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The New York Times

INTERNATIONAL EDITION | WEDNESDAY, MAY 16, 2018

A spectacle of arrogance in Jerusalem



Michelle Goldberg

OPINION

On Monday, Ivanka Trump, Jared Kushner and other leading lights of the Trumpist right gathered in Israel to celebrate the relocation of the American Embassy to Jerusalem, a gesture widely seen as a slap in the face to Palestinians who envision East Jerusalem as their future capital.

The event was grotesque. It was a consummation of the cynical alliance between hawkish Jews and Zionist evangelicals who believe that the return of Jews to Israel will usher in the apocalypse and the return of

A celebration, geared toward Mr. Trump's Christian base in the U.S., coincided with a massacre about 40 miles away.

Christ, after which Jews who don't convert will burn forever.

Religions like "Mormonism, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism" lead people "to an eternity of separation from God in Hell," Robert Jeffress, a Dallas megachurch pastor, once said. He was

chosen to give the opening prayer at the embassy ceremony. John Hagee, one of America's most prominent end-times preachers, once said that Hitler was sent by God to drive the Jews to their ancestral homeland. He gave the closing benediction.

This spectacle, geared toward Donald Trump's Christian American base, coincided with a massacre about 40 miles away. Since March 30, there have been mass protests at the fence separating Gaza and Israel. Gazans, facing an escalating humanitarian crisis due in large part to an Israeli blockade, are demanding the right to return to homes in Israel that their families were forced from at Israel's founding. The demonstrators have been mostly but not entirely peaceful; Gazans have thrown rocks at Israeli soldiers and tried to fly flaming kites into Israel. The Israeli military has responded with live gunfire as well as rubber bullets and tear gas. In clashes on Monday, at least 58 Palestinians were killed and thousands wounded, according to the Gaza Health Ministry.

The juxtaposition of images of dead and wounded Palestinians and Ivanka Trump smiling in Jerusalem like a Zionist Marie Antoinette tell us a lot **GOLDBERG, PAGE 11**

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



The Hezbollah leader, Hassan Nasrallah, giving a speech to supporters this month in Baalbek, Lebanon. Iran has used Hezbollah to project power throughout the Middle East.

As deal crumbles, Iran foes see opportunity

NEWS ANALYSIS
BEIRUT, LEBANON

U.S. move may disrupt Tehran's ability to exploit upheavals to deter enemies

BY BEN HUBBARD

After the United States toppled Iraq's dictatorship in 2003, Iran sent arms to militias and backed political parties there, bringing Iraq into its orbit.

After the Arab Spring uprisings early this decade battered the governments of Syria and Yemen, Iran deployed fighters and supported militias. In the chaos of Syria's long-burning civil war, Iran seized the opportunity to build military infrastructure there.

In 2015, President Barack Obama offered Iran what might have been the biggest opportunity of all: trading its nuclear program for the lifting of sanctions that had stifled Iran's economy, paving the way for its reintegration into the international system.

Now President Trump, Israel and the Sunni Arab monarchies of the Persian Gulf want to change all that.

Last week, Mr. Trump withdrew the United States from the international nuclear deal with Iran, reimposing onerous American sanctions and threatening more penalties to punish Iran for its regional behavior. After falling out of favor since the Iraq war, talk of regime change in Tehran has returned to Washington in a way not seen since President George W. Bush branded Iran part of the "axis of evil" in 2002.

But as frustrated as Mr. Trump and his allies were that the Iran nuclear agreement did not curb what they regard as regional troublemaking by Iran, it is far from clear that vacating the deal will either.

"If we are going to confront Iran and roll back this Iranian network, what are we going to put on the table?" said Randa Slim, an analyst at the Middle East Institute in Washington. "And if Iran has gained influence and equities from these achievements, how is it going to fight back?"

Iran now maintains a network of powerful militias that defend Iran's interests far beyond its borders.

Even as Mr. Trump scrapped American participation in the nuclear deal, Iranian-backed political parties were contesting parliamentary elections in Lebanon and Iraq, and Iranian-aligned rebels in Yemen were firing ballistic missiles at the Saudi capital, Riyadh.

The onetime "axis of evil" member has built what it calls an "axis of resistance," stretching through Iraq and Syria to Lebanon. Iranian forces or allied militias are now basically on the doorsteps of Israel and Saudi Arabia, Iran's most important regional adversaries.

An alliance against Iran has tightened, with the United States, Israel and **IRAN, PAGE 4**

Spy game: The retiree edition

PRAGUE

Former Russia agent kept the intelligence door open before he was poisoned

BY MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ
AND ELLEN BARRY

The aging Russian spy had been a free man for only a few years when he turned up in Prague for a secret meeting with his former adversaries. He looked ill but acted jovial, drinking with his Czech hosts and joking that his doctor had prescribed whiskey for high blood pressure.

Then he got down to business, rattling off information about Russian spy craft and the activities of former colleagues that might give the Czechs an edge over their foes.

This was Sergei V. Skripal, the former Russian spy who along with his daughter was nearly poisoned to death with a rare and toxic nerve agent 10 weeks ago, touching off a furious confrontation between Russia and the West that has played out like a Cold War thriller and led to the expulsion of more than 150 Russian diplomats from more than two dozen countries.



Sergei V. Skripal in court in 2006. The former Russian double agent, who had met secretly with European intelligence officers, was nearly poisoned to death in March.

The British authorities have accused Russia of trying to assassinate Mr. Skripal, a charge the Russians angrily deny. One of Britain's highest-ranking spymasters, the M15 chief, Andrew Parker, lambasted Russia this week in a speech to security chiefs in Berlin, accusing the Kremlin of "barefaced lying" and "criminal thuggery" and warning Russia that

it risked becoming a "more isolated pariah."

Britain has suggested that the Kremlin staged its attack to send the message that it would never forget or forgive any traitor. To buttress their case, the British authorities have portrayed Mr. Skripal as a symbolic victim who was living quietly in semiretirement in Salisbury, Eng-

land, after being swapped in a high-profile spy exchange in 2010.

But in the years before the poisoning, Mr. Skripal, a veteran of Russia's military intelligence agency, the G.R.U., apparently traveled widely, offering briefings on Russia to foreign intelligence operatives, according to European officials, who spoke only on the condition of anonymity. The meetings were most certainly approved and possibly facilitated by the British authorities as a way to both educate their allies and provide Mr. Skripal with income.

He met with Czech intelligence officials on several occasions and visited Estonia in 2016 to meet with local spies.

Such visits were neither illegal nor unusual for defectors. But they meant that Mr. Skripal was meeting with intelligence officers working to thwart Russian operations in Europe, opening the possibility that his poisoning was a narrower act of retribution.

There is no way to know for certain whether Mr. Skripal's travels made him a target, or even if the Russian government knew about them. The trips were kept secret, known only to a select few intelligence agents. Not a single official from the spy services in the Czech Republic or Estonia would discuss the details publicly.

Asked whether Mr. Skripal had met in **SPY, PAGE 4**

Cannes reckons with #MeToo

CANNES, FRANCE

The festival has set up a harassment hotline and issued warnings

BY FARAH NAYERI

Anyone from Oscar-worthy actresses to stargazing fans can call the Cannes Film Festival's new sexual harassment hotline, where three women are on hand to field calls until 2 a.m. each day.

Tote bags come with fliers warning that misconduct can lead to prison or a hefty fine. "Let's not ruin the party," the handouts say in French. "Stop harassment!"

The main jury has more women than men and is led by the Australian actress Cate Blanchett. Last weekend, 82 women — one for every female-directed film ever selected to compete for the main prize, or less than 5 percent of the total — took over the red carpet for a rally.

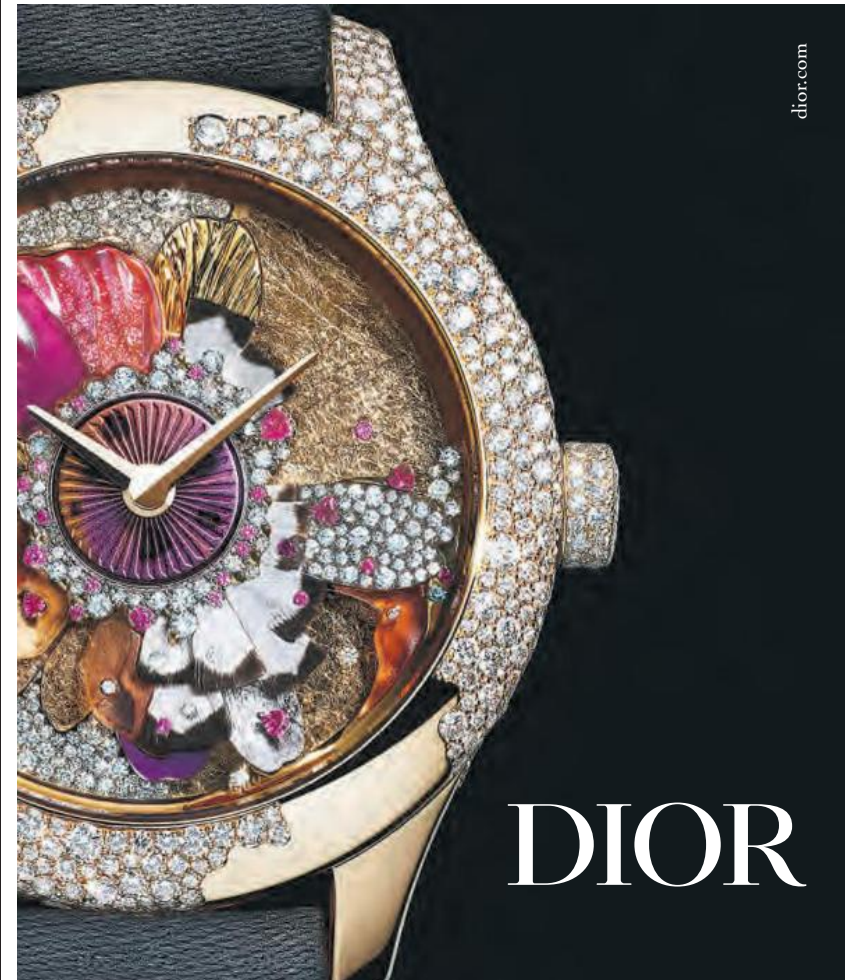


Filmmakers, actresses and producers listened to a statement by the Cannes jury protesting the lack of female filmmakers honored throughout the history of the festival.

"Women are not a minority in the world, yet the current state of our industry says otherwise," Ms. Blanchett told the crowd in a message that was read out in French by the filmmaker Agnès Varda. Standing on the festival's carpeted staircase, lined with photographers and camera crews, Ms. Blanchett added: "Ladies, let's climb!"

The reverberations of #MeToo are shaking up Cannes, now in the midst of its annual 11-day jamboree, where glitter and megayachts abound. But if the world's most prestigious cinema competition is reckoning with the industry's dark past, Cannes also must deal with its own present-day deficits. Of the 21 films vying for the Palme d'Or this year, for example, programmers picked only three directed by women.

The festival, in its 71st edition, is not just a launchpad for highbrow films. It's also a freewheeling marketplace for movie deals and a place of parties and excess that for years served as a commercial and recreational playground for the Hollywood producer Harvey Wein-



DIOR



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Issue Number
No. 42,042

PAGE TWO

Cannes reckons with #MeToo

CANNES, FROM PAGE 1
stein. Mr. Weinstein is currently fighting allegations of sexual misconduct made by dozens of women, at least two of whom relating to episodes that took place during past editions of the festival.

While he was absent this year, the sexualized atmosphere of his heyday remains. Outside the festival's seafloor headquarters, young women in hot pants roller skate around distributing copies of a fashion magazine. Aspiring actresses appear on and off the red carpet in see-through or low-cut dresses in the hopes of attracting the attention of male producers, directors, talent scouts and photographers.

It is well known among festival attendees that escorts ply their trade in the lobbies of Cannes' upmarket hotels. Within 10 minutes of entering one, a reporter was approached by two women, one of whom told him she would go back to his apartment in exchange for 500 euros, or about \$700.

"Cinema is a world that is founded on desire: the desire of producers and directors to make movies with this or that actress, the desire of spectators to watch those movies — and that desire is based, also, on physical attraction," said Marlène Schiappa, France's junior minister for gender equality, in an interview.

When combined with "power, visibility, notoriety and money," the result is "a cocktail of factors" that could lead to excesses, she said.

The reports about Mr. Weinstein were embarrassing to Cannes when they surfaced last October. The organization's president, Pierre Lescure, and artistic director, Thierry Frémaux, said in a statement at the time that they were "dismayed" by the charges against someone who was "a familiar figure" at the festival.

"These actions point to a pattern of behavior that merits only the clearest and most unequivocal condemnation," they said, adding that they hoped the case would "help us once again to denounce all such serious and unacceptable practices."

But French reaction to the ensuing #MeToo movement has not been as unambiguous. In January, the renowned French actress Catherine Deneuve and more than 100 other women published a letter in the newspaper Le Monde saying that the movement had gone too far. While rape was a crime, they said, "insistent or clumsy flirting is not a crime, nor is gallantry a chauvinist aggression."

And while Mr. Frémaux, the artistic director, has acknowledged criticisms of gender imbalance at Cannes, he has also said that films are chosen on merit, and that he opposes the idea of pro-women quotas as "positive discrimination."

The festival has long been a showcase for acclaimed male directors like Martin Scorsese, Quentin Tarantino and Pedro Almodóvar, and it is nothing if not tradition-bound. At this year's event, selfies were banned on the red carpet for causing disruption, and Netflix productions were kept out of competition because the company refused to follow the practice of showing Cannes titles in French theaters (which, under French law,



A rally at the festival highlighted inequality. "Women are not a minority in the world, yet the current state of our industry says otherwise," said Cate Blanchett, fourth from right.



Harvey Weinstein, the producer who is facing allegations of sexual harassment, was absent from the festival. But the sexualized atmosphere of his heyday remains.

would prevent them from being streamed online in France for three years).

Still, a new attitude toward gender equality, and the abuse of power, has been conspicuous throughout the festival.

At the American pavilion, an independently operated tent where experienced and emerging filmmakers come together, male visitors were required to sign an electronic form warning that their membership could be revoked if they committed harassment.

The hotline is another widely publicized new feature. Operators would not say how many calls they had received, but according to Ms. Schiappa, the gender-equality minister, the service had already arranged for a woman to be accompanied to the police station to file a complaint.

And the festival's choice of Ms. Blanchett as jury president was not accidental: she is one of the campaigners who helped establish the Time's Up organization against sexual harassment.

On Monday, Mr. Frémaux and the heads of the festival's two sidebar sections ("Directors' Fortnight and Critics' Week") signed a charter committing to gender equality and vowed to publish gender breakdowns of the number of films submitted to the festival each year and to reveal the composition of the selection committees. The organization behind the red-carpet rally on Saturday had been seeking such commitments since 2013.

The French filmmaker Eva Husson, one of the three women voting for this year's Palme d'Or, said it took her six years to make her first movie, "Bang Gang," and that it had been tough to raise the 4 million euros needed to make her latest movie, "Girls of the Sun," the story of female fighters in Iraqi Kurdistan taking on the Islamic State. A male filmmaker making a war movie would raise twice as much, she said in an interview.

One explanation offered for the lack of women directors at Cannes is that they simply produce fewer movies, a fact that has brought calls for government support for female filmmakers in France. While 52 percent of its population is female, only 23 percent of its directors are women, according to the group that staged the rally. "A society that doesn't represent itself equitably is a sick society," Ms. Husson said.

Even so, she said that a lot of what she had seen at Cannes and beyond gave her some optimism. The day after the red-carpet rally — which included the actress Salma Hayek, who has accused Mr. Weinstein of harassment — the French culture minister, Françoise Nyssen, announced at the festival that she was ready to introduce rules making film subsidies conditional upon gender-parity and equal-pay targets.

"I'm super-enthusiastic, because the other way of looking at things is that everything remains to be done," Ms. Husson said. "A golden era could now begin."

Matthew Anderson contributed reporting.

His blood meant life for millions of babies

After 60 years, Australian with a rare antibody retires his 'golden arm'

BY MATT STEVENS

When he was 14, James Harrison needed surgery. And as he would come to find out, he would also need a significant amount of strangers' blood to survive it.

After he had recovered and as soon as he became an adult, Mr. Harrison felt compelled to pay it forward, he said. For the next 60 years he suppressed his strong distaste for needles — he says he has never watched one go into his arm — and gave blood every few weeks at locations across Australia.

Along the way, medical professionals made a stunning discovery: Mr. Harrison's blood contained a rare antibody necessary to make a pioneering medication that officials at the Australian Red Cross Blood Service said had helped save more than two million babies from a potentially fatal disease.

They said more than three million doses of Anti-D, as the medication containing Mr. Harrison's blood is called, have been issued to mothers since 1967.

On Friday, Mr. Harrison took his seat at Town Hall Blood Donor Center in Sydney for what would be his last donation. Medical officials at the Red Cross decided that at 81, their valued donor should stop giving to protect his own health.

Video recordings of the episode show Mr. Harrison — known to some as "the man with the golden arm" — grasping a stress ball as four silver balloons danced above him. The balloons were shaped in the numerals 1173 — representing the total number of times Mr. Harrison has given blood.

"The end of an era," Mr. Harrison, a retired rail worker, said in a video released from his home in New South Wales. "It was sad, because I felt like I could keep going."

Mr. Harrison, 81, made his final blood donation last week in Sydney, Australia.

The value of his contributions is hard to overstate.

The Red Cross estimates that around 17 percent of Australian women who become pregnant need Anti-D injections to keep their babies healthy, and the injections can be made only from donated plasma, which, in Australia, comes from what officials describe as "a tiny pool" of around 160 donors who have the special antibody in their blood.

Without the injections, babies with certain blood types that are different from their mothers' can develop hemolytic disease of the fetus and newborn, a potentially fatal condition. Officials estimated that as of last month, Mr. Harrison's blood had helped more than 2.4 million babies.

"I cry just thinking about it," Robyn Barlow, the program coordinator who recruited Mr. Harrison, told The Sydney Morning Herald.

Mr. Harrison had been donating blood for more than a decade when he was asked him to become the first donor in what would eventually come to be known as the Anti-D program.

His blood was exactly what they were looking for. His body naturally produces the antibody that prevents the hemolytic disease.

Mr. Harrison said he was still not sure exactly why, but believes it might have something to do with the blood he received as a teenager.

"The Red Cross and Australia can never thank a man like James enough," said Jemma Falkenmire, a spokeswoman for the Australian Red Cross Blood Service. "It's unlikely we will ever have another blood donor willing to make this commitment."

Mr. Harrison has been widely praised and has received the Medal of the Order of Australia for his longtime support of the Australian Red Cross Blood Service and the Anti-D program. Ms. Falkenmire said researchers were even wondering on what they have called a "James in a Jar project" with the goal of synthetically creating a mixture of antibodies that matches what Mr. Harrison produces naturally.

Mr. Harrison deflected most of the praise with humor and humility. "Blame me for the increase in population," he said.

Actress found stardom as Superman's Lois Lane

MARGOT KIDDER 1948-2018

BY NEIL GENZLINGER

Margot Kidder, who with a raspy voice and snappy delivery brought Lois Lane to life in the hit 1978 film "Superman" and three sequels, died on Sunday at her home in Livingston, Mont. She was 69.

Her death was confirmed by Camilla Fluxman Pines, her manager, who did not specify a cause of death.

Ms. Kidder appeared in more than 130 films and television shows, beginning in the late 1960s, and by the mid-'70s, when she took a break from acting after her daughter was born, she was already working steadily. But "Superman," her return to moviemaking, rocketed her to a new level of fame.

The film, directed by Richard Donner, was one of the most expensive ever made at that point. But it left some critics lukewarm.

"For me it's as if somebody had constructed a building as tall as the World Trade Center in the color and shape of a candy bar," she said in a 2006 interview by Ms. Kidder, wrote in his review in The New York Times. "Rabbits might admire it. They might even write learned critiques about it and find it both an inspiration and a reward, while the rest of us would see nothing but an alarmingly large, imitation carrot."

Audiences, though, loved it; "Superman" became the second-highest-grossing movie of the year, behind only "Grease." It starred Christopher Reeve in the title role, and he and Ms. Kidder remained for "Superman II" (1980), "Superman III" (1983) and "Superman IV: The Quest for Peace" (1987).

in another box-office smash, "The Amityville Horror," in which she and James Brolin played a couple doing battle with a possessed house.

Her other films included "The Great Waldo Pepper" (1975), with Robert Redford; "The Reincarnation of Peter Proud" (1975), with Michael Sarrazin and Jennifer O'Neill; and "Some Kind of Hero" (1982), in which she starred opposite Richard Pryor.

Ms. Kidder appeared in dozens of television series as well. One was "Smallville," the long-running WB (and later CW) series based on the Superman saga, in which she turned up in two episodes in 2004, though not as Lois Lane. Mr. Reeve had also appeared in a small role in several episodes of that series before his death in 2004.

Ms. Kidder also became known for a breakdown she had in 1996, when she was given a diagnosis of bipolar disorder. She talked openly about her condition thereafter, bristling at the words "mental illness."

"They are a stigma and recall times when it was thought those with a disorder were possessed by the devil," she told The Edmonton Journal in 2006. "I hope someone can come up with new words."

Margaret Ruth Kidder was born on Oct. 17, 1948, in Yellowknife, in the Northwest Territories. Her mother, Margaret, was a teacher, and her father, Kendall, was an explosives expert whose job entailed taking the family to whatever remote place one had been discovered.

"I read books," she told The Montana Standard in 2016, "and hung out with friends in the woods or at the hockey rink. We'd get Montreal on the short-wave radio once a week. That was about it for entertainment."

Eventually her parents sent her to boarding school in Toronto, where she started acting in school plays. She later attended the University of British Columbia.

Among her films in 1975 was "92 in the Shade," written and directed by the novelist Thomas McGuane, whom she married in 1976; they divorced the next year.

Her marriages to the actor John Heard in 1979 and the director Philippe de Broca in 1983 also ended in divorce.

In the 1980s she was also linked romantically to Pierre Trudeau during his term as the Canadian prime minister from 1980 to 1984. (He had also served in that post from 1968 to 1979.)

Ms. Kidder had a long history of involvement with the antinuclear movement and other liberal causes (she was arrested at the White House in 2011 while protesting the Keystone XL Pipeline).

She was credited in John English's biography of Trudeau, published in 2006, with influencing some of his political stands.

In 1990 Ms. Kidder suffered a spinal injury in a minor car accident, and she ended up in debt as a result. Her bankruptcy was filed in 1991.

Ms. Kidder appeared in more than 130 films and television shows before "Superman" brought a new level of fame.

down in Los Angeles, during which she wandered Los Angeles for three days before being found dazed in a stranger's backyard, received considerable publicity.

She credited natural treatments with helping her, and she continued her acting career. Her most recent credit was

last year in an independent movie, "The Neighborhood."

"If I were a cancer patient," she said in 2008, "I would today be considered cured."

Ms. Kidder's survivors include her daughter, Maggie McGuane; a sister, Annie; and two grandchildren.

Mr. Donner, the director of "Superman," said he had first become aware of Ms. Kidder through the TV series "Nichols," on which she was a regular in the early 1970s. In a 2016 interview with The Hollywood Reporter, he recalled the session that resulted in her getting the role of Lois Lane, the feisty reporter who works alongside Clark Kent and pines for Superman, unaware that they are the same person.

"When I met her in the casting office," he said, "she tripped coming in, and I just fell in love with her. It was perfect."

World

France's daily bread, by immigrants' sons

PARIS JOURNAL
PARIS

Bakers with roots in Africa guard the traditions of the most Gallic of loaves

BY ADAM NOSSITER

Beware that basket of limp crust put in front of you. Not all French bread is created equal. So sacred is the classic baguette that French law strictly codifies it, protects it and regulates it.

There are in fact few things more closely associated with France than the baguette, that long crusty stick that announces its nationality like no other bread.

So the mastering of that symbol of Frenchness by Mahmoud M'seddi, an immigrant's son and this year's winner of the Grand Prize for Best Parisian Baguette, is about more than great baking. At a moment when President Emmanuel Macron is taking a toughening line against immigration, Mr. M'seddi's triumph challenges the very notion of what it means to be French.

Ask him whether there was any significance in the fact that his father arrived from Tunisia more than 30 years ago, and he will snort an indignant denial: "I'm French. This is my home."

As a boy, Frenchman, he has absorbed the classic outlook of the French Republic. It is assimilationist and not integrationist; there are no ethnic distinctions, only citizens of France. Mother France subsumes all identities into one.

With that in mind, Mr. M'seddi, a kinetic and good-humored 27-year-old, conquered one of France's holy bastions. And he is not alone. It is immigrants or their heirs who are in fact propelling up the sacred tradition.

Last year's best baguette winner, Sami Bouattour, is also the son of a Tunisian immigrant. Three years ago it was a baker of Senegalese origin, Djibril Bodian, a two-time winner. Two years before that it was another Tunisian.

Mr. M'seddi now has the privilege of supplying the Élysée Palace, seat of the French presidency, with the bread of breads for a year. He showed a selfie he had taken with a grinning president Emmanuel Macron to drive the point home.

Deep beneath a Left Bank sidewalk in Montparnasse, inside the spoolless tiled workspace he calls his "laboratory," Arab pop played on the radio on a recent day.

His carefully prepared dough metamorphosed into crusty baguettes, and Mr. M'seddi was a whirl of motion.

The phone rang, and Mr. M'seddi answered in Arabic. Yet he also upbraided a questioner when asked about his origins.

"People like to remind me of it, yeah, such as the old saying, 'Ma, I don't make these distinctions. I couldn't care less about it,' he said. The French tricolor flag adorns the sleeve of his baker's coat.

"I studied here, I pay my taxes here. It's true that Tunisia called me, after I won.



Above, Mahmoud M'seddi, this year's winner of the Grand Prize for Best Parisian Baguette, at his bakery on the Left Bank. He shrugs off the notion that his Tunisian heritage is anything notable. "I'm French," he says. "This is my home." Below left, customers in Mr. M'seddi's shop. Below right, preparing the dough in what he calls his laboratory.



They're proud. But the Parisians are proud, too. His customers can't stop hugging and kissing him, he said.

His bread — rich, crusty and earthy — is very clearly superior to its industrial cousins that are the unsavory Paris norm. The dark crust can be smelled from another room, an excellent sign.

You taste wheat, not chemicals, when you bite into one of Mr. M'seddi's baguettes.

It was youth and diligence, not heritage, that should be emphasized, he insisted. "Look, I worked hard to get here," Mr. M'seddi said.

"I see myself as an artist, as a magi-



cian," he said. "I take a primary material, and I make something out of it. And I make people happy."

A lot of people. "Twelve million people go into a boulangerie" — a bakery — "every day to buy baguettes," the president of the Paris bakers' syndicate, Franck Thomasse, announced solemnly

to the festive crowd in presenting the award outside Notre Dame cathedral on a recent Saturday.

Opposite him, bakers were shaping dough, and next to him stood the mayor of Paris, the rector of Notre Dame and the head chef of the Élysée Palace. Framing the scene was the intricate me-

dieval bulk of Notre Dame.

"Outside of France, it is one of the principal symbols of France," Mr. Thomasse told the crowd, and there was nobody to contradict him.

But when the bakers-up in the baguette competition were called to the podium in the giant Festival of Bread tent, under the benevolent gaze of the city's top spiritual, temporal and gastronomic authorities, one fact stood out: Nearly half the bakers had names that were distinctly un-French. Immigrants were disproportionately represented.

But there were few in the crowd to make the competition that appears obvious to Americans: Immigrants and their offspring are naturally more inclined to take the tough jobs that natives reject, and work them hard.

Mr. M'seddi, who works in his "laboratory" until midnight mixing dough, was initiated into the culture early on. His father, Mohamed — his "idol," to whom "I owe everything" — gets up at 4 a.m. to make the bread in an associated bakery. Some 1,200 boulangeries close in France every year. Boulangerie work is hard, and the elder Mr. M'seddi tried to keep his son out of it.

The fact that immigrants kept winning the competition is merely "a reflection of the cosmopolitanism of the Ile de France," the Paris region, said Denis Bourdain, a juror on the panel that awarded the prize.

Guillaume Gomez, the Élysée's ebullient head chef and himself the son of a Spanish immigrant, insisted there was no connection between national origin and baguette-making, even as he acknowledged that "those who succeed are the ones who really work hard."

"That's the real social ladder," he said. The Élysée gets several bread deliveries a day, and Mr. Gomez was sure that Mr. M'seddi was up to it.

The Paris mayor, Anne Hidalgo, herself born in Spain, a Socialist on her party's left and known as a champion of immigrants, drew a political lesson from Mr. M'seddi's win.

"I find it extraordinary, because it's not the first time," Ms. Hidalgo said in a brief interview at the Bread Festival. She depicted the triumph of immigrants as a rebuke to anti-immigrant movements like the National Front. "Not only do they not take bread from our mouths, they put bread in," she said.

Energy and "passion" — Mr. M'seddi's word — are abundantly in evidence in his laboratory. He lives in an apartment overhead on the Boulevard Raspail, so he can attend to his bread at all hours.

In the presence of the dough, he seems never to stop moving. Hours are needed for the fermentation. The precise alchemy of time, temperature and ingredient is closely guarded. "I'm going to keep the method a secret," he insisted.

He picks up the dough gently, to transfer it from the machine that divides it into thick cylinders, to the shaper and from there to the oven.

"I take it very delicately," he said. "I do the same thing in the restaurant. The bread is baked. You've got to protect the dough, from beginning to end."

Under new law, Tunisia's battered women 'can finally dream'

GAFSA, TUNISIA

BY LILIA BLAISE

For women like Sihem Ben Romdhane, the options used to be fewer. Her husband of 19 years often beat her, and she lodged complaints with the police, who told her they would have to jail him.

So she would withdraw her complaints each time, because if not her husband, my children to be without their father," she said. Then last November, her husband started beating their 9-year-old son.

"I just could not take it anymore," she said in an interview here in Gafsa, the hard-bitten Tunisian mining town where she lives.

Ms. Ben Romdhane, a Libyan national who has lived in Tunisia for 20 years, decided to leave and found refuge in a shelter in town for battered women.

It is one of just a handful of shelters that have newly opened in the country after Parliament passed a law last year outlawing a broad range of specific violent acts against women, as well as discrimination against them. The law also urged the opening of new shelters and other facilities to protect women in emergency situations.

Tunisia has always prided itself on being the most advanced Arab country when it comes to women's rights. Women here have long had the right to divorce and gain custody of their children, and polygamy was abolished the year after the country became independent in 1956.

Yet violence against women remains a widespread and persistent problem. Economic violence and domestic sexual abuse are among the most prevalent types of aggression.

In 2016, 60 percent of Tunisian women were victims of domestic violence, according to the Ministry of Women, Family and Children, with studies from non-governmental groups suggesting the

figure may even be higher. And 50 percent of women said they had experienced aggression in a public area at least once in their lives.

Legislators and women's activists say they are hoping to reduce those numbers with the new law and the shelters that opened at the recommendation of the legislation.

From outside, the new shelter in Gafsa looks like an ordinary house. The inside is homely except for the schedule on the kitchen door, which sets out the hours to eat and clean. The storage closet is stocked with sanitary pads, toothbrushes and clothes.

"Sometimes the women who come here run away from a desperate situation with no luggage whatsoever. So we provide everything," said Sonia Mhamdi, the manager of the intake center that is the first stop for women in distress before they are placed in shelters.

There are seven women's shelters in Tunisia, funded by the European Union. Most opened after the country's Arab Spring revolution, which began in December 2010 and inspired a string of uprisings around the Middle East and North Africa. The shelters offer protection, legal advice, some free job training, child care, and psychological and medical treatment.

While the new law and the shelters are breakthroughs, the next challenge is to broaden awareness of the changes and to get more abused women to make use of the new institutions and measures to protect them. The police, judges and doctors must also be made aware of the provisions of the new law.

"We need to educate children and their parents to respect family values, which include women's rights," said the minister of women, family and children, Néziha Labidi.

The legislation outlaws domestic rape and bars a rapist from marrying his victim in order to diminish his sentence. Police can face jail time if they refuse to take a woman's abuse complaint or try



A protest over violence against women in Tunisia, the capital of Tunisia, where abuse remains a widespread and persistent problem.

to dissuade her from lodging one. Even if the victim drops the charges in a case of violence against women, the investigation is still required to go on.

Reporting of domestic abuse has increased, yet the rate of prosecutions remains low.

According to the Ministry of Justice, 5,569 complaints of violence against women were registered between 2016 and 2017. But more than half of them were dropped or dismissed.

Sexual harassment is punishable by two years in prison, and the law goes as far as to oblige any witness of violence against women to report it. It also sets up specific courts and judges dedicated to violence against women as well as special police units, mostly led by women.

"The new law is innovative because before, when the woman was abused and forgave the abuser, he would not be punished by law," said Amor Yahyaoui, a general inspector for the Ministry of Justice. "Now even if the woman for-

gives him, he will face the law and he will be accountable."

The shelter in Gafsa is one of the newer ones, located in one of Tunisia's more impoverished and conservative regions.

For Ms. Ben Romdhane, 45, the shelter in Gafsa helped her build a legal case against her husband and learn ways to protect herself.

"The women in the center provided me with legal assistance and also psychological support," she said. "I know my rights, but I need support to be sure that my children will remain safe in the process and benefit from at least some help."

Officials in Tunisia have traditionally been unsympathetic toward battered women, often telling them to go back to their husbands, said Khaoula Matri, a sociologist who worked on violence against women in Tunisia.

"The new law offers a lot of legal safeguards to avoid such behavior. But will the mind-set change as well?" she said.



Ms. Mhamdi, the manager of the intake center, said just renting a suitable house required lengthy negotiations with the community. Homeowners feared trouble from the husbands or the families and single mothers are generally not well perceived in Tunisian society, she said.

"The neighbors on the street all had to sign a charter," she said. "The charter states that they agree to the presence of this center here and that they will do everything to protect the privacy and the security of these women. The confidentiality of the place is really important. We can't have angry husbands coming here to look for their wives."

Women must be in an emergency situation or immediate danger to get a spot in the Gafsa shelter.

Twelve women have come to the shelter since it opened last year. They stay anywhere from a few days to four months. The bedrooms have also beds for children and a roof terrace is walled for privacy from the neighbors. The

shelter staff say they often play the role of mediator between couples or families.

"It is hard because the women still prefer to get a divorce rather than go through a trial for domestic abuse," said Salah Chragua, the shelter's psychologist. "There is the question of the children, but also the shame it might cause in front of a conservative society."

Despite the conservatism of the society in Gafsa, there are signs of change. In February, the regional court sentenced a man under the new law to two years in jail after his wife accused him of repeated sodomy.

"Women and men come every day to the courts for marriage issues and to ask for child support and women do not hesitate to complain about their violent husbands," said Mohamed Khelifi, the public prosecutor of the Gafsa court. "It is not taboo anymore."

In the Gafsa shelter, one of the success stories is Salima Abidi, who is 50 and single and used to be jobless. She never got married because she was at home caring for her sick mother. She did not finish high school, and after her mother died, she ended up living with her father and brother who did not want her.

"I was a burden for them despite all that I sacrificed for my family. It quickly became verbal and physical," she said. "Both my brother and my father blamed me for staying with them, so I finally left."

She spent three months at the shelter, mostly to build up her self-esteem but also to learn how to be financially independent.

"I felt abandoned and it is really hard here to be a single woman with no family," she said. She now has a job as a seamstress and manages an internet cafe for women who have no family in exchange for a meager rent.

"I am free. I have some money set aside. I can finally dream and think about my future," she said. "I know my relatives inquired about me. But I am not ready to see them again."

WORLD

Retired Russia agent still played spy game

SPY, FROM PAGE 1
Recent years with intelligence agents in Spain, where he had once worked as a double agent, a spokesman for the country's foreign intelligence service, CNI, said the question "is a red line we cannot cross."

Mr. Skripal arrived in Prague in 2012 shortly after his wife, Lyudmila, succumbed to uterine cancer. He was grieving, but nevertheless in good spirits when he met with officers from at least one of the Czech Republic's three intelligence services, according to a Czech official with knowledge of the meetings. Some details of the visit were first reported over the weekend by the Czech weekly *Respekt* and were confirmed independently by The New York Times.

Foreign Minister Martin Stropicky, asked about the reports in an interview this week, said the visit had been part of "the normal cooperation of services between the Czech Republic and Great Britain." He added that he believed Mr. Skripal's visit had been useful.

"Great Britain is known as a country with high quality information services," he said in an interview with Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. "I would never expect that the British would send some kind of problematic man. There was a reason for it, probably."

During the brief visit, Mr. Skripal drank, he joked, and he provided Czech intelligence with information about G.R.U. officers operating in Europe. His information was dated: He had retired from the G.R.U. in 1998. Even so, the

For former agents, retirement can be dull. Some resort to creative and illegal means to augment their pensions.

Czech officers found his knowledge to be valuable. Many of the G.R.U. agents he worked with in the 1960s were still active, the official said. Though Mr. Skripal's health was poor, the official said, his mind was clear.

Mr. Skripal was so helpful that Czech intelligence officials continued to meet with him, the official said, making several trips to Britain in subsequent years, though the exact dates are unclear.

Officials were more circumspect about Mr. Skripal's visit to Estonia, with one describing it as "very sensitive information." A senior European official with knowledge of the trip confirmed that the former Russian agent had met secretly with a select group of intelligence officers in June 2016, though it is not clear what they discussed. The British intelligence services helped facilitate the meeting, the official said.

A spokesman for the British Home Office also declined to comment.

Mr. Skripal and his daughter Yulia were found semiconscious on a park bench in the British town of Salisbury on March 4. Officials later determined that they had been poisoned with novichok, a deadly nerve agent developed in the Soviet Union. The British government has accused Russia of manufacturing and stockpiling the agent, as well as training "special units" to employ it against Russia's enemies.

Russia has aggressively denied any involvement and has lampooned the British investigation. But Mr. Skripal would certainly still have enemies in Russia — not least of all President Vladimir V. Putin, who has said he is incapable of forgiving betrayal. In 2006, a Russian military court convicted Mr. Skripal of selling out fellow Russian spies in exchange for payments from British agents. He was serving a 13-year sentence when he was unexpectedly

sent to Britain in the 2010 spy swap. Relations with Estonia and the Czech Republic, two former Communist bloc countries, are freighted with the legacy of the Cold War. Estonia in particular moved aggressively to assert its independence after breaking with the Soviet Union in 1991, often provoking Russian ire. Ferreting out Russian spies is a source of national pride.

"Estonia has the best counterintelligence in Europe," said Toomas Hendrik Iivest, who was Estonia's president for a decade and left office in 2016. "We've caught as many spies as Germany."

Nothing about Mr. Skripal's travels appears all that uncommon. John Sipher, who retired from the Central Intelligence Agency in 2014 and once ran covert operations against the Russians, said the United States routinely deployed Russian defectors to lecture the intelligence services of its allies, though their meetings with other agencies would be kept secret to avoid angering Moscow.

"There is a bit of a game where, O.K., the guy spied for us, we got what we wanted, and now that we're out, we're not going to rub your nose in it," he said. Sharing knowledge and experience is often the only way a former spy can make a living, experts said. Mr. Iivest, the former Estonian president, called it the "spook version of a lecture tour."

For former double agents, retirement can be dull and anticlimactic. The British government provides a stipend, but in the past defectors have protested that it is too small. In the late 1990s, a former spy named Victor Makarov filed a complaint against the British intelligence services over his miserable living conditions and eventually ended up camping outside Prime Minister Tony Blair's residence in protest.

Others have resorted to creative and illegal means to augment their pensions. Oleg Gordievsky, a senior K.G.B. officer whose defection in 1985 was a serious blow to the Soviet government, hosted a game show for a time. Mikhail Butkov, another K.G.B. defector, was imprisoned for three years for creating a fake business school and defrauding would-be students out of 1.5 million pounds (currently \$2 million).

"It's psychological — they've been in the limelight, and they're not important anymore," said Stephen Dorrill, the author of numerous books about Britain's intelligence services.

Mr. Skripal appeared to be enjoying a comfortable, though modest, retirement. Still, it was clear that he remained under Russian scrutiny.

In 2013, the G.R.U. hacked into his daughter's email accounts, according to the British government. And in 2014, his case was profiled in a Russian documentary series about the lives of Russian traitors called "The Price of Military Secrets" that was financed by the Moscow government.

The Kremlin would probably not consider sharing outdated information with foreign intelligence services to be much of a threat, said Mr. Sipher, the retired C.I.A. officer. But it would be a different matter if Mr. Skripal was being used for other purposes, like recruiting new Russian agents.

"If he was pitching other Russians, that would put him higher on the list," Mr. Sipher said. "Or if he got too close to something that was really sensitive to the Russians."

Michael Schwartz reported from Prague, and Ellen Barry from London and Salisbury, England. Hana de Goeij, Holger Roememann and Jose Bautista contributed reporting.



In March, experts removed a bench in Salisbury, England, where Sergei V. Skripal and his daughter were found poisoned by a nerve agent developed in the Soviet Union.

CORRECTIONS

• An article on Thursday about the designer Tom Ford adding watches to his collection described imprecisely the relationship between the maker of his lab-created watches, Bedrock Manufacturing, and the brand Fossil. Bedrock Manufacturing and Fossil were both founded by Tom Kartsotis, but Bedrock does not own Fossil.

• An article Thursday about the online jewelry retailer Meane, relying on information from a company official, mistated who photographed an advertising campaign featuring Isabella Rossellini. The campaign was photographed by Paola Kudacki, not Inez van Lamsweerde and Vinoodh Matadin.

• An article May 8 about the struggle of women at the Cannes Film Festival, and another article the same day about notable movies at this year's festival, mistated the status of "The Wonders" at the festival in 2014. The film was entered in the competition and won the Grand Prix; it was not part of the parallel contest Un Certain Regard.

• An article May 8 about new artificial intelligence labs created by Facebook mistated Ed Lazowska's position at the University of Washington. He is the Bill and Melinda Gates professor of computer science, not the chairman of the computer science and engineering department.



Gaza violence A young Palestinian, left, who learned his brother had been killed during protests in Gaza at the border fence with Israel. Israeli soldiers killed more than 50 Palestinians and wounded more than a thousand in demonstrations that coincided with the opening of the American Embassy in Jerusalem. nytimes.com

Iran's foes sense opportunity

IRAN, FROM PAGE 1

The Persian Gulf countries united in opposition. But if they are now more committed than ever to challenging Iran's reach, the roughly 2,000 American troops deployed there fighting the Islamic State.

Gulf countries, led by Saudi Arabia, have spent billions on advanced weapons over the years but have yet to prove they can use them effectively. They are bogged down in an aerial war against Iranian-aligned rebels in Yemen, and their reliance on checkbook diplomacy has left them with little influence in Lebanon, Syria and Iraq.

By contrast, Iran has devised creative ways to nurture strategic relationships that do not require big military spending, which it cannot afford anyway.

It is not only the money that greases the network; it is the ideology and the willingness of the Iranians to put their own skin in the game," said Ms. Silin, the analyst. "The Saudis do not have that kind of toolbox."

That leaves Israel, which has a powerful military but little ability to build alliances with Arab countries, a legacy of its creation as a Jewish state that is still reviled in the region over the treatment of the Palestinians.

The most recent flare-up since Mr. Trump abandoned the nuclear agreement came Thursday, when Iranian forces in Syria fired a barrage of rockets toward Israel for the first time, according to the Israelis, and Israel's warplanes bombed Iranian military targets in Syria.

Analysts said neither side wanted to escalate into a full-fledged war, which could quickly spiral into a regionwide conflagration, and by dawn, quiet had returned. But the risk of a broader war could not be ruled out.

"We may be O.K. for the next month or so, but we have a big structural problem," said Cliff Kupchan, chairman of the Eurasia Group, a political risk consultancy in Washington. "Iran wants to



Tehran last week, after President Trump withdrew the United States from the 2015 nuclear deal. Iran is a Persian, Shiite-led state in a predominantly Sunni Arab region.

build infrastructure in Syria. Israel is dead set against that. So it's a real witches' brew. This is a preview of a serious long-term flash point."

His worry was echoed by Ryan C. Crocker, a former United States ambassador to Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and other countries.

"There is real potential for a much bigger fight than we have seen so far, led

"Iran wants to build infrastructure in Syria. Israel is dead set against that. So it's a real witches' brew."

by Israel," Mr. Crocker said. "And will anything good come of it? Not at all." Iran would struggle to defend itself against a direct, multifront attack by Israel, the United States and the Persian Gulf countries.

As a Persian, Shiite-led state, it is a sectarian and ethnic minority in a predominantly Sunni Arab region. Spurred internationally since a revolutionary Islamic government seized power in 1979, it has no access to Western weapons.

And Iran's poor economy means that its regional foes have outspent it on conventional weapons.

Instead, Iran has invested where it could: in relationships with substate actors that mostly share Iran's Shiite faith and sense of underdog status.

The prototype for that strategy was Hezbollah, which officers from Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps helped create in Lebanon in the early 1980s. Supporting Hezbollah gave Iran a means to fight the Israelis near Israel's northern border, and later gave Iran a hand in Lebanese politics. Hezbollah, which Israel and the United States have long regarded as a terrorist organization, has since grown into a regional force in its own right.

"Iran is actually not as strong as we think," said Bassel F. Sallouh, a political science professor at the Lebanese American University in Beirut. "Its economy is quite weak, it is surrounded, so it has to project power in order to protect itself, and that strategy has worked very well, so they are duplicating it elsewhere."

Another element of Iran's power is what enemies call its aspirations and

ability to build a nuclear bomb — a weapon Iran always has denied it wants despite past evidence of Iranian research on nuclear bombmaking.

Under the nuclear agreement of 2015, Iran reiterated its pledge to never "seek, develop or acquire any nuclear weapons." So far, Iran has said it intends to abide by the agreement, despite the American withdrawal.

Iran's regional military network could not protect it from a conventional attack, but acts as a deterrent by threatening significant costs on Iran's foes.

Iran can strike Israel directly through Hezbollah, which is believed to have more than 100,000 missiles and rockets, some capable of hitting major Israeli cities and sensitive infrastructure. And Iranian support for the Houthis in Yemen has bogged down Saudi Arabia in a costly war there and made Saudi cities vulnerable to ballistic missiles from Yemen.

Those substate actors are difficult to defeat militarily, and wars against them could exacerbate the failed-state dynamics that Iran has proved adept at exploiting.

Syria remains the most likely flash point, but all of the parties say they do not want a broader war and they appear to be taking steps to prevent clashes from escalating. In its airstrikes in Syria, Israel has made efforts to target weapons and not people, assuming high death tolls could put pressure on Iran and its allies to retaliate.

Iran's response to Israeli strikes so far has also been limited. The rocket attack on Thursday was aimed at Israeli military installations, not cities.

It remains unclear how Iran will respond to the new effort to roll back its influence. While some within the Iranian hierarchy want to preserve the nuclear agreement even without the United States, some have vowed confrontation.

"Resistance is the only way to confront these enemies, not diplomacy," Hossein Salami, the deputy head of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, said last week.

Hwaida Saad contributed reporting from Beirut.

The mystery of the 'floating feet'

MONTREAL

BY DAN BILEPSKY

The mystery has haunted Canadians for more than a decade: One by one, feet clad in running shoes have floated ashore on British Columbia's southern coast with gruesome regularity.

This month, foot No. 14 was discovered by a man strolling on a beach on Gabriola Island, a sleepy and picturesque enclave, population 4,000, that is known for its capri-voting sandstone and close-knit artistic community.

This time, the foot, squeezed into a pile of logs, wore what appeared to be a hiking boot, according to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

The 13 feet discovered previously along the coast since 2007 were in running shoes — Adidas, Reebok and other brands. Each time, the questions arose: Why are the feet ending up in Canada? Where did they come from? And where are the other parts?

The discoveries have fanned specula-

tion, rational or not, that the unattached feet could be the work of a tsunami, a human trafficker, a Mafia hit man, a deranged foot fetishist or a serial killer who had spread body parts out to sea. Others have theorized that the floating appendages could belong to people falling off a ship or killed in a plane crash.

British Columbia, Canada's westernmost province, known for its imposing mountains, exhilarating ski runs and delectable seafood, has grown used to also being known as the destination for what some newspapers have called "the floating feet."

But coroners have taken pains to dampen conspiracy theories and tame overactive imaginations. Barb McLintock, a former coroner at British Columbia's Coroners Service, once called it "the myth of the famous feet."

In 2016, after a hiker found a foot in a sock and running shoe at Botanical Beach, on Vancouver Island, Ms. McLintock told the Canadian news media that the feet were the work of neither "strange serial killers" amputating victims nor "funny little aliens" scattering

A foot washed up on Canada's western coast sets off speculation, as did the 13 others that preceded it.

the feet along the coastline.

Andy Watson, a spokesman for the Coroners Service, said last week that play had been ruled out in all the previous cases. Coroners have attributed the disembodied feet to suicide or accident — someone slipping and falling into the sea, for example, or a swimmer being swept into the ocean by a huge wave.

Nine of the feet have been identified, two of them from the same person, according to the Coroners Service. Most of the feet were men's. In at least three cases, the shoes were size 12. Not all the remains belonged to Canadians.

Despite the official conclusions, the washed-up feet still grip imaginations of the west coast, the marksmen of the discoveries and the likelihood that many of the deaths were not witnessed.

The phenomenon has spurred several hoaxes in which pranksters have stuffed animals' feet into shoes to fool officials. One person used chicken bones.

Mr. Watson noted that the disarticulated feet had most likely separated naturally in the sea, where the footwear had helped preserve them. Because shoes are buoyant and currents are strong, he said, the remains could have washed in from as far north as Alaska.

In 2012, a foot found in a lake in Port Moody, northeast of Vancouver, was linked to a man whose boat had overturned while he was fishing in the area 25 years earlier.

In December last year, a Rotweiler discovered a lower left leg and foot with a white ankle sock in a black running shoe on Vancouver's coast. A few months later, using DNA technology, investigators matched the remains to a 79-year-old man from Washington State.

Still, even then, questions remained. The man's family told the police he had vanished months before after leaving home without his medication.

Breaking up immigrant families

New policy at U.S. border takes children from parents caught crossing illegally

BY MIRIAM JORDAN

Ramping up a promised “zero-tolerance” immigration policy on the United States’ border with Mexico, the Justice Department said that 11 members of a caravan of migrants from Central America were being criminally prosecuted for crossing the border illegally.

At least four of those facing criminal charges had children taken from them and placed into separate custody, lawyers for the migrants said, highlighting one of the most contentious aspects of the Trump administration’s new border policies: family separations.

Hundreds of immigrant children have been separated from their parents at the border since October, and the new policy calling for criminal prosecution of all those who cross illegally promises to increase that number drastically.

President Trump and his aides at the White House have pushed a family separation policy to deter Central American families from trying to cross the border illegally, according to administration officials.

The number of families making the journey over land to the United States has soared in recent months after subsiding last year, infuriating the president, who had touted the initial decline as proof that his tough stance on immigration was succeeding.

The new policy on criminal prosecutions became official this week, when Attorney General Jeff Sessions visited Arizona and California.

“If you cross the southwest border unlawfully, then we will prosecute you. It’s that simple,” Mr. Sessions said. “If you’re smuggling a child, then we’re going to prosecute you, and that child will be separated from you. If you don’t want your child separated, then don’t bring them across the border illegally.”

With few exceptions, the United States has historically treated immigration violations as civil offenses rather than criminal offenses, and thus parents have not typically been separated from their children when they enter the legal system.

“This is an additional punitive measure the administration is imposing on parents in an effort to frighten Central Americans, to discourage them from seeking asylum,” said Reuben Cahn, executive director of the Federal Defenders of San Diego, who is representing several of the caravan migrants.

Here’s a look at what is happening to migrant families on the border, and what’s behind it.

IS THERE A NEW POLICY TO SEPARATE PARENTS FROM THEIR CHILDREN AT THE BORDER?

The administration did not announce a blanket policy to separate families.

Mr. Sessions said his department would criminally prosecute everyone who illegally enters the United States. If a mother or father is with a child when apprehended for the crime of illegal entry, the minor must be taken from the parent. The child cannot remain with a parent in the criminal court system.

IS THE ADMINISTRATION DELIBERATELY BREAKING UP FAMILIES?

Administration officials say the aim is to protect the border and uphold the law through new measures to deter illegal



Suspected smugglers loading a raft on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande. Until recently, the United States has treated immigration violations as civil rather than criminal offenses.



Families lined up to turn themselves in to United States border agents near McAllen, Tex. A majority of apprehended migrants hail from Honduras and El Salvador.

immigration. Other motivations: Mr. Sessions has said the asylum system is overwhelmed with people making frivolous claims, and Mr. Trump, according to administration officials, had been demanding that families be broken up to stanch the flow of Central Americans to the border. The majority of apprehended migrants hail from Honduras and El Salvador, two countries wracked by violence.

Children are often targeted for recruitment by gangs, and their families

seek safety in the United States.

Nearly 80,000 people came as members of family units between October, the beginning of the current fiscal year, and April. About 14,000 came in March and about 15,000 in April.

WHEN DID THE SEPARATIONS BEGIN?

Immigration lawyers and advocates who work at the border say that family separations began after Mr. Trump took office pledging to crack down on illegal immigration, though a very small num-

ber occurred during previous administrations.

The practice gained momentum in the last two months, particularly in Texas, where many families from Central America seek to cross, they say.

“What we saw in El Paso was a massive increase in cases of families being separated at the border,” said Laura St. John, legal director of the Florence Project, a nonprofit organization that offers legal education to migrants in detention facilities.

In California, public defenders said that they had not seen the practice until the recent caravan of Central Americans — the group had shrunk to 300 from 1,200 by the time it reached the border — grabbed headlines and drew the ire of Mr. Trump.

IS ANYONE CHALLENGING THE POLICY?

The American Civil Liberties Union is seeking a nationwide injunction against the practice. The organization argues in its lawsuit that it is a violation of due process to separate parents and children simply as a means to deter illegal immigration. Only parents who are abusive or unfit to care for their children can legally be separated from them, the suit argues.

In the lawsuit, filed before the administration announced the new practice, the A.C.L.U. accused the Homeland Security Department of unlawfully separating a Congolese woman and her 7-year-old daughter who had sought asylum.

The pair turned themselves in at a

“If you’re smuggling a child, then we’re going to prosecute you, and that child will be separated from you,” the attorney general said.

port of entry. After about five days, the child was taken away “screaming and crying, pleading with guards not to take her from her mother,” according to the lawsuit, filed in federal court in San Diego. The child was sent to a shelter in Chicago.

They remained apart for four months. After the A.C.L.U. sued, the authorities released the mother, performed a DNA test and reunited her with her child in March.

Another plaintiff, a Brazilian woman who crossed with her 14-year-old son and asked for asylum, was prosecuted for the misdemeanor of illegal entry. She was sentenced to 25 days of jail in Texas; her son was sent to the Chicago facility. They were not reunited even after the mother returned to immigration custody. They have been apart for seven months.

ARE THERE OTHER REASONS THAT FAMILIES ARE BEING SEPARATED?

Logistics are a factor. The nation’s two family detention centers, where families can remain together while awaiting disposition of their cases, have a combined capacity of just 2,700 people.

The other option is to release parents and their children with orders to return to court for immigration hearings. That has often been the practice until now.

No White House apology on war hero (or much else)

WHITE HOUSE MEMO
WASHINGTON

BY KATIE ROGERS

Missteps? This White House has made a few.

But apologies? Almost never.

White House officials reiterated their position this week that a morbid joke an aide made about John McCain — an 81-year-old, six-term Republican senator with brain cancer — is not the sort of thing that warrants an apology on behalf of this administration. This decision led colleagues and relatives of Mr. McCain to wonder what sort of situation would.

It has also drawn consternation from some Republicans, who are waiting for more lawmakers to back up their colleague and demand an apology from the White House. So far, they’ve heard little.

“Senator McCain is an American hero who has given his life to public service,” Michael Steel, a Republican strategist, said in an interview. “This would’ve been a one-day story if there had been an apology at the end of last week.”

Slowly, several of Mr. McCain’s fellow Senate Republicans — including Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, John Cornyn of Texas, John Kennedy of Louisiana and Dan Sullivan of Alaska — began to call for an apology. But relenting to others’ critiques is not the way of the Trump White House. And it is certainly not the way of President Trump. As pugilistic a president as he was a candidate, Mr. Trump’s apologies are rare.

“The president has always throughout his career had a stance of ‘never apologize, never back down,’” Kevin Madden, a Republican strategist, said in

an interview. Aides are “more likely to face the wrath internally” from the president for admitting a misstep than they are “fighting the media’s instincts,” he added.

This combative ethos has stood firm amid an assortment of insults and missteps. Mr. Trump and his top aides did not apologize for his disparaging remarks about Haiti and countries in Africa. He mended fences with — but stopped short of a direct apology to — Prime Minister Theresa May of Britain after retweeting anti-Muslim videos posted by an ultranationalist British group. And his remarks last year that

Even the rare Trump mea culpa seems to bear an asterisk.

there were “very fine people on both sides” of a white supremacist rally that left one woman dead in Charlottesville, Va., prompted sustained criticism from Congress and many fellow Republicans, but no apology from Mr. Trump.

Mr. Trump had also refused to apologize for disparaging remarks he made about Mr. McCain on the campaign trail in 2015: “He’s not a war hero,” Mr. Trump said of Mr. McCain, who was shot down during the Vietnam War and held prisoner for more than five years in Hanoi. “He’s a war hero because he was captured. I like people who weren’t captured.”

Even the rare mea culpa seems to bear an asterisk. In 2016, about a month before the election, when comments Mr. Trump made about grabbing women during an “Access Hollywood” segment surfaced on tape and threatened to de-

stroy his campaign, he quickly apologized in a short video statement.

“I’ve never said I’m a perfect person,” his apology began. But by the end of the statement, he had returned to a more familiar message: “Let’s be honest,” Mr. Trump concluded, “we’re living in the real world. This is nothing more than a distraction from the important issues we’re facing today.”

According to a senior White House official who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe internal deliberations, this ethos is again behind the White House’s lack of an apology over the remark made by Kelly Sadler, a special assistant to the president, in a meeting last week.

In off-the-cuff comments that were quickly leaked to the news media, Ms. Sadler assessed Mr. McCain’s opposition to Mr. Trump’s nominee for C.I.A. director: “It doesn’t matter,” she said. “He’s dying anyway.”

Two other forces are driving the decision not to apologize, that official said: The first is that White House officials believe that the Obama administration apologized for the United States’ behavior on the world stage too often. And the second is a pervasive feeling of frustration among aides who fear their every word will be leaked to the news media. (An impassioned plea made last week by Sarah Huckabee Sanders, the White House press secretary, to keep internal discussions private was leaked to the website Axios by five aides within hours.)

Anger over leaks starts with the president.

“The so-called leaks coming out of the White House are a massive over exaggeration put out by the Fake News Me-



Raj Shah, a White House spokesman, reinforced the idea on Monday that White House leaks, not an aide’s remarks, were the main source of administration frustration.

dia in order to make us look as bad as possible,” Mr. Trump said on Twitter on Monday. “With that being said, leakers are traitors and cowards, and we will find out who they are!”

That anger trickles down. When he took to the podium to speak to reporters on Monday, Raj Shah, a deputy White House press secretary, reinforced the idea that the leaks coming from the White House were the main source of frustration internally, not the content of Ms. Sadler’s remarks.

“If you aren’t able, in internal meetings, to speak your mind or convey thoughts or say anything that you feel without feeling like your colleagues will betray you,” Mr. Shah said, “that creates

a very difficult work I think anybody who works anywhere can recognize that.”

Mr. Shah added that he understood “the focus on this issue,” but declined to offer specifics that Ms. Sadler’s remarks were being “addressed internally.” Ms. Sadler, who works in the communications office and focuses on immigration, is still at work and is sending emails to the staff as usual, according to a White House official.

One of the administration’s few acknowledgments of a misstep came from Mr. Shah, who made headlines in February for saying during a news briefing that the White House could have better handled the episode surrounding Rob

HOW MANY FAMILIES HAVE BEEN SEPARATED SO FAR?

The government has acknowledged that about 700 children have been separated from their parents since Oct. 1. But that number appears to be increasing.

WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THE CHILDREN?

The government says that once it detains a parent, it cannot release a minor without providing a guardian for that child. As a result, it sends children to federal facilities while the parent remains in the criminal justice system.

A child can be released to another guardian — say, a family member. But typically the child must first pass through a federal facility operated by the Health and Human Services Department.

HOW LONG ARE THEY BEING SEPARATED?

Since the practice is still relatively new, it is hard to know. Members of the caravan who were recently detained have been separated from their children for about 10 days. Normally, a child is reunited with a parent once the parent has been released from detention.

Immigration lawyers report that they have clients who have been kept apart from their children for four months or longer.

ARE THE CHILDREN SUFFERING ADVERSE IMPACTS?

Studies have shown that children who are separated from their parents can suffer from anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder; separation is also associated with behavioral problems and poor educational outcomes.

In an affidavit attached to the A.C.L.U. lawsuit, the heads of the American Academy of Pediatrics and the Child Welfare League of America, among others, strongly urged the Homeland Security secretary, Kirstjen Nielsen, not to break up families.

“Separation from family leaves children more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse, no matter what the care setting. In addition, traumatic separation from parents creates toxic stress in children and adolescents that can profoundly impact their development,” they said.

ARE SOME ADULTS USING CHILDREN WHO ARE NOT FAMILY MEMBERS TO WIN FAVORABLE TREATMENT?

It is unclear how frequently that happens.

However, government officials say there is a perception that migrants with children are more likely to be released into the United States than others who try to enter the country illegally. This, they say, acts as a “pull factor” that encourages illegal immigration and puts children at risk of exploitation.

Some abuses have been documented. Beginning in 2013, minors were fraudulently plucked from shelters by men who posed as friends or relatives, promised to provide housing and take them to their immigration court hearings, then made them work on egg farms in Ohio. They were forced to toil long hours and use their earnings to pay for their passage to the United States. Six people were later sentenced to federal prison for their participation in the scheme.

Advocates have suggested that the government could identify potential smugglers by performing a DNA test on adults and any minors they claim to be their children, to verify whether they are related.

Porter, the former White House staff secretary who faced accounts of abuse from two former wives.

“I think it’s fair to say we all could have done better” in dealing with the situation, Mr. Shah told reporters at the time.

The president, as usual, was watching the briefing that day. Mr. Trump was incensed by Mr. Shah’s admission, according to a White House official, and told him not to do it again.

On Monday, Mr. Shah declined to say whether the White House would make it clear that remarks such as Ms. Sadler’s would not be tolerated in the administration. Instead, he reiterated that Ms. Sadler’s comments constituted an “internal matter.”

Mr. Steel, the Republican strategist, said the White House was clearly ready “to take the political hit” for not backing up Mr. McCain, who has not been a consistent supporter of the administration’s policies.

“They are picking the wrong cross to die on in this case,” Mr. Steel said.

Mr. Shah’s reaction to the situation surrounding Mr. McCain stood in contrast to how he answered questions from reporters who pointed out racially charged statements made by two men involved in the United States Embassy’s opening in Jerusalem on Monday. On this matter, at least, the deputy press secretary made the president’s stance clear.

“I haven’t seen those remarks,” Mr. Shah said quickly. “But obviously those aren’t remarks that the president agrees with.”

Maggie Haberman contributed reporting from New York.

WORLD



Dorsey Nunn, third from left, who served 10 years for his role in a deadly robbery, heads a legal aid office in California that is pushing to let low-level felons vote in jail.



Materials used in a campaign to encourage former felons to vote. An estimated six million people nationwide are barred from casting ballots because of felony convictions.



A lobbying event in California for ex-felons seeking expanded voting rights. Supporters say the effort gives former prisoners hope to overcome the stigma of incarceration.

They did their time. Now they want to vote.

Effort in U.S. to increase ex-felon turnout could be a 'political game-changer'

BY FARAH STOCKMAN

Ever since his own three-month stint behind bars, Steve Huerta has mentored fathers emerging from prison. But it soon dawned on him that they needed more than advice to break the cycle of joblessness and incarceration. What they needed, he decided, was political power.

So seven years ago, Mr. Huerta, a community organizer in San Antonio, began a door-knocking campaign to encourage former felons to vote, which is their right in Texas as long as they are no longer on probation or parole. Mr. Huerta has recruited formerly incarcerated people to head precincts, responsible for getting their neighbors to the polls. And he meticulously tracks the turnout rate of 98,000 voters with criminal records.

"This is an entirely new voting bloc," said Mr. Huerta, who now represents his area on a statewide organizing committee for the Democratic Party in Texas. "It's a political game-changer for struggling communities."

Mr. Huerta is part of a growing movement in the United States that is pushing to politically empower formerly incarcerated people by encouraging them to vote if they are eligible and pushing to restore their rights if they are not. Most states curb the voting rights of former felons to some degree; an estimated six million people nationwide are barred from voting because of felony convictions. But a number of states are now considering whether to get rid of the disenfranchisement laws that block felons from the polls.

In Florida, where 10 percent of adults can't vote because of a felony conviction, a ballot initiative in November would automatically restore voting rights after a prison sentence has been completed. In New Jersey, state legislators are considering a bill that would allow people in prison to vote. It would be the third state, after Maine and Vermont, to do so.

Supporters say the movement gives former felons hope that they will one day overcome the stigma of incarceration and be accepted as responsible citizens, in addition to giving impoverished communities a greater voice. But many conservative groups fiercely oppose the changes, arguing that people need to first prove that they are upstanding members of society before they can vote.

Spearheaded by voting rights activists who have themselves served time in prison, the movement has racked up successes in recent years. In 2016, Gov. Terry McAuliffe of Virginia restored the voting rights of more than 150,000 people who had completed their sentences. And last year, Alabama passed a law that clarified which crimes stripped the right to vote, allowing thousands of non-violent offenders to cast a ballot. In New York, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo recently announced that he will grant up to



Steve Huerta has started a campaign in San Antonio to encourage former felons to vote, which is their right in Texas as long as they are no longer on probation or parole.

35,000 parolees the right to vote.

"Rights restoration is all a part of a nationwide struggle to make America a real democracy," said Assaddique Abdul-Rahman, a 54-year-old Virginia man who had struggled with homelessness and incarceration since he was 16, when he was sent to prison for robbery. After his rights were restored by Mr.

"In prison, they made sure to tell us, 'You will never be able to vote, unless the governor restores your rights.'"

McAuliffe, he began to help other formerly incarcerated people register to vote. Eventually a group called the New Virginia Majority hired him as an organizer.

"In prison, they made sure to tell us, 'You will never be able to vote, unless the governor restores your rights,'" he said. "I knew that those who could not vote did not have power. We were the underbelly."

It's unclear how these new voters might change the political landscape. Some political scientists predict that in-

creasing felon turnout would have a relatively small impact, since it would advantage Democrats in urban areas where they already hold sway. But that could change as more formerly incarcerated people flee expensive city centers, said Brandon Rottinghaus, a political-science professor at the University of Houston.

"As more ex-felons settle in suburbs, the current battleground for so many political battles, expanding voting rights to felons and active registration of ex-felons may flip some seats currently held by Republicans to the Democrats," Professor Rottinghaus said. In Texas, he pointed to potential gains for Democrats in far west Houston, east Dallas and San Antonio, all areas with competitive congressional races this fall.

In states with strict voting laws that disenfranchise felons indefinitely — like Florida — increasing turnout would most likely make a difference in election outcomes, said Christopher Uggen, a professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota, who estimated that Democratic votes lost to felon disenfranchisement would have changed the outcome of seven Senate races since 1978, as well as the 2000 presidential election

of George W. Bush.

The activists insist their work is non-partisan and say they support candidates of any party who pledge to expand felons' access to jobs, student loans, and the polls. But such politicians are rare, Mr. Huerta said. Democrats and Republicans alike tend to avoid campaigning in neighborhoods with high concentrations of felons.

The United States is one of only a handful of countries that strips voting rights from felons even after they have served their time. The concept dates to the colonial era, when certain criminals were shunned and stripped of rights, a practice known as civil death. But it only began to impact large numbers of people in the wake of the Civil War, when several Southern states used it to disenfranchise black men who had recently gained the right to vote. Today, laws barring felons from voting vary by state. Eligibility can change radically from one governor to the next, causing widespread confusion. The movement to restore felons' voting rights has gotten tangled up in partisan ideological battles, with Democratic leaders tending to support expanded access to the ballot and Republicans opposing it.

People who commit serious crimes "should be required to prove that they have turned over a new leaf before we invite them back into the fold to be able to participate in the electoral process," said Jason Snead, a policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, who argues for increased scrutiny of felons at the ballot box as part of a broader campaign against voter fraud.

At least 180 felons have been prosecuted for voting over the past 20 years, according to a list of voting-related convictions and civil judgments compiled by Mr. Snead. The list includes over 100 felons who were prosecuted in Minnesota after a local citizens group, the Minnesota Majority, crosschecked the names of released felons against the list of people who cast ballots in 2008.

"Voter fraud is a felony," said Dan McGrath, a volunteer with the group, now defunct. "We think it's a threat to our democracy."

But many former felons who have been prosecuted for voting say they did not know they were ineligible, including Crystal Mason, a Texas woman who recently received a five-year prison sentence for voting in 2016. Ms. Mason, who

was on probation for tax fraud, cast a provisional ballot with the help of a poll worker.

Uncertainty over whether they are eligible and fear of prosecution keep large numbers of felons from casting ballots, said Marc Meredith, an associate professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania. Even in states that allow felons to vote, he said, their turnout rate lingers between 10 to 20 percent in a presidential election year, far below the general population.

"Given that the downsides of voting illegally could be so harsh, relative to the benefit," he said, some felons refuse to take the risk of voting even if they think they are eligible.

Punishments handed down to those convicted of illegal voting vary widely, from the payment of court fees to years in prison. In Texas, judges have sent felons back to prison for violating the terms of their probation by committing a new crime — voting while ineligible.

Last year, formerly incarcerated activists put on their first national conference, which was attended by about 500 people. It buoyed local efforts across the country. In Louisiana, Norris Henderson, who spent 27 years in prison for a murder he insists he did not commit, heads Voice of the Experienced, a group working to expand the franchise to 71,000 people on probation and parole. In California, Dorsey Nunn, who served 10 years for his role in a deadly liquor store robbery, now heads a prisoner legal aid office that is pushing to allow low-level felons serving time in county jails to vote.

And in Texas, Mr. Huerta presses on with his door-knocking efforts. Since Ms. Mason's prison sentence, he has revamped his material to include more prominent warnings against voting while on probation or parole. When people question whether voting is safe, he assures them it is not only safe, but vital. "It's our lifeline," he says.

He uses his own 1999 conviction for speeding, drunken driving and drug possession to show former felons that they can also become voters and even elected officials.

In San Antonio's City Council District 5, where more than 17 percent of voters have either a felony or a misdemeanor on their record, Mr. Huerta's team has reached out to nearly half of all affected households over a period of years.

Mr. Huerta believes that boosting turnout is crucial to bringing needed resources into poor neighborhoods.

"No one spends money on people with no voting history," he said.

He said felons and their families have already helped elect more sympathetic judges and a district attorney, Nico LaHood, who has an arrest record for a youthful drug offense.

In low-turnout local races, Mr. Huerta said, "We have the ability to elect justice-impacted people to the school boards that control a billion-dollar budget with about 600 votes."

But if he succeeds, he expects a backlash. Given how many Americans have spent time behind bars, he said, "People may be thinking, 'What if they all vote?'"

A new look at the legality of solitary confinement

WASHINGTON

BY ADAM LIPTAK

Justice Anthony M. Kennedy is a fierce critic of solitary confinement. "It drives men mad," he said in 2015 at Harvard Law School.

He attacked the practice in a 2015 concurring opinion. "Years on end of near total isolation exact a terrible price," he wrote, noting that "common side effects of solitary confinement include anxiety, panic, withdrawal, hallucinations, self-mutilation, and suicidal thoughts and behaviors."

Justice Kennedy concluded that opinion with an unusual request, inviting lawyers to file appeals challenging the constitutionality of prolonged isolation. The requested appeals arrived, but the Supreme Court has so far turned them down. The court, which typically moves in measured increments, may not want to take on a question as broad as whether extended solitary confinement is cruel and unusual punishment barred by the Eighth Amendment.

But the court will soon consider

whether to hear appeals raising a much narrower question: Do prisoners held in solitary confinement have a right to regular outdoor exercise?

As it happens, Justice Kennedy has already answered that question. Almost 40 years ago, not long after he became a federal appeals court judge, he wrote that prisoners held in solitary confinement have a constitutional right to a little fresh air once in a while.

"Some form of regular outdoor exercise is extremely important to the psychological and physical well being of the inmates," he wrote in 1979 for a unanimous three-member panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, in San Francisco. "It was cruel and unusual punishment for a prisoner to be confined for a period of years without opportunity to go outside except for occasional court appearances, attorney interviews and hospital appointments."

Justice Kennedy, who joined the Supreme Court in 1988, may now have the opportunity to establish that principle nationwide.

The new appeals were filed by several prisoners in Colorado. One of them, Donnie Lowe, 46, has spent almost his

entire adult life in various prisons for various offenses. He was held in solitary confinement for 11 of those years.

Mr. Lowe's lawsuit took issue with a decades-long blanket policy at the Colorado State Penitentiary that denied him outdoor exercise for the more than two years he was in solitary there.

Elisabeth L. Owen, one of Mr. Lowe's lawyers, recalled visiting him in prison. "The anxiety that man suffered by being isolated was hard to watch," she said. "He was pale as a ghost. He had forgotten what the sun feels like."

Outdoor exercise may seem a small thing, but it matters, said Daniel M. Greenfield, another lawyer for Mr. Lowe.

"We've known for a long time that solitary inflicts tremendous psychological and physiological harm on people," he said. "It exacerbates pre-existing mental illness, and it can be the genesis of mental illness that did not predate the solitary confinement."

"One of the few ameliorating circumstances is that prisoners are typically afforded five hours a week of outdoor exercise," he said. "To be sure, they are talking that exercise in what is colloquially



Manuel Balce Ceneta/Associated Press
Solitary confinement "drives men mad," Justice Anthony M. Kennedy said in 2015.

known as a dog cage. It's not yard activity. It's a space that's barely larger than their cell. But it's outside."

In opposing Mr. Lowe's lawsuit, Colorado prison officials conceded that inmates have a constitutional right to outdoor exercise. "Prolonged and continuous" denial of that right, they wrote, would violate the Constitution. But they said it was not clear that two years without outdoor exercise was enough to cross that constitutional line.

Judge Robert E. Bacharach, writing

for a unanimous three-judge panel of the 10th Circuit, in Denver, agreed.

"The total denial of exercise for an extended period of time would constitute cruel and unusual punishment prohibited by the Eighth Amendment," Judge Bacharach acknowledged, quoting an earlier opinion.

But that precedent and similar ones, Judge Bacharach wrote, were not clear enough to allow Mr. Lowe to sue prison officials for money. The officials were protected by qualified immunity, he wrote, which shielded them from suits over violations of constitutional rights that were not clearly established at the time of the conduct in question.

"The deprivation of outdoor exercise for two years and one month," Judge Bacharach, "is not so obviously unlawful that a constitutional violation would be undebatable."

In Colorado, for now, the issue is of only theoretical interest. The state ended the use of long-term solitary confinement last year. In 2016, the Colorado State Penitentiary lifted its ban on outdoor exercise for inmates held in isolation.

There are about 80,000 inmates in

solitary confinement in the nation's prisons.

Most of them appear to have occasional opportunities to exercise outdoors, though the data are spotty and prison officials have a lot of discretion.

The Supreme Court is not a fan of lawsuits seeking money from state officials for constitutional violations.

But Mr. Lowe's appeal, along with a companion case, presents the court with the opportunity to tell the nation what the Constitution requires, even if the court rules in favor of the prison officials on the ground that the law used to be unclear.

In a sign that the court might be interested in the cases, *Lowe v. Raemisch*, No. 17-1289, and *Apodaca v. Raemisch*, No. 17-1284, it ordered the officials to file responses to the plaintiffs' petitions.

Justice Kennedy is nearing the end of a long judicial career, and he might think it fitting to return to an issue he considered just a few years after he first put on a robe.

"Underlying the Eighth Amendment," he wrote in 1979, "is a fundamental premise that prisoners are not to be treated as less than human beings."

Business

Taking on the salary gap

A law firm is giving female lawyers more flexible work schedules. A technology giant wants to increase the ranks of its female engineers. And a media company is recruiting more women to mirror its client base more closely. New rules in Britain requiring companies to publish the extent of their gender pay gaps have led to a far-reaching debate about inequality in the workplace. Businesses — the vast majority of which pay men more than women — are increasingly being shamed into action. The hurdles are plentiful. Men hold most high-level roles. Women take more time out of work to look after children. Higher-paying sectors, like sales and those requiring technical skills, are dominated by men. What, then, can be done?

BY AMIE TSANG AND LIZ ALDERMAN
ILLUSTRATIONS BY MICHAEL HIRSHON

'ME AND 30 OTHER GUYS'

When Stella Worrall started working as a field technician last year at Virgin Media, she felt more than a little conspicuous.

More than 96 percent of the company's field technicians, who install the boxes and cables that deliver television and broadband service to people's homes, are men. Some of Virgin's technical sites did not even have women's toilets. And the environment could feel intimidating because there were simply no other women around.

"My training was me and 30 other guys," Ms. Worrall said. "It was quite daunting at first."

Virgin reported a median pay gap of 17.4 percent, meaning that women earned around 83 pounds (\$113) for every 100£ (\$136) earned by men.

Women make up half the company's customers but only 29 percent of its staff, and female customers are increasingly requesting female field technicians to install Virgin's media services at home.

To meet the demand, Virgin Media, a subsidiary of Liberty Global with about 13,000 employees, is widening its recruitment net. It has experimented with all-female sets of interns and requirements to have one woman on every short list for a vacant job, said Catherine Lynch, Virgin Media's chief people officer.

The company has also sought to increase the proportion of senior women through mentoring and by encouraging women to apply for promotions. That



has raised concerns that some women promoted were younger than usual or lacked experience in the departments they were moving into.

Ms. Lynch insists, however, that the moves will pay off.

At the moment, only a quarter of the highest-paid people in the company are women.

Ms. Worrall, who worked part time for several years, was promoted to technician after just eight weeks of training.

"We're trying to identify who might be the shining stars that we can fast-track a little bit with a bit more sponsorship," Ms. Lynch said.

"I don't think we'll always have to do that," she added.

TURNING UP IN TECH

Myfanwy Edwards spends a lot of time at universities, encouraging women to study technology and engineering.

Ms. Edwards, a programmer and engineer who has worked at the Japanese technology company Fujitsu since the 1980s, has risen through the ranks and now works with management to recruit and promote women.

When she was hired, most of her colleagues at Fujitsu's offices in Britain were men. So were most of the company's clients.

Like many big companies, Fujitsu found that its gender pay gap stemmed mainly from an underrepresentation of women in senior management roles and in more highly paid areas, especially technical and sales positions.

To rectify that imbalance — women in the British operations are paid a median of 82 pounds for every £100 earned by male colleagues — it has sought to promote female engineers and the work they do.

After rotating through different departments, Ms. Edwards was in 2014 the first woman to be named a "senior distinguished engineer," a companywide award. Today, 16 women have received those accolades. Ms. Edwards was later elevated to an exclusive 10-person group of fellows that decides who will receive the distinguished engineer awards — but she is the only woman.

One of the biggest challenges is figuring out ways to increase the gender parity in the pipeline: Only 16 percent of Britain's graduates in science, technol-



ogy, engineering and math last year were women. Fujitsu is aiming to have women make up 20 percent of its engineers, 30 percent of its sales force and a quarter of its senior managers by 2020.

To get there, the company is focusing on recruiting. Ms. Edwards visits universities to encourage women to get into technology and engineering. Last year, at least half of all new apprentices were women, up from one-third in 2014.

Occasionally, a male colleague will challenge Ms. Edwards for pressing a feminist agenda. "I say no — it's all of our problem," she said. The more gender equality conversations in the workplace, she added, the more men recognize the issue and support it.

WORKING THE LAW

In 2015, Claire Clarke became the first female managing partner at Mills & Reeve, a British law firm. At the time, about 28 percent of the firm's partners were women.

In recent years, Mills & Reeve has tried to do a better job of recruiting and retaining women, in particular by promoting part-time work. The firm hoped that would help with the difficulty of juggling onerous working hours with motherhood.

It was an issue Ms. Clarke, the mother of four, had to deal with herself. "I have to go through the school calendars and schedule the parents' evenings, school concerts, sports days into my work calendar," she recounted.

Despite the part-time push, Mills & Reeve has made little progress. Last year, in fact, the proportion of women who were partners at the firm was slightly lower than when Ms. Clarke started, creating a median gender pay gap of 34 percent.

It is a challenge mirrored in the industry. Women make up more than half of the solicitors at law firms in Britain, but only 28 percent of the partners, according to Britain's Law Society.

Several law firms offer part-time work. But the option is used by about a third of the women at Mills & Reeve and 7 percent of the men.

Staff needs still have to be balanced with client demands.

For major law firms in Britain, clients often expect round-the-clock availability.

Roles with more responsibility, and



higher pay, often come with tough deadlines — whether for filing documents with a stock exchange or wrapping up the acquisition of a company.

Nearly half of all respondents to a survey for the Law Society said the profession required an unacceptable work-life balance to progress to senior ranks.

Working mothers, as a result, often default to one of three main options. They opt for more flexibility, which results in their working fewer hours than male counterparts; stick with areas of practice with fewer fast-moving transactions; or head for internal roles at corporations.

"Law firms can't put this in place without taking into account the needs of their clients," Ms. Clarke said.

WOMEN IN WINE

Majestic Wine is a rare company in Britain — its gender pay data revealed that it pays women more than men.

That was mainly because most male employees work in lower-paid warehouse jobs, stacking wine pallets or lifting heavy loads.

Still, Majestic says it is eager to get even more women out front at its stores.

The only thing that Hannah Butson knew about reds, whites and rosés when she applied for a job at Britain's biggest wine retailer was that she liked to drink them.

But when Majestic Wine ushered her into training for a professional wine qualification, her ambitions grew. After intensive courses in wine tasting and blind taste tests, "it was really easy to describe a wine," she said. She was soon a senior assistant manager, and she now helps run a large store near London's financial district.

In a traditionally male-dominated industry, she remains one of the few women helping customers at the company's 210 British outlets. Two-thirds of Majestic's 1,500 employees are men, and only about a quarter of applicants for jobs are women.

"There is that real conception of an old man, swirling a glass, explaining all these flavors that they're getting from a wine," Ms. Butson said.

To attract more women, Majestic adjusted its job postings by dropping requirements for previous industry experience.

That avoided evoking an image of wine as mainly a man's domain. (Re-



cruiting language that seems masculine or feminine can create barriers and discourage women from applying, studies show.) It focused only on necessary skills and emphasized that wine knowledge could be taught within the company.

Ms. Butson has seen changes already. She is working in a store with women for the first time since she started in 2016. Two of her three female colleagues applied for jobs after attending wine tastings.

"It's just about getting rid of that stigma that it is a male-dominated industry," Ms. Butson said.

Amie Tsang reported from London, and Liz Alderman from Paris.

Trump's about-face on trade with China

WASHINGTON

BY ANA SWANSON, MARK LANDLER AND KEITH BRADSHAW

President Trump's recent threat to impose tariffs on as much as \$150 billion worth of Chinese goods appeared to be the first volley in what looked like a full-scale trade war with the United States' greatest economic adversary. Now, suddenly, Mr. Trump seems ready to make peace.

To alleviate trade tensions, Mr. Trump is considering easing up on a major Chinese telecommunications company, ZTE, in exchange for China's agreeing to buy more American products and lifting its own crippling restrictions on American agriculture, people familiar with the deliberations said.

The shift is an abrupt reversal that reflects another twist in the pitched battle inside the White House between the economic nationalists, who channel Mr. Trump's protectionist instincts, and more mainstream advisers, who worry about the effects of hard-line policies on the stock market and long-term eco-

nomics growth. While the nationalists recently seemed ascendant — pushing Mr. Trump toward a showdown with the Chinese over steel exports and their coercion of American technology — a deal on ZTE, and potentially a range of other trade actions, would represent a victory for the mainstream contingent, led by Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin.

Mr. Mnuchin has taken the lead role in trying to head off potentially harmful tariffs and investment restrictions on China and has succeeded, at least for now, in persuading Mr. Trump to adopt a more conciliatory approach than the president's more hard-line advisers have advocated, according to people familiar with the deliberations.

An agreement on ZTE, which administration officials said could be struck with a visiting Chinese vice premier, Liu He, this week, would remove a major source of tension between the United States and China at a sensitive moment: In just a few weeks, Mr. Trump is scheduled to meet the North Korean leader, Kim Jong-un, at a landmark summit meeting in Singapore.

Mr. Trump has made China's president, Xi Jinping, his partner on North

An agreement on ZTE would remove a major source of tension between the United States and China.

Korea while at the same time condemning China's trade practices. This week, he framed the ZTE decision as part of "the larger trade deal we are negotiating with China and my personal relationship with President Xi."

The president's reconsideration of sanctions imposed on ZTE stems in part from Beijing's demand that he consider lifting the penalties before the visit of Mr. Liu, Mr. Xi's senior economic adviser, who is arriving in Washington this week to try again to ease the friction. The Chinese made clear that Mr. Liu's visit was conditional on discussing the sanctions.

In a post on Twitter on Monday, Mr. Trump said lifting the restrictions on ZTE would benefit the United States because the company buys many of its components from American manufacturers. On Sunday, Mr. Trump had left some people surprised after he tweeted

that the administration needed to give ZTE a break because it was costing "too many jobs in China."

Mr. Mnuchin has tried to broker a relationship with the Chinese and pressed for a high-level delegation to travel to Beijing to try to resolve tensions this month. He has tried to focus the president on a deal that would reduce the United States' trade deficit with China, much to the chagrin of more nationalist advisers.

During their trip to Beijing early this month, the American delegation, which included top officials with divergent views, handed the Chinese a lengthy list of demands to radically change their trade practices and curtail the state's role in the economy.

The list, which included cutting their trade surplus with the United States by \$200 billion, halting subsidies to advanced manufacturing and reducing their tariffs to the same level as the United States, took the Chinese by surprise, according to people familiar with the visit, and it appeared to further sour relations between the two economic giants.

The demands bore the imprint of

Robert Lighthizer, the United States trade representative who is a longtime litigator on steel-dumping cases, and Peter Navarro, a trade adviser whose academic work has focused on the dire threat posed by China to American workers and companies.

The Chinese offered very little in return, several officials said. But Mr. Trump, rather than escalating the conflict, now appears to be seeking a quicker, easier resolution of the dispute. In addition to Mr. Mnuchin, Larry Kudlow, the head of the National Economic Council and a longtime free trade advocate, also favors striking some kind of deal, according to people familiar with his thinking.

"Secretary Mnuchin has been pushing for a more conciliatory view to China for this entire period, certainly since the launch of the 301 investigation," Derek Scissors, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, said, referring to the section of trade law that authorized an investigation into whether China had illegally obtained American intellectual property.

"We see evidence that the Treasury

Safety and sales of guns



Andrew Ross Sorkin

DEALBOOK

Remington Outdoor, one of the oldest and largest gun makers in the United States, is getting ready to emerge from bankruptcy.

The question is whether somebody — anybody — will buy the company, especially at such a politically and emotionally polarized time for the gun industry.

Potential buyers are circling, including rival gun manufacturers like Sturm, Ruger & Company and some small financiers willing to accept whatever criticism would come from buying Remington.

More tantalizing is a pie-in-the-sky idea: whether a beneficent billionaire, like Michael R. Bloomberg, could buy the company and either try to transform it or shut it down — a sort of philanthropic euthanasia in the name of gun control.

Yet all of those options have challenges. So here's a practical idea that should be considered more than just a thought experiment:

What if the big banks that have provided financing to Remington during its bankruptcy were to back — and join a partnership with — one or more

of the big private equity firms in an effort to transform the company into the most advanced and responsible gun manufacturer in America?

After all, virtually all the banks have a "social impact" unit or at least an initiative meant to "do good." And so do

many private equity firms, like TPG and Bain Capital.

And they would not be out to kill the business; quite the opposite: They could create a profitable model for the rest of the industry using technology and sound sales policies to reinvent the modern gun manufacturer.

A reimagined Remington with a new management and mandate could develop smart-gun technology. It could back fingerprint technology meant to prevent anyone who is not the gun's owner from shooting it, a measure that could greatly reduce suicides and the potential for guns to be stolen. It could add an identity stamp to ammunition fired from any of its guns. It could also establish and standardize responsible sales policies for retailers to sell its firearms.

What would happen, for instance, if a consortium were to come together so that the banks offered the buyer a below-market loan, giving a socially responsible investor the advantage of a lower cost of capital? What would happen if one of the big retail chains like Walmart and Dick's — both of which have already established that they want to sell guns only in a responsible way — were to guarantee distribution, sales and marketing support?

Such an approach would be in the best interests of all of the players, the banks and retailers included.

Of course, it would take leadership, and a substantial amount of courage. The National Rifle Association and other industry groups have been pushing back hard against even the slightest addition of restrictions on gun sales.

There is pressure from within the government, too. Just two weeks ago, Michael Piwowar, a Republican commissioner of the Securities and Exchange Commission, used a regularly scheduled meeting with Citigroup executives, one intended to discuss various banking regulations, to berate



Remington rifles at a recent convention in Tennessee. Potential buyers are circling after the manufacturer's bankruptcy.

KAREN BLEIER/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

TRADE, PAGE 8

BUSINESS

An about-face on trade with China

TRADE, FROM PAGE 7

Department does not want to impose investment sanctions on China as required by the original 301 findings," Mr. Scissors added.

A senior Treasury Department official said Mr. Mnuchin had conferred with Mr. Trump and Wilbur Ross, the commerce secretary, about China's ZTE concerns. However, the official said a review of the Commerce Department action against ZTE was not a precondition for trade talks.

Among Mr. Trump's advisers, Mr. Mnuchin has been more encouraged by China's expressions of willingness to address the trade imbalance between the two countries. Because of his national security responsibilities, officials said, he also considers how trade tensions could affect the negotiation with North Korea over its nuclear program. China, as North Korea's neighbor and largest trading partner, will play an influential role in those talks.

The Trump administration threatened ZTE's existence last month, when the Commerce Department ordered a seven-year halt in American shipments of computer microchips and software that are at the heart of most of ZTE's telecommunications gear. The Commerce Department accused ZTE of violating American sanctions by selling to Iran and North Korea and then covering up the exports and rewarding the executives involved. ZTE acknowledged it violated sanctions, but attributed the actions to poor internal controls rather than a deliberate defiance of the American legal system.

ZTE, a 75,000-employee business that makes smartphones and cellphone tower equipment, began shutting down operations last week after it was unable to find alternative suppliers.

The move also hit one of the biggest American telecom companies, Qualcomm, which lost the ability to export semiconductors to ZTE, one of its big-



JOHANNES EISELE/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

President Trump tweeted that the telecommunications company ZTE needed a break because it was costing "too many jobs in China."

gest customers. In China, Qualcomm's plan to acquire NXP Semiconductors had been stalled by a prolonged antitrust review, which many saw as retaliation for America's trade decisions.

In his surprise tweet on Sunday, Mr. Trump declared, "President Xi of China, and I, are working together to give massive Chinese phone company, ZTE, a

way to get back into business, fast. Too many jobs in China lost. Commerce Department has been instructed to get it done!"

The tweet provoked a swift and harsh response from Democratic and Republican lawmakers.

"I hope this isn't the beginning of backing down to China," Senator Marco

Rubio, Republican of Florida, wrote Monday on Twitter. "While Chinese companies have unrestricted access to U.S. market & protection of our laws many U.S. companies have been ruined after #China blocked market access or stole their intellectual property."

Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the Democratic leader, said in a state-

ment, "This leads to the greatest worry, which is that the president will back off on what China fears most — a crackdown on intellectual property theft — in exchange for buying some goods in the short run."

On Monday, the White House denied that accommodating China's concerns represented a broken promise by Mr. Trump to protect America's interests, saying that the relationship with China was complex. "He's been tough and he's confronted them," said Raj Shah, the deputy press secretary.

Mr. Ross said Monday that ZTE's fate should not be linked to the trade negotiations. "ZTE did do some inappropriate things — they admitted to them," he said in a speech. "The question is, 'Are there alternative remedies to the one that we had originally put forward?'"

Mr. Trump's offer to throw ZTE a lifeline found a receptive audience in Beijing, where the company's travails have crystallized the fears of Chinese leaders that their country depends too much on American technology.

"We very much appreciate the positive attitude of the U.S. side to the issue of the ZTE Corporation, and are maintaining close communication with the U.S. on the implementation of specific details," Lu Kang, a spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said Monday.

Hu Xijin, the chief editor of Global Times, a newspaper owned by the Chinese Communist Party, said on the social media service Weibo, "No matter if the previous sanction was a card in Washington's concerted move for a trade war on China, the newest decision is a good one."

Ana Swanson and Mark Landler reported from Washington, and Keith Bradsher from Taipei, Taiwan. Alan Rappeport contributed reporting from Washington, and Jane Perlez from Beijing. Ailin Tang contributed research.

Punishment from U.S., then help

SHANGHAI

BY PAUL MOZUR

President Trump has said that he will help save ZTE, a Chinese electronics maker. The company was on the brink of collapse after United States officials punished it last month for breaking American sanctions against countries including Iran and North Korea.

Here's a look at how a Chinese electronics maker came to be at the center of a geopolitical chess match between Beijing and Washington.

WHAT IS ZTE?

ZTE, whose formal name is Zhongxing Telecommunications Equipment, isn't a household name in most places.

It is probably best known for making inexpensive smartphones that are mostly sold in developing countries, though it also sells them in the United States.

But in the telecommunications world, the ZTE name carries significant

weight. It is one of two Chinese companies — Huawei is the other — that sell equipment for cellular networks. It has about 75,000 employees and says it does business in more than 160 countries.

That makes it an important geopolitical pawn for Beijing, both as an innovator and as a builder of state-funded projects overseas. If China wants to improve ties with a government in the developing world, it often offers loans that can be used to set up a ZTE-powered cellular network.

Longer term, China hopes that companies like ZTE will become powerhouses that can help the country wean itself from a reliance on American tech firms, which Beijing views as security threats because of the possibility that they could help Washington spy.

HOW DID IT BREAK SANCTIONS?

Tech supply chains are so intertwined these days that just about every product that ZTE makes has some American components or software in it — think microchips, modems and Google's Android operating system. So if ZTE sells a

smartphone to North Korea, it might also be selling a Qualcomm chip inside that phone. That's illegal under American sanctions that prohibit the sale of United States tech to embargoed countries.

When the Commerce Department released its findings against ZTE in 2016, it took the rare step of disclosing evidence of the company's guilt. One document, signed by several senior ZTE executives, cautioned that American export laws were a risk because the company was selling to "all five major embargoed countries — Iran, Sudan, North Korea, Syria and Cuba."

A second company document featured flow charts for best practices to circumvent American sanctions. Last year, ZTE acknowledged its guilt and paid a \$1.19 billion fine.

HOW DID THE U.S. HOBBLE ZTE?

The Commerce Department wasn't done with that hefty penalty.

Last month, officials said ZTE had violated its agreement with the United States because it didn't punish senior

management for having violated the sanctions. Instead, the Commerce Department said, ZTE paid them bonuses and lied about it. As punishment, the department forbade American technology companies from selling their products to ZTE for seven years.

That means no Qualcomm chips or Android software for its phones, and no American chips or other components for its cellular gear. Analysts estimate that four-fifths of ZTE's products have American components. ZTE went into a tailspin, saying last week that it had shut down major operations.

WHY IS TRUMP INTERVENING?

The American president hasn't explained his decision to try to help the company, other than to cite the potential for lots of Chinese workers to lose their jobs. But ZTE's troubles come at a complicated moment.

In normal times, the company's fate would be a legal matter for the Commerce Department. But the Trump administration is pressing China to make trade concessions. It may also need Bei-

jing's help to strike a deal with North Korea as Washington and Pyongyang plan a high-profile meeting next month in Singapore.

By offering to intervene, Mr. Trump has effectively suggested that ZTE's punishment could be a bargaining chip in negotiations with China, rather than a matter of law enforcement.

It isn't clear whether he will follow through on his offer to help the company or whether he will get something in return if he does.

A ONE-OFF OR PART OF A TREND?

The fight over ZTE is emblematic of deeper issues in the relationship between China and the United States, the world's two largest economies.

Neither country trusts the equipment made by the other, particularly after Edward Snowden disclosed how United States intelligence officials turned to American companies to snoop.

With a technological cold war already getting frosty, such squabbles over intertwined supply chains and diverging interests are likely to proliferate.

As ratings dwindle, TV commercials are a harder sell

Ad sales peaked in 2016, and broadcasters are in a precarious situation

BY SAPNA MAHESHWARI AND JOHN KOBLIN

American television networks have drawn hordes of advertisers to New York this week for their annual bonanza of presentations and parties, a decades-old tradition known as the upfronts that is meant to dazzle marketers and loosen their purse strings.

New shows and top talent are being pitched from the stages of Carnegie Hall and Lincoln Center, followed by lavish evening affairs where marketers can eat lobster rolls and snag selfies with network stars. The fanfare kicks off weeks of negotiations, with networks aiming to get advertisers to commit to billions of dollars in spending for the year ahead.

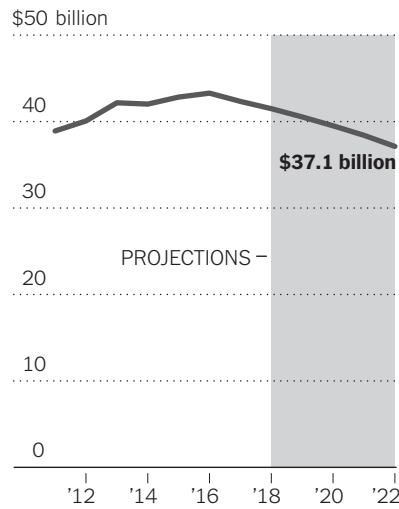
But beneath the sparkle and the canapés, the networks are also navigating a serious advertising upheaval. Ratings are declining, especially among young people, some of whom don't even own televisions. It's hard to keep up with the many devices and apps that people now use to watch shows. And there is a host of material from Silicon Valley that is competing for viewers' attention, including Google's YouTube, Facebook and Netflix. It all adds up to a precarious situation for broadcast TV.

Advertising on TV has long been the best way for marketers to reach a large number of people at one time. And it is still a formidable medium. But cracks are showing.

TV ad sales in the United States peaked in 2016, when they exceeded \$43 billion, according to data from Magna, the ad-buying and media intelligence arm of IPG Mediabrands. Sales fell 2.2 percent last year, and the firm estimates that they will fall at least 2 percent each year through 2022.

Drop in national TV ads forecast

The ad buying firm Magna said that national TV ad sales fell 2.2 percent in 2017. It predicted they will continue to decline by at least 2 percent each year through 2022.



Note: The forecast excludes local TV and ads from cyclical events like the Olympics and U.S. presidential campaigns.

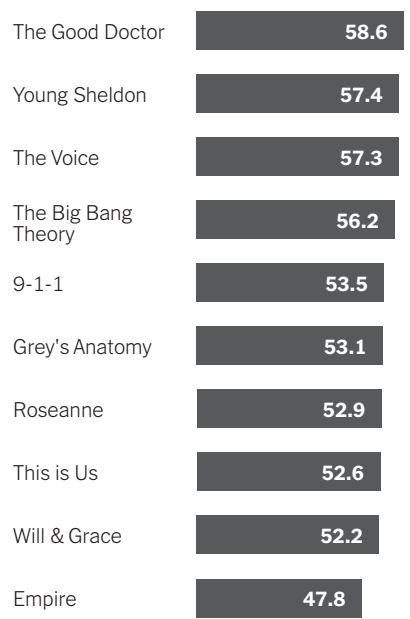
Source: Magna

Some of the decline could be mitigated through new business with platforms like Hulu, but "it's not yet enough to upset the decrease of traditional sales," said Vincent Letang, Magna's executive vice president of global market intelligence. At the same time, he said, while networks have raised the cost of advertising on their airwaves in recent years, ratings have declined sharply, including some losses in unexpected areas like the National Football League.

TV is still a good value for plenty of advertisers. Mr. Letang said pharmaceuticals and personal care products were increasing their presences on TV. But the combination of rising prices and falling viewership is giving some big brands pause.

TV viewers are getting older

The median ages of viewers for the top 10 entertainment shows during the 2017-2018 television season.



Source: Nielsen

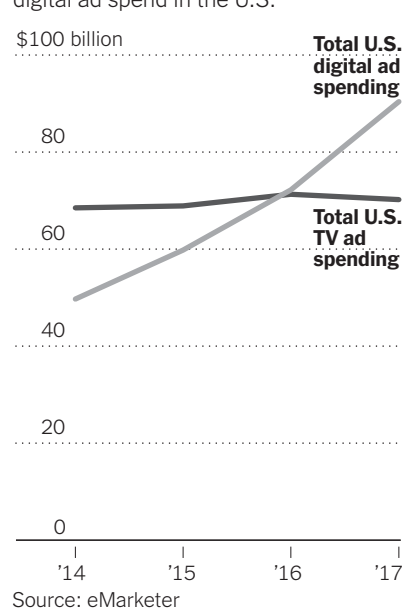
The hottest shows on TV networks — which command the highest ad prices — are attracting older viewers, which is a challenge for brands that want to reach millennials and teenagers. For instance, this season's top-rated show, the revival of "Roseanne," has a median viewer age of 52.9 years. The network show with the lowest median age is "Riverdale" on the CW, at 37.2.

Google's YouTube, on the other hand, is wildly popular with much younger viewers. And the brands are so eager to reach those viewers that they have been willing to continue advertising on YouTube despite the issues it has faced around ads showing up on offensive content, like racist videos.

As TV ad spending has begun to drop,

TV's digital threat looms large

Networks are increasingly seeing each other as allies against Google, which owns YouTube, and Facebook. Google and Facebook accounted for about \$53 billion, or 60 percent, of last year's digital ad spend in the U.S.



Source: eMarketer

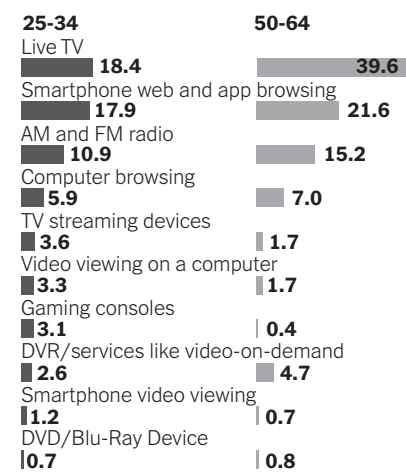
marketers have been diverting more money to tech giants like Google and Facebook, which have increasingly focused on expanding their video — and video ad — business.

Companies love digital advertising because it gives them the ability to target ads based on their own lists of customers — like holders of store loyalty cards — and profiles like "first-time car buyers" or "people who like foreign travel." And they want that kind of capability on TV, too.

That desire has prompted four competing media companies — NBCUniversal, Turner, Viacom and Fox — to work to standardize the language and some of the data sets that they use, hoping to make it easier for brands to buy cross-

A generational gap in how Americans consume content

Here's how many hours per week younger and older Americans are spending on different platforms, according to Nielsen data.



Note: Live TV includes playbacks within seven days. TV-connected streaming devices includes viewing through Roku, Apple TV, smartphones and computers. Game consoles includes time spent playing and watching content. Smartphone video viewing is specific to video-centric sites and apps like Netflix.

Source: Nielsen Total Audience Report, Q2 2017

THE NEW YORK TIMES

platform advertising with them.

Old Navy has long been a prominent TV advertiser, and television remains crucial to the company's marketing. But the way Old Navy defines TV advertising has evolved, said Jamie Gersch, its chief marketing officer.

"When we say we buy TV, even within that, a percent of that buy is in the digital video space and is on platforms like Hulu and Google Preferred and programmatic buying and Facebook," she said. The company is focusing on figuring out where customers might see its content, whether that's on traditional TV or "digital TV," she said. Ms. Gersch said that on traditional TV, the company has been talking to networks about product integrations in TV shows, as in

Revamping the gun industry

GUNS, FROM PAGE 7

them over the bank's new policy distancing it from financing gun manufacturers, according to Bloomberg News.

Bank of America, which has also started putting gun makers at arm's length, was criticized, along with Citigroup, by Senator Mike Crapo, Republican of Idaho and chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, who wrote a letter admonishing it for "using their market power to manage social policy."

Before it established its policy, Bank of America decided to provide financing to Remington. It insists that it will not offer such financing in the future.

Yet the Bank of America — which said it had "more than \$11.3 billion in assets with a clearly defined environmental, social and governance approach" as of the end of 2016 — could be a perfect candidate to take a piece of Remington. Other banks, like JPMorgan Chase, which also owns a stake in Remington as a result of previous financing, says it is trying to reduce its relationship with gun makers. It, too, has been a big proponent of impact investing.

And here's a big opportunity.

To be sure, efforts to invest and develop smart gun initiatives have long been troubled. Ron Conway, a revered investor in Silicon Valley, has for years been investing with little success in gun companies employing new technology. The N.R.A. and others have pressed retailers not to sell the new firearms. (That's why a buying consortium that includes retailers is so important, and why a billionaire's buying a gun company would quickly lead to a boycott.)

Investors have been hard to find. After all, many people who are interested in gun control cannot stomach the thought of actually investing in any kind of gun company, no matter how responsible it might be. Many of the banks, which have pledged to stop backing gun makers, might find it hard to change course, even for a company aimed at changing the industry.

The gun complex clearly does not want change, but the biggest opportunity for change may come from investors who can get themselves on the inside, as I described in a previous column. Sturm Ruger recently proposed a shareholder proposal to detail its plans to monitor violence associated with their guns and develop safer products; the shareholders prevailed.

Those investors, which included a group of nuns, have the right idea. Those who share their vision of a safer gun company would have the opportunity to not only make a social impact, but reap the profits that come with innovation.

Make no mistake: There is absolutely a market for a gun company focused on safety technology. A poll conducted by Johns Hopkins University researchers and published online by the American Journal of Public Health showed 59 percent of Americans were willing to buy a smart gun.

Will someone step up to make it happen?

TV is still a good value for many advertisers, but the cost of reaching an audience has risen even as the audience scatters.

Procter & Gamble's recent deal in which the company was written into the plot of the ABC show "Black-ish." How viewers will react if more brands start showing up in the dialogue of their favorite shows remains to be seen.

Those opting out of traditional TV packages are watching Netflix and videos on Amazon Prime and, to a lesser extent, paying for services like Dish Network's Sling TV, according to Kagan, a media research group within S&P Global Market Intelligence.

As networks navigate these changes, they are moving to reduce the number of ads they show. Ads, after all, make money, but they also annoy viewers. Last year, the average number of commercial minutes during an hour of broadcast TV was 13.6, according to Nielsen data.

Both NBCUniversal and the Fox Networks Group have said they will trim the total time of commercials shown during some of their shows; Fox has announced a goal of reducing ad time to two minutes an hour by 2020.

So if there are fewer commercials, how do companies market their products?

Ralph Heim, vice president of media and sponsorships at the Sonic Drive-In fast-food chain, said he was intrigued by several of the new data targeting products for television ads. But he remains concerned about how the announcements on limited ads fit with a declining audience.

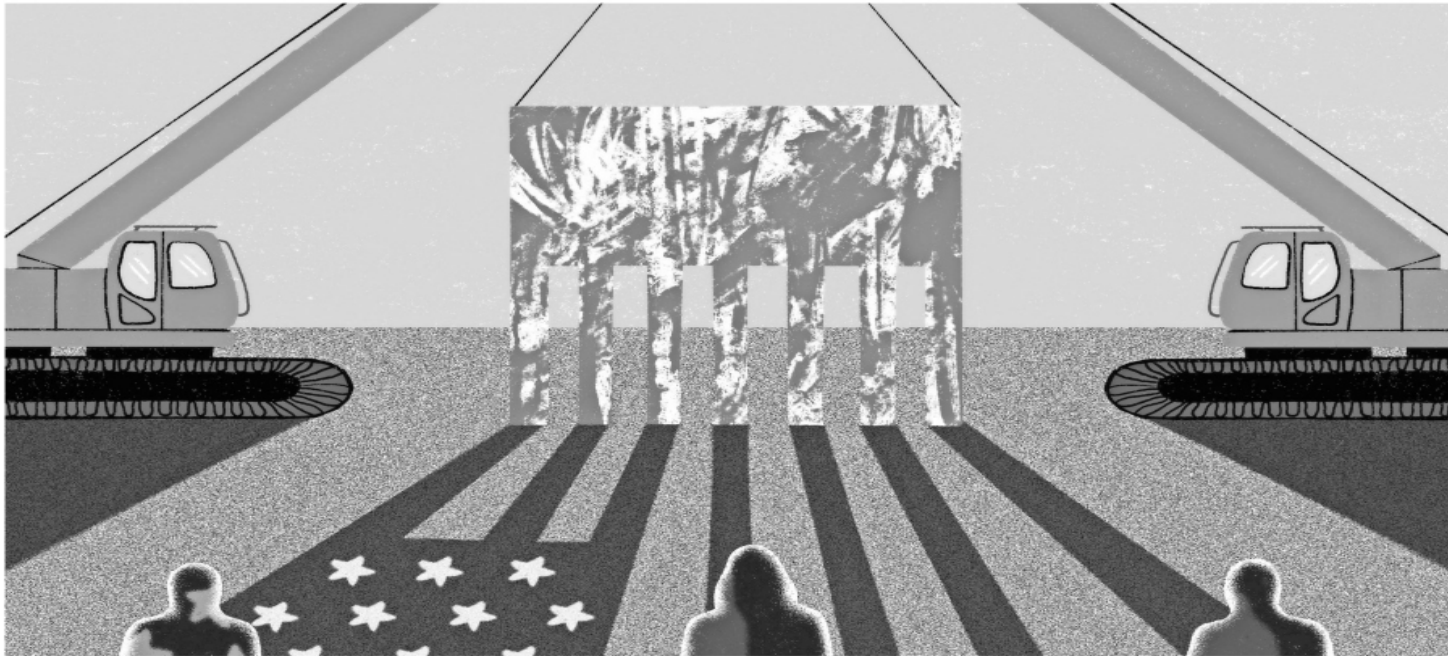
"They're trying to create a more premium advertising experience for advertisers, and they're hoping that people will pay more," even though the audience is smaller, Mr. Heim said.

He added, "At the end of the day, you're following the eyeballs, right?"

Opinion

Conceptual art at the U.S.-Mexico border

The barrier Mr. Trump wants at the border would add more insult than injury.



Héctor Tobar
Contributing Writer

SAN DIEGO The United States-Mexico border, as we know it today, began with a party: a three-day shindig in 1849 that was attended by the surveyors from both countries who worked together to establish and map the frontier.

When the surveyors' work was done, they erected a marble marker overlooking a lonely beach on the Pacific Ocean. The first iron fence erected at the border in California was a cage to protect that monument from vandals.

The United States built the first truly formidable border barrier here in the 1990s. In March, President Trump traveled to the border to stand before eight prototypes of the wall he wants to build there.

But, a "wall" already exists all along the border. Mr. Trump's proposed "big, beautiful" barrier would be overkill, and little more than an act of political symbolism. It would be a taxpayer-funded work of colossal conservative conceptual art running across the North Ameri-

can continent. (In fact, in January, a nonprofit group circulated a petition to protect the prototypes from demolition, arguing that they should be characterized as "a major Land Art exhibition" of "significant cultural value.") In the same way certain pretentious art drives practical-minded people crazy, the idea of this Pharaonic project infuriates people like me.

At the Pacific Ocean, the border consists of one, two and sometimes three parallel fences that stretch into the desert. There are lights, cameras and motion detectors. Similar measures are in place at all of the urban crossing points along the Mexican border.

Even in the remote, sparsely populated Arizona desert, the Border Patrol makes use of radar, thermal imaging and high-definition cameras. These measures, along with a Border Patrol staff that's almost five times as big as it was in 1992, amount to a virtual wall that's extremely difficult to cross.

The sealed-off border also exerts a powerful psychological effect northward, in the very land it's meant to protect. For many residents of the United States, including military personnel, college graduates and grand-

parents, the virtual wall is a reminder of the threat that hovers over them always — deportation.

This month, tens of thousands of Hondurans learned that their temporary protected status was being revoked. Like other longtime, legal inhabitants of the United States from other countries, they know they might soon be tossed over the virtual wall, unable to return.

The president wants political symbolism made of concrete.

I first visited this impenetrable border more than 20 years ago. Not long after Mr. Trump's recent visit, I returned, walking in the fog toward the existing fences, on a mile-long path through Border Field State Park, past coastal sage and along the beach. I met a group of Japanese tourists and a bird-watcher who told me of a merlin, a small falcon, nearby. But I saw no illegal crossers.

In 1971, the United States donated the land for Border Field State Park and for Friendship Park, a cement plaza built around that first border monument overlooking the beach. Pat Nixon, the

first lady, attended the opening of the park as a good-will gesture toward our southern neighbor. A Mexican man, holding a child, reached through a low, flimsy barbed-wire fence to shake her hand. In the years that followed, the United States split Friendship Park in half and left the old border marker on the Mexican side. In 1988 the artists Guillermo Gomez-Peña and Emily Hicks made their wedding into a piece of political performance art: They were married on the sand of the beach, the fence between them.

When a caravan of more than 150 Central American immigrants arrived here on April 29, seeking asylum, they stood on the Mexican side, facing Friendship Park. Their mere presence before the steel barrier dipping absurdly into the ocean was a statement in itself. On the northern side, some 100 yards away, a crowd held signs in support of immigrants. They were separated from the caravan by two fences.

Mr. Trump's desired wall would begin at the beach and run some 722 miles inland, through desolate, peopleless landscapes first visited by those United States and Mexican surveyors in the 19th century.

The existing wall — the combination of checkpoints, physical barriers and high-tech security measures — is already an instrument of fear. It has pushed would-be border crossers into treacherous areas, and thousands have died in one of the greatest human tragedies in the Western Hemisphere.

The horrors of the border are common knowledge in the Latino United States. For millions of immigrants, both legal and undocumented, the virtual wall looms over their lives as the Berlin Wall did for East Germans; it's the work of an arbitrary and cruel political system that accepts the products of their labor while keeping them trapped in a legal limbo.

President Trump's new wall would be more insult than injury. For a man who began his campaign degrading Mexican immigrants, it's another ugly, empty rhetorical flourish; only this one would be made with concrete and rebar.

HÉCTOR TOBAR, an associate professor at the University of California, Irvine, is the author of "Deep Down Dark: The Untold Stories of 33 Men Buried in a Chilean Mine, and the Miracle That Set Them Free."

I helped start the Gaza protests. I don't regret it.

The scores of demonstrators who were killed on Monday were imprisoned people yearning for freedom.

Ahmed Abu Ratima

RAFAH, GAZA The seed that grew into Gaza's Great Return March was planted Dec. 9, just a few days after President Trump announced he would recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

Palestinians long have held onto the dream of Jerusalem as our own capital, or at least as a shared capital in a country that offers equal rights to everyone. The feeling of betrayal and distress in Gaza was palpable. To clear my head, my friend Hasan and I took a walk along the border, which we do every now and again.

"There lies our land," I said to Hasan, as I looked at the trees on the other side of the barbed-wire fence that confines us. "It's just a few kilometers away from here." And yet, because of that fence and the soldiers who guard it, it is so far away. Most people my age have never been permitted to leave Gaza, since Egypt controls the southern land exit and Israel restricts access to the north — as well as forbids use of our sea and airport (or at least what's left of it after three wars).

That thought led to a wish expressed on Facebook. And it struck such a chord with people in Gaza that it set off a movement that culminated in the historic protests that have taken place over the last month. Tragically, Israel reacted even more brutally than I expected — and I've lived through three of its wars. The latest estimate of the number of protesters killed is 104; more than 50 died just on Monday. Thousands more have been injured. But our voices needed to be heard, and they have been.

My hatred of borders is both universal — in the sense that all Palestinians suffer from them — and very personal. My grandparents and their grandparents were born and raised in the town of Ramla, in the center of what is now Israel. On my walks, I imagined my family's ancestral land.

But I also have experienced the destructive impact of borders more personally. I was born in 1984, two years after Israel withdrew from the Sinai Peninsula, dividing my city, Rafah, between Gaza and Egypt. The core of the city was razed by Israel and Egypt to create a buffer zone, separating families, including mine, with barbed wire. My mother's family lived on the Egyptian side and Rafah's division ended in the separation of my parents. Although my mother lived a stone's throw away, it was 19 years before I saw her again.

On that day in December, as I watched the birds fly over the border I could not cross, I found myself thinking how much smarter birds and animals are than people; they harmonize with nature instead of erecting walls. Later that day, I wondered on Facebook what would happen if a man acted like a bird and crossed that fence. "Why would Israeli soldiers shoot at him as if he is committing a crime?" I wrote. My only thought was to reach the trees, sit there and then come back.

I couldn't let go of that thought. A month later, I wrote another post. "Thank you, Israel, for opening our eyes. If the occupation opened the crossing points, and allowed people to live a normal life and created jobs for young people, we could wait for a few generations," I wrote. "We are forced to choose between confrontations or



Palestinians fleeing Israeli fire and tear gas on the Israel-Gaza border on Monday.

between life." I ended the post with the hashtag GreatReturnMarch.

Young people in Gaza reacted to my post immediately, sharing it and adding their own ideas. Just a week later, it seemed as if hundreds of people were talking about it. We established a youth committee and met with local agencies and institutions. We also met with the national political parties: We wanted to offer all sectors of society in Gaza the opportunity to be involved.

What has happened since we started the Great Return March is both what I hoped and expected — and not. It was not a surprise that Israel responded to our march with deadly violence. But I had not expected this level of cruelty. On the other hand, I was heartened by the

commitment to nonviolence among most of my own people.

A couple of years ago, people here would have dismissed the idea that peaceful demonstrations could achieve anything significant. After all, every other form of resistance has produced nothing concrete. What amazes me is the transformation we are seeing in the way we resist. Our struggle previously was between armed Palestinian fighters and Israeli snipers, tanks and F-16s. Now, it is a struggle between the occupation and peaceful protesters — men and women, young and old.

The Great Return March reminds the world about the origin of the conflict — our uprooting from our lands and our lives, beginning in 1948 and sustained

since then. We have chosen May 15 as the culmination of our protests because it is the day that Palestinians mark the "nakba," the Arabic word for catastrophe, which is what we call the expulsions from our homes 70 years ago. Whatever solution we negotiate in the future to allow our two peoples to live together peacefully and equally must start with a recognition of this wrong.

Still, despite the response from the Israeli snipers, I continue to be committed to nonviolence, as are all of the other people "coordinating" this march. I use quotation marks because when a movement becomes this large — attracting what we estimate to be as many as 200,000 people on Fridays — it cannot be completely controlled.

We discouraged the burning of Israeli flags and the attachment of Molotov cocktails to kites. We want peaceful, equal coexistence to be our message.

We have also tried to discourage protesters from attempting to cross into Israel. However, we can't stop them. It is the action of an imprisoned people yearning for freedom, one of the strongest motivations in human nature. Likewise, the people won't go away on May 15. We are intent on continuing our struggle until Israel recognizes our right to return to our homes and land from which we were expelled.

Desperation fuels this new generation. We are not going back to our sub-human existence. We will keep knocking at the doors of international organizations and our Israeli jailers until we see concrete steps to end the blockade of Gaza.

AHMED ABU RATIMA is a freelance journalist.

OPINION

The New York Times

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

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MR. TRUMP'S FAILURE IN JERUSALEM

His giveaway to Israel of an American embassy is a blow to the dream of peace.

The day the United States opened its embassy in Jerusalem is a day the world has longed for, because of what it was supposed to represent: the end of a seemingly endless conflict, a blood-soaked tragedy with justice and cruelty on both sides. Israelis and Palestinians have envisioned a capital in Jerusalem, and for generations the Americans, the honest brokers in seeking peace, withheld recognition of either side's claims, pending a treaty that through hard compromise would resolve all competing demands.

But on Monday President Trump delivered the embassy as a gift without concession or condition to the Israeli government of Benjamin Netanyahu, and as a blow to the Palestinians. The world did not witness a new dawn of peace and security for two peoples who have dreamed of both for so long. Instead, it watched as Israeli soldiers shot and killed scores of Palestinian protesters, and wounded thousands more, along Israel's boundary with the Gaza Strip.

Unilateral action, rather than negotiation and compromise, has served the purposes of successive right-wing Israeli governments. They have steadily expanded Jewish settlements in the West Bank, on land Palestinians expected to be part of any Palestinian state.

And even when the Israelis uprooted settlements in Gaza in 2005, they did so without negotiating an agreement that would have empowered a more moderate Palestinian government. They acted to increase Israeli security in the short term while increasing Palestinian despair and the power of militant groups like Hamas. For years, Israeli governments have insisted they have no peace partner on the other side, while behaving in a way that perpetuates that reality. The possibility of peace has continued to recede, and Israel's democratic character has continued to erode under the pressure of a long-term occupation of millions of Palestinians who lack sovereignty of their own.

Mr. Trump has repeatedly promised a grand peace plan without delivering, and he has now lent America's weight to this maximalist Israeli strategy. For decades, the United States prided itself on mediating between Israel and the Palestinians. Successive administrations urged a peace formula in which the two parties would negotiate core issues — establishing boundaries between the two states; protecting Israel's security; deciding how to deal with refugees who fled or were driven away after Israeli statehood in 1948; and deciding the future of Jerusalem, which was expected to become the shared capital of Israelis and Palestinians.

Mr. Trump's announcement that he was recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital, and moving the embassy from Tel Aviv, swept aside 70 years of American neutrality.

The ceremony on Monday marking the embassy opening could hardly have been more dismissive of Palestinians. It was timed to make the American bias clear, coming on the 70th anniversary of Israel's independence in 1948 — and the day before Palestinians observe Nakba, or Catastrophe, the expulsion of their ancestors from the newly formed Jewish state. Mr. Netanyahu waxed triumphant, telling the audience, "President Trump, by recognizing history, you have made history" and "We are in Jerusalem, and we are here to stay." Mr. Trump sent his son-in-law, Jared Kushner, who is overseeing the peace plan effort, and his daughter, Ivanka Trump.

The fact that Robert Jeffress, a Dallas pastor who has denigrated Jews, Mormons and Muslims, and the Rev. John Hagee, a megachurch televangelist who has claimed Hitler was descended from "half-breed Jews" and was part of God's plan to return Jews to Israel, had prominent roles in the ceremony should embarrass all who participated.

Israel has every right to defend its borders, including the boundary with Gaza. The protests there have been going on for weeks, with tens of thousands of Gazans massing to surge across Israeli lines. But officials are unconvincing when they argue that only live ammunition — rather than tear gas, water cannons and other nonlethal measures — can protect Israel from being overrun.

Led too long by men who were corrupt or violent or both, the Palestinians have failed and failed again to make their own best efforts toward peace. Even now, Gazans are undermining their own cause by resorting to violence, rather than keeping their protests strictly peaceful.

But the contrast on Monday, between exultation in Jerusalem and the agony of Palestinians in Gaza, could not have been more stark, or more chilling to those who continue to hope for a just and durable peace.

The ancient myth of 'good fences'

Ingrid Rossellini

In Robert Frost's famous poem "Mending Wall," the narrator describes an encounter with his neighbor at the stone wall that divides their land. They are there to repair the damage inflicted by winter. Reflecting on nature's apparent dislike of all artificial barriers, the narrator questions the benefits of the task, and gets this answer: "Good fences make good neighbors."

Do they? It is clear that Frost's narrator views this bit of folk wisdom with skepticism, but by refraining from providing a firm answer to our question, the poem manages to increase our curiosity: Besides the most obvious, delineating private property, what do "fences" truly represent?

If one looks at history, the answer seems obvious: What fences have very often indicated is not simply *what is mine* and *what is yours*, but, more subtly, *who I am* versus *who you are*. This tendency is based on the human inclination to define one's identity in contrast to someone cast as a different, an untrustworthy Other best kept at a distance.

The danger that such a separation between the self and the other can cause is evident throughout history. In Ancient Greece, where a profound appreciation of human reason produced a brilliant civilization, pernicious biases were also established. Women were assumed to be guided by passions rather than rationality, and so they were considered inferior to men and excluded from the cultural and political life of the city-state. As the word "virtue" — from the Latin "vir," meaning "man" — so clearly expresses, the ethos that Greek as well as Roman culture fostered derived from a military and patriarchal mentality. The "fence" of bigotry and prejudice that prevent the flourishing in public life of half the population certainly hobbled the development of Greek and Roman society.

The Greeks held similarly disparaging views toward foreigners, called "barbarians" because they seemed to say "bar-bar-bar" when they spoke. The Greek word "logos," which simultaneously indicated "language" and "rationality," gave further validation to that premise: Those who did not share the Greek idiom were viewed as inferior. Others who lacked the intellectual talents that had made possible the free and self-ruled society that the Greek polis represented. (This was in fact a

unique achievement; in all other civilizations at that time absolute monarchs reigned uncontested over legions of subjects.)

The sharp division between Greek and non-Greek was vividly represented in the sculptures that were placed on the Parthenon in Athens to celebrate the victory that, against all odds, the small Greek city-states had obtained against the immense Persian Empire. To suggest that the Eastern enemy possessed none of the extraordinary qualities belonging to the Greeks, the Athenian artists used mythological comparisons that described the Persians as monstrous creatures — giants, centaurs and Amazons, the Greeks evoked to ridicule the weak and decadent femininity of all Eastern peoples.

This was also expressed in pottery, especially, by the colorful and whimsical attire the Persians donned for war, which was contrasted with the noble nudity of the brave citizen-soldiers who fought in defense of the Greek polis. When the Macedonian king Alexan-

der the Great absorbed the Balkan Peninsula as the start of an empire that soon stretched as far as India, the experiment of the polis came to an end. Despite the fear of their eastern neighbors that the early Greeks had so diligently cultivated, the rapprochement between East and West that the unity of empire made possible proved enormously fruitful for both sides: While the rich culture of Greece reached further into Asia, the heritage of the East, which, besides art and science also included religions such as Judaism, Buddhism and Hinduism, replenished with all sorts of new perspectives the cultural reservoir of the West.

A new chapter began when Rome established itself as the leader of yet another enormous empire. A major gain for the Romans was the encounter with the Hellenistic heritage that the poet Horace described with these famous words: "When Greece was taken she enslaved her rough conquerors." Despite the enormous cultural debt they owed to the Greeks, the Romans, driven by feelings of envy and competition, promoted a mythical narrative that, echoing old prejudices, portrayed the Greeks as a decadent and effeminate people while the Romans were models of masculine virtue and uprightness.

ROSSSELLINI, PAGE 11



RICHARD BAKER/IN PICTURES, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Zionist founders and human rights

James Loeffler

Seventy years ago this week, Israel came into existence — the first Jewish state in more than 2,000 years. But at the United Nations, there won't be a celebration. Indeed, Palestinian Authority leaders recently lodged their latest complaint at the U.N. Human Rights Council — a body that has condemned Israel more than any other country combined, including Syria, North Korea and Iran — accusing Israel of "racial segregation," "apartheid" and "colonial occupation."

With language like this, it is not hard to see Zionism itself on trial in the court of human rights.

This apparent tension between Zionism and progressive values isn't just playing out at the United Nations. Starbucks recently broke off its anti-bias training partnership with the Anti-Defamation League at the behest of the Women's March chairwoman, Tamika Mallory, who denounced the organization's support of Israel as racist. In London earlier this year, Amnesty International backed out of a joint event with a Jewish communal organization because of its support for Israel. In Charlottesville, Va., at the university where I teach, Jewish student activists working to respond to the continued threats from white supremacists have been refused admission to the minority student coalition because of their Israeli ties. The message in all these cases is clear: Jews are welcome to fight for human rights — as long as they check their Zionism at the door.

To those of us who follow the history of Zionism and the history of human rights, it is both strange and tragic to consider the current state of affairs. What the modern left has forgotten is the fact that Zionism and the modern human rights movement share a braided history. And 2018 — 70 years since Israel's founding, but also 70 years since the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights — is the perfect moment

to reconsider the notion that the two ideas are intrinsically in conflict.

Few today know that the Polish-born jurist Hersch Zvi Lauterpacht, widely regarded as the greatest international lawyer of the 20th century and the founding father of international human rights law, crafted influential drafts of the Israeli Declaration of Independence, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. He also advised Zionist leaders on their legal strategies for statehood at the same time that he advised the American prosecutors at Nuremberg. Oh, and he coined the term "crimes against humanity."

Raphael Lemkin, the Polish-Jewish lawyer responsible for the word "genocide" and the U.N. Genocide Convention, was not only a Holocaust survivor but a Zionist activist who spent two decades before the Holocaust fighting for Jewish legal rights in Poland and a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Then there's the founder of Amnesty International, Peter Benenson, who spent his childhood in Anglo-Zionist circles in Jerusalem and London, before dropping out of Eton in 1938 to rescue Jewish children in the aftermath of Kristallnacht.

These and other Jewish human rights pioneers saw the rise of a Jewish nation-state as not only compatible with democracy but complementary to the new legal architecture of international human rights that emerged in the 1940s. They believed that two states for two peoples would make the world a safer place for Jews and Palestinians in the postwar era.

If today, Zionism and internationalism seem in tension, for these pioneers Zionism was the starting point for their internationalism. They understood, as Hannah Arendt once wrote, that human rights began with the dignity of difference. "If one is attacked as a Jew," she said, "one must defend oneself as a Jew. Not as a German, not as a world-citizen, not as an upholder of the Rights of Man."

Why don't we know more about these lives lived inside both the worlds of Zionism and human rights? Ready

answers supply themselves from across the political spectrum. Left-wing voices point to the enduring post-1967 Israeli occupation, while right-wing critics focus on the Arab and Communist-bred anti-Zionism that bleeds into anti-Semitism. It rings hollow to many in the human rights community to speak about Jewish contributions to international law given the ongoing statelessness of the Palestinians. Just the same, many right-wing Israeli leaders now attack human rights as a thinly veiled globalist shield behind which the enemies of Jewish peoplehood mobilize to undermine Jewish sovereignty and jeopardize Jewish lives.

These mirror-image caricatures distract from a simpler explanation. Both Zionism and international human rights changed over the course of the many decades that separate 1948 and 2018. For Zionism, Israeli wars of survival in 1948, 1967 and 1973 yielded to expansionist dreams of Greater Israel that blur the line between religious ideology and security. Israel rightly claims with pride its sta-



PRESS ASSOCIATION, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Peter Benenson, the founder of Amnesty International, in an undated photograph.

tus as a vibrant if imperfect democracy up to the green line. Across that nonborder, however, the Israeli occupation presents an ongoing challenge to Jewish democracy. That ethical dilemma cannot be wished away by demonizing human rights organizations as enemies of the Jewish nation.

But if Zionism changed, so too did the human rights movement. Starting in the early 1960s, even before the Six-Day War of 1967, the international human rights community began to parrot the Soviet and Arab propaganda lines about Israeli racism and Zionist fascism. When Jewish leaders raised the subject of anti-Semitism at the United Nations in the 1970s, they were answered with a horrible meme that went viral: "Zionism is Racism." That same decade, Amnesty International broke with its longstanding policy of not sponsoring prisoners who use or endorse violence and took up the cause of Palestinian Fatah members.

Furthermore, a deeper, insidious logic is also at work for many human-rights organizations. They readily point to the Holocaust as history's wake-up call that sparked the human rights movement. But they selectively ignore a key fact of that history: it was Zionist activists who gave us so many of the ideals and instruments of modern human rights. They fought for human rights out of their particular experience as Jews — which is the very thing that drove them to embrace Zionism.

The shared anniversary of Israel and the human rights project places in stark relief the double amnesia that ails the world today. The cost of that forgetting is the perpetuation of a false dichotomy between particularism and universalism. By recalling this twinned history, we can help the human-rights movement recalibrate its moral compass and expose the real dangers imperiling the Jewish people.

JAMES LOEFFLER is an associate professor of history at the University of Virginia and the author of "Rooted Cosmopolitans: Jews and Human Rights in the Twentieth Century."



Just saying yes to drug companies



Paul Krugman

business works can't and doesn't bear any resemblance to the Econ 101, supply-and-demand stories beloved by free-market enthusiasts. What we have, instead, is a patent system in which the company that develops a drug is granted a temporary legal monopoly over sales of that drug. That system is O.K., or at least defensible, as a way to reward innovation; but nothing about the logic of the patent system says that patent owners should be free to exploit their monopolies to the max.

There is, in fact, a very strong case for government action to limit the prices drug companies can charge, just as there is a strong case for limiting monopoly power in general. And the fact that taxpayers pay a large share of drug costs both reinforces the case for limiting drug prices and gives the government a lot of leverage it could use to achieve that goal.

Of course, draconian controls on drug prices could discourage innovation. But that's not what anyone is talking about, and the benefits of moderate action would almost surely exceed the costs, for a variety of reasons: Drug companies would make less per unit but sell more, they would spend less developing drugs that largely duplicate existing medication, and more. Oh, and America, with its unique access to bargain over drug prices, is basically subsidizing the rest of the world. Wasn't Trump supposed to hate that sort of thing?

So why aren't we doing something about drug prices? It's true that simply granting Medicare the right to negotiate prices wouldn't do much by itself. We'd also have to give Medicare some bargaining power, probably including the right to refuse to cover drugs whose prices are exorbitant. And before you denounce this as "rationing," remember that before 2003,

Medicare didn't pay for drugs at all. Still, saying no might anger some Medicare recipients; polls show overwhelming public support (92 percent) for allowing Medicare to negotiate lower prices, but that support might erode once people realized what effective negotiation requires.

But questions about the details aren't what's stopping action on drug prices, since we haven't even gotten to the point of letting Medicare try to bring prices down. And the reason we haven't gotten to that point is, sadly, both simple and crude: Pharma has bought itself enough politicians to block policies that might reduce its profits.

I'm not just talking about campaign contributions, either. I'm talking about the personal enrichment of politicians who serve pharma's agenda.

After all, who put together the 2003 Medicare Modernization Act, which put taxpayers on the hook for seniors' prescription drug costs but specifically prohibited Medicare from negotiating prices? The answer is that it was largely devised by three Representatives: Billy Tauzin, Republican of Louisiana — who shortly thereafter left Congress to become the highly paid president of the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers Association, the industry's main lobbying group. If that sounds remarkably raw, that's because it is.

And Trump, far from draining this swamp, invited it in to the executive branch. Tom Price, his first secretary of health and human services, was forced out because of his lavish travel spending — but his pharma-related conflicts of interest were actually a much bigger deal. And his successor, Alex Azar, is... a former drug company executive whose stated views on drug pricing are completely at odds with everything Trump said in the campaign. The bottom line is that American exceptionalism has prevailed again: We're still the only major nation that lets the drug companies charge whatever they like.

A spectacle in Jerusalem

GOLDBERG, FROM PAGE 1

About America's relationship to Israel right now, it has never been closer, but within that closeness there are seeds of potential estrangement.

Defenders of Israel's actions in Gaza will argue no country would allow a mob to charge its border. They will say that even if Hamas didn't call the protests, it has thrown its support behind them. "The responsibility for these tragic deaths rests squarely with Hamas," a White House spokesman, Raj Shah, said on Monday.

But even if you completely dismiss the Palestinian right of return — which I find harder to do now that Israel's leadership has all but abandoned the possibility of a Palestinian state — it hardly excuses the Israeli military's disproportionate violence. "What we're seeing is that Israel has used, yet again, excessive and lethal force against protesters who do not pose an imminent threat," Magdalena Mughrabi, Amnesty International's deputy director for the Middle East and North Africa, told me by phone from Jerusalem.

Much of the world condemned the killings in Gaza. Yet the United States, Israel's most important patron, has given it a free hand to do with the Palestinians what it will. Indeed, by moving the embassy to Jerusalem in the first place, Trump sent the implicit message that the American government has given up any pretense of neutrality.

Reports of Israel's gratitude to Trump abound. A square near the embassy is being renamed in his honor. Beitler Jerusalem, a soccer team whose fans are notorious for their racism, is now calling itself Beitler "Trump" Jerusalem. But if Israelis love Trump, many Americans — and certainly most American Jews — do not. The more Trumpian and Israel are intertwined, the more left-leaning Americans will grow alienated from Zionism.

Even before Trump, Prime Minister

Benjamin Netanyahu helped open a partisan divide on Israel in American politics, whose previous support had been stultifying unanimity. "Until these past few years, you'd never heard the word 'occupation' or 'settlements' or talk about Gaza," Jeremy Ben-Ami, president of the liberal pro-Israel group J Street, said of American politicians. But Ben-Ami told me that since 2015, when Netanyahu tried to undercut President Barack Obama with a controversial address to Congress on the Israeli deal, Democrats have felt more emboldened. "That changed the calculus forever," he told me.

The events of Monday may have changed it further, and things could get worse still. Tuesday was Nakba Day, when Palestinians commemorate their dispossession, and the protests at the fence were expected to be even larger. "People don't feel like they can stay at home after loved ones and neighbors have been killed for peacefully protesting for their rights," Abdulkhman Abusnabel, a Gaza-based activist with the boycott, divestment and sanctions movement, told me via email.

Trump has empowered what's worst in Israel, and as long as he is president, it may be that Israel can kill Palestinians, demolish their homes and appropriate their land with impunity. But some day, Trump will be gone. With hope for a two-state solution nearly dead, current trends suggest that a Jewish minority will come to rule over a largely disenfranchised Muslim majority in all the land under Israel's control. A rising generation of Americans may see an apartheid state with a Trump Square in its capital and wonder why it's supposed to be our friend.

The myth of 'good fences'

ROSSELLINI, FROM PAGE 10

Thanks to such greatness, the myth suggested, the gods had elected the Romans (rather than the Greeks) to spread civilization over the entire world. Those who failed to swear allegiance to Rome's sacred mission were labeled dangerous Others deserving annihilation.

When the barbarians, emboldened by the many problems that in time began to corrode the Empire, finally crossed the borders with which Rome for so long had kept at bay all foreigners, the Eternal City collapsed both in myth and in reality. During the following turbulent centuries different peoples clashed but also mixed and merged, while Christianity became the leading religion of the West. With the rise of Islam, the Other came to be represented by the Muslims, whose territorial expansion (which included cities that had been important centers of Greek and Latin culture) struck fear in the very heart of Europe.

To foster the righteous spirit of the Crusaders, Christian art depicted Muslims with monstrous traits suggesting they were closer to animals than human beings. But the humiliating defeat that the "infidels" dealt to the Crusaders turned out to be an unexpected gift: the Christian world, having come into contact with the Muslim intelligentsia, rediscovered its own cultural roots — the classical heritage that eventually led to the blooming of the Renaissance.

What that seems to prove is that, just as Frost's narrator suggests when he recalls how the winter sabotages walls, the regeneration that culture always needs can occur only when the forces of prejudice are breached to allow encounters between different people, traditions and ideas.

INGRID ROSSELLINI is the author of "Know Thyself: Western Identity From Classical Greece to the Renaissance."

Have a taco. Make a friend.

Margaret Renkl
Contributing Writer

NASHVILLE Not quite two weeks ago, I was driving down Nolensville Road, Nashville's "international corridor," looking for a restaurant called Tennessee Halal Fried Chicken. In the passenger seat was John T. Edge, the director of the Southern Foodways Alliance and author of "The Pottliker Papers: A Food History of the Modern South." He was telling me that this particular approach to dining out, in one way of looking at it, could be considered a form of exploitation: "To patronize a restaurant of people who are different from you can be a kind of booty call," he said.

This is an idea Mr. Edge has been considering for some time. The historically complicated nature of cross-cultural dining goes back to black-owned barbecue joints in the age of Jim Crow; "White Southerners patronized those restaurants," he said. "They got in, they got what they wanted, and they got out."



Tacos at a restaurant in Nashville.

I'm not especially well versed in the history of Southern food, and I'm even less well versed in the history behind the foods on offer all along Nolensville Road, a place where nearly every possible kind of international eatery is tucked among barbecues and quick-cash storefronts and break-repair garages. But I've made a special point of eating at immigrant-owned restaurants here ever since the 2016 election.

Shortly after President Trump issued his first travel ban and began cracking down on undocumented residents, The Nashville Scene published a list of immigrant-owned restaurants in Nashville and urged readers to eat at them. I tore the page out and taped it to my refrigerator because I was feeling helpless. Aside from donating to the Tennessee Immigrant & Refugee Rights Coalition and helping in a class for English-language learners, what could an ordinary citizen do to support people whose contributions to our culture are so manifest and yet so poorly valued? The Scene's recommendation made sense, and my husband and I had been working our way down the list ever since.

The immigrant population of Nashville is one of the fastest-growing in the

country, and 70 percent of Nashville residents support a path to citizenship for the undocumented immigrants living among us. But the Republican-dominated state legislature goes to great lengths to shred any welcome mat we roll out for our newest neighbors. Sanctuary cities have been banned in Tennessee since 2009, but just for good measure the state's General Assembly voted last month to ban them again — this time with more explicit instructions requiring blue cities like Nashville to cooperate with federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement officials.

And last month, I.C.E. agents arrested Manuel Duran Ortega, an undocumented Memphis journalist, during a city commemoration of the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Attorneys from the Southern Poverty Law Center believe he was arrested because his work raised questions about the local police and the nature of their cooperation with federal immigration officials.

On the other side of the state, I.C.E. agents were busy arresting 97 undocumented immigrants at a meat-processing plant in Bean Station, in East Tennessee. It was the largest work-site immigration bust in a decade, and the repercussions will be felt by families there for at least a generation. "Young kids are developmentally sensitive to stresses involving family separation, and large-scale raids are an extreme

form of that stress," Nicole Novak, an epidemiologist at the University of Iowa, told The New Yorker's Jonathan Blitzer.

Eating tacos from a food truck on Nolensville Road won't do a thing to compensate for a grand-scale tragedy like that, of course. But a way to put money in the pocket of another immigrant family, at least, and I've always thought of it as a show of emotional support, too. A way to signal, "I'm glad you're here." A way to take a photograph. "Please don't give up." It had never occurred to me that my patronage might be read as patronizing. But I could absolutely see Mr. Edge's point. White people in the South don't have a great history where this kind of thing is concerned.

We were still talking about that history when we finally saw the sign for Tennessee Halal Fried Chicken, parked and west inside. The fried chicken was gone, it turns out; the restaurant is now being operated as part of Sulav International Market. Still halal, it now serves Persian food — six gorgeous dishes depicted in a wordless menu by way of photographs. We ordered at the counter directly from the chef, visited with her long enough to have her laughing out loud at our mangled attempt to pronounce the name of her lentil stew and then sat down to wait for our meal.

And to continue our conversation. "If you are thinking of your dining as a kind of détente, then I think the better way to have an impact on a community, and the better way to build bridges, is by becoming a regular in a place, not by going sequentially to every place," Mr. Edge said. "Get to know the family that owns it, get to know the regulars who populate it. That might truly build a bridge."

And that makes sense to me. So last week I was back for lunch, this time with all three of my sons. As we walked in the door, the chef smiled a welcome, exactly as she had when I was there before. Exactly as before, too, we'd arrived a little late and missed the real lunch crowd, and she had time to chat a bit with us at the counter. I don't know if she recognized me from my earlier visit, but I hope she will when I come back. Because I will definitely be coming back.

MARGARET RENKL writes about food, fauna, politics and culture in the American South.

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SCIENCE

The dangers of do-it-yourself genetics

WASHINGTON

So-called biohackers are acquiring skills that terrorists could find useful

BY EMILY BAUMGAERTNER

As a teenager, Keoni Gandall was already operating a cutting-edge research laboratory in his bedroom in Huntington Beach, Calif.

While his friends were buying video games, he acquired more than a dozen pieces of equipment — a transilluminator, a centrifuge, two thermocyclers — in pursuit of a hobby that once was the province of Ph.D.'s in institutional labs.

"I just wanted to clone DNA using my automated lab robot and feasibly make full genomes at home," he said. Mr. Gandall was far from alone. In the past few years, so-called biohackers across the United States have taken gene editing into their own hands. As the equipment becomes cheaper and the expertise in gene-editing techniques more widely shared, citizen-scientists are attempting to re-engineer DNA in surprising ways.

"To unleash something deadly, that could really happen any day now — today."

Previously, the work has amounted to little more than do-it-yourself misfires. A year ago, a biohacker injected himself at a conference with modified DNA that he hoped would make him more muscular. (It did not.)

This year, at Body Hacking Con in Austin, Tex., a biotech executive injected himself with what he hoped would be a herpes treatment. (Verdict: No.) His company had already livestreamed a man injecting himself with a home-brewed treatment for H.I.V., the virus that causes AIDS. (His viral load increased.)

In a recent interview, Mr. Gandall, now 18 and a research fellow at Stanford, said he wants to ensure open access to gene-editing technology, believing future biotech discoveries may come from the least expected minds.

But he is quick to acknowledge that the do-it-yourself genetics revolution one day may go catastrophically wrong. "Even I would tell you, the level of DNA synthesis regulation, it simply isn't good enough," Mr. Gandall said. "These regulations aren't going to work when everything is decentralized — when everybody has a DNA synthesizer on their smartphone."

The most pressing worry is that someone somewhere will use the spreading technology to create a bio-weapon.

Already a research team at the University of Alberta has recreated from scratch an extinct relative of smallpox, horsepox, by stitching together fragments of mail-order DNA in just six months for about \$100,000 — without a glance from law enforcement officials.

The team purchased overlapping DNA fragments from a commercial company. Once the researchers glued the full genome together and introduced it into cells infected by another type of poxvirus, the cells began to produce infectious particles.

To some experts, the experiment nul-

lified a decades-long debate over whether to destroy the world's two remaining smallpox remnants — at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta and at a research center in Russia — since it proved that scientists who wanted to experiment with the virus could create it themselves.

The study's publication in the journal PLOS One includes an in-depth description of the methods used and — most alarming to Gregory D. Koblenz, the director of the George Mason University — a series of new tips and tricks for bypassing roadblocks.

"Sure, we've known this could be possible," Dr. Koblenz said. "We also knew North Korea could someday build a thermonuclear weapon, but we're still horrified when they actually do it."

Experts urged the journal to cancel publication of the article, one calling it "unwise, unjustified, and dangerous." Even before publication, a report from a World Health Organization meeting noted that the endeavor "did not require exceptional biochemical knowledge or skills, significant funds or significant time."

But the study's lead researcher, David Evans, a virologist at the University of Alberta, said he had alerted several Canadian government authorities to his poxvirus venture and none had raised an objection.

Many experts agree that it would be very difficult for amateur biologists of any stripe to design a killer virus on their own. But as more hackers trade computer code for the genetic kind, and as their skills become increasingly sophisticated, health security experts fear that the potential for abuse may be growing.

"To unleash something deadly, that could really happen any day now — today," said George Church, a researcher at Harvard and a leading synthetic biologist. "The pragmatic people would just engineer a drug-resistant anthrax or highly transmissible influenza. Some recipes are online."

"If they're willing to inject themselves with hormones to make their muscles bigger, you can imagine they'd be willing to test more powerful things," Dr. Church added. "Anyone who does synthetic biology should be under surveillance, and anyone who does it without a license should be suspect."

The authorities in the United States have hesitated to undertake actions that could squelch innovation or impinge on intellectual property.

The laws that cover biotechnology have not been significantly updated in decades, forcing regulators to rely on outdated frameworks to govern new technologies.

The cobbled-together regulatory system, with multiple agencies overseeing various types of research, left gaps that will only widen as the technologies advance.

Academic researchers undergo strict scrutiny when they seek federal funding for "dual-use research of concern," experiments that, in theory, could be used for good or ill. But more than half of American scientific research and development is funded by nongovernmental sources.

In 2013, a quest to create a glowing plant via genetic engineering drew almost half a million dollars through Kickstarter, the crowdfunding website.

"There really isn't a national government per se for those who aren't federally or government funded," said William So, a biological countermeas-



A petri dish culture under inspection at Genspace, a community laboratory where fledgling biohackers learn technical skills.



Law enforcement authorities rely on laboratories like Genspace to note suspicious behavior by any of its students.

ures specialist at the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Instead, Dr. So said, the agency relies on biohackers themselves to sound the alarm about suspicious behavior.

"I do believe the F.B.I. is doing their best with what they have," said Dr. Thomas V. Inglesby, director of the Johns Hopkins Center for Health Security in Baltimore.

"But if you really want to do this, there isn't a whole lot stopping you."

UNDERGROUND EXPERIMENTERS

The F.B.I. has befriended many white-hat biohacking labs, among them Genspace in Sunset Park, Brooklyn. Behind an inconspicuous steel door on a gritty, graffiti-lined street, biohackers

in-training — musicians, engineers, retirees — routinely gather for crash courses in genetic engineering.

Participants in "Biohacker Boot Camp" learn basic technical skills to use in homegrown genetics projects, like concocting algae that glows.

"The double helix is the most iconic image of the 20th century, perhaps rivaled only by the mushroom cloud," the boot camp's leader, Michael Pianagan, said to a recent class.

Genspace's entryway resembles a college dorm room, complete with sagging couch, microwave, mini-fridge.

But the lab itself is palatial. There are two stories of white brick walls, industrial kitchen counters with dry-erase notes, shelves towering with

glassware and reagents. It's a significant upgrade for Genspace. Daniel Grushkin, a founder, used to host bacterial experiments in his living room over pizza and beer.

The group later moved into a rental for creatives — roboticists, organic fashion designers, miniature-cupcake makers — and constructed a makeshift lab using old patio screen doors.

It was Mr. Grushkin who reached out to the F.B.I.

"People might be calling you because we are nonscientists doing science in a busted-up old building," he recalled telling bureau agents. "But we aren't a meth lab, and we aren't bioterrorists."

Mr. Grushkin has become a trail-blazer in biohacking risk management,

In part because he recognizes that letting neophytes manipulate live organisms is "less like a 'hackerspace, more like a pet store."

He has posted community guidelines, forbidden infectious agents in the lab, and accepted a grant of almost \$500,000 to design security practices for some four dozen similar labs across the country.

Most of them report not having heard so much as a greeting from the F.B.I. At many, the consequence for breaking safety guidelines is simply the loss of membership — leaving the perpetrator to experiment in isolation, but still among thousands of enthusiasts huddled online in Facebook groups, email listservs and Reddit pages.

Many find their inspiration in Josiah Zayner, a NASA scientist turned celebrity biohacker who straps a GoPro camera to his forehead and streams experiments on himself from his garage. He's the man who tried to make his muscles bigger.

"This is just normal Scotch packing tape," Mr. Zayner, chief executive of a biohacking start-up called The Odin, told his YouTube audience one summer night, muttering explosives as he stripped the top layer of skin from his forearm. "This is Day 1 of my experiment to genetically engineer myself."

In an interview, Mr. Zayner conceded that among his biohacking followers, an accident — not a premeditated offense — was conceivable.

"I guess I can see why they don't let the entire public have access to Ebola," he said.

"The risk is, if they're working with Ebola and their house burns down, the Ebola could somehow get out."

Even Mr. Zayner is apprehensive of the movement he helped begin; he plans to include live frogs in The Odin's D.I.Y.-Crispr kits to encourage his followers to experiment on animals instead of themselves — or others.

"I have no doubt that someone is going to get hurt," he said. "People are trying to one-up each other, and it's moving faster than any one of us could have ever imagined — it's almost uncontrollable. It's scary."

A BIOLOGICAL ARMS RACE

If nefarious biohackers were to create a biological weapon from scratch — a killer that would bounce from host to host to host, capable of reaching millions of people, unrestrained by time or distance — they would probably begin with some online shopping.

A site called Science Exchange, for example, serves as a Craigslist for DNA, a commercial ecosystem connecting almost anyone with online access and a valid credit card to companies that sell cloned DNA fragments.

Mr. Gandall, the Stanford fellow, often buys such fragments — benign ones. But the workarounds for someone with ill intent, he said, might not be hard to figure out.

His mission at Stanford is to build a lab beyond death," Dr. Victor said. To his fellow biohackers, it's a noble endeavor.

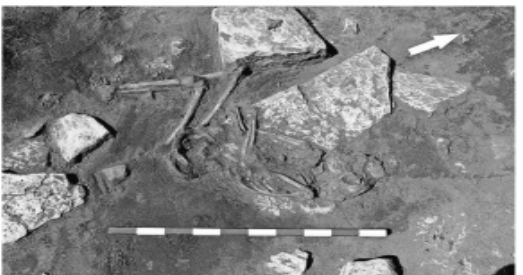
To biosecurity experts, it's tossing ammunition into trigger-happy hands.

"There are really only two things that could wipe 30 million people off the planet: a nuclear weapon, or a biological one," said Lawrence O. Gostin, an adviser on pandemic influenza preparedness to the World Health Organization.

"Somehow, the U.S. government fears and prepares for the former, but not reticently for the latter. It baffles me."



From left: Researchers excavating a Baltic Sea site where a massacre took place; an aerial view of the ringfort site on the Swedish island of Oland; and the remains of the victims slaughtered in their homes in the fifth-century village.



Testament to violence in the post-Roman world

BY NICHOLAS ST. FLEUR

In 2010, archaeologists exploring a fifth-century fortress on a Swedish island found a pair of skeleton feet protruding from a doorway. The team thought it odd that the village had left a body unburied to rot within the stone walls of their community of about 200 people.

When they later dug up the rest of the skeleton, the team discovered signs that the person had been murdered. Beside him they found the brutalized remains of another. And in houses nearby and on the streets they uncovered more bones from people who had been butchered with swords, axes and clubs.

"It dawned on us that this was actually a massacre," said Clara Alfsdotter, a graduate student at Linnaeus Univer-

sity in Sweden and an archaeologist with the Bohuslän Museum. "They were basically going from door to door killing everyone, from young children to older individuals."

Ms. Alfsdotter and her colleagues have since excavated remains of at least 1,500 people who were slaughtered some 26 years ago in the Sandby borg ringfort on the island of Oland in the Baltic Sea. The findings, which were published in the journal *Antiquity*, provide a snapshot into a brutal Iron Age attack and offer insight into the lives of the victims who were murdered in their homes.

During their excavations, Ms. Alfsdotter and her team dug up several beaded-in skulls, a shoulder bone with a stab wound and a hip bone that had been severed from back to front. They also

found the remains of a decapitated teenager and the bones of an infant who had been only a couple of months old.

Most of the skeletons showed that people had been attacked from behind or the side, she said.

So far the team has excavated less than 10 percent of the site and investigated only a fraction of the 53 houses. They think hundreds of skeletons remain to be unearthed. But from their work they have learned about the inhabitants of the ringfort.

The attack happened suddenly, as shown by the half-eaten herring that was discovered in one house. The people kept animals like dogs and sheep, many of which starved after the raid. Some people wore expensive jewelry like earrings, silver pendants and gilded

brooches. The presence of Roman gold coins in the fort suggested that the massacre had happened after the fall of the Western Roman Empire in A.D. 476, which could have created a power struggle on the island, according to the researchers.

"It's a frozen moment," said Helena Victor, an archaeologist at the Kalmar County Museum in Sweden and the project leader. "The bodies are left lying where they were killed. No one has buried them or moved them."

He added, "What we are seeing is the crime scene, but also what their daily lives were like."

In one house they uncovered the body of an older man, perhaps in his 60s, whose pelvis bones were charred. Either before or after he died, his body fell

over a fire pit. But what was most striking about this man, who the team said may have been a chieftain or religious leader, was that someone had shoved a handful of sheep's teeth into his mouth.

"We think they tried to humiliate this person beyond death," Dr. Victor said.

It was customary during this period to bury the dead with coins so they could pay their way into the afterlife. The deliberate placement of sheep teeth, Dr. Victor said, suggested the attackers wanted to thwart any chance the person had of making the passage.

All of the victims found so far have been male, leading the team to wonder what happened to the women. They know women were at the site because of the presence of babies and women's jewelry. The team thinks that they will es-

ther find remains from women in future digs or that the attackers took the women from the site during the raid.

Many questions are unanswered: Who were the attackers? How did they invade the fort? And why did they slaughter the villagers?

The team suspects that the attackers came from a neighboring village on the island and weren't outsiders or pirates because the coastal city's defenses, including an oval stone wall that was 13 feet tall, would have protected them from sieges beyond from the sea. The archaeologists also surmise that the attackers were driven by politics and power, not mainly for the sake of plunder. Left behind were bronze, silver and gold jewelry and many millefiori glass beads and Roman coins.

Sports

Britain provides insight into legal sports betting

LONDON

Even the queen is known to 'fancy a flutter' in a land of same-day wagers

BY TARIQ PANJA

So now that the United States Supreme Court has cleared the way for gambling on sports, what does a world with legalized sports betting look like?

To find an answer to that question, one only has to gaze across the Atlantic Ocean, to Britain and other European countries, where gambling is as much a part of the sports culture as wearing the home team's jersey to the game.

On Monday, the Supreme Court struck down a 1992 federal law that banned commercial sports betting in most states, opening the door to legalizing the estimated \$150 billion in illegal wagers on professional and amateur sports that Americans make every year. The decision seems certain to result in profound changes with sports wagering in the United States. Bettors will no longer be forced into the black market to use offshore wagering operations or illicit bookies. Placing bets will be done on mobile devices, fueled and endorsed by the lawmakers and sports officials who opposed it for so long. A trip to Las Vegas to wager on March Madness or the Super Bowl could soon seem quaint.

In Britain, gambling is, in a word, ubiquitous, and the only limit for bettors is their imagination. Bettors place wagers before the game and during it. They wager on who will score the next goal or how many goals will be scored in the final 10 minutes or in stoppage time.

Odds makers offer a dizzying array of betting permutations. If that is not enough, they even offer gamblers the chance to design their own bet. A yellow card in the second half injury time, followed by a red card and a disallowed goal? They will give you a line on that. "Tweet us. We can price up your bet in 15 minutes," said Charan O'Brien, a spokesman for William Hill, a bookmaking company in London.

He said it is not unusual for there to be 500 different betting lines on a single game. Britain's 66 million inhabitants



wagered nearly \$20 billion for the year ending March 2017, according to a report from the country's gambling commission. The United States, however, has a far more diverse sports market, with five major professional sports leagues, plus college sports.

In Britain, where even Queen Elizabeth is known to "fancy a flutter" or small bet, gambling's relationship with sports is firmly entrenched: Nine of the 20 soccer teams playing in the Premier League have names of gambling companies emblazoned on their jersey fronts — companies based as far away as Macau and the Philippines. Inside the stadium, betting odds crawl across advertising boards. Almost every Premier League soccer team has an official betting partner, which in some cases is a multimillion-dollar relationship that includes betting booths inside the stadium and dedicated websites.

Betting advertisements on television are so prevalent that they frequently outnumber those for beer and pizza

companies on game days. The British actor Ray Winstone is probably better known for his role in promoting in-game betting for bet365 — one of the world's largest online betting companies — than for the tough men and gangsters he has played on screens large and small.

At halftime of major televised games, Winstone, dressed in a suit and open-collared shirt, stares straight into the camera lens and urges punters, or gamblers, in his cockney accent to "have a bang on that," as behind him live odds for the game in question are beamed into homes across the country. Thanks to the availability of high-speed Wi-Fi and scores of smartphone applications dedicated to gambling, sports fans can do that and more.

SkyBet is the title sponsor for the three divisions of English soccer below the Premier League, known as the SkyBet Championship, SkyBet League One and SkyBet League Two.

Wagering is not limited to sports. Even the recent birth of the queen's lat-

est great-grandchild presented an opportunity. As the Duchess of Cambridge labored in the hospital, an aircraft hired by the bookmaker Ladbrokes Coral circled low overhead, towing a banner listing odds on the baby's name.

"It's the most mature market in the world," said Mark Locke, chief executive of Genius Sports, a data provider to betting companies and sports leagues. "Gambling is part of the culture."

The availability and ease of betting in the era of the internet has led to a recent government crackdown following a rise in compulsive gambling. Some of Winstone's bet365 commercials have been taken off the airwaves. An advertising watchdog last month began enforcing measures to restrict commercials "that create an inappropriate sense of urgency, such as those calling on participants to place immediate bets during live events."

During the past decade, the gambling websites and smartphone applications have become ever more sophisticated.



Left, nine of the 20 soccer teams in the Premier League have names of gambling companies on their jerseys, including Crystal Palace, bet, and West Ham United. Above, many facets of a soccer match in England can be on, including who scores first.

Data companies like Genius and the market leader Sportradar have increased in size, allowing bookmakers to offer more bets on more sports.

That relationship came into harsh focus recently after an independent review of integrity in tennis. Among the findings, published last month, was the claim that lower levels of the game were awash with "tsunamis of corruption."

Adam Lewis, a British lawyer, wrote that the relationship between the International Tennis Federation and Sportradar was part of the problem, arguing that by providing betting companies with instant scores and other data from thousands of minor matches around the world, there were more opportunities to cheat.

"Tennis is responsible for more suspicious betting than any other sport," Lewis wrote.

Executives with Sportradar say that their company and others like it also offer monitoring services, allowing them to spot suspicious betting patterns that might suggest a potential fix.

2016 these machines — dubbed "the crack cocaine of gambling" — generated \$2.5 billion.

Last year, England's Football Association announced that it would end all sponsorship deals with betting companies after a scandal involving the player Joey Barton, who plays in the Premier League. The association ended its deal with Ladbrokes Coral a year early after being criticized for suspending Barton for breaching betting guidelines while the association simultaneously profited from Ladbrokes' largess.

Whatever the concerns, gambling's popularity remains undiminished in Britain. It provided the backdrop to perhaps English soccer's biggest ever Cinderella story: Leicester City's unlikely triumph to win the Premier League title in 2016.

The team started the season as a 5000-1 outsider, before embarking on a swashbuckling and barely believable ride that ended with the longest-odds payout in Britain's history. William Hill said the long-shot victory ended up costing the company about \$3 million.

Adam Liptak and Michael S. Schmidt contributed reporting from Washington, and Kevin Draper and Nick Corasaniti from New York.

NON SEQUITUR puzzle with four panels of nonsensical cartoon images.

PEANUTS comic strip featuring Snoopy and Woodstock.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990 comic strip featuring the Doonesbury cast.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990 comic strip featuring the Doonesbury cast.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990 comic strip featuring the Doonesbury cast.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990 comic strip featuring the Doonesbury cast.

SUDOKU puzzle No. 1605 with a 9x9 grid.

GARFIELD comic strip featuring Garfield and Odie.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990 comic strip featuring the Doonesbury cast.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990 comic strip featuring the Doonesbury cast.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990 comic strip featuring the Doonesbury cast.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990 comic strip featuring the Doonesbury cast.

SUDOKU puzzle No. 1606 with a 9x9 grid.

WIZARD OF ID comic strip featuring a wizard and a horse.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990 comic strip featuring the Doonesbury cast.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990 comic strip featuring the Doonesbury cast.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990 comic strip featuring the Doonesbury cast.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990 comic strip featuring the Doonesbury cast.

JUMBLE puzzle with a 10x10 grid and word list.

KENKEN puzzle with a 4x4 grid and arithmetic rules.

CROSSWORD puzzle edited by Will Shortz with clues.

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Culture

It was a lot about the pedigree

The brand set the tone for the record auction of the Rockefeller collection

BY SCOTT REYBURN

The prices set a new auction high, yet the taste was from a bygone era.

Just 44 pictures from the collection of David and Peggy Rockefeller raised \$646.1 million with fees in an auction at Christie's on Tuesday last week. It took only two hours to become the biggest private-owner auction in history, not accounting for inflation. Friday morning, with the live sales completed (and one final online auction to come), the total had reached \$828 million.

The result dwarfs the \$443 million raised by Christie's in 2009 for a three-day auction of the collection of Yves Saint Laurent and Pierre Bergé.

The numbers declare the Rockefeller sale to have been the single-owner auction of the decade. But unlike the Saint Laurent sale, or the \$296.5 million dispersal by Christie's of the collection of Victor and Sally Ganz in 1997 — which also set a single-owner high at the time — this event contained few of the 20th-century masterpieces coveted by today's billionaire art buyers.

"They went round the galleries and bought nice paintings and hung them on the wall over homely pieces of English furniture," John Whitehead, a London dealer who specializes in 18th-century and early 19th-century French porcelain, said of the Rockefellers' approach to collecting.

"They had a penchant, he said, for Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings, antique European furniture and ceramics. "They weren't bought as investments," Mr. Whitehead added. "It was just stuff to live with."

During the early 1950s, the couple was spending thousands on Sèvres and Spode dinner services at a time when a Jackson Pollock drip painting could be bought for \$800. Though a long-serving chairman of the Museum of Modern Art, Mr. Rockefeller said in a 2003 interview with *The Art Newspaper* that he was often "startled and even angered and repulsed" by the provocations of contemporary artists, preferring the "comforting confines" of his own home, with Post-Impressionist art "glowing peacefully" around him.

As a result, the Rockefeller collection represented a distinctly old-fashioned taste in today's contemporary dominated market. So how did it become the biggest single-owner auction in history? Part of the answer is that so-called trophy art has become a lot more expensive.

It was widely noted last week that Xin Li Cohen, deputy chairman of Christie's Asia, took the winning telephone bids, of \$84.7 million for Monet's "Nymphéas en fleur" (Water Lilies in Bloom) and \$80.8 million for Matisse's 1923 "Odalisk couchée aux magnolias," a nude on a striped chaise.

"The collection overall is very dowdy, very end of an era," said Wendy Cromwell, an art adviser based in New York. She added, however, that many of the works on offer opening night appealed to collectors. "But unlike the Saint Laurent and the Matisse both set auction highs for the artists. But bidding did not take off as it did last year when \$110.5 million was paid for a 1982 painting by Jean-Michel Basquiat.



The Rockefellers' 1905 Picasso, "Fillette à la Corbeille Fleurie" (Young Girl With Basket of Flowers), had been expected to eclipse that result, but the subject of a naked teenage waif proved problematic, and bidding was restrained. The painting sold to a telephone bidder for \$115 million, just above the low estimate.

That a nine-figure price could be regarded as a relative disappointment indicates just how far values have climbed since the Saint Laurent sale in 2009. Last year, the global population of individuals with net assets of at least \$50 million reached 129,730, up 10 percent from a year earlier, according to the 2018 Wealth Report, published in March by

"The collection overall is very dowdy, very end of an era."

the British real estate firm Knight Frank using data compiled by Wealth X. The report estimated the world's ultra-wealthy had a total worth of \$26.4 trillion.

"Economic inequality has lots of downsides, but it has opened up the art market at the high end," said Evan Beard, a national art services executive at U.S. Trust, a wealth-management unit of Bank of America. For Mr. Beard, the influx into the market of new, finance-minded collectors from across the world

has been unprecedented.

"There's so much liquidity squashing around, it's driving up prices," he said.

A telling case in point was Lot 2 in the Rockefeller auction. A fine 1914 Cubist still life of a violin on a table by the Spanish painter Juan Gris caused little excitement when it captured a telephone bid of \$31.8 million. In 2009, a similar, slightly smaller Gris still life of a violin, from 1913, sold at the Saint Laurent auction for 3.9 million euros, or \$4.8 million at current exchange rates.

But art inflation is one thing, and the power of a name is another. It will never be possible to quantify how much Rockefeller branding contributed to the success of the sale, but it was widely ac-

knowledged as a significant factor. "Rockefeller is one of the few names that has become a metonym," Mr. Beard said. "Like Medici or Rothschild, Rockefeller is a metonym for wealth. Every one of these works has a Rockefeller premium."

The auction slogan, "Live like a Rockefeller," cleverly prioritizing expertise over possession, proved most effective during the day sale of porcelain services. Seemingly hopelessly out of step with the informal eating habits of today, these opulent relics of a bygone lifestyle achieved a succession of prices that were multiples of their estimates, lifted by global internet bidding.

The much-admired Sèvres "Marly

Rouge" service, made for Napoleon, predictably fetched a spectacular, one-off price, reaching \$1.8 million against a low estimate of \$150,000. But it was the more unheralded ceramic lots, such as a 39-piece Coalport botanical dessert service from the early 19th century, that revealed the lure of the Rockefeller brand. Estimated at \$7,000, it sold to a Chinese online bidder for \$56,250, against competition from an online bidder from Oregon.

"It was not a leading-edge collection, but it was a great name," said Ms. Cromwell, the New York art adviser.

But the numbers would have been even bigger had the Rockefellers bought Pollock rather than porcelain.

Other decisions also seem aimed at providing a coherent narrative experience at all costs. Mr. Nicholls deals with the books' reliance on interior monologue and description by putting snippets of Mr. St. Aubyn's prose into the characters' mouths as conventional dialogue, sometimes to salvage an acerbic bon mot but often just to get in background information.

And some choices feel as if they were made with concern for sensibilities that Mr. St. Aubyn did not have to consider. Female characters behave with more assertiveness and conviction onscreen than they did in the books. Most noticeably, the precipitating trauma in Patrick's life, perpetrated by his father, is presented quite differently. In the novels it takes you by surprise, happening in an almost offhand (but utterly frank) way that renders it all the more horrible. In the series, triggering is avoided — the

brutality is fully, morbidly foreshadowed (and takes place literally behind a closed door).

Mr. Berger, "Deutschland '83" and his cinematographer, James Friend, package all this in a glossy, fluid manner that makes the bare bones of Patrick's story entertaining, if not terribly compelling. "Patrick Melrose" might be better viewing if you haven't read the books and aren't familiar with what you're missing.

And of course there's the consolation of watching Mr. Cumberbatch exercise his peerless technique. Patrick Melrose isn't much of a challenge for an actor who's brilliantly portrayed real eccentrics like Julian Assange and Alan Turing, but it's fun to watch Mr. Cumberbatch riffing through the voices in Patrick's head during his cocaine binges in "Bad News" (more fun than it was to read).

A few casting decisions don't quite work (Jennifer Jason Leigh as Patrick's mother, Indira Varma as an American friend of his parents), but Mr. Cumberbatch gets good support from Hugo Weaving as Patrick's monstrous father, Pip Torrens as a somewhat less ghastly family friend and Jessica Raine as an old flame.

Seen through their characters' eyes, "Patrick Melrose" commits a basic sin: It errs on the side of obviousness. It's not bad, just a little vulgar, don't you see?

Cumberbatch brings the class to this outing

TELEVISION REVIEW

In the mini-series format, Edward St. Aubyn's fine novels feel constricted

BY MIKE HALE

Edward St. Aubyn's five Patrick Melrose novels — published beginning in 1992 and collected, to lavish praise, in 2012 — owe their popularity to the way they cross genres to satisfy two distinct cravings.

Mr. St. Aubyn does a reasonably good imitation of the style of British social satire, withering and mock-grotesque, for those who pine for the early works of Evelyn Waugh and Kingsley Amis. (As they should.)

But he puts it in service of a more contemporary form, the recovery story, tracing Patrick's life from horrific abuse as a child to unbridled addiction (the second novel, "Bad News," is a straight-up junkie phantasmagoria) to tenuously sober, emotionally fragile adulthood. Neither side of the equation would necessarily be notable on its own, but the combination clicks.

"Patrick Melrose," a Showtime mini-series that began on Saturday, starring Benedict Cumberbatch, isn't really

able to do either side justice. Part of that is compression: Five hours may seem plenty of time to tell one life's story, but it means that each novel is squished into just an hour of screen time.

Based on the three episodes Showtime made available, that wasn't enough to approximate the texture of Mr. St. Aubyn's work — the way pathos, for better or worse, peeks through the cracks of his comic-splenic detachment. There's no way of knowing what the writer, David Nicholls, and director, Edward Berger, would have done with more space. But as it is, it feels as if they're scrambling just to work in all their favorite bits from the books.

What they haven't found time for, or didn't know how to achieve, is a cinematic equivalent for Mr. St. Aubyn's framing consciousness, the way Patrick and the other characters — the family members and friends who inhabit his desiccated upper-class milieu — pick over their own lives, fighting a battle of wits with no winners.

Instead they seem to have focused on getting across the story, whose shattering elements don't prevent it from feeling too familiar, a tale whose various parts we've heard before. Mr. Nicholls flips the order of the first two books, beginning with "Bad News," in which the 22-year-old Patrick flies to New York to retrieve his father's ashes



Benedict Cumberbatch as the charming but troubled title character in "Patrick Melrose," based on five novels by Edward St. Aubyn.

Gisele, Lucia and Romantic madness

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

These heroines from ballet and opera pointed toward different artistic futures

BY ALASTAIR MACAULAY

When the mind loses its moorings, it unsettles others. Even while the do-dgered person is cast adrift from aspects of reality, he or she can see things others don't; and is often obsessed by those alternative realities. Madness is immediately dramatic; and its drama can take many forms.

This spring, madness has been widespread on New York's stages. "O let me not be mad, not mad, sweet heavens!" says Shakespeare's King Lear (played in April by Antony Sher with the Royal Shakespeare Company at the Brooklyn Academy of Music), before he then goes through not one mad scene but four. Madness brings him horror, obsession, compassion and much more; yet it does not cause his death.

There is a different path to characters who die mad and unenlightened. "Gisele" is opening American Ballet Theater's eight-week season at the Metropolitan Opera House this week. The first act ends with the heroine's madness and death, one of the most celebrated acting scenes in ballet. Also at the Met Opera House was Donizetti's "Lucia di Lammermoor" (ended on May 10), with the most famous of opera's many mad scenes.

In Romantic drama, it's mainly women who lose their wits, and the cause is very often a trauma in love. Shakespeare was one of the ancestors of the Romantic mad scene, which chiefly developed in French ballet and Italian opera; the madness of Ophelia in "Hamlet" had made a powerful impression in continental Europe, especially in Harriet Smithson's hugely influential performance in Paris in 1827. But another factor was the 18th-century Enlightenment, which cast new attention on the cult of sensibility, on emotion so intense that, in life as well as onstage, it caused illness and death. What's worth noting is how madness takes opera and ballet in opposite directions.

Lucia (opera) and Gisele (dance), like many heroines before them, are suddenly catapulted out of ordinary consciousness by heartbreak. Lucia, a noblewoman, finds too late that she has been tricked into marrying Arturo; Edgardo, her only love — not pledged to another as she thought — has cursed her for treachery. On her bridal night, she stabs Arturo to death off-stage, and now she enters with his blood on her white robe. Yet her wandering thoughts are mainly happy: Although Edgardo isn't present, she confides in him, announcing she's escaped his enemies to be reunited with him.

Gisele, a peasant girl, has fallen in love with Albrecht, whom she believes also to be a peasant. They share the same dream of marriage when he makes a grand oath of love to her (the gesture of a nobleman), she instead shows him how it's done in her village: "He loves me, he loves me not," played by the soprano Natalia Osipova. But he cheats with the petal test; and soon we find that he's been cheating all along — that he is a nobleman and engaged to Bathilde, a woman of his own class. (Bathilde, another victim of his deceptions, has befriended Gisele earlier in the act.)

In shock, Gisele runs across the stage to her mother, as if to refuge; but



she flings herself on the floor, to hide her head from the facts she cannot bear to face. When she lifts herself from the floor, it's evident her mind has switched elsewhere — and immediately we see that she, like Lucia, is back in the moment when she was happiest in love. The stage convention is that, for this scene, her hair has suddenly fallen loose over her shoulders: like her wits, it's unbound.

In what follows — a fragmented stream of consciousness — Gisele, like Lucia, relives moments we've already watched her share with her lover.

Again, she tries the "He loves me, he loves me not" petal test (this time the flower is imaginary). And, although Albrecht and Bathilde are present, she takes the arm of an imaginary Albrecht and does some simple jumping steps with "him" — as they did earlier in the act.

What makes the pathos of these scenes painfully entrancing is how they're conducted in public. Nakedly, these heroines now re-enact private romance before people who have known them their whole lives.

In opera, madness releases the voice

and gives it wings. Lucia's madness leads her to imagine the wedding with Edgardo she never had. It also takes her singing into wordlessness and into the stratosphere. In a famous coloratura cadenza, she reaches Nirvana. Then, though her voice still cascades brilliantly, her mind turns to despair and pathos: Reliving the moment when Edgardo renounces and curses her, she at once foresees her own death.

In "Gisele," by contrast, the mad scene has almost no dance. Unlike any of the ballet's other great incidents, it's



Top, Lucia's bridal night; Olga Petrovskaya-Mariotti in the Metropolitan Opera's just-ended production of "Lucia di Lammermoor." Above, Antony Sher as King Lear at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in April. Left, Natalia Osipova in "Gisele" at American Ballet Theater. Like many heroines before her, she is catapulted into madness by heartbreak.

an exercise in silent acting. When Gisele relives memories of love, the few dance steps she tries are earth-bound. Nothing here takes wing; madness never takes her onto point or to open up into the air.

As in "Lucia," Gisele responds to sudden flourishes from the flute (or glass harmonica), as if hearing calls from the beyond. In "Lucia," that prompts exalted vocalism from the heroine, whereas Gisele's heart-catching rushes across the stage in pursuit of something unseen — but what? It's gone before we can tell — don't lead her into dance.

This is the legacy of an 18th-century tradition in which ballet was a vehicle for high-voltage acting, with scenes such as this one mattering more than

dances. But it was the second act of "Gisele" that pointed the way to the future — to a story that hangs all upon dancing. The dead Gisele rises as a spirit from the grave, as one of a ghostly sorority who express themselves in dance alone.

Although many individual Giselles have made powerful impressions in the mad scene, you can see why this anti-dance form of madness proved a dead end for ballet. In opera, by contrast, madness revealed one of the art's great potentials. (The soprano Maria Callas, who had already unstopped the dramatic potential of Lucia, whose madness was often rendered prettily anodyne, made an entire LP called "Mad Scenes" in 1958.) Madness becomes a climax in operas by Boito, Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Stravinsky, Britten and others.

Although I have avoided the word "lunatic" here, I needn't have. Its original meaning is moonstruck; and it connects to sleepwalking — to those whom the moon sends into a changed state of mind. Lady Macbeth and the first Mrs. Rochester in "Jane Eyre" come to mind, as does the heroine of Bellini's "La Sonnambula."

Dancegoers here will supply another example: the title character of George Balanchine's "La Sonnambula," a ballet first presented with the name "Night Shadow" (1946). Dressed (as Lucia conventionally is) in a long-sleeved white gown and (like Lady Macbeth) carrying a night light in one hand, she has often been compared to Mrs. Rochester; the madwoman in the attic.

She rushes on point in one horizontal path after another, as if boxed into a confined space. Her eyes are open, and yet she does not even see the Poet's hand when he passes it before her eyes. Despite her outer calm and strange purposefulness, she becomes the embodiment of all this ballet's pain.

The shame of the historical Asperger

BOOK REVIEW

Asperger's Children: The Origins of Autism in Nazi Vienna
By Edith Sheffer. Illustrated. \$17 pp. W.W. Norton & Company. \$27.95.

BY JENNIFER SZALAI

Edith Sheffer has written a book that defies easy categorization — an appropriate, if perhaps inadvertent, response to her fascinating and terrible subject matter. In "Asperger's Children: The Origins of Autism in Nazi Vienna," she shows how the Third Reich's obsession with categories and labels was inextricable from its murderousness; what at first seems to be a book about Dr. Hans Asperger and the children he treated ends up tracing the sprawling documentary record of a monstrous machine.

Long ago that the autism community considered Asperger a hero, a Nazi-era pediatrician who championed neurodiversity and the special talents of his "high-functioning" patients in order to save their lives. In 2010, Steve Silberman's best-selling "NeuroTribes" depicted Asperger as a courageous figure who emphasized his patients' potential usefulness to the Nazi war effort. According to that narrative, Asperger's diagnosis saved children from the regime's eugenicists, amounting to a kind of

Schindler's list.

Barely six months after the publication of Silberman's book, the Asperger story took a hairpin turn: John Donovan and Caren Zucker published "In a Different Key," citing work by the Austrian scholar Herwig Czech, who found documents in Vienna's municipal archives that "left the hero narrative in tatters." (Silberman, who has said that Czech kept promising to share his research with him but didn't, has since updated the paperback edition of "NeuroTribes" to account for the new information.)

Donovan and Zucker devoted only a brief section to the Asperger controversy. Their book, like Silberman's, recounts the long story of autism, whereas Sheffer's revolves around Asperger and the Austrian medical system of the 1930s and 1940s. Despite its subtitle, "Asperger's Children" is less about "the origins of autism" than it is a historical case study of complicity in the Third Reich.

Sheffer's stake is personal as well as professional. A historian of Germany and Central Europe, she's also the mother of an autistic son. Her previous book, "Burned Bridge," examined how Cold War divisions in a German town were not so much imposed on ordinary people as they were actively — and sometimes enthusiastically — propagated by them. "Asperger's Children" similarly explores how people deal with their political environment

through their daily routines.

"Caught in the swirl of life," Sheffer writes, "one might conform, resist and even commit harm all in the same afternoon."

That sentence, which comes toward the end of Sheffer's book, makes it sound as if the Hans Asperger she presents is a complex figure, full of ambiguities and contradictions, hard to characterize with any certainty and impossible to pin down. For most of "Asperger's Children," however, she seems interested less in a complex biographical portrait than in an indictment, as she methodically marshals her evidence and lays out her argument.

She acknowledges Asperger's "well-known support for children with disabilities" and the "two-sided nature of his actions," but the overall sense you get is that Sheffer judges Asperger's ambivalence woefully insufficient. If anything, his mixed record suggests to her that he knew better, rendering him ultimately responsible for the ignominious decisions he made.

His life, in her telling, begins with his career at the Children's Hospital in Vienna. Just 25, he was hired in 1931 by Franz Hamburger, an anti-Semite with an "anti-scientific attitude" who had been purging liberals and Jews from the faculty ranks. In addition to Asperger, Hamburger hired Erwin Jekelius, who would later become the director of the Steinhof Psychiatric Institute and



Edith Sheffer.

then Spiegelgrund, Steinhof's youth ward, where children deemed physically or mentally "irredeemable" would be sent to their deaths.

"Certainly, many of Hamburger's protégés went on to be Nazi enthusiasts and leaders in the euthanasia program," Sheffer writes. That Asperger was neither of these allowed him to rehabilitate his reputation after the war; a devout Catholic, he never joined the Nazi Party, and he stayed at his perch in the Children's Hospital, away from what Sheffer calls "killing centers" like Spiegelgrund.

But the distance, Sheffer argues, was merely geographic. "Asperger participated in Vienna's child-killing system on multiple levels," she writes. After Hitler annexed Austria in March 1938, Asperger helped direct the Motorized Mother Advising program, which purported to dispense advice and care to mothers and children but also served to extend the surveillance powers of the Nazi regime. Staffers "noted children they considered to be disabled or genetically tainted," Sheffer writes, recording cases of "hereditary feeble-mindedness."

When the Reich decreed the child euthanasia program in 1939, doctors like Asperger assumed extraordinary powers to decide the fates of the children under their care. Certain statements of his read like pleas for tolerance and mercy from an intolerant and merciless regime: "Autistic people have their place in the organism of the social community," Asperger wrote in 1944, saying it was incumbent on doctors "to speak out for these children with the whole force of our personality."

But there were children he nevertheless decided couldn't, and shouldn't, be helped. He observed "inferiority of almost all organs" in a child who was eventually sent to Spiegelgrund; examining another child, a 2-year-old girl, he concluded that "permanent placement at Spiegelgrund is absolutely necessary." The girl died two

months later.

As Sheffer makes clear, Asperger would have known that such decisions were probable death sentences. At least 780 children died at Spiegelgrund during the Third Reich, most of them from pneumonia, typically brought on by the barbiturates that would be mixed with sugar or cocoa and fed to the children with the express purpose of killing them. Sheffer says that Asperger was involved in the transfer of at least 44 children from his clinic to Spiegelgrund. Those are just the documented cases she found; the actual total is most likely higher.

Sheffer has built an impressive case, though certain questions remain. Did Asperger's pleas on behalf of at least the children with the express purpose of killing them? Or by emphasizing the potential for "social integration" into the Volk, was he consigning those who didn't fit into that privileged category to their deaths? Under the brutal boundaries drawn by the Nazi regime, both could be true. Sheffer seems to go back and forth herself, condemning Asperger in the severest terms on one page and slipping in a few caveats about his "permanent placement" on another.

"It can be misleading to classify people too neatly," Sheffer writes, trying to explain where historians draw the lines of culpability. It's a fitting conclusion to a book that raises unsettling questions about who someone was, and what he did.

TRAVEL

First came the New Agers, then the syrahs

New class of vineyards adds to the attractions of Arizona's high desert

BY ELAINE GLUSAC

The road to Page Springs Cellars near Sedona in central Arizona dips and rolls over the highland desert terrain, a shrub-dotted landscape terminating amid more unexpected flora: grapevines. On a recent afternoon in its busy riverside tasting room, I found the winery's owner, Eric Glomski, popping the cork on a bottle of malvasia bianca with surprising richness.

"People's expectations are so low, we always surpass them," said Mr. Glomski, a local winemaking pioneer, who established Page Springs Cellars in 2004.

Sedona, gateway to Arizona's red rock country, 90 minutes' drive north of Phoenix, attracts hikers eager to scale its striated buttes and New Age pilgrims seeking the fabled vortexes — or energy centers — said to be contained in the rocks. Additionally, over the past decade, the high desert has attracted a more cultured crowd: wine lovers. Today, 18 wineries operate in an area known as the Verde Valley where the vines are stressed by rocky soils and altitudes above 3,200 feet moderate temperatures to produce mineral-accented, juicy fruit.

Producers in the region have applied to become an American Viticulture Area, which would recognize its distinct growing conditions. A map of the Verde Valley Wine Trail shows them clustered in the close-set towns of Jerome, Clarkdale, Cottonwood and Cornville.

Though Spanish missionaries grew grapevines in Arizona in the 16th-century colonial era, the state's contemporary production is considerably younger.

"Around 1999, I started looking at the terrain in Jerome and the surrounding foothills and realized it looked a lot like places in Spain and Italy," said Maynard James Keenan, the lead singer for the rock band Tool, who released his first Caduceus wines, made in Jerome, in 2004. He joined with Mr. Glomski in 2007 in founding Arizona Stronghold Vineyards, now the largest winery in the state. (Mr. Keenan is no longer a partner.)



Above, a vineyard near the boutique D.A. Ranch in Cornville, Ariz. Below, a charcuterie board at Page Springs Cellars near Sedona.

Skeptics question how a state like Arizona, more associated with saguaros than Sangiovese, can produce wine, but vintners here say rain and frost are their greatest foes.

"In Arizona, you've got to go up to find vineyards," said Corey Turnbull, the winemaker at Burning Tree Cellars, located in a former auto dealership in Cottonwood. "People think it's cactus and tumbleweed, but Arizona is very diverse, with pine forests and snow-capped mountains. You'll find vineyards between 3,200 to 5,200 feet."

Winemakers in Arizona aim to nurture a comprehensive industry, starting with training. Established in 2009, the Southwest Wine Center, a division of Yavapai College in Clarkdale, teaches winemaking and runs a tasting room. In

2014 the operation moved into a repurposed racquetball court beside 13 acres of vineyards where students experiment with different varietals, many of them Spanish or Italian.

"Our climate is comparable to the Mediterranean, where it's warm and dry, except that we use elevation in place of the ocean to get 30-degree temperature swings," said Michael Pierce, the director of oenology and viticulture programs and an instructor at the school.

Some graduates move on to Four Eight Wineworks, a Clarkdale winemaking cooperative established by Mr. Keenan in 2014 to allow fledgling vintners to share tools such as stemmers and wine presses.

The first winery to "graduate" from



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAITLIN O'HARA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

the co-op, Chateau Tumbleweed in Clarkdale, obtains its fruit from Willcox in southern Arizona, the largest grape-growing region in the state and, as of 2016, recognized as an American Viticultural Area.

"There was a huge resurgence in the early 2000s in this industry," said Joe Bechard, the winemaker among four partners in Chateau Tumbleweed as he poured samples of his 2015 albariño under a disco ball in the tasting room. Compared to just over 100 wineries in Arizona now, he said, "There were 10 in 2005 when I started. It's gone from a joke to people seeing it as serious and competitive."

"In Arizona, you've got to go up to find vineyards."

Like Mr. Bechard, many area vintners pour wine in their tasting rooms, creating a personable tasting trail set against a grand backdrop of sandstone cliffs and the distant Mogollon Rim, the edge of Colorado Plateau, which moderates much of the weather here.

Among the most scenic, the boutique D.A. Ranch in Cornville produces estate-grown wines on seven of its 250 acres and offers tastings of its plush syrahs at a log lodge by appointment. It is one of the few area wineries to exclusively grow fruit locally.

Most local wineries followed Sedona's tourist crowds here. Cottonwood, southwest of Sedona, has flourished in the wine boom as tasting rooms and restaurants have revived the once struggling Main Street.

"Cottonwood was a dead town, and now we're a gourmet destination for Phoenix," said Sam Pillsbury, a New Zealand-raised filmmaker and owner of the Pillsbury Wine Company, which operates a tasting room in Cottonwood, though its winery is in Willcox.

In November 2016, Mr. Keenan opened Merkin Vineyards Tasting Room & Osteria in Cottonwood, serving charcuterie and house-made pasta along with his line of Merkin wines. He eventually plans to plant vines nearby.

"We think people are coming around to low-alcohol, elegant-with-dinner wines," said Mr. Keenan. Despite their youth, Arizona wines, he added, "are more Old World than you would expect."

An insider's view of Paris

BY SHIVANI VORA

Come to Paris and experience it like a local, not like a tourist: That's what two Paris residents and close friends, Jessie Kanelos Weiner and Sarah Moroz, both 33, hope that all visitors to the city can do. Their new book "Paris in Stride" aims to help tourists get this insider's perspective. It is divided into seven walking tours that include popular attractions but also focus on lesser-known neighborhoods, along with under-the-radar tourist sites, restaurants and shops. Ms. Moroz did the writing while Ms. Kanelos Weiner did the illustrations.

Both moved to Paris soon after graduating from college: Ms. Kanelos Weiner worked as an au pair in the city and was drawn to the rich culture, history and fashion scene. "I decided to make it home," she said. Ms. Moroz, who is half French, came to Paris with the intention of spending a year exploring the city before returning to New York, but, too, chose to settle there.

The two met at a magazine launch party in Paris two years ago and became fast friends.

Below are excerpts from a recent conversation with them.

How did you conceive the idea for the book?

MS. KANELOS WEINER: I had already published a book with Rizzoli called "Edible Paradise," and my publisher there was

interested in a book on Paris, so I asked Sarah if she would be interested in collaborating with me.

MS. MOROZ: When Jessie approached me, I immediately thought that I wanted to share our view of Paris with others that we get from living here but most visitors don't have. People tend to visit the sites that they've heard about, but the city has so much more to offer.

MS. KANELOS WEINER: People come here and want to go to the best pastry shop or best brasserie, but there is not one best. Every neighborhood has something beautiful to offer, and tourists sometimes miss that.

Your book is divided into walks. What makes Paris a great walking city?

MS. MOROZ: A lot of great sites are within a short walk from each other. Also, the city is pedestrian-friendly, and everything is accessible by foot — locals tend to do a lot of walking.

Do you each have a favorite neighborhood in Paris?

MS. KANELOS WEINER: I love Palais-Royal, which is near the Louvre. There's an area right behind the museum which has covered walkways and arcades with stores. This is where Parisians walk their dogs and go on strolls. It's quiet and untouched by time.

MS. MOROZ: I am partial to the neighborhood I live in, Belleville, because it's so diverse. It has a little Chinatown here, an emerging gallery scene and two big

parks. It's not touristy and really vibrant. Yes, it's dirty and there aren't that many historical monuments, but it is a version of Paris that thrives.

Is there a must-see historical site in Paris in your opinions that tourists tend to miss?

MS. KANELOS WEINER: The opera house Palais Garnier. It's gorgeous and Paris opulence at its best. Marc Chagall painted the ceiling.

MS. MOROZ: The Museum of Hunting and Nature. It's in a building from the 17th century and a cabinet of curiosities of sorts. It has a great permanent collection and also temporary exhibitions from contemporary artists.

People think of Paris as a pricey destination. Is this true?

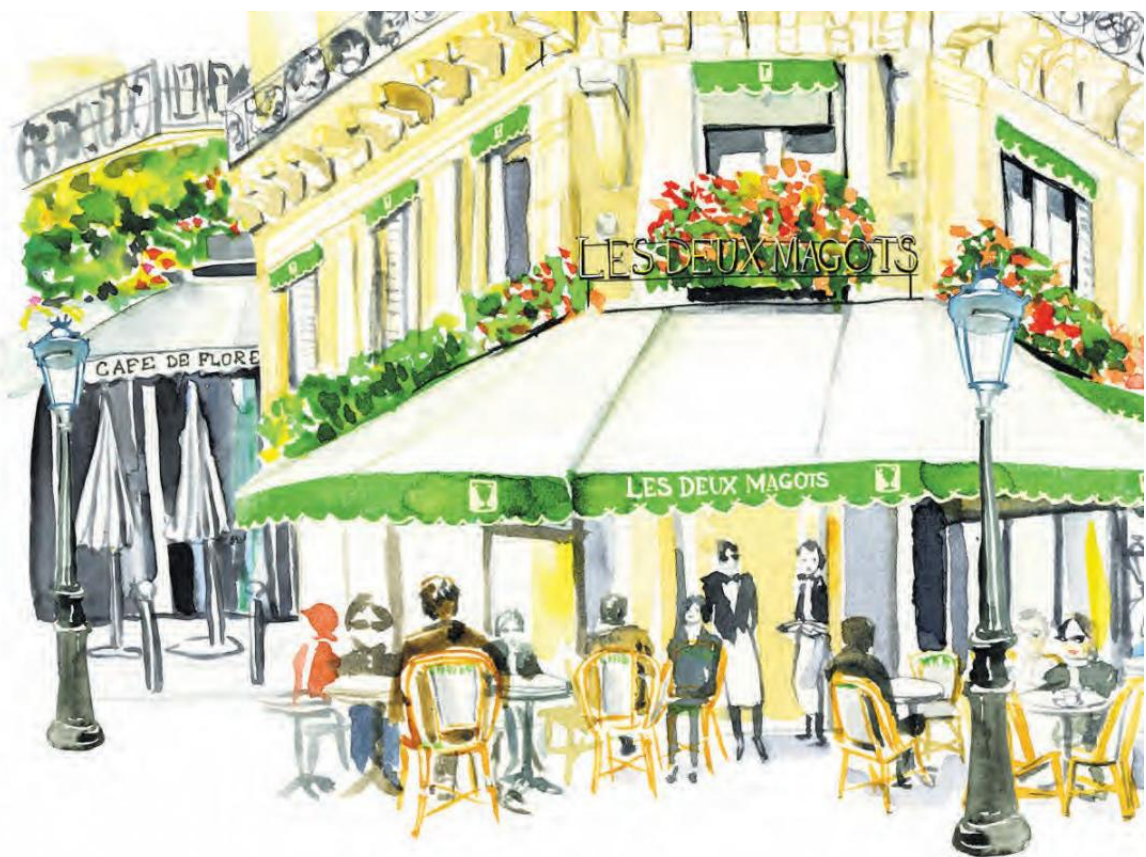
MS. KANELOS WEINER: Like any major city, it is expensive, but not everything has to be. You can get a great croissant for one euro, for example. When my friends come to town, one of my favorite and inexpensive things to do is to take them walking along the Seine. Along the way, we buy a baguette, pick up some cheese and chips, a couple of pastries and a bottle of wine and find a spot to have a delicious picnic.

MS. MOROZ: You can spend a lot of money here on mediocre hotels and restaurants, but you can also find fantastic food and wine at great prices. Of course, walking is free and the best way to appreciate Paris's beauty.



HAPPY HEARTS

HAPPY DIAMONDS
Chopard



JESSIE KANELOS WEINER

An illustration of the Saint-Germain-des-Près neighborhood in Paris.