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# The New York Times

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## As Trump retreats, the West reels

Maxim Trudolyubov

OPINION

When future generations look back to the first weeks of June 2018, the summit meeting in Singapore between President Trump and North Korea's president, Kim Jong-un, may well be remembered not so much for its impact on the threat of nuclear war in Korea, but for the dissolution of the West as a unified negotiating team driven by Western values. Along with that came America's emergence as a go-it-alone superpower, with those values set aside in deference to Russia and China.

Mr. Trump has now secured a second summit meeting, this time with Russia's president, Vladimir Putin. Scheduled for July 16, after a NATO conference, it is bound to irritate Mr. Trump's Western allies and even some of his own advisers. Its site, Helsinki, Finland, is about 240 miles from Mr. Putin's native St.

**The die has been cast for a go-it-alone American foreign policy with deference to Russia and China.**

Petersburg. The agenda is unclear, but the course of the Singapore meeting may offer some idea of its path.

Neither China nor Russia was party to the Singapore talks, but both were there in spirit. Mr. Trump seems to have followed a blueprint for a resolution to the Korean conflict that China and Russia proposed a year before.

"The idea is to ensure a double freeze," Russia's foreign minister, Sergey Lavrov, said in an interview with NBC in Moscow on July 21, 2017. "North Korea suspends all their launches and tests, and in response, the U.S. and South Korea reduce the scale of their war maneuvers in the region."

Indeed, the broad design of his agreement with Mr. Kim does match China's and Russia's double freeze. Mr. Kim had been preparing to accept it as early as April, when he suspended nuclear and long-range missile tests. In Singapore, Mr. Trump completed the bargain by offering — apparently to South Korea's surprise — to suspend the annual American-South Korean war games, calling them "expensive" and "provocative."

But all the meeting really accomplished was to open the prospect of new and probably lengthy negotiations for a final peace on the peninsula. Achieving that will depend on how the interests of five countries — North Korea, South Korea, China, Russia and the United States — can all be served.

The history underlying this quest is worth pondering. North Korea and South Korea were TRUDOLYUBOV, PAGE 8

## Talking at last about her writing

PROFILE

**Anne Tyler isn't a recluse. She just doesn't like doing interviews. So, why now?**

BY CHARLES MCGRATH

The novelist Anne Tyler, whose 22nd novel, "Clock Dance," comes out on Tuesday, has been around for so long, reliably turning out books of such consistently high quality, that it's easy to take her for granted. Oddballs, misfits, sad sacks, melancholy, messed-up families — by now we know, or think we know, exactly what we're going to get.

Nor has Tyler made much of an effort to publicize herself. She doesn't do book tours, almost never gives interviews. She doesn't need to. She has a Pulitzer Prize, a National Book Critics Circle Award and legions of satisfied fans, among them writers like Jodi Picoult, Emma Donoghue, Nick Hornby. John



Noor said she was raped for days by Myanmar soldiers. Shamed by other Rohingya after she became pregnant, she planned to hand over her baby to human traffickers.

## Raped, and now shunned

KUTUPALONG, BANGLADESH

**Wave of Rohingya births corresponds with violence inflicted in Myanmar**

BY HANNAH BEECH

In the refugee camp, Noor never got enough to eat, so she mistook the fluttering feeling in her abdomen for hunger. But when it became the more insistent push of a fetus, the teenager could not ignore the sensation any longer.

Myanmar soldiers, in their telltale green uniforms, had raped Noor for days last year, she said — first in her village home, then in the forest. She then fled along with some 700,000 other Rohingya to Bangladesh, where she now lives in the world's largest refugee settlement.

She carried with her a growing reminder of the Myanmar military's brutal campaign to obliterate an unwanted minority through massacre, rape and mass burnings of villages. The baby — conceived during an explosion of violence against the Rohingya that United Nations officials have said may amount to genocide — makes it impossible to forget.

Everyone in the Rohingya refugee



If a pale child is born at the Kutupalong refugee camp in Bangladesh, the mother must endure whispers that the father is from Myanmar's Bamar majority ethnic group.

camp in Bangladesh knows of the rapes and how the Myanmar military has, for decades, used sexual violence as a weapon of war, particularly against ethnic groups that are not from the nation's Buddhist majority; the Rohingya are predominantly Muslim.

They know that it is not the fault of the Rohingya women and girls, who were

often gang-raped at gunpoint, their mothers, sisters or daughters sobbing and screaming nearby.

Nevertheless, in traditional Rohingya society, rape brings shame to households. Any resulting pregnancies are viewed as heaping even more disgrace on families, according to counselors working in the refugee camps.

As a result, many survivors are made to suffer twice — first from the trauma of sexual violence and again from the ostracism of a conservative society that abandons them when they most need support.

It is impossible to know how many babies conceived by rape in Myanmar are now being delivered in the camps. Most Rohingya choose to deliver their babies in their shelters rather than in medical clinics, so there is no comprehensive record of births.

Nevertheless, health workers operating in the camps speak anecdotally of a spike in deliveries that would coincide with rapes from late August through September last year, the most intense period of violence against the Rohingya.

"We've seen a lot more births in May and June than other months," said Hamida Yasmin, a Bangladeshi midwife working in the camps. "Everyone is asking if this is because of rape? We can't think of another explanation."

In a society that normally embraces children — to have six, seven or eight is common among Rohingya families — the babies who are now being delivered tend to be treated differently.

Traffickers have moved in, spreading the word that they can relieve women of unwanted newborns. If an unusually pale child is born, the mother must endure whispers that the complexion is the ROHINGYA, PAGE 4

## A.I. finds a home in the fashion industry

Changes show machines can encroach on skilled white-collar workers, too

BY NOAM SCHEIBER

One of the best-selling T-shirts for the Indian e-commerce site Myntra is an olive, blue and yellow colorblocked design. It was conceived not by a human but by a computer algorithm — or rather two algorithms.

The first algorithm generated random images that it tried to pass off as clothing. The second had to distinguish between those images and clothes in Myntra's inventory. Through a long game of one-upmanship, the first algorithm got better at producing images that resembled clothing, and the second got better at determining whether they were like — but not identical to — actual products.

This back and forth, an example of artificial intelligence at work, created designs whose sales are now "growing at 100 percent," said Ananth Narayanan, the company's chief executive. "It's working."

Clothing design is only the leading edge of the way algorithms are transforming the fashion and retail industries. Companies now routinely use artificial intelligence to decide which clothes to stock and what to recommend to customers.

And the fashion industry, which has long shed blue-collar jobs in the United States, is in turn a leading example of how artificial intelligence is affecting a range of white-collar work as well. That's especially true of jobs that place a premium on spotting patterns, from picking stocks to diagnosing cancer.

"A much broader set of tasks will be automated or augmented by machines over the coming years," Erik Brynjolfsson, an economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Tom Mitchell, a computer scientist at Carnegie Mellon University, wrote in the journal Science last year. They predicted that most of the jobs affected would become partly automated rather than disappear altogether.

The fashion industry illustrates how machines can intrude even on workers known more for their creativity than for cold empirical judgments. Among those directly affected could be the buyers and merchandise planners who decide which dresses, tops and pants should populate their stores' inventory.

A key part of a buyer's job is to anticipate what customers will want using a well-honed sense of where fashion trends are headed. "Based on the fact that you sold 500 pairs of platform shoes last month, maybe you could sell 1,000 next month," said Kristina Shiroka, who spent several years as a buyer for Outnet, an online retailer. "But people might be over it by then, so you cut the buy."

Merchandise planners then use the buyer's input to figure out what mix of TECHNOLOGY, PAGE 4



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## PAGE TWO

## Talking at last about her writing

TYLER, FROM PAGE 1  
has lived in a high-end Rouse development on the edge of Baltimore's leafy Roland Park neighborhood. Furnished in contemporary Shaker style, with lots of polished wood, her house is almost disturbingly neat.

Her upstairs writing room is so uncluttered and antiseptic you could safely perform surgery there, and what actually takes place at her desk is only a little less complicated.

She writes in longhand, draft after draft, and when she has a section she's satisfied with, types it into a computer. When she has a completed draft, she prints it out and then rewrites it all in longhand again, and that version she reads out loud into a Dictaphone. The result is a style that she modestly calls no style at all, but is nevertheless unmistakably hers: transparent and alert to all the nuances of the seemingly ordinary.

Tyler, who is as unpretentious as most of her characters, insists that she did not set out to be a writer and is still a little surprised that she became one. Her parents were Quakers and conscientious objectors, and until she was 11 she grew up in a commune in the mountains of North Carolina. "I can perfectly remember my childhood, but nothing else," she said. "I remember when I was 7, making crucial decisions about the kind of person I was going to be. That's also the age when I figured out that, oh, someday I'm going to die, and the age when I decided I couldn't believe in God." She smiled. "I've never been as intelligent as I was at 7. I have never been as thoughtful or as introspective."

As a child she read a lot — sometimes books like "Little Women" over and over again — but even in high school it never occurred to her to be a writer, because she was assigned books like "Silas Marner" and "Julius Caesar" and she knew she could never write like that.

When she was 14, living outside of Raleigh, N.C., she had a revelation when she read Eudora Welty's "A Curtain of Green and Other Stories." "I was handling tobacco in the summers," she recalled, explaining that her job was passing tobacco leaves to someone who tied them on sticks for curing. "The stringer was always a black woman, the handers were mostly farm wives and a few teenaged girls. And they talked, talked, talked. It was a real education. I'd go home every night and my arms would be covered in tar up to my elbows, which tells you something. I realized the people Welty was writing about were country people just like the people I was handling tobacco with.

"I was just flabbergasted. I said, she's writing my life, people I know, and it's not Shakespearean English. She's just telling what's real out there that she sees. Later, I even got to know her. She was like her stories. There was something wondering about her as she spoke, as if she was marveling at everything she looked at."

Welty notwithstanding, Tyler went to Duke University and majored in Russian, not because of any particular interest in that language or its literature, but because she "just wanted to do everything different from my parents."

She said, "If I could have majored in outer space I would have." This was at

the height of the Cold War and another thing that greatly appealed to her was that the head of the Russian department had a personal Federal Bureau of Information agent trailing him around.

"I still had no intention of becoming a writer," she recalled. "I had a series of really good high school English teachers, then an English professor at Duke, and then Reynolds Price, who taught writing there, and every single one of them would say, 'You're really good. You ought to be a writer,' and I'd just say, 'O.K. I wanted to be an artist, though it's just as well I'm not. I honestly sometimes think to this day, 'I wonder what I'm going to be?'"

Baltimore was also unplanned. Tyler moved there from Montreal in 1967 because her husband, Taghi Modarressi, an Iranian child psychiatrist, was offered a job at a hospital there, and at first she hated it. "Now I don't know where else I would live. It's a very kindhearted

**"I always say that the way you write a novel is, for the first 83 drafts, you pretend that nobody is ever, ever going to read it."**

city, friendly and gentle. That sounds ironic to say but it's true."

Almost all her books have been set there, so that by now her Baltimore has become a sort of urban Yoknapatawpha. For the most part the Baltimore she writes about — a place part real, part imaginary — couldn't be less like the neighborhood she actually lives in. The Baltimore of Tyler's novels is mostly middle class, or even working class — a place of crowded streets and small houses whose first stories sometimes double as offices for podiatrists and insurance agencies, and where people are probably a little kinder than they are elsewhere.

"I never consciously decided that from now on I'll just write about Baltimore," she said. "Part of it is just laziness — it's a lot easier to set a story in the place where you live. Part of it is admiration. I like the grit and character. If I'm in the supermarket and hear two women talking, I'll be kind of making notes in my mind. It's a very catchy way of speaking, the way Baltimoreans speak." (In the new book, someone unused to the accent thinks that one of the characters is named Sir Joe — until it turns out he is really Sergio.)

"Clock Dance," Tyler's fans will mostly be relieved to know, is hardly a departure. It's almost a compendium of familiar Tyler tropes and situations. It mostly takes place in Baltimore, though the main character is not from there. There's a difficult mother and some estranged siblings, just as in "Dinner at the Homesick Restaurant"; a marriage of mutual (and perhaps deliberate) misunderstanding, as in "Breathing Lessons;" and, above all, a curious exploration of what it means to be part of a family.

Some of the characters watch a TV show called "Space Junk," which is practically an emblem of the novel; it's about aliens who kidnap random earthlings on the assumption that they must be related and then try to figure out why they behave the way they do.



Anne Tyler is rooted in Baltimore, her home for the last 51 years. "It's a very kindhearted city, friendly and gentle," she says of it.

"Every time I begin a book I think this one is going to be completely different, and then it isn't," Tyler said. "I would like to have something new and different, but have never had the ambition to completely change myself. If I try to think of some common thread, I really think I'm deeply interested in endurance. I don't think living is easy, even for those of us who aren't scrounging. It's hard to get through every day and say there's a

good reason to get up tomorrow. It just amazes me that people do it, and so cheerfully.

"The clearest way that you can show endurance is by sticking with a family. It's easy to dump a friend, but you can't so easily dump a brother. How did they stick together, and what goes on when they do? All those things just fascinate me."

She has no plan to retire. "What hap-

pens is six months go by after I finish a book," she said "and I start to go out of my mind. I have no hobbies, I don't garden, I hate travel. The impetus is not inspiration, just a feeling that I better do this. There's something addictive about leading another life at the same time you're living your own."

She paused and added: "If you think about it, it's a very strange way to make a living."

## The ever-loyal daughter of Heinrich Himmler

GUDRUN BURWITZ  
1929-2018

BY RICHARD SANDOMIR

"Do you know how many people your father cremated at Dachau?" a British officer asked Gudrun Himmler, then young, during a postwar interrogation in 1945. "Or how many he gassed at Oranienburg? Of course you do. You're Herr Himmler's daughter, after all."

She sat silently, according to an account in the 2000 book "My Father's Keeper," by Norbert and Stephan Lebert, giving no indication of whether she believed that her father — Heinrich Himmler, the architect of the final solution to exterminate the Jews of Europe — was capable of the genocidal horrors of which he was being accused in 1945.

Indeed, whatever she might have known as a youngster, or as an adult, about her father's actions, she did not say publicly. She long contended that the family had not discussed German politics or the "Jewish question."

But what was never in doubt was her adoration of her father. Even after marrying and becoming Gudrun Burwitz, she continued to take pride in her family name and made it her life's mission to rehabilitate her father's.

Even more, when she died on May 24 in Germany at 88, she had become known not only for defending her father but also for being a prominent member of an organization that gave aid to old Nazis.

"She was sure her father had done nothing wrong," Tania Crasnianski, author of "The Children of Nazis" (2016), said in a telephone interview. "From her early 20s, she said that she would write a book to explain what a great man he was, but there is no evidence that she did."



Gudrun Himmler with her father, Heinrich Himmler, in Berlin in 1938. She became known not only for defending her father but also for aiding old Nazis.

Reichsführer Himmler was a leading official in Hitler's Third Reich, as well as the leader of the SS, the Nazis' elite black-shirted military unit. He called his blond, pigtailed daughter "Puppi" (German for doll), and she filled scrapbooks with photographs of her "Pappi." They traveled around Germany together, at least once to the Dachau concentration camp, where more than 30,000 prisoners died.

"We saw everything we could," Gudrun Himmler wrote in her diary after that visit in 1941, when she was 11 or 12. "We saw the gardening work. We saw the pear trees. We saw all the pictures painted by the prisoners. Marvelous. And afterward we had a lot to eat. It was very nice."

On March 5, 1945, her diary entry described Germany's isolation and her view of the Third Reich's leaders.

"We no longer have any allies in Eu-

rope and can only rely on ourselves," she wrote. "The Luftwaffe is still so bad. Göring does not seem to care about anything, that windbag. Goebbels is doing a lot but he always shows off. They all get medals and awards, except Pappi, and he should be the first to get one."

On April 19, 1945, with the war nearly over in Europe — and Hitler isolated in his bunker in Berlin — she added to her diary:

"Daddy and all the others are up there" — she did not specify where — "and remain for the moment now that the great battle in the East has begun. Daddy has found it terribly difficult with the incredible amount of work. The Führer will not believe that the soldiers will no longer fight. Still, perhaps everything will turn out fine."

A secret attempt by Himmler to negotiate Germany's surrender led Hitler to fire him in late April 1945 and order his

arrest. Hitler killed himself on April 30. And Himmler, who had fled — shaving his mustache, assuming an alias and donning a black eye patch — was captured by the Allies on May 20 in Bremervörde, Germany.

He killed himself three days later while in British custody by biting down on a cyanide capsule.

Gudrun and her mother, Margarete, had also fled from their home in Gmünd, about 300 miles south of Berlin, but were captured by American troops in northern Italy.

While they were held in Rome, Gudrun went on a hunger strike until she grew weak and feverish. At a camp in Florence, the scene of her interrogation by the British officer, she was told by a guard not to tell anyone that her surname was Himmler, lest she be "torn apart."

She and her mother were taken to Nuremberg, where war crimes investigators interrogated them, but they apparently did not testify publicly.

Gudrun Margarete Elfriede Emma Anna Himmler was born on Aug. 8, 1929, the only biological child of her parents, who also adopted a son. Her father had two children with a mistress.

After the war she worked as a seamstress and a secretary. But with the occupying Allies pursuing a denazification program to rid Germany of traces of Nazi ideology, her surname became a liability, and she lost jobs because of it.

Nonetheless, she refused to change it for years, at one point rejecting a shop owner's suggestion that she marry to acquire a new surname.

"I refuse to live my life as a lie," she told The Boston Globe in 1961.

(She did use an assumed name, however, to work as a secretary for Germany's foreign intelligence service, from 1961 to '63, Bild reported.)

She eventually married a journalist, Wolf Dieter Burwitz, who became an official of the right-wing National Democratic Party of Germany, known as NPD. They had two children.

## U.S. red tape dashed hope for family of Anne Frank

Immigration rules stymied their attempts to escape to America, research shows

BY MIHIR ZAVERI

Attempts by Anne Frank's father to escape the Nazis in Europe and travel to the United States were complicated by tight American restrictions on immigration at the time, one of a series of roadblocks that narrowed the Frank family's options and thrust them into hiding, according to a new report.

The research, conducted jointly by the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, details the challenges faced by the Frank family and thousands of others looking to escape Europe as Nazi Germany gained strength and anti-refugee sentiment swept the United States.

Otto Frank, Anne's father, was never outright denied an immigration visa, the report concludes, but "bureaucracy, war and time" thwarted his efforts.

To obtain a visa, Mr. Frank would have had to gather copies of family birth certificates, military records and proof of a paid ticket to America, among other documents, and be interviewed at the consulate.

In one instance, an application that Mr. Frank said he submitted in 1938 languished in an American consulate in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, amid a swell of similar applications and was lost in a bombing raid in 1940. Mr. Frank wrote to a friend that the papers he had gathered as part of a visa application "have been destroyed there."

In 1941, as Mr. Frank was again attempting to navigate the matrix of paperwork and sponsors necessary to immigrate, the United States government imposed a stricter review of applications for visas, grew suspicious of possible spies and saboteurs among Jewish refugees, and banned applicants with relatives in German-occupied countries.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt warned at the time that Jewish refugees could be "spying under compulsion," and the report states that "national security took precedence over humanitarian concerns."

Mr. Frank had sought help from an influential friend, Nathan Straus Jr., who was the head of the United States Housing Authority, a friend of Eleanor Roosevelt's and the son of a Macy's co-owner. Despite Mr. Straus's connections, Mr. Frank wrote to him that "all their efforts would be useless" given the immigration climate, the report states.

"We wanted to learn more about the process in itself and what documentation an applicant (e.g. Otto Frank) had to produce," said Gertjan Broek, a researcher with the Anne Frank House who worked on the latest findings, which were released Friday. "In the report, we point out how complex and tedious the process was and how the bombing of the Rotterdam consulate disrupted things."

The report was released 76 years after the Frank family went into hiding on July 6, 1942. Researchers drew on dozens of pages of correspondence between Mr. Frank and friends, much of which was first made public in 2007, as well as records involving United States immigration policy.

**The United States tightened restrictions on visas, fearing possible spies and saboteurs among Jewish refugees.**

Anne Frank's diaries describing her time in hiding gave a voice to millions who died at the hands of the Nazis. She was eventually discovered and she died in a concentration camp in 1945, when she was 15.

Mr. Frank was the only member of the immediate family to survive the concentration camps.

News about the Frank family continues to captivate the public, despite challenges in educating younger generations about the Holocaust.

"She has allowed millions of people, maybe hundreds of millions of people, to identify with persecution at the worst level," said Richard Breitman, a professor emeritus at American University who has written about the family's attempts to immigrate to the United States. "Any time there is a glimmer of new information, it's a big story."

The new research comes at a time when President Trump's attempts to curb immigration have been likened to those in the World War II era. Mr. Trump has repeatedly sought to justify letting fewer people into the country by arguing that criminals and terrorists could be among the immigrants and refugees seeking to enter.

Mr. Breitman underscored those similarities, pointing to debates over immigration policy today and after Sept. 11.

Mr. Broek said the researchers did not intend to highlight parallels.

"The Anne Frank House researches into the life of Anne Frank and her family, to tell her story as accurate as possible," Mr. Broek said. "The attempted immigration is a part of that story too."

# World

## Death squad case in danger of disappearing

SANTA ROSA DE OSOS, COLOMBIA

Brother of main suspect was Colombia's president and now is a kingmaker

BY NICHOLAS CASEY

One witness told prosecutors about the corpses floating in a river on the ranch.

Another, a ranch hand, described the boss of a death squad roaming the property freely on horseback.

A third, a cleaning woman, told investigators about the deaths of her two young nephews. Just after midnight, she said, they were snatched by armed men, tied up and executed.

"Who gave orders?" asked a prosecutor.

"It was Santiago," the ranch hand replied.

The tales might have been lost among the countless episodes of cruelty in Colombia's long civil war were it not for one thing: Santiago, the ranch owner, was Santiago Uribe.

His brother Álvaro Uribe, Colombia's former president, has long been the country's most influential politician and has just re-emerged as its kingmaker after his handpicked candidate won the presidential election in June.

Santiago Uribe is awaiting trial on charges that he commanded a death squad called the Twelve Apostles that is suspected in the murder of hundreds during the civil war. And Álvaro Uribe is being investigated by the Supreme Court for witness tampering in a case involving allegations that he ran a paramilitary group of his own.

But with the resurgent power of Álvaro Uribe, some Colombians wonder whether either case will really be pursued.

Jaime Granados Peña, a lawyer for Santiago and Álvaro Uribe, declined to be interviewed but issued a written statement on June 18 saying the accusations were part of a longstanding political attack against the brothers. He said the testimony had not been entered into evidence yet in cases against the Uribe family.

The ranch, Mr. Granados wrote, "has been a property exclusively for agricultural activity" and "has never been used for the realization or planning of any crime."

But the statements by witnesses, contained in prosecutors' files about the Twelve Apostles that were reviewed by The New York Times, offer firsthand accounts of killings that ravaged the ranch and the surrounding area in the 1990s. The files contain audio recordings in which his workers left little doubt over who was in charge of the killers.

"Did anyone else give orders besides Mr. Santiago?" the prosecutor asked.

"No," said the ranch hand, whose name, like those of other witnesses cited in this article, has been withheld by The Times for his safety.

### "A GOOD DEAD MAN"

Last month, Álvaro Uribe's chosen candidate for the presidency, Iván Duque, won the election by a large margin. Mr. Uribe is expected to dominate the incoming legislature through his seat in the Senate, where the party he founded, the Democratic Center, won the most seats.

Both Mr. Duque and Mr. Uribe have



Álvaro Uribe, Colombia's former president, has proposed eliminating the Supreme Court, the body that is handling the Twelve Apostles death squad case.

proposed restructuring the justice system to replace the three top courts with just one. That would eliminate the Supreme Court, the body that is handling the Twelve Apostles case.

"There seems little doubt that Uribe's desire is to weaken or scuttle the rather serious investigations being brought against him and his family," said Michael L. Evans of the National Security Archive, a nonprofit research group in Washington that has published documents on the links between politicians and paramilitary groups. The organization reviewed the files seen by The Times.

The investigations have proved to be a challenge for the Colombian justice system for other reasons. Some witnesses have been killed, while others have recanted their testimony. Some said they had been offered money to provide evidence for or against the Uribe brothers.

One of the witnesses who was killed was Carlos Enrique Areiza Arango, a former paramilitary operative. On April 14, he was shot by unknown gunmen near Medellín, Colombia.

Mr. Areiza Arango was one of several witnesses for whom the Supreme Court ordered state protection. He had been expected to testify in a witness-tampering case involving the Uribe brothers and paramilitary groups.

After the killing, Álvaro Uribe published a message on Twitter calling Mr. Areiza Arango "a bandit" and saying he was now "a good dead man." After criticism, he said that the message had been



Santiago Uribe has been charged with leading the Twelve Apostles group.

written by someone else and that he did not celebrate the death of others.

### "I'LL TAKE CARE OF MYSELF"

La Carolina Ranch sits in the rolling hills of Antioquia Province, a four-hour drive from the regional capital, Medellín, past pine forests and vistas of the Andes. In the 1990s the ranch was known for breeding bulls for the country's bullfights and for pastures where cows produced milk sent to nearby towns.

But the pastoral setting masked a sinister conflict.

Colombia's civil war was raging, and leftist rebels roamed the countryside, committing massacres and extorting money from ranch hands. In 1983, the conflict hit home for the Uribe brothers: Their father was killed by rebels during a kidnapping attempt on the family ranch. Álvaro Uribe found the body.

By the mid-1990s, Álvaro Uribe had risen to become Antioquia's governor. In that role, he promoted armed neighborhood watch groups that were later accused of massacring rebels and civilians alike. Mr. Uribe has said he disbanded the groups when the allegations emerged.

At Santiago Uribe's ranch, a similar pattern of violence was said to emerge.

Wealthy businessmen in the area, tired of paying extortion money to the rebels, formed an organization known as the Twelve Apostles, according to residents and prosecutors. The group — it got its name because a priest was one of the leaders — worked closely with local police officers who acted as both informants and hit men, residents said.

"They kept lists of who was next to be killed, and we were all considered rebels just for being peasants in the countryside," said one former resident, Fernando Barrientos. His brother, Camilo, was killed by the Twelve Apostles in 1994, he said. Mr. Barrientos has filed a criminal case against Santiago Uribe over the death. Mr. Uribe was jailed after his arrest in 2016 and then released to await trial.

On a recent day, Mr. Barrientos sat in a small one-story home and recalled the day his brother died. Mr. Barrientos received a panicked call from a local priest saying that the Twelve Apostles were looking for Camilo, he said, and that he should urge him to hide.

But Camilo refused. He was driving a bus when two men boarded it and shot him, Mr. Barrientos said.

"He told me before he left on the bus, 'I'll take care of myself,'" he said.

The testimony reviewed by The Times centers on a fugitive paramilitary commander, José Alberto Osorio Rojas, who prosecutors say was a top leader of the Twelve Apostles and went by the nicknames Rodrigo and El Mono. According to a summary of the case reviewed by The Times, prosecutors were investigating Mr. Osorio Rojas when

### "They said they came with orders to clean up the town and kill the guerrilla collaborators."

they stumbled onto testimony linking him to Santiago Uribe.

In addition to Mr. Osorio Rojas, a paramilitary hit man named Pelusa was also frequently mentioned by the workers. They said both men had worked for Santiago Uribe. Mr. Osorio Rojas was often seen on horseback with Mr. Uribe, looking at the bullfighting studs; it was unclear what Pelusa's job was.

"What did they call them?" a prosecutor asked one witness.

"Paracos," said the witness, a ranch hand who worked at La Carolina in 1995, using a common term for paramilitaries. "Because they were murderers. They were cleaning up around there."

The witness, who worked wrangling cattle among other jobs, recalled finding the bodies of three people one day in a river near where he worked on the

ranch. He said they had been killed by Mr. Osorio Rojas and Pelusa in a nearby town and then thrown in the water. The case appears never to have been solved.

On another instance, the witness said, Pelusa, drunk, killed a man at a nearby ranch after he challenged the Paracos.

"The man started to scream," the witness said. "The man went out, and — boom — all of a sudden, shot in the head. He was left right there. An old man."

Other workers testified that Santiago Uribe was close to the hit men, particularly Mr. Osorio Rojas. "They were very intimate, the two," recalled one worker, who said he had been on the ranch more than 20 years starting in 1985.

The same worker told prosecutors about the constant presence of police officers and soldiers on the ranch. The Twelve Apostles are said to have ties not only to Santiago Uribe but also to the security forces in the province where his brother was governor.

"They went for meetings with Mr. Santiago," the worker said, referring to the military.

He said the police would often arrive and ask Santiago Uribe to sign papers that were "proof that they were working there."

The cleaning woman who said her nephews had been killed told investigators they had died at the hands of an armed group. The men found one of her nephews at the home of his parents in a nearby village, while the other was captured in a building at the ranch.

The witness recalled the screams of the mother as the armed men dragged her son away, and the mother being told to not tell anyone or she, too, would be killed.

"They worked there, they worked for so many years, two brothers," she said of her nephews. "They found them on Tuesday with their arms tied behind their back."

### "CLEAN UP THE TOWN"

In the hillside ranching towns an hour's drive from Santiago Uribe's ranch, the memories of the Twelve Apostles are still fresh.

Jhon Jairo Álvarez, a human rights worker for the government during the era of the massacres, recalled in a telephone interview how one night in October 1996 the paramilitary group arrived in the town of Campamento with 80 armed men and ordered townspeople into a plaza.

"They said they came with orders to clean up the town and kill the guerrilla collaborators," he said.

A young man was taken in front of the crowd and shot with assault rifles and pistols as entire families looked on in fear, Mr. Álvarez said.

The death squad, he said, came in trucks marked with the insignia of the provincial government of Antioquia. That made him wonder what role Álvaro Uribe, who was governor at the time and would have controlled the vehicles, might have played.

But Mr. Barrientos, whose brother was killed in 1994, said it was the other Uribe brother, the ranch owner, whom he most feared during the era. Shortly after Camilo died, Fernando fled the town and never returned.

"They always said: 'Watch out for Santiago,'" he recalled. "Because he is the one in charge of the Twelve Apostles."

Susan Abad contributed reporting from Bogotá, Colombia.

## Plan to exhume Franco has Spain wrestling again with history

SAN LORENZO DE EL ESCORIAL, SPAIN

BY RAPHAEL MINDER

After celebrating Mass, congregants at the Valle de los Caídos basilica walked to the back of the altar to pay homage to Francisco Franco, the Spanish dictator who is buried here.

They stood in silence before the tomb. A handful made a fascist salute. Some bent down to touch the stone slab, which is engraved with Franco's name and was covered with two bouquets of flowers. One person tried to take a photograph — only to be told off by a security guard.

"Franco was a dictator, but a good one," said Estela Tapias, who attended the Mass last month with her husband and two children. "I really don't understand why these Communists want to take him out."

By "Communists" she was referring to the Socialist government, led by Spain's new prime minister, Pedro Sánchez.

Mr. Sánchez unexpectedly came to power in June, replacing Mariano Rajoy and his conservative administration. Within days of taking office, he announced that his government wanted to exhume Franco and move him to a more modest burial place, as part of an effort to atone for the crimes of the civil war and the repression that followed the conflict.

The basilica and its giant stone cross dominate the Valle de los Caídos, or Valley of the Fallen, and were built by Franco to honor those who "fell for God and Spain" before his 1939 victory in the Spanish Civil War.

The site, near the town of San Lorenzo de el Escorial, about an hour's drive northwest of Madrid, is one of Europe's largest mass graves, housing the remains of at least 33,000 people. Most had fought for Franco, but the monument also contains the bones of many of his Republican opponents who were anonymously dumped there, some allegedly gathered from mass graves across the country in order to swell the numbers.

Some families have been demanding that their loved ones be returned to

### "Franco was a dictator, but a good one. I really don't understand why these Communists want to take him out."

them for proper burial. In April, the remains of four men — from both sides of the war — were extracted from the site at the request of their relatives after a lengthy legal battle. The ruling could pave the way for hundreds more to be exhumed.

Nobody casts a longer shadow over Spanish politics than Franco, even decades after his death in 1975. Almost every aspect of his legacy has fueled dispute, extending recently to the renaming of squares and streets associated with his regime. Some cities controlled by left-leaning politicians want to carry out other exhumations, notably Seville, where one of Franco's military commanders, Gonzalo Queipo de Llano, was also buried in a basilica.

Paul Preston, a British historian and biographer of Franco, said that Spain

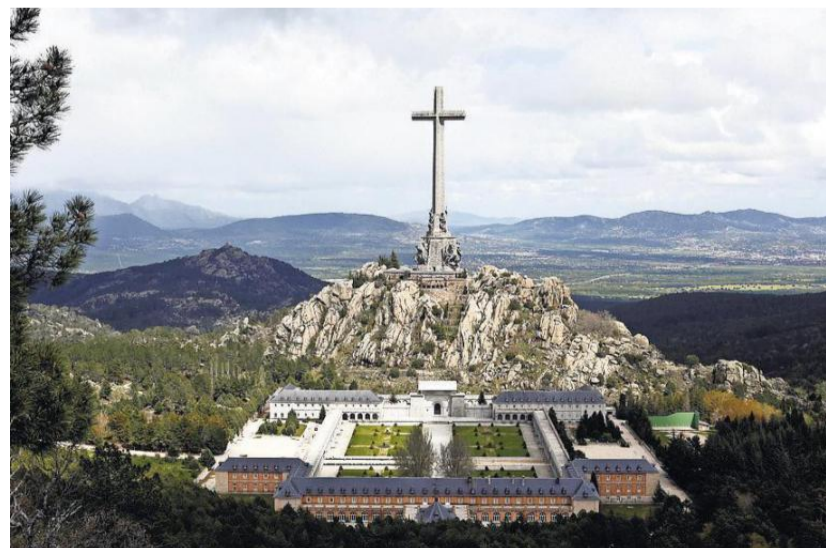
was an anomaly in Europe in keeping a "place of pilgrimage for its fascist dictator" — there are no monuments to Adolf Hitler in Germany or in Austria, nor to Benito Mussolini in Italy. Among the more than 250,000 visitors to the Valle de los Caídos each year, Mr. Preston said, many are devotees of Franco "brought up to believe that he was a benefactor for Spain."

Mr. Sánchez, the prime minister, leads a fragile Socialist government that has only a quarter of the seats in Parliament.

But he could order Franco's removal by decree. The exhumation plan — which was proposed a decade ago by the previous Socialist prime minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero — is likely to win support from the leftist Podemos party and from Basque and Catalan nationalist lawmakers who joined forces with Mr. Sánchez to allow him to replace Mr. Rajoy.

Franco decided to carve the basilica into a mountainside shortly after winning the civil war. Construction lasted 18 years, with Republican prisoners among the labor force. The basilica also became the resting place of several nuns and other members of the clergy killed during the civil war — some of whom were later beatified by the pope — as well as that of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the leader of the far-right Falangist party, who was killed in 1936 and was considered a martyr by Franco's followers. His tomb is on the other side of the altar to that of Franco.

Last month, Mr. Sánchez met with Archbishop Ricardo Blázquez de Valladolid, the leader of the confederation of Spanish bishops. After the meeting, the Rev. José María Gil Tamayo, the sec-



A basilica and its giant cross at the Valle de los Caídos, Spain. The monument houses the remains of at least 33,000 people, including those of Francisco Franco, who died in 1975.

retary general of the confederation, suggested that the church would prefer to stay on the sidelines of what it considered to be a political debate over Franco's remains.

The basilica is run by Benedictine monks who live in an adjacent abbey. While the abbot, Santiago Cantera, long opposed any attempt to alter the site, this year he dropped a court appeal to stop the removal of the four civil war victims.

Some in Spain express the feeling that moving Franco would simply be a case of politicians trying to make capital out of the painful events of the civil war. In that view, Franco built the basilica, so he

has the right to be buried there. Others say the dictator should be removed because the site was built for those killed in the civil war, while Franco died decades later in a hospital bed.

There are no official records showing what Franco wanted to happen after his death, although Mr. Preston, the historian, recounts in his biography of the dictator that Franco told the architect that he should be buried at the site.

The most obvious alternative place for Franco's embalmed corpse is alongside his wife, Carmen Polo, who died in 1988 and who lies in a crypt in the cemetery of El Pardo, Franco's former residence near Madrid.

The exhumation plan comes as Franco's family is entangled in several disputes after the death of the dictator's daughter, his only child, in December. The local authorities in Franco's home region, Galicia, want to block the sale of a family estate because it stands on land he expropriated.

Mr. Sánchez's government is also reviewing whether to strip the family's title of nobility, received from King Juan Carlos after Franco's death and now held by his granddaughter.

Mr. Sánchez called for the exhumation of the remains to be "immediate." Although he has not set a date, the Socialists probably want to avoid a repeat of the protracted debate that took place under Mr. Zapatero's government, when a commission of experts was appointed to help transform the Valle de los Caídos into "a place of reconciled memory."

By the time the commission published its recommendations, in November 2011, Mr. Rajoy's conservative Popular Party had regained power. Mr. Rajoy stopped financing any project linked to a 2007 law of historical memory, instituted during Mr. Zapatero's government, which offered state support for moving people found to have been buried in common graves during the civil war. The law also allowed for an overhaul of the Valle de los Caídos.

Luis Castaño, a data analyst from Valladolid who was visiting the site with his wife, said that attending Mass in Franco's basilica allowed him "to pray for the dead, for reconciliation and for the unbreakable unity of Spain." He argued that the site should be left untouched: "Whoever doesn't like this place isn't forced to come here."

## WORLD

## A.I. encroaches on white-collar jobs

**TECHNOLOGY, FROM PAGE 1**  
clothing — say, how many sandals, pumps and flats — will help the company reach its sales goals.

In the small but growing precincts of the industry where high-powered algorithms roam free, however, it is the machine — and not the buyer's gut — that often anticipates what customers will want.

That's the case at Stitch Fix, an online styling service that sends customers boxes of clothing whose contents they can keep or return, and maintains detailed profiles of customers to personalize their shipments.

Stitch Fix relies heavily on algorithms to guide its buying decisions — in fact, its business probably could not exist without them. Those algorithms project how many clients will be in a given situation, or “state,” several months into the future (like expanding their wardrobe after, say, starting a new job), and what

**In the precincts where algorithms roam free, it is the machine that often anticipates what customers will want.**

volume of clothes people tend to buy in each situation.

The algorithms also know which styles people with different profiles tend to favor — say, a nurse with children who lives in Texas.

Myntra, the Indian online retailer, arms its buyers with algorithms that calculate the probability that an item will sell well based on how clothes with similar attributes — sleeves, colors, fabric — have sold in the past. (The buyers are free to ignore the projection.)

All of this has clouded the future of buyers and merchandise planners, high-status workers whose annual earnings can exceed \$100,000.

At conventional retailers, a team of buyers and support workers is assigned to each type of clothing (like designer, contemporary or casual) or each apparel category, like dresses or tops. Some retailers have separate teams for knit tops and woven tops. A parallel merchandise-planning group could employ nearly as many people.

Buyers say this specialization helps them intuitively understand trends in styles and colors.

“You’re so immersed in it, you almost get a feeling,” said Helena Levin, a longtime buyer at retailers like Charlotte Russe and ModCloth.

Ms. Levin cited mint-green dresses, a top seller earlier this decade. “One day it just died,” she said. “It stopped. ‘O.K., everything mint, get out.’ Right after, it looked old. You could feel it.”

But retailers adept at using algorithms and big data tend to employ fewer buyers and assign each a wider variety of categories, partly because they rely less on intuition.

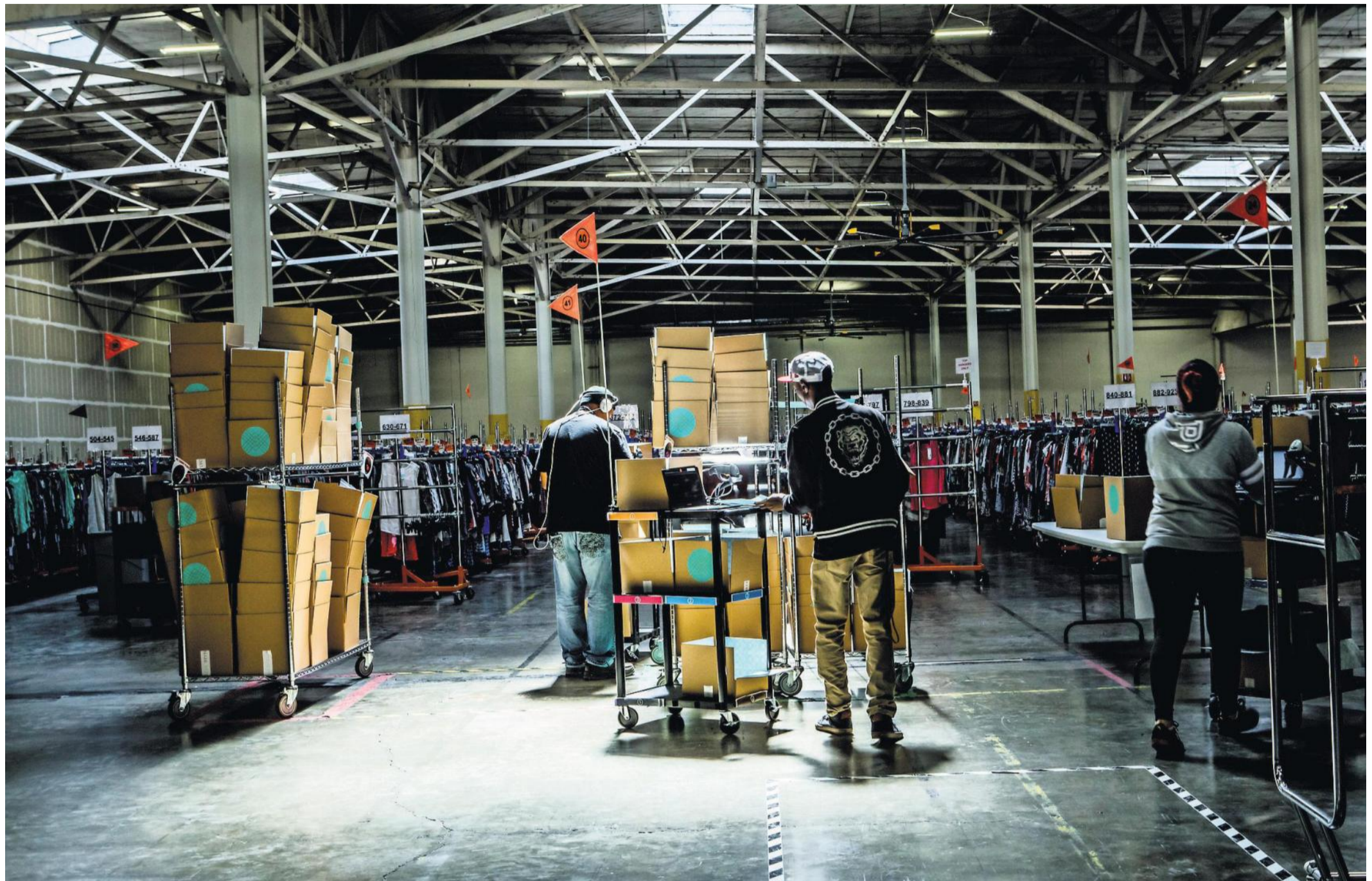
At Le Tote, an online rental and retail service for women's clothing that does hundreds of millions of dollars in business each year, a six-person team handles buying for all branded apparel — dresses, tops, pants, jackets.

Brett Northart, a co-founder, said the company's algorithms could identify what to add to its stock based on how many customers placed the items on their digital wish lists, along with factors like online ratings and recent purchases.

Bombfell, a box service similar to Stitch Fix that caters only to men, relies on a single employee, Nathan Cates, to buy all of its tops and accessories.

The company has built algorithmic tools and a vast repository of data to help Mr. Cates, who said he could more accurately project demand for clothing than a buyer at a traditional operation.

“We know exactly who our customers



A warehouse in San Francisco for Stitch Fix, an online styling service that sends customers boxes of clothing whose contents they can keep or return. Stitch Fix relies heavily on algorithms to guide its buying decisions.



Will Noguchi, left, a stylist, and Nathan Cates, a buyer for the styling service Bombfell. Mr. Cates uses algorithms to more accurately project demand.

are,” he said. “We know exactly where they live, what their jobs are, what their sizing is.”

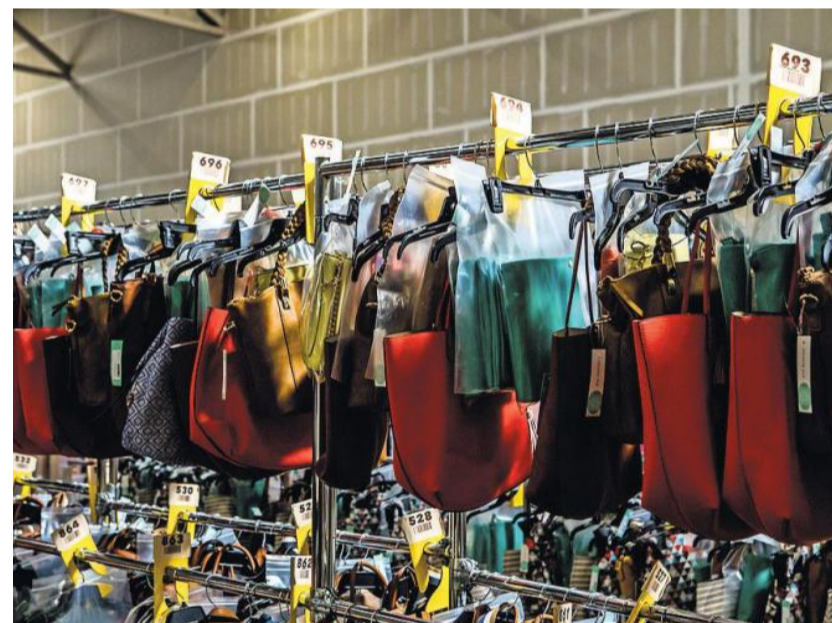
For now, at least, only a human can do parts of his job. Mr. Cates is obsessive about touching the fabric before purchasing an item, and he almost always tries it on first.

“If this is a light color, are we going to see your nipples?” he explained. (The verdict on a mint T-shirt he donned at the company's headquarters in New

York? “A little nipply.”)

There are other checks on automation. Negotiations with suppliers typically require a human touch. Even if an algorithm can help buyers make decisions more quickly and accurately, there are limits to the number of supplier relationships they can juggle.

Arti Zeighami, who oversees advanced analytics and artificial intelligence for the H&M group, which uses artificial intelligence to guide supply-



Handbags at Stitch Fix. If computers are replacing some workers, they are also creating the need to hire others to interact directly with customers.

chain decisions, said the Swedish clothing retailer was “enhancing and empowering” human buyers and planners, not replacing them. But he conceded it was hard to predict the effect on employment in five to 10 years.

Experts say some of these jobs will be automated away.

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics expects employment of wholesale and retail buyers to contract by 2 percent over a decade, versus a 7 per-

cent increase for all occupations. Some of this is because of the automation of less sophisticated tasks, like cataloging inventory and buying for less stylistically demanding retailers, like auto parts stores.

There is at least one area of the industry where the machines are creating jobs rather than eliminating them, however.

Bombfell, Stitch Fix and many competitors in the box-fashion niche employ

a growing army of human stylists who receive recommendations from algorithms about clothes that might work for a customer but decide for themselves what to send.

“If they’re not overly enthusiastic upfront when I ask how do you feel about it, I’m making a note of it,” said Jade Carmosino, a sales manager and stylist at Trunk Club, a Stitch Fix competitor owned by Nordstrom.

In this, stylists appear to reflect a broader trend in industries where artificial intelligence is automating white-collar jobs: the hiring of more humans to stand between machines and customers.

For example, Chida Khatua, the chief executive of EquiBot, which helped create an exchange-traded fund that is actively managed by artificial intelligence, predicted that the asset-management industry would hire more financial advisers even as investing became largely automated.

The downside is that work as a stylist or financial adviser will probably pay less than the lost jobs of buyers and stock pickers. The good news, said Daron Acemoglu, an economist at M.I.T. who studies automation, is that these jobs may still pay substantially more than many positions available to low- and middle-skilled workers in recent decades.

And these jobs may be hard to automate in the end.

“If I’m the customer explaining what I want, humans need to be involved,” Mr. Khatua said. “Sometimes I don’t know what I really want.”

## Raped by soldiers, Rohingya women shunned by their own

**ROHINGYA, FROM PAGE 1**  
result of a father from Myanmar's Bamar ethnic majority.

“Everyone admits it’s happening, but no one wants to admit it has happened to their families,” said Mohammad Ali, a Bangladeshi who is employed to monitor the inner workings of the Rohingya camps.

Last week, United Nations Secretary General António Guterres visited the Rohingya camps in Bangladesh, where he met mothers of babies born of rape.

“I’ve just heard unimaginable accounts of killing and rape from Rohingya refugees who recently fled Myanmar,” Mr. Guterres said in a Twitter post. “Nothing could’ve prepared me for the scale of crisis and extent of suffering I saw,” he added in another tweet.

Mr. Guterres described Rohingya Muslims as “one of the most discriminated against and vulnerable communities on earth.”

From the moment her belly began to swell, Noor, who like others in this story is being identified only by her first name for her protection, stayed huddled in her tarpaulin shelter, hiding from the judgment of others.

She is unmarried and unsure of how old she is, although her grandparents estimate she is between 16 and 18.

“Only my parents know how old I am,” Noor said. “But they are dead.”

Her father was killed last year as he tried to escape the soldiers who rampaged through their village in the Buthi-

daung Township of Rakhine State in Myanmar. His name is on a casualty list compiled by human rights groups. Her mother is missing and presumed dead.

Noor’s 10-year-old brother is alive. But her surviving adult relatives decided the young boy cannot be associated with his sister’s shame, so he lives with an aunt in a different refugee camp.

“I don’t want him to get in trouble because of me,” Noor said.

The last time she saw her brother was a couple months ago, just as her belly was growing too large to camouflage. He brought her a gift: a packet of biscuits that she nibbled in the sweltering dark of her shelter.

“He knows I like snacks, so he brought them,” Noor said. “I think he still loves me even though he is ashamed of me.”

Half of the Rohingya treated for rape in the refugee camp clinics run by Doctors Without Borders, the medical aid group, were 18 or younger. Several had not reached 10 years old. Like Noor, some girls did not understand what rape could do to their bodies.

Many survivors of rape terminated their pregnancies after arriving in Bangladesh.

Because malnutrition and trauma can cause menstruation to cease, some women did not realize they were expecting until it was too late. Even for those who realized they were pregnant, a chronic lack of medical care back in their native Rakhine — part of the apart-



A Rohingya refugee, who was not raped, with her newborn daughter at the Kutupalong camp. Many survivors of rape terminated pregnancies after reaching Bangladesh.

heid system inflicted by the authorities in Myanmar — made women leery of visiting camp clinics where they could discuss their choices.

Some women in the camps have relied on mystery potions or back-room abortions that can result in septic shock.

“Women who are desperate will do anything,” said Dildar Begum, a Rohingya midwife who said she knows of at

least two women who died because of botched abortions.

Once neighbors suspect the provenance of a baby, the humiliation can be stifling.

At the Kutupalong refugee camp in Bangladesh, two women were sequestered in the back of a shelter. Outside, amid the mud and sewage, men tugged at a manually powered Ferris wheel, a

brief moment of delight for an uprooted community. Children shrieked in glee.

In the shelter’s gloom, the women — one on the verge of giving birth and the other her mother-in-law — twisted their hands and stared into space.

The soldiers had come to their village in Myanmar, Jesmin, the pregnant woman said, just as they did across the Rohingya-dominated townships of northern Rakhine State: burning homes, firing guns indiscriminately, herding the women into groups. Thirteen people were killed in their hamlet, according to human rights monitors.

Ms. Jesmin’s mother-in-law, Rahima, was cordoned with her, at gunpoint. Those who resisted rape, Ms. Rahima said, were slammed on the head with rifle butts and were violated anyway.

By the time the two women escaped and reunited weeks later with Ms. Jesmin’s husband in a refugee camp in Bangladesh, the excommunication had begun.

Ms. Jesmin’s daughter, only 25 days old when the soldiers attacked, was taken from her and placed with a relative.

“I miss her,” she said. She had no other words.

Of the impending birth, the women talked little. It was not clear who the father was.

“We don’t have a name for it because we do not know if it will live or die,” Ms. Rahima said.

She spoke quietly, to keep her son, Ms. Jesmin’s husband, from hearing. “He

will beat Jesmin if we talk too much,” Ms. Rahima whispered. “I don’t want to make him upset.”

Aid groups have reported a rise in serious domestic violence in the camps, where the sustained uncertainty of refugee life heightens household stress. In this traumatized society, spousal abuse seems ingrained.

“Rohingya told me they believed that if you beat your wife, that part of her body goes to heaven first,” said Shariful Islam, the mental health supervisor for a clinic run by Doctors Without Borders in the Kutupalong camp.

Days before her delivery, Noor continued to hide in the back of her shelter, making do with the barest of refugee rations. She had decided that the baby would be handed to a human trafficker when it is born. Hopefully, she said, the delivery would be swift so any evidence could be swept away within hours.

“I want to get married,” Noor said. “I can’t do that if I have a baby.”

With each day, the baby kicked Noor more insistently. Her nightmares still brought the men in green with their rifles and shoving hands.

No medical staff had ever monitored her pregnancy. But she had heard that in the camps in Bangladesh there were doctors with magical cures. Noor was intrigued.

“Do you think they have a pill for sadness?” she asked, her hands cradling her abdomen. “I would like to have that pill after the baby is born.”

# Going big on marijuana, even before it's legal

CHESTERVILLE, ONTARIO

Investors are optimistic, with soaring valuations for Canada's nascent industry

BY IAN AUSTEN

Inside garage-size containers at one end of a cavernous warehouse in a former Nestlé factory south of Ottawa are rows of marijuana plants stacked atop each other, basking in the unearthly glow of grow lights.

They belong to Hamed Asi, an Ontario businessman who calls them his "vertical farm." He has no background in growing marijuana, or in any kind of agriculture. His other line of business is installing office furniture; cubicles, filing cabinets and desk chairs fill the opposite end of the warehouse.

A financial boom not seen since the dot-com mania of the late 1990s has overtaken Canada. The legalization of recreational marijuana, scheduled for this autumn, is not only a momentous social change and public health challenge, but also a rare opportunity for entrepreneurs like Mr. Asi to be in on the birth of what they hope will become a multibillion-dollar industry.

Early signs of a boom abound: Marijuana growers have plowed millions into investments that without having recorded profits yet, have stock-market values measured in billions. Down-on-their-luck towns like Chesterville, Ontario, hope that marijuana will reverse economic decline. Former politicians and law-enforcement officials who once opposed legalizing recreational marijuana have now joined or formed companies to cash in on it.

Some provincial governments forecast that tax revenue from marijuana sales will help balance their budgets. And companies offering every kind of service or product — from real estate to packaging — are all out for a piece of the action.

Mr. Asi's dreams of wealth are sprouting here in a former factory that once turned out pallets of Nestlé Quik bound for railway boxcars. A partner and operations manager at a company called the I.D.P. Group, he acknowledges the risks inherent in what has already become a highly competitive industry.



Angus David tending a hydroponic "vertical farm" used for growing marijuana at a former Nestlé warehouse operated by the I.D.P. Group in Chesterville, Ontario.

"You can't just do this because everyone else is doing it," he said in his office which is, not surprisingly, fitted with the latest in office furniture. "Worry? Yeah, 100 percent. We see how good this industry can be if you do it right, but you've got to really be diligent."

This month, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau fired the starting gun for Canada's new gold rush by announcing that legalization of recreational marijuana would begin on Oct. 17, months later than the original plan of July 1. But, as in the earlier mania for technology companies, there are growing concerns that this boom could produce more disappointment than riches.

Mr. Trudeau's government portrayed the legalization of recreational marijuana — Canada has had a medical marijuana system since 2001 — as a way to wipe out the black market, not as a potential job creator or moneymaker for either the government or investors. In effect, he promised a system in which marijuana would be available, but not promoted.

As a result, the federal government will license growers in Canada, and provinces will decide how it is sold to consumers.

In some provinces, notably Alberta, the government went with privately operated shops. Others, like Ontario and Quebec, will adopt a variation of the sys-

tem of government-owned stores used for alcohol sales.

Under regulations recently released, marijuana will generally be treated more like cigarettes than alcohol. Advertising will be severely restricted — as will the ability of Canada's marijuana makers to turn themselves into household brand names. Packages must be uniform and plain, aside from vivid, yellow health warnings and tiny logos. Baseball caps, T-shirts and all other logo-laden giveaways that might promote marijuana brands will not be permitted.

Many of the big companies eagerly awaiting the October light-up date have

their roots in the medical marijuana industry. But their styles have shifted.

Chuck Rifici, a founder and former chief executive of the company now called Canopy Growth (at more than 8 billion Canadian dollars, the most valuable marijuana company in Canada), once sported the clean-cut look one would expect from an accountant and former chief financial officer of Mr. Trudeau's Liberal Party.

But as he has shifted to selling marijuana as a way to get high — not just as pain relief — Mr. Rifici has abandoned suits and ties for designer T-shirts. His graying and less-than-trim beard give him the air of a rock star.

Bounced from Canopy in 2014, Mr. Rifici is now the chief executive of a competitor, Auxly, which has invested in 12 marijuana-growing operations. Among them is Mr. Asi's operation in Chesterville, which has received 12 million Canadian dollars. Shares in Mr. Rifici's company once surpassed 1 billion Canadian dollars and are now worth about just over 500 million dollars. Its ability to raise money, however, has yet to be matched by an ability to make money. Auxly recorded more than 10 million Canadian dollars in losses in the first three months of this year.

The future after October, Mr. Rifici said, offers nothing but promise, as marijuana will start flowing out of stores and new markets beckon.

"The rest of the world is going to legalize this," he predicted. "So the urgency for me is having the people and the capability to be a first mover in that new jurisdiction. I think one or two of the large multinational cannabis companies will be Canadian companies."

But before Mr. Rifici conquers the world, he and his competitors first have to figure out how to make their home market work. "The rules around cannabis start to look a little bit silly or a little bit over the top," Mr. Rifici said. "Over time that will loosen a little bit. The industry is certainly pushing for it."

That push, however, will meet forceful resistance from Canada's medical community, which has raised warnings about marijuana's health risks, particularly for users under the age of 25.

"There's already a lot of misinformation out there about it being natural and less harmful than tobacco and alcohol," said Dr. Jeff Blackmer, a vice president of the Canadian Medical Association. "When there's that much money to be made, funny things happen."

Cam Battley, who once worked in the pharmaceutical industry and who is now the chief corporate officer of Aurora Cannabis, acknowledged that the soaring values of marijuana companies may not be justified in every case. But he also rejected suggestions that the dreams surrounding the industry may, well, go up in smoke.

"People should be cautious and do their homework on the cannabis sector," Mr. Battley said. "We've become a mainstream industry in Canada. On this, we're not seen as a wild and crazy country. I think the world trusts Canada to get cannabis right."

## Lobsters and border patrols

U.S. vessels intercept Canadian fishing boats in disputed waters off Maine

BY MATTHEW HAAG

As tensions rise between the United States and Canada, there's a new clash in the cool waters off the northeast tip of Maine, which are rich with lobster, scallops and cod.

For more than a decade, American and Canadian fishermen have had a largely friendly but competitive relationship in an oval-shaped region of the Bay of Fundy known as the gray zone. But this summer that camaraderie has been threatened, Canadian fishermen claim, as officers with the United States Border Patrol have started to wade into the area, pull up aside their vessels and ask about their citizenship.

"We don't want this to be a great international incident, but it's kind of curious," said Laurence Cook, the chairman of the lobster committee at the Grand Manan Fishermen's Association in New Brunswick. "They say it's routine patrolling, but it is the first routine patrolling in 25 years."

At least 10 Canadian fishing boats have been stopped by the American immigration authorities within the past two weeks, Mr. Cook said, the latest escalation in a long disagreement between the countries in the disputed waters off Machias Seal Island.

Both countries claim the island, which is about 10 miles off Maine and home to two full-time residents (both Canadian), puffins, rocks and not much else, and say they have the right to patrol its boundaries.

Canada has responded with its own show of force. Last Sunday and Monday, after the first reports surfaced about the

Border Patrol operations, a roughly 100-foot-long Canadian Coast Guard vessel appeared in the disputed gray zone and began patrolling the area.

"That wasn't coincidence," Mr. Cook said.

The scope of the Border Patrol activity, as well as what motivated it and what, if anything, it has uncovered, is not clear. The agency has not disclosed how many stops have been made. But both Canadian and American fishermen said they noticed increased activity in harbors and in the Atlantic in early June.

The clash, which has caught the attention of Canadian leaders, has taken on added significance, coming just weeks after President Trump took parting shots at Prime Minister Justin Trudeau when he left the Group of 7 summit meeting in Quebec.

Canada's foreign affairs department said that it had heard about two stops in late June involving Border Patrol officers and had asked the United States government for an explanation.

"Canada continues to investigate these incidents that occurred in Canadian waters," said John Babcock, a spokesman for Global Affairs Canada. "Canada's sovereignty over the Machias Seal Island and the surrounding waters is longstanding and has a strong foundation in international law."

The State Department did not respond to a request for comment. The Border Patrol described the encounters in the Atlantic as "regular patrol operations to enforce immigration laws."

"The U.S. Border Patrol does not board Canadian vessels in the gray zone without consent or probable cause, and agents only conduct interviews as a vessel runs parallel to it," said Stephanie Malin, a spokeswoman for Customs and Border Protection, which operates the border agency.

Mr. Cook said that he heard from boat captains that the Border Patrol had searched at least two Canadian vessels in June. No one was arrested and nothing was confiscated, he said.

"There is no illegal immigration going on there," he said. "It seems silly."

While the bulk of the Border Patrol's operations focus on the United States' southern border, the agency maintains a modest presence near the northern border with Canada. One of its smallest outposts is in Houlton, Me., the division assigned to patrolling the state's boundaries with Quebec and New Brunswick, conducting checkpoints on highways and cruising the coastline.

The region is not exactly a hotbed of activity for the Border Patrol. Of the 310,500 apprehensions the agency conducted from fall 2016 to fall 2017, only 30 were made by officers in the Houlton office. But those officers have been spotted on boats at a higher rate this summer, fishermen said.

"I wouldn't call it unprecedented or say that the fishermen were harassed," said John Drouin, 53, a member of the Maine Lobster Advisory Council who lives in the coastal town of Cutler, about 10 miles from Machias Seal Island. "They have had a strong presence in the area for a good solid month. It wasn't just in the gray zone."

Mr. Drouin said he was stopped about two weeks ago, when a roughly 20-foot-long Border Patrol boat pulled beside him in Cutler's harbor. The agents did not board his boat.

"The patrol approach them just as they do me," Mr. Drouin, who catches tens of thousands of pounds of lobster annually, said about his fellow fishermen from Canada. "They ask what your citizenship is and ask for your name and stuff."

Chris Mills, a former lightkeeper in the Canadian Coast Guard, said he never saw a Border Patrol boat or a United States military vessel pass by when he worked at the Machias Seal Island Lighthouse in 1991 and 1992. He said he found the Border Patrol operation "entirely farcical."

"It's just a small part of a huge sea change in the way Canada is interacting with the U.S. and vice versa, especially with the trade issue," Mr. Mills said. "It will have to be handled carefully by Canada and the States because it will just add fuel to the fire."

To get to the gray zone, fishermen in the United States depart from a port like Cutler, and those in Canada take off from Grand Manan Island in New Brunswick. But once they are in the same waters, it becomes nearly impossible to determine at a glance whether the fishing boats are Canadian or American.

Mr. Drouin said he believed Canadians were overreacting to the Border Patrol stops. "If we had a single boundary line and weren't intermingling, it would be a lot simpler," he said.



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United States Border Patrol officers have stopped at least 10 Canadian fishing vessels near Machias Seal Island off Maine in recent weeks, fishermen said.

# Opinion

## Government-subsidized Christianity

Secular and religious Americans are grateful that laws speak louder than the prayers of the Trump administration.

Susan Jacoby

Many Americans were shocked last week when Attorney General Jeff Sessions turned to the Bible — specifically, Paul's epistle to the Romans — to justify President Trump's policy of separating migrant children from their parents. This scriptural justification for a political decision should not have surprised anyone, because Mr. Trump's administration has consistently treated the separation of church and state as a form of heresy rather than a cherished American value.

Attacks on the wall of separation established by the founders — which the religious right likes to call "a lie of the left" — are nothing new. What has changed under Mr. Trump is the disproportionate political debt he owes to extreme religious conservatives, whose views on church-state issues — ranging from the importance of secular public education to women's and gay rights — are far removed from the American mainstream.

The very meaning of the phrases "religious liberty" and "religious freedom" — traditionally understood as referring to the right of Americans to practice whatever faith they wish or no faith at all — is being altered to mean that government should foster a closer relationship with those who want to mix their Christian faith with taxpayer dollars. This usage can be found in

Changes in language have consequences, as the religious right's successful substitution of "pro-life" for "anti-abortion" has long demonstrated. Religion-related issues, especially if buried in lengthy government documents, can often seem obscure, but they dominated the news at the end of June, when the Supreme Court upheld Mr. Trump's travel ban targeting majority-Muslim countries and struck down a California requirement that anti-abortion, state-licensed pregnancy clinics provide notice to their clients that abortion is an option. These significant rulings were immediately overshadowed by the retirement from the court of the frequent swing voter, Anthony M. Kennedy, which now gives Mr. Trump the opportunity to nominate a predictable religious conservative who would most likely support the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*.

While it is impossible to overstate the long-term importance of the next court appointment, Mr. Sessions and many of his fellow cabinet members offer textbook examples of the ever-present peril of entangling religion with politics. Mr. Sessions's citation of the opening verse of Romans 13, which declares that every soul must be "subject to the governing authorities" and that there is "no authority except that which God has established," inflamed an already bitter debate over immigration.

The White House press secretary, Sarah Huckabee Sanders, followed up with a reminder that it was "very biblical" to enforce the law. Neither went on to quote the verse in the epistle that

proclaims, "Love does no harm to a neighbor; therefore love is the fulfillment of the law."

Many pro-immigration religious leaders, including Catholic Protestants, Jews and Muslims, took umbrage at the biblical justification for a policy that could hardly be described as loving. Their objections, however, were based mainly on the idea that Mr. Sessions had picked the wrong verse.

It was left to secular organizations to identify all religious rationalizations as the fundamental problem. The Center for Inquiry, a secular think tank, and the Freedom From Religion Foundation, on whose honorary boards I serve, issued strong condemnations — as did the Americans United for Separation of Church and State. Rachel Lasser, president of Americans United, put it succinctly: "The separation of church and state means that we don't base public policy on the Bible or any religious book."

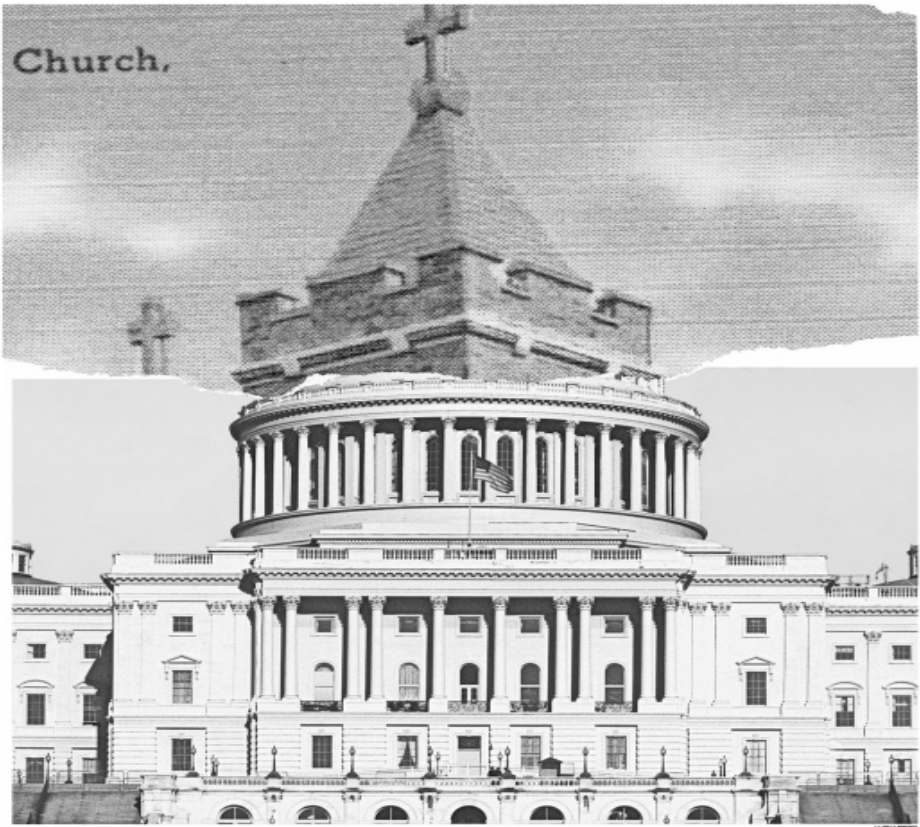
And yet Trump administration officials have used fundamentalist biblical interpretations to support everything from environmental deregulation to tax cuts.

Scott Pruitt, who resigned as head of the Environmental Protection Agency in disgrace Thursday, exited with a letter that repeatedly used the word "blessed" to describe his service. Mr. Pruitt, a former trustee of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, has asserted (while he still had a job) in an interview with the Christian Broadcasting Network that Americans who want stricter environmental standards are contradicting the Bible. He said, "The biblical worldview with respect to these issues is that we have a responsibility to manage and cultivate, harvest the natural resources that we've been blessed with to truly bless our fellow mankind." The treacherous headline recounting the interview in Baptist News read: "God Wants Humans to Use Natural Gas and Oil, Not 'Keep It in the Ground,'" says E.P.A. Chief.

Many evangelical Christians do not share such theocratic fantasies. These evangelicals, like former President Jimmy Carter, are spiritual descendants of Roger Williams, who was banished from the Puritanocracy of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and founded the first Baptist congregation in colonial America. Williams is also credited as the first person to use the phrase "wall of separation." In a 1644 response to the theocratic Puritan clergyman John Cotton, ("There should be a wall of separation between the garden of the church and the wilderness of the world," he wrote), Thomas Jefferson used the expression in a famous 1802 letter to a Baptist congregation in Danbury, Conn.

Williams is an inconvenient figure for today's religious right, which asserts that the only purpose of the "wall of separation" was to protect Americans from government — not government from religion. That was true in early colonial America, but the other side of the equation was well understood by the time the Constitution — which never mentions God and explicitly bars all religious tests for public office — was written. Destructive religious wars in 17th-century Europe, among other factors, led many Americans to the realization that governments could indeed be threatened by a close identification with religion.

President Trump's appointees seem unconcerned about whether statements and actions of acting religious leaders and politics will offend secular and many religious Americans.



Ben Carson, the secretary of housing and urban development and a devout Seventh-day Adventist, has described commitment to the separation of church and state as "crap," prompted by "political correctness."

At a December cabinet meeting, Mr. Carson was asked by Mr. Trump to say a prayer thanking God for the recently passed tax cut bill. Mr. Trump also took a job at the press pool and said, "You need the prayer more than I do, I think." Speaking to Mr. Carson, he added: "Maybe a good prayer and they'll be honest, Ben." Mr. Carson responded by thanking the Almighty for a "courageous president."

Mr. Sessions took on a larger mission last fall when he sent a 25-page memo on "protections for religious liberty" to every federal agency. It warned that government "may not exclude religious organizations as such from secular aid programs, at least when the aid is not being used for explicitly religious activities such as worship or proselytization."

Andrew Seidel, a lawyer with the Freedom From Religion Foundation, notes that although it's hard to know what this will mean in practice, "It's an invitation — but one that carries great authority — to go further and further and further in shrinking the distance between church and state."

Last but not least is Education Secretary Betsy DeVos. Ms. DeVos, raised as a strict Calvinist, has devoted much of her life to promoting private and religious schools over public education. She is particularly proud that last year's tax bill expanded the education savings accounts known as 529s so that they can now be used to pay for private schools, starting from kindergarten.

In May, Ms. DeVos visited New York City, which has the largest public school system in the country. She did not inspect a single public school. Instead, she stopped by two Orthodox Jewish schools and spoke at a fundraiser where she was introduced by Cardinal Timothy Michael Dolan. In

her speech, she expressed support for tax credits to help pay tuition for private schools.

While applauding state initiatives to aid these schools, Ms. DeVos opposes any federal program that would create a new bureaucracy. That is not enough for Cardinal Dolan, who wants federal money (presumably because he knows that New York is unlikely to divert more taxpayer dollars to private schools).

"Some states will need more prayers and more action than others to bring about needed changes," Ms. DeVos acknowledged.

As someone who believes that the separation of church and state provides equally needed protection for government from religion and for religion from government, I am grateful that laws speak louder than prayers — and take longer to craft on this earthly plane.

SUSAN JACOBY is the author of "The Age of American Unreason in a Culture of Lies."

## Why Scarlett Johansson shouldn't play a trans man

It's not about creativity. It's about letting us tell our own stories.

Jennifer Finney Boylan  
Contributing Writer

"It's everything you've always wanted to do," read the promos for "Breakfast at Tiffany's," and Audrey Hepburn's the one you've always wanted to be with."

When I think of that classic 1961 film now, I imagine Hepburn's character, Holly Golightly, swanning through Manhattan in an amazing hat. But for all its fabulous charm, "Tiffany's" can be nearly unwatchable. The problem, of course, is Mickey Rooney, cast as Mr. Yonohshi. With Mr. Rooney outfitted in giant buck teeth, speaking in a mock Japanese accent — well, the racism of the yellowface is more than enough to wreck the film.

Years later its director, Blake Edwards, said, "Looking back, I wish I had never done it."

Mr. Rooney, for his part, said, "Those that didn't like it, I forgive them and God bless America, God bless the universe, God bless Japanese, Chinese, Indians, all of them and let's have peace," a statement that even now seems like a curious misunderstanding of who in this situation most needs forgiving.

I thought of "Breakfast at Tiffany's" this week when it was announced that Scarlett Johansson would be playing the part of a transgender man, Dante Gill, in a film called "Rub and Tug." There has been a heartfelt cry of protest

from the trans community, a group understandably made weary by film after film about our lives without any actual trans people being involved.

The trans actress and activist Jen Richards tweeted, "Until the world stops erasing/oppressing/murdering us, trans women play trans women, trans men play trans men, nonbinary people play NB people. If you project needs a 'star' for financing, then it's simply not good enough."

Trace Lysette, a trans actress and one of the stars of the show "Transparent," said, "I wouldn't be as upset if I was getting in the same rooms as Jennifer Lawrence and Scarlett for cis roles, but we know that's not the case. Not only do you play us and steal our narrative and our opportunity but you put yourselves on the back with trophies and accolades for mimicking what we have lived... so twisted, I'm so done."

People who are not transgender have been quick to shout things like, "This is why it's called 'acting!'" and to wonder what the fuss is all about. Cisgender folks — those who identify with the sex they were assigned at birth — who have never walked in our shoes can't believe the hubris of trans people insisting that we play ourselves in film and television roles, rather than having other people imitate us.

Megyn Kelly assembled a whole panel to opine on her NBC show on Thursday who agreed that objecting to Ms. Johansson's casting "takes away from the creativity of Hollywood."



Scarlett Johansson.

McKellen were able to get me to see them not as actors but as characters is part of their genius.

At the same time, some kinds of casting are simply insulting to our subjects, Mr. Rooney's Mr. Yonohshi being but one painful example. Another is the use of blackface. The very first full-length talking picture was "The Jazz Singer" in which Al Jolson's character impersonates a black man. It is still considered one of the most important movies ever made — but if you watch the film today, it's pretty hard not to cringe at the racism at its center.

There was a time when getting any film made about the trans experience was triumph enough, and I was willing, back then, to endure cis actors playing us. When Will Forte portrayed me on "Saturday Night Live" in 2006, my initial reaction was to be charmed; I made similar allowances, begrudgingly, in 2014 when Jeffrey Tambor was cast as a transgender woman in "Transparent."

But the days of transface are numbered. "I'd like to be the last cis man playing a transgender woman," Mr. Tambor said when he accepted his Emmy for "Transparent" in 2016 (in a role from which he has since been fired). "It would be one thing if trans people had told their stories for hundreds of years, but they haven't. It's really a problem. It's time to hand out the keys to the kingdom and open the gates."

There are two reasons that we should open those gates. First, as Ms. Richards and Ms. Lysette make clear, there are hundreds, if not thousands, of trans actors ready to play these parts. We deserve the chance to represent our own truth.

Second, there's usually something slightly off when cisgender actors play us. People who aren't trans don't see it; they give each other awards and weepily hail their bravery. Jared Leto and Eddie Redmayne were lauded for their courage portraying trans women on film ("Dallas Buyers Club" and "The Danish Girl") — but not so much by transgender women themselves, many of whom found the performances mannered, studied and implausible.

If you haven't walked in our shoes, you wouldn't notice the difference. But we have, and we do.

Trans actors should play trans roles because we can do the best job at representing our truth. The freedom to live our lives out loud ought to include the chance to make art from the complex, difficult, joyful reality of our lives.

When Hollywood tells us that they love us, that we belong to them, we need to resist. Like Holly Golightly, we need to say, once and for all, "I'll never let anyone put me in a cage."

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## WHY NATO STILL MATTERS

The allies are looking with dread to this week's summit as Mr. Trump continues his campaign to undermine a decades-old partnership.

As Lord Ismay, NATO's first secretary general, somewhat cheekily observed, the trans-Atlantic alliance was created to "keep the Soviet Union out, the Americans in and the Germans down." Seven decades later, those goals have largely been met (yes, the Germans have risen, but in the right ways), and many people — including, evidently, the president of the United States — wonder whether the alliance still has a purpose.

It does. It remains the most successful military alliance in history, the anchor of an American-led and American-financed peace that fostered Western prosperity and prevented new world wars.

Born after World War II, NATO linked America and Europe not just in a mutual defense pledge but in advancing democratic governance, the rule of law, civil and human rights, and an increasingly open international economy.

American military protection gave the allies space to develop their economies and pluralistic societies. Despite compromises and occasional failures, the experiment was broadly successful.

During its existence, NATO has often been strained as the security and political environment evolved. After the Cold War, it found a new purpose, defending Muslims in the Balkans, and after 9/11, helping the United States fight terrorists in Afghanistan, Iraq, Africa and elsewhere.

Former Communist countries swelled the alliance from 12 members to 29, with others knocking on the door even now, concerned about an aggrieved and aggressive Russia.

Yet NATO is being weakened from within — by members' failure to spend enough on defense; by the rise of nationalism and authoritarianism, especially in Turkey, Hungary and Poland; and perhaps most of all, by President Trump, who seems to prefer President Vladimir Putin of Russia to America's European allies.

NATO has always depended on leadership from the United States, the world's biggest economy and most lethal military power. Mr. Trump not only doesn't want to lead the West, he has denigrated the alliance, bullied its leaders and accused NATO and the European Union of exploiting American largess.

At a rally in Montana last week, he complained that while the United States is protecting Europe, "they kill us on trade."

"We're the schmucks that are paying for the whole thing," the president said. "I'll see NATO and I'll tell NATO, 'You've got to start paying your bills.'"

While his predecessors often pressed the allies to raise their military budgets, Mr. Trump has a singular view of NATO as a transactional relationship in which members pay for protection.

Many allies can do more to reach the target level of spending 2 percent of their annual G.D.P. on defense by 2024. Faced with the Russian threat and Mr. Trump's pressure, they are making real progress toward this goal, for which the president can take some credit.

But NATO is not a golf club, and money, the only thing Mr. Trump prizes, is just one, narrow measure of the costs and benefits of belonging. This president has shown no understanding of the power of partnership, and the reciprocal nature of its bonds, in an alliance that stands for something far bigger than paying your dues on time.

Mr. Trump is burning up all the credit the United States has accrued with our allies across decades by attacking the basis of this alliance, if not the very idea of any alliance — thus, deliberately or not, doing the bidding of Mr. Putin in his quest to divide the West.

The NATO meeting is expected to approve significant new steps to contain Russia, which most of the allies, and most of Mr. Trump's senior advisers, recognize as a threat, even if the president does not. These measures include establishing two new military commands, expanding cyberwarfare and counterterrorism efforts and approving a new plan to speed the reinforcement of troops and equipment to Poland and the Baltic States to deter Russian aggression.

At this week's gathering, the result that matters most is a firm and convincing commitment to a strong NATO, ready to contribute to stability today, and to adapt to future challenges. With no coherent vision of his own to make Americans, and democracy generally, more secure in a world without NATO, Mr. Trump would do well to make that commitment, and honor the friends we have.



A scene from Shanghai Disneyland. The entrance was chaotic, but inside the 963-acre park the crowds were polite. Everyone waited patiently in long lines.

PHOTOGRAPH BY WANG LIU

## Mickey Mouse goes to China

Reagan Louie

**SHANGHAI** The crush at the entrance to Shanghai Disneyland was particularly chaotic, even for China. Squeezed and jostled, I cursed under my breath.

It didn't seem like this was going to be the happiest place on earth if everyone kept trying to cut in line.

But once inside the park, the crowds changed behavior. They were polite. Everyone waited patiently in long lines, respectfully observing rules like no spitting or allowing children to use bushes as toilets. They behaved like loyal Disney fans everywhere. As I reflected on my memories, my excitement both as child and as parent, I wondered what the Chinese, adults and children, were feeling and thinking. I pondered the larger questions of how culture and values are transmitted and internalized. How does indoctrination work?

**A trip to Shanghai Disneyland.** Shanghai Disneyland, the first Disney theme park in mainland China, opened in 2016 after five years of construction. I visited the 963-acre park last year. And I had my family on my mind the whole time.

Watching Chinese families frolic in Walt's magic kingdom drew me back to the first time my parents took me to Disneyland in Anaheim — and the first time I introduced Disney to my own children. For my parents, Chinese immigrants to the United States, bringing the family to Disneyland was a partial fulfillment of the American dream.

When I began photographing in China in the early 1980s, Chinese people seemed wary of anything cultural. Most Chinese distrusted the Communist Party's sanctioned art; it was not entertainment, it was propaganda. They knew it was all fake, but had little opportunity to express their own individual experiences. The government's ham-handed attempts at culture pushed toward foreign influences, especially American.

Like America in the 1950s, China is now undergoing a middle-class boom with similar aspirations; material wealth, leisure, travel, sophistication. For American baby boomers, visiting Disneyland became a necessary rite of passage. Globalization has helped make institutions like Disney popular in China. Will going to Disneyland now become a ritual for aspirational Chinese families?

When the park was still in the planning stages, the Chinese government insisted Shanghai Disneyland needed

to be different from the other magic kingdoms, especially the parks in Asia, which are copies of their American counterparts. Iconic figures and structures, like Mickey and the Enchanted Castle, are of course featured. But Main Street — too Western — was replaced by Mickey Avenue, a mash-up of Western and Eastern architecture. The castle, the largest of the six Disney castles, accommodates all the princesses in the Disney universe — perhaps because only one princess would be too elitist for Communists. And although there are long lines for giant turkey legs, Chinese food remains the most popular fare. The result, as Disney's C.E.O., Bob Iger, claims, is a park that is "authentically Disney, distinctly Chinese."

I asked several Chinese park-goers what their Disney experience was like. Were they assimilating Western values or simply having a good time? Older teenagers and adults claimed immunity to any ideology. But I am not so sure the youngest children were unaffected. Watching the pleasure and joy in their faces, girls in their princess costumes, convinced me that some of Walt's values — American values — were leaking through.

REAGAN LOUIE is a photographer and artist based in San Francisco.

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The Chinese government wanted this outpost to be different from other parks in Asia, which are copies of their U.S. counterparts.

OPINION

# The fruit juice delusion

Erika R. Cheng  
Lauren G. Flechtner  
Aaron E. Carroll

Obesity affects 40 percent of adults and 19 percent of children in the United States and accounts for more than \$168 billion in health care spending each year. Sugary beverages are thought to be one of the major drivers of the obesity epidemic. These drinks (think soda and sports drinks) are the largest single source of added sugars for Americans and contribute, on average, 145 added calories a day to our diets. For these reasons, reducing sugary beverage consumption has been a significant focus of public health intervention. Most efforts have focused on sodas.

But not juice. Juice, for some reason, gets a pass. It's not clear why. Americans drink a lot of juice. The average adult drinks 6.6 gallons per year. More than half of preschool-age children (ages 2 to 5) drink juice regularly, a proportion that, unlike for sodas, has not budged in recent decades. These children consume on average 10 ounces per day, more than twice the amount recommended by the American Academy of Pediatrics. Parents tend to associate juice with healthfulness, are unaware of its relationship to weight gain and are reluctant to restrict it in their child's diet. After all, 100 percent fruit juice — sold in handy individual servings — has been marketed as a natural source of

vitamins and calcium. Department of Agriculture guidelines state that up to half of fruit servings can be provided in the form of 100 percent juice and recommend drinking fortified orange juice for the vitamin D. Some brands of juice are even marketed to infants.

Government programs designed to provide healthy food for children, such as the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children, offer juice for kids. Researchers have found that children in the program are more likely to exceed the recommended daily fruit juice limit than those who are similarly poor but not enrolled.

Despite all the marketing and government support, fruit juices contain limited nutrients and tons of sugar. In fact, one 12-ounce glass of orange juice contains 10 teaspoons of sugar, which is roughly what's in a can of Coke.

Drinking fruit juice is not the same as eating whole fruit. While eating certain fruits like apples and grapes is associated with a reduced risk of diabetes, drinking fruit juice is associated with the opposite. Juices contain more concentrated sugar and calories. They also have less fiber, which makes you feel full. Because juice can be consumed quickly, it is more likely than whole fruit to contribute to excess carbohydrate intake. For example, research has found that adults who drank apple juice before a meal felt

hungrier and ate more calories than those who started with an apple instead. Children who drink juice instead of eating fruit may similarly feel less full and may be more likely to snack throughout the day.

Juice may also be a "gateway beverage" — 3-year-olds who drank more juice also drank more sugary beverages, including more soda, in their school-age years. Children's excessive consumption of juice has been linked to an increased risk of weight gain, short stature and cavities. Even in the absence of weight gain, sugar consumption worsens blood pressure and increases cholesterol.

It's tempting to minimize the negative contributions of juice to our diets because it's "natural" or because it contains "vitamins." Studies that support this view exist, but many are biased and have been questioned.

And we doubt you'd take a multivitamin if it contained 10 teaspoons of sugar.

There is no evidence that juice improves health. It should be treated like other sugary beverages, which are fine to have periodically if you want them, but not because you need them. Parents should instead serve water and focus on trying to increase children's intake of whole fruit. Juice should no longer be served regularly in day care centers and schools. Public health efforts should challenge government guidelines that equate fruit juice with whole fruit, because these guidelines most likely fuel the false perception that drinking fruit juice is good for health.

It's much easier to prevent obesity than it is to reverse it. We need to teach kids how to eat healthier when they're young so that they develop good habits to carry on for the rest of their lives. In the past decade or so, we have succeeded in recognizing the harms of sugary beverages like soda. We can't keep pretending that juice is different.

ERIKA R. CHENG is an assistant professor of pediatrics at Indiana University School of Medicine. LAUREN G. FLECHTNER is an assistant professor of pediatrics at Harvard Medical School and the director of nutrition at MassGeneral Hospital for Children. AARON E. CARROLL, the author of *The Bad Food Bible: How and Why to Eat Smarter*, is a professor of pediatrics at Indiana University School of Medicine.



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## GREAT OCEAN GARBAGE PATCH



CHRISTOPHER

## The president reeks of fear



Charles M. Blow

I can smell Donald Trump's fear from here. His panic. His anxiety.

And yet, I do have a full picture of what is causing it.

The only people who know what has been discovered in the Russian election meddling probe are Special Counsel Robert Mueller and his team, and they aren't talking.

But President Trump no doubt knows far more about it than the rest of us, and what he knows — or what he fears — appears to be a consuming preoccupation. He frets about the investigation constantly.

Part of this is an overt play to bend public opinion, to besmirch whatever conclusions the investigation might reach and to ward off any attempt at a possible impeachment.

As The New York Times reported last week about the president and his legal team:

"They have come to believe that, if the Democrats win control of the House in November, the chamber will vote on whether to begin the impeachment process no matter the outcome of Mr. Mueller's investigation. So they want to sway Americans — and by extension, lawmakers."

The Times quoted Rudy Giuliani, one of the president's lawyers, as saying, "Nobody is going to consider impeachment if public opinion has concluded this is an unfair investigation, and that's why public opinion is so important."

Politico reported on this strategy in May, writing: "President Donald Trump and his lawyers have made a strategic calculation that their fight against Special Counsel Robert Mueller is more political than it is legal. They're banking that the lead Russia investigator will

follow longstanding Justice Department practice that a sitting president can't be indicted, and that the only real threat to Trump's survival is impeachment."

Politico continued: "So long as that theory holds, Trump's plan is to forcefully challenge Mueller in the arena he knows best — not the courtroom but the media, with a public campaign aimed at the special counsel's credibility, especially among Republican voters and G.O.P. members of Congress."

In May, CNN's Dana Bash interviewed Giuliani, and she posited that the "Spygate" saga was "an intentional strategy to undermine the investigation, knowing that they, the investigators, the special counsel, it's their policy not to talk. But you are very free to and are very aggressive about doing so."

Giuliani responded in part: "Of course, we have to do it in defending the president. We are defending — to a large extent, remember, Dana, we are defending here, it is for public opinion, because eventually the decision here is going to be impeach, not impeach. Members of Congress, Democrat and Republican, are going to be informed a lot by their constituents. So, our jury is the American — as it should be — is the American people."

Yes, there is some impeachment fervor on the left, now that party leaders have tried to tamp down, fervor even in advance of Mueller's findings. But there also appears to be very real impeachment fear in the Trump inner circle.

One has to ask: Why exactly is impeachment front of mind for these people? If they were as innocent as they publicly proclaim, they would know that impeachment would be out of the question as a matter of fact and law. But that is apparently not the case.

Do they believe that Democrats would take the politically disastrous step of moving to impeach Trump even

if Mueller fully exonerated him? I don't believe so. I believe that Trump is conducting himself as only a guilty man would, one who has a very real and well-founded fear that he is in imminent jeopardy.

He is girding for the fight. In May, Trump added Emmet T. Flood, a lawyer who represented Bill Clinton during his impeachment, to his legal team.

And in May 2017, CNN reported: "White House lawyers have begun researching impeachment procedures in an effort to prepare for what officials still believe is a distant possibility that President Donald Trump could have to fend off attempts to remove him from office, two people briefed on the discussions tell CNN."

Impeachment is always on Trump's mind, and so he relentlessly pursues his strategy of creating a climate of incredulity to ward it off.

Just on Saturday, he tweeted: "Public opinion has turned strongly against the Rigged Witch Hunt and the 'Special Counsel because the public understands that there was no Collusion with Russia (so ridiculous), that the two FBI lovers were a fraud against our Nation & that the only Collusion was with the Dems!"

But that strategy of discrediting the investigation seems to be working almost exclusively among Trump's base. As CNN reported in May about "a slight negative shift overall" in public approval of Mueller's handling of the investigation:

"Just about all of that change has come from Republicans, who now give Mueller a 17 percent approval rating, down from 29 percent in March. Among Democrats and independents, approval ratings for Mueller have not changed significantly."

Trump has done and said many heinous things as president and before, but it is highly unlikely that any would be solid ground for a successful impeachment. However, damning findings from Mueller would create that solid ground.

Yet Trump contends that there's no there there. If not, why is he acting like there is?

## As Trump retreats, the West reels

TRUDOLYUBOV, FROM PAGE 1 created when World War II ended with Soviet troops occupying the northern part of the Korean Peninsula and American troops the south. After North Korea invaded the South in 1950, only to be driven back to China's border by American-led forces, the fighting didn't stop until Chinese troops poured in and restored Communist control in the North.

A person of Mr. Putin's age and experience cannot help seeing in Korea a likeness to divided Germany. Having served in East Germany as a K.G.B. officer, Mr. Putin was deeply dismayed at the Soviet Union's decision nearly three decades ago to give up control of what had been the Communists' East Bloc. Today, his most powerful narrative of grievance is of the West expanding its institutions — especially NATO — to Russia's western border. He would surely be loath to see the West achieve a matching situation at its eastern door.

In opening the prospects, however distant, for a reunification of the Korean Peninsula, the Singapore meeting did — at least in appearance — sideline Russia and even China. But was the United States still acting as "the West" in doing so? Or had it also sidelined its own allies, which include South Korea and Japan?

Keep in mind yet another summit meeting — in Canada with the Group of 7 powers, all Western-allied — that immediately preceded the Singapore meeting. Mr. Trump essentially dismantled the collective "West" by throwing that gathering into disarray over tariffs and the Iran nuclear deal. He then flew to Singapore and elevated Mr. Kim to a respectable world statesman.

For decades, the united West saw the Kim dynasty's totalitarian principalities as a murderous anti-Western dictatorship. But if you take away the unity, the values of the West disappear with it. So

does any "anti-West." And persecution on political and religious grounds, abductions of other countries' citizens, extrajudicial killings by the North Korean regime and similar issues were conspicuously absent from Mr. Trump's remarks at a news conference after the talks in Singapore. He said he had raised those subjects with Mr. Kim, but then made it clear that denuclearization had taken precedence over human rights.

For his part, Mr. Putin, speaking to Chinese reporters in Qingdao, called Mr. Trump's decision to meet Mr. Kim "very brave and mature." Mr. Putin's detractors in Russia reacted differently. "The meeting was depressing to watch,"

Leonid Volkov, who is active in opposition politics, wrote on Telegram, Russia's social networking app. "It's hard to forget that this armistice is the commandant of the world's largest prison camp," he said, referring to Mr. Kim.

China was not entirely absent from the lead-up to the Singapore talks. To be sure, Mr. Kim was the first to signal, in March, a willingness to discuss with America the fate of Pyongyang's nuclear program — an invitation Mr. Trump greeted enthusiastically. But later that month, Mr. Kim traveled to consult President Xi Jinping, and they met again before the summit.

It also is significant that the Singapore agreement's terms were left vague, and that any detailed discussion that may now follow would have to include China, which accounts for 90 percent of North Korea's trade volume and most of its energy supplies.

In addition, Beijing and Moscow are

wary of the possibility of a future American effort to topple the North Korean regime. Pyongyang's complete denuclearization in exchange for a guarantee of regime security is derided by some in Moscow as a "Libyan model," the Russian foreign policy commentator Vladimir Frolov wrote recently.

Mr. Kim is of course aware of this view, and Mr. Trump assured him of security.

It is likely that without Mr. Xi's nod, Mr. Kim would not have met with Mr. Trump. And China may have kept its distance and let the American president steal the spotlight, hoping that a peaceful North Korea colonized by Chinese, Russian and American businesses might emerge and make an American presence on the peninsula irrelevant.

This is not to suggest that Mr. Trump was doing China's or Russia's bidding. He had reasons of his own to want a deal — or the appearance of a deal.

But he was not acting as a leader of a collective West. He was acting alone. And that was enough to make an agreement between him and Pyongyang palatable to China and Russia.

Welcome to the post-Cold War, post-values world. Mr. Trump's foreign policy ignores concerns about other countries' political structures as long as a deal can be reached. He clearly prefers bilateral deals to multilateral accords. He enjoys politics that are personal rather than institutional.

So his political goals thus align better with those of China or Russia than with Europe's — or with the postwar policies with which America built long-term strategic partnerships.

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# Business



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## Looking for the real Oprah

SAN FRANCISCO

Social media accounts that pose as celebrity sites bedevil public figures

BY JACK NICAS

Kip Moore, a country music singer-songwriter with hits like "Beer Money" and "Hey Pretty Girl," has had some disturbing experiences with fans lately. At some shows, women have approached him demanding to know why he stopped chatting with them on Instagram or Facebook. Some said they left their husbands to be with him after he said he loved them. Now they could be together, the women told him.

"They're handing me a letter, you know, 'Here's the divorce papers. I've left so and so,'" Mr. Moore, 38, said. "If I check my inbox right now, I'd have hundreds of these messages. But I try not to check it, because it disheartens me."

Mr. Moore, fueled by his country music fame, is a victim of what has become a widespread phenomenon: identity theft on social media. Recent searches found at least 28 accounts impersonating him on Facebook and at least 61 on Instagram. Many of the accounts send messages to his fans promising love and asking for money. Those who get duped often direct their anger at the real Mr. Moore.

The issue of fake social media accounts masquerading as public figures is acute. Facebook, Instagram and Twitter team with accounts that mimic ordinary people to spread propaganda or to be sold as followers to those who want to appear more influential. But millions of the phony profiles pose specifically as actors, singers, politicians and other well-known figures to broadcast false-

hoods, cheat people out of money — or worse. Last year, the Australian authorities charged a 42-year-old man with more than 900 child sex offenses for impersonating Justin Bieber on Facebook and other sites to solicit nude photos from minors.

The sheer volume of social media impostors poses a challenge to even the wealthiest celebrities. In a video last year, Oprah Winfrey warned her Twitter followers that "somebody out there is trying to scam you using my name and my avatar on social media, asking for money."

It was an unusual step. Harriet Seidler, chief marketing officer for the Oprah Winfrey Network, said her team only reports Ms. Winfrey's social media impersonators that try to sell tickets to shows or to solicit donations when they gain traction. "There's way too many to try to actively police them day in and day out," Ms. Seidler said.

Even Facebook's top executives, including Mark Zuckerberg, have struggled with impostors.

To get a sense of the scale of the problem, The New York Times commissioned an analysis to tally the number of impostors across social media for the 10 most followed people on Instagram, including Beyoncé and Taylor Swift. The analysis, conducted by Social Impostor, a firm that protects celebrities' names online, found nearly 9,000 accounts across Facebook, Instagram and Twitter pretending to be those 10 people.

The Brazilian soccer player Neymar was the subject of the most fake accounts, 1,676. The pop star Selena Gomez was second, with 1,389, according to the analysis, which was completed in April and did not count explicit parody or fan pages. Beyoncé had 714 impersonators; Ms. Swift had 233, the least among the group.

Twitter, Instagram and Facebook

have compounded the problem with lax enforcement of their own policies prohibiting impostors. Some people who report such accounts said the sites had gotten better at removing them, but others said the companies did not police them adequately. Most people agreed that once the sites erased the accounts, they did little to keep those behind them from creating new ones.

"It's just a Band-Aid," Mr. Moore said. Facebook and its Instagram unit said they were cracking down on fake accounts. The social network said it had recently added software that automatically detected impostors and frauds, which it used to remove more than a million accounts since March.

Yet in April, tucked away in the fine print of an earnings document, Facebook increased its estimate of fake accounts on the site by 20 million — to as many as 80 million accounts, or about 4 percent of the total number of accounts. The company said the site's sheer size made it difficult to measure the problem.

"Facebook and Instagram are really powerful ways to connect, and because of that, you have no shortage of people trying to use those systems in nefarious ways," said Scott Dickens, a Facebook product manager who develops tools to fight hoaxes. "Those sets of people will continue to get smarter to evade detection capabilities that we put in place."

How easy is it to impersonate someone online? To find out, I created my own impostors.

For those at home: I do not recommend doing this. Making fake social media accounts, even of yourself, is forbidden by the companies' terms of service. After I made the accounts, I also informed the companies so that the profiles could be removed.

Making the duplicate accounts turned out to be a breeze. I created eight Facebook accounts in one hour recently that

purported to be me, using my exact name and job title and a photo pulled from my verified profile.

All that was required was a different email address for each account. (Email addresses are free and plentiful on the internet.)

On the fifth account, Facebook blocked me from using my name. I thought the jig was up. Then I added a middle initial, and the profile was approved. Later, I deleted the middle initial.

After I had created eight fake accounts, Facebook began requiring a phone number. So I waited a few days and then created three more.

The fake accounts were live for five days before I reported them via Facebook's site. The company removed them all within minutes.

I used many of the same email addresses to construct Instagram impostors of myself. Instagram made it trickier, sometimes requiring a phone number, which I never offered, or blocking me outright. But by using several different devices, like my wife's phone, I eventually created 10 profiles with my name and bio and a photo pulled from my verified account.

I then reported the 10 accounts to Instagram. The photo-sharing site removed five after a day. The other five were still active more than four days later.

Twitter was better. After I successfully created one impostor, the company blocked me from using my actual profile photo on a second phony account. The company quickly removed the impostor when I reported it.

I could have created many more accounts if I was willing to pay to do so. Dozens of websites reviewed by The Times sell bulk Facebook, Instagram and Twitter accounts. Scam artists can pick from detailed menus: accounts

## U.S. threatens stun world health agency

Delegates try to upend routine agreement on value of breast-feeding

BY ANDREW JACOBS

A resolution to encourage breast-feeding was expected to be approved quickly and easily by the hundreds of government delegates who gathered this spring in Geneva for the United Nations-affiliated World Health Assembly.

Based on decades of research, the resolution says that mother's milk is healthiest for children and countries should strive to limit the inaccurate or misleading marketing of breast milk substitutes.

Then the United States delegation, embracing the interests of infant formula manufacturers, upended the deliberations.

American officials sought to water down the resolution by removing language that called on governments to "protect, promote and support breast-feeding" and to pass laws that called on policymakers to restrict the promotion of food products that many experts say can have deleterious effects on young children.

When that failed, they turned to threats, according to diplomats and government officials who took part in the discussions. Ecuador, which had planned to introduce the measure, was the first to itself in the cross hairs.

The Americans were blunt: If Ecuador refused to drop the resolution, Washington would unleash punishing trade measures and withdraw crucial military aid. The Ecuadorian government quickly acquiesced.

The showdown over the issue was recounted by more than a dozen participants from several countries, many of whom requested anonymity because they feared retaliation from the United States.

Health advocates scrambled to find another sponsor for the resolution, but at least a dozen countries, most of them poor nations in Africa and Latin America, backed off, citing fears of retaliation, according to officials from Uruguay, Mexico and the United States.

"We were astonished, appalled and also saddened," said Patti Rundall, the policy director of the British advocacy group Baby Milk Action, who has attended meetings of the assembly, the decision-making body of the World Health Organization, since the late 1980s.

"What happened was tantamount to blackmail, with the U.S. holding the world hostage and trying to overturn nearly 40 years of consensus on the best way to protect infant and young child health," she said.

In the end, the Americans' efforts were mostly unsuccessful. The Russians ultimately stepped in to introduce the measure — and the Americans did not threaten them to speak to the media.

The State Department declined to respond to questions, saying it could not discuss private diplomatic conversations. The Department of Health and Human Services, the lead agency in the effort to modify the resolution, explained the decision to contest the resolution's wording but said the agency was not involved in threatening Ecuador.

"The resolution as originally drafted places unnecessary burdens for mothers seeking to provide nutrition to their children," an agency spokesman said in an email. "We recognize not all women are able to breast-feed for a variety of reasons. These women should have the choice and access to alternatives for the health of their babies, and not be stigmatized for the ways in which they are able to do so." The spokesman asked to remain anonymous in order to speak more freely.

Although lobbyists from the baby food industry attended the meetings in Geneva, health advocates said they saw no evidence that industry players played a role in Washington's strong-arm tactics. The \$70 billion industry, which is dominated by a handful of American and European companies, has seen sales flatten in wealthy countries in recent years, as more women embrace breast-feeding. Over all, global sales are expected to rise by 4 percent in 2018, according to Euromonitor, with most of that growth occurring in developing nations.

The intensity of the administration's opposition to the breast-feeding resolution stunned public health officials and foreign diplomats, who described it as a marked contrast to the Obama administration, which largely supported the World Health Organization's longstanding policy of encouraging breast-feeding.

During the deliberations, some American delegates even suggested that the United States might cut its contribution to the organization, several negotiators said. Washington is the single largest contributor to the health organization, providing \$845 million, or roughly 15 percent of its budget, last year.

The confrontation was the latest example of the Trump administration's siding with corporate interests on numerous public health and environmental issues.

In talks to renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement, the

Americans have been pushing for language that would limit the ability of Canada, Mexico and the United States to put warning labels on junk food and sugary beverages, according to a draft of the proposal reviewed by The New York Times.

During the same Geneva meeting where the breast-feeding resolution was debated, the United States succeeded in removing statements supporting soda taxes from a document that advises countries grappling with soaring rates of obesity.

The Americans also sought, unsuccessfully, to thwart a W.H.O. effort aimed at helping poor countries obtain access to lifesaving medicines. Washington, supporting the pharmaceutical industry, has long resisted calls to modify patent laws as a way of increasing drug availability in the developing world, but health advocates say the Trump administration has ratcheted up its opposition to such efforts.

The delegation's actions in Geneva are in keeping with the tactics of an administration that has been upending alliances and long-established practices across a range of multilateral organizations, from the Paris climate accord to the Iran nuclear deal to Nafta.

Ilona Kickbusch, director of the Global Health Centre at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, said there was a growing fear that the Trump administration could cause lasting damage to international health institutions like the W.H.O. that have been vital in containing epidemics like Ebola and the rising death toll from diabetes and cardiovascular disease in the developing world.

"It's making everyone very nervous, because if you can't agree on health multilateralism, what kind of multilateralism can you agree on?" Ms. Kickbusch asked.



SALES IN WEALTHY COUNTRIES HAVE FLATTENED FOR THE INFANT FORMULA INDUSTRY.

A Russian delegate said the decision to introduce the breast-feeding resolution was a matter of principle.

"We're not trying to be a hero here, but we feel that it is wrong when a big country tries to pass around some very small countries, especially on an issue that is really important for the rest of the world," said the delegate, who asked not to be identified because he was not authorized to speak to the media.

He said the United States did not directly pressure Moscow to back away from the measure. Nevertheless, the American delegation sought to wear down other participants through procedural maneuvers in a series of meetings that stretched on for two days, an unexpectedly long period.

In the end, the United States was largely unsuccessful. The final resolution preserved most of the original wording, though American negotiators did get language removed that called on the W.H.O. to provide technical support to member states seeking to halt "inappropriate promotion of foods for infants and young children."

The United States also insisted that the words "evidence-based" accompany references to long-established initiatives that promote breast-feeding, which critics described as a ploy that could be used to undermine programs that provide parents with feeding advice and support.

At Nestlé laboratories, the Chicago-based company that is one of the biggest players in the \$70 billion baby food market, declined to comment.

Nestlé, the Switzerland-based food giant, sought to distance itself from the threats with officials in Quito, the Ecuadorian capital, that the Trump administration might also retaliate by withdrawing the military assistance it has been providing in northern Ecuador, a region wracked by violence spilling across the border from Colombia, according to an Ecuadorian government official who took part in the meeting.

"We were shocked because we didn't understand how such a small matter like breast-feeding could provoke such a dramatic response," said the Ecuadorian official, who asked not to be identified because she was afraid of losing her job.

Wesley Tomasselli contributed reporting from Colombia.

BUSINESS

# Businesses sign up those who wrote tax law

WASHINGTON

With legislative future uncertain, policy creators sprint to lobbying jobs

BY ALAN RAPPEPORT

Six months after Republicans pushed a \$1.5 trillion tax overhaul through Congress, many of the most influential players who worked behind the scenes on the legislation are no longer on Capitol Hill or in the Trump administration.

They are now lobbyists. The two-way street between lobbying and lawmaking is well worn in Washington. But after President Trump's campaign pledge to "drain the swamp," there was some speculation that the so-called special interests might be sidelined. And while the frenetic two-month race last year to pass the tax legislation left some lobbyists marginalized, the businesses now scrambling to navigate the changes are increasingly recruiting the people who wrote it.

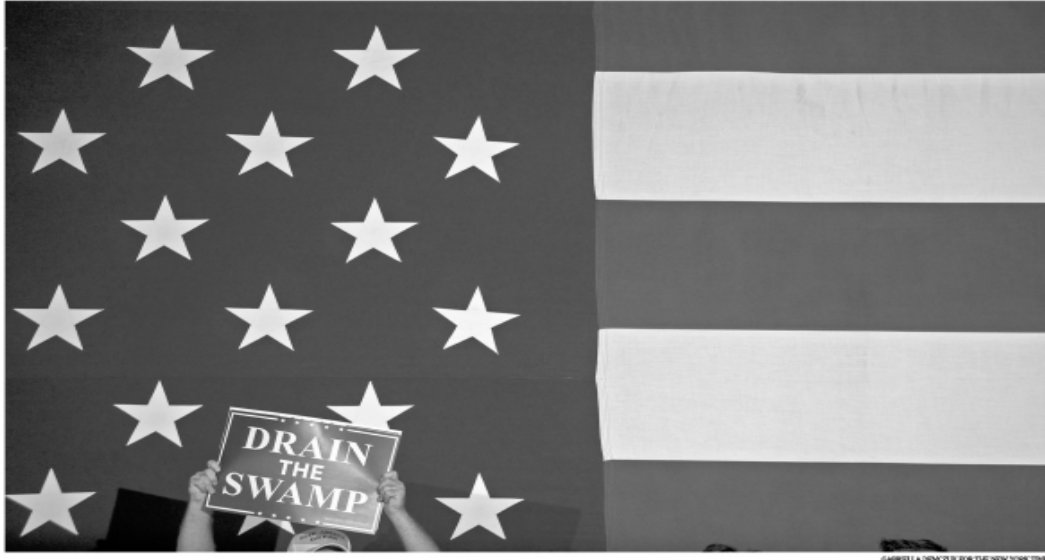
With the November midterm elections near, and the possibility that Republicans could lose control of the House or the Senate, staff members have additional motivation to move on.

"Companies are looking to better understand the legislation and potentially affect future changes, which is why they are snatching up top talent," said Ken Spain, a Republican consultant who works on financial and tax issues. "With the uncertainty of the election looming, Republican staffers are quietly making themselves available to K Street while they can still demand top asking price."

While they might not be household names, those who have worked on the private sector play a major role in the passage of the most sweeping tax bill in three decades. More than a dozen people have already migrated this year, and more are expected to follow as the elections draw closer.

In June, the Clearing House Association, an advocacy group focused on financial regulation, announced that it had hired Shahira Knight to lead its new venture with the Financial Services Roundtable. Ms. Knight was deputy director of the White House's National Economic Council and a close aide to Gary Cohn, Mr. Trump's top economic adviser. Mr. Knight, who worked for Mr. Short, the White House's legislative affairs director, is expected to leave in the coming months.

The Treasury Department has also



A member of the audience at President Trump's rally last week in Montana. Since taking office, Mr. Trump has strengthened some lobbying restrictions but weakened others.

lost top talent in the last month. Drew Maloney, who was the assistant secretary for legislative affairs and the agency's chief liaison with Congress, will in August become the president and chief executive of the American Investment Council, the lobbying group for the private equity industry. And Jared Sawyer, Treasury's deputy assistant secretary for financial institutions policy, has just started at Rich Fourer Anderson, a financial services lobbying firm.

With little time left on the legislative calendar and more gridlock in store, some of these departing officials may feel that staying in the government offers diminishing returns.

"If you think about administrations historically, a lot of what is accomplished is in the first year or 18 months,"

Mr. Maloney said in an interview. "Many staffs spend years and never accomplish what we did at Treasury in a limited amount of time, between tax legislation, financial services reform, Cfus reforms and sanctions." He was referring to the recent rollback of some rules for smaller banks and the likely passage of legislation that would expand the ability of the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States to block international mergers on national security grounds.

Staff members on committees in Congress have also moved on. Perhaps the most high-profile departure this year was Mark Prater, the longtime tax counsel of the Senate Finance Committee who joined the tax advisory firm PricewaterhouseCoopers in June. In May,

Brendan Dunn, the policy adviser and counsel to the Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell, left to become a policy partner at the lobbying firm Akin Gump to focus on tax policy matters.

The staff of the House Ways and Means Committee, which started the tax-writing process, has experienced an exodus of its own. David Stewart, the committee's staff director, left this spring to take a job in the public policy practice of the law firm Squire Patton Boggs. The committee also lost its coalition director, its general counsel, a speechwriter and several communications aides to lobbying groups like the Chamber of Commerce. Jobs in government affairs at companies like Microsoft and MGM International.

Administration and congressional

staff members can often double or triple their salaries while working a fraction of their government hours by joining lobbying firms.

The migration from lawmaking to lobbying has occurred under both Democratic and Republican presidents. Congressional staff members often make the switch after the enactment of major legislation, and experts who chart the influence of money in politics noted a similar trend, perhaps to a lesser degree, after the passage of the Affordable Care Act under President Barack Obama.

"This year, the revolving door is particularly swinging out of control," said Craig Holman, government affairs lobbyist at Public Citizen, an advocacy group that promotes lobbying reform.

## Unwilling to stay out

Advertising executive challenges ex-employer in bid for marketing firm

BY SAPNA MAHESHWARI

Martin Sorrell reigned as one of the most influential leaders in the advertising industry for three decades as the chief executive of the marketing colossus WPP. After he abruptly resigned in April following an investigation into alleged personal misconduct, the normally sharp-tongued, frenetic 73-year-old slipped unexpectedly out of sight.

But not for long. By the end of May, Mr. Sorrell had created a new advertising company called S4 Capital, which he pitched last month at the annual advertising bacchanal in Cannes, France. While there, he spoke at events where he defended his reputation and criticized WPP for how it had handled his departure.

Then last week, Mr. Sorrell clashed more directly with his former employer, with both vying to purchase the same Dutch marketing firm.

In a letter to Mr. Sorrell on Tuesday telling him that he was risking his future stock awards, worth millions of dollars, by aiming to buy the Dutch firm, according to a person familiar with the letter, he stated its contents "in the condition of anonymity. The letter said that WPP started considering an acquisition of the firm, called MediaMonks, in November 2017. Mr. Sorrell, who was then still running the company, "was heavily engaged in this process," it said, even traveling to the Netherlands to meet with the company's management team.

That would make his separate pursuit of S4 Capital a maturing business opportunity from WPP, and would most likely breach his confidentiality agreement, which would threaten the stock awards, the letter said.

Mr. Sorrell said the claims were inaccurate and represented "a weak and feeble attempt by WPP to destabilize" S4 Capital's bid for MediaMonks.

The scuffle has put a spotlight on Mr. Sorrell's ambitions after WPP which he founded in the 1980s, and his efforts to push past his unceremonious exit.

"Bidding on the same thing as WPP is that a coincidence — of all the things in the world!" said Jon Bond, co-chairman of the digital marketing firm Shipyard, who has co-founded and led several agencies and met with Mr. Sorrell over the years. "It feels like more of an emotional reaction than a thought-out calculated approach because he's on the rebound. My question is what's the strat-



Martin Sorrell, left, with the writer Ken Auletta in Cannes. Since resigning as WPP's chief executive in April, Mr. Sorrell has created an advertising firm called S4 Capital.

egy, and be careful, because revenge is not a strategy."

Mr. Sorrell has referred to his new firm as a "peanut" compared with WPP, which owns more than 100 marketing and communications firms, including Ogilvy and Y&R. He acknowledged his age while speaking at an event in Cannes, saying that he is looking at building the firm for the next five to seven years, at which point he will reassess his physical and mental health.

WPP, where Mr. Sorrell remained a shareholder, declined to comment.

\$4 Capital plans to be publicly traded by using an existing company's listing. According to a May filing, it aims to "build a multinational communication services business, initially by acquisitions," with a focus on technology, data and content. Mr. Sorrell, who was one of the world's most highly paid executives while at WPP, contributed 40 million pounds (about \$53 million) of the firm's initial equity funding and is its executive chairman.

The filing noted that institutional investors had indicated they would be willing to provide more than \$200 million in additional equity funding for acquisitions. Last week, The Wall Street Journal reported that Mr. Sorrell was seeking shareholder approval to raise up to £1 billion for additional acquisitions. The report also noted that an information circular, published in advance of a general shareholder meeting on July 23, said talks were underway regarding multiple acquisitions.

"I think WPP expected him to be perhaps toxic and therefore not able to raise capital," said Brian Wiesner, a media analyst at Pivotal Research. "They may be underestimated the degree to which he

now has a massive chip on his shoulder and really wants to be able to prove himself."

It remains to be seen how Mr. Sorrell's exit from WPP affects his new business ventures. Mr. Sorrell has denied a report in The Wall Street Journal that his departure was preceded by a company investigation into whether he had visited a brothel and used WPP money to pay a prostitute. Separately, he denied allegations of bullying behavior detailed in The Financial Times.

MediaMonks, when asked about the bids and whether it had discussed the allegations regarding Mr. Sorrell with its clients, said it did not comment on speculation. The digital production company, founded in 2001, has 11 offices globally and has worked with companies like Lego, Google, Bose and Ikea on projects from gaming apps to documentaries.

"I still think he will be very successful in attracting agencies," Greg Paull, a principal at R3, a consulting firm, said of Mr. Sorrell.

WPP had not publicly made an issue of Mr. Sorrell's plans until the MediaMonks pursuit. In last week's letter, lawyers for WPP wrote that Mr. Sorrell was privy to "extensive" confidential information about MediaMonks, which "he was only able to acquire through his role at WPP." It called his subsequent pursuit of the firm "an unlawful diversion of a maturing business opportunity."

WPP's chairman, Robert Quarta, told The Journal last week that if Mr. Sorrell had violated his confidentiality agreements with the firm, which cover acquisitions that it explored while he was chief executive, that it could threaten his long-term share award of as much as \$28 million.

## Headaches for public figures

ACCOUNTS, FROM PAGE 9  
with friends, attached to phone numbers or with unique profile photos. Fake accounts that look more established and were typically created years ago, known as aged accounts, fetch \$5 to \$40 each.

And if you are ready to buy? The vendors accept Bitcoin.

### "A DISHEARTENING THING"

For many celebrities, the flood of fake social media accounts can cause real-life headaches.

Trace Adkins, the country music singer, said he had encountered people at nearly every show who claimed that in online messages, he had promised them free tickets and a backstage tour.

"It's just exasperating, because there doesn't seem to be anything anybody can do," he said in an interview on Thursday before a concert in Fayetteville, Ga., his voice trailing off. "My tour manager just walked on the bus and said it just happened."

Women regularly tell Mr. Adkins he had proposed to them online. "I mean it's off-the-charts crazy, man," he said. "But people believe this stuff and we have to deal with it."

Women regularly tell Mr. Adkins he had proposed to them online. "I mean it's off-the-charts crazy, man," he said. "But people believe this stuff and we have to deal with it."

Whoever was behind the fake account then asked for a donation "to pay a dying man's hospital bill." The sum? \$14,700. When I demurred, the impostor wrote snippily, "Are you willing to help us with money or what?"

Mr. Adkins said of the account posing as his daughter: "I would like to hunt that guy down and give him a beating." He said his team had contacted the F.B.I. and the social media companies, to no avail. "It falls on deaf ears," he said. "They know there are hundreds of fake accounts and they don't do anything about it."

Last year, Mr. Adkins posted a video on Facebook warning fans of the online impostors. Two weeks ago, 20 other country and pop stars, including Kelly Clarkson and Blake Shelton, released a video urging fans to steer clear of imitators.

Mr. Moore said the fake accounts had weighed on him. He recently got a message from a man who said his wife was leaving him for Mr. Moore after she had started a relationship with the singer online. When he clicked on the woman's profile, he found a 60-year-old mother of five.

"How can it not bother me?" Mr.

Moore said. "I have people like, 'You're the biggest scumbag ever. You were doing this, messaging my mom or what-ever.' It's a disheartening thing, when you're viewed a certain way by people that has nothing to do with your character in real life."

James Martin, a Jesuit priest and author with 571,000 followers on Facebook, said impostors sent messages to his followers soliciting donations or "they'll start posting horrible things in my name," like criticism of Catholic charities. "There is a special place in hell reserved for people like that," he said.

The comedian Dave Chappelle said he began following messages posted on Twitter by one of his impersonators and actually found them funny — until the account began to trade insults with the Twitter account of another comedian, Katt Williams.

"Katt Williams starts saying things to the fake Dave Chappelle that's hurting the real Dave Chappelle's feelings," Mr. Chappelle recounted on "The Tonight Show" in 2014.

Mr. Chappelle said he was worried when he later encountered Mr. Williams at an event. Mr. Chappelle said he told Mr. Williams he did not have a Twitter account.

"So?" Mr. Williams replied. "That's not unusual. I don't have a Twitter page either."



An Instagram account purporting to be "An OpenH official chat page."

"The midterm elections are coming up, which many expect to not go well for the Republicans, and this is the ideal opportunity for Republican congressional staff and administration officials to be able to cash in on what they have been doing the last year and a half."

Upon taking office, Mr. Trump made moves to strengthen some of the lobbying restrictions put in place by Mr. Obama. But Mr. Trump weakened other rules, including one that allows departing executive branch officials to lobby the administration informally, as long as they are not registered lobbyists.

Paul Miller, president of the National Institute for Lobbying and Ethics, said that this has led to the growth of a shadow lobbying industry, where former government staff members take consulting and advisory jobs that are essentially lobbying under a different name.

"They're calling it something else and doing what they were doing anyway," Mr. Miller said. He noted that the number of registered lobbyists has been declining in recent years. "The actual number of lobbyists has increased dramatically."

There is still plenty of lobbying to be done. Last week, Mr. Trump said that he wanted to pass another round of tax cuts this year, lowering the corporate tax rate further and making permanent the individual tax cuts that will eventually expire. The Internal Revenue Service is in the process of determining guidance on several provisions of the tax law that remain murky. Perhaps the most important one is who qualifies for the lower tax rate for "pass through" businesses — entities whose tax liability is borne by the owners on their personal tax returns.

The international side of the tax code is also due for more changes. Representative Kevin Brady of Texas, the Republican chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, acknowledged in an interview on the Fox Business Network last week that the speed of the passage of the legislation meant that fixes were needed.

But critics of the Trump administration warn that the president is turning a blind eye to the fact that lobbyists are becoming more entrenched under his watch.

"It's going to cost the American taxpayer billions of dollars," said Norman Eisen, the chairman of Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics and a former adviser to Mr. Obama. "These people are being paid to do things that are negatively influencing industry in order to find ways to evade an already generous, excessively generous giveaway to corporations."

### AN ARMS RACE

One of the social media companies' main defenses against fake accounts is users, whom they ask to report suspicious activity. But the company has created an option to report profiles as impostors.

To conclude my experiment, I reported more than 30 celebrity impostor accounts to the companies — including the examples I cited in the article — to see what would happen. I received responses to only six of those reports, all from Instagram. They included two Mr. Moore impersonators and a phony Ms. Obama with 777 followers, who had posted images of sick and poor children and had asked for donations. Instagram said the accounts did not violate its policies. There was no option to appeal.

Instagram removed one account that had impersonated the singer Taylor Swift, although the company did not notify me.

"We take the reports really seriously," said Pete Voss, a Facebook and Instagram spokesman, adding that the company would remove the other accounts I had reported. "We're not going to get it 100 percent right every time obviously."

Ian Plunkett, a Twitter spokesman, said the company had "strict policies and enforcement procedures" regarding impersonation, and he directed me to the company's rules. In total, Facebook said it had removed roughly 583 million fake accounts, most within minutes of creation, in January, February and March. Twitter said its software was identifying nearly 10 million "spammy or automated" accounts a week.

Mr. Dickens, the Facebook product manager, said the company was trying to stamp out every pretender but that the task was complicated by the social network's size, the nuance of separating impostors from fan pages and the sophistication of some of the impostors.

"It's the arms race," he said. Facebook is fighting much of this arms race against people in West Africa. People who report bogus accounts said they had tracked many of the Internet protocol addresses connected to them to Nigeria or Ghana, where those behind the fake accounts call themselves Yahoo Boys.

One Nigerian man who advertises training for Yahoo Boys said in a phone interview that Facebook had gotten better at removing impostors but that Instagram had not. The man, who declined to be identified because his activity could be criticized, said he had run romance schemes by impersonating young female celebrities like Ariana Grande and Victoria Justice.

Those schemes were not as lucrative as posting ads, but he said he had run celebrity, though. "Porn star is better," he said.

# Culture

## Opera and the bomb

SANTA FE, N.M.

In the New Mexico desert, 'Doctor Atomic' resonates as a complex local story

BY MICHAEL COOPER

The lights of Los Alamos, the birthplace of the atomic bomb, can be seen at night from the idyllic open-air theater of Santa Fe Opera. So around here, John Adams and Peter Sellars's "Doctor Atomic," about the bomb and its creators, is not just a meditation on the invention of a weapon that changed the world.

It is also very much a local story — a complicated one.

"One of the most powerful things about doing 'Doctor Atomic' here is to make a history from New Mexico," said Mr. Sellars, who assembled the opera's libretto from historical sources, directed its premiere in 2005 and is rethinking aspects of it for the new Santa Fe production he is creating, which opens on Saturday and runs through Aug. 16.

"Here the story is, of course, the Los Alamos laboratory," he added, "but also the 'downwinders,' the people living with all these cancers from all the test sites — and the pueblos that are 10 minutes away from Los Alamos, where most people and their families were employed."

Other operas have been staged at or near the locales where they are set; Plácido Domingo once starred in a television production of Puccini's "Tosca" that was filmed live at the locations in Rome where the action takes place. But the Napoleonic wars that serve as the backdrop of "Tosca" are nowhere near as hotly debated as the creation of the atomic bomb, and the decision to use it on Japan at the end of World War II.

The nuclear threat that is the opera's theme has been in the headlines more than usual lately. The United States recently seemed closer to contemplating the use of nuclear weapons than it had in decades. President Trump, before his recent disarmament talks with North Korea, issued a bellicose warning last summer, saying threats to the United States would be "met with fire and fury like the world has never seen."

The bomb is never far from the conversation here. Los Alamos remains the home of a national laboratory that still works on America's nuclear weapons. The success of the Manhattan Project — in which the polymathic physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer was tapped by the no-nonsense Army Gen. Leslie Groves



Peter Sellars, the librettist and director of "Doctor Atomic," with Emily Johnson, the choreographer of the Santa Fe Opera production, at the Puye Cliff Dwellings in New Mexico.

**Los Alamos remains the home of a national laboratory that still works on America's nuclear weapons.**

to run a secret laboratory to race Nazi Germany in creating an atomic weapon — is still locally celebrated.

A statue of Oppenheimer and Groves stands outside Fuller Lodge, at the former boys' school where the scientists gathered during the war. Gift shops sell cocktail glasses with Oppenheimer's silhouette and his martini recipe painted on the outside ("4 ounces good gin, a smidge of dry vermouth, lime juice and honey syrup"). One of the streets, Trinity Drive, is named after the Trinity test,

when the world's first atomic bomb exploded in 1945, some 200 miles to the south. A picnic late last month celebrated the 75th anniversary of the lab's founding.

The director of the Los Alamos National Laboratory, Dr. Terry Wallace, is a second-generation Los Alamos scientist who said that when he was growing up there, his Boy Scout troop would collect depleted uranium, something that would be unimaginable today. He expressed concern that the opera, which portrays the creation of the bomb as a tragedy, risked simplifying a complex moral calculus.

"As the director of Los Alamos, I have to make sure that we have a safe, reliable and effective nuclear deterrent," he said in an interview in Fuller Lodge. "And I certainly would never advocate using that deterrent. But the reason we have a strategic deterrent is clear. There's only one reason: so nobody uses a nuclear weapon on us. We're very dedicated to that mission."

Elsewhere in New Mexico, the state's atomic legacy is viewed differently. As opera rehearsals were underway in Santa Fe last month, Tina Cordova, 58, a small-business owner who lives in Albuquerque, the state's largest city, was in Washington testifying before the Senate. She was part of a group seeking compensation from the government for damage she contends was caused by the Trinity test, which was so powerful that it melted the sand into a glasslike substance eventually named trinitite.

"The government has always characterized the area as remote and uninhabited, but we know from the census data that there were thousands of people living in a 50-mile radius of the test site," Ms. Cordova, a founder of the Tularosa Basin Downwinders Consortium, testified. One of those people, she said, was her father, who was a 4-year-old living in Tularosa, about 40 miles from the Trinity site, when the bomb exploded. He died many years later of cancer.

Mr. Sellars said that he planned to cast downwinders in his new production. Some will stand as silent witnesses in a scene in which General Groves explains that, to maintain secrecy, he will not send evacuation forces into nearby areas. (A medical officer tells him: "Sir, no cure has yet been found for the agencies that result from overexposure to fallout and radiation.") Downwinders light candles each year to commemorate those who died of cancer; Mr. Sellars hopes to incorporate that ceremony into the opera as well.

One recent morning, he and the opera's choreographer, Emily Johnson, took a break from rehearsals to visit the Puye Cliff Dwellings, the centuries-old remains of a Native American settlement on the Santa Clara Pueblo, a short drive from Los Alamos.

"We really want this to be from here," Ms. Johnson said, adding that she had been particularly grateful that people from several pueblos had offered to perform a sacred corn dance at the opera house before the performances. (There is also a corn dance within the opera, scored by Mr. Adams, and the libretto includes a traditional Tewa song.)

Mr. Sellars said that his new production would not labor to recreate the war era through its sets and costumes, as his earlier one did. Even the bomb itself — called "the gadget" by the scientists who built it — will be a reflective sphere rather than a facsimile of the real one; Mr. Sellars wants it to represent all nuclear weapons, not just the prototype.

He and Ms. Johnson toured the cliff dwellings with Mina and Jordan Harvier, Native Americans who live on the Santa Clara Pueblo and are helping arrange the corn dance. They spoke about the complex relationship the pueblo has had with Los Alamos over the decades. Both had grandmothers who worked there as housemaids; both

noted that there had been years of concerns about contamination and pollution from the lab. (The American government has spent hundreds of millions of dollars cleaning up Los Alamos, but still has more to do.)

"My grandparents always told me that Native Americans are the caretakers of this earth," Ms. Harvier said

shortly before she descended into a round kiva, or ritual room, with Mr. Sellars and looked at the dried remains of what had once been the pueblo's reservoir.

Mr. Sellars said that he hoped that the opera would bring people together to share their experiences and better understand one another. "That is the hope," he said. "And what opera can do, because opera is slow: It gives people the time to think and consider — and across 'Doctor Atomic,' to consider more deeply and more quietly what the long-term questions are."

There will be a contingent in the audience from Los Alamos. Heather McClenahan, executive director of the Los Alamos Historical Society — which operates a museum that gives a sense of what life was like in a lab so secret that the babies who were born there had their addresses listed as "P.O. Box 1663, Santa Fe" on their birth certificates — said that a group planned to attend the opera and discuss it afterward at Un-Quarked, a wine bar.

J. Arthur Freed, a former librarian at the lab, plans to go as well. Which is not exactly surprising: He is something of a "Doctor Atomic" groupie and has seen staged productions by 11 opera companies in seven countries. Mr. Freed, a member of the J. Robert Oppenheimer Memorial Committee, formed to commemorate Oppenheimer, said that he viewed the work as historical fiction but found it rewarding.

"I didn't expect it to be gung-ho atomic weapons," he said in a telephone interview. "I rather expected it to have an overall anti-nuke aspect, and why wouldn't it? Don't misunderstand me: I worked for the lab for 33 years, I think it's a wonderful place, and I think it did perform and continues to perform an extremely important function for this country."

Ms. Cordova, who testified in front of Congress, said in a telephone interview that she was intrigued by the prospect that "Doctor Atomic" might bring together people with different points of view about the bomb.

"To come together through an opera, to sort of recognize that there were many sides to this," she said, "could be hugely cathartic for all of us."



From top: Mr. Sellars speaking with cast members; the main gate of the Los Alamos National Laboratory, recreated by the town in 2016; and the stage version of the test bomb, which Mr. Sellars wanted to represent all nuclear weapons.

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CULTURE

# Fancy footwork in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES

A city makes the case that it can be more than a mecca for actors

BY ROSLYN SULCAS

"No nudity at all," said a dance presenter, incredulously, as she emerged from the final showing of the DCA LA Dance Platform, presented here in early June. "That would never happen in New York."

But the dance showcase — a first-time event that offered a three-day run of 39 dance works attended by around 70 dance presenters and professionals — was not about what is happening in New York, or London or Berlin. It was focused on dance in Los Angeles, a city where companies, big and small, classical and contemporary, have historically struggled for visibility and viability.

One man is nonetheless convinced that the city has much to offer dance audiences worldwide. Ben Johnson, the director of performing arts for the city's Department of Cultural Affairs, which hosted the event, put the platform together (with the help of many others, he

Many of the presenters who attended the platform had never previously visited the city in a professional capacity.

stressed) to show how vibrant the dance scene has become here over the last few years.

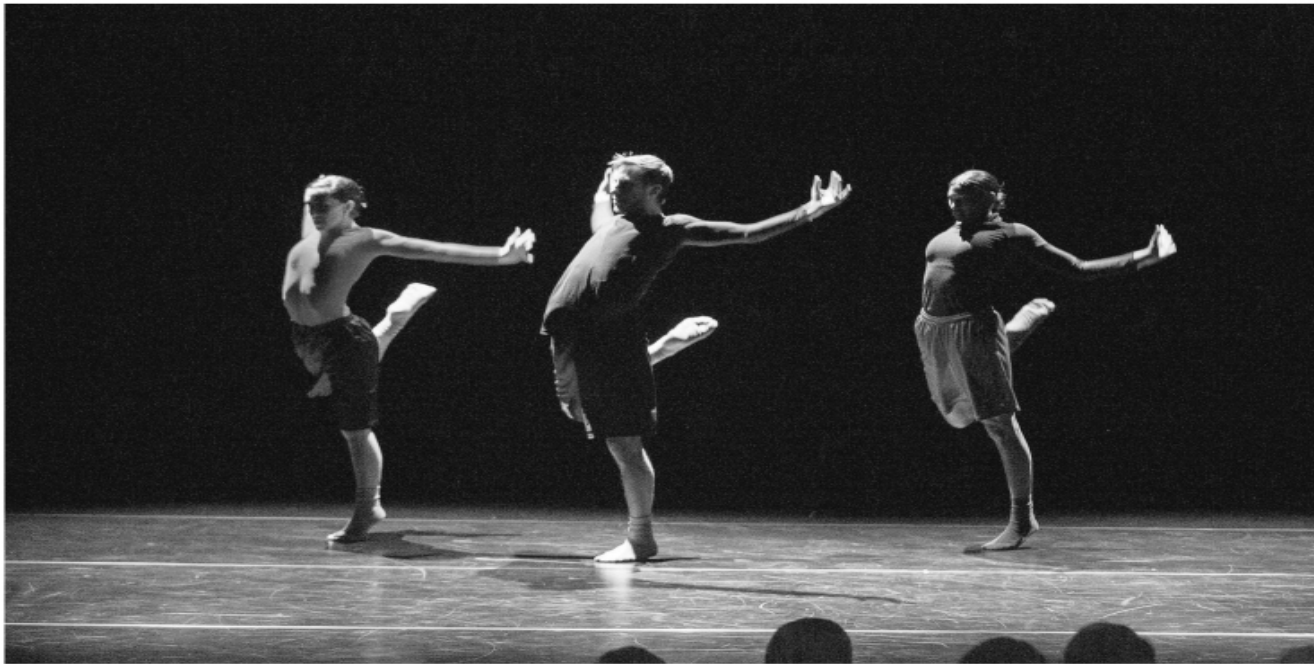
"When the dance field learns about American dance only through a New York-centric frame, we miss out on the richness of the form being practiced in other parts of the country," Mr. Johnson said during a conversation between sessions. Los Angeles, he added, citing the seminal modern dance choreographers Ted Shawn and Ruth St. Denis, Lester Horton and Bella Lewitzky, has been a "hidden city of dance for a century."

Major dance personalities have moved to Los Angeles over the last few years. Benjamin Millepied, the former New York City Ballet principal and director of the Paris Opera Ballet, founded the L.A. Dance Project in 2012, and last October opened a rehearsal, performance and residency space in the downtown arts district. William Forsythe, one of the world's foremost choreographers, is a professor at the Gloria Kaufman School of Dance at the University of Southern California. Dimitri Chamblas, a former dancer and film producer who is a well-known figure on the European dance scene, is now the dean of dance at California Institute of the Arts.

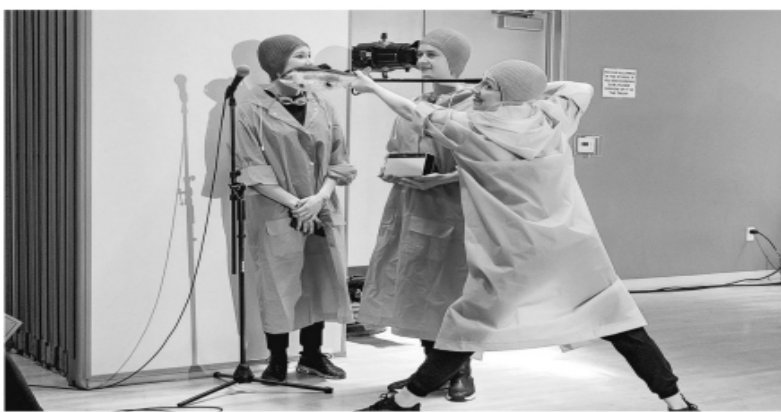
In their wake have come other important dance names: former City Ballet principals, like Jennifer Ringer and James Foyelman; the Marlboro School, and Sébastien Marcovici and Janie Taylor at the L.A. Dance Project. Choreographers have migrated, too: Kyle Abraham, Azurie Barton, RubberLegz, Danielle Agami and Melissa Barak among them.

Small troupes and more ambitious outfits abound. Mr. Johnson said that if the platform had been longer, it could have featured hundreds of artists, who were "telling the L.A. story."

And yet, as organizers and choreographers pointed out on several occasions during the event, Los Angeles is not generally considered an important source of new talent or a regular destination on the calendars of those who program dance seasons at theaters or festivals. Many of the presenters who attended the platform — which coincided, deliberately, with the annual Dance/



Above from left, Miesela Taylor, Sam McReynolds and Juliette Mackley in "PowerShift." Left, Dana Wilson, Megan Lawson and Jillian Meyers of the Seaweed Sisters.



ROGER MARTIN FOR THE MANILA DANCE CHOROPLE

USA conference — had never previously visited the city in a professional capacity. "For me, the big tangible was witnessing my colleagues discover a new dance scene in their own backyard of America," Mr. Johnson said.

The companies and artists that stood out were largely names that are in fact already known to dance audiences: among them, Ros Warby, RubberLegz and James Gregg (under the company name of Wewelf), Kyle Abraham and

Milka Djerdjević, whose "Anthem" provided a stunningly good finale to a long first day.

But there were discoveries, too. Miesela Taylor, whose company the TL Collective performed her "PowerShift" at the L.A. Dance Project headquarters, combined breaking and popping techniques to create a precise and inventive physical language, offering abrupt, truncated isolations of body parts in combination with vibrating upper bod-

ies and high-kicking legs. A too-short filmed excerpt from "Electrognous," by d. Sabela Grimes, a faculty member at the Gloria Kaufman school, offered an invigoratingly kinetic account of a mother-daughter relationship.

Solos abounded. Mecca Vazie Andrews, occasionally singing and talking, offered a rambling but commanding piece that moved between folksy, stamping movements to tap routines and jerky, puppetlike sequences. (She ended

with a communal inhale-exhale sequence and exhortations to "receive positivity" and "take a moment of silence"; definitely not a New York experience.) Austyn Rich's solo ("Sigh, This Is Probably the Longest Title in History and Very Exhausting to Read in One Breath") showed the influence of both Mr. Forsythe and street dance in his emotive paean to those killed by police brutality.

Black Lives Matter, social justice, activism and gender politics were strong threads throughout the works on show. Jade Charon Robertson, Gina Young, Bernard Brown, Shanelle Bell and Mr. Grimes all evoked these issues in their work. (Mr. Grimes offered a defiantly contrary view: "Black pain is very profitable in this country; we are focused on black joy.")

Narrative pieces, unusual in the contemporary dance world, also cropped up. Kybele Dance Theater's "Neo Noir" enjoyably evoked a Dashiell Hammett world of murder and betrayal; Mr. Brown's "Box" told the tale of a slave who mailed himself from captivity to freedom; a film excerpt from Janet Roston's "Anais, a Dance Opera," incorporated dance, song and projections in re-counting the life of the writer Anais Nin.

Commercial dance, a huge industry in Los Angeles, was also a clear influence, with work by Sheetal Gandhi and the Seaweed Sisters suggesting an intersection of these worlds. "There's really no 'L.A. aesthetic,' but a strong awareness of the crossover between concert and

commercial" dance, said Catharine Soros, who is president of Center Dance Arts and is on the boards of the L.A. Dance Project and Ate9 Dance Company.

Ms. Soros pointed out that film is an omnipresent influence in Los Angeles, and that choreographers like Ryan Heffington (Sia's "Chandelier" music video with Maddie Ziegler) can move between the worlds of television, music videos and more abstract dance pieces.

"At this point, we really have a FOMO situation here," she said, using the acronym for "fear of missing out." "Yes, it could be better, but you could say that in any city."

Mr. Millepied, who has started a program of residencies at his L.A. Dance Project studios, said that while the city's dance scene is expanding, there is still little infrastructure and financial support for dance makers.

"I am seeing more talent, but it's not so simple," Mr. Millepied said in a telephone interview, adding that because there has never been a strong dance culture in the city, there is little tradition of philanthropic support. He said that although things are improving, many local performing arts organizations have shown little interest in programming dance. "If more organizations started to support dance in L.A., I think the opportunity is here for something very exciting to happen."

Mr. Johnson agreed that bigger platforms and more exposure were needed for local artists. "We have a sea of individual artists rather than strong national dance companies," he said. But optimism and enthusiasm (positivity!) prevailed: "L.A. has had several golden ages of dance in the past," he said. "I think we are about to have another."

## Flawed, fragile, hungry

BOOK REVIEW

Days of Awe  
By A.M. Homes. 288 pp. Viking. \$25.

BY RAMONA AUSUBEL

In the 12 wide-ranging stories of her latest collection, "Days of Awe," A. M. Homes skillfully circles and tugs at the question of what it means to live in a flawed, fragile, hungry human bodies. One character embeds rose thorns in her feet; several have very disordered eating habits; people die too young, go to war and hold in their cells and minds the memories of past trauma. The title story is about a war reporter and a novelist who meet at a conference on genocide and have a weekend affair. Here the body is death — the millions killed who haunt the conference attendees — but it's also desire. The affair is vivid and real and yet there is a shard of violence in it, the everyday violence of two people using each other to counter pain they don't know how to digest.

Of a plastic surgeon in "Brother on Sunday," Homes writes, "He thinks about Botox and Restylane and laser-erasing spider veins and resurfacing a face, and sometimes he feels like a conservator, like the guy he once sat

next to at a dinner who worked at the Met, touching up artworks when they chipped or when the ceiling leaked on them." The possibility of profound beauty presses from one direction; the certainty of imperfection, of shame, presses from the other. Between these forces, the characters are hardened, sometimes into coal, sometimes into diamonds.

But Homes, the author of 11 other books, including the best-selling memoir "The Mistress's Daughter" and the Baileys Women's Prize-winning novel "May We Be Forgiveness," is interested in more than beauty or ugliness: She writes about the interaction between inner lives and outer lives and our attempts to be seen or to hide. In "Hello Everybody," Homes writes of two teenagers: "They are forever marking and unmarking their bodies, as though it were entirely natural to write on them and equally natural to erase any desecration or signs of wear, like scribbling notes to oneself on the palm of the hand. They are making their bodies their own renovating, redecorating, the body not just as corpse but as object of self-expression, a symbiotic relation between imagination and reality."

"Days of Awe" is sliced through with Homes's dark humor. After introducing the genocide conference and the communities involved — "Cambodia, East Timor, Rwanda, the Sudan, the former Yugoslavia, the Holocaust of World War II, the history of colonial genocides and the early response to the AIDS epidemic" — the conference



ROBERT DAVY

leader goes on to thank the event's sponsors, "an airline, two global search engines, an insurance firm, the already mentioned antidepressant and a family-owned ice-cream company." He also

notes that there are free juice and chair massages. The attendees are people who have dedicated their lives to the study of trauma; they are also adults on a business trip in New Hampshire. The conference is its own little economy where worse is better.

During one panel, a Holocaust survivor chastises the novelist, remarking: "Fiction is a luxury our families didn't have. . . . We didn't pack our summer reading and go off to the camps, happy. This isn't even your story." There are no clear property claims around cruelty or despair, or our ability to ensure situations almost too terrible to believe; such experiences, Homes insists, are lands we all visit.

One wants to read passages of a Homes story aloud because they are so fine: "Cheryl's whole family, except for her father, wears bathing suits all day, all the time, even at Christmas." As one character explains: "They're pool people. . . . They just want to go in and out." The daughter in this family has had her initials branded on her butt. The mother has fallen in love with the smell of Play-Doh and stashes open cans all over the house. The family goes out for dinner and the anorexic daughter asks for an entree with a maximum of 10 calories; she receives a plate of mousses and foams. These are rich people with ridiculous rich-people habits, but the story is a tragedy with a

dead brother at the center, a bedroom unchanged from when he was alive and a family orbiting his absence, monitoring the only thing they have control over: their flesh.

The absurd and the delicate occupy the same space. One story begins with a family going grocery shopping and ends with the father being nominated to run for president by fellow customers in the electronics aisle, while holding a baby his daughter found on a stack of towels. Whatever the tone, hanging over "Days of Awe" are questions about how we metabolize strangeness, danger, horror. Impossible things happen all the time. In each story the characters seem to be looking around at their lives and asking: Is this even real? Has the world always been so jagged?

"Days of Awe" feels like the part of the day when the sun is about to go down and the light is brighter while the shadows are darker. Everything has a sharp edge, is strikingly beautiful and suddenly also a little menacing. As one character says, "In these times the only way to remain optimistic is to slide with the darkness and then be pleasantly surprised."

Ramona Ausubel is the author of two novels and two story collections, including "Awayland," which was published in March.

# Sports

## The best gather, but scouts stay away

### On Soccer

BY RORY SMITH

**MOSCOW** In the weeks before the World Cup, a flurry of phone calls went around the recruitment departments of some of Europe's major clubs.

Strictly speaking, the scouts who work for the superpowers of the Premier League, La Liga and the rest are rivals, but theirs is a small, intimate world. Many have relationships that go back years, independent of their current employers. They have spent months on the road together, at the same games, watching the same players. They tend to talk.

As Russia 2018 approached, then, many touched base to find out what, roughly, their peers would be doing for five weeks in June and July. By and large, the answer was the same. They had no plans for shopping in Russia.

The World Cup is the planet's most-watched sporting competition. It is soccer's marquee event. Thousands spend fortunes to attend it and support their teams. It commands global television audiences of more than a billion people. Devoted fans tune in to every minute.

To soccer's elite scouts, though, it is almost an afterthought. They will all watch it, of course, though with a personal as much as a professional eye. Some have sent staff members to Russia to take in a few games, to keep track of possible targets.

None, however, believe it will teach them anything they do not already know. They have not flocked to Samara, Saransk and Yekaterinburg in great numbers. Their summer transfer plans no longer rest on whichever player most captures the imagination this month. This is not where clubs come to find players. Not anymore.

Fans and the news media often talk about how an ascendant star at a World Cup will be rewarded, not just with the praise of his nation but with a subsequent high-profile move to a title contender in England, Spain, Italy or

Germany. It is one of the tropes of every major summer tournament.

The clubs themselves, though, increasingly do not see it that way. "If you are waiting for the World Cup to make decisions, you're not doing your work well enough," said the head of recruitment at a leading Premier League team, who asked not to be identified because he was not authorized to speak about his club's research operations.

It used to be different, of course. In the summer of 1994, Tottenham Hotspur Manager Osvaldo Ardiles held a news conference to present his new signing, a Romanian winger named Ilie Dumitrescu. He had been one of the stars of that summer's World Cup, part of a swaggering, captivating Romania team that reached the quarterfinals in the United States.

"I liked him so much that I bought him immediately," Ardiles said at the time, when asked how much Dumitrescu's performances in that hot, bright summer in the United States had influenced his decision.

It felt as if that was what was happening all over the newly rich, nakedly ambitious Premier League. England had not qualified for the World Cup that year, and so — in the weeks after the tournament had finished — its clubs seemed determined to bring the World Cup to England instead. U.S.A. 1994 seemed to be treated as a sort of soccer equivalent to the home shopping network. Now, thanks to technology and a better understanding of scouting and analytics, it's little more than a monthlong summer spectacle.

Most important, the world is much smaller than it once was. Nowhere is too exotic, too unfamiliar. Romania is not so far away. Clubs not only have much more sophisticated networks of contacts across the planet, they can now track possible targets remotely, thanks to digital platforms like Wyscout, InStat and Scout 7.

Teams and their scouts can watch nearly every game, in (almost) every league around the world, from the comfort of their own offices. Many of those computerized programs allow scouts to focus on the individual player they are interested in.



Since the World Cup influences the transfer market, Liverpool wanted a deal with Lyon for Nabil Fekir before the tournament started.

To ensure they know exactly what they are watching, leading teams have developed complex algorithms to quantify, essentially, how well a player needs to perform in Romania to be the equal of an average player in Italy. That dovetails with the work of expert analytics departments.

Crucially, they can tabulate data on any player for years. One scout estimates that his staff follows potential targets, on average, for seven years to have as complete a picture as possible of their abilities. No player at the World Cup this summer is unfamiliar. "We should know every athlete there," one chief scout said.

That feeds into the second seismic

shift: in 1994, Ardiles and his assistant said Steve Perryman regarded a player's displays at the World Cup as a chance to judge his true abilities. Not only is that not necessary anymore, many consider it impossible.

The World Cup is no longer the pinnacle of the game, the highest stage the sport can offer. When trying to establish a player's level at the World Cup, it is hard to know what, precisely, you are watching. To clubs who have tracked a player for years, there is no signal here, just noise.

"International football has a different rhythm and sometimes a different skill set to club football," said Simon Wilson, who has worked on a number

of recruitment campaigns at several Premier League teams, including Manchester City and Southampton. "It is not always the best guide."

For most clubs, the tournaments that are most useful are much less glamorous: youth competitions across the planet, the continental championships of Asia and Africa, and North and Central America — anywhere that is likely to expand their knowledge base, and ensure they are aware of any player that might be of interest as soon as possible.

"The other issue with the World Cup is the timing," Wilson said. "Most clubs will have identified their targets for next season long ago. They will al-

ready have much of the work done. Recruitment departments cannot afford to think one window ahead."

Many compare it to the fashion industry: clubs cannot afford, in June and July, to be coming up with their fall lines now. Ideally, they will already be planning their summer 2019 collections.

That is not to say, of course, that the World Cup will not have an impact on the transfer market. Analysis by 21st Club, a consulting firm that provides advice to many leading teams, has found that a goal in a World Cup historically increases a player's price by 15 percent. Perhaps this explains, for example, Liverpool's desire to complete a move for Nabil Fekir, the France midfielder, before the tournament started, and the preference of his current club, Lyon, to hold off until it is over.

There are always outliers, too. In 2014, Real Madrid signed James Rodríguez, the Colombian who had finished as the World Cup's leading scorer, on the back of his success in Brazil. Doubtless, Real Madrid had been aware of him for some time, but it was the fact he had become such a big name that forced its hand. Florentino Pérez, Madrid's president, wanted the clean-cut, good-looking superstar who had captivated the planet as a player and a brand.

And then there are the managers. "Scouts tend to follow World Cups remotely, on video," Wilson said, "but managers and technical directors go, either as a networking opportunity, as fans, or to do work for broadcasters."

Once there, they have an inconvenient habit of becoming infatuated with players who catch their eyes; a brief, intense summer fling.

That can complicate all the delicate work the scouts have done. "You do sometimes have to talk them out of things when they get back," Wilson said.

Like the fans, and the players, managers and technical directors can be swept up in the excitement and the euphoria of a World Cup. Its magic is hard to resist, when the world is watching. Apart, that is, from the scouts.

## Consideration for tennis mothers

WIMBLEDON, ENGLAND

### With more children on the sidelines, players exert their influence

BY KAREN CROUSE

Evgeniya Rodina's daughter is always on her mind, but she was conspicuously out of sight Friday when Rodina upset Madison Keys in the third round at Wimbledon. Anna, a rambunctious 5-year-old, cannot sit still in the players' box, and her movements can distract Rodina from her business on the court. Rodina's husband, Denis Shteyngart, is also her coach, so he has to watch her, not their child.

Rodina's solution typically is to leave her daughter in the players' lounge with stern instructions to watch movies on her tablet and behave. But at this tournament, she has a better option. Since 1983, Wimbledon has featured a fully staffed nursery.

While Rodina, a native of Russia, played her way into the fourth round of singles in a major for the first time in her 15-year professional career, her daughter drew her a picture dominated by a luminous sun, made her a colorful friendship bracelet and pointed at her mother on TV.

"She doesn't want to go out from that room, she likes it so much," Rodina, 29, said, adding, "It's so helpful."

On Monday, Rodina was to face the seven-time Wimbledon champion Serena Williams, who has a 10-month-old daughter, in a rare Grand Slam meeting of moms. Margaret Court and Evonne Goolagong Cawley won Grand Slam titles in the 1970s after becoming mothers. But for decades afterward, they rep-

resented pauses on the continuum of compartmentalization widely practiced by female athletes, one in which a moneymaking career occupied one end, and maternity the other.

After Goolagong Cawley's Wimbledon singles victory in 1980, nearly 30 years would pass before another mother became a Grand Slam champion. Kim Clijsters won the 2009 United States Open, the first of three Grand Slam titles that she collected after the birth of her first child.

This year's singles draw featured a half-dozen mothers. Compared with the 20 fathers in the field, six is a minuscule number, but it includes Williams and Victoria Azarenka, former No. 1 players and Grand Slam champions, which might be enough to effect change for other women in the sport who want to start families.

For many female athletes, the bigger picture includes issues like maternity

**"We are discussing the rules and how can we be a leader in sports to have the best maternity policy."**

leave and child care that would have seemed nonessential — even ludicrous — when Zvonareva, now 33, was just another teen flag-bearer in the WTA Tour's youth parade. Back then, she could not have imagined a day when she would be on the front lines of the mommy brigade.

"When I was younger, I was thinking by the age of 27 I would be so tired of tennis that I wouldn't want to do it," Zvonareva said. "That was the first thought. The second thought was if I have a family, then for sure my career is over."

Williams and Azarenka, two of Wimbledon's newer moms, have clout, and

no reservations about exercising it. Azarenka, 28, a member of the WTA Player Council, has championed giving top players returning from their maternity leaves seeding consideration at tournaments.

Wimbledon broke with the status quo by granting the 183rd-ranked Williams the No. 25 seeding here, and the United States Open last month announced it would revise its approach to seeding players coming back from pregnancy.

In announcing the new policy, Katrina Adams, the president and chairwoman of the United States Tennis Association said, "It's the right thing to do," and not just because Williams is one of the game's all-time greats. Any player returning from pregnancy should not be "penalized," Adams said.

Azarenka applauded the discussions going on in tennis. "I think it's an important conversation that has been started," she said. "This conversation has led to numerous meetings, numerous occasions where we are discussing the rules and how can we be a leader in sports to have the best maternity policy."

In addition to supporting policy changes, Williams, 36, has been open about the personal challenges she has faced coming back from pregnancy. In the HBO series "Being Serena," and in her news conferences, she has debunked the myth of postpartum bliss by speaking openly about her feelings of inadequacy as a new mother and about the depression that ensued, her "mommy brain" and her struggles to return to peak physical shape.

"Sorry to go on about that," Williams said after explaining last week how breast-feeding was not the weight-loss trigger that she had always heard it to be. "Everyone takes things different," she added. "I think it's important to share that message."

Two days before her match against Rodina, Williams divulged on social media another low moment that no doubt resonated with many other mothers: While she was at a training session at the All England Club, her daughter, who was not with her, took her first steps. "I cried," Williams said.

In professional sports, if not the dictionary, policy follows progeny. The L.P.G.A., to fill a growing demand, started offering day care to players at its domestic tournaments in 1993. Fully staffed nurseries are a tournament staple on the men's tennis circuit, perhaps not coincidentally because Roger Federer, Novak Djokovic and Andy Murray, who have a combined 35 major titles, also have eight children among them.

Williams said that Azarenka had been "leading the charge" for WTA events to add on-site nurseries. She added that she was willing to lend her support to the cause.

"I definitely think it's important for the WTA to add that," Williams said.



Victoria Azarenka, of Belarus, has championed giving top players seeding consideration at tournaments when they return from their maternity leaves.

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SPORTS

The professor doesn't play, but he's still active

BALTIMORE

Ichiro Suzuki continues to practice with team, even after moving to front office

BY DAVID WALDSTEIN

At precisely the right moment, Ichiro Suzuki bounded through the visitors' dugout at Camden Yards, headed for a group of celebrating players on the field dressed just like him.

A second earlier and he would have been in violation of a Major League Baseball rule barring him from the dugout during games. Two seconds later and he would have trailed behind the coaches, who typically leave the dugout last.

After each Seattle win, Suzuki slips into that breach. For a brief moment, he strides cheerfully alone in foul territory, occupying a baseball netherworld between coach and player.

For now, Suzuki is neither. The Mariners decommissioned him as a player on May 3 and shifted him into a front-office advisory role that seems unprecedented in the modern game — uniformed consultant, mentor, baseball professor and cheerleader.

He dresses for every game, home and away. He stretches with the active players, shags fly balls and hits in the last group of batting practice, launching baseballs far into the stands as fans scamper after the souvenirs, many amazed at the power this 44-year-old from Toyoyama, Japan, still generates.

He does everything the players do except play. He even has a small corps of Japanese reporters following him around to record this latest, unusual stage of his remarkable, pioneering career.

"With my personality, the way I'm geared, I like to do things nobody is doing, not just in baseball, but fashion and other things, too," Suzuki said through his longtime interpreter, Allen Turner.

And anything Suzuki does, including his donning a disguise to sneak onto the bench during a recent game, he does with meticulous precision. Adhering to a strict regimen of diet, exercise and practice — lots of practice — Ichiro produced 3,089 hits in his 18-year career in North America.



Ichiro Suzuki, left, with his interpreter, Allen Turner. Suzuki was removed from the Mariners' 25-man roster in May to become the team's special assistant to the chairman.

As a player, he regularly brought one of his carefully crafted, weighed and de-humidified bats into his hotel room and swung it in front of a mirror on days the team traveled and he was unable to get to the ballpark. Now, even with no pitchers to face, he still does that.

"Everything is the same," Suzuki said while sitting, in uniform and holding a bat, with gloves on, in the dugout at Camden Yards last week. "You're not going to see me slacking."

He has the same daily routine, including his nutrition — with one tiny variation. Instead of two or three cheeseburgers every day for lunch, Suzuki has cut down to one or two. Without burning off that handful of extra calories during games, he believes he is in danger of growing pudgy.

"I noticed that if we go on a long road trip, I will gain between 1.5 and 2 pounds," he said. A part of all this continued training and conditioning is Suzuki's plan to "definitely" return as a player in 2019. The Mariners do not hide their desire to have him on their roster for their season-opening series against the Oakland Athletics at the Tokyo Dome next March.

But the moment Suzuki became an executive in uniform, he lost his eligibility to play for the Mariners, who have a good chance to make the playoffs this season for the first time since Suzuki's rookie year, 2001. M.L.B. rules prohibit any player who moves into a front-office role from playing for that team again in the same season (although he could play for another team).

"With my personality, the way I'm geared, I like to do things nobody is doing, not just in baseball, but fashion and other things, too."

In the meantime, as Suzuki feels out his new role, he still makes news in Seattle and Japan. He was a story when he filled in as the bench coach for a recent doubleheader in Texas. He was in charge of the lineup cards that day, and he said he spent the whole time staring at the card to avoid mistakes, and missed much of the game action. That experience told him he was not cut out to manage.

He recently threw batting practice, which provided more material for

Ichiro-hungry readers in Japan. "There is still a lot of interest in him," said Keizo Konishi, a writer for the Kyodo News service, who has followed Ichiro since the outfielder's arrival in Seattle in 2001. "I write about him every few days."

Suzuki was also recently in the news because Scott Servais, Seattle's manager, said Suzuki should enter the Home Run Derby at the All-Star Game festivities. Suzuki laughed it off but has not ruled it out, and some think it would make great theater.

When the Mariners approached Suzuki about this unusual job, he said his first concern was not to get in the way.

He has shattered many longstanding, unwritten rules governing inactive players' traveling with the team and being in

the clubhouse — not to mention taking regular batting practice.

But the Mariners still consider him a member of the team and seem to genuinely love having him around. "He's our teammate, first and foremost," second baseman Dee Gordon said defiantly. "He's my friend, but he's definitely my teammate."

About once a week, Servais brings Suzuki into his office for debriefing sessions. But mostly, Servais and Jerry Dipoto, the Mariners' general manager, urge Suzuki to go directly to the players with his observations because they listen more attentively when the lesson comes from a peer.

"He's one of the most instinctive players that's ever played the game, and he sees things that he should share," Dipoto said. "The one regret I have is that he's not able to sit on the bench during the game, because it would be fun to see how that would manifest itself."

Actually, it already did manifest itself, in amusing fashion. During a June 21 day game at Yankee Stadium, Ichiro appeared briefly on the bench disguised in a bushy mustache, sunglasses and a hoodie.

He even wore dark shoes, unlike the colorful spikes he normally wears.

But even amid the laughter, Suzuki's presence has mostly given players the opportunity to learn from him. Andrew Romine, the utility player who spends perhaps the most time with Suzuki during games, said that Suzuki holds an informal round table at the indoor batting cage each night. There, Romine and others can ask him any question they want. "We call it 'class,'" and he's the professor," Romine said. "And we don't take it lightly. How often do you get a chance to ask anything to a guy like that, a definite Hall of Famer? It's awesome."

When Suzuki is not in the batting cage during games, he divides his time doing exercises and watching the game on television, with his colorful batting gloves on. When a win seems imminent, he creeps down the tunnel toward the dugout entrance, poised to leap out and join the players in their celebration at the exact right moment.

"I couldn't be happier with the way this has gone," Dipoto said. "He's been incredibly energetic, mentoring the guys and providing an example of how to prepare. And then he magically appears after a win and is the first one at the head of the line."

He's not a coach and not a player, but always unique.

NON SEQUITUR



W. W. Riddle. Illustration by Tom Schumacher. © 2018 by W. W. Riddle. All rights reserved.

SUDOKU No. 1007

Sudoku puzzle grid with numbers and instructions for solving it.

JUMBLE

Jumble word search puzzle with a cartoon illustration of a man and a woman.

PEANUTS



WIZARD OF ID



KENKEN

Kenken puzzle grid with numbers and instructions for solving it.

Answers to previous puzzles, including a crossword grid and word lists.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990



DILBERT



CROSSWORD | Edited by Will Shortz

Crossword puzzle grid with clues and a solution for July 9 puzzle.

DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1990



DILBERT



CROSSWORD | Edited by Will Shortz

Crossword puzzle grid with clues and a solution for July 9 puzzle.

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DILBERT



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TECH

# The guard's attention never wavers

Wealth Matters

PAUL SULLIVAN

Home security is expected to be a \$47.5 billion business by 2020. Top-of-the-line systems can include alarms, cameras, dogs, guards and even secret passageways. But even the most sophisticated systems can have a fundamental flaw: human error.

Now, security companies are hoping to harness the potential of artificial intelligence to better safeguard homes.

Expert say there are risks to using A.I. including concerns about privacy, the collection of personal data and racial sensitivity and bias, but security companies are promising better service at lower prices. Artificial intelligence, they say, can see more things faster than systems that rely on humans, who may not be paying attention.

"We put in the cameras to create a perimeter with no dead zones," said Ken Young, chief executive of Edgeworth Security, a consulting firm in Pittsburgh that offers monitoring solutions.

To protect a property, these systems use technology like geofencing, facial recognition and A.I.-enabled cameras to help identify intruders. If someone breaks that boundary, the cameras will alert a command center. If someone loiters too long at a call box at the entrance to an estate, the system sends an alert to the monitoring center, which responds with a tailored warning, like "You in the blue shirt, please leave."

Mr. Young said the system uses artificial intelligence to tell the difference between movement into and out of a property, but it also uses facial recognition technology to distinguish regular visitors — like gardeners or delivery people — from strangers.

"When I worked at the White House, the grounds were gridded out with cables," said Mr. Young, who was part of the Marine One security detail and served as an emergency action planner to the executive branch during President George W. Bush's administration. "Now, it's all done through the lens of the camera."

Companies like Galaxy Security also make enhanced video cameras like the ones Edgeworth uses, and other security companies offer enhanced video surveillance as an add-on to other camera systems.

The systems that Edgeworth installs can start around \$20,000 for eight cameras on a small property and rise to more than \$600,000 for large estates. The average cost is \$12 an hour, and homeowners can choose when they want the monitoring turned on.

That level of security is a draw for wealthy homeowners and prospective owners. The actor Joe Manganiello realized the weakness of his home security system a few years ago. He was at home in Beverly Hills, Calif., when he heard someone walking around their property.

Ms. Vergara checked the security cameras and noticed they were blacked out. "I thought my property had been spray-painted the lenses for nearly 45 minutes, which the company monitoring the security feed had missed."

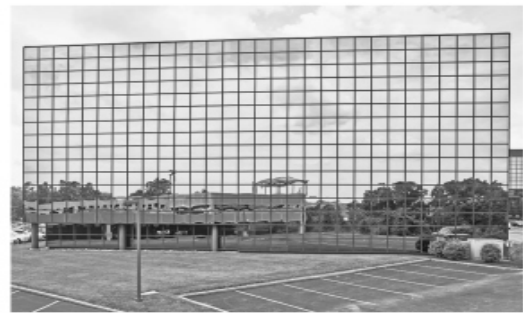
"These guys were trying to crowbar in the kitchen window; then they



Ken Young, above, of Edgeworth Security, whose home security systems use technology to help identify intruders. Below at right, the company's command center in Pittsburgh.



Sofia Vergara and Joe Manganiello, above, upgraded their home security system with artificial intelligence after a break-in.



Edgeworth Security's command center in Pittsburgh.

moved to the living room door," said Mr. Manganiello, who is known for his roles on "True Blood" and "Magic Mike." "I was standing at the top of the stairs with a weapon."

When the men broke through the front door, the security alarm sounded and they ran off, he said. But the attempted break-in made him realize it was time for a security upgrade.

Many multimillion-dollar homes are ill equipped from a security perspective, professionals say. According to a 2011 study by the Justice Department, 94 to 98 percent of burglar alarms were false, making the systems unreliable.

Tom Gallagher, president of DSL Construction, which owns 26 residential buildings with more than 1,400 apartments in Los Angeles, said he wanted to change how the properties were protected.

"Over the years, it just became increasingly clear to me that the quality of the guards and the guard services were horrible," he said. "They weren't very effective."

At first, he tried to create his own guard company, but that was too expensive, so he began researching enhanced security systems.

"We had cameras out there when we still had guards," Mr. Gallagher said of his trial phase. "We had an incident that the cameras picked up. Where was the guard? He was sleeping in his car for six hours."

Thomas Tull, the chief executive of Tulco, which owns Edgeworth, said what he wanted for himself and his clients was a system that not only responded to risks but anticipated them.

He gave as an example a worker in one client's home who posted a picture

of the house online; the Edgeworth security system flagged the photo within a minute, and it was taken down. In another instance, the plans for someone's compound were detected on the so-called dark web, which is accessible only by using browsers that mask a user's identity.

"Who knows what they were going to do with it?" Mr. Tull said. How these systems learn the difference between good behavior and bad is a fraught ethical question.

"There is inherent bias in the computational systems," said Illah R. Nourbakhsh, the K&L Gates professor of ethics and computational technologies at Carnegie Mellon University's Create Lab.

A recent study at the M.I.T. Media Lab showed how biases in the real world could be applied to artificial intelligence. Commercial software is nearly

flawless at telling the gender of white men, researchers found, but not so for darker-skinned women. And Google had to apologize in 2015 after its image-recognition photo app mistakenly labeled photos of black people as "gorillas."

Professor Nourbakhsh said that A.I.-enhanced security systems could struggle to determine whether a non-white person was arriving as a guest, a worker or an intruder.

"When you take the human out of the loop, you lose the empathetic component," Professor Nourbakhsh said. "If you keep humans in the loop and use these systems, you get the best of all worlds."

Security consultants recommend a layered approach that could include artificial intelligence.

Michael A. Silva, principal of Silva Consultants in Seattle, said any security plan started with the basics — good locks, strong doors, an alarm system — and could be expanded to full perimeter screening with either monitoring enhanced with artificial intelligence or more traditional motion detectors and alarms.

Celebrities and other well-known people may want to build a safe room in their homes, he said, or have their own command centers.

A few months ago, Mr. Manganiello and Ms. Vergara's home was a target again.

But this time, their new system from Edgeworth with geofencing technology and A.I.-enabled cameras detected three men before they could get close to the house.

"As they were trying to figure out where to come in, the command center was guiding the police to our house," Mr. Manganiello said. "They were able to apprehend them and their getaway driver before they could even touch the house."

Q+a

## Dedicated app vs. mobile site

**When researching a topic on a website, I frequently get a pop-up alert that suggests I use that same site's mobile app for iOS. What is the downside of using the site's app? Does the app track personal information?**

Using a company's own smartphone app instead of its mobile website may have some clear advantages, but it varies by app. As for tracking personal information, that also depends on the company that made the app — and the data it declares it will collect from you in the user agreement, device permissions and terms of service. So read those carefully before installing anything.

Well-designed mobile apps are often faster than mobile sites, as they are designed for specific operating systems. Some apps can display content more uniformly than what a mobile browser may render. Other typical benefits of apps include notifications, automatic updates and stored content you can see offline. However, apps can be buggy at times, and some may use more of your network bandwidth than you realize if the app is set to download new content in the background.

In comparison, mobile websites usually take up less space on your phone than an app. Mobile sites may deposit tracking cookies and store data of their own on your device.

App icons on the home screen are handy shortcuts, though. If you prefer using a mobile website instead, you can save shortcut icons for your favorite sites on both the Android and the iOS systems.

## Explore the great indoors

**How do "indoor" maps work? I thought GPS had a hard time getting signals if your phone wasn't outdoors in a clear area.**

The United States Global Positioning System (GPS) currently uses a system of 31 operational satellites transmitting radio signals to receivers on the ground. Once the GPS device on the ground receives signals from four or more satellites, it can use geometry to calculate its three-dimensional position on the earth's surface.

Some indoor maps are simply static floor plans of the building for easy reference, much like a directory map at a shopping mall; flight tracker apps, for example, often include airport guides for travelers. For maps that do provide fairly accurate positioning indoors, information from your phone's Wi-Fi network data, special Bluetooth beacons and radio-frequency identification systems — or even dedicated hardware installed by the place you are visiting — can help mark your spot.

Apple Maps, Google Maps and Microsoft's Bing Maps all have some indoor maps available, typically for large public places (like airports, museums and shopping centers), that you can use for directions and navigation. To see an indoor location that has been mapped, zoom in; Apple Maps uses a blue Look Inside button.

Some venues also map their own interiors for customer service, and often for tracking user movement around the space — especially in a store. J. D. Bierds

# Deadline looming? Hurry up and slow down

Tech We're Using

BY THE NEW YORK TIMES

**How do New York Times journalists use technology in their jobs and in their personal lives? Nellie Bowles, a technology reporter in San Francisco, discussed the tech she's using.**

**As our tech culture reporter, what is your most crucial tech tool for doing work?**

There's only one gadget I can't live without. It weighs in at 114 pounds. It is my desk treadmill.

I can never sit still. I get a nervous twitchy energy when I try. I've used a standing desk since my first job out of college in 2010, but got my treadmill (the LifeSpan TR1200) about six months ago, and life on it is truly my ideal state.

The treadmill goes under my desk. I walk usually 1.5 miles an hour, but drop to 1 mile an hour for writing something tricky. I'll kick up to 2 miles an hour if I'm feeling wild or on a long call. If I'm transcribing or doing something that doesn't require tons of decision making, I'll do 2.5 miles an hour, but that's the max. And I stay like that all day long. And that's how I work.

**How did you decide to get a treadmill desk?**

For me, the game of work is always how long each day I can keep my mind

sharp and absorbed in the task at hand. I find walking to be very good for this. But logistically for my job, I need to be typing notes during calls and writing up stories, so I discovered the treadmill desk. My mind doesn't flit around as much when I'm treading. It also just feels good. I think it's strange that from a very young age, we're all expected to cram our bodies around these squat little tables and then remain stock still for hours on end.

**How did your colleagues react to it?** I moved the treadmill into the office on a Sunday evening so when everyone got in Monday, it would just be a fact of life. Were there jokes? Many jokes. But we're goldfish and get used to new items. And the trick is that bringing up the treadmill now is actually worse, because then I'll start rambling about some new treadmill desk health study and how I'm going to live forever. So we've reached a silent truce. I'm in an open-plan office, and my desk neighbor Jack Nicas (who covers Apple) said he was a little concerned that I would be loosing half a foot off the ground by walking 10 miles a day straight at him.

"But it's kind of soothing now," he said during a recent interview I conducted while treading directly at him and typing this. "It's also giving me this intense self-loathing sitting here while you're walking all day." Great!

**You write about a lot of trends permeating Silicon Valley, like e-scooters, CryptoKitties and wool shoes. What trends do you think will actually last?**

**Wool shoes.** I will be honest: The e-commerce wool shoe market niche is a lot bigger than I had imagined. Pared-down e-commerce basics shops like Everlane and Allbirds are interesting to watch (though I think Amazon might eat them all). There will be good stories in what people do with storefronts instead of selling things.

Electric city vehicles are here to stay. In terms of shape, since batteries have gotten cheaper and better, the form factor of the electric bike (Bib, with pedals, hard in a skirt) has become less necessary. Scooters are light and fun, and, God help me, they look cool. The biggest shift will be when we get self-driving cars. But that's kind of obvious.

Some of the trends here (virtual reality, blockchain) get comically overhyped. But that's actually my favorite part of Silicon Valley culture — the blind exuberance and goofiness and the kids who flood in from around the world. I grew up in San Francisco, but it was the start-up boomtown vibe that made me want to stay here to write.

**Outside work, what tech product do you love?**

I use a small, portable purple Bluetooth speaker (the UE Roll 2) for outdoor hanging out and as my in-room sound system. It is perfect. There is nothing that could be better about it.

**To deal with your smartphone addiction, you grayed out your smartphone screen. How is that working out for you?**



Nellie Bowles, who writes about tech culture, on her LifeSpan TR1200 treadmill at her desk in San Francisco.

I love it. It gives me a sense of control over something I felt had too much power, and that is a small daily satisfaction. These phones are designed to look and work like slot machines, and

I'm glad to have scrubbed some of that. My computer screen is grayscale as well. To step back, as our screen worlds have gotten better and so deeply immersive, we all have to figure

out little hooks to pull back into the physical world (assuming we want to be pulled back). For me, for now, a good hook is color — the world is colorful, and my screens are gray.

## TRAVEL

## Have pug, will travel

BY STEVE EDER

A few minutes after we sank into our seats, the train whistled out of the station and the conductor made his way down the aisle. It was just like any other trek between Penn Station and Union Station, except for one thing.

The conductor looked down at our printed ticket and mentally checked off my wife and me before pausing and giving a friendly but perplexed look. "Rufus and Hamilton," he read off the sheet. "You've got four?"

At our feet were Rufus and Hamilton, our two black pug dogs. They were nestled into their lined travel bags, quietly being lulled to sleep by the rhythms of the train as we headed from New York to Washington.

When we travel, the pugs come along whenever possible because, to us, they are family. We learned long ago that traveling with dogs always makes our adventures more fun, even if it is a bit of a hassle. And it turns out we are hardly alone: Many other people love to bring their pets on vacation too.

That means dogs, cats and other animals are increasingly showing up places they were once shunned, with hotels, restaurants and even airports becoming more hospitable to pet parents. Not everyone loves our pets, but the world seems to be catering to us — or at the least, tolerating us — and it is making it easier for us to take our pugs with us when we travel.

So we were predictably intrigued a couple years ago when Amtrak began allowing travelers to take small dogs on select routes for a fee. The move unlocked yet another way for our road warrior pugs to move about the country.

Eager to experience the latest mode of dog transportation, we booked round-trip tickets to Washington where we were heading for, well, a pug meet-up. We reserved spots at our feet for Hamilton, our gray-chinned 10-year-old with model looks, and his wide-eyed little brother, Rufus, a curious 4-year-old with a white paw who is stunningly friendly.

Amtrak allows pets 20 pounds or lighter to ride in small carriers for trips up to seven hours, so our 18-pound pugs qualified for the three-and-a-half-hour ride to Washington. The fee of \$25 per pet, each way, felt like a steep discount, as airlines charge at least \$100 each way for small dogs to fly in the cabin.



Rufus, left, and Hamilton on the train to Boston.

TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

To be sure, train travel is hardly glitch-free, and Amtrak is no exception. There can be delays, cancellations and derailments. As with other ways of getting around with a pet, the anxieties about unwanted smells, a nervous pet or a cranky fellow passenger still apply. And the waiting area at Penn Station is not exactly a majestic dog beach.

Since Amtrak began allowing dogs, our pugs have taken three round-trip journeys with us — twice to Washington and once to Boston — and with each trip, we discovered an element of simplicity to traveling with them by train that has made it our preferred method for exploring with them in tow.

Dog tickets can be reserved online, along with human tickets. One of the few

requirements involved filling out a pet waiver, in which I essentially took responsibility if the pugs caused any trouble while in transit. (They didn't.)

On each of our trips, we took the subway to Penn Station, arriving early, before killing some time in the Amtrak lounge. The waiting area can be warm on summery days — and it is a far cry from the state-of-the-art pet-friendly roof deck at Kennedy International Airport that Rufus explored before boarding a flight to California last year — but it at least provided a place to sit away from the crowds.

Traveling with a dog does not mean early access to the train or a preferred seat, but it was still far easier to board a train than a plane: there was no juggling

**The pugs slept in their bags at our feet, unnoticed by most of the people near us, aside from an occasional whine or bark.**

an antsy pup, a suitcase and shoes — while hoping no one asks you to put the dog on the X-ray belt.

Onboard the train, the pugs slept in their bags at our feet, unnoticed by most of the people sitting near us, aside from an occasional whine or bark. On our recent visit to Boston, we experimented with putting the pugs on our laps at times — which is against the rules — and the conductor, as well as our fellow passengers, did not seem to mind. The

pugs enjoyed briefly looking out the windows as we breezed through charming New England towns.

Our pugs were a particularly good fit for the train, or nearly any other mode of transportation. They are good-natured and they seem delighted to hang out in their travel bags for several hours, getting an occasional treat.

Long before they took to the rails, our pugs were seasoned travelers.

Adopted as a youngster in Ohio, Hamilton soon settled into city life in New York, while making many trips — by car and plane — back to the Midwest. Before a Thanksgiving road trip years ago, Hamilton became increasingly distressed as I loaded the rental car with his things, unsure where I was going

and desperately hoping he would come along.

"Of course he was coming with me. "Hamilton, just relax, buddy," I tried to tell him. He didn't believe me until we were on the road — and after he had given himself an upset stomach. (We made a lot of stops along the way.)

Over the years, his confidence grew. During a flight delay in Cleveland, he entertained antsy passengers by giving high-fives and begging for snacks. One time he sat silently in his bag under my seat, conveying the injustice of me paying his travel fee while a screaming baby nearby flew for free. Another time, a stranger noticed him and assumed me to be trustworthy, asking me to watch her bags at the airport (I declined).

Rufus experienced life on the road before we even met him, as he made the journey by truck from a shelter in Texas to New Jersey, where we adopted him from a rescue organization. We rented a car for the short ride to his new home in New York, and he insisted on sharing my wife's lap with Hamilton. Since then, Rufus has been on the move with us. He greets people with his curious big eyes and his friendly demeanor could put any nervous traveler at ease.

It is not always so smooth.

During a road trip to Boston with Hamilton, Rufus and their pug buddy, Finn, we pulled off the road to inspect the car for a mysterious smell — and never could quite get to the bottom of it. After a drive to Chicago with the same trio left our rental car covered in pug fur, we ended up lint-rolling and vacuuming the seats before returning the car to avoid a fee. Trips on the Long Island Rail Road during the busy summer months are rather hectic when balancing a dog, especially when there are fewer seats than customers.

And even on our recent trip to Boston, our train was running 90 minutes behind, a delay that was not announced until we had nearly arrived at Penn Station. To complicate matters, it was an unusually warm day in early May, which turned the waiting area into a toasty den. But we let the pugs out of their bags to stretch their legs outside while we waited for the train to make it to the station.

If the delay bothered Hamilton and Rufus, they did not let us know. And they were raring to go when we arrived at Boston's Back Bay Station.

## A London hotel with style

CHECK IN

BY LINDSEY TRAMUTA  
HENRIETTA, LONDONRATES  
From around 250 pounds, or about \$330.

**BASICS**  
Following the success of its first hotel in Paris, the Experimental Group, credited with putting the French capital on the world's craft cocktail map with its bars, made its foray into London's dense hotel market last June with the Henrietta. Dorothee Meilzchon, the group's long-time partner who designed its Grand Pigalle Hôtel in Paris, was given carte blanche to dream up the interior for the property's 18 rooms and suites and two-story restaurant, set in two converted 19th-century townhouses in Covent Garden.

In a refreshing departure from the floral-heavy English country style common to many of the classic properties nearby, Ms. Meilzchon went with an Art Deco design that incorporates nods to the neighborhood's former produce market, like a rich green color palette and terra cotta tiles, but hews to her signature penchant for graphic fabrics, vintage pieces and custom furnishings. And like its Parisian sibling, the Henrietta is designated a Bed & Beverage by the group, which means creative cocktails take pride of place in the hotel lounge and in mini bars.

**LOCATION**  
In the heart of Covent Garden, steps from the piazza's high-end boutiques and restaurants and only a five- to 10-minute walk to West End theaters and museums like the Royal Opera House, the Lyceum Theater and the National Portrait Gallery.

**THE ROOM**  
While each room is slightly different in layout and design, they all have retro-chic touches: velvet armchairs, brass bedside lamps, hexagonal upholstered headboards inspired by Milanese door frames, terrazzo-patterned carpets and Carrara marble skirting. The Grand Henrietta room, where I stayed, sits on the top floor and was elegantly furnished with a blush pink love seat, a desk doubling as a dressing table, a spacious armoire for storage and thick gray blackout curtains, which enhanced my restful night's sleep. But the standout feature was the unobstructed view across the city to the London Eye Ferris wheel, best experienced from the room's private balcony.

**THE BATHROOM**  
The en suite double bathroom, equipped with a rainfall shower and a sizable claw foot bathtub, was done up in pastel pink,



The Henrietta Hotel features a lobby bar, top, and distinctive bathrooms, above.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY KAREL BALAS

black and white tiles and retro globe lights that could easily be dimmed. The unique touch here was the mixed selection of bath products that rotate daily from brands like Ren, Sachajuan, John Master Organic and Malin & Goetz.

**AMENITIES**  
Beyond the expected features, like free Wi-Fi, there were a handful of others that caught my attention: a Revo digital radio and a well-stocked minibar with cold-pressed juices, kombucha, coconut water and local snacks as well as ready-to-drink house cocktails (not included in the room rate). In the absence of an on-site fitness center, guests can take advantage of the hotel's partnership with Fitness First for free gym access. Also free is the shoe polish offered at Joseph Cheaney and Sons, across the street from the hotel.

**DINING**  
Room service is offered 24 hours every day (my dish arrived in under 20 min-

utes, warm and artfully plated) but the culinary draw is the 80-seat ground floor restaurant, Henrietta Bistro. At the time of my visit, it was overseen by Ollie Dabbous, one of London's most acclaimed chefs, which turned the Henrietta into a dining destination among locals and pre-theater crowds. The restaurant has a southwestern French- and Corsican-inspired menu and a new chef at the helm: Sylvain Roucaÿrol, formerly of Bar Boulud and Experimental's wine bar La Compagnie des Vins Surnaturels. Tables are also reserved for hotel guests at the group's sister bars like Experimental Cocktail Club Chinatown.

**THE BOTTOM LINE**  
This is a stylish addition to London's selection of boutique hotels, with a distinctly Parisian sensibility and a well-executed food and beverage program.

Henrietta Hotel, 14-15 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, henriettahotel.com.

The New York Times

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