April and was also driven by regulatory concerns related to the merger.

The latest agreement, which is expected to close in the first half of next year, would give Asahi control of operations that were previously owned by SABMiller in five countries, including Pilsner Urquell, Kozel, Tyskie and other brands. The Japanese company noted that the targeted brands were the market leaders in the Czech Republic — which Asahi said was the world's biggest beer-drinking country on a per-capita basis — Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovakia.

"Asahi envisages strengthening its cash-generating power by positioning its domestic profit

### A Japanese brewer pushes into Central and Eastern Europe.

base as the cornerstone of its earnings, with the overseas business as its growth engine," it said on Tuesday in a statement.

The targeted beer brands are "highly compatible with our existing business in Western Europe and will strengthen our business platform, allowing Asahi to grow sustainably across Europe," it added.

Anheuser-Busch InBev was advised by Deutsche Bank and Lazard. Asahi was advised by Barclays and Rothschild.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MATHEW SCOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Apeel, under James Rogers, above, has created an imperceptible barrier that could reduce food waste and the use of pesticides.

## An Edible Idea to Extend the Shelf Life of Produce

From First Business Page

portant as these technologies themselves," said Christopher B. Watkins, a professor at the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences at Cornell University.

Americans have greater access than ever to a wide variety of fruits and vegetables year-round. That abundance can come at the expense of taste, as plants are chosen for their ability to withstand time and transportation, not necessarily for their flavor. And yet an enormous amount of what's produced still rots before it can be shipped.

Another effort to alter that trade-off is SmartFresh, a product developed with Professor Watkins's research that keeps apples from ripening too quickly in storage.

Apeel's products, sold under the brand names Edipeel and Invisipeel, take plant materials and extract all liquids from them to produce tiny pellets. The company then uses molecules from those the pellets to control the rate of water and gases that go in and out of produce, thus slowing the rate of decay.

The version of Apeel for avocados, for example, creates a barrier that effectively fools anthracnose, a fungus that exploits tiny cracks that develop in the fruit's skin when it begins to shrivel. Anthracnose extends a little leg through those cracks and into the fruit itself, creating the ugly brown spots that are such a nasty surprise when an avocado is opened.

Edipeel can stave off anthracnose by up to 30 days longer than existing techniques for combating the fungus. "It basically sees a different molecule than it's used to seeing and moves on," Mr. Rogers said.

Invisipeel can be applied while crops are still in the field. Edipeel can be applied after a harvest; crops can be coated while on a conveyor belt or dipped in the solution.

So far, the products are derived primarily from the remains of produce that has been certified organic, like grape skins left over from wine production and stems left behind after broccoli is harvested. They can be easily washed away with water.

The Food and Drug Administration has approved Edipeel as "generally recognized as safe," a status that means a product is safe to eat and good for sale.

Some big venture capital firms are now placing bets on Apeel. Andreessen Horowitz and DBL Partners recently led a round of \$33 million investment in the company that was announced Tuesday. It has raised \$40 million in total.

Apeel has just begun sales of its products and said it was starting negotiations with produce companies that together account for some \$6 billion in sales, according to a presentation made to potential investors.

Vijay Pande, who leads Andreessen Horowitz's \$200 million bio fund, said Apeel's appeal was the many different issues it could tackle, from reducing a company's carbon footprint to increasing the diversity of fruits and vegetables available.

"There are one or two first markets to go after and demonstrate impact, but where you go from there with this company is extremely broad," Mr. Pande said.

He said Apeel could, for instance, increase yields by reducing losses at the harvest level, which would translate into lower prices for consumers. It could reduce agriculture's environmental impact by allowing growers to



Top, Apeel scientists with samples of molds that attack and shorten the life span of berries, avocados and citrus. Above, Jay Ruskey, who produces finger limes, tested Edipeel, an Apeel product.

ship products with an Edipeel barrier at higher temperatures. And before harvest, an Edipeel barrier could repel pests and fungi and thus reduce the use of pesticides.

And then there is the impact on wasted food.

"The answer to feeding the growing world population isn't just to grow more food, it's to preserve more of what we already grow and make optimal use of the resources we already have," said Ira Ehrenpreis, a managing partner at DBL.

Apeel came into being when Mr. Rogers was a doctoral student in materials science at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He began to wonder whether the same processes he was studying to develop coatings that could be used to produce inexpensive plastic solar cells might also be applied to extend the life of produce.

He then drafted Jenny Du, a fellow grad student who had studied the synthesis and application of inorganic nanostructured films among other things, and the two of them began working in his garage to develop Edipeel.

In 2012, the concept won \$10,000 in the UCSB New Venture Competition, and then Mr. Rogers received a \$100,000 award from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, which was interested in how

the idea might help small farmers in Africa.

The foundation has used the product on the cassava root, an important source of calories in the African diet and thus is grown widely by small farmers there. Cassava root also can be processed into starch for use in commercial food preparation.

Once plucked from the ground, however, the roots deteriorate

### Largely untested commercially and facing several potential hurdles.

rapidly, making it virtually impossible for small farmers to exploit the crop commercially.

"If not consumed or processed in 24 to 48 hours, you lose significant amounts," said Rob Horsch, who leads the agricultural research and development team at the Gates Foundation. "That makes it hard to generate any income from what's produced, and a lot of it goes to waste."

Edipeel more than doubled the

shelf life of cassava, helping the root retain starch long enough to get it to a processing plant. According to an analysis by Apeel, use of its Edipeel product will create \$1 billion in the market value of cassava in Nigeria alone.

"Farmers who used the product during trials in Africa are now clamoring for it," Mr. Rogers said. Edipeel is also being tested by Jay Ruskey, the proprietor of Good Land Organics in Goleta, Calif.

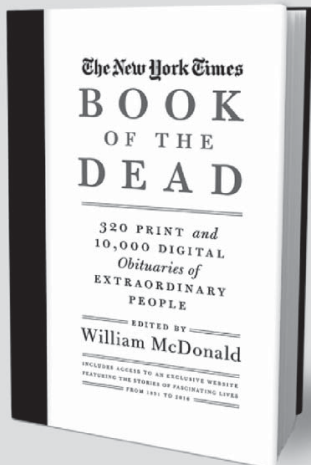
Mr. Ruskey grows finger limes, which produce a citrus "caviar" prized by chefs and bartenders. The limes, which look rather like gherkins, are good for two weeks at the most, making broad distribution almost impossible.

"Most people do not understand how much is applied to fruits and vegetables to keep them looking good — there's a lot of wax out there," Mr. Ruskey said. "It's gotten to the point that if you have iced tea with us, we no longer give you a lemon slice because of the wax on it."

The barrier Apeel has created for Good Land almost doubles the viability of the limes at this point, and Mr. Ruskey is now testing the application process and shelf life in the market.

"So far," he said, "it looks very promising."

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## DealB%k

## A Potential Hitch in Zuckerberg's Stock Plan for Facebook

By STEVEN DAVIDOFF SOLOMON

Mark Zuckerberg wants to give away nearly all his stake in Facebook, and yet still keep control of the company he helped found. What's a tech billionaire to do?



The neat solution to this problem — creating a new class of shares — is par for the course for Silicon Valley, but often gives other shareholders

short shrift.

Now details that have recently emerged in litigation challenging Facebook's stock plan indicate a more troubling disregard for shareholders.

With the birth of his daughter last year, Mr. Zuckerberg wanted to transfer 99 percent of his wealth to a company he controls with his wife, which would later donate that money to charity. In giving away his shares, however, he would have to confront the issue of giving up his voting control over Facebook.

Mr. Zuckerberg currently owns about 15 percent of Facebook, but because most of his stock is Class B shares with 10 votes apiece, he has voting control of the company with 53.8 percent of the votes, a number brought up to about 60 percent of the votes since he also has the ability to vote the shares held by Dustin Moskovitz.

If Mr. Zuckerberg fulfilled even part of his giving pledge, which included the donation of \$1 billion a year over the next three years, it would mean coming close to losing his control of the company he founded.

So he turned to a tried and true strategy: Follow Google.

A few years ago, Google authorized a nonvoting Class C stock to cement the control exercised by the founders Larry Page and Sergey Brin through their 10 votes per share Class B shares. The idea was that Google would use this stock to make acquisitions and award employee incentive compensation without diluting the interests of Mr. Page and Mr. Brin.

Shareholders hated it and only 12.7 percent of the regular shareholders voted for it, but Mr. Page and Mr. Brin used their control to push it through.

The gain for other shareholders is not immediately obvious. The best you could say is that it continues bonding the two founders to Google's success.

Steven Davidoff Solomon is a professor of law at the University of California, Berkeley. His columns can be found at [nytimes.com/dealbook](http://nytimes.com/dealbook). Follow @steven-davidoff on Twitter.

At Facebook, Mr. Zuckerberg proposed the same structure to his board.

Given the clear conflict, a special committee of independent directors was formed, made up of Marc Andreessen, Erskine Bowles and Susan Desmond-Hellmann. These directors were technically independent of Mr. Zuckerberg, though Mr. Andreessen had done business with Facebook. Each was dependent on Mr. Zuckerberg to elect them to the board each year. The committee hired their own law firm, Wachtell Lipton Rosen & Katz, and the investment bank Evercore.

This independent committee approved the new stock structure. Under the plan, both Class A and Class B shareholders will receive a dividend of two nonvoting Class C shares, which have equivalent economic value to the Class A and Class B.

At face value it appears that everyone is being treated equally, but the deal really benefits Mr. Zuckerberg. With a dividend of over 900 million Class C shares, he can now sell his Class C shares and not reduce his voting control. The net effect of the transaction is that Mr. Zuckerberg's Class B shares will account for only 5 percent of Facebook's equity but will have voting control over Facebook. It ensures that Mr. Zuckerberg will have lifetime control over Facebook.

It's a nice deal for Mr. Zuckerberg, but there are potential risks for shareholders. One need only look at Viacom, where the share voting power is held by Sumner Redstone, who is 93 and apparently in poor health. Mr. Zuckerberg may be a genius and capable of operating Facebook now. But he could live to his 90s, and like Mr. Redstone no longer be as capable, instead preferring to assert control simply because he can.

And, sure, Facebook pumps out cash like a fire hose, but some check on management would be prudent to avoid the temptation to waste that money on foolhardy projects. (Google Glass, anyone?)

To prevent Mr. Zuckerberg from further cementing his grip on Facebook, shareholders have sued in a Delaware court, seeking to block the stock plan. A similar legal effort was tried against Google's new class of shares, but that lawsuit was settled on terms that I described as providing little benefit to shareholders.

This time around, however, the plaintiffs' lawyers may have hit pay dirt.

As part of discovery in the case, the lawyers have obtained text messages between Mr. Andreessen and Mr. Zuckerberg that appear to show that



HARRY CAMPBELL

Mr. Andreessen was leaking information and helping the chief executive while the independent committee was considering this transaction. The text messages were disclosed in a filing made public a few weeks ago.

As the special committee was deliberating, Mr. Andreessen — who was supposed to be representing Facebook shareholders — appeared to be coach-

## Shouldn't a social media chief know the perils of texting a battle plan?

ing Mr. Zuckerberg in how to deal with the special committee.

According to the filing, Mr. Andreessen texted Mr. Zuckerberg ahead of a meeting to speak beforehand. Lawyers for the shareholders contend that this was to give Mr. Zuckerberg "inside information," including coaching him on the question of how long he could leave to do government service and still maintain control. And during meetings

with the board, Mr. Andreessen sent messages like, "This line of argument is not helping," ending with a smiley face, and "NOW WE'RE COOKING WITH GAS."

These are pretty bad text messages, though Facebook's lawyers will most likely have an explanation along the lines that this is just the way bargaining works in Silicon Valley.

A representative of Facebook declined to comment but referred me to a statement given to Bloomberg that said, "Facebook is confident that the special committee engaged in a thorough and fair process to negotiate a proposal in the best interests of Facebook and its shareholders."

There are a few lessons here even for internet titans.

First, do we really have to say in 2016 that you should assume anything you text or email is public? Really?

Second, the committee, if we put aside Mr. Andreessen for a moment, seems to have been doing their job in at least thinking about the big issues, particularly Mr. Zuckerberg's government service. And in exchange for putting this new plan into effect, Mr. Zuckerberg did give up something gigantic: He no longer can pass along

control to his heirs or simply retire and keep his high vote stock. Now he will have to work at the company to keep control, an important get for the independent committee.

The real question here is what Mr. Andreessen was thinking. The committee would probably have come to the same conclusion no matter what, given Mr. Zuckerberg's importance to and control of the company, but at least there was some back and forth.

One might guess that Mr. Andreessen was trying to curry favor with Mr. Zuckerberg. His venture capital firm, Andreessen Horowitz, did help sell both Instagram and Oculus investments to Facebook, after all.

But given Mr. Andreessen's great prominence as a venture capitalist, there really was no need to pander like that. And indeed, the more likely explanation is that he thought it was no big deal.

Andreessen Horowitz did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Such an attitude is all too common in Silicon Valley when it comes to corporate governance and lawyers.

The text messages that have emerged in this litigation may not change the ultimate outcome. The stock plan is something that Mr. Zuckerberg wants, and Facebook will do what it can to make it happen, even if it includes writing a big check to settle with the shareholders.

In addition, the record will most likely show real bargaining by the committee and a real change in governance given Mr. Zuckerberg's giving up control if he doesn't work.

And the company can just reconvene the independent committee and try again — or even just move out of Delaware, where Facebook is incorporated, to a friendlier state.

If Facebook were going public today with such a share-class structure, few investors would bat an eye. Let's see what happens when Snap goes public. No doubt there will be a very firm structure that ensures Evan Spiegel, 26, maintains control for the rest of his life.

That's too bad. I suppose the foolish view would be that if Mr. Zuckerberg was really good for the long term then he shouldn't care about share voting control. No one would try to oust him if he were doing a good job. But that is naïve, no doubt.

Instead, the message of Facebook is that in Silicon Valley, founders will keep control of their companies no matter what. Also, don't email or text.

## Big Banks Fight to Block Lawsuits Linked to Crisis

By VICTORIA FINKLE

Big banks are fighting tens of billions of dollars of potential legal costs linked to at least a dozen pending lawsuits arising from the financial crisis. Now they want the Supreme Court to weigh in, arguing that regulators took too long to file their claims.

A handful of banks, including Wells Fargo, Credit Suisse and Deutsche Bank, have asked the Supreme Court to review a lower court decision that said the regulators had filed their claims on time despite a Depression-era securities law that gave them only a three-year window.

The Justice Department is pushing back. In a brief submitted last week, it said the banks' argument lacked merit and asked the court not to take up the case.

Damages related to some \$37.5 billion in securities are at stake in the pending lawsuits, the banks say, in addition to billions of dollars in disputed prejudgment in-

lapse was among the largest in American history. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation later sued the institutions that had issued or underwritten the roughly \$300 million in mortgage-backed securities purchased by Colonial that led to its ruin, arguing that the disclosures on those securities contained false information or misrepresentations about the health of the underlying mortgages.

The government argues that the lawsuits were timely under the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act, a 1980s law coming out of the savings and loan crisis that provides the F.D.I.C., when acting as a receiver, additional time to bring claims to court by overriding other statutes of limitations. Nearly identical provisions exist for regulators overseeing credit unions and mortgages.

More broadly, Firrea has proved to be a key tool for the government after the mortgage meltdown. Other provisions of the law were used to help secure billion-dollar settlements from JPMorgan Chase, Bank of America and others.

The banks say the F.D.I.C., along with the Federal Housing Finance Agency and the National Credit Union Administration, has incorrectly relied on so-called extender provisions to bring cases to court years after certain troubled securities were sold.

They point to the Securities Act of 1933, which imposes the stricter three-year deadline, called a statute of repose. They argue that the extender provision does not explicitly override such statutes. The intent of the deadline is to provide greater certainty to financial institutions about when they are exposed to costly litigation.

Regulators filed their lawsuit over Colonial in August 2012, which the banks contend was about five years after Colonial purchased the securities.

A lower federal court judge sided with the industry in 2014 before the Second Circuit panel split, 2 to 1, in favor of the government last May. The appeals court found that Firrea does supersede all applicable time limits, including statutes of repose.

The appellate court correctly held that the Firrea extender provision "establishes the sole time



KRISZTIAN BOCSI/BLOOMBERG

limit applicable to suits brought by the F.D.I.C. as receiver," the government's brief filed last week says. "That holding does not conflict with any decision of this court or of another court of appeals."

"To the contrary," the brief adds, "it is consistent with the unanimous view of all of the other appellate courts, including the Fifth, Ninth and Tenth Circuits, that have considered the issue" under the extender provision "or under virtually identical provisions governing suits by other federal entities."

A F.D.I.C. spokesman, David Barr, declined to comment on the case.

The financial industry has previously petitioned the Supreme Court twice to hear related cases, and has been denied both times. The court receives thousands of petitions every year, and the odds of being granted a hearing are generally very low.

In their latest attempt, the banks pointed to a 2014 decision in an environmental case over contaminated drinking water, CTS Corp. v. Waldburger, in which the justices voted, 7 to 2, that an extender provision did not displace a statute of repose. The banks argued that lower courts are misapplying the law by not following the reasoning laid out in that case.

"There is nothing about the CTS decision that suggested that it

would apply only to that particular statute and that the principles that were announced there shouldn't be of general application," said Michael Dell, a partner at the law firm Kramer Levin Naf-talis & Frankel, who is representing several trade groups in the case.

The Securities Industry and Financial Markets Association, the American Bankers Association and the Clearing House Association together filed a brief in support of the banks' petition in November.

The earlier petitions to the high

court, the banks say, included key differences: One was filed shortly after the CTS decision, before there was a record of how lower courts would respond, and the an-

Deutsche Bank is among the institutions that are seeking to stop the continuation of lawsuits related to tens of billions of dollars in securities.

other deal with a state statute of repose, not the federal securities law at issue in the current lawsuit.

The government argues that no new issues have come to light that require further examination.

"This court has twice denied petitions for writs of certiorari that raised essentially the same arguments as this one," the Justice Department says in its brief. "Petitioners identify no changed circumstance that would warrant a different result here."

Critics who would like to see the banks pay for their actions urge the court to focus on the broader policy considerations stemming from the crash.

"Those who were most guilty of causing the financial crash in 2008 have fought tooth and nail to avoid being held responsible — and they have been wildly successful at doing that," said Dennis Kelleher, president and chief executive of Better Markets, an advocacy group focused on financial markets. "One of the reasons we're seeing political earthquakes in the U.S. is the lack of accountability on Wall Street."

## IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF DELAWARE

In re: TRIANGLE USA PETROLEUM CORPORATION, et al., Debtors. Case No. 16-11566 (MFW)

NOTICE OF HEARING OF DISCLOSURE STATEMENT: TO ALL HOLDERS OF CLAIMS AND INTERESTS AND PARTIES IN INTEREST:

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that the above-captioned debtors and debtors in possession (the "Debtors") have filed the (a) Disclosure Statement With Respect to the Joint Chapter 11 Plan of Reorganization of Triangle USA Petroleum Corporation and its Affiliated Debtors (as amended from time to time and including all exhibits and supplements thereto, the "Disclosure Statement") (Docket No. 408); (b) Joint Chapter 11 Plan of Reorganization of Triangle USA Petroleum Corporation and its Affiliated Debtors (as amended from time to time and including all exhibits thereto, the "Plan") (Docket No. 407); and (c) Motion of Debtors for Order Under Bankruptcy Code Sections 105, 1125, 1126, and 1128, Bankruptcy Rules 2002, 2017, and 2018, and Local Bankruptcy Rule 2002-1 and 2017-1 (i) Approving Adequacy of Debtors' Disclosure Statement, (ii) Approving Solicitation and Notice Procedures with Respect to Confirmation of the Debtors' Proposed Plan of Reorganization, (iii) Approving the Form of Various Ballots and Notices in Connection Therewith, and (iv) Scheduling Certain Dates with Respect Thereto (the "Motion").

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that a hearing will commence on January 13, 2017 at 11:30 a.m. (Eastern) in the "Disclosure Statement Hearing" before the Honorable Mary E. Walcott, United States Bankruptcy Judge, in the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware, 824 North Market Street, Wilmington, Delaware 19801 (the "Court") to consider the Motion, which seeks the entry of an order (the "Disclosure Statement Order") finding that, among other things, the Disclosure Statement contains "adequate information" within the meaning set forth in section 1125 of the Bankruptcy Code and approving the Disclosure Statement, certain other materials related to the solicitation of acceptances of the Plan (the "Solicitation Package"), and the Solicitation Procedures. The Disclosure Statement Hearing may be continued from time to time without further notice other than an adjournment announced in open court at the Disclosure Statement Hearing or at any subsequent adjourned Disclosure Statement Hearing. THIS NOTICE IS NOT A NOTICE OF VOTES TO ACCEPT OR REJECT THE PLAN. VOTES ON THE PLAN MAY NOT BE SOLICITED UNLESS AND UNTIL THE DISCLOSURE STATEMENT IS APPROVED BY ORDER OF THE BANKRUPTCY COURT.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the Plan, the Disclosure Statement, the Motion, the Disclosure Statement Order, and other documents and materials related thereto, including certain solicitation materials, once they are filed, may be obtained by: (a) accessing the Debtors' restructuring website at <https://cases.primereclerk.com/TUSA/>; (b) emailing [tusaballots@primereclerk.com](mailto:tusaballots@primereclerk.com); or (c) calling the Debtors' restructuring hotline at (855) 842-4122, within the U.S. or Canada, or (929) 333-8982, outside of the U.S. or Canada.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that responses and objections, if any, to the approval of the Disclosure Statement or the Solicitation Procedures, or any of the other relief sought by the Debtors in the Motion must, (a) be in writing, (b) conform to the applicable Federal

Rules of Bankruptcy Procedure and Local Rules of Bankruptcy Practice and Procedure of the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware, (c) state the name and address of the objecting party and the amount and nature of the claim or interest of such party, and (d) state with particularity the basis and nature of any objection and, if practicable, a proposed modification to the Disclosure Statement or materials comprising the Solicitation Package that would resolve such objection. Responses or objections, if any, must be filed with the Court, contemporaneously with a proof of service, and served upon each of the following parties so as to be actually received no later than 4:00 p.m. (Eastern) on January 9, 2017: (i) the Debtors, Triangle USA Petroleum Corporation, 1200 17th Street, Suite 2500, Denver, Colorado 80202, Attention: Secretary (jagaber@trianglepetroleum.com); (ii) counsel for the Debtors, Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP, 155 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606, Attention: Ron E. Mesler (ron.mesler@skadden.com) and Christopher D. Dressel (christopher.dressel@skadden.com); and one Rodney Square, 920 N. King Street, Wilmington, Delaware 19801, Attention: Sarah E. Pierce (sarah.pierce@skadden.com); (iii) counsel to the RRL Agent, Bracewell LLP, 711 Louisiana Street, Suite 2000, Houston, Texas 77002, Attention: Alfredo R. Perez (alfredo.perez@well.com); (iv) counsel to Triangle Petroleum Corporation, BJA P&L LLP (US), 203 North LaSalle Street, Suite 1900, Chicago, Illinois 60601, Attention: John K. Lyons (john.lyons@bjapl.com); (v) Main Street, Suite 4600, Dallas, Texas 75201, Attention: Vince Slusher (vince.slusher@diageo.com) and Andrew King (andrew.king@diageo.com); (vi) counsel to the RRL Agent, Bracewell LLP, 711 Louisiana Street, Suite 2000, Houston, Texas 77002, Attention: Reta Marie Ritvo (reta.ritvo@wilmingtontrust.com); (vii) 1100 North Market Street, 5th Floor, Wilmington, Delaware 19801; and (viii) the Office of the U.S. Trustee, J. Caleb Boggs Federal Building, 844 King Street, Room 2207, Wilmington, DE 19801, Attention: Jane Leamy (jane.leafly@usdoj.gov).

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE THAT OBJECTIONS OR RESPONSES NOT TIMELY FILED, SERVED AND RECEIVED IN THE MANNER SET FORTH ABOVE WILL NOT BE CONSIDERED, AND WILL BE DEEMED OVERRULED.

The Debtors and the last four digits of their respective taxpayer identification numbers are: Triangle USA Petroleum Corporation (0717); Foster Wheeler (US) LLC (6690); Leaf Minerals, LLC (6522); Ranger Fabrication, LLC (6889); Ranger Fabrication Management, LLC (1151); and Ranger Fabrication Management Holdings, LLC (0750). The address of the Debtors' court headquarters is 1200 17th Street, Suite 2500, Denver, Colorado 80202.

Capitalized terms used but not otherwise defined herein shall have the meanings set forth in the Plan, the Disclosure Statement, or the Motion, as applicable. (a) be in writing, (b) conform to the applicable Federal

MARKET GAUGES

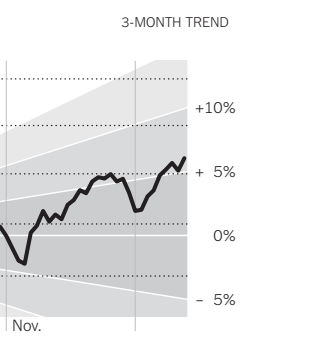
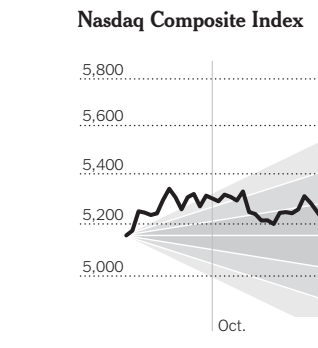
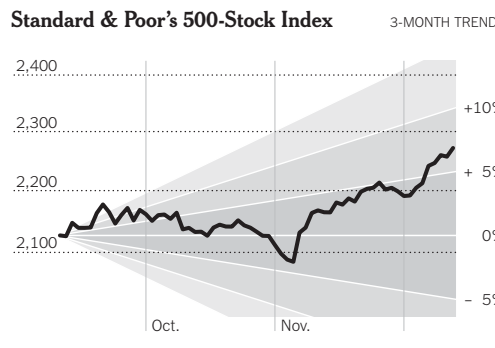


S&P 500 2,271.72 +14.76
DOW INDUSTRIALS 19,911.21 +114.78

NASDAQ COMPOSITE 5,463.83 +51.29
TREASURY YIELD 10-YEAR 2.47% -0.01

CRUDE OIL \$52.98 +\$0.15
GOLD (N.Y.) \$1,156.70 -\$6.80

THE EURO \$1.0618 -\$0.0016



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

Table with columns: Index, Close, Chg, % Chg, 52-Wk %Chg, YTD %Chg. Includes Dow Jones, Standard and Poor's, New York Stock Exchange.

Nasdaq Composite Index 3-MONTH TREND

Table with columns: Index, Close, Chg, % Chg, 52-Wk %Chg, YTD %Chg. Includes Nasdaq, Industrial, Banks, Insurance, etc.

Dow Jones Industrial Average 3-MONTH TREND

Table with columns: Index, Close, Chg, % Chg, 52-Wk %Chg, YTD %Chg. Includes Chemical, Aerospace, Computers, etc.

MOST ACTIVE, GAINERS AND LOSERS

Table with columns: Stock (TICKER), Close, Chg, % Chg, Volume (100). Lists 20 Most Active, 20 Top Gainers, and 20 Top Losers.

S&P 100 STOCKS

Table with columns: Stock (TICKER), 52-Week Price Range, 1-Day Chg, 1-Yr %Chg, YTD %Chg. Lists major S&P 100 stocks like Apple, Amazon, Microsoft.

Nasdaq Composite Index 3-MONTH TREND

Table with columns: Stock (TICKER), 52-Week Price Range, 1-Day Chg, 1-Yr %Chg, YTD %Chg. Lists major Nasdaq stocks like Intel, AMD, NVIDIA.

Dow Jones Industrial Average 3-MONTH TREND

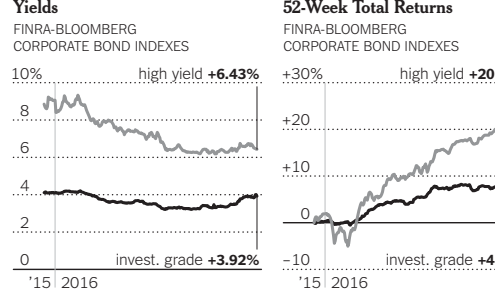
Table with columns: Stock (TICKER), 52-Week Price Range, 1-Day Chg, 1-Yr %Chg, YTD %Chg. Lists major Dow Jones stocks like Exxon, Ford, GM.

MOST ACTIVE, GAINERS AND LOSERS

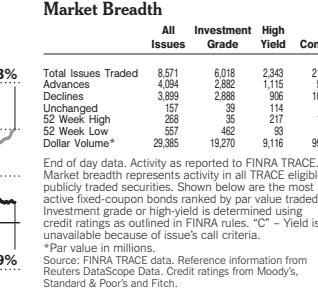
Table with columns: Stock (TICKER), 52-Week Price Range, 1-Day Chg, 1-Yr %Chg, YTD %Chg. Lists major active stocks like Tesla, Facebook, Google.

Prices shown are for regular trading for the New York Stock Exchange and the American Stock Exchange which runs from 9:30 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Eastern time, through the close of the Pacific Exchange. At 4:30 p.m. For the Nasdaq stock market, it is through 4 p.m. Close Last trade of the day in regular trading. □ or ■ indicates stocks that reached a new 52-week high or low. Change Difference between last trade and previous day's price in regular trading. ▲ or ▼ indicates stocks that rose or fell at least 4 percent. \* indicates stocks that traded 1 percent or more of their outstanding shares. n Stock was a new issue in the last year.

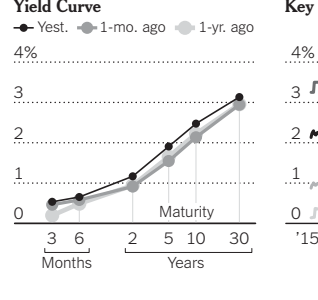
FINRA TRACE CORPORATE BOND DATA



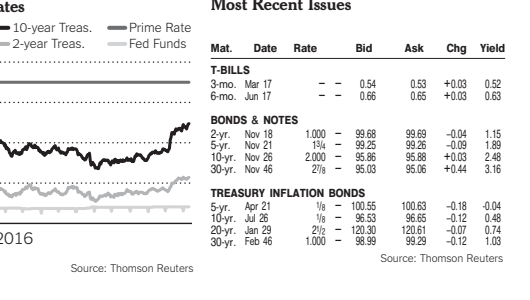
GOVERNMENT BONDS



FOREIGN EXCHANGE



MIDDLE EAST/AFRICA



Most Active

Table with columns: Issuer Name (SYMBOL), Coupon%, Maturity, Credit Rating, Price, Chg, Yld%. Lists active bonds from various issuers.

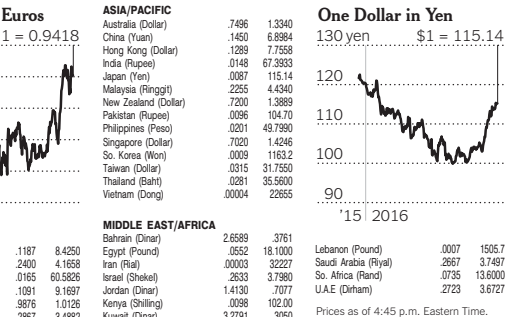
CONVERTIBLES

Table with columns: Issuer Name (SYMBOL), Coupon%, Maturity, Credit Rating, Price, Chg, Yld%. Lists convertible bonds.

FUTURES

Table with columns: Future, Exchange, Monetary units per quantity, Life/High, Low, Date, Open, High, Low, Settle, Change, Open Interest. Lists various futures contracts.

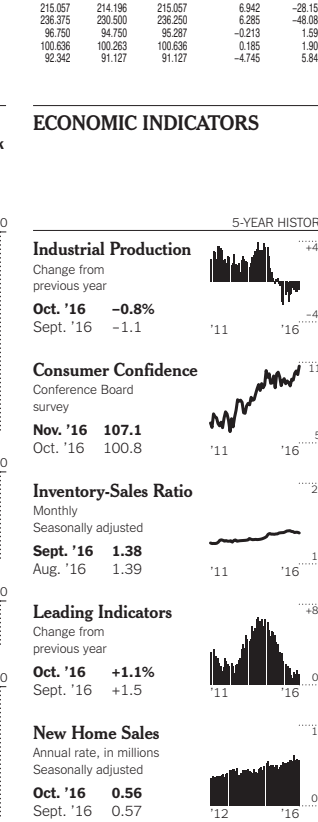
CRUDE OIL



CONSUMER RATES

Table with columns: Category, Rate, Change from last week, 1-year range. Lists rates for Home Mortgages, Auto Loan Rates, CD's and Money Market Rates.

ECONOMIC INDICATORS



MUTUAL FUNDS SPOTLIGHT: MUNICIPAL BOND FUNDS

Table with columns: Fund Name (TICKER), % Total Returns, Exp. Assets (mil.\$). Lists various municipal bond funds.

CRUDE OIL

Table with columns: Fund Name (TICKER), % Total Returns, Exp. Assets (mil.\$). Lists various equity and bond funds.

## SQUARE FEET

## RECENT SALE

**\$3.7 million**555-557 Union Street (between Nevins Street and Third Avenue)  
Gowanus, Brooklyn

A local developer plans to convert these two vacant three-story four-family walk-ups, with basements, totaling 7,368 square feet, into luxury rental or co-op apartments.

BUYER: Union Residence L.L.C.  
SELLER: Brooklyn Renaissance L.L.C.

BROKER: Daniel Barcelowsky, the Drive Team at Misrahi Realty

## RECENT SUBLEASE



EMON HASSAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**\$155/sq. ft.**

\$135,160 approximate annual rent

Rockefeller Apartments South Building  
17 West 54th Street (between Fifth Avenue and Avenue of the Americas)  
Manhattan

An art gallery, to open this month, has signed a five-year sublease for an 872-square-foot gallery space, with 30 feet of frontage, on the ground floor of this 12-story co-op built in 1935. The space is across from the Museum of Modern Art.

SUBTENANT: Anthony Grant  
LANDLORD: 17 and 24 Corporation  
SUBLANDLORD: GH Booksellers  
BROKERS: Mark Furst and Austin Wender, MHP Real Estate Services

## FOR SALE

**\$35 million**500 West 57th Street (at Tenth Avenue)  
Manhattan

This 27,340-square-foot seven-story building, with a basement, was originally built in 1913 as an eye surgery center, and has been occupied by a substance abuse treatment center since the 1980s.

OWNER: Ekblom Trust  
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## Saving 2 Factories, and a Page in Aviation History

By CHRISTINE NEGRONI

DAYTON, Ohio — On a chilly fall afternoon, 4-year-old Antoine Alston and his 8-year-old sister, De'Asia Liggins, waited for the bus with their mother on the western side of this city. Behind them was an abandoned factory of historical significance, but that was news to the children.

One hundred and thirteen years ago this week, an airplane created by the Wright brothers made the first powered flight. Seven years later at that factory off West Third Street, the brothers built the first factory mass-producing airplanes for sale. Now, as part of a plan to renovate the factory, the children of West Dayton may be learning a lot more about the city's most famous sons and their world-altering invention.

The original goal was simple: Save the two gable-roofed brick buildings from demolition by having them added to the National Park Service's five-stop aviation trail in the area. This has turned into a multimillion-dollar, 54-acre development project, and one that by necessity has come to echo the Wright brothers' inventiveness and determination.

Two factories were built by the Wrights in 1910-11 for airplane manufacturing. Only about 120 planes were manufactured there, as Wilbur Wright died unexpectedly in 1912 and Orville sold his share in the business in 1915. In the seven decades that followed, automobile parts were produced in those two buildings and three more that were added.

Dayton, a manufacturing city once known as the city of a thousand factories, started losing jobs in the industry about a decade ago, said Ford Weber, the city's director of economic development. The downturn and housing crisis of 2008 took a major toll on the city, with an increase in mortgage foreclosures. The damage of that time remains apparent today in the West Dayton neighborhood. Nearly every block around the factory has shuttered or has collapsing homes and buildings.

In 2009, the National Aviation Heritage Alliance, a nonprofit group based in Dayton, dedicated to preserving sites important to the history of flight in the area, persuaded Congress to incorporate the factory and the 20 acres surrounding it into the Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park of the National Park Service.

The group wanted to preserve the site after the last owner of the buildings, an auto parts manufacturer, moved out and declared bankruptcy. Tony Sculimbrene, executive director of the alliance, said he feared the factory might be bulldozed. When the designation was given, though, it did not include money for the rehabilitation, and the alliance had to find ways to finance it.

"I specifically remember saying to myself: 'How are we going to do this? How are we going to save it without the Park Service?'" Mr. Sculimbrene said. "That's when we switched from it being purely a historic project to it being an economic development project."

Home Avenue Redevelopment, a brownfield developer that had acquired the property out of bankruptcy, razed all but the Wright brothers' factory complex. It removed hazardous materials and made the land shovel-ready with \$3.5 million from the city and state, and \$2 million that was part of the sales agreement between the owner — DPH Holdings, which does business as the auto parts manufacturer Delphi — and the buyer.

Early next year, the property will change hands again when the alliance buys it from Home Avenue Redevelopment. Then the Park Service will occu-



PHOTOGRAPHS BY TY WRIGHT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top: A scale model of a Wright Flyer at the Wright brothers factory complex in Dayton, Ohio; Timothy R. Gaffney, a spokesman for the National Aviation Heritage Alliance, which worked to include the site under the National Park Service umbrella; an office at the replica Wright Cycle Company at the Carillon Historical Park in Dayton.

py the factory buildings, giving it what Dean Alexander, superintendent of the Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park, calls "40,000 square feet of blank canvas."

"It's a challenge to take an old factory and turn it into something that's exciting for the general public to come visit," Mr. Alexander said. "The Park Service is always looking for new ways to engage younger generations and more diverse populations."

What will fill the remaining three factory buildings adjacent to the historic Wright Brothers plant is still being discussed. Classrooms focusing on science, technology, engineering and math education, or STEM, are one option.

"Our country has become such a STEM country and the Wright brothers were all of that," said Amanda Wright Lane, a great-grand-niece of the brothers who lives in Columbus and supports the alliance's plan. "Kids could come in and see what that meant 100 years ago."

Other ideas include workshop space for a nonprofit group that builds flyable look-alikes of the Wright B Flyer, aviation work-

force training and community projects.

The nearest neighbor to the park has already been determined; the Dayton Public Library is building a \$7 million branch across the street.

"Having a public library with a national park, it doesn't get better than that," said Timothy R. Gaffney, spokesman for the alliance. "The library will draw people from around the neighborhood to the site. The factory will draw people from around the world."

Finding businesses for the 34 acres of industrial property just outside the Park Service remains a challenge.

Mr. Gaffney noted that some companies in light manufacturing and advanced aviation material production see the Wright brothers' legacy as relevant to their business. "I've been in touch with some business, they want to associate their brand with the birthplace of the aviation industry," he said.

The rosier projections forecast as many as 500 new jobs with an average annual salary of \$40,000 coming to the area, said Shelley Dickstein, the Dayton city manager. "Whether the market delivers

what we'd like to see, there is the real question," she added.

Jean Brown, of the nearby Westwood neighborhood, said she hoped that rejuvenating the factory would benefit its residential neighbors. She noted that after the Wright-Dunbar Interpretive Center, about two miles from the factories, was complete and became a stop on the aviation trail, housing in that area improved. "They got so many new buildings up there," Ms. Brown said. "They say they're coming this way."

Outside Dayton, the project has prominent advocates in David McCullough, the author of the 2016 biography "The Wright Brothers," and Patty Wagstaff, an air show pilot. Both made videos in support of the development plan after touring the dilapidated factory.

The impact of aviation is not confined to the last century, or even to people who fly frequently, Ms. Wagstaff said.

"Every weekend I fly, and I see how it can change lives," Ms. Wagstaff said, "but if you don't fly, how do you know how special it is? That's what restoring the factory for the public accomplishes."

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## President-Elect Found Votes Where the Jobs Weren't

From First Business Page

account for 78 percent of the labor force, lost more than 700,000 net jobs over the nine years.

The racial and ethnic divide is starker among workers in their prime. Whites ages 25 to 54 lost about 6.5 million jobs more than they gained over the period. Hispanics in their prime, by contrast, gained some three million jobs net, Asians 1.5 million and blacks one million.

"In every age group," wrote Lakshman Achuthan of the Economic Cycle Research Institute in a penetrating analysis, "blacks, Hispanics and Asians have more jobs now than they did at the November 2007 high-water mark."

This lopsided racial sorting of jobs is only one of the fault lines brought to the fore by the presidential election.

Only 472 counties voted for Hillary Clinton on Election Day. But according to Mark Muro of the Brookings Institution, they account for 64 percent of the nation's economic activity. The 2,584 counties where Mr. Trump won, by contrast, generated only 36 percent of America's prosperity.

The political divide between high-output and low-output parts of the country also meshes with the cleavage between urban America — largely won by Mrs. Clinton — and the vast, less-populous rural stretches where Mr. Trump racked up large numbers of votes.

Non-Hispanic whites account for 62 percent of the population. But they make up about 78 percent of the population of nonmetropolitan areas and 71 percent of that of small cities, according to the demographer William H. Frey from Brookings. By contrast, they account for only 56 percent of the population of the 100 largest urban areas in the country.

Problem is, many of the jobs created since the economy started recovering from recession were in service industries, located primarily in large metropolitan areas — not in small towns and rural areas where the factories that once provided steady good jobs were shuttered or were retooled to replace work-

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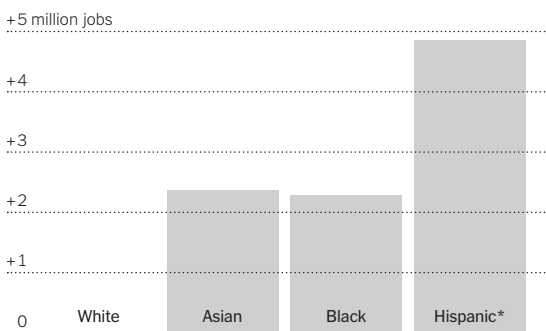
DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Supporters at a Donald J. Trump campaign event in Leesburg, Va., in early November. While Hillary Clinton largely won urban America, Mr. Trump had strong support in rural stretches.

### For Whites, Fewer Jobs; for Minorities, More

While Hispanics, African-Americans and Asian-Americans have enjoyed robust gains in employment, white workers still have fewer jobs than before the recession.

#### Jobs added or lost since Nov. 2007, by race or ethnicity



\*Note: Whites include people who identify as both Hispanic and white, and blacks include people who identify as Hispanic and black. Hispanics can be of any race.

Source: Economic Cycle Research Institute (ECRI)

THE NEW YORK TIMES

ers with machines.

Even as the typical American household experienced the fastest income growth on record last year, median household income outside of metropolitan areas fell

2 percent, according to the Census Bureau. By last summer, employment in nonmetropolitan areas was still 2 percent lower than in the first quarter of 2008. Metropolitan areas, by con-

trast, had 5 percent more jobs than they did eight years earlier. And that is where most Hispanics, blacks and Asians live. The low-end service jobs there certainly pay less than those that lifted white blue-collar workers into the middle class. But they do offer a more hopeful future than a shrinking employment base.

"It has been a good decade for metropolitan America," said Mr. Muro, who leads the Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings. By contrast, he said, "you can't underestimate the economic and social pain across the rural tier."

Given such clear divisions — less-educated whites living in depressed rural areas, on one side, and minorities living in more vigorous big-city economies on the other — the social and racial animosity manifest during the election campaign is hardly a surprise.

So there is a clear economic argument for Mr. Trump's angry voters to have bucked the establishment.

But all that raises a bigger question. Will President Trump deliver on the promises — the new, well-paying jobs — that his supporters demand? Mr. Achuthan, for one, thinks not. "Trump will get smacked in

about a year or so," he told me. "Regardless of his policies."

The story extends back to the turn of the century — when China was allowed into the World Trade Organization, setting off a wave of investment by multinational corporations hoping to take advantage of cheap Chinese labor.

Goods-producing jobs in manufacturing and construction, which had been roughly flat since 1979, plummeted by more than three million before a building boom fueled by an inflating housing bubble clawed back many of them. When that bubble burst, the construction jobs evaporated, too. And there has been no new job-producing boom to take its place.

Can Mr. Trump do more for his supporters than previous presidents? It's doubtful. Most of his promises are empty. No matter what he does, he cannot bring back the coal jobs of yore or the old labor-intensive manufacturing economy. Some of his proposals — walling off the country with protective tariffs, for example — would make things worse for the middle and working class, while tax cuts for the wealthy would exacerbate inequality rather than reduce it.

The job market has tightened, and there are a number of underlying forces that may well propel the economy forward for a while

### Gains for urban areas, but 'economic and social pain across the rural tier.'

in a way that prosperity spreads more outside the major cities. A major program of public investment in infrastructure would probably increase employment, but it is not a long-term solution for a rural population cut off from the most dynamic sectors of the economy.

What progress the nation has in store is likely to come through investments in technology and human capital. This will happen mostly in its cities. Less-educated rural whites, with deep roots in their local communities, are often reluctant to move. But that means all too many are likely to be left behind.

## In Lawsuit, TV Reporter Claims Ailes Harassed

By EMILY STEEL

Nearly five months after Roger Ailes was ousted from his position as chairman of Fox News Channel, the sexual harassment accusations against him continue.

On Tuesday, Lidia Curanaj, a reporter for Fox 5 in New York, filed a 28-page discrimination and hostile work environment suit against the network's parent company, 21st Century Fox, in which she said Mr. Ailes harassed her when she was applying for a job at Fox News.

According to the complaint, Mr. Ailes asked her to stand up and turn around during a one-on-one interview, so that he could "see [her] from behind."

"I like what I see," Mr. Ailes then said, the suit asserts. Ms. Curanaj, whose legal name is Lidija Ujick, left the interview thinking she would land a job offer, according to the suit.

Mr. Ailes had met Ms. Curanaj at a dinner in February 2011 that she attended with Gregory R. Ball, a New York state senator whom Ms. Curanaj had dated. Mr. Ailes brought her into the network for the interview about three months later.

After his private meeting with Ms. Curanaj, Mr. Ailes contacted Mr. Ball and asked him, "How's the sex?" and whether she "put out" sexually, according to the suit. Mr. Ball described Ms. Curanaj as a "very nice girl," signaling that she would not provide sexual favors to Mr. Ailes.

Shortly after, Ms. Curanaj received a call from Mr. Ailes, who told her that she was not ready for Fox News and that she instead should contact Fox's local stations, she says in the suit. Ms. Curanaj believed that she did not "receive the position at F.N.C. because Ailes determined that she would not submit to him sexually," the suit states.

A spokesman for 21st Century Fox declined to comment, as did a lawyer for Mr. Ailes. A representative for Fox Television Stations said in a statement: "We do not think the plaintiff's claims have merit, and we intend to defend vigorously."

The allegations in the suit echo claims by several other current and former Fox News employees suggest sexual harassment was a persistent problem in the workplace. In July, Gretchen Carlson, a former Fox News anchor, filed

### Latest complaint cites discrimination and a hostile workplace.

suit against Mr. Ailes, saying that she was forced out of the network after she refused his sexual advances. A subsequent internal investigation found more than 20 claims of inappropriate behavior involving him, including that he offered to help advance women's careers in exchange for sexual favors.

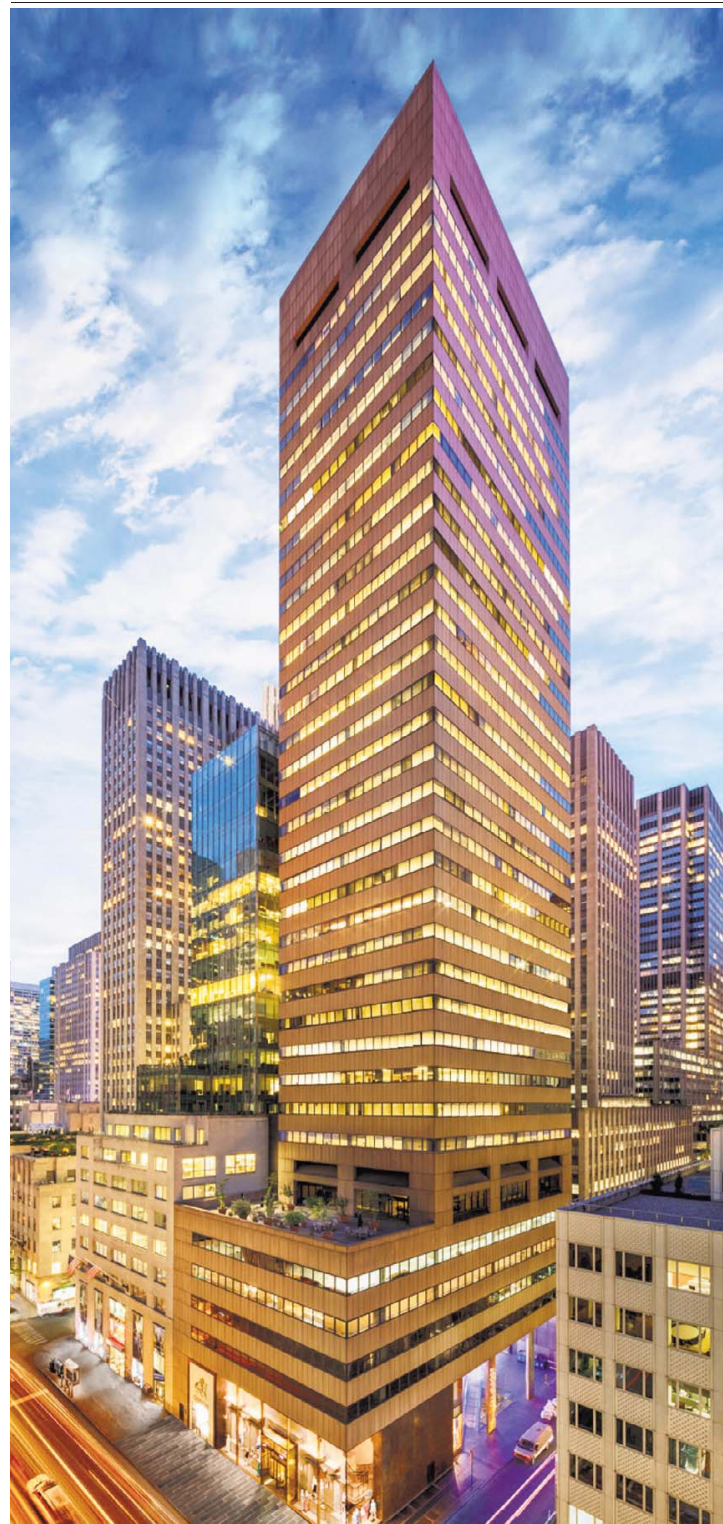
Mr. Ailes, who has denied the charges of sexual harassment, left the network in July, with a settlement of \$40 million, according to people briefed on the matter at the time. Ms. Carlson received about \$20 million in a settlement.

"The discrimination and harassment described by Ms. Curanaj is exemplary of the conduct of many of Fox's male managers reported by countless women over the past six months," said Jeanne M. Christensen, a partner at Wigdor Law, who is representing Ms. Curanaj. "We intend on holding Fox accountable for this conduct, and sending a message to employers everywhere that there are severe consequences to discriminating against female employees."

In the suit, Ms. Curanaj, 38, also claims that she has been subject to persistent discrimination and retaliation during her tenure at Fox 5 because of her age, sex, disability, appearance and nationality. She said she believes her hours were reduced, resulting in less pay, after informing supervisors she was pregnant.

Ms. Curanaj started working as a general assignment reporter at WNYW, Fox 5, Fox's local affiliate in New York in November 2011, months after her interview with Mr. Ailes.

Other points of view on the Op-Ed page seven days a week. The New York Times



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# Sports Wednesday

The New York Times

**'He is the superstar of darts. But has he got more to do? Yes.'**

WAYNE MARDLE, a former darts player and television commentator, discussing Michael van Gerwen, below.



NATHAN STIRK/GETTY IMAGES

## Boycott Looming, Sled Event Is Moved

By REBECCA R. RUIZ

International sports officials, facing a potential boycott by athletes upset over the Russian doping scandal, have decided to move bobsled and skeleton world championships out of Russia next year.

The move was announced on Tuesday by the International Bobsleigh and Skeleton Association, the organizer of the event, which was set to take place in Sochi in February. The organization plans to name a new site in the coming days.

The association said in a statement that it had made the move "to allow athletes and coaches from all nations to participate in a competition that focused on sport rather than accusations and discussions — whether justified or not."

The announcement came days after the release of a report that laid out in voluminous detail the system of state-sponsored doping carried out by Russia at the

**The bobsled and skeleton championships won't be in Russia in February.**

Olympics and other international competitions from at least 2011 to 2015, including the 2014 Winter Games in Sochi.

Even before the release of the report, by an independent investigator on behalf of the World Anti-Doping Agency, athletes had expressed outrage over the results of earlier inquiries published by the agency this year.

Russia's former antidoping lab director told The New York Times this year that cover-ups he participated in at Sochi affected more than a dozen competitors in bobsled and skeleton, a sport in which athletes race headfirst on a sled down an icy track. That group included gold medalists.

"We don't know where the event's going to wind up, but it's a victory for clean sport," Kyle Tress, an American skeleton racer, said on Tuesday. "No matter what track gets it, it's a win for all of us."

Many American athletes were already considering skipping the February competition — a crucial step toward establishing athletes' rankings before the 2018 Winter Olympics in South Korea — to signal their dissatisfaction with officials' re-

Continued on Page B12



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A bobsled race at the 2014 Olympics in Sochi, Russia, where the world championships were to be held.

## Michael Jordan of Darts? As Soon as He Proves It

By ANDREW KEH

OLDHAM, England — In an exposition hall eight miles outside Manchester, on a softly humming treadmill stripped of its handrails, the best darts player in the world was trying to keep his balance and his cool.

A film crew from Sky Sports had joined Michael van Gerwen in Oldham on Friday to have him pantomime and pose in front of a green screen for a series of television spots. They would digitally alter the video to make it look as though van Gerwen were strolling through the streets of London, where the World Darts Championship are set to begin on Thursday night.

Van Gerwen, for the most part, was an agreeable participant,

**He's been ranked No. 1 worldwide since 2014, but greatness in darts is measured in championships.**

following their various commands — "O.K., Michael, do the thing again where you move your neck" — even though the treadmill kept jamming, and he kept stumbling off, which made him laugh nervously. At one point, the power in the room cut out, shrouding the entire group in darkness. Van Gerwen stepped aside, opened a diet soda and ruminated on the odd scene.

"It's good to be here in this position, because if you're not in this position, where they're asking you to do things like this, that means you're not that high in the world rankings," he said.

For van Gerwen, that has hardly been a concern. He has been ranked No. 1 since 2014, when he won his first Professional Darts Corporation World Championship. For the last 12 months, he has been on a run of dominance nearly unprecedented in the history of the game. He has won an eye-popping 25 tournaments this year, earning roughly \$1.56 million in prize money.

In recent months, then, the foremost discussion in the game has revolved around whether van Gerwen, the best darts player right now, should be considered the greatest player of all time.

But greatness in darts continues to be measured in world championships, making all the wins, the money, the ranking and even the



DAVID SEVERN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Michael van Gerwen needs to win the World Darts Championship in London starting Thursday to cement his standing in the sport. Above, fans celebrating a 180, the top score, last week in Oldham, England.

television spots feel somehow insufficient. Van Gerwen not only understands that he is expected to win the 72-player tournament, which will conclude on Jan. 2 at the 2,500-capacity Alexandra Palace, he also understands that he needs to win it.

"Any other result for myself is a disaster," he said.

Van Gerwen, 27, was born in Boxtel, the Netherlands, and started playing darts at 13 to stave off boredom when it was too cold to play soccer outside. He worked tiling bathroom floors before breaking through in the game as a teenager.

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POOL PHOTOGRAPH BY JED LEICESTER

A view of Wembley Stadium before a Dolphins-Jets game in 2015. Wembley will host two N.F.L. games in 2017.

## More N.F.L. Games in London! (Lots of Losing Teams.) Cheers!

By VICTOR MATHER

Hey, London! You love American football? Well, great news, we're sending you the Browns!

Don't worry, you'll be getting the Jaguars and the Rams, too.

The N.F.L. announced on Tuesday the teams that will be heading to London next season for a record four regular-season games. The matchups are, well, not great.

In Weeks 3 and 4, Wembley Stadium, the spiritual home of soccer, will get Ravens-Jaguars and Saints-Dolphins. In Weeks 7 and 8, Twickenham, rugby's iconic stadium, will get Vikings-Browns and Cardinals-Rams.

Fans in Britain have shown little discernment over the N.F.L. fare served up to them over the years, generally selling out every game in no time. Perhaps that explains why the league isn't bothering to send over Tom Brady or Dak Prescott next season.

This lineup will test even the most enthusiastic Briton's patience.

The Jaguars have become a virtual home team for London, and they will

play a game there for the fifth consecutive season. That may be in part because they have not had a winning record since 2007. At 2-11, they are staggering to another disastrous year. The Jaguars have been rumored to be the team most likely to move to London if the N.F.L. decides to put a franchise there.

Their opponents, the Ravens, at least have a winning record. But after losing to the Patriots on Monday night, the Ravens are uncertain for a playoff spot. Next fall is a long way away, but right now this quarterback matchup would be Blake Bortles vs. Joe Flacco.

Perhaps the most unpredictable game on the London schedule is Saints-Dolphins. After a run of mediocrity, the Dolphins have sprung to life this year at 8-5, although the playoffs are by no means secured. The Saints, expected by many to bounce back this year, are a sad 5-8. There is no telling what these teams will be like come September.

The Cardinals have been one of the season's biggest disappointments, slipping from Super Bowl contenders to 5-7-1

Continued on Page B11

## TENNIS

# Remodeling the U.S. Fed Cup Team

By BEN ROTHENBERG

Despite Serena Williams's domination of the women's tennis tour, and with 16 players in the top 100, the United States has a 16-year title drought in the Fed Cup, an international team competition it once dominated.

The European countries that have been perennial contenders in recent years are led by Fed Cup coaches who embed as omnipresent beings in their stars' orbits throughout the season.

To best replicate that model, Kathy Rinaldi, who has worked as a coach within the United States Tennis Association's player development program for years, was named the captain of the American team last week, succeeding Mary Joe Fernandez.

The decision is part of a holistic integration of the U.S.T.A.'s player development and professional-level components.

Rinaldi, 49, is a lifer in tennis. She reached the quarterfinals of the French Open shortly after turning pro at 14, and she has spent her post-playing career in various developmental coaching roles for the U.S.T.A.

"I absolutely want to have an impact on them in some way, shape or form, with their performance team and coaches and families," Rinaldi said. "They'll know that I'll be there in their corners."

During her eight-year tenure, Fernandez was unable to finagle the attendance from Williams and other top players needed to consistently contend for the title. Her predecessor, Zina Garrison, was also unable in the previous five years to add to the United States' 17 titles in the competition, the last of which came in 2000.

The Czech Republic, which has won five of the last six Fed Cups, has gotten its top players to regularly participate.

The solution envisioned by the U.S.T.A.'s search committee was to make the Fed Cup more of a full-time role.

Fernandez worked primarily in the sport as a broadcaster in her post-playing career before and after taking on the role. Katrina Adams, president and chairwoman of the board for the U.S.T.A., said that hiring Rinaldi represented a reimagining of the position to help re-establish the United States as "the greatest nation in competitive tennis."

"If you want to get better, you have to evolve," Adams said. "We did things the same way for a very long time, and it was successful for a very long time. But with Mary Joe stepping down, we had a chance to look at our structure, look at how we run our team, and to constructively and strategically make some changes that

would allow us to be successful in the near future."

Stacey Allaster, the U.S.T.A.'s chief executive of professional tennis, served with Adams; Martin Blackman, the general manager of player development; and Venus Williams on the selection committee that chose Rinaldi. Allaster said that she believed the power of the role had been squandered in the past.

"The Fed Cup captain and the Davis Cup captain, they are iconic inspirations and leaders of our sport, with fantastic talent and knowledge to be able to contribute more than three or four weeks of the year," she said.

Allaster, who previously served as chief executive of the Women's Tennis Association, said that team competition successes should serve as a powerful recruiting symbol for the sport, even if their profile has diminished recently in the United States.

"As I came into this portfolio, I confirmed with everyone that we're in it to win it," Allaster said. "So if we're in it to win, how do we need to resource this, and how do we need to give the players what they need to win?"

The new strategy of a centralized support structure around a constant "Team U.S.A." ethos has a physical manifestation in the association's new tennis center near



JEAN CATUFFE/GC IMAGES, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Kathy Rinaldi at the United States Open in September. Rinaldi, 49, was named the captain of the U.S. Fed Cup team last week.

Orlando in Lake Nona, Fla., where players and their personal coaches are encouraged to take advantage of training resources.

Allaster described the U.S.T.A.'s support system as "à la carte." "What can we do to help you, Player X, to get you ready for the 2017 season?" she added. "What can we do through the year? Those conversations are happening with the athletes and their personal coaches."

The U.S.T.A. hopes that the shared space and resources will foster a deeper investment from players in national success, something that Adams thinks is already present in the younger generation, which has already spent

more time in the association's system and could prove to be steadier pillars upon which to build a team.

"Aside from Venus and Serena, who are still at the top of their games, you've got a whole new generation of players that look at things a little bit differently," Adams said. "As we continue to excite them, and they continue to develop and move up in the rankings, they're going to get that much more excited. They're a different breed, in terms of high energy and having that fun. Even though they're very serious, it's just a different atmosphere for them."

Still, scheduling issues persist. Even players who like the idea of

**A goal is to get younger stars excited about team play.**

supporting the team often consider regular tour events and Grand Slams more important than participation in the Fed Cup. Adams, who leads the International Tennis Federation's committee on the Fed Cup, said a restructuring of the event would help not only the United States but all countries with top players, who frequently are too exhausted to play on the heels of a Grand Slam.

"It is a challenge going to a different continent, often, depending on which time of the year it is," she said. "Our top players have always been committed and wanted to play; they just haven't been able to on a consistent basis."

Rinaldi said she took the job with "eyes wide open" about the challenges of getting top players to devote time to the Fed Cup, but she added that appealing to patriotic obligation had worked with the rising generations.

"Coaching the junior Fed Cup, that is one thing I always tried to tell the players: When you're called, you need to serve for your country," Rinaldi said. "Whether it's singles, doubles, or you don't play but you're there — everybody serves a purpose, everybody has a role, and we all have to have each other's back."

## DARTS

# No. 1 in the World, He's the Michael Jordan of Darts. He Just Has to Prove It.

From First Sports Page

His sizable, ovoid frame gives him a commanding presence in any room, and his pristinely bald head gives his already piercing eyes more prominence. He is becoming the face of this rapidly changing game, which features more tournaments, bigger crowds, more viewers on television and more prize money each year.

And still, for the time being, van Gerwen still exists in the shadow of the reigning darts king, Phil Taylor, a 56-year-old from Stoke-on-Trent, England, whose tally of 16 world championship trophies, like Bill Russell's rings and Jack Nicklaus's majors, seems unlikely ever to be matched, let alone surpassed.

People debate how many more titles van Gerwen will need to win to surpass Taylor as the greatest player ever. The only thing on which everyone has agreed is that the one he currently has is not enough.

"He is the superstar of darts," Wayne Mardle, a former player and television commentator, said of van Gerwen. "But has he got more to do? Yes. He's got to win at least two or three more world titles, in my opinion. Only winning one world title is a failure, and he has to put that right."

Van Gerwen speaks of Taylor with respect, and for rivals born three decades apart, the two have a collegial relationship. Yet van Gerwen is blunt in his belief that he has already surpassed Taylor in terms of pure skill and performance.

He noted that Taylor started his own dominance in the 1990s, when the competition and overall professionalism of the game were far inferior to what exists today.

"If you look at the Lionel Messi of these times or the Diego Maradona of that time, I think the Messi of this time is 20 times better than the Maradona of that time," van Gerwen said. (He was asked, for the sake of clarity, if he was Messi in this comparison of Argentine soccer players. "Yes," he said. "Yes.")

Like Messi, van Gerwen plays his game in fast-forward, keeping an urgent rhythm to his movements, no matter the situation. At all times, opponents feel his presence, as if he were a sport utility vehicle tailgating on a narrow road.

At the same time, van Gerwen's play appears carefree. He is a master of modulating his emotions, of employing body language to his psychological advantage, of reading a moment. He barely flinches when things go poorly. But when he wins, he is prone to mighty explosions of joy.

Interpersonal dynamics in darts matter as much as the action on the board, and to opponents, this can be disconcerting.

"Even the best players, they stop: 'Where does the next dart go?'" said Patrick Chaplin, a darts historian from Maldon, England. "With van Gerwen, if he throws a dart in the wrong place, which is rare, there's no hesitation. He goes up there: bang, bang, bang."

Interestingly, darts at the highest level remains almost universally an autodidactic pursuit. With all the money at stake today, the top players — the majority of whom seem to be large, white men — still tend to resist coaching and



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID SEVERN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

About 500 people, paying 25 pounds apiece (about \$31), filled rows of banquet tables at Queen Elizabeth Hall for the Oldham Night of Champions Darts event.



Michael van Gerwen, left, defeated a fellow professional, Peter Wright, at Oldham. Above, van Gerwen being filmed in front of a green screen by Sky Sports for a series of television spots.

"It doesn't happen too often that you get to play in front of a big crowd with the best player on the planet," Moston said.

The night progressed with a knockout tournament of current professionals and former players. Between his first and second matches, Van Gerwen stood at a booth in the back of the hall to pose with the 60 or so people who had paid to have a picture taken with him. He looked these people squarely in the eyes, shaking hands, giving hugs and quick kisses. He smiled broadly for every photo and vigorously rubbed fans' shoulders after each camera flash.

Work, fame and wealth have changed van Gerwen's life in recent years. He and his wife, Daphne, are building a home in the Netherlands, and they take expensive vacations. He said that he

enjoyed support from fans, but he also expressed some annoyance about being bothered in restaurants. He said he wanted to retire around the age of 40.

"I don't have time for my wife, for my family, for my friends," he said. "When I'm a little bit older, I want to try to get that time back."

The floor of the Queen Elizabeth Hall was sticky and the air was thick with the smell of beer when van Gerwen emerged for the final match. With relative ease, he posted another victory, over Peter Wright, the No. 3 player in the world.

When the hoots and cheers died down, John Gwynne, a darts commentator who was working as the M.C., asked the crowd to give Wright another round of applause.

"There's no disgrace in anyone losing to Michael van Gerwen," Gwynne said.

shy from introspection. Pity the player who succumbs to so-called dartsitis, the game's version of the yips.

Van Gerwen takes these traits to the extreme. He says he does not have a dart board in his house, and he does not watch darts because he finds it boring. He barely practices, he said, figuring all the competitions, exhibitions and corporate events give him enough playing time. Though he rues his eating habits on the road and would like to be in better shape, he holds some suspicion that losing weight could hurt his game.

And even he expressed surprise at how good he had become.

"I knew I was good, but this good? No, I couldn't have dreamed about that," he said.

Darts continues to transcend its image as a pub game, with the biggest events filling small arenas and drawing big audiences on television. The winner of the World Championship will take home £350,000, or about \$444,000. The exhibition that van Gerwen attended Friday night in Oldham, though, felt like a throwback to the old days.

About 500 people, paying £25 apiece (about \$31), filled rows of banquet tables at Queen Elizabeth Hall. A shrill speaker system blasted snippets of pop music and

classic rock. Paul Scholes, the former Manchester United midfielder, occupied a seat near the front, and families and groups of friends sang along as the drinks flowed and flowed. There was a fight at one point, which led to several men rolling on the floor.

The first exhibition of the night pitted van Gerwen against Jim Moston, a wiry 17-year-old from Stoke who had earned a place on stage after winning the Junior European Championship three months ago. Van Gerwen won the abbreviated match quickly, and Moston afterward rued that he had not been able to find his rhythm.

## BASEBALL

# New Rule on Rookie Hazing Costumes Means Goodbye, Norma Jean

By DAVID WALDSTEIN

A little over a year ago, Billy Bean, Major League Baseball's ambassador for inclusion, began hearing from people outside the sport who were concerned about a growing phenomenon inside the game.

The annual hazing routine that forces rookies to dress in outlandish costumes for a day, including having some dress as women, had taken on more prominence in recent years because photographs of the ritual were showing up on social media outlets.

The people who came to Bean said they felt that the costumes that depicted women were often demeaning and offensive and now were being seen everywhere. He relayed the concerns to other people in the commissioner's office and in the players' union, the Major League Baseball Players Association, and so began a conversation that has now led to a rule change stitched into the new collective bargaining agreement.

The general practice of making rookies wear costumes is still permitted. Players can dress in pajamas or as superheroes or overgrown babies. But no one may wear costumes depicting women, whether willingly or forced into it.

"We are the sport of Jackie Robinson, and we need to lead by example," Bean said. "We are not trying to take the fun away from the players. This is no different than making sexist comments about women in the workplace or about people's religious beliefs or ethnic background or the language they speak or their sexual orientation."

The new rule prohibits anyone from dressing up as women or wearing costumes that may be offensive to individuals based on their race, sex, nationality, age, sexual orientation, gender identity or other characteristics.

While other sports have their own hazing rituals, such as forcing rookies to sing their college fight songs in public, it is baseball that is identified with the wearing of costumes.

Bean, a former major league player who came out publicly as gay in 1999, was hired in 2014 to lead baseball's efforts at inclusion. He said that when he played in the 1980s and '90s, the hazing rituals usually included activities like carrying luggage for veterans. The practice of having the rookies dress in costumes has also existed for decades, Bean said, but back



MARK J. TERRILL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Infielder Blake DeWitt, above, as Marilyn Monroe during a 2008 Dodgers rookie hazing. Pitcher Ian Kennedy, far left, dressed as Dorothy from "The Wizard of Oz" with the Yankees in 2007, and pitcher David Price in drag with the 2007 Rays.



BILL KOSTROUN/ASSOCIATED PRESS



BILL KOSTROUN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

then, it was not publicized the way it is today.

One concern is that players in high schools and colleges might increasingly emulate the costume hazing now that it has become more visible on social media, and would do so in an unsupervised manner.

Although some major league rookies have objected to the

custom of dressing up in costumes, which usually takes place late in the season, others have thought of it as funny and happily posed for photos. Earlier this year, the Mets veterans made their rookies, including the reserve outfielder Brandon Nimmo, don dresses and wigs as characters from the film "A League Of Their Own."

"I guess I'm sad to see that go," Nimmo said Tuesday when asked about the new ban on such costumes. "Not my decision, but I'm glad I got to partake in it last year. I wouldn't trade that."

Nimmo spoke as he was participating in the annual Mets holiday party at Citi Field. He was dressed as an elf, which, under the new rule, would not be of bounds, Christmas party or no Christmas party.

Also at Citi Field on Tuesday was the Mets' All-Star pitcher Noah Syndergaard, who was playing the role of Santa Claus — a fuzzy blue one in this instance. He recalled being part of a rookie ritual in 2015 in Cincinnati in which he and his fellow first-year players had to put on tight underwear and pajamas and walk the streets of the city.

"I wouldn't say I understand it,"

Syndergaard said when asked about the new rule banning women's costumes. "But I have no say in it."

Mets General Manager Sandy Alderson said he frowned on the whole practice of having major league rookies dress up in costumes, regardless of what outfits they wore. A former Marine, Alderson noted that there had been similar practices in the military.

"It's divisive and undercuts morale," he said. "Is it constructive? Is it useful? Is it juvenile? It's probably juvenile. It's probably not useful or constructive in too many ways."

In 1999, a Mets hazing ritual actually turned violent when the Cuban-born rookie Jorge Toca, a reserve first baseman and outfielder, refused to participate. Shortstop Rey Ordonez, who was also from Cuba, obstinately defended Toca, and when the tension

escalated, Ordonez wound up being punched in the face by another Mets teammate, the utility player Luis Lopez.

"Do you want an activity that is supposed to be a uniter turn into a divider?" asked Al Leiter, a pitcher on that team and now a television baseball analyst. "Especially at that time of the year, when you are headed into the postseason?"

"And as an industry, do you really want your star players being photographed in a thong? Does it make sense to have photographs of Bryce Harper or Mike Trout dressed in a G-string or a ballerina tutu? If it were me, I wouldn't want that."

In 1996, Los Angeles Dodgers veterans cut up a dress suit belonging to pitcher Chan Ho Park, then in his first full season in the major leagues. Park exploded, screaming invectives and throwing furniture and food around the clubhouse.

Most cases are less volatile. Years ago, the third-base prospect Drew Henson of the Yankees was made to wear a wedding dress, and pitcher Chien-Ming Wang and second baseman Robinson Cano were made to dress as female Yankee cheerleaders.

When the Expos existed, National League teams liked to time their hazing events with their exit from Montreal, forcing the rookies to wear their costumes in public through customs.

Bean said those who might criticize the new rule as being just another example of political correctness would be missing the point.

"The people who are making a majority of those comments are not the people that those jokes are directed at," Bean said, "and that is an easy seat to sit in and point fingers and say you are ruining something."

In any case, not all the costumes are sexually oriented. Sometimes, players dress as superheroes, or as Elvis Presley, or, as the Yankees recently did, as 1980s rappers.

"We're going to give the players the opportunity to show how creative they can be in a way that is not shaming or disparaging anyone that is part of that club, or a fan that might sit in one of their seats during their 81 home games," Bean said. "I think it's a responsibility they can meet, and I hope we are remembered for putting this conversation out there."

## HOCKEY

## Blackhawks Cool Off Rangers and Backup Goalie Raanta

By ALLAN KREDA

There is invariably extra electricity when the Rangers and the Blackhawks meet, especially since they play each other only twice a season.

The latest matchup — four days after the

**BLACKHAWKS 2** Rangers won, 1-0, in  
**RANGERS 1** overtime in Chicago —

happened with both squads near the top of the standings and the Rangers coming off two straight shutouts and five wins in seven games.

Toss in the unusual circumstance of the backup goalie Antti Raanta starting a fourth straight game in place of a healthy Henrik Lundqvist, plus the return of Jonathan Toews, the Blackhawks' captain, after a nine-game absence, and there were many ingredients for drama at Madison Square Garden.

In the end, the former Ranger Artem Anisimov made the difference, as his goal late in the second period gave the Blackhawks their margin of victory in a 2-1 win over Raanta and the Rangers.

"It's a special feeling when you score here," said the 6-foot-4 Anisimov, who was drafted by the Rangers in 2006 and played 244 games for the franchise before he was traded to Columbus in 2012. "I just play my game, go hard to the net."

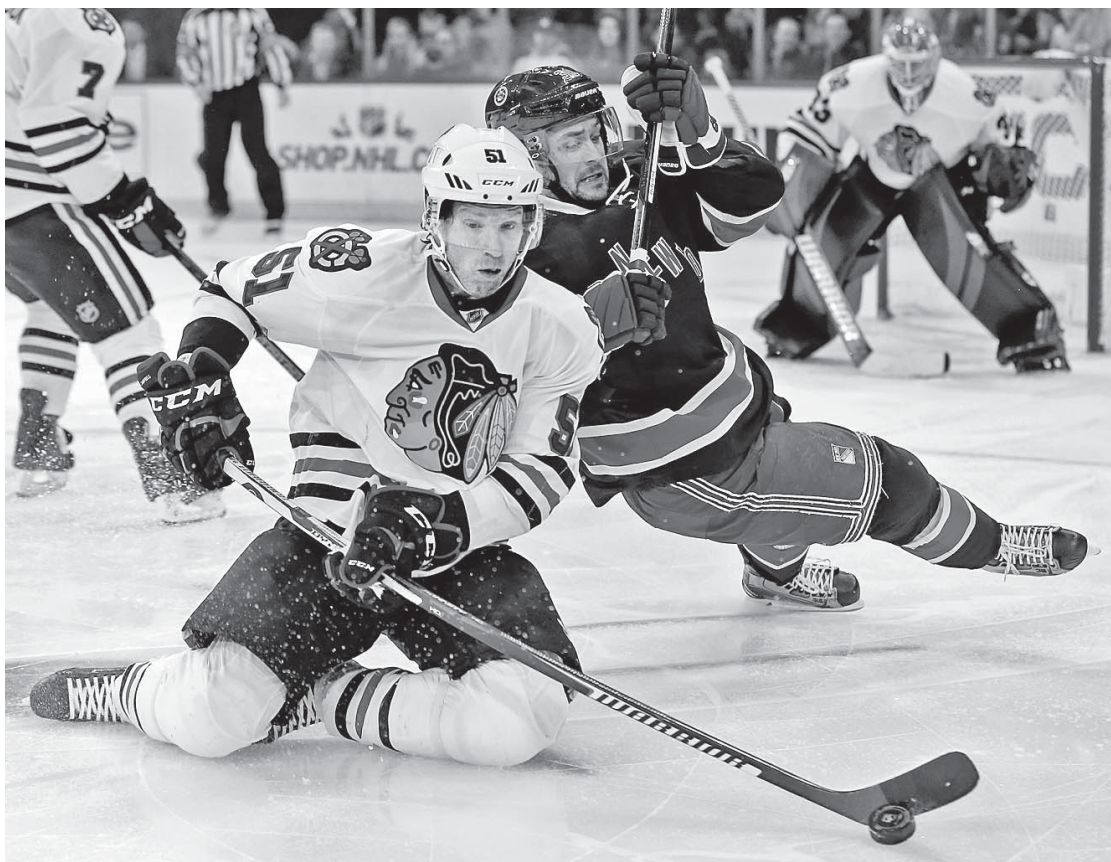
Thanks to Raanta's recent sharp play, including a 2-1 win at Winnipeg last Thursday and a 5-0 win over the Devils on Sunday, he was given the start Tuesday.

Raanta was tested early by Patrick Kane and later by Richard Panik as the fleet-skating and crisp-passing Blackhawks fired 11 shots his way in the first. All of them were turned aside.

The Blackhawks scored first at 5 minutes 18 seconds of the second period when defenseman Trevor Van Riemsdyk took a pass from Artemi Panarin and beat Raanta with a low shot for his first goal of the season.

Rangers right wing Jesper Fast tied the score at the 8:15 mark in the second when he batted the puck out of midair past Blackhawks goaltender Scott Darling, who made his sixth straight start since Corey Crawford had an appendectomy this month.

Then Anisimov, left alone in front of Raanta, received a pass



ADAM HUNGER/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

The Blackhawks' Brian Campbell cleared the puck in the second period as the Rangers' Mats Zuccarello challenged him.

from defenseman Brian Campbell before snapping the puck into the net at 18:51 for his 13th goal to put Chicago ahead. Anisimov has three goals in his past four games, and each has been a game-winner.

"I think it was it was pretty much the same deal as it was Friday night in Chicago," said Raanta, who made 24 saves. "Two teams, both have good offenses and both love to play with pace. They got a couple odd-man rushes there; they got two goals from those, and we didn't capitalize on our chances."

The brisk pace and narrow margin were no surprise. Since Dec. 11, 2002, all 18 games between the Rangers and the Blackhawks have been decided by no more

than two goals.

"I liked our game tonight," Rangers Coach Alain Vigneault said. "I thought the guys competed real hard. It was another game, like the one in Chicago, both teams had looks, both teams got good saves from their goaltenders."

Darling, a backup to Crawford the past three seasons, made 33 saves over all.

"It's fun to play at Madison Square Garden," Darling said. "This is only the second time I've played here. They had their chances, and so did we. It was a great hockey game and a big 2 points."

Raanta's winning streak ended, but Vigneault had indicated he

would like to limit Lundqvist's workload this season to 55 to 60 games.

Raanta, 27, played parts of two seasons for the Blackhawks before joining the Rangers in a June 2015 trade. His recent strong play has put Lundqvist, the longtime starter, in an odd spot, as an observer — sitting out four straight games for the first time in his career.

"I'm a very competitive person," Lundqvist, 34, said after extra practice time on Tuesday. "Obviously, I want to play. I understand that we're all in here to do what's best for the team. I will just try to work and take it day by day. That's all I can do."

Raanta, who is 8-2-0 this sea-

son, was not discouraged after the loss, choosing to credit his former teammate in the opposing crease.

"Darling was, I think, their best player and made some key saves in some key moments," Raanta said. "Everyone knows how good they are when they have the lead going into the third. So it was tough, but I think we still played fairly well."

## SLAP SHOTS

The Rangers were without **RICK NASH** (groin) for a fourth straight game, although he took part in the team's morning skate ... **RYAN McDONAGH**, the Rangers' captain, was a late scratch because of the flu.

## PRO FOOTBALL

## Four Games In London! (Just Ignore Matchups.)

From First Sports Page

afterthoughts. Carson Palmer will be 37 next season, so it is hard to see a huge improvement. But at least they are not the Rams: 4-9 in their new home, Los Angeles, having just fired their coach, Jeff Fisher.

And, of course, the Browns. On pace to be the second 0-16 team in N.F.L. history, they are perhaps the worst advertisement possible for the American game. The Vikings, their opponent, are 7-6, but two games behind the Lions — the Lions! — and looking at a play-off-less season as well.

The N.F.L. points out that after the coming season, 26 of its teams will have played in London since the games began in 2007. That does include the Patriots, twice, including a game in 2012, a year after they were in the Super Bowl. This year's three-game schedule included the Redskins, coming off a playoff season, and the Giants, a strong possibility for this year's playoffs.

The teams that have not played in London include some of the league's most popular: the Seahawks, the Packers and the Eagles. The Panthers, the Texans and the Titans have also not made the trip.

The N.F.L. must deal with television networks, who prefer that the good teams play at good hours, not early in the morning on United States time. And popular teams that pack their stadiums are reluctant to give up home games. Teams with less devoted fan bases are happy to do so because they make more money selling tickets in London.

With eight slots to fill next season, the league has not rolled out its best, to say the least.

At some point, football, because it is football, will lose its sheen for fans in Britain. They may start demanding better matchups, or even a team of their own.

Until then, we may not see much meaningful football in London.

SCOREBOARD

With Boycott Looming, Sled Event Is Moved

From First Sports Page

sponse to the doping scandal. They had other concerns about traveling to Sochi, including information security, following Russian computer hacks of athletes' medical records this year.

Athletes from other nations, including Latvia, Britain and South Korea, spoke up after the release last week of the report on Russia's state-sponsored doping. The report revealed the broad scope of the doping, citing more than 1,000 athletes across 30 sports as being involved or benefiting. The report also provided new details about how Russia's top athletes had doped throughout the Sochi Games, and before other Olympic Games and a world championship in Moscow.

The findings intensified international athletes' opposition to competing in Russia — and in Sochi, specifically — in the short term.

"We are not participating in World Championships in Sochi, Russia — a place where Olympic spirit was stolen in 2014," the Latvian Skeleton Federation said in a statement on Sunday. "Enough is enough."

In continuing to plan for competitions in Russia, sports officials, including those who govern bobsled and skeleton, had gone against the guidance of the International Olympic Committee. Last week the I.O.C. reiterated its advice that sports federations should halt or terminate their prepara-

tions for competitions in Russia and consider alternatives.

"The I.O.C. cannot impose anything on the international federations," Thomas Bach, the Olympic committee's president, said last week. He added that the recommendation against conducting events in Russia, released in July, was still in effect.

"There were so many athletes involved in this internationally. It was a

A U.S. athlete calls a decision 'a victory for clean sport.'

coalition," Tress, the American athlete, said on Tuesday. He said he was heartened by the federation's choice to make "a very difficult decision."

The United States Olympic Committee also expressed its approval for the decision on Tuesday.

"We fully support the decision that bobsled made today," Scott Blackmun, the committee's chief executive, said after a meeting of the organization's board of directors. "It seems like the right thing to do, given how strongly the athletes felt about going to Russia."

Relocating global sports competitions requires not only logistical shuf-

fling but also careful consideration of legal contracts between hosts and sports federations. The bobsled and skeleton federation did not immediately respond to an email on Tuesday seeking additional details about its contract with Russian organizers regarding the Sochi event.

"The Russian Bobsleigh Federation has put a great effort in the preparation of the World Championships," the bobsled and skeleton officials said in their statement. "But the current climate would make it nearly impossible to appreciate the efforts of the organizing committee to host a great event."

The World Anti-Doping Agency has decertified Russia's national antidoping agency, making the country ineligible to hold an Olympic competition or, in the opinion of some sports officials, any major global competition.

The Olympic committee's guidance to global sports officials in the context of the Russian doping scandal includes not awarding future event contracts to Russia. The International Biathlon Union defied the advice in the fall, voting to award that sport's 2021 world championships to Tyumen, Russia.

In recent days, the biathlon organization said that it would create an "expert working group" to study the latest information about widespread Russian doping, and that its executive board would take the working group's legal and antidoping advice into account "at the earliest possible time."



KARIM JAAFAR/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

STANDING TALL Murtaza Ahmadi, an Afghan boy, stood with Barcelona players before a Doha, Qatar, exhibition.

PRO BASKETBALL

Porzingis Has 34, but Knicks Fall in Overtime

Eric Ledsoe scored the go-ahead points on a driving, left-handed layup with 30 seconds to play, and the Suns beat the Knicks, 113-111, in overtime in Phoenix on Tuesday.

Bledsoe scored 8 consecutive points late in overtime and finished with 31. Kristaps Porzingis scored 34 points for the Knicks before fouling out with 1 minute 34 seconds left in overtime.

Carmelo Anthony capped a 3-for-15 shooting night with an air ball that resulted in a 24-second clock violation with 5.9 seconds left.

Derrick Rose did not play in the second half because of back spasms.

CAVALIERS 103, GRIZZLIES 86 Kevin Love scored 29 points, J.R. Smith found his aim — for one half — and LeBron James added 23 points as Cleveland won at home. Smith scored 17 of his 23 points in the first half as the Cavaliers built a 22-point lead and ended the Grizzlies' six-game winning streak.

WARRIORS 113, PELICANS 109 Stephen Curry scored 30 points, Kevin Durant added 27 to go with a big block on Anthony Davis in the final minute, and Golden State won in New Orleans.

HOCKEY

Capitals Skate Past the Islanders

Matt Niskanen scored two goals in the third period, lifting the Washington Capitals over the Islanders, 4-2, at Barclays Center for their fifth straight victory. Brett Connolly and Justin Williams also scored for Washington.

After a five-game winning streak, the Islanders have dropped their last two. Brock Nelson and Nikolay Kulemin scored for the Islanders.

PRO FOOTBALL

Oakland Proceeds in Bid to Keep Raiders

A late bid to keep the Oakland Raiders from moving took a step forward after supervisors in Alameda County, Calif., approved opening negotiations with an investment group on a \$1.3 billion stadium project.

If the Oakland City Council approves as well, the city and the county can start negotiating a formal agreement with private investors for a stadium project that includes \$350 million in public money.

Earlier this year, the team owner Mark Davis said he was committed to moving the Raiders to Las Vegas.

SOCCER

Argentine Firm to Pay in FIFA Scandal

An Argentine sports marketing firm will pay more than \$112 million in forfeiture and fines in the FIFA bribery scandal.

The firm, Torneos y Competencias, agreed to the penalties and admitted its role in the scheme as part of an agreement with United States prosecutors that spared the company a criminal prosecution. The deal was completed Tuesday in federal court in Brooklyn.

All news by The Associated Press unless noted.

PRO BASKETBALL

N.B.A. STANDINGS

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Table with columns: Team, W, L, Pct, GB. Rows include Toronto, Knicks, Boston, Nets, Philadelphia, Southeast, Charlotte, Atlanta, Orlando, Washington, Miami, Central, Cleveland, Chicago, Indiana, Detroit, Milwaukee.

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Table with columns: Team, W, L, Pct, GB. Rows include San Antonio, Houston, Memphis, New Orleans, Dallas, Northwest, Oklahoma City, Utah, Portland, Denver, Minnesota, Pacific, Golden State, L.A. Clippers, Sacramento, L.A. Lakers, Phoenix.

TUESDAY

Phoenix 113, Knicks 111, OT Cleveland 103, Memphis 86 Orlando 131, Atlanta 120 Golden State 113, New Orleans 109 Minnesota 99, Chicago 94 Oklahoma City at Portland

WEDNESDAY

L.A. Lakers at Nets, 7:30 Charlotte at Washington, 7 Indiana at Miami, 7 L.A. Clippers at Orlando, 7 Toronto at Philadelphia, 7 Cleveland at Memphis, 8 Sacramento at Houston, 8 Detroit at Dallas, 8:30 Oklahoma City at Utah, 9 Boston at San Antonio, 9:30

SUNS 113, KNICKS 111

Table with columns: Player, Min, FG, FT, Reb, A, PTS. Rows include Anthony, Porzingis, Noah, Lee, Rose, Jennings, O'Quinn, Holiday, Thomas, Baker, Kuzminkas, Total, Percentages, Goals.

Table with columns: Player, Min, M-A, FT, Reb, O-T, A, PTS. Rows include Chriss, Chandler, Bledsoe, Booker, Dudley, Knight, Barbosa, Williams, Bender, Total, Percentages, Goals.

PROSECUATORS SAID THE FIRM PAID TENS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN BRIBES AND KICKBACKS TO HIGH-RANKING FIFA OFFICIALS TO SECURE RIGHTS TO BROADCAST THE WORLD CUP IN 2018, 2022, 2026 AND 2030.

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

Wake Forest Cites Ex-Coach in Leak of Plans

Wake Forest has fired a former assistant coach turned broadcaster who the university said tried to leak football game plans to opponents for three years.

The university announced the findings of a nearly monthlong internal investigation that began after documents related to the team's game plan for the Louisville game were discovered at the Cardinals' stadium.

In a statement, the university placed the blame on Tommy Elrod, a former Wake Forest player and assistant under the former coach Jim Grobe. Elrod was not retained by Dave Clawson when he succeeded Grobe in 2014, and he became an analyst for the radio broadcasts of the Demon Deacons' games.

Elrod could not immediately be reached for comment. By Tuesday night, he had deleted his Twitter account.

CONCUSSION SUIT CAN PROCEED An Ohio appeals court has ruled that the widow of a former Notre Dame football player can proceed with claims in a lawsuit that said her husband was disabled by and ultimately died from concussion-related head injuries that he sustained during his college career in the 1970s.

The player, Steve Schmitz, had dementia and early-onset Alzheimer's disease when he and his wife, Yvette, sued the N.C.A.A. and the university in Cuyahoga County in October 2014. The lawsuit charged that both institutions had shown reckless disregard for the safety of college football players, and had failed to educate players about concussions and protect players from them.

Schmitz died in February 2015 at a hospice. He was 59.

TEMPLE HIRES A COACH Temple hired the Florida defensive coordinator Geoff Collins, tapping one of the SEC's top defensive minds to become its fourth head coach in the last eight seasons. The Gators' defense has ranked in the top 10 in the country in each of Collins's two seasons in Gainesville.

COLLEGE BASKETBALL

No. 1 Villanova Takes Its 17th Straight

Josh Hart shook off a slow start to score 26 points and lead No. 1 Villanova to its 17th straight win, 78-57, over visiting Temple.

The Wildcats (11-0) haven't lost since the Big East championship game. They won six straight in the postseason to win the N.C.A.A. championship and have been flawless this season.

PRO HOCKEY

N.H.L. STANDINGS

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Table with columns: Team, W, L, OT, Pts, GF, GA. Rows include Montreal, Ottawa, Boston, Tampa, Florida, Detroit, Toronto, Buffalo, Metropolitan, Pittsburgh, Rangers, Columbus, Wash., Phila., Devils, Carolina, Islanders.

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Table with columns: Team, W, L, OT, Pts, GF, GA. Rows include Chicago, Minnesota, St. Louis, Nashville, Dallas, Winnipeg, Colorado, Pacific, San Jose, Anaheim, Edmonton, Calgary, L.A., Vancouver, Arizona.

TUESDAY

Chicago 2, Rangers 1 Washington 4, Islanders 2 Buffalo 6, Los Angeles 3 Carolina 8, Vancouver 6 Arizona 4, Detroit 1 San Jose 3, Toronto 2, SO Nashville 6, St. Louis 3 Minnesota 5, Florida 1 Dallas 6, Anaheim 2 Columbus 3, Edmonton 1

WEDNESDAY

San Jose at Ottawa, 7 Boston at Pittsburgh, 7:30 Tampa Bay at Calgary, 9:30 Philadelphia at Colorado, 10

BLACKHAWKS 2, RANGERS 1

First Period—None. Second Period—1, Chicago, Van Riemsdyk (Panarin, Anisimov), 5:18. 2, N.Y. Rangers, Fast 3 (Lundberg), 8:15. 3, Chicago, Anisimov 13 (Panarin, Campbell), 18:51. Third Period—None. Shots on Goal—Chicago 11-7-8—26. N.Y. Rangers 7-16-11—34. Power-play opportunities—Chicago 0 of 1; —Chicago, Darling 7-2-2 (34 shots-33 saves). N.Y. Rangers, Raanta 8-2-0 (26-24). A—18,006 (18,200), T—2:19. Referees—Dan O'Rourke, Scott Brannan, Linesmen—Darren Gibbs, Brian Murphy.

CAPITALS 4, ISLANDERS 2

Washington 4, Islanders 2. Shots on Goal—Washington 14-10-14—38. N.Y. Islanders 12-4-12—28. Power-play opportunities—Washington 2 of 3; N.Y. Islanders 0 of 2. Goals—Washington, Holtby 14-6-2 (28 shots-26 saves). N.Y. Islanders, Halak 5-8-5 (38-34). A—12,730 (15,813), T—2:29. Referees—Ghristian Hebert, Brad Watson, Linesmen—John Grandt, Brian Mach.

N.H.L. LEADERS

Table with columns: Player, Team, GP, G, A, Pts. Rows include Sidney Crosby, David Pastrnak, Patrick Laine, Marian Hossa, Wayne Simmonds, Mark Scheifele, Vladimir Tarasenko, Leon Draisaitl, Nikita Kucherov, Alex Ovechkin, Artem Anisimov, Brent Burns, Jeff Carter, Marcus Johansson, Ryan Kesler, Evgeni Malkin, Auston Matthews, Connor McDavid, Max Pacioretty.

COLLEGE HOCKEY

N.C.A.A. DIVISION I POLL

The top 20 teams in the N.C.A.A. Division I men's ice hockey poll, compiled by U.S. College Hockey Online, with first-place votes in parentheses, records through Dec. 11 and previous rankings:

Table with columns: Rank, Team, Record, Pts, Pvs. Rows include Minnesota-Duluth, Denver, Penn State, Harvard, Boston College, Boston University, Massachusetts Lowell, North Dakota, Ohio State, Minnesota, Vermont, Notre Dame, Quinnipiac, Bemidji State, Western Michigan, St. Lawrence, St. Cloud State, Michigan State, Omaha, Cornell, Michigan Tech, Providence.

SOCCER

ENGLISH PREMIER LEAGUE

Table with columns: Team, GP, W, D, L, GF, GA, Pts. Rows include Chelsea, Arsenal, Liverpool, Manchester City, Tottenham, Man. United, Everton, Burnley, West Bromwich, Southampton, Stoke, Manchester United, Leicester, Crystal Palace, West Ham, Swansea, Hull, Sunderland.

Tuesday's Games

Bournemouth 1, Leicester 0 Everton 2, Arsenal 1

PRO FOOTBALL

N.F.L. STANDINGS

AMERICAN CONFERENCE

Table with columns: Team, W, L, T, Pct, PF, PA. Rows include New England, Miami, Buffalo, Jets, South, Houston, Tennessee, Indianapolis, Jacksonville, North, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Cleveland, West, Kansas City, Oakland, Denver, San Diego.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Table with columns: Team, W, L, T, Pct, PF, PA. Rows include x-Dallas, Giants, Washington, Phila., South, Atlanta, Tampa Bay, New Orleans, Carolina, North, Detroit, Green Bay, Minnesota, Chicago, West, Seattle, Arizona, Los Angeles, San Fran., x-clinched playoff spot.

MONDAY

New England 30, Baltimore 23

THURSDAY

Los Angeles at Seattle, 8:25

SATURDAY, DEC. 17

Miami at Jets, 8:25

SUNDAY, DEC. 18

Detroit at Giants, 1 Philadelphia at Baltimore, 1 Cleveland at Buffalo, 1 Pittsburgh at Cincinnati, 1 Tennessee at Kansas City, 1 Green Bay at Chicago, 1 Indianapolis at Minnesota, 1 Jacksonville at Houston, 1 New Orleans at Arizona, 4:05 San Francisco at Atlanta, 4:05 New England at Denver, 4:25 Oakland at San Diego, 4:25 Tampa Bay at Dallas, 8:30

MONDAY, DEC. 19

Carolina at Washington, 8:30

N.F.L. TOP PERFORMERS

PASSING 513, Derek Carr, OAK at TAM 10/30 (OT) (40-59, 4 TD) 503, Matt Ryan, ATL vs. CAR 10/2 (28-37, 4 TD) 465, Drew Brees, NOR vs. CAR 10/16 (34-49, 4 TD) 458, Kirk Cousins, WAS at CIN 10/30 (OT) (38-52, 2 TD) 449, Kirk Cousins, WAS at DAL 11/24 (41-53, 3 TD) 423, Drew Brees, NOR vs. OAK 9/11 (28-42, 4 TD)

RECEIVING

300, Julio Jones, ATL vs. CAR 10/2 (12 rec., 1 TD) 222, Odell Beckham, NYG vs. BAL 10/16 (8 rec., 2 TD) 205, Marvin Jones, DET at GBY 9/25 (6 rec., 2 TD) 182, Stefan Diggs, MIN vs. GBY 9/18 (9 rec., 1 TD) 181, Greg Olsen, CAR vs. TAM 10/10 (9 rec., 0 TD) 160, A.J. Green, CIN at NYJ 9/11 (12 rec., 1 TD) 174, T.Y. Hilton, IND vs. SNO 9/25 (8 rec., 1 TD)

BASEBALL

FREE AGENT SIGNINGS

AMERICAN LEAGUE BALTIMORE (1) — Re-signed Logan Ondrusek, rhp, to a \$650,000, one-year contract. BOSTON (1) — Signed Mitch Moreland, 1b, Texas, to a \$5.5 million, one-year contract. HOUSTON (3) — Signed Charlie Morton, rhp, Philadelphia, rhp, to a \$14 million, two-year contract; signed Josh Reddick, of, Los Angeles Dodgers, to a \$52 million, four-year contract; signed Carlos Beltran, of, Texas, to a \$16 million, one-year contract. KANSAS CITY (1) — Re-signed Drew Butera, c, to a \$3.8 million, two-year contract. LOS ANGELES (2) — Re-signed Andrew Bailey, rhp, to a \$1 million, one-year contract; signed Jesse Chavez, rhp, Los Angeles Dodgers, to a \$5.75 million, one-year contract. MINNESOTA (1) — Signed Jason Castro, c, Houston, to a \$24.5 million, three-year contract. YANKEES (2) — Signed Matt Holliday, of, St. Louis, to a \$13 million, one-year contract; signed Arodis Chapman, lhp, to a \$86 million, five-year contract.

OAKLAND (1) — Re-signed Matt Joyce, of, Pittsburgh, to an \$11 million, two-year contract. SEATTLE (1) — Signed Marc Rzepczynski, lhp, Washington, to an \$11 million, one-year contract. TAMPA BAY (1) — Signed Wilson Ramos, c, Washington, to a \$12.5 million, two-year contract. TEXAS (2) — Signed Andrew Cashner, rhp, Miami, to a \$10 million, one-year contract; re-signed Carlos Gomez, of, to an \$11.5 million, one-year contract. TORONTO (2) — Signed Kendrys Morales, dh, Kansas City, to a \$33 million, three-year contract; signed Steve Pearce, 1b, Baltimore, to a \$12.5 million, two-year contract.

NATIONAL LEAGUE ARIZONA (2) — Signed Jeff Mathis, c, Miami, to a \$4 million, two-year contract; signed Fernando Rodney, rhp, Miami, to a \$2.5 million, one-year contract. ATLANTA (3) — Signed R.A. Dickey, rhp, Toronto, to an \$8 million, one-year contract; signed Bartolo Colon, rhp, New York Mets, to a \$12.5 million, one-year contract; signed Sean Rodriguez, inf, Pittsburgh, to an \$11.5 million, two-year contract. CHICAGO (2) — Signed Jon Jay, of, San Diego, to an \$8 million, one-year contract; signed Brian Dunning, lhp, Baltimore, to a \$2 million, one-year contract. COLORADO (1) — Signed Ian Desmond, of, Texas, to a \$70 million, five-year contract. LOS ANGELES (1) — Signed Rich Hill, lhp, to a \$4.8 million, three-year contract. MIAMI (8) — Signed Edinson Volquez, rhp, Miami, to a \$22 million, two-year contract; signed AJ. Ellis, c, Philadelphia, to a \$2.5 million, one-year contract; re-signed Dustin McGowan, rhp, to a \$1.75 million, one-year contract. METS (2) — Neil Walker, 2b, accepted \$17.2 million qualifying offer; re-signed Yoenis Cespedes, of, to a \$10 million, four-year contract.

PHILADELPHIA (3) — Jeremy Hellickson, rhp, accepted \$17.2 million qualifying offer; signed Josep Bautista, rhp, Toronto, to a \$7.5 million, one-year contract; signed Sean Burnett, lhp, Crystal Palace, to a \$3.8 million, two-year contract. ST. LOUIS (2) — Signed Bruce Cecil, lhp, Toronto, to a \$30.5 million, four-year contract; signed Dexter Fowler, of, Chicago Cubs, to an \$82.5 million, five-year contract. SAN FRANCISCO (1) — Signed Mark Melancon, rhp, Washington, to a \$62 million, four-year contract. WASHINGTON (1) — Re-signed Chris Heisey, of, to a \$1.4 million, one-year contract.

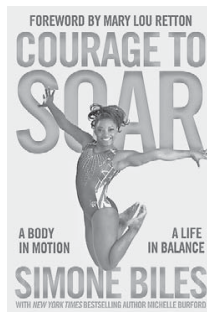
## PRO FOOTBALL

## BOOKS

The Best Sellers:  
Filed Under Sports

The best-selling sports books in November 2016, according to the New York Times best-seller list.

- 1. SHAKEN** by Tim Tebow (Waterbrook). The Heisman Trophy winner writes about overcoming obstacles.
- 2. A LIFE WELL PLAYED** by Arnold Palmer (St. Martin's). Stories of career and relationships by the great golfer, who died in September.
- 3. COURAGE TO SOAR** by Simone Biles with Michelle Burford (Zondervan). The life of the gold-medal-studded Olympic gymnast.



- 4. THE BOYS IN THE BOAT** by Daniel James Brown (Penguin). The story of the American rowers who pursued gold at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. Originally published in 2013.
- 5. GUNSLINGER** by Jeff Pearlman (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt). A biography of the champion quarterback Brett Favre.
- 6. LUCKY BASTARD** by Joe Buck (Dutton). The sportscaster describes what it was like to forge his own career in the shadow of his beloved broadcasting father (who was also his best friend), Jack Buck.

- 7. SHOE DOG** by Phil Knight (Scribner). A memoir by the founder of Nike.
- 8. WON FOR THE AGES** by the staff of the Chicago Tribune (Triumph Books). A commemorative collection of stories, player profiles and photos that celebrate the Chicago Cubs' first World Series win since 1908.
- 9. THE AMERICAN FISHERMAN** by Willie Robertson and William Doyle (William Morrow). A celebration of sport fishing in America, its history, locales and impact, by the outdoorsman who is the star of the television show "Duck Dynasty."
- 10. RUN FAST. EAT SLOW.** by Shalane Flanagan and Elyse Kopecky (Rodale). Recipes for athletes created by an Olympic marathoner and a chef/nutrition coach.

## And One . . .

- 14. BELICHICK & BRADY** by Michael Holley (Hachette). The coach and quarterback who together made the New England Patriots the envy of the N.F.L. and revolutionized the way professional football teams are built and how the game is played.

Rankings reflect sales for November 2016. The sports titles ranked here are selected by the editors from among all adult nonfiction books in all print and electronic formats, as reported to the New York Times best-seller list for the previous month. The definition of sports is deliberately broad and inclusive, so as to reflect all manner of the outdoor sports world, varying from the professional leagues to personal athletics.

Other points of view on the Op-Ed page seven days a week. The New York Times



JASON HENRY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Paraag Marathe, the San Francisco 49ers' chief strategy officer and executive vice president for football operations, at his home. His sister died of anorexia.

## Speaking Out to Honor His Sister

A 49ers executive finds his voice in helping to educate people about eating disorders.

By PHIL BARBER

SAN FRANCISCO — Paraag Marathe's structured, analytical mind has served him well in the offices of Silicon Valley and the National Football League. He figured that he could lean on those traits the first time he spoke publicly about his sister, Shilpa, and how anorexia had taken her life.

But composure failed Marathe in 2011, six years after Shilpa's death, while he spoke to survivors and grieving family members at an event for Andrea's Voice, a nonprofit foundation that tries to promote education about eating disorders and their treatments.

"Not only did I break down a little bit during that speech," said Marathe, 39, the San Francisco 49ers' chief strategy officer and executive vice president for football operations. "It was also one of those weird moments afterwards. I emotionally collapsed in the arms of somebody there who had lost her daughter."

The memories were back. Marathe had watched his brilliant sister succumb to self-destructive thoughts and starve herself. He had seen Shilpa wither to less than 50 pounds in the last years of her life, had felt the shame and puzzlement that her condition brought to his family.

Fueled by regret — why had he not noticed sooner, and why wasn't he more assertive in trying to help Shilpa? — Marathe has found his voice. He will patiently tell you that 30 million Americans are believed to suffer from eating disorders, and that medical insurance plans rarely cover treatment of the condition. He will remind you that anorexia has the highest fatality rate among mental illnesses — about 10 percent, according to a 2011 meta-analysis published in Archives of General Psychiatry and cited by the National Institute of Mental Health.

Eating-disorder caregivers and advocates welcome Marathe's help in shattering the myth that anorexia afflicts only well-to-do white girls and women. The illness claims men, too, and frequently remains a taboo subject in less affluent or nonwhite families, said Kristina Saffran of Project HEAL, an organization that raises money to cover care from diagnosis to recovery.

"He told me, 'I'm your perfect spokesman: I'm a male, I'm a minority and I'm in football,'" Saffran said.

Paraag and Shilpa grew up in Saratoga, Calif., a prosperous bedroom community southwest of San Jose. They were the children of successful Indian immigrants. Paraag, three years younger, was gregarious and smart, but drawn more to Wiffle ball and Nerf football than homework. Shilpa was bookish and introverted, a straight-A student; she hated sports.

She also had compulsive idiosyncrasies. Shilpa insisted on eating her meals at the same time every day, her brother said. After dinner each night she would walk

around the house for half an hour listening to her Sony Walkman.

Marathe said he thinks now that Shilpa was showing signs of mental illness as far back as junior high school. At the time, just a child himself, he dismissed the signs as typical of his "weird sister."

By the time Shilpa graduated from law school at U.C.L.A. (magna cum laude, of course), she was down to 55 pounds, Marathe said. He remembers that firms eagerly invited her for job interviews after reading the incisive legal papers she wrote, but no one would hire her after seeing her in person.

Shilpa spent her final 10 years living with her parents. She died at 31 in March 2005.

It took Marathe years to emerge from a cocoon of secrecy. He had friends who never met Shilpa. That included his wife, Jennifer, who Marathe said became his best friend when they were at the University of California, Berkeley. In retrospect, he sees his own vanity.

"I was a kid," Marathe said. "I was in my early 20s, and I used to convince myself that I was just a protective little brother when I saw other people looking at my sister the way they did. When in reality, the truth was that I was embarrassed by being seen with her. So I could never take her to a coffee shop or a movie. I used to be jealous of my cousins who would be able to do that."

Marathe is now on the board of directors for Andrea's Voice, and he has supported other similar organizations in Northern California, like the Eating Disorder Re-



Paraag Marathe and his sister, Shilpa, in an undated childhood photograph. A law school graduate, she died in 2005 at age 31.

source Center and the Monterey Institute of Mental Health.

But there is one place where Marathe has not dared to tread. He still has not found a way to discuss Shilpa's deterioration in any detail with their parents, or invite them to hear him speak about it.

He recognizes deep sacrifices they made for Shilpa: Their father

quit his job as an engineer at Hewlett-Packard to help care for her and carried her to bed when she became too weak to climb the stairs. His mother changed Shilpa's diapers and dutifully steamed broccoli for her. The family spent huge sums of money on her treatment, including what Marathe estimates were 30 trips to the emergency room or intensive

care unit and, later, hospice care. Through all of that, he said, he never heard his parents talk openly about what was happening to their family. And he hasn't figured out how to break the silence.

"Immigrant families are particularly susceptible, because of the whole Tiger Mother, Tiger Father concept," Marathe said. "You don't talk about your feelings. There's no such thing as mental illness. You don't want to bring shame on the family by being put in an inpatient facility."

Marathe hopes to talk with his parents soon, so he can share his growing understanding of Shilpa's illness. What he has learned, as well as the help he tries to offer, brings him some comfort.

Marathe's 16th year with the 49ers has been bumpy. He lost the title of team president in February. The organization called it a restructuring, but it was largely reported as a demotion for Marathe. The 49ers have been dreadful on the field, and the fan base has grown rebellious with manage-

ment. Coming to terms with his sister's death, however, has kept professional disappointment in perspective. He and his wife have a young daughter, Juniper. A few months ago, just before her first birthday, Juniper was standing on her own and clearly ready to walk. But she couldn't muster the courage to take that first step. As he watched her, something clicked for Marathe.

"I want to do everything I can to help her develop self-esteem or self-worth," he said. "My sister didn't have that. She felt worthless."

Marathe knows that his words alone won't erase the despair of anorexia. But they're a powerful first step.

## CALENDAR

## TV Highlights

SPORT	TIME	TEAMS	NETWORK
Basketball / N.B.A.	7:00 p.m.	Indiana at Miami	ESPN
	7:30 p.m.	Los Angeles Lakers at Nets	YES
	9:30 p.m.	Boston at San Antonio	ESPN
Basketball / College Men	5:00 p.m.	St. Joseph's at Princeton	ESPNU
	7:00 p.m.	Southern at Baylor	ESPN
	8:00 p.m.	Illinois-Chicago at DePaul	FS1
	9:00 p.m.	Arkansas-Pine Bluff at Oklahoma State	ESPNU
	9:00 p.m.	Nicholls State at Texas Tech	MSG+
Hockey / N.H.L.	11:00 p.m.	Grand Canyon at Arizona	ESPNU
	7:30 p.m.	Boston at Pittsburgh	NBCSN
	10:00 p.m.	Philadelphia at Colorado	NBCSN
Soccer	2:55 p.m.	England, Manchester United at Crystal Palace	NBCSN

## This Week

HOME AWAY	WED 12/14	THU 12/15	FRI 12/16	SAT 12/17	SUN 12/18	MON 12/19	TUE 12/20
KNICKS		GOLDEN STATE 10:30 p.m. TNT		DENVER 9 p.m. MSG			INDIANA 7:30 p.m. MSG
NETS	LAKERS 7:30 p.m. YES		ORLANDO 7 p.m. YES		PHILADELPHIA 6 p.m. YES		TORONTO 7:30 p.m. YES
DEVILS		ST. LOUIS 8 p.m. MSG+2		OTTAWA 7 p.m. MSG+	RANGERS 7:30 p.m. MSG, MSG2+		NASHVILLE 7 p.m. MSG+
ISLANDERS		CHICAGO 7 p.m. MSG+	BUFFALO 7 p.m. MSG+		OTTAWA 7 p.m. MSG+		BOSTON 7 p.m. MSG-2
RANGERS		DALLAS 8:30 p.m. MSG		NASHVILLE 8 p.m. MSG2	DEVILS 7:30 p.m. MSG, MSG2		PITTSBURGH 7 p.m. MSG2
GIANTS		DETROIT 1 P.M. SUNDAY	FOX		MIAMI 8:30 P.M. SUNDAY	NFL NET, CH. 4	

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# Thomas C. Schelling Dies at 95; Used Game Theory to Explain Nuclear Strategy

By WILLIAM GRIMES

Thomas C. Schelling, an economist and Nobel laureate whose interest in game theory led him to write important works on nuclear strategy and to use the concept of the tipping point to explain social problems, including white flight from urban neighborhoods, died on Tuesday at his home in Bethesda, Md. He was 95.

The death was confirmed by Richard Zeckhauser, a former student and colleague.

It was while working as an economist in the Truman administration that Professor Schelling became intrigued by the stratagems and negotiating ploys that he observed in international bargaining. In particular, as the Cold War developed, he became fascinated with the complexities of nuclear strategy, then in its infancy and a source of worldwide anxiety.

After spending a year studying nuclear weapons at the RAND Corporation in 1958 and writing "The Strategy of Conflict" (1960), he took his place as a leading theorist of nuclear war and peace along with the RAND intellectuals Herman Kahn and Albert Wohlstetter, as well as Henry A. Kissinger, the director of the Defense Studies Center at Harvard.

Professor Schelling analyzed superpower negotiations in the way that he analyzed the conflicts between, say, a blackmailer and his client, a parent and a child, or management and labor. In each case, he wrote, "there is a mutual dependence as well as opposition," with each side seeking out tests of strength at less than crisis levels.

Among other counterintuitive propositions he put forth, Professor Schelling suggested that one side in a negotiation can strengthen its position by narrowing its options, using as an example a driver in a game of chicken who rips the steering wheel from the steering column and brandishes it so his opponent can see that he no longer controls the car. He also argued that uncertain retaliation is more credible and more efficient than certain retaliation.

"The Strategy of Conflict" introduced the concept of the focal point, often called the Schelling point, to describe a solution that people reach without benefit of communicating, relying instead on "each person's expectation of what the other expects him to expect to be expected to do."

People separated geographically, for instance, will rendezvous at a prominent landmark. Mr. Schelling used the example of strangers arranging to meet in Manhattan. Posing this problem to a group of students, he found that the most popular choice was the information booth at Grand Central Terminal at noon. The time and the place were given preference by tradition, and that preference was anticipated by all.

In "Meteors, Mischief and Wars," published in *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* in 1960, Professor Schelling looked at the possi-

bility of an accidental nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union and reviewed three novels that imagined such an event. The director Stanley Kubrick read his comments on the novel "Red Alert" and adapted the book for "Dr. Strangelove," on which Professor Schelling was a consultant.

In the film, the Soviet "doomsday device," set to respond automatically to a nuclear assault by the United States, was, Mr. Schelling said, a poor piece of gamesmanship.

"One obvious point in the Strangelove movie was that the Soviet doomsday thing was not a deterrent when the other side did not know in advance that it existed," he pointed out in an interview with *The New York Times* in 2005, when he and the Israeli economist Robert J. Aumann were awarded the Nobel in economic science.

The prize, formally known as the Bank of Sweden Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel, was conferred on both men for "having enhanced our understanding of conflict and cooperation through game-theory analysis."

In the 1970s, Professor Schelling moved on to other social questions that seemed to be fertile ground for game theory, notably the dynamics behind racial change in American neighborhoods.

Expanding on the work of Morton Grodzins, a political scientist at the University of Chicago who used the term "tip point" to describe the crucial moment when white fears become white flight, Mr. Schelling offered a simple diagram, almost like a game board, to show how mixed urban neighborhoods could quickly become entirely black, even when white residents expressed only a slight preference for living among members of their own race.

His papers on the subject, and his book "Micromotives and Macrobehavior" (1978), achieved wider currency when his ideas were popularized by Malcolm Gladwell in his best-selling book "The Tipping Point" (2000).

Despite being identified with game theory, Professor Schelling described himself as an opportunistic user of its ideas, bringing them in when needed and sometimes not at all.

"When people ask me what game theory is, my answer is that it is an attempt to formalize any kind of study of strategic behavior where people are trying to affect or anticipate the behavior of others," he told *The Baltimore Sun*. "So all kinds of people are game theorists. Organized labor of the 1930s. The underworld is full of extortionists who are good at it. Most of what I did with very few exceptions can be understood without having any idea what game theory is."

Thomas Crombie Schelling was born on April 14, 1921, in Oakland, Calif. His father, John, was a Naval officer. His mother, the former



HENRY GRIFFIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Thomas C. Schelling, above, facing a Senate subcommittee on national security in 1966. Professor Schelling, left, receiving his Nobel in 2005, which he shared with Robert J. Aumann.



POOL PHOTO BY JONAS EKSTROMER

Zelda Ayres, was a schoolteacher. His interest in mass unemployment in the Depression led him to major in economics at the University of California, Berkeley, where he earned a bachelor's degree in 1944.

In 1947, he married Corinne Sappos. The marriage ended in divorce. He is survived by his wife, the former Alice Coleman; four sons, Andrew, Thomas, Daniel and Robert; two stepsons, Robert and David Coleman; a sister, Nancy Schelling Dorfman; eight grandchildren; four step-grandchildren; and three great-grandchildren.

After working as an analyst for the federal Bureau of the Budget, Mr. Schelling enrolled in Harvard and, on completing his course work, spent two years in Denmark and France as an economist for the Economic Cooperation Administration, the agency created to carry out the Marshall Plan, the American effort to revitalize Europe after World War II.

In 1950, he joined the White House staff of the foreign policy adviser to the president, which in 1951, became the Office of the Director for Mutual Security, which managed all foreign aid programs.

He published his first book,

"National Income Behavior: An Introduction to Algebraic Analysis," in 1951, the year he received his doctorate from Harvard. He joined Yale's economics department in 1953 and in 1958 became a professor of economics at Harvard, where he taught until 1990.

That year, he was named a distinguished university professor in the University of Maryland's Department of Economics and School of Public Policy. He retired in 2003.

In "International Economics" (1958), his second book, Professor Schelling analyzed trade agreements and competition, but he had already begun to think about cooperation and conflict in a nuclear context. With the publication of "Games and Decisions: Introduction and Critical Survey" by Howard Raiffa and R. Duncan Luce in 1957, he began to apply game theory to his arguments.

In a long article that took up an entire issue of *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* in 1958, he tried to persuade game theorists to pay attention to a wide range of strategic activities, including promises and threats, tacit bargaining, the design of enforceable contracts and rules, and the tactics by which individuals or firms or governments committed themselves.

After becoming interested in theories of deterrence and limited war, he decided that nuclear strategy lent itself to his evolving ideas about bargaining and game theory. He explored this avenue at RAND, in the book "Strategy and Arms Control" (1961), written with the nuclear theorist Morton H. Halperin, and in influential papers like "Uncertainty, Brinkmanship and the Game of Chicken."

One of his central arguments was that two sides to a conflict often reached tacit understandings rather than formal agreements.

In his Nobel speech, he noted that the Soviet Union took the public position that any European war would automatically become a nuclear conflict, yet at the same time, Moscow poured immense resources into building up conventional forces that in theory would be useless in a nuclear war.

This policy reflected an "unacknowledged arms-control understanding" between the United States and the Soviet Union that was, he said, the most important agreement of the Cold War, after the 1972 antiballistic missile treaty.

Professor Schelling explored nuclear bargaining further in "Arms and Influence" (1966).

**Developing the concept of the 'tipping point' to shed light on social problems.**

"Dr. Strangelove" presented a different problem of conflict resolution. Peter George's novel "Red Alert" was written in 1958, when bombers delivered nuclear weapons, but by the 1960s, intercontinental ballistic missiles had become the principal delivery system. Professor Schelling, conferring with Kubrick, George, Halperin and another nuclear theorist, William Kaufmann, tried to come up with a plausible screenplay using bombers.

"We had a hell of a time getting that damn war started," he told *The Sun*. "We finally decided that it couldn't happen unless there was somebody crazy in the Air Force. That's when Kubrick and Peter George decided they would

have to do it as what they called a nightmare comedy."

Although Professor Schelling was identified in the public mind as a steely rationalist on the nuclear question — "These are the men who believe in the balance of terror, who feel that we must proceed with reason and think about the unthinkable," a fellow academic critic complained about him and theorists like Herman Kahn in 1963 — he led a delegation of Harvard scholars in 1970 to sit down with Mr. Kissinger, then the national security adviser to President Richard M. Nixon, and voice opposition to the bombing of Cambodia.

It was around this time that Professor Schelling published "Models of Segregation" in *The American Economic Review*, to illustrate a law of unintended consequences. Using Xs and Os, he showed how one group — whether racial, ethnic, linguistic, economic or sexual — would inevitably set off an exodus merely by trying to avoid minority status in their neighborhood, even if its members stated a preference for living in a mixed neighborhood.

"Whites and blacks may not mind each other's presence, may even prefer integration, but may nevertheless wish to avoid minority status," he wrote in a different version of the essay "Micromotives and Macrobehavior." "Except for a mixture of 50:50, no mixture will then be self-sustaining because there is none without a minority, and if the minority evacuates, complete segregation occurs."

He then invited readers to test the model using pennies and dimes on a grid.

In other chapters of the book, Professor Schelling used thermostats, hockey helmets and the game of musical chairs to illustrate other problems of contingent behavior — behavior that depends on what other people do — and strategic interdependence.

In 2009, William Easterly, an economist at New York University, applied a real-world test to Mr. Schelling's abstract tipping-point model of racial segregation. Analyzing census tract data for metropolitan areas of the United States from 1970 to 2000, he found more white flight out of neighborhoods with a high initial share of whites than out of more racially mixed neighborhoods.

"I continue to respect the Schelling model as a brilliant theoretical accomplishment that formalized loose language about 'tipping,'" Mr. Easterly wrote in an email in 2011. "Indeed, it is only because of Schelling formalizing the tipping story and its predictions that it became feasible for me to test the conventional wisdom on tipping."

Mr. Schelling later turned his attention to addictive behavior and climate change. In both, he found intriguing the strategies of self-constraint and bargaining, which he discussed in "Choice and Consequence" (1984) and "Strategies of Commitment" (2006).

## Shirley Hazzard, 85, Writer Who Shared Life's Cruelties

By HELEN T. VERONGOS

Shirley Hazzard, the Australian-born author of an acclaimed if small portfolio of fiction peopled with characters whose lives, much like her own, toss them up far from home, died on Monday night at her home in Manhattan. She was 85.

A friend, Annabel Davis-Goff, confirmed the death, adding that Ms. Hazzard had struggled with dementia.

Ms. Hazzard's fiction is dense with meaning, subtle in implication and tense in plot, often with disaster looming: A shipwreck tears away the parents of tiny children. A man who has waited a lifetime for a woman loses her at the last moment. A disease slowly saps the life from a beloved brother. Nuclear weapons wreak destruction and menace the next generation.

Catastrophes are accompanied by life's cruelties: The true love turns out to be the incestuous one. The bureaucrat basks in his power, refusing compassionate leave to an underpaid young worker facing an emergency.

Ms. Hazzard's major characters are fiercely intelligent, with an eye for oddments and battered trinkets to cherish as emotional souvenirs — like the teacups in the novel "The Bay of Noon," veined by time and "heavy with Victorian roses."

Born in Sydney, Ms. Hazzard lived in Hong Kong, Italy and New Zealand, both with her family and on her own, before landing in the United States at 20, going to work for the United Nations and making a home in New York. She said, however, that she would never consider herself an expatriate.

"I'm not even sure which country I'd be an expatriate of," she said.

The poet and critic J.D. McClatchy wrote in *The Paris Review* in 2005 that through her early travel, frequent moves and work for the British government in Hong Kong, Ms. Hazzard "came by her precocious interest in the heart's negotiations and the mind's deceptions in a way few contemporary novelists have."

She conveyed these complex dramas with an austere economy of words, in slim books of winding sentences. "Speech — in literature as in life — can crucially suggest what is not said," Ms. Hazzard once remarked.

And yet her novel "The Transit of Venus," which won the 1980 National Book Critics Circle Award for fiction, is "stuffed with description so intellectually active as to be sometimes exhausting," Thomas Mallon wrote in *The Atlantic*.

"The Transit of Venus" begins with the shipwreck that orphans the Australian sisters Caro and Grace Bell and traces the hopes of a man who has patiently kept alive a lonely love for Caro across

**Disasters are always in the past or future for these characters.**

the decades. The novelist John Banville described the novel as "intricately plotted and gorgeously written," noting that "a peculiar and powerful sense of evil hangs over the narrative, so that even as one is impelled toward the conclusion, one is at the same time fearful of getting there."

To the disappointment of her admirers, more than 20 years elapsed before Ms. Hazzard fol-



FAIRFAX MEDIA, VIA GETTY IMAGES

lowed "The Transit of Venus" with "The Great Fire," which won the 2003 National Book Award for fiction. Mr. Mallon noted that her fans had begrudged her "even the time she spent on a brief memoir of her friendship with Graham Greene" — "Greene on Capri," published in 2000.

"The Great Fire" had been a long time percolating, however, fed by experiences from Ms. Hazzard's time in Hong Kong and excerpted as early as 1987 in *The New Yorker*.

The novel concerns an improbable couple: Aldred Leith, a British Army officer, and Helen Driscoll, an Australian, who meet in occupied Japan when she is a teenager and he, much older at 32, is engaged in a vague post-Hiroshima project.

Intellectual and emotional soul mates despite the gulf between their ages, they create a triangle of friendship with Helen's dying brother, Benedict.

Writing from Leith's point of view, Ms. Hazzard describes Hel-

en: "Most striking was the girl's well-being. It was as if, in this child, Benedict had been recreated in radiant health, the hair made glossy, the skin vital, the form sound. With a second try, Nature had pulled it off. The eyes were of the same uncommon clarity, and rounder."

Shirley Hazzard was born in Sydney on Jan. 30, 1931, to a Welsh father and a Scottish mother, both of whom had immigrated to Australia and worked for the company building the Sydney Harbor Bridge.

Her childhood in Australia was filled with reading — she said of poems that she "ate and drank them up as nourishment" — but also with family discord, alcoholism, mental illness (her mother's), infidelity (her father's) and ultimately the disintegration of her parents' marriage. She recalled seeing maimed veterans of World War I still haunting Australia years later, and she had felt the effects of the Depression.

After World War II, her father

joined the Foreign Service and was posted to Hong Kong. Moving to Asia opened a door to the wider world for Ms. Hazzard, but it was also the beginning of a string of wrenching leave-takings.

At 16, she began working for the British Combined Intelligence Services in Hong Kong and was submerged — for a brief, happy period — in a stimulating social and intellectual atmosphere before being whisked away to New Zealand (as the fictional teenager Helen Driscoll is in "The Great Fire") and ultimately to New York.

In New York — she never went to college — she was employed at the United Nations Secretariat for about a decade, during which time she wrote "People in Glass Houses" (1967), a collection of linked stories that satirized the bureaucratic life.

She also took aim at the United Nations in her nonfiction, most notably in "Countenance of Truth: The United Nations and the Waldheim Case" (1990), a follow-up to a

The novelist Shirley Hazzard in 2005. Born in Australia, she spent decades in New York, writing fiction "stuffed with description."

series of magazine articles she had written beginning in 1980 examining allegations that world powers had been complicit in covering up Kurt Waldheim's Nazi past before his rise to secretary general.

Literary success came to Ms. Hazzard without the usual blizzard of rejection slips. Her long association with *The New Yorker* began with the first story she submitted, "Woollahra Road," which had been fished from the slush pile by the fiction editor William Maxwell and published in 1961.

In 1963 she met Francis Steegmuller, a Flaubert scholar, writer and translator, at a party given by Muriel Spark. They married later that year.

Mr. Steegmuller died in 1994. They had no children. Ms. Hazzard had a sister, Valerie, but had lost touch with her years ago, Ms. Davis-Goff said. There was no information on survivors.

Ms. Hazzard's other fiction includes a collection of short stories, "Cliffs of Fall" (1963), and the novel "The Evening of the Holiday" (1966).

She became a United States citizen in the 1970s. Before her husband's death, as well as in recent years, she divided her time among apartments on the Upper East Side of Manhattan and in Italy — on the island of Capri and in Naples. Her time in Naples led to the book "The Ancient Shore: Dispatches From Naples," a collaboration with Mr. Steegmuller that was published in 2008.

For Ms. Hazzard, Italy was the magic place where, she said in an interview, "the mysteries remain important: the accidental quality of existence, the poetry of memory, the impassioned life that is animated by awareness of eventual death."

# E. R. Braithwaite, Guyanese Diplomat And Author, Dies at 104

By SEWELL CHAN

E. R. Braithwaite, a Guyanese author, diplomat and former Royal Air Force pilot whose book “To Sir, With Love,” a memoir of teaching in London’s deprived East End, was adapted into a hit 1967 film starring Sidney Poitier, died on Monday in Rockville, Md. He was 104.

Mr. Braithwaite’s companion, Genevieve Ast, confirmed his death to The Associated Press. He had taught English at Howard University, in Washington, and lived in the area for many years.

Mr. Braithwaite, who became a diplomat and represented Guyana at the United Nations and in Venezuela, wrote several books, many about racism in countries like South Africa and the United States, where he lived much of his life. But he is best known for “To Sir, With Love” (1959).

The book chronicled his efforts — as a courtly, Cambridge-educated military veteran who had been denied employment as an engineer because he was black —

## His experience was the basis for the film ‘To Sir, With Love.’

to motivate a group of unruly adolescents raised in a slum in early-1950s Britain, which was still slowly recovering from the austerity of the war years.

The students’ antisocial behavior, casual racism, penchant for violence and, worst of all, self-hatred horrify the new teacher, whose colleagues expect little of the pupils.

He takes them to museums and tells them about his childhood. Slowly, he gains their trust by showing respect and affection, which, for most of the students, have been in short supply. (The title of the book comes from an inscription his appreciative students wrote on a pack of cigarettes they gave him.) He also develops romantic feelings for another teacher, who, like the stu-

dents, is white.

The memoir was praised for offering a sympathetic account of race and class without naïveté or excessive sentimentality.

Early in the book, Mr. Braithwaite recounts his disillusionment and struggles with joblessness after being passed over for work because of racial discrimination, contrasting his experiences in Britain with the years he had spent in the United States.

He wrote of America: “There, when prejudice is felt, it is open, obvious, blatant; the white man makes his position very clear, and the black man fights those prejudices with equal openness and fervor, using every constitutional device available to him.”

He added: “The rest of the world in general and Britain in particular are prone to point an angrily critical finger at American intolerance, forgetting that in its short history as a nation it has granted to its Negro citizens more opportunities for advancement and betterment, per capita, than any other nation in the world with an indigent Negro population.”

The book was timely, arriving as a wave of migration from the West Indies and South Asia began to transform British society, and as Americans were grappling with persistent segregation. That Mr. Braithwaite, a well-educated middle-class man from the colonies, was trying in the capital of the British Empire to look past the squalor and despair of the school, was not lost on critics.

“His job as an emissary of civilization was made almost impossibly hard by the fact that the English people he dealt with still believed in their own civilization and disbelieved in his,” the British poet and novelist John Wain wrote in a review of the memoir in The New York Times. “In fact, the urban industrialized world they lived in had long since robbed them of a natural way of life, plunged them into violence and hatred and robbed them of anything fit to be called a civilization.”

The movie, directed by the novelist and filmmaker James Clavell, was a box-office success, largely because of its star, Mr. Poitier,



COLUMBIA PICTURES, VIA PHOTOFEST

Sidney Poitier in “To Sir, With Love,” the film based on E.R. Braithwaite’s book. Below, Mr. Braithwaite, circa 1960.



FPF/ARCHIVE PHOTOS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

whose character is named Thackeray in the movie. (The theme song, sung by Lulu, also helped; it became a No. 1 hit.) But, perhaps to appeal to an American audience, it focused less on race.

“It is as discreetly played down as are many other probable tensions in this school,” the critic Bosley Crowther wrote in his review for The Times.

“When I saw the film, I was not impressed,” Mr. Braithwaite said in a 2013 interview with Coffee-Table Notes, a blog. “Something had been lost in the transition from book to film.”

In an essay, the novelist and playwright Caryl Phillips, who was born on St. Kitts and teaches at Yale, wrote that the memoir put the plight of Britain’s postwar migrants in context, showing how “unquestioned hereditary prejudice was waiting to greet them in

the streets, in the workplace and in institutions of learning.”

Eustace Edward Ricardo Braithwaite was born on June 27, 1912, in Georgetown, the capital of what was then British Guiana.

He studied at Queen’s College, Guyana, a prestigious high school, and at the City College of New York. He moved to Britain after working at an oil refinery in Aruba, off the coast of Venezuela. In 1940 he volunteered for service in the Royal Air Force.

He received a master’s degree in physics from Cambridge University in 1949. After leaving his

teaching job, he worked with Caribbean immigrant families in London, the basis for his second book, “Paid Servant: A Report About Welfare Work in London,” published in Britain in 1962.

Mr. Braithwaite’s other books include “A Kind of Homecoming” (1962), about searching for his ancestral roots; “Choice of Straws” (1965), a mystery novel set in London; “Reluctant Neighbors” (1972), about a black man and a white man who share a short but fraught train ride; and “Honorary White: A Visit to South Africa” (1975), based on a 1973 visit

## Deaths

Brown, Claire	Goodrich, Solomon	Schlossman, Carolyn
Cancro, Gloria	Hazard, Shirley	Schoenberg, George
Carnes, Raymond	Marsh, Jerome	Sherman, Mark
Carron Previti, E.	McCue, Robert	Sloane, Walter
Dreyfus, Pierre	Mintzer, Robert	Trau, Solomon
Erhart, Sylvia	Raider, Sylvia	
Fousek, Adrienne	Rudin, Jack	

**BROWN**—Claire Kate. Peacefully on December 11, 2016, with family at her side. Beloved wife of the late Herbert Brown. Mother to Neal, Van and Lance Brown. Mother-in-law to Claire Brown and Becca Kelly. Grandmother to Nadine Brown and Solourner and Pamelina Brown. Born in Brooklyn on November 17, 1926, she was a lifelong New Yorker and recently celebrated her 90th birthday. She and Herbert met at a resort in the Adirondack Mountains called Green Mansions, where they both worked as teachers. They traveled the world while building their family in the 1950s and 1960s and lived in the same building as his dental office for their entire married life. She surrounded herself with art and other collections. She was proud of her sons and delighted by her granddaughters. Services December 14, 11:00am at Plaza Jewish Community Chapel, 630 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, N.Y.

**FOUSEK**—Adrienne Albee, longtime resident of Larchmont, passed away December 10, 2016. Beloved wife of the late Peter Fousek, past Vice President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Loving mother of Kendall, John and Christopher (Martha). Adoring grandmother of Davies, Liam, Peter, London and Katherine. Visiting Saturday, 2nd and 7-9pm at John J. Fox Funeral Home in Larchmont. Mass Monday 11am at St. Joseph’s in Lincoln, Massachusetts. Private burial to follow. For full obituary go to JFFH.com.

**GOODRICH**—Solomon Elias, born March 17, 1931 in Sherwood Content, Trelawny, Jamaica. Deceased December 10, 2016 in Brooklyn, N.Y. He is survived by loving family members who will gather to honor and celebrate his life on December 19th at 9am at Ippolito Funeral Home, 646 Springfield Ave., Berkeley Heights, NJ 07922. (908)277-6446.

**HAZZARD**—Shirley. The American Academy of Arts and Letters notes with sorrow the death of the novelist Shirley Hazzard, an exquisite stylist known for her psychological and political insight and the wide sweep of her plots.

**CANCRO**—Gloria, passed away December 12, 2016. Beloved wife of Robert. Loving mother of Carol and Robert. Cherished grandmother of Anna Gutmanche. Visitation will be on Thursday and Friday 2-4pm and 7-9pm at Frank E Campbell The Funeral Chapel, 81st Street and Madison Avenue.

**RAIDER**—Sylvia. Born February 11, 1923 in Brooklyn, New York. A woman born before her time. Beloved mother, sister, grandmother and great-grandmother. She has left a legacy of how to live a full and productive life. Business owner for 40 years, Knitting Industry leader, designer and retailer. Her garments have graced the covers of Vogue magazine and many other fashion journals. She was the original balancer of her business and personal lives and she will be missed by every life she touched.

**CARNES**—Raymond E., M.D., of Greenwich Village passed away on November 29, 2016 after a brief illness. Born in 1924, Dr. Carnes was predeceased by his wife, Elizabeth A. Carnes (nee Dawson) and is survived by his niece and nephew, Elizabeth D. Bender and grandson, Erik Baker. He was the former director of Pathology at St. Michael’s Medical Center, taught nuclear medicine at The University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey and was a recipient of the New Jersey’s Physician of the Year Award. A service will be at the Church of the Ascension, 12 W. 11th St., New York at noon December 17th.

**SCHLOSSMAN**—Carolyn Sondheimer, age 99, died on December 10, 2016 in Virginia. She supported the long career of her husband, Dr. Abraham Schlossman, a New York ophthalmologist. She was elegant and cultured; her smile touched everyone she met. She will be dearly missed by her daughter, Nina Schlossman, PhD, and all those who knew her. Funeral: Sunday, December 18th, 11:30am, Beth David Cemetery, Elmont, NY.

**CARRON PREVITI**—Elisabeth. Acclaimed Opera Singer. 94. Died peacefully at home on December 1. Wife of Marie Previti; survived by children Marcia Previti, Lisa Rose, and a grandson. She brought joy to many and will continue to sing in our hearts.

**SCHOENBERG**—George. December 16, 1924 - December 10, 2016. Beloved husband of Elaine Marks (deceased), loving father of Kathy and Andrew (Chris), devoted grandfather of Rachael, Sam, Jacob, Jeremy, and Eli. Decorated WWII veteran and textile Jobber. Beloved. A truly special man full of humor and friendship and acceptance for all. George epitomized all that is good and gracious. We will miss him dearly. Graveside service at Mt. Lebanon in Glendale, Queens on Thursday, December 15 at 11am. Please contribute to the charity of your choice. We’ll always love you, Dad.

**ERHART**—Sylvia M. Died December 11th in Scarborough, Maine from complications of Cushing’s Disease. Born Sylvia Montgomery, she was educated at the Brearley and St. Timothy’s schools. Leaving college to marry Charles H. Erhart Jr., who predeceases her, she devoted many years to raising their five children before resuming her undergraduate studies. She graduated from Barnard College in 1984 and later worked on health-care projects at the New York State Psychiatric Institute and the Cornell University School of Medicine. A lifelong resident of New York City, following the death of her husband she relocated to Scarborough in 2010, where she lived until her death at the Piper Shores retirement community. She is survived by her children Victoria of St. Paul, MN, Margaret of Flagstaff, AZ, David Grace of Hadlyme, CT, Stephen (Nicholas Erasmus) of Santa Monica, CA, and Julia (Susan Bruce) of Adelaide, Australia, as well as by her grandchildren Kate Abrams, Meagan Erhart, Claire Erhart, Jackson Erhart-Bruce and Kit Erhart-Bruce. A memorial service will be held in early summer at her home on Mount Desert Island where she spent many happy years. In lieu of flowers, the family asks that contributions in her name be made to either the Church of the Epiphany in New York City or the Maine Coast Heritage Trust.

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**DREYFUS**—Pierre. Survived by his wife of 69 years, Dorothy. Donations to Parkinson’s Disease Foundation.

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# Alan Thicke, 69, ‘Growing Pains’ Actor

By CHRISTOPHER MELE and NIRAJ CHOKSHI

Alan Thicke, a Canadian singer, songwriter and actor best remembered for his portrayal of a father who was the ultimate suburban middlebrow dispenser of advice to his children on the television sitcom “Growing Pains,” died on Tuesday. He was 69.

His death was confirmed by the talent agent Nigel Mikoski, who represented Mr. Thicke. He died of a heart attack, Carleen Donovan, a publicist for one of his sons, the singer and songwriter Robin Thicke, said in an email.

Mr. Thicke had a genial warmth that he projected across all of his television work, most memorably on “Growing Pains,” which ran from 1985 to 1992. He played a psychiatrist, Dr. Jason Seaver, a classic 1980s formulation of the reassuring father, and solved everyone’s problems with a warm homily by the end of each 30-minute episode.

The role earned him the nickname America’s Dad, and his character was ranked No. 37 in a list of the “50 Greatest TV Dads of All Time” from TV Guide.

Mr. Thicke displayed a diversity of talents that included songwriting. He wrote the theme songs for numerous game shows, including “The Joker’s Wild,” “Celebrity Sweepstakes” and the original “Wheel of Fortune,” and he most memorably co-wrote the themes for “Diff’rent Strokes” and “The Facts of Life” with Al Burton and Gloria Loring, his first wife and the mother of Robin Thicke.

The “Diff’rent Strokes” theme, in particular, was a masterpiece of the genre, setting up in less than a minute the story of a white multimillionaire who took in (and later adopted) two black children:

*Now the world don’t move to the beat of just one drum.*

*What might be right for you, may not be right for some.*

*A man is born, he’s a man of means.*

*Then along come two, they got nothing but their jeans.*

*but they got Diff’rent strokes*

His career included stints as a talk-show host (his “Thicke of the Night” lasted from 1983-84), a soap opera star (he appeared on “The Bold and the Beautiful” as the talk show host Rich Ginger) and a game show host. He also played himself in appearances on the television show “How I Met Your Mother.”

Claudio Cabrera, Patrick Healy and Dave Itzkoff contributed reporting.



ASSOCIATED PRESS



Above, Alan Thicke with the cast of “Growing Pains” in 1985, as Dr. Jason Seaver. Left, Mr. Thicke at the 42nd annual Daytime Emmy Awards on April 26, 2015.

Joan Lunden in the 1980s, the Miss Universe pageant and the Canadian Comedy Awards.

Tributes posted on Twitter warmly remembered him as a television father who was also well regarded in the acting community.

Mr. Thicke was born on March 1, 1947, in Kirkland Lake, Ontario, as Alan Willis Jeffrey.

He was honored in 2013 with a star on Canada’s Walk of Fame for his decades of acting and writing. “We started in northern Ontario in a small town where I didn’t even see a television set until I was 7 years old,” Mr. Thicke said at the unveiling. ET Canada reported. “So when you take that moment and fast-forward to what I’m experiencing today with my family here and feeling embraced by my country — that’s unique.”

Mr. Thicke wrote “How To Raise Kids Who Won’t Hate You” and “How Men Have Babies: The Pregnant Father’s Survival Guide.”

In addition to his son Robin, Mr. Thicke is survived by two other sons, Brennan and Carter, and his wife, Tanya Callau. Two previous marriages ended in divorce, according to the Internet Movie Database.

Hours before his death, Mr. Thicke commented on Twitter about “Fuller House,” a follow-up to the television series “Full House.” He recently appeared on the Netflix comedy series as a guest star in its second season.

“Season 2 Fuller House looking good,” he wrote. “I even like the ones I’m not in!”

## Deaths

**MCUE**—Robert E., M.D., Director, Geriatric Fellowship Program, N.Y.U., and Deputy Director, Psychiatry at Woodhull/N.Y.U. Medical Center for over 18 years, died suddenly at the age of 62 on December 11, 2016. Dr. McCue was a researcher and master clinician in neuro-psychiatry who authored and contributed to many publications throughout his lifetime. He was a graduate of Johns Hopkins Medical School. He completed his residency in psychiatry at S.U.N.Y., Downstate, Dr. McCue is survived by his partner of 22 years, Daniel Nickolich, his sister Regina Colligan, his brother John McCue, his nephews Michael and Bryan, and his favorite aunt Alice Kozik. Visitation will be on Thursday, December 15 and 7-9pm at Frank E. Campbell The Funeral Chapel, 81st and Madison Ave. A prayer service will be held on Thursday, December 16th, at 11:00am at the funeral home.

## Deaths

**SHERMAN**—Mark, of Woodbourne, NY, died doing what he loved - sailing. After graduating from Hofstra he became a lieutenant in the U.S. Army. A proud veteran he had varied careers. He was a teacher, a contractor and a lawyer. Those who were close to Mark were enriched by his wisdom, his wit and his willingness to finish what he started. He was deeply loved by his friends and Alana, his wife of 49 years, his daughter Rebecca, his grandchildren Hannah, Benjamin and Naomi and his brother Stephan. Mark was loved and will be greatly missed. In lieu of flowers, please make contributions to The Old Stone House of Hasbrouck, 282 Hasbrouck Road, Woodbourne, NY 12788. The funeral service will be held at 10:00am on Thursday, December 15, at the Chapel of the Sanctuary of Abraham & Sarah, Cedar Park Cemetery, Paramus, NJ 07652. For more information: www.guttermanandmusicant.com

**MINTZER**—Robert Ira, of Freeport, NY. Husband, Father, Grandfather, Army Air Corp, Industrial Engineer and Teacher. Died at age 90. Survived by his beloved wife of 68 years, Vivian (Brown) and children, Michael (Jud), Eliot (Andrea), Max (Wendy), Grandchildren Tyler, Jacob, Nathan, Joshua, Charlotte and Lauren.

**SLOANE**—Walter E., in his 90th year, died peacefully on December 12, 2016. Predeceased by his wife Arlene, he is survived by his children Patricia Patent, Michele Rubenstein and Lisa Trionfo, son-in-law Robert Patent and lifelong friend Bonnie Goldner - Wasser. Proud grandfather of Jeffrey, Leah, Amy, Nicholas and Zachary, and great-grandfather of Samuel, Simon, Olivia and Ryan. Known for his keen wit and sense of humor, Walter was a man of genuine kindness, warmth and integrity. Following his passing, he will be missed by all who knew him. He will be dearly missed forever. Funeral services private.

**RAIDER**—Sylvia. Born February 11, 1923 in Brooklyn, New York. A woman born before her time. Beloved mother, sister, grandmother and great-grandmother. She has left a legacy of how to live a full and productive life. Business owner for 40 years, Knitting Industry leader, designer and retailer. Her garments have graced the covers of Vogue magazine and many other fashion journals. She was the original balancer of her business and personal lives and she will be missed by every life she touched.

**TRAU**—Rabbi Solomon. The entire Yeshiva University and Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary families are profoundly and deeply grieving by the passing of our deeply cherished member of the RIETS Board, Rabbi Solomon Trau, 71 who together with his beloved wife, Beryl Trau, 7 I played a major role in encouraging their friends and fellow congregants to emulate his love of Yeshiva University in New York City, where he served as a past President and past Chairman of the Board of its prominent support for Yeshiva University and RIETS. A highly respected diamond dealer, Rabbi Solomon Trau was himself a remarkable Talmudic scholar, a precious jewel whose integrity and sincerity of purpose, inspired others to emulate his love of Yeshiva University and all its affiliated schools. He was largely responsible for helping to establish the Rabbi Dr. Sol Roth Chair in Talmud and Contemporary Halakha at RIETS and the Joseph Maloway Chair for Advanced Studies at the Yeshiva University of the Philip and Sarah Belz School of Jewish Music. He will be sorely missed by his friends, whom he inspired to strengthen our institution, among others. Heartfelt condolences are extended to his devoted daughters Nicole Trau and Linda Trau and the entire family. May they be comforted among all who mourn for Zion and Jerusalem.

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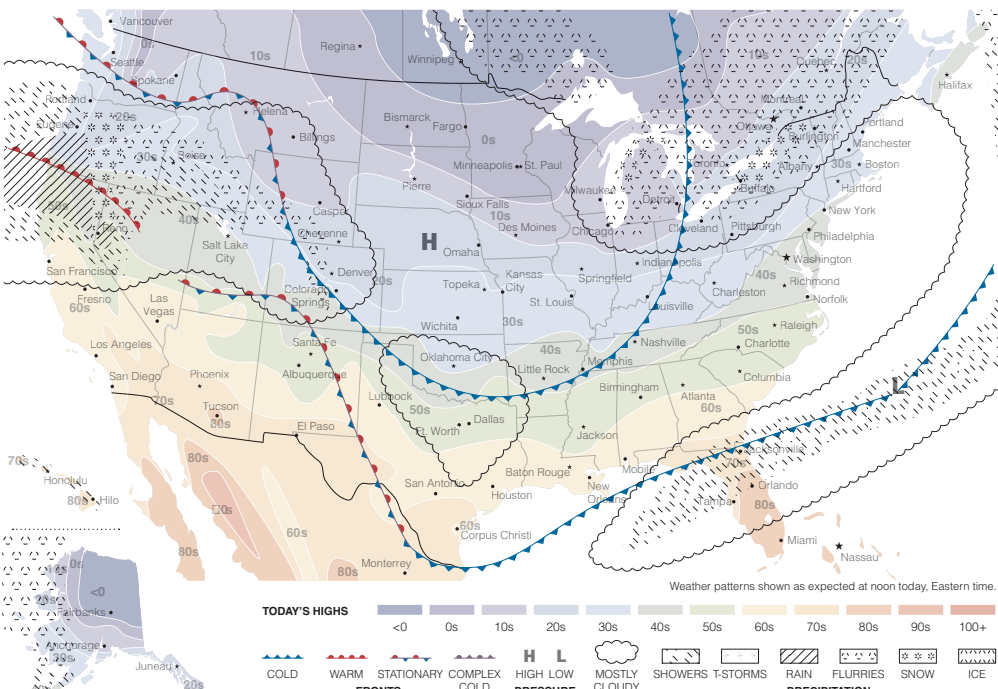
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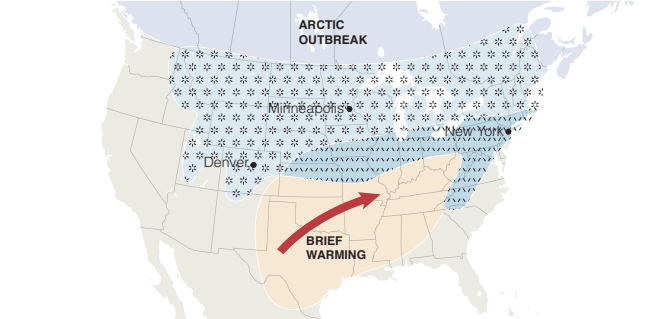
**RAIDER**—Sylvia. Born February 11, 1923 in Brooklyn, New York. A woman born before her time. Beloved

# Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



## Highlight: Major Storm Later This Week



A storm will track from the Rockies to the Great Lakes late this week, bringing heavy snowfall from Wyoming and Colorado to Minnesota and Wisconsin. Farther south, snow will mix with sleet and freezing rain before changing to plain rain.

CITIES			
City	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
<b>N.Y.C. region</b>			
New York City	43/35	40/24	27/15
Bridgeport	43/31	40/26	27/16
Caldwell	42/27	39/24	26/15
Danbury	39/22	38/20	24/8
Islip	42/28	42/23	28/13
Newark	43/31	41/22	28/17
Trenton	42/29	40/24	26/18
White Plains	40/28	39/23	26/13
<b>United States</b>			
Albany	39/26	30/17	21/5
Albuquerque	57/36	59/36	63/41
Anchorage	16/12	16/11	24/14
Atlanta	60/45	58/34	46/29
Atlantic City	45/35	44/26	30/19
Austin	71/44	65/44	60/51
Baltimore	45/29	42/24	26/11
Baton Rouge	76/54	64/42	57/40
Birmingham	66/40	57/30	44/27
Boise	31/21	35/33	40/24
Boston	40/30	39/24	27/8
Buffalo	33/14	26/10	18/9
Burlington	34/28	29/16	17/3
Casper	27/1	19/9	11/3
Charlotte	50/37	54/33	46/20
Chattanooga	54/36	51/27	40/23
Chicago	17/2	17/3	6/3
Cincinnati	37/17	32/9	18/11
Cleveland	34/14	24/11	15/7
Colorado Springs	40/20	31/15	54/35
Columbus	33/14	26/7	14/6
Concord, N.H.	56/24	36/17	23/1
Dallas-Ft. Worth	58/39	54/39	53/45
Denver	42/14	28/10	35/31
Des Moines	20/14	19/3	17/15
Detroit	30/8	18/5	14/1
El Paso	70/44	71/42	73/45
Fargo	9/5	3/16	5/1
Hartford	38/24	38/21	25/5
Honolulu	78/67	78/64	79/65
Houston	75/56	68/47	60/50
Indianapolis	32/9	26/6	15/10
Jackson	71/46	58/36	50/31
Jacksonville	78/60	74/52	67/44
Kansas City	27/16	30/15	26/22
Key West	82/74	82/72	79/72
Las Vegas	64/48	67/52	70/60
Lexington	45/23	38/13	23/14
Little Rock	53/32	46/27	37/26
Los Angeles	66/53	68/55	64/57
Louisville	44/22	37/16	25/18
Memphis	51/33	46/26	37/27
Miami	83/70	83/67	80/67
Milwaukee	14/4	16/1	8/2
Mpls.-St. Paul	9/4	5/9	4/1
Nashville	48/32	43/21	31/22
New Orleans	74/58	65/47	56/45
Norfolk	51/40	47/35	40/22
Oklahoma City	42/23	39/24	40/34
Omaha	23/14	23/8	20/15
Orlando	54/47	61/53	56/38
Philadelphia	43/33	42/25	26/15
Phoenix	75/52	77/52	77/56
Pittsburgh	35/19	36/9	15/5
Portland, Me.	35/24	36/18	24/0
Portland, Ore.	42/31	34/28	35/28
Providence	41/32	40/25	28/9
Raleigh	53/39	55/32	43/19
Reno	51/39	59/46	55/33
Richmond	48/33	48/31	36/16
Rochester	36/14	28/12	19/5
Sacramento	54/47	61/53	56/38
Salt Lake City	42/29	43/41	52/43
San Antonio	75/47	68/48	59/53
San Diego	66/53	66/55	66/57
San Francisco	59/53	63/57	60/46
San Jose	63/53	65/58	63/46
San Juan	82/75	85/73	86/75
Seattle	40/28	38/28	35/26
Sioux Falls	16/4	11/7	12/10
Spokane	18/2	20/14	21/3
St. Louis	37/16	32/14	24/19
St. Thomas	64/76	66/75	66/77
Syracuse	35/17	25/11	18/4
Tampa	81/64	78/64	75/58
Toledo	27/5	16/5	11/4
Tucson	76/47	80/46	83/51
Tulsa	41/23	41/22	38/33
Virginia Beach	52/42	48/34	41/22
Washington	47/35	44/28	30/20
Wichita	34/16	36/16	34/27
Wilmington, Del.	43/30	41/25	28/18
<b>Africa</b>			
Algiers	67/43	67/44	65/47
Cairo	72/54	64/49	64/52
Cape Town	81/63	83/62	79/61
Dakar	82/72	83/71	83/70
Johannesburg	78/55	73/57	76/59
Nairobi	77/57	77/57	80/58
Tunis	64/52	66/48	64/51
<b>Asia/Pacific</b>			
Baghdad	64/40	68/42	54/34
Bangkok	90/71	84/73	83/71
Beijing	40/23	38/18	42/18
Damascus	55/38	49/30	50/35
Hong Kong	71/46	74/60	69/57
Jakarta	91/77	90/75	89/76
Jerusalem	57/45	50/41	50/44
Karachi	82/58	84/56	85/56
Manila	84/76	85/76	86/75
Mumbai	95/61	93/61	92/63
New Delhi	83/52	75/48	72/48
Riyadh	72/46	78/56	71/43
Seoul	46/28	35/17	32/15
Shanghai	57/52	48/31	46/34
Singapore	91/77	90/78	88/76
Sydney	99/70	100/67	71/67
Taipei	76/63	66/57	61/56
Tehran	52/32	55/41	49/27
Tokyo	61/43	56/38	49/38
<b>Europe</b>			
Amsterdam	45/40	50/37	45/35
Athens	57/45	49/39	56/45
Berlin	38/27	42/28	38/28
Brussels	47/42	52/39	49/37
Budapest	36/18	33/23	39/22
Copenhagen	43/34	41/30	40/34
Dublin	54/47	62/54	48/42
Edinburgh	47/37	53/39	47/37
Frankfurt	40/34	44/37	43/30
Geneva	37/30	44/31	43/31
Helsinki	31/17	28/20	30/25
Istanbul	47/37	42/37	44/35
Kiev	27/16	30/27	28/10
Lisbon	56/45	57/47	58/48
London	56/44	54/44	52/43
Madrid	49/36	49/36	51/40
Moscow	11/3	19/10	14/4
Nice	61/46	60/47	60/47
Oslo	31/25	31/20	29/26
Paris	48/39	48/34	47/37
Prague	35/28	42/27	34/24
Rome	60/41	59/41	59/40
St. Petersburg	25/12	27/11	16/10
Stockholm	35/20	34/20	31/27
Vienna	34/21	39/26	37/24
Warsaw	30/20	37/30	34/23
<b>North America</b>			
Acapulco	89/77	88/75	88/78
Bermuda	74/69	73/68	73/61
Edmonton	9/2	9/6	4/14
Guadalajara	81/43	82/45	81/46
Havana	86/67	87/67	83/65
Kingston	86/75	89/76	89/75
Martinique	86/75	85/76	85/73
Mexico City	75/45	75/51	73/51
Monterrey	87/70	77/61	72/63
Montreal	33/17	23/10	11/4
Nassau	82/71	83/70	82/69
Panama City	90/74	89/75	88/75
Quebec City	18/9	24/12	13/7
Santo Domingo	89/72	87/72	88/70
Toronto	30/21	22/10	18/0
Vancouver	33/24	34/21	33/16
Winnipeg	4/9	-2/17	-4/10
<b>South America</b>			
Buenos Aires	73/56	77/56	85/62
Caracas	86/75	87/76	89/76
Lima	75/65	76/64	76/64
Quito	69/52	71/56	73/56
Recife	86/80	89/79	88/80
Rio de Janeiro	88/78	85/71	78/72
Santiago	90/56	95/61	88/60

## National Forecast

The coldest air of the season so far will take root in the northern Plains and push eastward over the Midwest and south across the central Plains today. As the frigid air moves over the Great Lakes, bands of heavy snow will develop and stream downward, shifting southward as the day progresses. Most areas from the Dakotas to Texas, the Carolinas and southern New England will be dry. Clouds and showers are forecast to linger over parts of Florida and Georgia as a front travels south. In the West, moisture from the Pacific Ocean will cause coastal rain as well as inland ice and snow from Oregon to Northern California and southern Idaho. Most areas from Southern California to New Mexico can expect a dry day with sunshine.

## Metropolitan Forecast

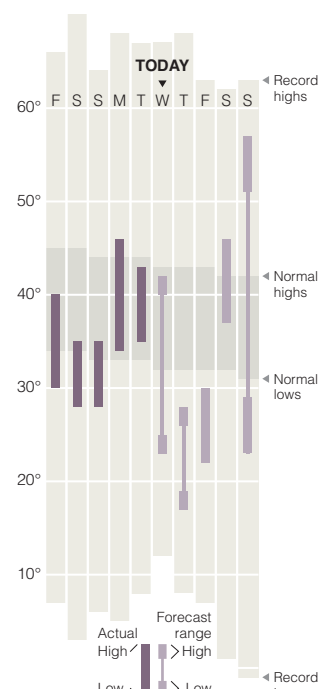
**TODAY** .....Partly sunny  
High 40. An area of high pressure will slide by to the south, ushering in periods of clouds and sunshine. Afternoon temperatures will be below seasonal levels because of a light west wind.

**TONIGHT** .....Patches of clouds  
Low 24. A snow flurry cannot be ruled out as a cold front moves in along with patches of clouds. The wind will increase in the west-northwest, bringing colder air with it.

**TOMORROW** .....Periods of sunshine  
High 27. In the wake of the cold front, times of clouds and sunshine, along with a snow flurry or two, may be expected. Gusty west-northwest winds will bring in the coldest air so far this season.

**FRIDAY** .....Very cold  
As an area of high pressure moves into the East, the very cold air will remain. A good deal of sunshine may be expected, but afternoon temperatures will be below normal.

**SATURDAY** .....Snow to rain Saturday  
**SUNDAY** .....Snow to rain Saturday  
Snow Saturday morning will change to rain by the afternoon and the high will be 42. Sunday will be cloudy and breezy with some rain, with a high of 54.



## Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.

**Temperature**  
MON. YESTERDAY  
Record high 67° (2015)  
Normal high 44°  
Normal low 33°  
Record low 8° (1960)

**Precipitation (in inches)**  
Yesterday ..... 0.00  
Record ..... 3.03  
Snow ..... 0.0  
Since Oct. 1 ..... 0.4

**Air pressure**  
High ..... 30.21 10 a.m.  
Low ..... 30.06 1 a.m.

**Humidity**  
High ..... 64% 4 a.m.  
Low ..... 44% noon

**Heating Degree Days**  
An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature fell below 65  
Yesterday ..... 26  
So far this month ..... 317  
So far this season (since July 1) ..... 1004  
Normal to date for the season ..... 1150

**Trends**  
Temperature Average: Below, Above  
Precipitation Average: Below, Above

**Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)**  
Yesterday ..... 60%  
Est. normal ..... 82%

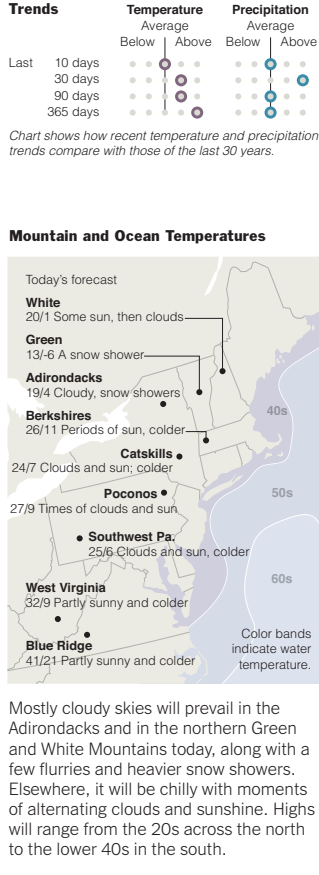
## Recreational Forecast

**Sun, Moon and Planets**

Planet	Rise	Set	Next R
Sun	7:13 a.m.	4:29 p.m.	7:13 a.m.
Moon	7:30 a.m.	8:30 a.m.	11:03 a.m.
Jupiter	1:52 a.m.	1:15 p.m.	6:53 a.m.
Saturn	6:53 a.m.	4:19 p.m.	7:55 p.m.
Mars	7:30 a.m.	8:30 a.m.	11:03 a.m.
Venus	10:17 a.m.	7:55 p.m.	7:55 p.m.

**Boating**  
From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.  
Wind will be from the northwest at 10-20 knots. Wave heights will average 2-4 feet on the ocean, 1-2 feet on Long Island Sound and a foot or less on New York Harbor. Visibility generally unrestricted.

**High Tides**  
Atlantic City ..... 7:10 a.m. .... 7:39 p.m.  
Barnegat Inlet ..... 7:23 a.m. .... 7:54 p.m.  
The Battery ..... 7:54 a.m. .... 8:29 p.m.  
Beach Haven ..... 8:48 a.m. .... 9:20 p.m.  
Bridgeport ..... 10:57 a.m. .... 11:31 p.m.  
City Island ..... 10:58 a.m. .... 11:41 p.m.  
Fire Island Lt. .... 8:16 a.m. .... 8:48 p.m.  
Montauk Point ..... 8:33 a.m. .... 9:00 p.m.  
Northport ..... 11:06 a.m. .... 11:41 p.m.  
Port Washington ..... 11:13 a.m. .... 11:56 p.m.  
Sandy Hook ..... 7:30 a.m. .... 8:02 p.m.  
Shinnecock Inlet ..... 7:14 a.m. .... 7:42 p.m.  
Stamford ..... 11:00 a.m. .... 11:34 p.m.  
Tarrytown ..... 9:43 a.m. .... 10:15 p.m.  
Wilets Point ..... 10:58 a.m. .... 11:42 p.m.



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**5 THEATER**  
 'Prudencia Hart': A shaggy Satan story. BY BEN BRANTLEY

**6 MUSIC**  
 Maren Morris wraps up a big year. BY JOE COSCARELLI



**2 OUR NEW LOOK**  
 A full page for dance on Wednesdays. This week: snowflake mysteries revealed.

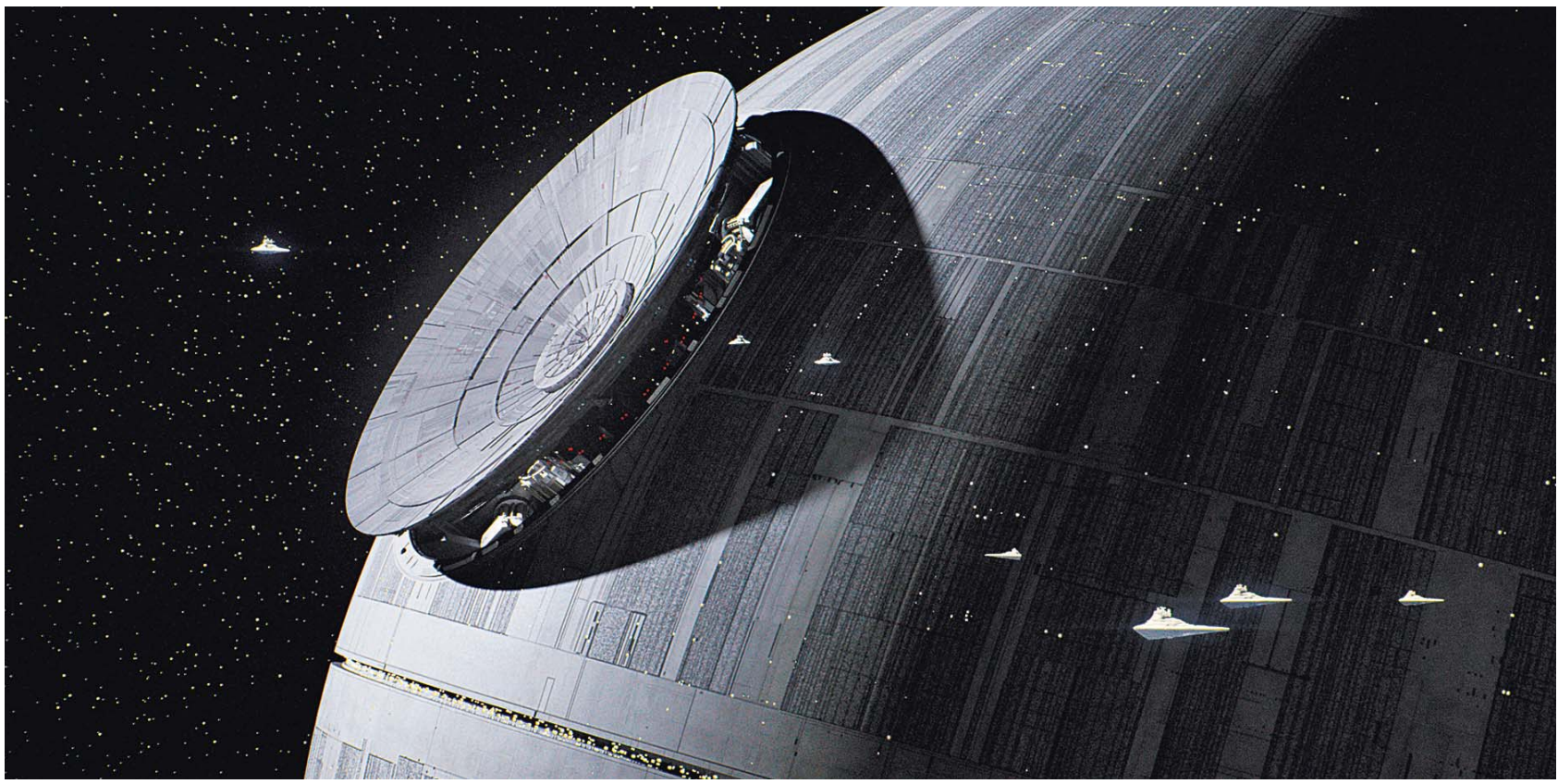
NEWS | CRITICISM

# Arts

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2016 CI  
 N

A.O. SCOTT | FILM REVIEW



LUCASFILM LTD.

## 'Star Wars,' More and Less

'Rogue One,' the latest film in this franchise, falls short of its insurgent predecessors.

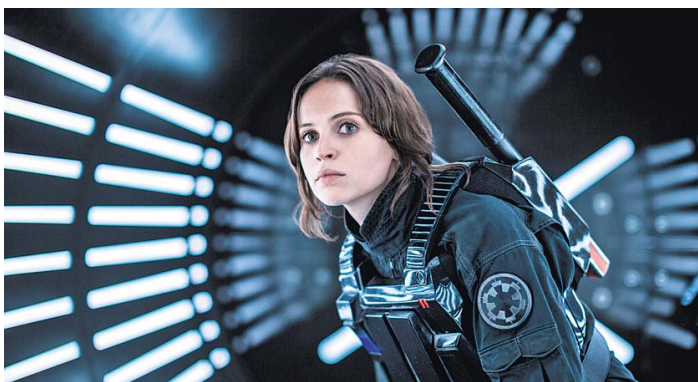
THE GREAT MYSTERY of "Rogue One" — the big payoff, the thing people like me would be pilloried for divulging, the puzzle you will congratulate yourself for solving — is where it fits in with the rest of the "Star Wars" cycle. There are scattered hints early on, and later appearances by familiar characters that elicit chuckles of recognition from fans. The very last shot tells us exactly where we are, and why we should have cared about everything we just saw.

Whether that is enough — whether the fractures in the Rebel Alliance and the power struggles in the imperial ranks

quicken our pulses and engage our emotions — is the big question, but it really isn't a question at all. Millions of people will sit through this thoroughly mediocre movie (directed with basic competence by Gareth Edwards from a surprisingly hackish script by Chris Weitz and Tony Gilroy) and convince themselves that it's perfectly delightful. It's so much easier to obey than to resist. The spoiler warning sent by the Disney empire instructed journalists to "continue to be our partners on this journey," and defiance is unthinkable, even if "partner" is taken as a synonym for "shill."

But the injunction not to ruin anyone's good time by "revealing spoilers and detailed story points" is itself revealing, an indication of the meager and disposable

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4



JONATHAN OLLEY/LUCASFILM LTD.

**Rogue One**  
 Directed by Gareth Edwards

Felicity Jones as a tough-minded, quick-thinking hero in "Rogue One: A Star Wars Story." Above, a scene from the film.

ZACHARY WOOLFE | OPERA REVIEW

## Two Powerhouses, Together Again

James Levine and Plácido Domingo, rocking the Met.

THERE IS A PARTY GOING ON at the Metropolitan Opera House, and if you are a fan of the raucous, eccentric, solemn, hilarious and heartbreaking art form that's celebrated there, you should join the fun before it ends on Jan. 7.

It's a bit of an old-fashioned party, which makes sense, as the two hosts are septuagenarians who have been playing together at the Met for 45 years. Yes, they've both been counted out a few times of late. But it turns out they still know how to throw quite the shindig.

I'm talking about James Levine and Plácido Domingo, the battle-scarred titans of opera who joined forces on Monday, their 329th performance together since their Met partnership began, for Verdi's "Nabucco," a biblical potboiler of religious wars and forbidden love. Aided in onstage revelry by an



SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES  
 Plácido Domingo in the title role of "Nabucco," with James Levine conducting, at the Met.

**Nabucco**  
 Metropolitan Opera House

enviable, clearly inspired assembly of collaborators, Mr. Levine, 73, and Mr. Domingo, 75, firmly slash through a host of recent suggestions — including, yes, from this critic — that it might be time for them to hang up their respective towels.

To be fair to those who have tried to show them the door, both men have grappled with health issues. Mr. Levine's troubles — Parkinson's disease, a spinal injury, a cancerous growth on his kidney, the use of a wheelchair — forced him from his position as the Met's music director in April, though he has continued to conduct. Mr. Domingo has suffered from colon cancer, a pulmonary embolism and a gallbladder that required removal — all in the past six years. Cancellations have dogged both, along with those pesky calls to retire.

There was a measure of shared defiance, CONTINUED ON PAGE C5

DWIGHT GARNER | BOOKS OF THE TIMES

## A Place at the Table For Good Manners

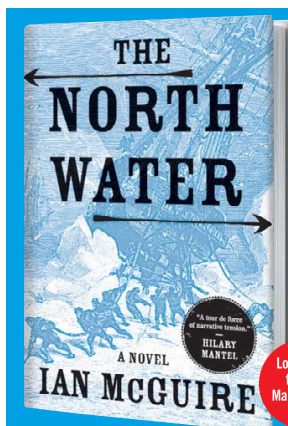


**Table Manners: How to Behave in the Modern World and Why Bother**  
 Jeremiah Tower

WE NO-NONSENSE AMERICANS have long sneered at fussy Old World etiquette. One senator's account of a meal with George Washington during his presidency included this observation: "At every interval of eating or drinking he played on the table with a fork or knife, like a drumstick."

Yet we understand why civility and courtesy matter. As Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. wrote in his study of advice books, "Learning How to Behave" (1946), "Even the outward motions imply a certain kindness and consideration for others." Mr. Schlesinger added that manners don't "complicate social life as much as they simplify it." Good manners aren't snobby but egalitarian. They're free to all.

Jeremiah Tower, the author of "Table Manners: How to Behave in the Modern World and Why Bother" (2016), CONTINUED ON PAGE C6

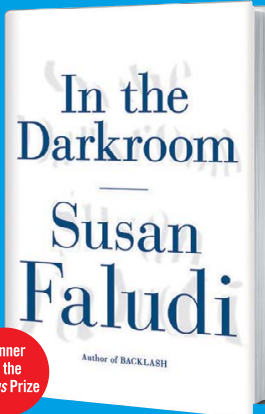


Longlisted for the Man Booker Prize

# Best Books of the Year\*

\*The 10 Best Books of 2016, selected by the editors of *The New York Times Book Review*

Henry Holt Metropolitan Books



Winner of the Kirkus Prize

# Dance



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREA MOHIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Mark Morris Dance Group in "The Hard Nut" in 2010 at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. Men and women alike wear tutus. About 20 pounds of paper snowflakes are used for each performance.

## It's a Blizzard Onstage. Here's All the Dirt.

The tree has grown to its full height, and the Mouse King has suffered a sound defeat. In "Nutcracker" terms, that means the wondrous Waltz of the Snowflakes is just around the corner. This month, two of the finest examples are on display in New York. In "George Balanchine's The Nutcracker" at New York City Ballet, dancers gleam like ice princesses as they flit across the stage in brisk petit allegro jumps under a steady snowfall that eventually reaches blizzard proportions. And in "The Hard Nut," by Mark Morris, the dancers, male and female, throw snow while dashing across the stage in sleek formations. The effect in both is a thrilling merging of motion and music. Unity Phelan, who has performed as a Snowflake for four seasons at City Ballet, said, "It is only snowing onstage so it seems like there's a veil over us." In the following excerpts from interviews, Ms. Phelan and Domingo Estrada Jr. of the Mark Morris Dance Group lift the veil and talk snow.

GIA KOURLAS

### 'George Balanchine's The Nutcracker'

PREMIERE 1954

**COSTUMES** Karinska. "The bodices all give everyone such a beautiful line and make everyone's waist look tiny," Ms. Phelan said. "I don't know how it happens."

**THE SNOW: WHAT IS IT?** Thousands of small, cut snowflakes made from flame-retardant paper in various sizes, from 3/16ths of an inch to 7/16ths of an inch.

**SNOW PER SHOW** Fifty pounds. Most of it is recycled from show to show, after a magnet has been run through it to remove stray bobby pins and earring backs.

**DASHING THROUGH IT** "When we run, we're supposed to brush our feet out in front of us and turn them out," Ms. Phelan said. "If you actually kick up the snow that's on the



From left, Ashley Hod, Unity Phelan and Lydia Wellington of New York City Ballet in "The Nutcracker" in 2013.

ground, it means that you're running the way you're supposed to be. So it's a little check for us."

**OH, MY ACHING CALVES!** "The tall girls have some arabesques," Ms. Phelan said, "but other than that it's a lot of running and formations and jumping. It's very 'calfy.'"

**KEEP YOUR TRAP SHUT** After the apprentices finished their first snow scene this season, they had an unwelcome guest in their mouths: snow. "At a certain point when they turn the fan on to make the real blizzard

happen," Ms. Phelan said, "you keep your teeth shut from there on out."

**WHAT NEW SNOWFLAKES NEED TO KNOW** "Stay in line and try not to get too flustered," she said. "Last year, I just grabbed the shoulder of a girl and moved her to the side. I was like, this is the spot you need to be in and I'm just going to put you there."

**TRIBE MENTALITY** "It takes the whole army to get the point across that we're in a blizzard and we're dancing through it and no one's tired," Ms. Phelan said. "I can't stop

myself in the snow scene. I go all out."

### 'The Hard Nut'

PREMIERE 1991

**COSTUMES** Martin Pakledinaz. The dancers wear headpieces reminiscent of swirling dips of Dairy Queen, halter tops and tutus (women and men alike), each printed with an actual snowflake crystal design. "I don't even think about it being a man in a tutu," Mr. Estrada said. "We become the elements."

**THE SNOW: WHAT IS IT?** Paper punch-outs in the shapes of stars or the plus sign.

**SNOW PER SHOW** About 20 pounds are used for each performance, adding up to approximately 150 pounds for the run. Much of it is recycled from show to show.

**WHY THROW IT?** From Mr. Morris: "It's magic, and there was no space left in the rafters."

**PROPER SNOW THROWING** "It's just punched-out pieces of paper so we can't have our hands bunched or closed too tightly or else it will thicken and become clumps of snow," Mr. Estrada said. "But we're also dancing so we have to make sure that our hands don't look like balls either. You release a finger, and snow comes out."

**THE BIGGEST CHALLENGE** "Breathing while dancing while these pieces of paper are falling into your face and your mouth," Mr. Estrada said.

**IT'S NOT JUST ABOUT YOU** "It covers your eyes a little bit," Mr. Estrada said, "so it can just be a blur and if somebody doesn't pay attention and misses a cue, it's a domino affect. It's its own avalanche of chaos."

**FROM THE INSIDE** "Mark's choreography in general is so intricate and specific, but the way in which he has us traveling in the space and in these very tight canons, the effect can only be realized if we're so concise and precise. It feels like we are the snow."

## When Dance Speaks More Truly Than Words on a Page

Reggie Wilson's choreography reflects cultural anthropology.

By MARINA HARSS

"I hate the written word," the choreographer Reggie Wilson said with an almost wicked edge, as he sat in his cozy kitchen in Brooklyn, drinking sweet tea on a recent blustery day. Then, acknowledging my confusion, he added, "Now breathe, breathe."

This remark is doubly surprising, coming from a choreographer who routinely provides reading lists for the audience before his shows — his "Citizen" has its New York premiere on Wednesday night at the Brooklyn Academy of Music — and who has been described as a kind of cultural anthropologist working in dance. Mr. Wilson's creations develop out of personal obsessions that lead to years of reading and research trips before he even sets foot in the studio.

The suggested reading list for "Citizen" includes Valerie Boyd's biography of Zora Neale Hurston; a monograph on Mother Rebecca Jackson, an itinerant preacher who taught herself how to read through prayer and joined the Shakers; and a study of African-American culture during the Jazz Age, "The Practice of Diaspora."

The original spark for the work, though, was a 1797 portrait of Jean-Baptiste Belley, a Senegalese-born slave who bought his freedom in Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) and fought in the Haitian Revolution, before be-

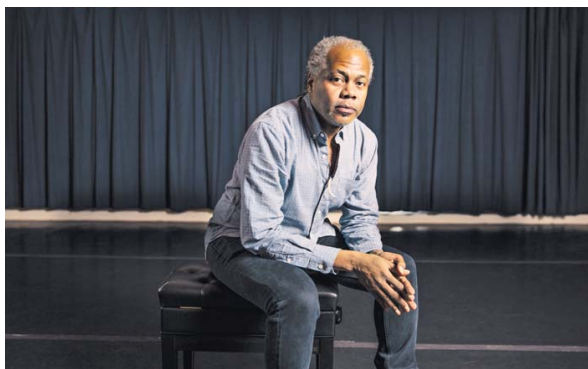
ing elected to the French National Convention during the French Revolution. Mr. Wilson, 49, first glimpsed the portrait in a pile of photocopied articles; intrigued, he traveled to Versailles to see the original, by Girodet. In it, Belley is depicted as an elegant, relaxed man in uniform, with a grave expression and a distinct bulge in his crotch. (The 18th and 19th centuries were obsessed with the idea of black men's sexual prowess.)

"That doesn't look like the portrait of a servant or slave; it looks like he has agency and prominence, and I wanted to know more about who he was," Mr. Wilson said. A reproduction hangs on his kitchen wall; the image is also one of the projections (by the cinematographer Aitor Mendilibar) that give "Citizen" its visual component.

Research into Belley's life led to other subjects, related and unrelated: the life of Mother Rebecca Jackson; the back-and-forth of African-American artists between Paris and New York during the Jazz Age; the singing and praying bands of Maryland and Delaware, one of the oldest African-American performance traditions, in which slaves worshipped together in secret.

But viewers shouldn't expect to see literal references to Mr. Wilson's research in "Citizen." The confluent streams of inquiry function as a parallel, related, pool of ideas, which may or may not be useful to a person sitting in the darkened theater.

"We know Reggie's stories and we know how they relate to his ongoing research,"



MICHAEL GEORGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

said Raja Feather Kelly, one of the performers, but the focus in the studio is on creating movement, developing it and imbuing it with emotive force.

Can audience members simply draw their own conclusions? "Yes, God willing," Mr. Wilson said. He is also aware that his "reading list" could result in some misdirection, and that's O.K. with him, too. What he hopes is that viewers will experience the work through their own eyes and personal experiences. "I've been in enough situations," he said, "where I thought I was saying something, and then had someone who had never seen dance come up with some-

thing much more meaningful or profound."

thing much more meaningful or profound."

For "Citizen," Mr. Wilson developed a repertory of movements for the five dancers, each of whom has a solo. "I think of myself as completing tasks," Mr. Kelly explained. The dancers' actions are straightforward: a quick sequence of claps, a hand circling the opposite elbow, a giant leg circle that ends in a lunge to the floor. Then, Mr. Wilson said, he and the dancers manipulated the movements, "sped them up, slowed them down, switched the order, randomized them."

Finally, Mr. Wilson created a superstructure: first a set of solos, later layered one upon the other; then a long solo that quotes from all the others; and, finally, a group section that looks back again at what has come before. (It's a marathon for the dancers.) "The viewer's task," Mr. Wilson said, "is to look, acknowledge, respond, and try to make sense of it all or just to let go."

The meaning of the dance, if there is one, is not fixed, as it would be in an essay or a book. Dance, he said, gives him the ability to "hold more than one meaning, to be encyclopedic, poetic, metaphorical."

And while the movements may look abstract, he isn't after a cold abstraction, emptied of meaning, but rather an electric one, pregnant with allusions. "The piece, in my head, is about belonging and not belonging, which I think is the basic function or construct of what civic duty is about." In other words, citizenship. Something that, he finds, is best interpreted in dance, beyond the reach of written word.

# Arts, Briefly

NEWS FROM THE CULTURAL WORLD

CHANGE IS THE BASIS OF ALL HISTORY. THE PROOF OF VIGOR. THE OLD IS SOILED AND DISGUSTING BY NATURE. STALE FOOD IS REPELLENT. MONGAMOUS LOVE BREEDS CONTEMPT. SEVILTY CRIPPLES THE GOVERNMENT THAT IS TOO POWERFUL. TOO LONG. UPECAVAL IS DESIRABLE BECAUSE FRESH. UNTAINTED GROUPS SEIZE OPPORTUNITY. VIOLENT OVERTHROW IS APPROPRIATE WHEN THE SITUATION IS INTOLERABLE. SLOW MODIFICATION CAN BE EFFECTIVE. MEN CHANGE BEFORE THEY NOTICE AND RESIST. THE DECADENT AND THE POWERFUL CHAMPION CONTINUITY. NOTHING ESSENTIAL CHANGES. THAT IS A MYTH. IT WILL BE REFUTED. THE NECESSARY BIRTH CONVULSIONS WILL BE TRIGGERED. ACTION WILL BRING THE EVIDENCE TO YOUR DOORSTEP.

SHRIEK WHEN THE PAIN HITS DURING INTERROGATION. REACH INTO THE DARK AGES TO FIND A SOUND THAT IS LIQUID HORROR. A SOUND OF THE BRINK WHERE MAN STOPS AND THE BEAST AND NAMELESS CRUEL FORCES BEGIN. SCREAM WHEN YOUR LIFE IS THREATENED. FORM A NOISE SO TRUE THAT YOUR TORMENTOR RECOGNIZES IT AS A VOICE THAT LIVES IN HIS OWN THROAT. THE TRUE SOUND TELLS HIM THAT HE CUTS HIS FLESH WHEN HE CUTS YOURS. THAT HE CANNOT THRIVE AFTER HE TORTURES YOU. SCREAM THAT HE DESTROYS ALL KINDNESS IN YOU AND BLACKENS EVERY VISION YOU COULD HAVE SHOWN HIM.

THE MOST EXQUISITE PLEASURE IS DOMINATION. NOTHING CAN COMPARE WITH THE FEELING. THE MENTAL SENSATIONS ARE EVEN BETTER THAN THE PHYSICAL ONES. KNOWING YOU HAVE POWER HAS TO BE THE BIGGEST HIGH. THE GREATEST COMFORT IS IT COMPLETE SECURITY. PROTECTION FROM HURT. WHEN YOU IMMEDIATE SOMEBODY YOU'RE DOING HIM A FAVOR. HE PRAYS SOMEONE WILL CONTROL HIM. TAKE HIS MIND OFF HIS TROUBLES. YOU'RE HELPING HIM WHILE HELPING YOURSELF. EVEN WHEN YOU GET MEAN HE LIKES IT. SOMETIMES HE'S ANGRY AND FIGHTS BACK BUT YOU CAN HANDLE IT. HE ALWAYS REMEMBERS WHAT HE NEEDS. YOU ALWAYS GET WHAT YOU WANT.

FEAR IS THE MOST ELEGANT WEAPON. YOUR HANDS ARE NEVER MESSY. THREATENING BODILY HARM IS CRUDE. WORK INSTEAD ON MINDS AND BELIEFS. PLAY INSECURITIES LIKE A PIANO. BE CREATIVE IN APPROACH. FORCE ANXIETY TO EXCRUCIATING LEVELS OR GENTLY UNDERMINE THE PUBLIC CONFIDENCE. PANIC DRIVES HUMAN HERDS OVER CLIFFS. AN ALTERNATIVE IS TERROR-INDUCED IMMOBILIZATION. FEAR FEEDS ON FEAR. PUT THIS EFFICIENT PROCESS IN MIND FOR MANIPULATION IS NOT LIMITED TO PEOPLE. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS CAN BE SHAKEN. IT WILL BE DEMONSTRATED THAT NOTHING IS SAFE. SACRED OR SANE. THERE IS NO RESPECT FROM HORROR. ABSOLUTES ARE QUICKSLIVER. RESULTS ARE SPECTACULAR.

DON'T TALK DOWN TO ME. DON'T BE POLITE TO ME. DON'T TRY TO MAKE ME FEEL NICE. DON'T RELAX. I'LL CUT THE SMILE OFF YOUR FACE. YOU THINK I DON'T KNOW WHAT'S GOING ON. YOU THINK I'M AFRAID TO REACT. THE JOKE'S ON YOU. I'M HIDING MY TIME, LOOKING FOR THE SPOT YOU THINK NO ONE CAN REACH YOU. NO ONE CAN HAVE WHAT YOU HAVE. I'VE BEEN PLANNING WHILE YOU'RE PLAYING. I'VE BEEN SAVING WHILE YOU'RE SPENDING. THE GAME IS ALMOST OVER SO IT'S TIME YOU ACKNOWLEDGE ME. DO YOU WANT TO FALL OR NEVER KNOWING WHO TOOK YOU?

SENTIMENTALITY DELAYS THE REMOVAL OF THE POLITICALLY BACKWARD AND THE ORGANICALLY UNSOUND. RIGOROUS SELECTION IS MANDATORY IN SOCIAL AND GENETIC ENGINEERING. INCORRECT MERCIFUL IMPULSES POSTPONE THE CLEANING THAT PRECEDES REFORM. SHORT-TERM NEEDS MUST YIELD TO LONG-RANGE NECESSITY. MORALS WILL BE REVISED TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF TODAY. MEANINGLESS PLATITUDES WILL BE PULLED FROM TONGUES AND MINDS. WORDS LIKE "PURGE" AND "EUTHANASIA" DESERVE NEW CONNOTATIONS. THEY SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED AS THE RATIONAL PUBLIC POLICIES THEY ARE. THE GREATEST DANGER IS NOT EXCESSIVE ZEAL BUT UNDUE HESITATION. WE WILL LEARN TO IMITATE NATURE. HER KILLS NOURISH STRONG LIFE. SQUEAMISHNESS IS THE CRIME.

FREEDOM IS IT? YOU'RE SO SCARED, YOU WANT TO LOCK UP EVERYBODY. ARE THEY MAD DOGS? ARE THEY OUT TO KILL? MAYBE YES. IS LAW IS ORDER THE SOLUTION? DEFINITELY NO. WHAT CAUSED THIS SITUATION? LACK OF FREEDOM. WHAT HAPPENS NOW? LET PEOPLE FULFILL THEIR NEEDS. IS FREEDOM CONSTRUCTIVE OR IS IT DESTRUCTIVE? THE ANSWER IS OBVIOUS. FREE PEOPLE ARE GOOD. PRODUCTIVE PEOPLE IS LIBERATION DANGEROUS? ONLY WHEN OVERDUE. PEOPLE AREN'T BORN RABID OR BERSERK. WHEN YOU PUNISH AND SHAME YOU CAUSE WHAT YOU DREAD. WHAT TO DO? LET IT EXPLODE. RUN WITH IT. DON'T CONTROL OR MANIPULATE. MAKE AMENDS.

BECAUSE THERE IS NO GOD SOMEONE MUST TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MEN. A CHARISMATIC LEADER IS IMPERATIVE. HE CAN SUBORDINATE THE SMALL WILLS TO THE GREAT ONE. HIS STRENGTH AND HIS VISION REDEEM MEN. HIS PERFECTION MAKES THEM GRATEFUL. LIFE ITSELF IS NOT SACRED, THERE IS NO DIGNITY IN THE FLESH. UNDIRECTED MEN ARE CONTENT WITH RANDOM. SOULFUL, POINTLESS LIVES. THE LEADER GIVES DIRECTION AND PURPOSE. THE LEADER FORCES GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENTS, MANDATES PEACE AND REPELS OUTSIDE AGGRESSORS. HE IS THE ARCHITECT OF DESTINY. HE DEMANDS ABSOLUTE LOYALTY. HE MERITS UNQUESTIONING DEVOTION. HE ASKS THE SUPREME SACRIFICE. HE IS THE ONLY HOPE.

YOU GET AMAZING SENSATIONS FROM GUNS. YOU GET RESULTS FROM GUNS. MAN IS AN AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL. YOU HAVE TO HAVE A GOOD OFFENSE AND A GOOD DEFENSE. TOO MANY CITIZENS THINK THEY ARE HELPLESS. THEY LEAVE EVERYTHING TO THE AUTHORITIES AND THIS CAUSES CORRUPTION. RESPONSIBILITY SHOULD GO BACK WHERE IT BELONGS. IT IS YOUR LIFE. SO TAKE CONTROL. AND FEEL VITAL. THERE MAY BE SOME ACCIDENTS ALONG THE PATH TO SELF-EXPRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION. SOME HARMLESS PEOPLE WILL BE HURT. HOWEVER, GUN SPELLS PRIDE TO THE STRONG. SAFETY TO THE WEAK AND HOPE TO THE HOPELESS. GUNS MAKE WRONG RIGHT FAST.

DESTROY SUPERABUNDANCE. STARVE THE FLESH. SHAVE THE HAIR. EXPOSE THE BONE. CLARIFY THE MIND. DEFINE THE WILL. RESTRAIN THE SENSES. LEAVE THE FAMILY. FLEE THE CHURCH. KILL THE VERMIN. VOMIT THE HEART. FORGET THE DEAD. LIMIT TIME. FORGO AMUSEMENT. DENY NATURE. REJECT ACQUAINTANCES. DISCARD OBJECTS. FORGET TRUTHS. DISSECT MYTH. STOP MOTION. BLOCK IMPULSE. CHOKE SOBS. SWALLOW CHATTER. SCORN JOY. SCORN TOUCH. SCORN TRAGEDY. SCORN LIBERTY. SCORN CONSTANCY. SCORN HOPE. SCORN EXALTATION. SCORN REPRODUCTION. SCORN VARIETY. SCORN EMPATHY. SCORN RELEASE. SCORN REST. SCORN SWEETNESS. SCORN LIGHT. IT'S A QUESTION OF FORM AS MUCH AS FUNCTION. IT IS A MATTER OF REVOLUTION.

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## Gyllenhaal to Broadway In 'Sunday in the Park'

Jake Gyllenhaal will return to Broadway next year in a brief revival of "Sunday in the Park With George."

The production, a more fully developed version of a four-performance City Center benefit concert that Mr. Gyllenhaal, right, anchored in October, will be the first show in 49 years at Hudson Theater, which is being converted into a stage after decades of other uses.

The production will be shorter than the usual Broadway run, at 10 weeks, with previews beginning on Feb. 11 and the opening on Feb. 23; it will close on April 23. Mr. Gyllenhaal's City Center co-star, Annaleigh Ashford, will join him on Broadway.

"Sunday in the Park With George," with music and lyrics by Stephen Sondheim and a book by James Lapine, is one of the most beloved musicals in the canon, and in 1985 it won the Pulitzer Prize for drama. The show, inspired by the painting "A Sunday on La Grande Jatte," has a first act imagining the artwork's creation by the painter Georges Seurat, and a second act, set a century later, imagining the artistic struggles of the painter's great-grandson.

The revival will be directed by Sarna Lapine, who is Mr. Lapine's niece, and who will be making her Broadway debut as a director.

Mr. Gyllenhaal, whose only previous Broadway role was last year in "Constellations," will play Seurat and his great-grandson (Georges and George). Ms. Ashford, who won a Tony Award last year for her role in "You Can't Take It With You," will play Seurat's lover, Dot, as well as their daughter, Marie.

MICHAEL PAULSON



SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Orchestra Cancels Trip To North Carolina

The San Francisco Symphony announced that it had canceled two April concerts in North

Carolina to protest the state law curbing anti-discrimination protections for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

The orchestra joins a growing list of luminaries who have shunned that state: rockers such as Bruce Springsteen and Ringo Starr; athletes, including the N.B.A., which moved its All-Star Game to New Orleans; and other classical musicians, like the violinist Itzhak Perlman.

The action affects concerts on April 5 and 6 in Chapel Hill, where the symphony had planned to play music by John Cage, Bartok and Mahler before traveling to Carnegie Hall in New York. The orchestra said that it was inspired partly by the mayor of San Francisco, Edwin M. Lee, who decided to bar city employees in publicly funded positions from traveling to North Carolina on business. While the orchestra is not a public entity, officials said that they wanted to honor their role as cultural ambassadors who uphold the values of their city.

Brent Assink, executive director of the San Francisco Symphony, said in a statement that the orchestra had held off canceling the concerts in the hope that the law would be overturned, but that internal deadlines for booking travel required a decision.

MICHAEL COOPER

## A Jenny Holzer Show Of Early Works

Set aside your image of Jenny Holzer, the reigning art-world star whose popularized aphorisms — like "Abuse of Power Comes as No Surprise" and "Protect Me From What I Want" — have been emblazoned on marble benches and giant LED screens from the Guggenheim Museum to the Venice Biennale.

Instead, meet Jenny Holzer, urban guerrilla-style anonymous artist. That's the thrust of a show at Alden Projects in Manhattan, opening on Jan. 13 and featuring more than 100 of the "Truisms" and "Inflammatory Essays" posters, above, that Ms. Holzer began creating in 1977 and proceeded to plaster all over New York in the dead of night.

The work quickly garnered a cult following. Filled with short strings of provocative political dictums, and composed in all capital letters to resemble newspaper headlines, the posters could read like Maoist screeds, right-wing rants or thoughtful philosophizing.

To Todd Alden, director of Alden Projects, the show is a needed response after a presidential election in which the news media itself was a subject of heated debate.

## Crossword

Edited by Will Shortz

- ACROSS**
- Company whose business is picking up
  - Torah expert
  - Email folder
  - A, B or C
  - Mexican civilization known for its colossal head sculptures
  - Teensy bit
  - Something to follow
  - Espy
  - Tense
  - Apprehend
  - Last: Abbr.
  - Something to follow
  - "Game of Thrones" and others
  - Circus safety feature
  - Q neighbor
  - Low pair
  - Black History Month: Abbr.
  - Fashion designer
  - Something to follow
  - Patriarch of House Stark on "Game of Thrones"
  - "\_\_\_ believe ..."
  - Gumbo vegetable
- DOWN**
- Reverse
  - Godsend
  - Suffix with bachelor
  - On Medicare, say: Abbr.
  - "It's not my first \_\_\_"
  - Word between "mine" and "mine"
  - Health meas. used to diagnose obesity
  - Colorado senator
  - Michael
  - Mountaineering tool
  - "\_\_\_ boom bah!"
  - Their characters jump off the page
  - Ring in the ocean
  - Finishing option
  - Parts of an ovo-lacto vegetarian's diet
  - Dyeing technique
  - Ruiner of a perfect report card
  - Get information from, in a way
  - Computer shortcuts
  - Eye sore
  - Wowed
  - One who wants a ring for bling?
  - Leaning
  - Subject line abbr.
  - Sgt., e.g.
  - \_\_\_ Spencer, co-anchor of ABC's "Good Morning America"
  - Cheese coated in red wax
  - One might do it from a soapbox
  - Pointless
  - Arise
  - Deuce follower
  - Steakhouse selection
  - Electrician, at times
  - Nontext part of a text
  - \_\_\_ Sports Bureau (official 58-Down provider for Major League Baseball)
  - Stars may have big ones
  - Deep cut
  - Voice-controlled product from Amazon
  - See 51-Down
  - The ten in "first and ten": Abbr.
  - Old name for Tokyo
  - Homer's neighbor

PUZZLE BY ALAN DELORIA

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12/14/16

### ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

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## JEOPARDY!

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A.O. SCOTT | FILM REVIEW

# A 'Star Wars' Adventure, More and Less

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1  
pleasures this movie is meant to provide, and also of the low regard its makers have for the audience. It hasn't always been this way, of course. The first "Star Wars" trilogy had a fresh, insurgent energy, and learning the names of all those planets and galactic adventurers has seemed, to generations of fans, like a new and special kind of fun.

Now, though, it is starting to feel like drudgery, a schoolbook exercise in a course of study that has no useful application and that will never end. "Rogue One," named for the call sign of an imperial cargo ship appropriated by rebel fighters, is the opposite of that vessel. Masquerading as a heroic tale

## Rogue One: A Star Wars Story

Rated PG-13 for endless war. Running time: 2 hours 13 minutes.

of rebellion, its true spirit is Empire all the way down. Like the fighters on the planet Scarif, which is surrounded by an all-but-impenetrable atmospheric shield, you are trapped inside this world, subjected to its whims and laws. You can't escape, because it is the supposed desire to escape that brought you here in the first place.

Maybe I'm exaggerating. The cast is wonderful. Felicity Jones is a fine addition to the "Star Wars" tradition of tough-minded, quick-thinking heroines. She plays Jyn Erso, the daughter of Galen Erso (Mads Mikkelsen), a scientist whose allegiances are a little ambiguous. Not at all ambiguous is Ben Mendelsohn's Orson Krennic, a marvel of sneering, vainglorious villainy in an



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Combat walkers are part of the landscape in "Rogue One," the first stand-alone film in the four-decade history of the "Star Wars" franchise.

impeccable white uniform, complete with a cape that billows behind him when he strides down a starship catwalk.

Jyn's idealistic Jedi-ish tendencies are at first checked by a hint of Bogart-esque cynicism. She's suspicious of the rebels and contemptuous of the Empire, and has complicated feelings about Saw Gerra (Forest Whitaker), the extremist militant who cared for her in her father's absence. When a mission announces itself — I don't think I'm supposed to say too much about it, other

than that it's highly perilous and requires a lot of planet-hopping and aerial battling — Jyn gathers up an appealing, motley guerrilla crew. There's a renegade imperial pilot (Riz Ahmed), a hard-boiled resistance type (Diego Luna), a blind monk (Donnie Yen) and a bearded berserker (Wen Jiang). And naturally, a wisecracking droid, speaking in the dry, sarcastic tones of the indispensable Alan Tudyk.

All the pieces are there, in other words, like Lego figures in a box. The problem is

The cast is wonderful, but the script is full of missed opportunities.

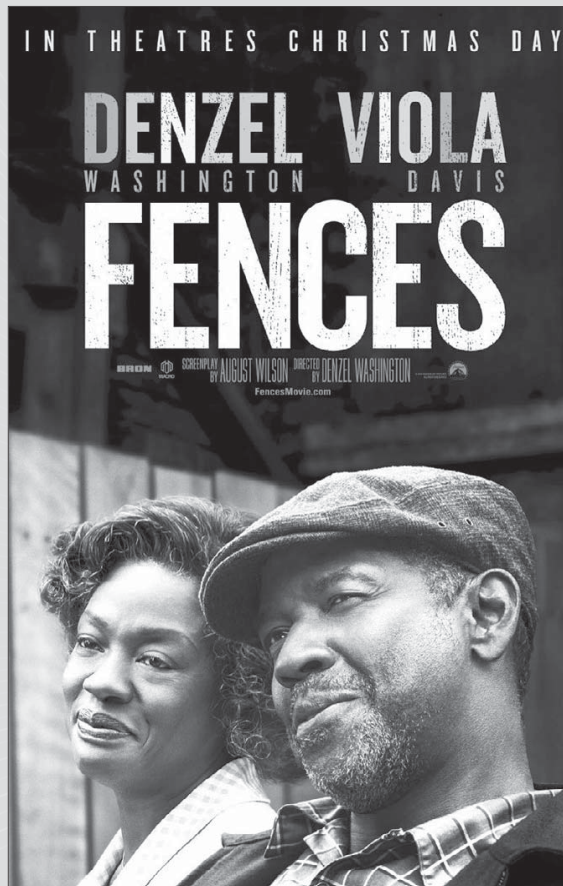
that the filmmakers haven't really bothered to think of anything very interesting to do with them. A couple of 9-year-olds on a screen-free rainy afternoon would come up with better adventures, and probably also better dialogue. Plots and subplots are handled with clumsy expediency, and themes that might connect this movie with the larger Lucasfilm mythos aren't allowed to develop.

You're left wanting both more and less. There are too many characters, too much tactical and technical explanation, too much pseudo-political prattle. And at the same time, there isn't quite enough of the filial dynamic between Galen and Jyn, and not enough weight given to the ethical and strategic problems of rebellion. When might ends justify means? What kind of sacrifice is required in the service of a righteous cause?

Popular art — "Star Wars" included — has often proved itself capable of exploring these kinds of questions with clarity, vigor and even a measure of nuance. But "Rogue One" has no such ambitions, no will to persuade the audience of anything other than the continued strength of the brand. It doesn't so much preach to the choir as propagandize to the captives, telling us that we're free spirits and partners on the journey. The only force at work here is the force of habit.

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GLENN KENNY | FILM REVIEW

## Goodbye to Giraffe Meat

Denied a livelihood as hunter-gatherers, a tribe in Namibia makes do.

"PLEASE LET US KILL THIS GIRAFFE," a Ju/'hoansi tribesman entreats during a tour of the Kalahari desert in northern Namibia in "Ghostland: The View of the Ju/'hoansi." Young giraffes "have very soft meat," another tribe member enthuses.

Since 1990, the Ju/'hoansi people, one of the world's oldest indigenous cultures, have in a sense been unable to be themselves. They were hunter-gatherers until Namibia imposed a ban on killing such animals, severely disrupting their completely anti-modern way of life. Now they survive by entertaining tourists, selling handmade jewelry and so on.

In this documentary, the German filmmaker Simon Stadler shows the Ju/'hoansi at work in Namibia. There are several ostensibly entertaining scenes, and some that speak to a viewer's senses of both befuddlement and outrage. In one, the Ju/'hoansi dance, half-naked, in the dining room of a resort hotel before an



CARGO FILM AND RELEASING

Coping with modernity: A scene from "Ghostland," a documentary directed by Simon Stadler.

### Ghostland: The View of the Ju/'hoansi

Not rated. In English and Ju/'hoan, with English subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 24 minutes.

audience of pink, overfed European tourists; the kitchen staff members, also indigenous Africans, stand at their posts with their arms crossed, in silence.

Their faces are unreadable.

In the middle of the movie, a German anthropologist takes four Ju/'hoansi on a trip to Europe. They are awed and perplexed by what they see. On the observation deck of a Frankfurt skyscraper, one of them notes, "Now we are where the wind is living."

This is an engaging movie depicting some sympathetic people, and is ultimately worthwhile. But there's a one-dimensional quality to "Ghostland"; Mr. Stadler's team obviously felt it was more important to record events than to explore conditions.

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BEN BRANTLEY | THEATER REVIEW

# The Devil Went Down to Chelsea

The McKittrick Hotel becomes a lively Scottish pub that serves as a portal of sorts.

IN SEARCH OF MERRY AND BRIGHT drinking companions in this dark and sullen winter? You could do a lot worse than raise a shot glass (or two or three) with the rousing band of Scots who've encamped in a pub at the McKittrick Hotel in Chelsea. They sing, dance on tables, discuss post-post-structuralist theory, talk in rhyme. And they tell one hell of a tale.

Which happens to be about going straight to hell.

O.K., maybe "straight" isn't quite the word for a narrative as twisty as a back road in the hills of the Scottish Borders region, where "The Strange Undoing of Prudencia Hart" is set. But this gleeful import from the National Theater of Scotland, which opened on Tuesday night, does transport you into infernal eternity. It turns out to be a swell place for a hibernal vacation.

And by the way, Sartre got it wrong. Hell isn't just other people. It's a tacky bed-and-breakfast, albeit one with a really extensive library, next to a Costco parking lot.

A collaboration between the playwright David Greig ("The Events") and the director Wils Wilson, "The Strange Undoing of Prudencia Hart" is the ultimate shaggy Satan story. The script takes its cues from the border ballads so beloved of Sir Walter Scott, which sang of valiant knights and damsels errant, of dashing outlaws and tenacious ghosts, and had titles like "The Daemon Lover."

Such fantastical realms are the specialty of our Prudencia, an uptight academic from Edinburgh who comes to a conference in Kelso, a Scottish border town, one snowy night. There she is ridiculed by her fellow pedants, who have little use for her sentimental take on the genre; wooed by a fatuous professor who studies the folkways of football chants; and attacked by a group of drunken karaoke singers in a bar.



Melody Grove, surrounded by pub guests, as the title character of "The Strange Undoing of Prudencia Hart."

She is finally driven by these varied assaults into a winter wonderland from which she may never return. And that's just in the satirical lark that is the first act. In the show's second half, Prudencia discovers the hypnotic, perversely sensual landscape of life after life and the respective powers of poetry and prose.

She also has the chance to dance — among other things — with the Devil, who (being a slippery character) is embodied by

two actors and has a fabulous wardrobe of red jackets. Shakespeare's assertion that the "devil hath power t'assume a pleasing shape" is confirmed many times over.

"Prudencia Hart" is performed by a multifarious ensemble of five, which includes the show's musical director, Alasdair Macrae. The others are Annie Grace, Peter Hannah, Paul McCole and, as Prudencia, the euphoniously named Melody Grove, whose latter-day fairy-tale attire is worth noting.

## THE STRANGE UNDOING OF PRUDENCIA HART

**Tickets** Through Jan. 29. McKittrick Hotel, Manhattan, 866-811-4111, strangeundoing.com. Running time: 2 hours 30 minutes.

**Credits** By David Greig; directed by Wils Wilson; musical director, Alasdair Macrae; designed by Georgia McGuinness; movement director, Janice Parker. Presented by the McKittrick Hotel and the National Theater of Scotland.

**Cast** Annie Grace, Melody Grove, Peter Hannah, Paul McCole and Alasdair Macrae.

(The show's designer is Georgia McGuinness.)

All the performers are dab hands with an assortment of instruments, musical styles and instant impersonations. They are also most companionable hosts in the specially outfitted pub through which they wander. You are encouraged to drink (preferably whisky), eat, assist in the creation of a snowstorm and help clear your table when somebody needs it to simulate falling through a gap in time.

The prevailing style might be called populist highbrow or perhaps raised lowbrow (you might want to bone up on Kylie Minogue songs), except that "Prudencia Hart" sends up and explodes such categories. It shifts seamlessly from robust silliness to sensual dreaminess, as the mind tends to through the course of successive whiskies. (Note to teetotalers: You don't need to drink to become inebriated here.)

Before the show began, one of the actors who visited my table explained that "Prudencia Hart" is set in 2010, a "time when there was still hope." For anyone who needs to turn back the clock for a few hours, this happy mindbender offers the best deal going on time travel.

ZACHARY WOOLFE | OPERA REVIEW



SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

# James Levine and Plácido Domingo Rock the Met

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

then, in the warmth and polish they showed together in this "Nabucco," the culmination of a joint history at the Met that dates to a Nov. 4, 1971, performance of yet another Verdi opera, "Luisa Miller." They never stood side by side on Monday, even at the curtain calls — Mr. Levine now stays in the pit for those — but they were effortlessly in sync the whole evening, two men with both a foundation of vast experience and the fire of something to prove.

In the midst of his health struggles, Mr. Domingo, one of the 20th century's most distinguished tenors, reinvented himself as a Verdi baritone, a very different beast. This has resulted in unexpected returns to operas in which he once triumphed: After singing the upstart Ismaele in "Nabucco" decades ago, he has recently taken on the opera's title role: the ancient Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, who sacks Jerusalem and captures its inhabitants before going briefly mad.

While the deeper notes of this new repertory are in Mr. Domingo's range, the basic color of his voice, its center of gravity, is still

too high for him to be fully persuasive at all times. (And even a baritone's highest notes don't come as easily to him as they once would have.) It is, as I've said before, a kind of drag act, if often a convincing one.

He was perfectly impressive — stern and sonorous — as the disapproving bourgeois patriarch of "La Traviata." As the title character in "Simon Boccanegra," he has sung smoothly enough; the issue is that Verdi carefully calibrated and combined the voices in that male-heavy opera — deep, deeper, deepest — for an effect distorted by Mr. Domingo.

More vigorous characters, demanding more sustained, arching rainbows of tone, have proved more unfortunate: I'm thinking of his ill-fated performances as the Count di Luna in "Il Trovatore" and, God help him, Don Carlo in "Ernani." He unveiled his Macbeth last year. As for Rigoletto, the Everest of this group, well, Mr. Domingo has sung it. I, for worse or for better, have not heard it.

Nabucco works as well for him as any of these. His voice still has extraordinary volume and a warm, penetrating presence. If a hint of brittleness is now detectable in Mr. Domingo's tone, an occasionally question-

able pitch and some fogginess at the bottom of his range, he sounds remarkably fresh and vibrant. He poignantly underplayed Nabucco's descent into madness — no flailing or wild eyes — and his heartfelt prayer, "Dio di Giuda," felt less a showpiece than a moment of sober intimacy.

None of Mr. Domingo's four co-stars had been born yet when he and Mr. Levine first appeared together at the Met. But rather than seeming like the backing band at a reunion tour, this youthful company appears whipped up by the occasion. The smoldering, deliciously wild-toned soprano Liudmyla Monastyrska attacks the ferocious music for Abigail, the Babylonian slave turned queen, as if she's scaling a rock face with an ice ax. (She also knows just the divalike way to kick a fragment of a ripped document out of her way as she strides imperiously up some temple stairs.)

Russell Thomas, a tenor of gorgeously burnished power, and Jamie Barton, whose mezzo pours out like lava, are luxury casting as the star-crossed lovers, Ismaele (Israelite) and Fenena (sigh, Babylonian). Dmitry Belosselskiy's capacious bass is well suited to the pronouncements of Zaccaria, the Israelites' high priest.

## Nabucco

Through Jan. 7 at the Metropolitan Opera House, Lincoln Center; 212-362-6000, metopera.org.

A scene from "Nabucco," with Plácido Domingo, conducted by James Levine, at the Metropolitan Opera House.

"Nabucco" is defined by its choruses, much as Rossini's "Guillaume Tell," at the Met earlier this season, is. The company's ensemble, under the direction of Donald Palumbo, rose to the occasion with massed yet transparent, shimmering singing.

Its climactic number is the great "Va, pensiero," a prayer for God to give these Israelites the courage to endure their suffering and a lament for the homeland from which they have been exiled — a country "so beautiful and lost." The audience kept applauding until the lilting, sinuous melody was repeated. It may be just what people need to hear right now.

Clearly doing well since being freed of his day-to-day duties as music director — his arm and hand movements look more precise and controlled than a year ago — Mr. Levine guided the number with flowing grace. He led the entire performance with an energy that never felt pressured; the score surged inexorably forward, though with the confidence and, yes, maturity, to linger in lyrical moments, serene and calm.

Deep in the opera, Nabucco sings, "What shame has fallen upon me in my old age." Well, there was none of that here for a triumphant Mr. Domingo and Mr. Levine.

# At 26, the Year Everything Came Together

From hits to awards to 'Saturday Night Live,' Maren Morris has had an epic 2016.

By JOE COSCARELLI

In between being nominated for four Grammy Awards and performing as the musical guest on "Saturday Night Live" last week, the 26-year-old country singer Maren Morris had work to do.

First, there were back-to-back promotional appearances at radio station holiday concerts, followed by a red-eye flight from Phoenix to New York, where she was due to perform and accept the breakthrough star award at Billboard's Women in Music event. (Madonna, to Ms. Morris's delight, was seated at the next table.) From that Friday afternoon gala, it was straight to "S.N.L." for rehearsal and a photo shoot; before dinner and an early bedtime, she had to squeeze in a spray tan as well.

It was just that kind of year, in which the honors and obligations rarely ceased for Ms. Morris, who released her polished, self-assured major-label debut, "Hero," in June, topping the country album chart and reaching No. 5 on the Billboard 200. She also opened for Keith Urban on her first major tour and won new artist of the year last month at the Country Music Association Awards in a Nashville anointing that recalled that of Chris Stapleton, another faceless songwriter-turned-star, in 2015, or of Kacey Musgraves two years earlier.

But while Mr. Stapleton represented Nashville's idealized version of itself — reverent, timeless, male — and Ms. Musgraves Trojan-horsed her progressive values in classic country packaging, Ms. Morris, who will be up for best new artist and best country album at the Grammys in February, has been embraced by the country establishment even as she flaunts her idiosyncrasies (matter-of-fact feminism, tattoos, a nose ring) and hints at broader ambitions with Top 40-ready hooks.

"I've always had an ear for melodies, and they veer pop," Ms. Morris said in an interview during a rare down moment last week. "My lyrics are more country — what I love is the storytelling and the structure, how tight the rhymes can be. But pop melodies have always been intrinsically linked to my writing style."

"I'm a '90s kid," Ms. Morris added, "so I loved 'NSync and the Spice Girls."

Those generational omnivorous instincts are all over "Hero," which blends soul, R&B and a modern conversational tone with its more standard country elements, making her potential for crossing over less a fraught hypothetical than something baked into the design from Day 1. Already, though digital streaming has not been a strength for country, Ms. Morris's two singles, "My Church" and "80s Mercedes," have a combined 100 million streams, according to Nielsen Music.

At her "S.N.L." rehearsal, Ms. Morris, the only country artist to play the show this season, was dwarfed by a white acoustic guitar as she tweaked sound levels like an old pro, delivering TV-ready takes into a gold microphone with the same effortless swagger every time.

It wasn't just that she'd been touring these hits for a year. Ms. Morris, who was raised in Dallas, began performing and writing songs as a child, and was playing honky-tonks across Texas and Oklahoma in her preteen years, thanks to a preternatural drive and supportive parents. "They never wrote it off as a hobby or something silly," she said. "There was just never a doubt in their mind that this was the real thing."

Yet years of low-budget touring and independent releases — with rejections along the way from "American Idol" and "The Voice" — took their toll. "It's funny to think that at 22 years old, I was really burned out from being on the road for 10 years," Ms. Morris said.

She decamped for the capital of country music not exactly to make it, but to recede. "I didn't move to Nashville with any inking or dreams of getting a record deal," she said. "I didn't have those stars in my eyes. I just



WILL HEATH/NBC

wanted to take a break, relax and figure out songwriting."

In a collaborative town, that came quickly, and Ms. Morris scored her first placements as a professional songwriter for Tim McGraw and Kelly Clarkson. The behind-the-scenes work had its perks. "You get to just sit" and "be creative with your friends every day," she said. "You're done by 3 o'clock and you go have a beer."

But Ms. Morris soon realized that her favorite song drafts were languishing on the open market, with its limited pool of major female performers. On country radio, the lack of gender diversity "was really blindingly obvious," she recalled. "You'd hear 10 or 11 guys, and then maybe they'd play Carrie Underwood."

As a writer, "I was taking it personally," she said, "because I just kept getting the same email once we turned in a song: 'We love this, but honestly we have no idea who to even send it to.' This is so you — you should make a record!"

Though it took some convincing to return to the artist grind, Ms. Morris did start squirreling away the most personal of her compositions from her freelance writing sessions, beginning with the pristine I-dumped-you breakup ballad "I Wish I Was." Soon, she had the core of "Hero": songs good enough for established stars but with a fresh point of view.

"I didn't want to write about chasing down a boy or how in love with a person I was," she said.

With a body of work at the ready, the rest was business strategy. Instead of signing a

tweaking sound levels like an old pro: above, Maren Morris performing on "Saturday Night Live" last weekend and, right, in a publicity shot.

**A singer embraced by the country establishment even as she flaunts her idiosyncrasies and hints at broader ambitions with Top 40-ready hooks.**



ROBBIE KLEIN

small record deal, Ms. Morris worked with only her manager, Janet Weir, to place five songs independently, including "My Church," on Spotify, where they quickly earned more than 2.5 million plays and caught the attention of major labels in the summer of 2015.

She ultimately signed with Columbia Nashville because the label was willing to move fastest. "I didn't want to sit on it," Ms. Morris said. "I didn't want to go through a year or two of development — it was already developed."

By January, "My Church" had been rereleased with corporate backing, and Ms. Morris's epic, almost worryingly smooth 2016 was set into motion. "I've crossed so many things off my bucket list," she said. "I didn't even know I could fit all this into one year."

Still, sometimes it's the little things. In her dressing room at "S.N.L.," after all the awards and the attention, Ms. Morris discovered a gift from the show: a pile of candy bars with her face on the wrapper. She couldn't help squealing.

DWIGHT GARNER | BOOKS OF THE TIMES

## A Place at the Table for Good Manners

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

World and Why Bother," is not the first person you would expect to deliver a book about decorum. In the 1970s, when he was the co-owner (alongside Alice Waters) and executive chef of Chez Panisse, the venerable restaurant in Berkeley, Calif., he was the food world's best-known libertine, snorting cocaine in the kitchen while imbibing magnums of Sauternes.

In his indispensable history of modern American cuisine, "The United States of Arugula" (2006), David Kamp described the "Caligulan" atmosphere in Mr. Tower's kitchen, as well as the "Fleetwood Mac-like carnival of sexual entanglements" in which he was lead satyr. Then again, who ever said having good manners meant you could not know glee?

Mr. Tower's new primer is a small book that, like most etiquette volumes, delivers a great deal of advice so obvious as to be numbing. Be clean; be polite; when in doubt, such as when confronted by unknowns (finger bowls, artichokes, fish knives), watch what others do; follow the Golden Rule.

Mr. Tower gets off to a bad start when, in his introduction, he tries to give the Golden Rule an upgrade. He refers to "the Platinum Rule: do unto others as they would have you do." This coinage must be rubbed out before it spreads. Perhaps we can call upon that savviest of Bond villains, Platinumfinger.

The author soon finds his footing (though



LARRY BUSACCA/GETTY IMAGES

**Table Manners: How to Behave in the Modern World and Why Bother**

By Jeremiah Tower  
Illustrated. 148 pages. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. \$20.

he loses it again, as we shall see, when talking about cellphone etiquette), and "Table Manners" becomes an amiable and frequently witty guide to dining room etiquette as it stands in the waning days of the Obama era.

Mr. Tower attends to reality by admitting that "the train of the old rule about never putting your elbows on the table left the station a long time ago: as long as you aren't eating while you put them there, and as long

as the host is occasionally doing the same thing."

He drops a precision strike on so-called palate-cleansing courses, like sorbets: "All that untimely ice is a vicious attack on one's palate and a fraudulent attempt to put class into a meal. Just serving it shows that you don't know what you are doing."

Mr. Tower writes particularly well about that most essential ingredient at a dinner party: the conversation. Never deliver a medical monologue, or as he puts it, "leave the organ recitals for the concert hall." He reminds us that "place-dropping is as bad as name-dropping."

I like his strictures about sex talk: "Sex is an acceptable subject when it is about other people, kind, funny, and spoken of with an air of astonishment."

He regards bringing up news headlines at the table as, at best, a junior-varsity-level move: "Everyone has seen the story at least three times that day on one media form or another. So, to be captivating, it had better be an approaching hurricane, a just-in presidential election result, or a declaration of war."

"Table Manners" includes a section, titled "Technique," about cellphone behavior. I find Mr. Tower's advice here to be diabolically perverse, a platinum thumb up the nose of the rule formerly known as golden. "Go ahead and text" at the table, he writes, though he warns this might exclude others around you.

He says that using a *speakerphone* at the table is O.K. if you "keep it down." This is heretical. He writes: "As for taking pictures of every dish, if they can be done quickly, without disrupting the service and without annoying the other guests, go for it." Is that rumbling sound the opening of the Seventh Seal?

Your cellphone is O.K. on the table, he writes, if its screen is facing down. I am experiencing outrage fatigue. The best cellphone maneuver I've heard about — it is supposedly seen at some restaurants in Silicon Valley — is as follows: Before ordering, everyone places his or her cellphone in a pile at the center of the table. The first person to retrieve a phone must pick up the tab.

Mr. Tower frowns on hosts who, to freshen conversation, "ask everyone to switch seats between courses." Yes, that's overkill. But I'd argue (he doesn't) that with a group of eight or more, having one person from each end of the table switch places before dessert is usually a welcome tweak to the evening.

The best thing about Mr. Tower's book is that it is driven by his interest in pleasure — his and ours. This word to wine snobs is typical of his advice here: "Please don't bring up the old rag about cocktails destroying one's palate. So does toothpaste, but a Negroni is a lot more fun."

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	The Insider "The Celebrity Apprentice." (N)	Entertainment Tonight (N) (G)	Survivor "I'm Going for a Million Bucks." One castaway is crowned Sole Survivor. (Season Finale) (N) (PG)	Survivor "I'm Going for a Million Bucks." One castaway is crowned Sole Survivor. (Season Finale) (N) (PG)	Survivor "Reunion Special." The castaways reunite. (N) (PG)	Survivor "Reunion Special." The castaways reunite. (N) (PG)	News (N)	News (N)	News (N)	The Late Show With Stephen Colbert Neil Patrick Harris; Megan Mullally. (N) (PG) (11:35)	The Late Show With Stephen Colbert Neil Patrick Harris; Megan Mullally. (N) (PG) (11:35)
4 WNBC	Extra (N) (PG)	Access Hollywood (N) (PG)	● A Pentatonix Christmas Special Pentatonix performs holiday favorites. (N) (PG)	● A Pentatonix Christmas Special Pentatonix performs holiday favorites. (N) (PG)	Saturday Night Live "A Saturday Night Live Christmas Special." Holiday-themed sketches. (N) (14)	Saturday Night Live "A Saturday Night Live Christmas Special." Holiday-themed sketches. (N) (14)	News (N)	News (N)	News (N)	The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon Arnold Schwarzenegger; Elle Fanning. (N) (14) (11:34)	The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon Arnold Schwarzenegger; Elle Fanning. (N) (14) (11:34)
5 WNYW	Modern Family "iSpy." (PG)	Modern Family "The Feud." (PG)	● Empire "A Furnace for Your Foe." The F.B.I. freezes Empire's assets. (N) (14)	● Empire "A Furnace for Your Foe." The F.B.I. freezes Empire's assets. (N) (14)	● Star "Pilot." Star and her companions head to Atlanta. (Series Premiere) (N) (14)	● Star "Pilot." Star and her companions head to Atlanta. (Series Premiere) (N) (14)	News (N)	News (N)	The Big Bang Theory (PG)	The Simpsons (PG)	Harry Andy Cohen; Kyle Richards; Train. (N) (11:35)
7 WABC	Jeopardy! (N) (G)	Wheel of Fortune "Fabulous Food." (N) (G)	The Goldbergs "Han Ukkah Solo." (N) (PG)	Speechless "C-H-O-I-R." (N) (PG)	Modern Family "Snow Ball." (N) (PG)	black-ish "Just Christmas, Baby." (N) (PG) (9:31)	Designated Survivor "The Oath." President Kirman suspects a traitor. (N) (PG)	Designated Survivor "The Oath." President Kirman suspects a traitor. (N) (PG)	News (N)	News (N)	Jimmy Kimmel Live Actor David Spade; Metallica performs. (N) (14) (11:35)
9 WWOR	Family Feud (PG)	The Big Bang Theory (PG)	Marvel's Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D. "Shadows." (PG)	Marvel's Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D. "Shadows." (PG)	Marvel's Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D. "Heavy Is the Head." (PG)	Marvel's Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D. "Heavy Is the Head." (PG)	News (N)	Inside Edition (N) (PG)	TMZ Live (N) (PG)	TMZ Live (N) (PG)	Anger Management (14)
11 WPIX	Two and a Half Men (14)	Two and a Half Men (14)	Top 12 Greatest Christmas Movies of All Time (N) (PG)	Top 12 Greatest Christmas Movies of All Time (N) (PG)	The Victoria's Secret Fashion Show Women model lingerie. (14)	The Victoria's Secret Fashion Show Women model lingerie. (14)	News (N)	News (N)	Seinfeld (PG)	Seinfeld "The Lip Reader." (PG)	Friends (Part 1 of 2) (PG)
13 WNET	PBS NewsHour (N)	PBS NewsHour (N)	Nature "Legendary White Stallions." Lipizzaner stallions bond with riders.	Nature "Legendary White Stallions." Lipizzaner stallions bond with riders.	John Glenn: A Life of Service (G)	John Glenn: A Life of Service (G)	Secrets of the Dead "Van Gogh's Ear." (N) (PG)	Secrets of the Dead "Van Gogh's Ear." (N) (PG)	Charlie Rose (N) (G)	Charlie Rose (N) (G)	Tavis Smiley (N) (Part 2 of 2) (G)
21 WLWV	MetroFocus	Business Report	Downton Abbey on Masterpiece (PG)	Downton Abbey on Masterpiece (PG)	Downton Abbey on Masterpiece (PG)	Downton Abbey on Masterpiece (PG)	EastEnders (PG)	EastEnders (PG)	MetroFocus	World News	Nature (PG)
25 WNYE	92Y on N.Y.C. Life	92Y on N.Y.C. Life	Secrets	Blueprint: N.Y.C.	Neighborhood	Eating Harlem	\$9.99	Asian American	Speakeasy (PG)	Speakeasy (PG)	Faces-Philanth
31 WFPXN	Law & Order "Embedded." (14)	Law & Order "Embedded." (14)	Law & Order "Ill-Conceived." (14)	Law & Order "Ill-Conceived." (14)	Law & Order "Darwinian." (14)	Law & Order "Darwinian." (14)	Law & Order "Payback." (14)	Law & Order "Payback." (14)	Law & Order (14)	Law & Order (14)	Law & Order (14)
41 WXTV	La Rosa de Guadalupe (N) (14)	La Rosa de Guadalupe (N) (14)	Despertar Contigo (N) (14)	Despertar Contigo (N) (14)	Vino de Amor (N) (14)	Vino de Amor (N) (14)	El Color de la Pasión (N) (14)	El Color de la Pasión (N) (14)	Noticias (N)	Noticiero Uni	Deportivo
47 WNJU	Caso Cerrado: Edición Estelar (N)	Caso Cerrado: Edición Estelar (N)	Silvana Sin Lana (N) (14)	Silvana Sin Lana (N) (14)	La Doña (N)	La Doña (N)	El Chema (N)	El Chema (N)	Noticias	Titulares y Más	La Doña
48 WRNN	Cinco (N)	Mercy Ships	Best Pan Ever!	Best Pan Ever!	Scrub Now	No-Fat Fried Foods - Yes! Really!	Stevie Wonder	Stevie Wonder	Cindy Crawford	Cindy Crawford	Age Spots
49 CPTV	PBS NewsHour (N)	PBS NewsHour (N)	Da Vinci: The Lost Treasure	Da Vinci: The Lost Treasure	Nova "Mystery of a Masterpiece."	Nova "Mystery of a Masterpiece."	Secrets of the Dead (N) (PG)	Secrets of the Dead (N) (PG)	Sister Wendy/Museum	Sister Wendy/Museum	NHK Newsline
50 WNJN	One on One	News	Pasta Politics	Dec. Miracles	Poldark on Masterpiece (PG)	Poldark on Masterpiece (PG)	The Durrells in Corfu	The Durrells in Corfu	News	Classroom	Charlie Rose (N)
55 WLNY	Mike & Molly	Mike & Molly	Dr. Phil (N) (PG)	Dr. Phil (N) (PG)	News (N)	News (N)	Judge Judy (PG)	Judge Judy (PG)	2 Broke Girls	2 Broke Girls	Ent. Tonight
63 WMBC	Darkspots	Regrow Hair	Bible School	Change-World	News	Christian CEOs	More Hair	Skin Secrets	Larry King Sp.	Regrow Hair	Wrinkles!
68 WFUT	Qué Pobres Tan Ricos (6)	Qué Pobres Tan Ricos (6)	Moisés, Los 10 Mandamientos	Moisés, Los 10 Mandamientos	La Viuda Negra (14)	La Viuda Negra (14)	Bloque de Búsqueda (MA)	Bloque de Búsqueda (MA)	Noticias (N)	Noticiero Uni	Laura (14)

## PREMIUM CABLE

	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	12:00	
FLIX	Dreamscape (1984). Dennis Quaid, Max Von Sydow. (PG-13) (6:15)	Dreamscape (1984). Dennis Quaid, Max Von Sydow. (PG-13) (6:15)	School for Scoundrels (2006). Professor and student love the same woman. Squandered Billy Bob. (PG-13)	School for Scoundrels (2006). Professor and student love the same woman. Squandered Billy Bob. (PG-13)	Sling Blade (1996). Billy Bob Thornton. Mentally impaired man with violent past. Slow pace but powerful characterizations. (R) (9:45)	Sling Blade (1996). Billy Bob Thornton. Mentally impaired man with violent past. Slow pace but powerful characterizations. (R) (9:45)	★ Traffic (2000). Don Cheadle. (R)	★ Traffic (2000). Don Cheadle. (R)	★ Traffic (2000). Don Cheadle. (R)	★ Traffic (2000). Don Cheadle. (R)	★ Traffic (2000). Don Cheadle. (R)	★ Traffic (2000). Don Cheadle. (R)
HBO	★ Cast Away (2000) (PG-13) (5:05)	Vice News Tonight (N)	State of Play	Divorce "Dé-tente." (MA)	Eddie the Eagle (2016). Taron Egerton, Hugh Jackman. Ski jumper becomes unlikely Olympian. Ramps up the clichés. (PG-13) (9:05)	Eddie the Eagle (2016). Taron Egerton, Hugh Jackman. Ski jumper becomes unlikely Olympian. Ramps up the clichés. (PG-13) (9:05)	Fight Game With Jim Lampley	Mariela Castro's March	Keanu (2016). (R) (12:15)	Keanu (2016). (R) (12:15)	My Life in Ruins (2009). (PG-13)	
HBO2	Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice (2016). (PG-13) (5:25)	Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice (2016). (PG-13) (5:25)	How to Be Single (2016). Dakota Johnson, Rebel Wilson. Single woman, big city, wacky friends. You won't be that into it. (R)	How to Be Single (2016). Dakota Johnson, Rebel Wilson. Single woman, big city, wacky friends. You won't be that into it. (R)	Old School (2003). Luke Wilson, Will Ferrell. (9:50)	Old School (2003). Luke Wilson, Will Ferrell. (9:50)	Divorce "Dé-tente." (11:25)	Divorce "Dé-tente." (11:25)	The Banger Sisters (2002). (12:05)	The Banger Sisters (2002). (12:05)	The Banger Sisters (2002). (12:05)	
MAX	Road House (1989). Young bar-room bouncer. Absurd. (R) (6)	Road House (1989). Young bar-room bouncer. Absurd. (R) (6)	★ Magic Mike XXL (2015). Channing Tatum, Matt Bomer. Stripper Mike comes out of retirement. Outrageously entertaining sequel. (R)	★ Magic Mike XXL (2015). Channing Tatum, Matt Bomer. Stripper Mike comes out of retirement. Outrageously entertaining sequel. (R)	★ Trainwreck (2015). Amy Schumer, Bill Hader. Commitment-phobic woman considers monogamy. Energizing and exciting. (R)	★ Trainwreck (2015). Amy Schumer, Bill Hader. Commitment-phobic woman considers monogamy. Energizing and exciting. (R)	★ Trainwreck (2015). Amy Schumer, Bill Hader. Commitment-phobic woman considers monogamy. Energizing and exciting. (R)	★ Trainwreck (2015). Amy Schumer, Bill Hader. Commitment-phobic woman considers monogamy. Energizing and exciting. (R)	★ Trainwreck (2015). Amy Schumer, Bill Hader. Commitment-phobic woman considers monogamy. Energizing and exciting. (R)	★ Trainwreck (2015). Amy Schumer, Bill Hader. Commitment-phobic woman considers monogamy. Energizing and exciting. (R)	★ Trainwreck (2015). Amy Schumer, Bill Hader. Commitment-phobic woman considers monogamy. Energizing and exciting. (R)	
SHO	★ Fargo (1996). Frances McDormand, William H. Macy. Car salesman sets up kidnapping. Coen's snowbound film noir, merry and macabre. (R) (7:15)	★ Fargo (1996). Frances McDormand, William H. Macy. Car salesman sets up kidnapping. Coen's snowbound film noir, merry and macabre. (R) (7:15)	★ Fargo (1996). Frances McDormand, William H. Macy. Car salesman sets up kidnapping. Coen's snowbound film noir, merry and macabre. (R) (7:15)	★ Fargo (1996). Frances McDormand, William H. Macy. Car salesman sets up kidnapping. Coen's snowbound film noir, merry and macabre. (R) (7:15)	The Hateful Eight (2015). Samuel L. Jackson, Kurt Russell. Bounty hunter and others meet at frontier outpost. Lesser Tarantino. (R)	The Hateful Eight (2015). Samuel L. Jackson, Kurt Russell. Bounty hunter and others meet at frontier outpost. Lesser Tarantino. (R)	Jimmy Vestwood: Amerikan Hero Man becomes embroiled in conspiracy. (14)	Jimmy Vestwood: Amerikan Hero Man becomes embroiled in conspiracy. (14)	St. Vincent (2014). Bill Murray, Melissa McCarthy. (PG-13)	St. Vincent (2014). Bill Murray, Melissa McCarthy. (PG-13)	St. Vincent (2014). Bill Murray, Melissa McCarthy. (PG-13)	
SHO2	Listen to Me Marlon (2015). (6)	Bert Kreischer: The Machine (MA) (7:45)	Bert Kreischer: The Machine (MA) (7:45)	Bert Kreischer: The Machine (MA) (7:45)	Tony Roberts: Motorcity Motor-mouth (MA)	Tony Roberts: Motorcity Motor-mouth (MA)	Jimmy Vestwood: Amerikan Hero Man becomes embroiled in conspiracy. (14)	Jimmy Vestwood: Amerikan Hero Man becomes embroiled in conspiracy. (14)	St. Vincent (2014). Bill Murray, Melissa McCarthy. (PG-13)	St. Vincent (2014). Bill Murray, Melissa McCarthy. (PG-13)	St. Vincent (2014). Bill Murray, Melissa McCarthy. (PG-13)	
STARZ	Nine Months (1995). Hugh Grant, Julianne Moore. Child psychologist panics over girlfriend's pregnancy. Phony, uneven, raucously funny. (PG-13) (7:15)	Nine Months (1995). Hugh Grant, Julianne Moore. Child psychologist panics over girlfriend's pregnancy. Phony, uneven, raucously funny. (PG-13) (7:15)	Nine Months (1995). Hugh Grant, Julianne Moore. Child psychologist panics over girlfriend's pregnancy. Phony, uneven, raucously funny. (PG-13) (7:15)	Nine Months (1995). Hugh Grant, Julianne Moore. Child psychologist panics over girlfriend's pregnancy. Phony, uneven, raucously funny. (PG-13) (7:15)	Blunt Talk (MA)	The Night Before (2015). Seth Rogen. Lifelong friends party on Christmas Eve. Seasonal endurance test. (R)	The Night Before (2015). Seth Rogen. Lifelong friends party on Christmas Eve. Seasonal endurance test. (R)	I Saw the Light (2015). Tom Hiddleston. Life of singer Hank Williams. As inert as it is pretty. (R) (11:15)	I Saw the Light (2015). Tom Hiddleston. Life of singer Hank Williams. As inert as it is pretty. (R) (11:15)	I Saw the Light (2015). Tom Hiddleston. Life of singer Hank Williams. As inert as it is pretty. (R) (11:15)	I Saw the Light (2015). Tom Hiddleston. Life of singer Hank Williams. As inert as it is pretty. (R) (11:15)	
STZNC	High Plains Drifter (1973). Clint Eastwood, Vera Bloom. Small town hires mysterious stranger to protect citizens. Low-tide leftover. (R) (7:15)	High Plains Drifter (1973). Clint Eastwood, Vera Bloom. Small town hires mysterious stranger to protect citizens. Low-tide leftover. (R) (7:15)	High Plains Drifter (1973). Clint Eastwood, Vera Bloom. Small town hires mysterious stranger to protect citizens. Low-tide leftover. (R) (7:15)	High Plains Drifter (1973). Clint Eastwood, Vera Bloom. Small town hires mysterious stranger to protect citizens. Low-tide leftover. (R) (7:15)	★ True Lies (1994). Jamie Lee Curtis, Arnold Schwarzenegger. Wife learns husband is international spy. Lively, satiric eye-filler. (R)	★ True Lies (1994). Jamie Lee Curtis, Arnold Schwarzenegger. Wife learns husband is international spy. Lively, satiric eye-filler. (R)	★ True Lies (1994). Jamie Lee Curtis, Arnold Schwarzenegger. Wife learns husband is international spy. Lively, satiric eye-filler. (R)	★ An Officer and a Gentleman (1982). Richard Gere. (R) (11:25)	★ An Officer and a Gentleman (1982). Richard Gere. (R) (11:25)	★ An Officer and a Gentleman (1982). Richard Gere. (R) (11:25)	★ An Officer and a Gentleman (1982). Richard Gere. (R) (11:25)	
TMC	★ Good Kill (2014). Ethan Hawke, January Jones. (R) (6:15)	★ Good Kill (2014). Ethan Hawke, January Jones. (R) (6:15)	★ Hoop Dreams (1994). Inner-city teenagers want pro basketball careers. Brilliantly revealing documentary. (PG-13)	★ Hoop Dreams (1994). Inner-city teenagers want pro basketball careers. Brilliantly revealing documentary. (PG-13)	★ Hoop Dreams (1994). Inner-city teenagers want pro basketball careers. Brilliantly revealing documentary. (PG-13)	★ Hoop Dreams (1994). Inner-city teenagers want pro basketball careers. Brilliantly revealing documentary. (PG-13)	★ Hoop Dreams (1994). Inner-city teenagers want pro basketball careers. Brilliantly revealing documentary. (PG-13)	Stretch and Bobbito: Radio That Changed Lives (2015). No actors. Impact of hip-hop radio shows.	Stretch and Bobbito: Radio That Changed Lives (2015). No actors. Impact of hip-hop radio shows.	Stretch and Bobbito: Radio That Changed Lives (2015). No actors. Impact of hip-hop radio shows.	Stretch and Bobbito: Radio That Changed Lives (2015). No actors. Impact of hip-hop radio shows.	

## 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	Duck Dynasty (PG)	Duck Dynasty "Going Siral." (PG)	Duck Dynasty (PG) (8:05)	Duck Dynasty (PG) (8:32)	Duck Dynasty (N) (PG)	Going Siral (N) (PG)	Wahlburgers (N) (PG) (10:01)	Leah Remini: Scientology and the Aftermath "The Bridge." (14) (10:32) (PG) (11:33)	Duck Dynasty (PG) (12:08)	Duck Dynasty (PG) (12:08)	Duck Dynasty (PG) (12:08)
AHC	★ Glory (1989). Matthew Broderick. Valiant black Civil War regiment. Beautifully played, with real impact. (R)	★ Glory (1989). Matthew Broderick. Valiant black Civil War regiment. Beautifully played, with real impact. (R)	★ Glory (1989). Matthew Broderick. Valiant black Civil War regiment. Beautifully played, with real impact. (R)	★ Glory (1989). Matthew Broderick. Valiant black Civil War regiment. Beautifully played, with real impact. (R)	★ Glory (1989). Matthew Broderick. Valiant black Civil War regiment. Beautifully played, with real impact. (R)	★ Glory (1989). Matthew Broderick. Valiant black Civil War regiment. Beautifully played, with real impact. (R)	★ Glory (1989). Matthew Broderick. Valiant black Civil War regiment. Beautifully played, with real impact. (R)	★ Glory (1989). Matthew Broderick. Valiant black Civil War regiment. Beautifully played, with real impact. (R)	★ Glory (1989). Matthew Broderick. Valiant black Civil War regiment. Beautifully played, with real impact. (R)	★ Glory (1989). Matthew Broderick. Valiant black Civil War regiment. Beautifully played, with real impact. (R)	★ Glory (1989). Matthew Broderick. Valiant black Civil War regiment. Beautifully played, with real impact. (R)
AMC	★ The Goonies (1985). Sean Astin, Josh Brolin. (PG) (5:30)	★ The Goonies (1985). Sean Astin, Josh Brolin. (PG) (5:30)	★ Home Alone 2: Lost in New York (1992). Macaulay Culkin. Formulaic sequel, at Plaza Hotel. More violent, less fresh than original. (PG)	★ Home Alone 2: Lost in New York (1992). Macaulay Culkin. Formulaic sequel, at Plaza Hotel. More violent, less fresh than original. (PG)	★ Home Alone 2: Lost in New York (1992). Macaulay Culkin. Formulaic sequel, at Plaza Hotel. More violent, less fresh than original. (PG)	★ Home Alone 2: Lost in New York (1992). Macaulay Culkin. Formulaic sequel, at Plaza Hotel. More violent, less fresh than original. (PG)	★ Home Alone 2: Lost in New York (1992). Macaulay Culkin. Formulaic sequel, at Plaza Hotel. More violent, less fresh than original. (PG)	★ Home Alone 2: Lost in New York (1992). Macaulay Culkin. Formulaic sequel, at Plaza Hotel. More violent, less fresh than original. (PG)	★ Home Alone 2: Lost in New York (1992). Macaulay Culkin. Formulaic sequel, at Plaza Hotel. More violent, less fresh than original. (PG)	★ Home Alone 2: Lost in New York (1992). Macaulay Culkin. Formulaic sequel, at Plaza Hotel. More violent, less fresh than original. (PG)	★ Home Alone 2: Lost in New York (1992). Macaulay Culkin. Formulaic sequel, at Plaza Hotel. More violent, less fresh than original. (PG)
APL	Too Cute! (G)	Too Cute! (G)	Too Cute! (G) (8:32)	Too Cute! (G) (9:02)	Too Cute! (G) (9:02)	Too Cute! (G) (9:02)	Too Cute! (G) (10:02)	Too Cute! (G) (10:02)	Too Cute! (11:02)	Too Cute! (11:32)	Too Cute! (12:02)
BBCA	Underworld (2003). (R) (5:30)	Underworld: Evolution (2006). Kate Beckinsale, Scott Speedman. (R)	Underworld: Evolution (2006). Kate Beckinsale, Scott Speedman. (R)	Underworld: Evolution (2006). Kate Beckinsale, Scott Speedman. (R)	Underworld: Evolution (2006). Kate Beckinsale, Scott Speedman. (R)	Underworld: Evolution (2006). Kate Beckinsale, Scott Speedman. (R)	BBC Music Awards "2016." Celebrating the year's music. (N) (14)	BBC Music Awards "2016." Celebrating the year's music. (N) (14)	Underworld	Underworld	Underworld
BET	Kevin Hart: Laugh at My Pain (2011). Kevin Hart. The comedian performs his stand-up routine. (R)	Kevin Hart: Let Me Explain (2013). Documentary. Comedian in concert. (R) (8:25)	Kevin Hart: Let Me Explain (2013). Documentary. Comedian in concert. (R) (8:25)	Kevin Hart: Let Me Explain (2013). Documentary. Comedian in concert. (R) (8:25)	Kevin Hart: Let Me Explain (2013). Documentary. Comedian in concert. (R) (8:25)	Kevin Hart: Let Me Explain (2013). Documentary. Comedian in concert. (R) (8:25)	Kevin Hart: Let Me Explain (2013). Documentary. Comedian in concert. (R) (8:25)	Kevin Hart: Let Me Explain (2013). Documentary. Comedian in concert. (R) (8:25)	Kevin Hart: Let Me Explain (2013). Documentary. Comedian in concert. (R) (8:25)	Kevin Hart: Let Me Explain (2013). Documentary. Comedian in concert. (R) (8:25)	Kevin Hart: Let Me Explain (2013). Documentary. Comedian in concert. (R) (8:25)
BLOOM	Bloomberg Daybreak Asia (N) (G)	Peer	Bloom. Studio	Bloomberg Markets: Asia (N) (G)	Bloomberg Markets: Asia (N) (G)	Charlie Rose (G)	Bloomberg Markets: Middle East	Bloom. Tech.	Bloom. Tech.	Bloom. Tech.	Bloom. Tech.
BRV	Don't Be Tardy. (7:15)	Don't Be Tardy. (7:45)	Don't Be Tardy. (8:15)	The Real Housewives of Atlanta "Tastes Like Trouble." (14) (8:45)	The Real Housewives of Atlanta "Tastes Like Trouble." (14) (8:45)	Don't Be Tardy. (N) (14)	Don't Be Tardy. (14)	Don't Be Tardy. (14)	Watch What Happens Live	The Real Housewives of Atlanta "Tastes Like Trouble." (14)	The Real Housewives of Atlanta "Tastes Like Trouble." (14)
CBSSN	Undrafted	Undrafted	Undrafted	Inside College Football	Inside College Football	Poker Poker Central Charity Shootout. Part 2.	Inside Football	Inside Football	Inside Football	Inside Football	Inside Football
CMT	Last-Standing	Last-Standing	Zookeeper (2011). Kevin James. Animals offer love advice to shy keeper. (PG)	Zookeeper (2011). Kevin James. Animals offer love advice to shy keeper. (PG)	Zookeeper (2011). Kevin James. Animals offer love advice to shy keeper. (PG)	Messy but good-hearted. (PG)	Zookeeper (2011). Kevin James, Rosario Dawson. (PG)	Zookeeper (2011). Kevin James, Rosario Dawson. (PG)	Zookeeper (2011). Kevin James, Rosario Dawson. (PG)	Zookeeper (2011). Kevin James, Rosario Dawson. (PG)	Zookeeper (2011). Kevin James, Rosario Dawson. (PG)
CN	We Bare Bears	We Bare Bears	King of the Hill	King of the Hill	Cleveland Show	Bob's Burgers	American Dad	American Dad	Family Guy (14)	Family Guy (14)	Robot Chicken
CNBC	Jay Leno's Garage "Anarchy on Wheels." (PG)	Jay Leno's Garage "Anarchy on Wheels." (PG)	Jay Leno's Garage "Original and Unrestored." (PG)	Jay Leno's Garage "Original and Unrestored." (PG)	Jay Leno's Garage "Just Add Water." (PG)	Jay Leno's Garage "Just Add Water." (PG)	Jay Leno's Garage "Space Age." (Season Finale) (N) (PG)	Jay Leno's Garage "Space Age." (Season Finale) (N) (PG)	Family Guy (14)	Family Guy (14)	Robot Chicken
CNN	Erin Burnett OutFront (N)	Erin Burnett OutFront (N)	Anderson Cooper 360 (N) (PG)	Anderson Cooper 360 (N) (PG)	Anderson Cooper 360 (N) (PG)	Anderson Cooper 360 (N) (PG)	CNN Tonight With Don Lemon (N)	CNN Tonight With Don Lemon (N)	CNN Tonight With Don Lemon (N)	CNN Tonight With Don Lemon (N)	Anderson Cooper 360 (PG)
COM	South Park (MA) (6:48)	South Park "Funnycat." (7:21)	South Park (MA) (8:27)	South Park (MA) (8:27)	South Park "Bloody Mary." (7:54)	South Park "Crème Fraiche." (7:54)	South Park (MA) "Over Logging." (7:54)	South Park (MA) "Over Logging." (7:54)	The Daily Show	At Midnight With Chris Hardwick	South Park (14) (12:01)
COOK	Cupcake Wars "Big Time Rush."	Cupcake Wars (G)	Cupcake Wars (G)	Cupcake Wars (G)	Cupcake Wars "The Nutcracker."	Cupcake Wars "The Nutcracker."	Cupcake Wars "Angry Birds." (G)	Cupcake Wars "Angry Birds." (G)	Good Eats (G)	Good Eats (G)	Cupcake Wars
CSAN	U.S. House of Representatives	Special Orders	Special Orders	Special Orders	Special Orders	Special Orders	Special Orders	Special Orders	Politics-Public	Politics-Public	Politics-Public
CSAN2	U.S. Senate Coverage (3)	Public Affairs Events	Public Affairs Events	Public Affairs Events	Public Affairs Events	Public Affairs Events	Public Affairs Events	Public Affairs Events	Public Affairs	Public Affairs	Public Affairs
CUNY	News (6:30)	POTUS 2016 (G)	Black America	Ind Sources	Eldridge & Co.	Tony Guida	Study W/ Best	Stoler Rpt	Ed-Cast	Great Decisions	Digital Age
DIS	Bunk'd "Fog'd In." (G)	Bunk'd "Tidal Wave." (G)	Happy Feet (2006). Animated. Emperor penguin expresses himself through tap-dancing. Piercingly sad story disguised as feel-good musical. (PG)	Happy Feet (2006). Animated. Emperor penguin expresses himself through tap-dancing. Piercingly sad story disguised as feel-good musical. (PG)	Happy Feet (2006). Animated. Emperor penguin expresses himself through tap-dancing. Piercingly sad story disguised as feel-good musical. (PG)	Happy Feet (2006). Animated. Emperor penguin expresses himself through tap-dancing. Piercingly sad story disguised as feel-good musical. (PG)	Mickey Mouse (G) (10:25)	Girl Meets World (G) (10:25)	Jessie (G) (10:55)	Bunk'd (G) (11:25)	Girl Meets World (G) (11:25)
DIY	Rehab Addict	Rehab Addict	Rehab Addict	Rehab Addict	Rehab Addict	Rehab Addict	Rehab Addict	Rehab Addict	Rehab Addict	Rehab Addict	Rehab Addict
DSC	Alaskan Bush People: Bushcraft Chronicles "Transportation." (PG)	Alaskan Bush People: Bushcraft Chronicles "Power." (PG)	Alaskan Bush People: Bushcraft Chronicles "Power." (PG)	Alaskan Bush People: Bushcraft Chronicles "Protection." (N) (14)	Alaskan Bush People: Bushcraft Chronicles "Protection." (N) (14)	Alaskan Bush People: Bushcraft Chronicles "Protection." (N) (14)	Legend of Croc God "River from Hell." (N) (PG) (10:01)	Legend of Croc God "River from Hell." (N) (PG) (10:01)	Alaskan Bush People "Birdy Get Your Gun." (14) (11:02)	Alaskan Bush People "Birdy Get Your Gun." (14) (11:02)	Alaskan Bush People (12:03)
E!	E! News (N) (PG)	Total Divas (N) (14)	Total Divas (N) (14)	Total Divas "Mother of the Groom." (N) (PG)	Total Divas "Mother of the Groom." (N) (PG)	Total Divas "Mother of the Groom." (N) (PG)	Mariah's World (14)	Mariah's World (14)	E! News (N) (PG)	E! News (N) (PG)	E! News (N) (PG)
ELREY	Hellraiser: Bloodline (1996). (R) (6)	Hellraiser: Bloodline (1996). (R) (6)	Hellraiser: Bloodline (1996). (R) (6)	Hellraiser: Bloodline (1996). (R) (6)	Hellraiser: Bloodline (1996). (R) (6)	Hellraiser: Bloodline (1996). (R) (6)	Hellraiser: Bloodline (1996). (R) (6)	Hellraiser: Bloodline (1996). (R) (6)	Hellraiser: Bloodline (1996). (R) (6)	Hellraiser: Bloodline (1996). (R) (6)	Hellraiser: Bloodline (1996). (R) (6)
ESPN	N.B.A. Indiana Pacers vs. Miami Heat.	N.B.A. Indiana Pacers vs. Miami Heat.	N.B.A. Indiana Pacers vs. Miami Heat.	N.B.A. Indiana Pacers vs. Miami Heat.	N.B.A. Boston Celtics vs. San Antonio Spurs.	N.B.A. Boston Celtics vs. San Antonio Spurs.	N.B.A. Boston Celtics vs. San Antonio Spurs.	N.B.A. Boston Celtics vs. San Antonio Spurs.	SportsCenter	SportsCenter	SportsCenter
ESPN2	SportsCenter	30 for 30 The 1988 Notre Dame/Miami football game.</									

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Kim Severson, whose grandmother was born in a small Italian village and who was raised on pasta, is a correspondent for The Times, reporting on food and culture. She has won many awards, including four James Beard Awards for food writing and the Casey Medal for meritorious journalism for her work on childhood obesity.



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Melissa Eddy is the Berlin correspondent for The International New York Times. She has covered the German-speaking world since 1997 from Vienna, Frankfurt and now Berlin. A native of Minnesota, she was a Fulbright Fellow for Young Journalists in Germany in 1996–97.

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**2 A GOOD APPETITE**  
A butterflied leg of lamb takes wing. BY MELISSA CLARK

**2 CITY KITCHEN**  
Mild halibut's wake-up call: five peppers. BY DAVID TANIS



**3 A GINGERBREAD HUNT**  
Polish history, and mystery. BY BARBARA WHITAKER

**3 FRONT BURNER**  
Holiday charcuterie to take home. BY FLORENCE FABRICANT

RESTAURANTS | RECIPES | WINE | SPIRITS

# Food

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2016 **D1**



**1. Le Coucou** TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES



**2. Lilia** DEVIN YALKIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



**3. Mr. Donahue's**



**4. Le Coq Rico**



**5. Agern**

RESTAURANTS | PETE WELLS

# An Inspired Class

Our critic lists his favorites among the new places he reviewed this year.

NO ONE PERSON can review every new restaurant in New York, but not long ago, I felt confident that I could hit all the ones where a customer who had a full dinner and no drinks would spend, say, \$125 or more. I didn't always choose to weigh in, but those cases were rare.

Over the last year or so, I started to notice that there were so many places in that price range that even if reviewing them all were possible, it didn't make a lot of sense. Among Japanese restaurants alone, there were a half-dozen high-end omakase places serving cooked food, sushi or some combination. Some I wrote about, some I may circle back to later on, and others left me wishing I had saved room for a second, more in-

teresting meal. Despite what you may read in the comments on some of my reviews, these high-end meals are not really for "the 1 percent." Even the most expensive restaurant is not in the same league as a \$25 million apartment over Central Park. Still, the growing distance between the



FRANCESCO SAPIENZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The North End Grill added a smaller steak option for \$33 when demand dipped for the \$69 (up from \$59) strip steak.

# 2016

## Big Change After Tips Are Ended

A new business model for restaurants has brought higher prices and shrinking staffs.

By JULIA MOSKIN

The owners of Huertas, a cheerful Spanish small-plates restaurant in the East Village, knew they would have to raise prices when they abolished tipping last December. But when the octopus plate rose to \$21 from \$16, they looked at the plate and realized another adjustment was needed.

"We decided to add a tentacle," an owner, Nate Adler, said. The extra limb costs about a dollar, but the more substantial dish eased the sting of the \$5 price increase.

"Ultimately it's not about the numbers on the check, but about whether the balance and the value feels right to people as they leave the restaurant," Mr. Adler said. "It's not an entirely rational system."

A rational system is exactly what he was hoping for when Huertas joined several restaurants in Danny Meyer's Union Square Hospitality Group — Maialino, Marta, the Modern, North End Grill and (as of last week) Gramercy Tavern and the newly reopened Union Square Café — that have stopped accepting tips. The switch is part of an effort to bring the nation's roughly \$800 billion restaurant business, with its frequently chaotic and unprofessional practices and traditions, in line with modern workplace standards.

Instead of expecting customers to tip the people who wait on them, tip-free restaurants pay all employees wages that reflect their skill and seniority. The customer pays a fixed amount, stated in writing (in menu prices), as in virtually every other kind of consumer business, from Nordstrom to Netflix to The New York Times.

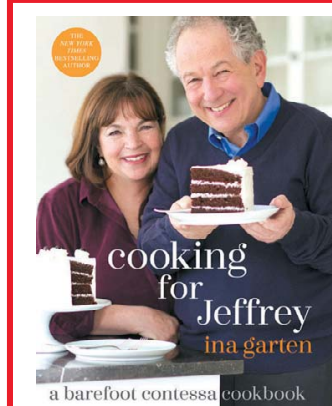
This service-included system — also called gratuity-free, tipless and, within the Union Square group, Hospitality Included — has been in place for several years at expensive restaurants like Per Se and the Chef's Table at Brooklyn Fare. But this year, influential restaurants up and down the price scale and around the country signed on, including Le Pigeon and Park Kitchen in Portland, Ore.; Dahlia Lounge and Canlis in Seattle; and Comal, Cala and Petit Crenn in the Bay Area.

It is too soon to tell whether the no-tipping model will become the standard, or simply an option for a few restaurants that can make it work. What is clear after about a year is that it has forced a number of unforeseen changes, large and small, in the places that have embraced it.

To manage costs without inflicting sticker shock on customers, restaurants have to hunt down every possible savings. At Huertas, where the octopus grew another leg, the kitchen staff has shrunk from six cooks to four or five per shift. At Roman's in Fort Greene, Brooklyn, the bar is no longer always stocked with organic lemons.

The Union Square group, with its deep pockets, has begun buying more items in

CONTINUED ON PAGE D7



# cooking for Jeffrey

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MELISSA CLARK | A GOOD APPETITE

# A Faster Way to a Stunning Feast

This lamb dish looks messy, but it's flavorful and quick.

WHEN IT COMES to choosing a large hunk of meat for a festive dinner, butterflied leg of lamb is not generally what springs to mind.

It isn't refined or impressive, like a rack of lamb or beef tenderloin. It lacks the grand, large-scale drama of a bone-in leg of lamb or a pineapple-ringed ham.

In fact, it's rather messy-looking — an ungainly slab of meat made up of divots and lumps.

But don't let its looks dissuade you. Richly flavored, tender and quick-cooking, butterflied leg of lamb is an excellent choice for any cook willing to forgo the more obvious cuts in the name of ease and speed.

You can have a butterflied leg of lamb on the table in less than 45 minutes from the moment you bring it home, seasoning it with nothing more than a mash of salt, garlic and herbs, then roasting it at high heat. It will be divine.

Add a few more ingredients and some marinating time (but not much more effort), and you will have a memorable feast.

In this recipe, I added cumin, chile and lemon zest to the usual garlic-salt-herb trifecta, which deepens the lamby flavor. If you have time to let the meat sit overnight, all the better. But even an hour makes a difference.

Then, for serving, I stir together an herb and olive oil sauce that is a bit like a salsa verde, studded with preserved lemon. If



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW SCRIVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



this doesn't fit your menu, leg of lamb works with pretty much any sauce you like: aioli, tapenade, tahini sauce, yogurt sauce, pesto, chutney, relish, anchovy vinaigrette. Anything with a bold flavor and a bit of acidity to stand up to the garlicky lamb will do the job nicely.

Because of the irregularity of its shape, butterflied leg of lamb will never cook evenly all the way through, delivering pieces at different stages of doneness. Consider that a bonus if you have a mixed crowd of meat lovers, some of whom like it rare while others prefer closer to medium. This cut pleases everyone at the table all at once.

Or, if everyone agrees on medium-rare, you can cut the meat into thicker and thinner pieces before roasting, pulling them out of the oven as they're done.

Arranged on a platter in perfectly pinkish slices, it's a stunning and satisfying meal.

## ONLINE: A LEG TO COUNT ON

In a new video, Melissa Clark shows how to prepare and roast butterflied leg of lamb: [nytimes.com/food](http://nytimes.com/food)



An irregular shape that leads to uneven cooking. That can be a bonus.

## BUTTERFLIED LEG OF LAMB WITH LEMON SALSA VERDE

TIME: 45 MINUTES, PLUS AT LEAST ONE HOUR'S MARINATING  
YIELD: 12 SERVINGS

- 1 boneless butterflied leg of lamb, 5 to 6 pounds, well trimmed
- 2½ teaspoons coarse kosher salt, more as needed
- 1½ teaspoons black pepper
- 7 garlic cloves, grated on a Microplane or minced
- ¼ cup chopped fresh thyme leaves
- ¼ cup chopped fresh oregano or marjoram leaves
- 2 teaspoons ground cumin
- 1 teaspoon Turkish chile such as Marash or Urfa (or use crushed red pepper flakes)
- Finely grated zest of 2 lemons
- 2½ tablespoons fresh lemon juice, more as needed
- 5 tablespoons extra-virgin olive oil
- 3 to 4 tablespoons minced preserved lemon, to taste
- ¾ cup chopped parsley
- ½ cup chopped cilantro
- ½ cup chopped mint
- 2 scallions, white and green parts, thinly sliced

- Pat lamb dry with paper towels and place on a rimmed baking sheet. Season all over with salt and pepper.
- Set aside 1 teaspoon of the garlic. In a bowl, combine remaining garlic with thyme, oregano or marjoram, cumin, chile, lemon zest and 2 tablespoons lemon juice. Drizzle in about 1 tablespoon oil, just enough to create a sandy paste. Rub mixture all over lamb. Cover with plastic wrap and let marinate for at least 1 hour or, even better, overnight in the refrigerator.
- Prepare the salsa verde: In a small bowl, combine a pinch of salt, the remaining teaspoon garlic, remaining ½ tablespoon lemon juice, 3 tablespoons preserved lemon, parsley, cilantro, mint and scallion and stir well. Drizzle in remaining oil. Season with more preserved lemon, lemon juice, salt and pepper to taste. Let the mixture sit for at least 30 minutes before serving to allow the flavors to meld and mellow.
- Heat oven to 450 degrees. Roast lamb without turning for 22 to 35 minutes, until a thermometer inserted into the thickest part reads 120 degrees for rare and 130 for medium. Let rest for 10 minutes before slicing and serving with the salsa verde.

## AND TO DRINK . . .



Roasted lamb loves good red wine, so you will have many options. With the zesty salsa verde and preserved lemon, I would probably look for a red with lively acidity rather than a soft, fruity wine. Sangiovese is a perfect place to start. Look for a good Brunello di Montalcino or Chianti Classico. Bordeaux is a classic match with roasted lamb. With this dish, I would stick with cabernet-based wines from the Médoc or Pessac-Léognan rather than easier-going, merlot-based St.-Émilion or Pomerols. Similarly, if you want a California cabernet sauvignon, look for freshness rather than fruity opulence. Other areas very much worth exploring include Rioja reservas and gran reservas, also naturals with lamb, and good, age-worthy cabernet francs from the Loire Valley. You may also consider a malbec on the firmer side of the spectrum.

ERIC ASIMOV

DAVID TANIS | CITY KITCHEN

# Brightening Fish With a Peppercorn Medley

Five types of pepper warmed in butter give halibut a kick.

I HAD PEPPER on the brain this week, so much so that when I was thinking about a simple butter sauce for some halibut fillets, peppercorns, many of them, had to be part of the picture.

Pepper is farmed wherever the proper steamy climate exists — Brazil, Ecuador, southern India, Indonesia, Vietnam — and pepper from different regions can vary widely in taste. Of course it is always peppery, but hints of other aromas and spices, like citrus, coriander and musky damp earth, can be present too. Describing the flavor of a peppercorn can be like trying to describe a glass of wine. Words often fail.

The black peppercorns many of us use every day begin their lives as green peppercorns, fresh and bright and sold on the branch in outdoor markets throughout Southeast Asia. Sometimes you can get them in Asian markets in the United States, but more often you will find them freeze-dried, or preserved in brine and sold in little tins.

When ripened fresh peppercorns are left to air-dry, they become hard, wrinkled and dark; that is when they are immediately recognizable as black peppercorns.

White peppercorns are black peppercorns with their outer black layer rubbed off. Some claim white pepper is milder, but I find it can be cloying and overpowering, and prefer it in very small doses.

Then there is the slightly confusing matter of pink, or rose, peppercorns, which are not related to black peppercorns. (They are from a different plant altogether, a bushy tree.) These pretty spheres are decidedly less spicy, but they do have a bit of a kick.

On a recent trip to France, a spice merchant introduced me to a type of pepper called Timut, from Nepal, that is likewise unrelated to black peppercorns. Timut pepper is very aromatic and floral, and shares the pleasant, slightly numbing sensation of

Sichuan pepper — yet another peppercorn impostor. Though quite different, both have a similarly exciting intensity: spicy, but not really hot.

Now, back to that halibut and butter sauce. I toasted black, green, pink, Timut and Sichuan peppercorns, smashed them to a coarse powder and warmed the mixture in hot, lightly browned butter, then added citrus zest and juice. Spooned over juicy, pan-seared fish fillets, the sauce was rich and fragrant, almost haunting.



## FIVE-PEPPERCORN FISH FILLETS

TIME: 30 MINUTES  
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- 1 teaspoon black Tellicherry peppercorns
- 1 teaspoon dried whole green peppercorns
- 1 teaspoon rose (pink) peppercorns
- 1 teaspoon Sichuan peppercorns
- 1 teaspoon Timut peppercorns
- 4 tablespoons unsalted butter
- 12 fresh sage leaves
- Salt
- 4 boneless halibut, sea bass or grouper fillets, about 6 ounces each
- All-purpose flour, for dusting
- 2 tablespoons olive oil
- ½ teaspoon lemon zest or lime zest
- 1 tablespoon lemon juice or lime juice
- Tender parsley or watercress sprigs, for garnish

- Put all the peppercorns in a small dry skillet over medium heat. Warm them, shaking the pan, until fragrant, a minute or two. Cool, then transfer to a mortar or electric spice mill. Pound with a pestle or pulse in the spice mill, shaking, to obtain a coarse powder. Reserve 1



PHOTOGRAPHS BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

tablespoon peppercorn mixture and store remainder.

- Melt butter in a small saucepan over medium-high heat. Add 1 tablespoon peppercorn mixture and swirl pan until foamy and beginning to brown. Add sage leaves and a good pinch of salt. Set aside, off the heat.
- Season fish fillets on both sides with salt and dust very lightly with flour. Put a wide cast-iron skillet over high heat and coat bottom with olive oil.
- When oil is hot, lay the fillets in the pan and

let them brown gently, turning down heat as necessary. After 2 minutes, flip fish and cook until no longer translucent when probed, about 2 minutes more. Transfer fish to a warm platter or individual plates.

5. Return butter sauce to stove over medium-high heat. Bring to a simmer and add citrus zest and juice. Stir well, then spoon sauce over fish and serve immediately.

Note: It is worth seeking out the five different peppercorns that make up this spice mix, but feel free to use just one or two, or to refine the mixture to your own taste.

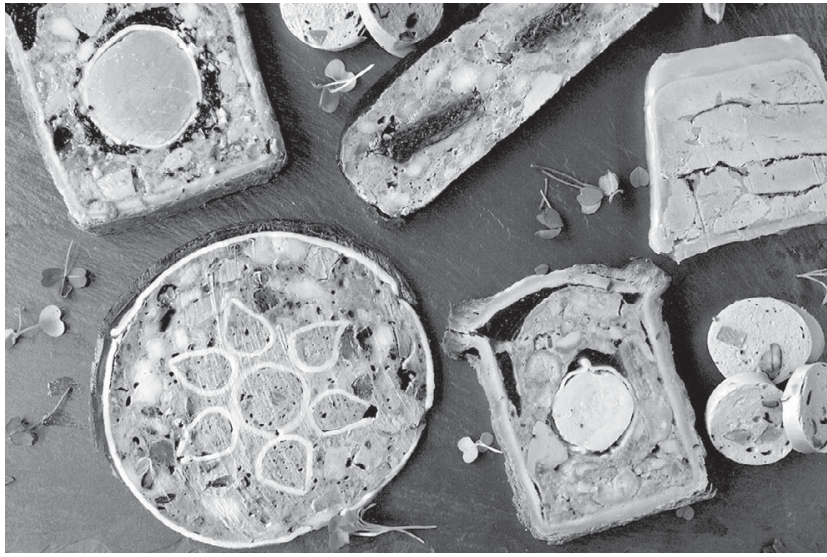
# Front Burner

FLORENCE FABRICANT

TO SLICE

## French Charcuterie For the Holidays

► Ornate truffle-studded and pastry-wrapped pâtés, terrines, galantines and sausages, like boudin blanc, are French holiday traditions. Le District, the French market in Battery Park City, is now selling a dazzling array of seasonal charcuterie made from pork, game, poultry and veal, along with its staples. Nicolas Rafa, a Parisian chef who trained with the master charcutier Gilles Verot, is the man fashioning these uncommonly beautiful specialties, some glittering in jellied wraps, others revealing kaleidoscope patterns when sliced: *Holiday charcuterie*, \$22 to \$99 per pound; *regular pâtés, terrines and sausages*, \$8 to \$70 per pound, *Le District*, Brookfield Place, 225 Liberty Street (West Street), 212-981-8588, ledistrict.com.

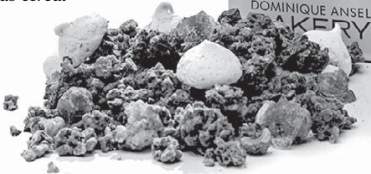


shipping; orders must be received by Friday for shipping the next Monday, minimum three boxes with a shipping charge of \$3 per box.

TO NIBBLE

## Devilishly Good Cereal For Christmas Morning

► For the past few years, the pastry chef Dominique Ansel has been concocting what he calls Christmas Morning Cereal, which can also be sprinkled over ice cream or nibbled on the sly. It resembles the offspring of granola and Cocoa Krispies: a devilish mix of clumps of puffed rice covered in caramelized milk chocolate, candied hazelnuts and meringue drops. It's available again in Mr. Ansel's SoHo store, and can be ordered online for pickup and, for that far-flung sweet tooth, for delivery in the continental United States: *Christmas Morning Cereal*, \$15.50 at *Dominique Ansel Bakery*, 189 Spring Street (Thompson Street), 212-219-2773, or from *dominiqueansel.com* /christmas-cereal-



TO CHILL

## An Elegant Solution For Keeping Caviar Cold

▲ To serve caviar properly, you need to deal with a bed of crushed ice, which can get sloppy as it melts. This new two-piece hand-blown glass caviar dish from Simon Pearce makes it easy, keeping the ice neatly on the bottom to maintain the chill. A one- to four-ounce tin of precious roe fits in the gently sloped top section. Mother-of-pearl spoons and other accouterments, like a dish for crème fraîche, are up to you. The set is large enough to be deployed for serving a seafood dip, salmon rilletes or smoked fish spread: *Bristol Caviar Chiller Set*, \$100, *simonpearce.com*.

TO CONSULT

## Wine App Puts Reviews In Your Pocket

▼ Your smartphone knows much more about wine than you do, maybe even more than an expert like Hugh Johnson. That's because the Vinous app and website, created by Antonio Galloni in 2013 after he left Robert Parker's Wine Advocate, has just scooped up two other free apps, Delectable and Banquet, to enhance its wine coverage. Scan a wine label, and Delectable will give you reviews by a cross section of wine



drinkers, both amateur and professional, like sommeliers, not just the opinions of wine critics that you'd find for 170,000 wines on Vinous. Delectable's database covers more than a million choices, for spirits and beer too, with comments from some 4.6 million users. Banquet will tell you where to buy the bottles. Shops pay a fee to be listed. Vinous operates on a subscription basis, and the depth of information you get on a wine depends on your subscription level: *vinous.com*.



TO DISPLAY

## A Buttery Alternative To Holiday Wreaths

▲ This year, Hanukkah begins on Christmas Eve. Accordingly, Eli Zabar has come up with edible décor appropriate for both occasions — a wreath of buttery braided brioche. Bring one to a party: *Brioche holiday wreath*, \$45, 866-354-3547, *elizabar.com*.



TO TWINKLE

## German Baked Goods From Family Recipes

▲ Inspired by nostalgia for home, Katja Haecker started Sweet & Salzig, featuring sweet and savory cakes, tarts and cookies made from family recipes from the Schwabenland region of Germany, near France and Switzerland. She began selling her baked goods last year at the weekend markets Smorgasburg and Brooklyn Flea, and now has a website. For Christmas, she offers gently spiced zimtsterne cinnamon cookies, above, along with honey lebkuchen and sugar-dusted stollen, plain or with a marzipan filling, the better to keep it moist. Visit her stand at Smorgasburg's winter market, and you'll find other items like her sauerkraut tart, onion cakes, poppy-seed cakes and strudels. Some of her items are also sold at Schaller & Weber on the Upper East Side: *Zimtsterne*, \$18 for nine cookies, *sweetandsalzig.com*.

JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES (CHARCUTERIE); TONY GENCOLO/THE NEW YORK TIMES (WREATH, COOKIES, VINOUS APP); CAVIAR DISH, CEREAL

# A Gingerbread City Guards Its Spicy Secrets

Too much cinnamon in the pierniki makes them too sweet.

By BARBARA WHITAKER

TORUN, POLAND — This medieval city on the banks of the Vistula River is known for two things: the astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus and gingerbread cookies.

Copernicus was born here, although he would move as a student and live most of his life elsewhere. Yet it is the aromatic gingerbread cookie that is the more enduring export, spawning museums and hands-on bakeries dedicated to the popular Christmas treats and a debate over which cookie is best. Artisans have jealously guarded their recipes for centuries, and to this day the blueprint for authentic Torunskie pierniki remains shrouded in mystery.

“There is not just one recipe or one way of making pierniki,” said Anna Kornelia Jedrzejewska, curator at the Museum of Torun Gingerbread, the former factory of Gustav Weese, whose family baked pierniki there for generations. “The problem for us today is that the recipes are quite secret.”

The earliest reference to the cookies dates to 1380. The name pierniki is derived from the Polish word pieprz, or pierny, meaning packed with peppery flavor. The city's location on the spice route from Asia to Europe, its abundance of fertile soil and a wealth of honeybees explain gingerbread's three main ingredients: honey, flour (rye, wheat or a blend) and spices.

Great pierniki are all about the proper blend of spices: Too much cinnamon will make them too sweet, and too much ginger or pepper will make them too spicy, said Pawel Laskowski, a master gingerbread maker with Kopernik, which grew from the company the Weese family founded and is now the largest pierniki producer in Torun.

One of the earliest recipes for Torun gingerbread calls for honey, “as much as you like,” to be put in a bowl, heated with strong vodka and water, then skimmed until thick. That mixture is to be combined with a range of spices, lemon peel and some sugar.

“Up to the 19th century there were no proportions given at all,” said Rafal Boinski, who gives demonstrations at the Living Museum of Gingerbread here. “All the details regarding recipes were passed down through generations of bakers. Whenever you bake your cookies, they will never come out the same.”

Mr. Boinski suggests that cinnamon, ginger, black pepper, cloves and nutmeg are musts in terms of spices. Aniseed, cardamom, allspice and a little coriander are also often included.

“The proportions are down to you,” he said. “If you like it a bit more spicy, add



more black pepper or ginger. If you'd rather have it sweet, more cinnamon and just a touch of black pepper.”

The region's Museum of Torun Gingerbread recently opened a Laboratory of Gingerbread to study the taste and composition of gingerbread over the years.

Traditional pierniki are soft when they first come out of the oven and harden after that. The cookies should be put away in a moist place like a basement or kept in a metal or airtight container to soften. Fans say the cookies only get better with time, but if you want to speed the process, adding a wedge or two of apple or fresh ginger in the container will do the trick.

Kopernik sells a variety of pierniki, although most of its cookies are no longer made with honey because of the expense. At the factory, gingerbread masters still guard the secret spice mix and decide when to use the dough, which is stored in large metal bins, where it's aged for up to a year.

“Sometimes it doesn't work,” Jakub Kopczynski, marketing manager for the Kopernik company, said during a tour of the factory in November. “That's why it's so unique: Most people don't mature the dough anymore.”

The job of gingerbread master has long been held by men because of the difficulty of working with the dense, heavy dough. Training for the job is likened to that of a winemaker, since selecting the dough relies on using the senses of smell and touch to know when the mix is ready. Traditionally, the soda or leavening agent would have been kneaded in at the end. Because dough used for molds is not leavened, it can hold a sharper design.

The elegant and intricate carved wooden



At the Living Museum of Gingerbread in Torun, Poland, top, Igor Szeliga, right, explained the cookie-making process. Children prepared to buy the treats in various shapes, like the Little Kate.

molds that the cookies were made in hundreds of years ago were perhaps as important as flavor to the gingerbread's popularity. The beautiful molded cookies have for centuries been prized gifts, specially made for royalty and dignitaries. After a visit to Torun in 1825, the composer Frederic Chopin, 15 at the time, wrote to a friend praising the town's gingerbread as better than the Gothic architecture and famous leaning tower.

While the molded cookies are still sold in Torun, they are not common. The pierniki sold in most shops and made at home tend to be cut in simple shapes like hearts or clubs — or shapes associated with Christmas — and have a slightly dry, caky structure. Often they are glazed with sugar or chocolate; sometimes they are filled with jams, with plum a popular option.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY PIOTR MALECKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

One of the most popular shapes is the Katarzynka, or Little Kate, and several legends surround how it came into existence. One holds that a well-known Torun gingerbread maker fell ill and asked his only daughter, Catherine, to bake the gingerbread. Unable to find the medallion mold needed, she cut circles, which she put in the oven in two rows of three. The circles merged together, creating the scalloped shape that remains popular today.

A small number of pierniki stores dot the streets of Torun, one of the few cities in Poland that escaped the devastating bombings of World War II. In one shop near the Old Town Hall, pierniki abound, floor-to-ceiling in packages and decorative tins with box after box of the cookies filled with seemingly every type of jam, including plum, apple and rose gel.

Both museums have hands-on demonstrations where visitors knead and roll out dough, which is then pressed into oiled molds. The design is then cut out and baked and given to visitors as a souvenir.

“Pierniki has so many faces, it's hard to say, ‘This one is the best,’ ‘This is my favorite,’” Ms. Kornelia Jedrzejewska said. “Every generation brings something new to the recipes.”

## CORRECTIONS

An article last Wednesday about new baking cookbooks misstated the price of “Golden,” by Itamar Sruulovich and Sarit Packer. It is \$30, not \$39.

A brief report in the Off the Menu column on Nov. 30 about the opening of Miss Paradis misstated the restaurant's phone number. It is 646-329-6380.

# This Year's Hits, Next Year's Standards

These were the most popular recipes from NYT Cooking.

**TOWERING CAKES** and intricate sauces are worthy kitchen goals, but when it comes to everyday cooking, convenience and comfort are king. The recipes our readers loved most this year prove that point deliciously: All of these dishes are simple to prepare and are the satisfying, habit-forming sort that cooks return to again and again. Here are the five most popular NYT Cooking recipes published in 2016, determined by the number of times readers saved them. More favorite recipes are online at [nytcooking.com](http://nytcooking.com).

## 1. Mississippi Roast

When Sam Sifton first heard of Mississippi Roast, a wildly popular recipe on Pinterest made by plopping a chuck roast into a slow cooker and simmering it with a stick of butter, powdered ranch dressing mix, “au jus” gravy mix and pepperoncini, he was dubious — until he tried it. His version has no packaged mixes and far less butter, but it still yields, as he wrote, “a luscious tangle of deliciously tangy beef that goes beautifully with mashed or roasted potatoes or egg noodles, or as a hot-sandwich filling.”

## 2. Middle Eastern Herb and Garlic Chicken

This recipe from Melissa Clark was inspired by za'atar, a traditional Middle Eastern mix of dried herbs, sesame seeds and sumac. Here, she uses fresh parsley, mint, thyme

and oregano, as well as plenty of lemon and garlic, as a marinade for boneless chicken thighs. The finished dish is intensely flavorful, and destined to be a repeat.

## 3. Chicken Enchiladas With Salsa Verde

“Don't let the one-hour prep time on these enchiladas scare you,” Mr. Sifton wrote of this take on the classic Tex-Mex casserole, inspired by a smoked chicken version Robb Walsh serves at El Real Tex-Mex, his restaurant in Houston. With a few shortcuts (use leftover or grocery-store rotisserie chicken and canned tomatillos), it is truly weeknight possible.

## 4. Creamy Corn Pasta With Basil

There's no cream in this luscious pasta by Ms. Clark, just a light sauce made from puréed fresh corn and sweet sautéed scallions. It's best made with farmstand corn in August, but many readers used frozen or supermarket cobs with excellent results.

## 5. Pot Roast

The recipe for this comfort food staple comes from the chef Gavin Kaysen, of Spoon and Stable in Minneapolis, who learned it from his grandmother. Mr. Kaysen calls for paleron, the shoulder cut of beef commonly used in pot-au-feu, and a house-made sugo finto of puréed tomatoes, minced carrot, celery, onions and herbs. Our version is further adapted for the home cook, using a chuck roast and tomato paste, both easier to find and equally delicious.

MARGAUX LASKEY

## MIDDLE EASTERN HERB AND GARLIC CHICKEN



ANDREW SCRIVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

TIME: 40 MINUTES, PLUS AT LEAST 30 MINUTES' MARINATING  
YIELD: 4 TO 6 SERVINGS

- 6 boneless skinless chicken thighs (about 1 ¾ pounds)
- 6 garlic cloves, grated on a Microplane or minced
- Juice and zest of 2 lemons
- 3 tablespoons extra-virgin olive oil, more for serving
- 2 tablespoons minced fresh parsley, more for serving
- 2 tablespoons minced fresh mint
- 1 tablespoon minced fresh thyme
- 1 tablespoon minced fresh oregano or marjoram
- 1 ½ teaspoons kosher salt, more as needed
- 1 tablespoon sesame seeds, more for garnish (optional)
- ¾ teaspoon sumac, more for garnish (optional)
- ¾ cup plain Greek yogurt, preferably whole milk yogurt
- ¼ teaspoon ground black pepper

1. Combine chicken with all but 1 teaspoon of

the grated garlic (save that teaspoon for the yogurt sauce), the zest and juice of 1 lemon, oil, parsley, mint, thyme, oregano, 1 ½ teaspoons salt, and the sesame seeds and sumac, if using. Cover and marinate for 15 to 30 minutes at room temperature; you can refrigerate it for up to 24 hours.

2. Heat grill or broiler. If grilling, cook chicken over high heat until charred in spots, 4 to 7 minutes. Flip pieces and continue grilling until just cooked through, another 4 to 7 minutes. If broiling, arrange a rack 3 to 4 inches from flame. Line a rimmed baking sheet with foil and spread chicken out in a single layer. Broil chicken, turning halfway through cooking, until well colored and charred in spots, 4 to 7 minutes per side. Be careful that it doesn't burn.

3. While chicken cooks, place yogurt in a small bowl. Stir in the reserved grated garlic and lemon zest and season to taste with salt. Serve the chicken drizzled with olive oil, remaining lemon juice to taste, black pepper, parsley and sesame seeds and sumac, if using, with the yogurt alongside for dipping.

## CREAMY CORN PASTA WITH BASIL

TIME: 30 MINUTES  
YIELD: 3 TO 4 SERVINGS

- Fine sea salt
- 12 ounces dry orecchiette or farfalle
- 1 tablespoon olive oil, plus more for drizzling
- 1 bunch scallions (about 8), trimmed and thinly sliced (keep the whites and greens separate)
- 2 large ears corn, shucked and kernels removed (2 cups kernels)
- ½ teaspoon ground black pepper, more for serving
- 3 tablespoons unsalted butter
- ½ cup grated Parmesan cheese, more to taste
- ¾ cup torn basil or mint, more for garnish
- ¼ teaspoon red pepper flakes, or to taste
- Fresh lemon juice, as needed

1. Bring a large pot of well-salted water to a boil. Cook pasta until 1 minute shy of al dente, according to the package directions. Drain, reserving ½ cup of pasta water.

2. Meanwhile, heat oil in large sauté pan over medium heat; add scallion whites and a pinch of salt and cook until soft, 3 minutes. Add ¼ cup water and all but ¼ cup corn; simmer until corn is heated through and almost tender, 3 to 5 minutes. Add ¼ teaspoon salt and ¼ teaspoon pepper, transfer to a blender, and purée mixture until smooth, adding a little extra water if needed to get a thick but pourable texture.



ANDREW SCRIVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

3. Heat the same skillet over high heat. Add butter and let melt. Add reserved ¼ cup corn and cook until tender, 1 to 2 minutes. (It's O.K. if the butter browns; that deepens the flavor.) Add the corn purée and cook for 30 seconds to heat and combine the flavors.

4. Reduce heat to medium. Add pasta and half the reserved pasta cooking water, tossing to coat. Cook for 1 minute, then add a little more of the pasta cooking water if the mixture seems too thick. Stir in ¾ cup of the scallion greens, the Parmesan, the herbs, the red pepper flakes, ¼ teaspoon salt and ¼ teaspoon pepper. Sprinkle with fresh lemon juice to taste. Transfer to warm pasta bowls and garnish with more scallions, herbs, a drizzle of olive oil and black pepper.

## MISSISSIPPI ROAST

ADAPTED FROM ROBIN CHAPMAN  
TIME: 6 ½ TO 8 ½ HOURS  
YIELD: 6 TO 8 SERVINGS

- 1 boneless chuck roast or top or bottom round roast, 3 to 4 pounds
- 2 teaspoons kosher salt, plus more to taste
- 1 ½ teaspoons freshly ground black pepper, plus more to taste
- ¼ cup all-purpose flour
- 3 tablespoons neutral oil, like canola
- 4 tablespoons unsalted butter
- 8 to 12 pepperoncini
- 2 tablespoons mayonnaise
- 2 teaspoons apple cider vinegar
- ½ teaspoon dried dill
- ¼ teaspoon sweet paprika
- 1 teaspoon buttermilk, optional
- Chopped parsley, for garnish

1. Place roast on a cutting board and rub the salt and pepper all over it. Sprinkle the flour all over the seasoned meat and massage it into the flesh.

2. Heat the oil in a large sauté pan set over high heat until it is shimmering and about to smoke. Place the roast in the pan and brown on all sides, 4 to 5 minutes a side, to create a crust. Remove roast from pan and place it in the bowl of a slow cooker. Add the butter and the pepperoncini to the meat. Put the lid on the slow cooker, and set the machine to low for 8 hours or so.

3. As the roast heats, make a ranch dressing. Combine the mayonnaise, vinegar, dill and paprika in a small bowl and whisk to emulsify. Add the buttermilk if using, then whisk again. Remove the lid from the slow cooker and add the dressing. Replace the top and allow to continue cooking, undisturbed, for 6 to 8 hours, or until you can shred the meat easily



MELINA HAMMER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

using 2 forks. Mix the meat with the gravy surrounding it. Garnish with parsley and serve with egg noodles or roast potatoes, or pile on sandwich rolls, however you like.

## CHICKEN ENCHILADAS WITH SALSA VERDE

TIME: 1 HOUR  
YIELD: 4 TO 6 SERVINGS

**For the chicken (or use 1 1/4 pounds leftover or store-bought roast chicken):**

- 2 pounds bone-in chicken thighs or breasts, or a mixture
- 1 small white onion, cut in half
- 4 cloves of garlic
- 1 tablespoon kosher salt

**For the salsa verde:**

- 1 pound fresh tomatillos, husked, rinsed and cut into quarters (use canned if you can't find fresh)
- 1 small white onion, peeled and chopped
- 1 clove of garlic, peeled and chopped
- 2 serrano chiles or more to taste, seeds removed if you want it less spicy, stemmed and roughly chopped
- 4 to 5 tender stems of fresh cilantro, with leaves, roughly chopped
- Salt to taste

**For the enchiladas:**

- ½ cup neutral oil, like canola
- 12 yellow corn tortillas
- 1 cup crumbled queso fresco or cotija cheese
- 1 cup Mexican crema, or use crème fraîche or sour cream
- 1 medium-sized white onion, peeled and chopped (optional)

1. Prepare the chicken: Place chicken parts in a large saucepan with onion, garlic and salt, and cover with water. Heat pan over high heat until liquid comes to a boil, then reduce heat to medium and let simmer until chicken is cooked

through, about 20 to 25 minutes. Remove chicken and let cool, reserving stock for another use. Using your fingers or two forks, shred meat from chicken and reserve, discarding skin and bones. (Alternatively, shred meat from leftover or store-bought roast chicken and set aside.)

2. Meanwhile, heat oven to 375, and make the salsa verde: Combine tomatillos, onion, garlic, serranos and cilantro in a blender or food processor and purée until smooth, adding water as needed to thin it out a little. Season with salt to taste.

3. Prepare the tortillas: In medium sauté pan set over medium-high heat, heat oil until it begins to shimmer. Using tongs or a wide spatula, place a tortilla in the hot fat; it should start to bubble immediately. Heat tortilla for about 10 to 15 seconds a side, until soft and lightly browned. Remove tortilla and set on a rack set over a baking pan, or just on a baking pan if you don't have a rack. Repeat with remaining tortillas, working quickly.

4. Assemble the enchiladas: Use a ladle to put about ½ cup salsa verde in the bottom of a 9-by-13-inch baking pan and spread it out a little. Roll a few tablespoons of shredded chicken into each tortilla with a teaspoon or so of salsa verde and place it seam-side down in the pan, nestling each one against the last. Ladle salsa verde over top of rolled tortillas and sprinkle with about half the crumbled cheese.

5. Transfer to oven and bake until sauce bubbles and cheese is melted, about 10 to 15 minutes. Dot with crema, sprinkle with remaining cheese and, if using, chopped onion, then serve immediately.



SUZUY ALLMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

minutes.

4. Add bay leaves, rosemary and wine and cook, stirring occasionally, until liquid is reduced to a thick gravy consistency, 5 to 7 minutes.

5. Return meat to the pot. Add broth, then cover the pot and transfer to the oven. Cook for 2 hours 20 minutes.

6. Let roast sit at room temperature for at least 10 minutes. Remove meat to a cutting board to slice. Discard bay leaves and rosemary stems. Squeeze any garlic cloves remaining in their skins into the stew and discard the skins. Serve slices of meat in shallow bowls along with the vegetables and a generous amount of cooking liquid ladled over top.

## POT ROAST

ADAPTED FROM GAVIN KAYSEN  
TIME: 3 HOURS  
YIELD: 6 TO 8 SERVINGS

- 3 pound boneless beef chuck roast
- Kosher salt and ground black pepper
- 3 tablespoons canola oil
- 4 tablespoons butter
- 2 medium red onions, cut into quarters
- 4 carrots, peeled and cut into 2-inch pieces
- 3 stalks celery, cut into 2-inch pieces
- 1 rutabaga, peeled and cut into 12 to 16 pieces, about a pound
- 8 cremini mushrooms, halved
- 2 parsnips, peeled and cut into 2-inch pieces
- 1 head garlic, top cut off to expose cloves
- ¾ cup tomato paste
- 2 bay leaves
- 3 sprigs rosemary
- 1 ½ cups red wine, preferably cabernet
- 4 cups beef broth

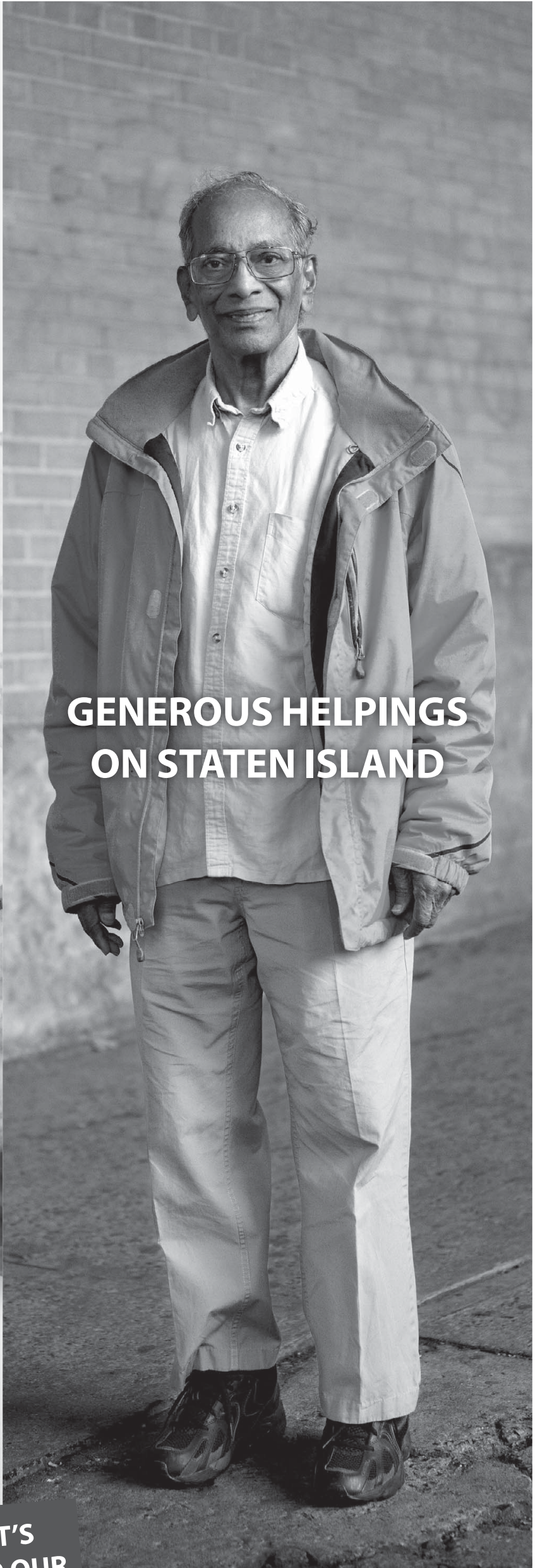
1. Heat oven to 340 degrees. Season meat generously with salt and pepper. Heat oil in a large Dutch oven, or other heavy roasting pan with a lid, over medium-high heat. Sear the meat until a dark crust forms, 3 to 4 minutes per side. Remove meat to a plate.

2. Reduce heat to medium and add butter to the pan. Melt the butter and add the vegetables, stirring frequently and scraping the bottom of the pot, until the vegetables start to color, 8 to 10 minutes.

3. Add tomato paste and cook, stirring frequently, until it darkens slightly, about 5



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THE POUR | ERIC ASIMOV

# A Wine List Built Moment by Moment

The year's most unforgettable bottles, and the experiences that made them so.

WHAT DOES "the best" mean when talking about wine? Not the greatest, as the greatest wines in the world may not be the best wines for a specific occasion.

What makes a wine the best has very much to do with the moment you choose to open the bottle. It's not simply a question of quality, although that's crucial. It's a combination of the occasion, the people with whom you share it, the food you eat and the context. Ultimately, what counts are the memories.

So this is not a "10 Best" list, but rather a tally of the most memorable wines I drank from 2016, bottles that were not only delicious but also lodged themselves in my synapses for reasons beyond simply what's in the glass. They are both modest and profound, ranked roughly from youngest to oldest.

**1. Fine Pine** Retsina may be among the most scorned wines in the world. It's a traditional Greek white infused with the piquant flavor of pine resin. One of the first things wine novices learn is that retsina is awful. A trip to San Francisco early this year gave me an opportunity to rethink that bias.

I had stopped for lunch at Souvla on Hayes Street, one of a small chain of fast-casual restaurants inspired by souvlaki joints in Greece that serve great spit-roasted meats. The menu offered a small group of Greek wines, including the promise, "Yes, we have (good) retsina." So I had a glass.

What a revelation! The retsina, a nonvintage Gaia Ritinitis Nobilis, was beautiful, bright and balanced with discernible piney highlights. It was absolutely delicious with my smoky, charred lamb and salad.

Later, I reflected on how easy it is to dismiss centuries-old traditions like retsina if they don't fit modern sensibilities. Yet in the context of Souvla, this retsina was the best possible wine to drink. A month or so later, a sommelier at Betony in Manhattan served me a glass of this wine blind. I knew what it was, and it went pretty well in the context of the restaurant's modern American cuisine, too.

**2. A Match for Sushi** Looking for a modest wine with a sushi lunch at Blue Ribbon Sushi Bar and Grill in Manhattan, I ordered a 2014 Bouzeron from Domaine A. & P. de Villaine. It's a white Burgundy, but it's made of the aligoté grape, which is often as reflexively despised as retsina. Yet this wine was superb — savory with surprising richness — and went beautifully with the meal. It set me off on a study of aligoté, which continues to yield surprising results.

**3. Mountain High** Almost 4,300 feet up in the northern foothills of Mount Etna lies perhaps the highest vineyard in Sicily, Salvo Foti's Vigna Bosco. It's too high for nerello mascalese, the signature red grape of Etna, so farmers more than 100 years ago planted grenache, alicante bouschet, minella bianca and others that Mr. Foti has not identified, all in a small, walled vineyard.

Mr. Foti acquired Vigna Bosco about 15

years ago, and he has nurtured these ungrafted vines as a cultural relic of the time when farmers trekked for miles with their mules to work in the vineyard for a few days.

He blends the grapes into a gorgeous rosé that is earthy, savory and pure, and that tastes as if it has a long and colorful past. Sipping the wine with Mr. Foti in Quattro

Below, Gaia Ritinitis Nobilis, a retsina. Bottom, Inglenook Vineyard 2013 Rubicon, a Napa cabernet sauvignon.

## Top Wines



ABOVE, JASON HENRY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; BELOW, JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES



Arch, a delightful osteria in the town of Milo, it was easy to imagine the days not so long ago when arduous farming, not tourism, was the primary work of Etna.

**4. The Ripest Red** A decade ago, the Jura was as little known a wine region as there was in France. The reds were considered too pale, the whites too oxidative and the place too isolated. Now, the Jura is fashionable among cutting-edge wine destinations around the world. Certain producers there have cult followings, their bottles as highly allocated as the rarest Burgundies.

I got my hands on one of those bottles, a 2014 Arbois Pupillin ploussard from Houillon-Overnoy, a red as pale as a dark rosé, made without sulfur dioxide, the stabilizer that is used almost universally in the wine industry.

I knew this bottle was very young, but I couldn't resist and opened it with friends at a restaurant in Midtown Manhattan. Breathing it in was like inhaling the freshest possible spiced red fruit. Drinking it was like crunching into that fruit. The purity was breathtaking, the wine beautiful, the time right.

**5. Bargain Lunch** On a weekend trip to Montreal for a dear friend's bachelor party in October, I stopped for lunch at L'Express, a venerable bistro on the Rue St-Denis. What struck us immediately were the wine list's prices, which seemed much cheaper than in New York. One in particular was a 2013 Meursault Vireuils, a village wine from Domaine Roulot, one of Burgundy's best white wine producers.

Though it often sells in New York restaurants for \$250 to \$300 a bottle, L'Express had it for the Canadian equivalent of \$98. We leapt on it, and it was a welcome reminder of the beauty of white Burgundy and of Meursault.

The wine was rich and mineral, yet energetic and incisive. It was delicious on its own, and even better with trout. It cost more than we had planned to spend for a lunch wine, but, faced with a steal, we couldn't let it get away.

**6. Dinner at Inglenook** I love Napa Valley cabernet sauvignon, though I don't find the dominant style of opulent, powerfully fruity wines to be particularly interesting. I prefer the freshness, complexity and age-worthiness that you can still find in some Napa cabernets if you look for them, so I have been intrigued by Francis Ford Coppola's long-term plan to both reconstitute the historic Inglenook estate and recalibrate its flagship wine, Rubicon, toward elegance and balance.

I was especially interested after Mr. Coppola hired Philippe Bascaules, who spent 20 years at Château Margaux in Bordeaux, as general manager. Over dinner at Inglenook last spring, we drank some recent vintages of Rubicon, and I fell in love with the 2013, a dense wine, yet fresh and vibrant, earthy and spicy, but with great finesse. This was my kind of Napa cabernet.

Mr. Bascaules has since returned to Margaux, taking over as managing director after the death of Paul Pontallier, the longtime manager there. He set Inglenook on a great course, and he will continue to oversee it from afar.

**7. A Box of Pleasure** In March, coincidentally just a week before Mr. Pontallier died, I spent a weekend in Atlanta, where I tasted 24 vintages of Château Margaux. It remains a fitting tribute to his life's

work there.

The 1996 was his favorite vintage of his tenure, he once told me, and in Atlanta it was gorgeous. It was dark and pure, graceful with an almost gossamer structure, perfumed with that sort of lead-pencil, cigar-box aroma that Mr. Pontallier a few years ago told me epitomized Margaux. It was complex and vibrant, though still young. I think Mr. Pontallier would have been very proud of this wine that day.

**8. Bold Burgundy** Domaine Armand Rousseau is one of the greatest red wine producers of Burgundy, renowned for its Gevrey-Chambertin. I was privileged in May to attend a lunch at the Nantucket Wine Festival where we drank a dozen Rousseaus.

Of the wines, the one that stayed with me the most was the 1996 Chambertin-Clos de Bèze. This grand cru captured the moment

**When you drink a wine, and with whom, can be critical to its taste.**

when a great wine begins the transition from its primary state, dominated by exuberant flavors of fresh fruit and flowers, to a secondary phase in which the fruit is beginning to give way to earthy, woody flavors. Yet this wine had lost none of the energy of its youth. It was still vibrant, vigorous and graceful, with the intensity and finesse you would expect of a great Burgundy.

**9. A Blinding White** White Bordeaux is one of the great forgotten wines of today. One reason, possibly, is that while many mediocre white Bordeaux are easy to find, the truly superb wines are rare and expensive. I had one of the best, rarest and most expensive at a dinner, also on Nantucket, featuring top Bordeaux wines.

It was a 1990 Château Haut-Brion Blanc, from one of the most historic producers in the Bordeaux region, and it may have been the best white Bordeaux I've ever had. You can't describe this wine in terms of fruit. The '90s aromas and flavors were more waxy, like lanolin, and floral, like honeysuckle, with a spine of profound minerality. It was a jaw-dropping combination, with the sort of texture that makes you want to keep drinking so the experience won't end.

**10. Very Good Years** Great wine stirs the emotions. I am particularly susceptible to wines that coincide with historical moments, either personal, like 1929, when my father was born, or global, like 1964, a year suffused with turning points in civil rights, war and popular culture. To drink a great wine, made from grapes that shimmered those dewy mornings in '64 is, for me, a penetrating thing.

I was a small boy then. Fifty-two years later and feeling old, I was drinking 14 Barolos from the '64 vintage at Maialino, a restaurant facing Gramercy Park, in November. One wine stood above the rest, the '64 Barolo from Cantina Mascarello, an estate run by a father, Giulio Mascarello, who would hand it down to his son, Bartolo, who in turn would hand it to his daughter, Maria Teresa.

The wine was pale, yet fresh, deep and soulful, younger than its years with miles to go. It was not just a survivor but a thriver, and it sent a message that I needed to hear.

## OFF THE MENU | FLORENCE FABRICANT

### HEADLINER

**Tavo** Julieta Ballesteros (near right), who has made her name at a number of Mexican spots, including Crema, La Loteria and China Latina, has teamed up with Francisco Decrescenzo (far right), a native of Monterrey, Mexico, and a fledgling restaurateur who developed his business plan while at the Stern School of Business at New York University. The menu's Mexican approach is richly seasoned with global notions, the result of both partners' travels. You will find Peking duck carnitas, chow fun noodles with corn and shrimp, and lamb chops in a chocolate-habanero sauce. Chorizo shumai and Cuban lasagna with adobo pulled pork and plantains are also available. The dining room is finished in copper, oak and white brick, and the restaurant gets its name, short for Gustavo, from one of Mr. Decrescenzo's grandfathers. (Opens Friday): 615 Hudson Street (West 12th Street), 917-675-6454, tavony.com.

### OPENING

**Allora Ristorante** Red-sauce Italian is served at this restaurant, with some specialties like steak Diane and whole branzino finished tableside. (Wednesday): Bernic Hotel, 145 East 47th Street, 212-754-9800, allorany.com.

**Coffeemia** There is a chain of 27 restaurants by this name in Moscow, and this will be the group's first branch in Amer-



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ica. The name is misleading: It's a full-on restaurant, not a coffee shop (though the simple bare wood décor suggests that it is), and it's open for breakfast, lunch and dinner. The chef, Titus Wang, who presides over an open kitchen, was previously at Annisa. The menu is American, with Asian touches, featuring dishes like grilled chicken wings, samachi tartare and borscht, some prepared on a special charcoal grill. (Wednesday): 1065 Avenue of the Americas (40th Street), 212-221-2510, coffeemany.com.

**La Barrita** The Argentine-style steak house is the work of Sebastian Cardona, a native of Mar del Plata, a beach town just south of Buenos Aires. His goal is to provide Argentine food that is more authentic than the usual fare found in New York, with tongue vinaigrette; empanadas filled with chopped, not ground, beef; rolled and stuffed breast of veal; and grass-fed steaks. The wine list is long on malbec, and the chef, also from Argentina, is Marcello Laz-

zarin: 132 Montague Street (Henry Street), Brooklyn Heights, 718-596-1800.

**Lady's** A black-and-white décor and leather banquettes provide a striking setting for familiar Italian specialties, highlighting pizza and pastas. (Friday): 572 Fulton Street (Rockwell Place), Fort Greene, Brooklyn, ladysnyc.com.

**La Esquina Midtown West** Tacos, tortas and quesadillas are featured at this fast-casual uptown outpost of an expanding restaurant group: 200 West 55th Street, 646-707-3950, esquinany.com.

**Tim Ho Wan** This dim sum house — which originated in Hong Kong, has locations in Asia and Australia, and is notable for its low prices and Michelin star — has finally landed in New York. The format (no reservations, dim sum from morning to night) is the same here, except that until Jan. 18, a date determined by the lunar calendar, for good luck, it will close from 3 to 5 p.m. There are two new items for New York: a deep-fried vegetable spring roll, and a dessert of French toast filled with custard.

The chain's most popular choices (a pan-fried turnip cake, a baked bun with barbecued pork, a steamed rice roll with barbecued pork, and a steamed egg cake) are all on the menu. (Friday): 85 Fourth Avenue (10th Street), 212-228-2800, timhowanusa.com.

**Yama Ramen** Not just five kinds of ramen but sushi, donburi and buns will be served at this second-floor restaurant: 60 West 48th Street, 212-832-2288.

### LOOKING AHEAD

**Charlie Palmer Steak** The chef and restaurateur will close his steak house on East 54th Street on Dec. 31. He is moving it to the Archer Hotel, where it will replace David Burke Fabric and reopen almost immediately on a limited basis while being renovated. The steakhouse will be fully up and running next month: 47 West 38th Street, 212-302-3838, charliepalmer.com.

**Minton's and the Cecil** Given Minton's more prominent name and history, the jazz club will combine with its sister restaurant, the Cecil, starting Jan. 6. The owners of both — Alexander Smalls and Richard Parsons — decided that it made sense to use the Minton's space on more than just weekends. They will use the Cecil for private events for now. Through Dec. 31, the chef at the Cecil, Joseph Johnson, known as J J, will be in the kitchen there and serve some of the items that will go on the menu at Minton's. Some Cecil favorites, like gumbo, will still be served at Minton's, where Mr. Johnson will remain the chef: Minton's, 206 West 118th Street, mintonshare.com, 212-243-2222; the Cecil, 210 West 118th Street, thececilharlem.com, 212-866-1262.

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# Big Changes After Tipping Is Ended

CONTINUED FROM PAGE D1

bulk, like paper towels, laundry services and software. Its chefs are coordinating menus so they will be able to share whole animals, like holistically raised lambs from Elysian Fields Sheep Farm in Pennsylvania, instead of buying individual cuts.

Because restaurants have for so long relied on tips as an important financial element — essentially subsidizing the entire payroll for the service staff — what sounds like a simple policy decision can require a complete overhaul.

“This is more like opening a new restaurant,” said Dino Lavorini, the director of operations at the Modern, which ended tipping in November 2015, the first restaurant in the Union Square group to do so. In the year since, the restaurant’s profits have slipped, company officials said; they would not say by how much, but added that they had anticipated the drop and expect it will correct itself.

But some restaurants that adopted a no-tipping policy in 2016 have already revoked it: The New York restaurateurs David Chang, Tom Colicchio and Gabe Stulman all found it unworkable in the small-scale experiments they tried. “We continue to be supportive of the no-tipping movement,” Mr. Colicchio said, “but we’ve heard from our customers and team that they just aren’t ready for it yet.”

Mr. Adler of Huertas, and others, say that one big reason to end tipping is the need for more equity between those who work in kitchens, who earn straight wages, and

**‘All restaurants will need to rethink how their people get paid.’**

those who work in dining rooms, who receive tips.

A more immediate motivation, local restaurateurs said, was the approach of the \$15 minimum wage in 2018, proceeding in New York City on Dec. 31 with a raise to \$11 an hour (from \$9) for nontipped workers. “Labor is just going to cost more and more, and all restaurants will need to rethink how their people get paid,” Mr. Lavorini said.

As the dining business, especially at the high end, attracts more educated and skilled workers, there is increased pressure to treat them fairly, professionally and predictably.

With tipping, chaos is a consequence. Servers compete ruthlessly for Saturday night shifts, when tips run high, but many are no-shows for Monday lunch. An experienced line cook who carries \$40,000 in debt from years of culinary school earns \$12 an hour, while a new server can reap three times that much.

Tipping can also prompt servers to nudge customers into ordering more expensive food and wine. And, at its most malign, it encourages servers to accept harassment, whether verbal, sexual or professional.

“There’s no reason a restaurant should feel like an unsafe workplace,” said Andrew Tarlow, the owner of Roman’s and four other Brooklyn restaurants. To encourage other restaurateurs, Mr. Tarlow created an open-source “Gratuity Free” logo and a website that explains the model.

The “automatic service charge” imposed at many restaurants like Chez Panisse in Berkeley, Calif., and Alinea in Chicago, can redistribute money the same way a no-tipping policy does, although states treat that revenue in different ways.

Tips are also handled differently in different states, but in New York, by law, they can be pooled and distributed only to “front of house” employees: those who work in the dining room, like waiters, bartenders and backwaiters (formerly known as busboys).

“There was regularly a 500 percent deficit between the back of the house and the front of the house,” said Abram Bissell, the executive chef of the Modern. “Like every kitchen in New York, we were having trouble attracting and retaining talent at that pay grade.”

RETAINING EXPENSIVELY TRAINED staff members is a major concern at the Modern. Along with the new Hospitality Included system, the restaurant started a separate revenue sharing program for the front-of-house staff, so that raises for the other workers would not cost them money. Some left nonetheless, believing that they could earn more in tips than the restaurant could compensate them for. (The Union Square group acknowledged that there had been



ABOVE, COLE WILSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; BELOW, FRANCESCO SAPIENZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Abram Bissell, left, the executive chef of the Modern, and Dino Lavorini, the director of operations at the restaurant, where profits have dipped since it ended tipping a year ago. Below, octopus at Huertas, before and after the no-tipping policy. The dish gained a tentacle and some potatoes to ease a price increase.



“some attrition” but would not give specific numbers.)

James Napolitano, 25, a bartender, said that most of the bartenders senior to him had left. “You can’t blame them,” he said. “They have strong skills that they can take anywhere.” But for him, the benefits of a regular schedule and steady income — with medical insurance, paid leave and revenue sharing — have proved more valuable.

Restaurateurs have learned to proceed carefully with customers, to soothe the pain of sticker shock. “We didn’t want to just raise prices 20 percent across the board,” Mr. Lavorini said. The Union Square Hospitality Group analyzes ordering patterns, solicits feedback from customers about pricing and shares data with Michael Lynn, a Cornell professor and expert in the psychology and practice of tipping.

One clear lesson: “There are certain fixed items — a glass of wine, a bar snack, a cup of coffee — that affect how guests experience the welcome of the restaurant,” Mr. Lavorini said. The prices of those items stayed where they were, even as others, in-

cluding those for many bottles of wine, rose by as much as 20 percent.

At the group’s North End Grill, when demand dipped for the \$69 aged strip steak (up from \$59), the chef Eric Korsh slipped a small \$33 sirloin with fries alongside it on the menu to satisfy the restaurant’s steak-loving regulars.

Sticker shock at no-tipping restaurants has affected restaurant owners as well.

From 2015 to 2016, the payroll for the Modern’s two dozen front-of-house employees’ hourly wages rose to as much as \$30 an hour from \$5, through a combination of the rising tipped minimum wage, paid overtime and revenue sharing.

Also, restaurants pay taxes on their revenue, but not on income from tips. When service is folded into the price of the meal, the restaurant is taxed on that “additional” revenue.

For Mr. Tarlow, who describes his business as “ideal driven,” the challenge has been to maintain those ideals across all aspects of the restaurants in the face of higher costs. As sole owner, “it all comes out of my

pocket,” he said, referring not only to higher wages, but also to spending on organic produce, local and artisanal bread, health insurance for employees and other costs that he has decided are nonnegotiable.

“The question is not only, ‘What will the customer’s pain point be?’” he said — whether diners will see the \$22 charge for a pasta and vegetable dish, and go elsewhere. The question is also: “What will our pain point be, what do we give up?”

At Huertas, there is more work for everyone now that both front- and back-of-house staffs have been trimmed. But Mr. Adler says that because the cooks and servers that remained have been made full partners in the enterprise, they work harder and better.

Like the Union Square group, which has no plans to revert to tipping, he said his restaurant would stay the course, despite many short-term complications.

“It took hundreds of years to build up the traditions of how things are done in restaurants,” he said. “We can’t expect to change all of that in one year.”

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## RESTAURANTS | PETE WELLS

# Memories Are Made of These

Recalling great dishes, from roast beef to frozen yogurt.

A LOT of the food that I transfer from fork to mouth is complicated. Some of it dazzles me, some doesn't, and I write my reviews accordingly.

As time passes, though, it's the less frenetic stuff that tends to stand out in my memory. The juicy rosé-colored slab of roast beef, the egg on toast served Mumbai style, the *île flottante* that vanished on my tongue leaving behind just a memory of transient happiness — these are some of my favorite dishes from new restaurants in New York, listed here in no particular order.

**1. Bucatini with squid and mussels at High Street on Hudson** Seaweed in the noodles and orange curls of cured lobster coral on top give this pasta an oceanic pull as strong as a riptide: 637 Hudson Street, West Village; 917-388-3944; [highstreetonhudson.com](http://highstreetonhudson.com).

**2. *île flottante* at Le Coq Rico** A crême Anglaise made with very yellow, very dense egg yolks is the foundation for a sphere of meringue like a snowman's head. It's dusted with hard grains of caramel that crackle between your teeth as the meringue collapses: 30 East 20th Street, Flatiron district; 212-267-7426; [lecoqriconyc.com](http://lecoqriconyc.com).

**3. Alsace-style pheasant at Le Coucou** Oh, just beautifully juicy pheasant breast, a



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2

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3

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4

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5

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6

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little meatball of braised pheasant leg cooked in cabbage, and enough wobbly foie gras to make you forget that the United States recently held an election: 138 Lafayette Street, SoHo; 212-271-4252; [lecoucou.com](http://lecoucou.com).

**4. Roast beef at Mr. Donahue's** The flavor is less like the sandwich meat of delis and bodegas than it is like a great slab of rib roast served on your favorite holiday: 203 Mott Street, NoLiTa; 646-850-9480; [mrdonahues.com](http://mrdonahues.com).

**5. Cacio e pepe fritelle at Lilia** Reconfiguring the great and elemental Roman pasta dish as a fried bar snack is an even more clever idea than it sounds: 567 Union Avenue, Williamsburg, Brooklyn; 718-576-3095; [lilianewyork.com](http://lilianewyork.com).

**6. Eggs kejriwal at Paowalla** It's a fried egg on toast under melted Cheddar that stands out from all others because of a throat-catching green chutney that has a glossy underpinning of coconut oil: 195 Spring Street, SoHo; 212-235-1098; [paowalla.com](http://paowalla.com).

**7. Frozen yogurt at Olmsted** A heap of lavender cream whipped to stiff peaks sits on and blends in with the yogurt in this wonderfully uncomplicated duet for dairy prod-



8

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ucts: 659 Vanderbilt Avenue, Prospect Heights, Brooklyn; 718-552-2610; [olmstednyc.com](http://olmstednyc.com).

**8. Clam pizza at Pasquale Jones** Small refinements on the New Haven favorite,



9

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like marinating littlenecks in garlic and dribbling cream on the pie, make more difference than you'd suppose: 187 Mulberry Street, Little Italy; no phone; [pasqualejones.com](http://pasqualejones.com).



10

EMON HASSAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**9. Honey mesquite cake at Pondicheri** Flour from almonds and ground mesquite pods, seasoned purposefully with ginger, make this a morning pastry without precedent: 15 West 27th Street, NoMad; 646-878-4375; [pondichericafe.com/new-york](http://pondichericafe.com/new-york).

**10. Classic burger at Salvation Burger** This is the pure stuff of hungry roadside American daydreams, with all the most lust-fueling qualities singled out and amplified: 230 East 51st Street, Midtown East; 646-277-2900; [salvationburger.com](http://salvationburger.com).

## Top Dishes

Tastes that produce a sense of happiness that endures.

## RESTAURANTS | PETE WELLS

## An Inspired Class

CONTINUED FROM PAGE D1

very rich and everybody else is replicated, in miniature and with less alarming implications, in the city's restaurant scene. So I was encouraged when three tasting-menu places that were among my 10 favorite restaurants this year bowed to more moderate budgets by adding a shorter, cheaper meal (Aska and Günter Seeger NY) or an à la carte option (Agern).

I cheered for Greg Baxtrom, a product of several famous tasting-menu kitchens, when he brought a similar level of creativity to Olmsted, an affordable neighborhood spot in Brooklyn. And I smiled every time I spotted a bottle of wine for under \$55 at Le Coucou, a reformed and refined homage to the fancy old-school French restaurants that have mostly vanished from New York.

Month after month, I was surprised by the good, resourceful kitchens I found squirreled away in spaces that barely qualified as restaurants: wine bars and bar bars and a nostalgic lunch counter called Mr. Donahue's, where \$20 buys a full dinner of American food my grandmother would have recognized.

The cost of running a restaurant is notoriously punishing. Often the pain is passed on to us, but sometimes it inspires chefs to think a little harder. This year, those are the restaurants I want to tell you about. They are presented here roughly in the order of

2016

## Top Restaurants

## 1. Le Coucou



TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES



DEVIN YALKIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



KRISTA SCHLÜETER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## 4. Le Coq Rico

SASHA MASLOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

the intensity of my desire to go back again, which diverges here and there from the number of stars that flew above their reviews.

## 1. Le Coucou

The genius of this project from the chef Daniel Rose and the restaurateur Stephen Starr is that it gives us almost everything we loved about New York's old-line French restaurants without the things we didn't. The dining room isn't stuffy, the service isn't snooty, and people don't get seated in Siberia if their pronunciation of boeuf bourguignon doesn't have the right backhand spin. (As far as I can tell, Le Coucou doesn't have a Siberia.) The wine list covers the historic old appellations of France, but it also embraces emerging ones and exciting regions from other countries while pricing bottles in a range that's unusually democratic. Meanwhile, Mr. Rose knocks the dust off some archetypal premodern French dishes. Sole Véronique gets its peeled grapes and its butter-girded sauce along with a sense of conviction that's can't be faked. The fleecy quenelles of pike, half-submerged in a lava flow of sauce Américaine, have a finer flavor than the ones at La Grenouille, which some people still think of as the city's standard-bearer. Mr. Rose isn't simply hauling out museum pieces, though. He's making them fresh again, and relevant. ★★★; 138 Lafayette Street; SoHo 212-271-4252; lecoucou.com.

## 2. Lilia

Look around the concrete-floor dining room, glance at the one-page menu, and you could be at any number of casual Italian restaurants. Start eating, though, and you realize Lilia has something else going on. That something is Missy Robbins, the chef and owner. She's a sleight-of-hand cook. You don't see her tricks coming, but you taste them and wonder how she did it. Like Jonathan Waxman at Barbuto, she relaxes the tight grip of Italian cuisine without changing it in ways that are cheap or tortured. It would be easy enough for her to tidy up her seafood appetizers, her main courses of fish and meat grilled on an open fire, and her pastas, which I can never eat without smiling, and serve them in a dressier dining room. It would be hard, though, to make them taste better. ★★★; 567 Union Avenue, Williamsburg, Brooklyn; 718-576-3095; lilianewyork.com.

## 3. Mr. Donahue's

This tiny retro lunch counter has the attentiveness to atmosphere of a period movie. The lighting has a diffuse, analog softness. The music sounds like a Jonathan Schwartz radio broadcast with the soliloquies about Sinatra edited out. The most remarkable bid for nostalgia is the food proffer: an old-fashioned main course like roast beef or a nearly filler-free meatloaf of dry-aged beef, with a good sauce and a choice of two carefully considered sides for \$19.99. The counter stools and handful of table seats aren't as hard to come by as you'd expect, possibly because Mr. Donahue's isn't particularly celebratory. It has a contemplative, almost wistful mood. If that happens to be your mood, too, I can't think of a more congenial place to eat well downtown. ★★; 203 Mott Street, NoLiTa; 646-850-9480; mrdonahues.com.

## 4. Le Coq Rico

The Alsatian chef Antoine Westermann has built a poultry-focused bistro that's more compelling and carnally satisfying than any modern steakhouse. His star dish is rotisserie chicken, and his secret is buying old breeds raised by farmers who let them feed and mature longer than usual. The meat has



KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## 5. Agern



BENJAMIN NORMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## 7. Hao Noodle and Tea by Madame Zhu's Kitchen



EVAN SUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## 9. Olmsted



LIZ BARCLAY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## 6. Aska



DANIEL KRIEGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## 8. Günter Seeger NY



CASSANDRA GIRALDO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## 10. Llama Inn

a depth of flavor you rarely encounter. Other birds, like duck and squab, play minor but memorable roles on the menu. The dedication to poultry continues with eggs and livers; the foie gras is very fine, as you'd expect, but a more telling sign of how much care goes into the ingredients is the plate of gorgeous, creamy chicken livers. The prices can make your eyes pop, but so can the portions. And while Mr. Westermann spends half his time in France, he hasn't hit autopilot on Le Coq Rico. He was in the house one recent night, and new breeds of chicken have strutted onto the menu since my review. ★★; 30 East 20th Street, Flatiron district; 212-267-7426; lecoqricony.com.

## 5. Agern

The ambitious Nordic invasion of Grand Central Terminal by the Danish entrepreneur Claus Meyer has many facets, including a food hall and a Danish hot dog stall, but Agern is the one that has food worth missing a train for. The chef of this comfortably formal restaurant is Gunnar Gislasen, importing the philosophy of cooking with underappreciated ingredients from nearby that he follows at Dill in Reykjavik, Iceland. The beet baked in ashes and salt that is carved at tableside, like a steamship round, may not be as exciting as its ceremony, but like much of the cooking, its flavors are honest and appealing. You can order à la carte or amble through the "field and forest" tasting menu (\$140) or a nonvegetarian excursion (\$165). Both prices include service and

a round and tangy loaf of house-made sourdough with a memorably crackling crust. ★★★; Grand Central Terminal, 89 East 42nd Street, Midtown East; 646-568-4018; agernrestaurant.com.

## 6. Aska

"Oh, not a New Nordic tasting menu," I hear you say. "We had a New Nordic tasting menu last night!" Well, this one has reindeer lichen and the cinders of burned lambs' hearts — you didn't have that last night, did you? It also has a chef, Fredrik Berselius, who has become very adept at broadening and intensifying the flavors of his ingredients. Some of these are imported, like wild wood pigeon from Scotland. Others are grown or foraged nearby. Mr. Berselius is not dogmatic. He does have his share of strange ideas, but even the odd stuff pays off when you eat it. Upstairs in the selectively lit dining room, the Unabridged Berselius is a 19-course tasting menu for \$215, and the abridged, 10-course version is \$145. (All prices include service.) Down in the basement is a casual lounge with small plates, none costing more than \$16, although you won't find any blackened hearts down there. ★★★; 47 South Fifth Street, Williamsburg, Brooklyn; 929-337-6792; askany.com.

## 7. Hao Noodle and Tea by Madame Zhu's Kitchen

Forget about the name. Tea is never mentioned by the servers (though it should be,

because it's good), and noodles may not always be the best thing on the table. It doesn't matter. There is skillful, contemporary Chinese food all over the menu, and color photographs to let you know what you're in for. Most of the dishes are drawn from either Beijing, Shanghai or Chongqing. Peppers are not quite everywhere, but they are strongly represented in many dishes. So many fresh green chiles lurk in Madam Zhu's Spicy Fish Stew that eating it is a contact sport. There is some shading to the cooking, too. I counted three distinct frying styles, and clearly need to return to finish the survey. ★★; 401 Avenue of the Americas, West Village; 212-633-8900; madamzhu.com.

## 8. Günter Seeger NY

Two of my meals were stunningly good and pure. A third had a few too many ordinary moments, which kept me from writing a full-blown rave for a restaurant where the only option at the time was a 10-course dinner for \$148. Since then, a four-course, \$98 menu has been added. If you can swallow either price, then I say: Go. Mr. Seeger, who earned national praise when he was in Atlanta, has a formidable command of classical European techniques, but he keeps his skills in the service of simplicity. Changing the menu every day, he almost seems to understand his ingredients, revealing the beauty of what's under the surface. It's high-risk cooking, and watching him pull it off can be thrilling. ★★; 641 Hudson Street, West Village; 646-657-0045; gunterseegerny.com.

## 9. Olmsted

One problem with the rise of expensive tasting menus is that a lot of culinary intelligence and imagination is locked up inside restaurants that are hard for most people to afford more than once a year, if that. Olmsted's chef, Greg Baxtrom, worked at some of those places, but he makes his own smart, inventive food inside a Brooklyn spot where I could imagine eating once a week. The carrot crepe with littleneck clams, an immediate Instagram star, is both a novelty and a fine way to start dinner. Prices are kept in line in part through affordable ingredients like guinea hen, roasted and confitted in a memorable main course. There's an inviting garden where you can have drinks and elevated bar snacks while inspecting the backyard agriculture. Homegrown kale greens up Olmsted's take on crab Rangoon, while eggs are supplied, one at a time, by a resident pair of quail. As of Sunday, they've weathered their first winter snow. ★★; 659 Vanderbilt Avenue, Prospect Heights 718-552-2610; olmstednyc.com.

## 10. Llama Inn

As far as I'm concerned, there ought to be two Peruvian restaurants in every New York neighborhood. One would serve rotisserie chicken, and the other would present more adventurous pieces of that country's kaleidoscopic cuisine, as Erik Ramirez does at Llama Inn. Mr. Ramirez makes an excellent ceviche and a tiradito whose marinade looks on the plate like lightly reduced Tang and tastes spicy, fruity and quietly thrilling. He also makes the only quinoa salad I've ever looked at without feeling pity, either for the salad or for myself. ★★; 50 Withers Street, Williamsburg, Brooklyn; 718-387-3434; llamainnny.com.

EMAIL petewells@nytimes.com. And follow Pete Wells on Twitter: @pete\_wells.

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## HUNGRY CITY | LIGAYA MISHAN

# Around the World on a Low-Cost Ticket

Favorite spots this year for inexpensive, and global, food.

ALMOST ALL my favorite meals this year were made by people from far away, who left behind the countries of their birth to make a life in this one. By choice or necessity, they turned to the kitchen and became quiet ambassadors for the food of their childhoods.

This kind of cooking is built on that most profound of flavors, memory. It comes in a sip of shikanjabeen, a slush of mint and lime that reaches back to the streets of Lahore, Pakistan; in a perfect palata, the dough slapped and stretched in a technique learned decades ago from a trishaw driver by the Irrawaddy River in Myanmar; in a tamal, hibiscus-red and sweet as cake, a Christmas wish from Puebla, Mexico.

How lucky New Yorkers are, to have all the world inside their city, at a reasonable price, if they know where to look.

Below, in descending order, are the places where, in the tumult of 2016, I found the greatest comfort.

## 2016

### Top Values

#### 1. Burmese Bites

The menu is only three dishes long at this stand at the Queens International Night Market. Each is \$5, and a wonder: palata, as rich as Indian paratha but pulled nearly sheer, like Malaysian roti canai, and served plain, or dredged in scarlet curry, or with curry already hidden inside; and ohno kaukse, a noodle soup fattened by coconut milk, with fish sauce in the depths and lime lancing the surface.

The chef, Myo Lin Thway, works in the diamond district of Manhattan by day. He grew up in the Irrawaddy Delta in Myanmar, one of eight children, and came to New York in 1994 to study mechanical engineering; two years later he started cooking for his church's annual fund-raiser. It took longer — nearly two decades — before he offered his food at street fairs. ("Burmese are cautious," he said.) I'm grateful that he did. Open seasonally (currently closed) at the Queens International Night Market, 47-01 113th Street (47th Avenue), Corona, Queens; 917-560-2480.

#### 2. Alimentos Saludables

Some nights Héctor Acosta may be on the jukebox, singing merengue, unless a roaming guitarist stops by to serenade the handful of tables, as a portrait of Pope John Paul II and a statue of baby Jesus look gently on. The awning is draped in twinkle lights, and, behind the counter, Concepción Gonzalez is serving some of the best tamales in town.

When Ms. Gonzalez first arrived in Brooklyn from the little town of Tochimilco in Puebla, Mexico, she sold tamales in front of a nearby church. Here she presents them on paper plates, still steaming, their corn-husk swaddling damp. Every bite strikes a lode of mole poblano, salsa verde or salsa roja, marbling the beautifully tender dough, like meat. Most tamales sell out by afternoon, so come early. 5919 Fourth Avenue (60th Street), Sunset Park, Brooklyn; 718-492-1660.

#### 3. BK Jani

Sibte Hassan left Lahore, Pakistan, to study graphic design in New York. But what he found he loved most was to feed — "overfeed," as he puts it — his friends. Here you feel like one of them, invited to a backyard barbecue that has been quickly shifted indoors because of rain. You eat at picnic tables hemmed in by murals halfway between graffiti and hallucination, without knives or forks, gnawing meat off the bone like the happy animal you are.

Although Mr. Hassan doesn't shout about it, he gets all the meat (Black Angus beef, New Zealand lamb, Amish chicken) from Pat LaFrieda, pasture raised, hormone-free and certified halal. While it seethes on the grill, he may reward your patience with complimentary lentil soup, a homage to one served at the shrine of a Sufi saint in Lahore, where it is shared with all, believers or no. 276 Knickerbocker Avenue (Willoughby Street), Bushwick, Brooklyn; 347-460-5110.

#### 4. Taste of Samarkand

Perhaps nowhere did I feel so thoroughly elsewhere this year than at this restaurant, run by Rasul Hoshimov, an Uzbek Muslim, and David Abramov, a Bukharan Jew from Tajikistan. Behind an unassuming brick storefront is a bower of a dining room, under a trellis of leaves, with grapes hanging out of reach. Branches frame scenes, painted on sheepskin, of sandstone fortresses and camels along the Silk Road.

The waitresses wear the traditional Uzbek kuilak (a long tunic) and lozim (pants), the trompe l'oeil patterns looking like animal pelts. English is limited and poetic. Every table is abundance itself, laden with flame-licked meat, blistered bread and messy plov: rice seeded with black cumin and littered with barberries. I still remember my first spoonful of a soup under a gorgeous slick of fat, like waking from a long, hard winter. 62-16 Woodhaven Boulevard (62nd Road), Middle Village, Queens; 718-672-2121; tasteofsamarkand.com.

#### 5. Violet's Bake Shoppe

To make Vietnamese banh mi requires care-



1. At Burmese Bites, in Corona, Queens, from left, keema palata, ohno kaukse and chicken curry palate.



2. Concepción Gonzalez is serving some of the best tamales in town, still steaming, at Alimentos Saludables in Brooklyn.



3. At BK Jani, you feel as if you were invited to a barbecue that has been quickly shifted indoors because of rain.



4. Waitresses wear traditional Uzbek garb at Taste of Samarkand; tables are laden with flame-licked meats and breads.



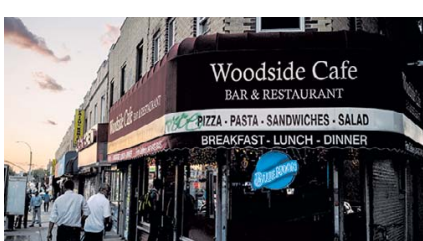
5. When Chris Tang opened Violet's Bake Shoppe, he focused on Chinese sweets but craved Vietnamese banh mi, right.



6. At Mumbai Xpress, Hina Shah, left, pays homage to chaat, India's limitless genre of snacks. Rava masala dosa, right.



7. Sons of Thunder was among the first city restaurants devoted to poke, a fish salad once rarely seen outside Hawaii.



8. Purushotam Khadgi, the chef at Woodside Cafe in Queens, is a native of Kathmandu, Nepal. At right, the newari thali.



9. All the great, deep animal cuts are served at El Molcajete, a Mexican restaurant in the Bronx. Consome de chivo, right.



10. At Claus Meyer's Great Northern Food Hall, ollebrod, right, is a porridge of rye bread simmered into mush.



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PHOTOGRAPHS BY AN RONG XU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



LEFT: EDWIN J. TORRES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES, RIGHT: LIGAYA MISHAN



PHOTOGRAPHS BY RAMSAY DE GIVE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ful calculation. At this diminutive bakery, Chris Tang, the chef, makes sure the bread has loft, and a crust ready to fracture; that the meats unite musk and tang, sugar and brine, the universal language of barbecue; that the pâté, house-made, tastes frankly of chicken liver, with no disguise; and that the pickled carrots and daikon sting.

He was born in New York to Chinese immigrants, and worked alongside them at a noodle and dumpling factory in Brooklyn. When he and his wife, Flora Liu, opened the bakery, he focused on Chinese sweets like egg tarts. But he secretly craved Vietnamese banh mi, and he persuaded a family friend of Vietnamese descent to teach him how to make them. Fortunately, the egg tarts remain, both Cantonese (sweeter, shinier) and Portuguese (denser, with cling). 72-36 Austin Street (72nd Road), Forest Hills, Queens; 718-263-3839.

#### 6. Mumbai Xpress

Hina Shah was a home cook until family and friends insisted she share her gift with the world. In this spartan dining room, she pays homage to the chaatwallahs of Chowpatty Beach and Breach Candy in Mumbai, India, where she grew up. Chaat is India's seemingly limitless genre of snacks, alchemies of sour-sweet, tart and smoky, cooling and incendiary, creamy and crackling. In their truest form they are slapped together with brisk fingers by the roadside, forged on hot plates and handed over wrapped in newspaper or jumbled on a leaf.

Ms. Shah's presentations are neater but no less fervid. And even eaten at a table, a snack can feel like a small act of defiance: a refusal to abide by mealtimes or settle for a dutiful progression of flavors and textures, when you can have them all at once. 256-05 Hillside Avenue (256th Street), Floral Park, Queens; 718-470-0059; mumbai-xpress.com.

#### 7. Sons of Thunder

This was one of the first places in New York devoted to poke, a raw fish salad once rarely found outside of Hawaii and now ubiquitous, if not always true to its origins. Here it's made the way I remember it from my childhood in Honolulu, where the best version is sold at Tamura's, a liquor store, and served at get-togethers as a pupu (snack), still in its plastic tub.

Generous cubes of fresh ahi and salmon are glossed with shoyu and sesame oil or daubed with chile aioli. Instead of offering just fish heaped on rice, each bowl is nearly overgrown with mesclun greens and seaweed salad, tempering the lushness. The chefs, James and John Kim, are brothers from Queens whose grandparents immigrated to Hawaii from South Korea. The surfboard on the wall is James's, and the pictures in the dining room, by the legendary surf photographer Brian Bielmann, could have come from his dreams. 204 East 38th Street (Third Avenue), Murray Hill; 646-863-2212; sonsofthunder.com.

#### 8. Woodside Cafe

The sign says "Italian, American, Nepali, Indian Food," but the only dish that betrays a European inspiration is a plate of momos — mammoth Himalayan dumplings — in a tomato cream sauce with the kick of tikka masala. The chef, Purushotam Khadgi, ran an Italian-Nepalese restaurant in his native Kathmandu and made pizzas when the cafe first opened; now, instead, there is chatahari, a rice-flour crepe under mashed black-eyed peas and potatoes, crumbled meat and an egg, barely set.

The room is dim, with saffron walls and burgundy banquettes; masks of Hindu deities keep vigil. Every detail is transporting: rice beaten into confetti, a sheen of mustard oil on roasted soybeans and deep-fried whiting meant to be eaten whole, with tiny, brittle harps of bone. 64-23 Broadway (65th Street), Woodside, Queens; 347-642-3445; woodsidecafe.com.

#### 9. El Molcajete

At this Mexican restaurant, set in the shadow of an elevated train in the Bronx, tacos don't flop; they come twisted at one end so they look like overloaded ice cream cones, mouths wide and heavy with meat. All the great, deep animal cuts are here, like cabeza (beef cheek and jaw) and suadero, taken from near the udder and rivaling pork belly in richness, as lush as a peach at peak.

Each taco is \$3, and each is magnificent. You might not manage more than two. Meanwhile, the menu goes on forever, with patiently tended stews, unexpected heat lurking in a goat consommé and cubes of jellied pig's foot, cold, and then liquid on the tongue. The margaritas burn. English is understood, if not always reciprocated. The staff would answer no questions for my review; all I know is what I tasted, a history written in chile and lime. 1506-08 Westchester Avenue (Elder Avenue), Soundview, the Bronx; 917-688-1433.

#### 10. The Grain Bar at Great Northern Food Hall

It's not clear whether Claus Meyer — a founder of the Copenhagen restaurant Noma and a trailblazer for the New Nordic culinary movement — came to America to conquer it or save it. His Great Northern Food Hall is a pristine galaxy of stands and counters, appointed with white oak and Arne Jacobsen chairs, set in a less-trafficked cavern of Grand Central Terminal like a diorama of a distant, wiser culture.

The creed here is: Respect good ingredients. Take time to enjoy them. Feel kinship with the people around you. Could anything be more alien to the harried New Yorker? If Mr. Meyer can persuade us, the secret may be ollebrod, a medieval porridge of rye bread soaked in beer and simmered into mush, which I spied him stirring one morning at the Grain Bar as if he had nothing more important to do. It's served cold under a knoll of milk foam, crunchy tarragon sugar and caramelized rye bread, with sour sea buckthorn berries, like ancient shrunken suns, ready to pop. Grand Central Terminal, 89 East 42nd Street, Midtown East; 646-568-4020; greatnorthernfood.com.