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# The New York Times

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## For Israel, frightening new truths

Ronen Bergman

OPINION

**TEL AVIV** On March 24, Sgt. Elor Azaria arrived at an Israeli military post in the heart of the West Bank city of Hebron shortly after two Palestinians had stabbed a soldier in the arm and shoulder. The two assailants were shot during the attack; one was killed and the other, Abdel Fattah al-Sharif, was wounded and lying helpless on the ground. Sergeant Azaria cocked his rifle and fired a bullet into Mr. Sharif's head, killing him. He had just told a fellow soldier, "He stabbed my friend and he deserves to die."

Is the military the only thing standing between the rule of law and mob rule?

On trial for manslaughter in military court and represented by a battery of top-flight lawyers paid for by donations to a crowdfunding website, Sergeant Azaria

gave a different motive for his action. He now claimed that he feared that Mr. Sharif was armed with a bomb and he shot him to protect himself and his comrades. This defense, as well as the others that were put forward (including the claim that Mr. Sharif was already dead when Sergeant Azaria shot him, although he was clearly seen moving in video images of the incident), were all rejected on Wednesday by a panel of three military judges, who called Sergeant Azaria's defense "evasive" and "evolving and tortuous," and convicted him.

The judgment, on the face of it, was a victory for Lt. Gen. Gadi Eisenkot, the army's chief of staff, and for Moshe Yaalon, who was defense minister at the time of the shooting. Both had condemned Sergeant Azaria's action as soon as images of it were made public by a human rights organization. They declared the killing a violation of the army's code of ethics and backed the army prosecution. The sharply worded judgment should have put an end to the controversy that has transfixed Israel for almost a year, with right-wing politicians criticizing the army and bolstering Sergeant Azaria's public support.

The reality is different. Violent demonstrations erupted Wednesday out-

BERGMAN, PAGE 11



Cédric Herrou, center, arrived at the courthouse in Nice, in southern France, to face trial on charges of smuggling dozens of migrants in a region near the French-Italian border.

## Fraternité in action

NICE, FRANCE

Olive farmer in France, on trial for smuggling migrants, finds support

BY ADAM NOSSITER

At times it was hard to know who was on trial, the smuggler or the state.

The defendant, Cédric Herrou, 37, a slightly built olive farmer, did not deny that for months he had illegally spirited dozens of migrants through the remote mountain valley where he lives. He would do it again, he suggested.

Instead, when asked by a judge, "Why do you do all this?" Mr. Herrou turned the tables and questioned the humanity of France's practice of rounding up and turning back Africans entering illegally

from Italy in search of work and a better life. It was "ignoble," he said.

"There are people dying on the side of the road," Mr. Herrou replied. "It's not right. There are children who are not safe. It is enraging to see children, at 2 in the morning, completely dehydrated."

"I am a Frenchman," Mr. Herrou declared.

The trial, which began on Wednesday, is no ordinary one. It has been substantially covered by the French news media for its rich symbolism and for the way it neatly sums up the ambiguity of France's policy toward the unceasing flow of migrants into Europe and the quandary they present.

France, foremost among European nations, prides itself on enlightened humanitarianism, fraternity and solidarity. And yet, perhaps first among them, too, it is struggling to reconcile those values with the pressing realities of a

FRANCE, PAGE 4



Mr. Herrou, right, at his property in France's remote Roya Valley, which has become a way station for African migrants. He calls the practice of sending them back "ignoble."

## Tech giants see threats in scrutiny by regulators

STATE OF THE ART

The industry's big 5 face governments motivated to take them on globally

BY FARHAD MANJOO

In the technology industry, the sharks have never long been safe from the minnows. Over much of the last 40 years, the biggest players in tech — from IBM to Hewlett-Packard to Cisco to Yahoo — were eventually outmaneuvered by start-ups that came out of nowhere.

The dynamic is so dependable that it is often taken to be a kind of axiom. To grow large in this business is also to grow slow, blind and dumb, to become closed off from the very sources of innovation that turned you into a shark in the first place.

Then, in the last half-decade, something strange happened: The sharks began to get bigger and smarter. Nearly a year ago, I argued that we were witnessing a new era in the tech business, one that is typified less by the storied start-up in a garage than by a posse I like to call the Frightful Five: Amazon, Apple, Facebook, Microsoft and Alphabet, Google's parent company.

Together the Five compose a new superclass of American corporate might. For much of last year, their further rise and domination over the rest of the global economy looked not just plausible, but also maybe even probable.

In 2017, much the same story remains, but there is a new wrinkle: The world's governments are newly motivated to take on the tech giants. In the United States, Europe, Asia and South America, the Five find themselves increasingly arrayed against legal and regulatory powers, often even against popular will.

The precise nature of the fights varies by company and region, including the tax and antitrust investigations of Apple and Google in Europe and Donald J. Trump's broad and often incoherent criticism of the Five for various alleged misdeeds.

This is the story that will shape the contours of the next great era in tech: Five huge companies that can only get bigger are set against governments that increasingly see them as a clear threat to governing authority. So, happy New Year.

Let's start with some stats. In 2017, the

STATE, PAGE 8

## Glare varies for two actors on awards trail

LOS ANGELES

Some see double standard in treatment of the men, one white and one black

BY BROOKS BARNES

This was supposed to be the awards season when Hollywood, having been scorched by consecutive #OscarsSoWhite years, avoided tumult over race.

Not so.

In heated conversations in Hollywood in recent weeks, prompted by articles on websites like The Daily Beast, Mic and ThinkProgress, producers, publicists, studio executives and other movie insiders have been grappling with whether there is a double standard at play — involving race, power or both — in the treatment of Nate Parker, a relatively unknown artist who has been sidelined as an Academy Award candidate, and



Casey Affleck settled two sexual harassment suits filed against him in 2010.

Casey Affleck, the brother of movedom royalty who is being feted as the leading contender for best actor.

Mr. Parker, the force behind the slave-revolt film "The Birth of a Nation," faced intense scrutiny in August, including from The New York Times, when new details surfaced concerning a case in which he was accused — and later acquitted — of raping a fellow student



Nate Parker was acquitted of raping a fellow student nearly two decades ago.

while at Penn State nearly two decades ago. The media storm, made worse by several contentious interviews given by Mr. Parker, 37, resulted in a poor performance at the box office for his film and its shunning on the seasonal awards circuit. While heralded at festivals, the film received mixed reviews upon release.

Mr. Affleck, 41, has not received simi-

lar scrutiny over sexual harassment suits that were filed against him by two women in 2010 in civil court. At the time, a lawyer for Mr. Affleck, who plays a sorrowful New England handyman in the celebrated drama "Manchester by the Sea," denied the accusations as "desperate, fabricated claims" and called them an "extortion tactic." Nothing was proved. Ultimately, he settled for undisclosed sums.

Mr. Affleck's performance has continued to rack up accolades, despite fresh attention on the 2010 lawsuits by the news media. (Asked about them by The Times for an article in November, he responded: "It was settled to the satisfaction of all. I was hurt and upset — I am sure all were — but I am over it.") More than two dozen critics' groups and festivals have named him best actor for his "Manchester by the Sea" performance. He is up for a Golden Globe on Sunday and a Screen Actors Guild award on Jan. 29.

Why do the two men find themselves in much different circumstances?

AWARDS, PAGE 2

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## PAGE TWO

## Japan's 'genderless' blur traditional lines

TOKYO

Young men are bending norms in a culture known for its stringent roles

BY MOTOKO RICH

With the precision of a craftsman painting a ceramic doll, Toman Sasaki blended foundation onto his fine-boned face, shaded the side of his nose with blush and shaped his lip color with a small brush. After 40 minutes of primping in his tiny studio apartment in the Hatsudai neighborhood of Tokyo, he peered into a hand mirror and gave himself a nod of approval.

Along with his manicured nails, bobbed hair and high-heeled shoes, the makeup made Mr. Sasaki, 23, appear more typically feminine than male, a striking choice in a society where men and women tend to hew strictly to conventional gender dress codes.

Mr. Sasaki, a model and pop band member who goes simply by Toman, does not regard his look as feminine so much as genderless. As one of a small but growing group of "genderless danshi" — "danshi" means young men in Japanese — he is developing a public identity and a career out of a new androgynous style.

"At heart, I am a man," said the petite-framed Mr. Sasaki, whose wardrobe of slim-fit tank tops, baggy jackets and skinny jeans evokes the fashion of a pre-adolescent girl. The concept of gender, he said, "isn't really necessary."

"People should be able to choose whatever style suits them," said Mr. Sasaki, who has a large following as Toman on social media and regularly appears on television and radio programs. "It's not as if men have to do one thing, and women have to do another. I don't find that very interesting. We're all human beings."

Just as some American males have embraced makeup, young Japanese men are bending fashion gender norms, dyeing their hair, inserting colored contacts and wearing brightly colored lipstick.

Men like Ryuji Higa, better known as Ryucheru, his signature blond curls often pulled back in a headband, and Genki Tanaka, known as Genking, who rocks long platinum tresses and often appears in miniskirts, have made a leap from social media stardom to television celebrity.

"It's about blurring the boundaries that have defined pink and blue masculinity and femininity," said Jennifer Robertson, a professor of anthropology at the University of Michigan who has researched and written extensively about gender in Japan. "They are trying to increase the scope of what someone with male anatomy can wear."

Japanese culture has long had a formal tradition of cross-dressing in theater, from classic forms like Kabuki and Noh, where men dress as both men and women, to Takarazuka, where women play both genders.

The unisex look for men has also been popularized in the Japanese cartoon form called anime and by members of popular boy bands.

The term "genderless danshi" was coined by a talent agent, Takashi Marumoto, who has helped develop Toman's career. Mr. Marumoto recruits other an-



Toman Sasaki, a model and pop band member, does not regard his look as feminine so much as genderless. As one of a small but growing group of "genderless danshi" — "danshi" means young men in Japanese — he is developing a public identity and a career out of a new androgynous style. "At heart, I am a man," said Mr. Sasaki, who regularly appears on television and radio programs. The concept of gender "isn't really necessary."

drogynous men for fashion shows and contracts as potential models, capitalizing on their social media followings to market to fans.

Unlike in the West, where cross-dressing tends to be associated with sexuality, here it is mostly about fashion.

"I think Japanese people react to these men who look quite feminine differently from how people in Euro-American societies react," said Masafumi Monden, who researches Japanese fashion and culture at the University of Technology Sydney and is on a fellowship at Tokyo University. "In Japan, how people look and their sexual identities can be separated to a certain extent."

Toman Sasaki said that when he first began dressing in the genderless danshi fashion, people frequently asked him whether he was gay. (He says he is heterosexual.)

He said that he wore makeup to conceal his flaws. "There are many things I'm insecure about; I really don't like my

**"It's not as if men have to do one thing, and women have to do another. I don't find that very interesting. We're all human."**

face," he said. "But I also feel that who I am changes when I wear makeup."

Several men who consider themselves genderless danshi said in interviews that they did not see a connection between their appearance and their sexual identities — or even their views on traditional gender roles.

"It's just that you use makeup and dress how you want," said Takuya Kitajima, 18. Mr. Kitajima, who goes by the name Takubo, said he believed men and women were fundamentally different in spite of any blurring of style distinctions. "I think men should protect women, and that principle won't change," he said. "Men are stronger than women, and a man should work because the

women are weaker."

But Yasu Suzuki, 22, who organizes events for other genderless danshi to meet with their social media fans, said his explorations in fashion have broadened his views on sexuality.

When he began to experiment with makeup as a teenager, he said, he sometimes attracted the romantic attention of other men. "I thought that I would want to throw up when a man said to me, 'I love you,'" said Mr. Suzuki, who wears baggy trousers popular among Japanese women and tweezes his facial hair because he cannot yet afford the laser hair removal treatments popular among the better-known genderless danshi.

"But now that I began wearing this genderless fashion, I think I shed my prejudice," he said. "Before, I didn't like boys or men who love each other, but I have started to accept them. Beautiful people are just beautiful."

In Japan, where a walk through a train station during the commuter rush

highlights the dark-suited conformity of most males, young men disillusioned by corporate stagnation may be using fashion to challenge the social order.

"In my generation, women were jealous of men because they could work and do whatever they wanted," said Junko Mitsuhashi, 61, a professor of gender studies at Chuo University and a transgender woman. "But in the younger generation, men are jealous of women because they can express themselves through fashion."

She added, "Men feel like they don't have a sphere in which they can express themselves, and they envy girls, because girls can express themselves through their appearance."

Young girls are the most ardent fans of the genderless danshi, making up the bulk of their social media followers and showing up at events.

On an autumn night when Toman performed with his band, XOX (Kiss Hug Kiss), at a hipster clothing store in Hara-

juku, the center of Tokyo youth fashion, the audience was made up almost entirely of teenage girls and a few 20-something women.

Toman, dressed in a satin pink and leopard skin-print jacket, ripped black jeans and faded black and white Converse sneakers, had inserted gray contact lenses that made his eyes look huge beneath purple-tipped false eyelashes. When the band mounted the makeshift stage for a few songs — all performed slightly out of tune — the audience waved signs and screamed. Some girls cried.

Nagisa Fujiwara, 16, a high school sophomore in Tokyo, was one of about 200 girls who lined up after the brief concert to take selfies with the band. "He looks like a girl," she said about Toman, her favorite. "But when you put that together with his maleness, I see him as a new kind of man."

Makiko Inoue contributed research.

## Glare varies for two actors on Hollywood awards trail

AWARDS, FROM PAGE 1

Perhaps people think Mr. Affleck's performance, and the movie in which he stars, is better. Maybe it's because, as an Oscar nominee and the brother of the box-office star Ben Affleck, Mr. Affleck has attained a privileged status in Hollywood; the power surrounding him may make people reluctant to openly criticize him. Certainly a factor is the fact that there was unsettling new information revealed about Mr. Parker's rape case in August — that his accuser later committed suicide — while there have been no new disclosures regarding Mr. Affleck's cases.

Or maybe, say those mindful of Hollywood's checkered racial history, it is because Mr. Affleck is white and Mr. Parker is black.

Jeannie Suk Gersen, a professor at Harvard Law School who teaches criminal law and sexual harassment law, said the reason could be far simpler: Mr. Parker's case was criminal and Mr. Affleck's was civil.

"People carelessly conflate rape with the entire range of sexual misconduct that can occur," Ms. Suk Gersen said. "It's all repulsive. But both morally and legally there are distinctions — degrees of behavior. Parker was accused of something far more serious." (Ms. Suk Gersen is particularly attuned to Mr. Parker's case, having contributed an article in September to The New Yorker, "The Public Trial of Nate Parker.")

Mr. Parker was acquitted by a jury. Mr. Affleck settled the civil sexual harassment lawsuits filed against him, something that his detractors have



Left, Casey Affleck in "Manchester by the Sea"; his performance has continued to rack up accolades despite the publicity surrounding the settled suits. At right, Nate Parker, center, in "The Birth of a Nation." The film was heralded at festivals but shunned on the awards circuit. Some believe comparing the two men is an example of false equivalency.

seized upon as tantamount to an acknowledgment of guilt.

"As a lawyer, I don't take a settlement to mean much of anything," Ms. Suk Gersen said. "Sometimes it means guilt. But sometimes people who are innocent — especially celebrities — settle cases after doing a cost-benefit analysis: How much do I want to pay for this to be over?"

One of the women, a producer named Amanda White, said in her complaint against Mr. Affleck that she endured "uninvited and unwelcome sexual advances" on the set of the film "I'm Still

Here," which he directed. The other woman, the cinematographer Magdalena Gorka, accused Mr. Affleck of curling up next to her while she was sleeping and "caressing her back." (The women and their shared lawyer declined requests to comment for this article.)

Even so, there are people in Hollywood — none of whom would speak on the record — who believe that Mr. Affleck is insulated because he is a white man. Their feeling is that the entertainment-industry awards groups, still largely dominated by white men, are



judging him differently than they judged Mr. Parker.

That sentiment has also appeared on social media. "The racial inequality between Affleck/Parker cases disgusts me," Julia Campanelli, an actress, said recently in an unsolicited Twitter message to a Times reporter.

Mr. Affleck's supporters and even some people who worked with Mr. Parker to promote "The Birth of a Nation" believe that comparing the two men is absurd — the definition of false equivalency, or when each side of a debate is presented as equally credible,

even when the factual evidence is stacked heavily on one side. While refusing to speak publicly because they did not want to add momentum to the discussion, two studio executives wondered if the negative attention on Mr. Affleck is an example of negative whisper campaigning by Oscar rivals.

Mr. Parker declined an interview request. A spokeswoman for Mr. Affleck declined to comment.

The friction surrounding Mr. Affleck comes amid heightened attention on misconduct against women by men in the entertainment industry, including

Bill Cosby, who is facing a June criminal trial on charges of aggravated indecent assault, and Johnny Depp, who was accused of domestic violence in May. In December, a new round of outrage erupted over the treatment of Maria Schneider by Bernardo Bertolucci and Marlon Brando on the set of "Last Tango in Paris," which was released in 1972.

The awards season currently underway includes other questions about whether voters can — or should — separate art from the artist. Mel Gibson, for instance, became a Hollywood pariah in 2006, when he was charged with drunken driving and went on an anti-Semitic tirade. In 2011, he pleaded no contest to a misdemeanor charge of battering a former girlfriend. But Mr. Gibson's "Hacksaw Ridge," a war drama, is now vying for awards. He is expected to attend the Golden Globes, where "Hacksaw Ridge" is up for three honors, including best director and best picture.

This was meant to be the Oscar contest that soothed Hollywood's racial divide. The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, responding to protests over two straight years of awards nominations for only white actors, implemented substantial changes last year to its voting requirements, recruiting process and governing structure. At the same time, studios pushed forward films with diverse casts, including "Fences," "Hidden Figures," "Loving" and "Moonlight" — all of which are expected to contend for prizes, some in multiple categories, at the 89th Academy Awards in February. Nominations will be announced on Jan. 24.

# World

## Virginity tests in Afghanistan defy a ban

KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

President's condemnation of invasive practice has been widely ignored

BY ZAHRA NADER AND MUJIB MASHAL

The teenage girl had barely survived an attempted mob lynching in Kabul. The police responded by forcing her to undergo a virginity examination.

An unproved accusation of adultery had sent the mob chasing the girl and the young man she had been linked to, and the crowd set fire to the car in which the two were found last July in west Kabul. They barely escaped, but the police seemed more concerned about the mob's accusation. They chased her down and arrested her hours later.

"Since there was suspicion of sexual relationship, the police sent the girl to forensic medical for virginity test," Fraidoon Obaidi, chief of the Kabul Police Criminal Investigation Department, said after her arrest.

That was months after President Ashraf Ghani had promised rights activists that forensic virginity tests — an invasive examination to check whether the hymen is intact — would be abolished as an official procedure. And it was years after studies and human rights groups had discredited the practice entirely, finding it invalid and tantamount to sexual abuse.

But the reality is that despite all that and years of efforts to enact protections for Afghan women and girls, the examinations are still being ordered by officials, compounding the trauma for women who in many cases have been raped or otherwise abused.

The main forensic medical center in Kabul, which also processes cases from other provinces, conducted 42 virginity tests in the first half of 2016, about the same pace as the year before, when it conducted about 80, according to medical records there. The overall number of such tests is certainly higher, given that official records across the country are difficult to track down. One police sub-



Khalil Ahmad Pashtonyar, deputy director of the Forensic Medicine Directorate in Kabul, where virginity testing takes place.

station in Kabul sent 26 cases of "moral crimes" — which include rape cases — to forensic medicine in 2015, and most involved virginity tests.

Asked for comment, President Ghani's office sent a statement saying: "The virginity test has been banned. However, it's a long-lasting practice used wrongly by law enforcement authorities, especially police." It said that early in 2016, "to eliminate the practice entirely, the government asked for a full study of the practice and the socio-psychological impact of this practice on women who go through this."

The statement acknowledged, though, that such tests still happen:

"However wrong, it is going to take some time to entirely be stopped and removed. But we are determined to change this practice."

The procedure's resilience, though, shows a broader problem that a recent report by the United States Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, known as Sigar, expressed concern about. The United States has spent \$1 billion on legal reform in Afghanistan, yet the country's justice sector still remains profoundly biased against women, the report said.

In addition to that spending, the United States added \$1 billion for programs in which the advancement of Af-

ghan women was a central point. But many prominent women interviewed for that report said the efforts missed a key component: the support of Afghan men.

Historically, efforts to alter the status of women in a deeply male-dominated culture have drawn strong adverse reactions. That is reflected in widespread and aggressive criticism that working Afghan women say they face, and also in the perception that over all, basic support of women's rights has dropped in recent years.

"These programs have raised the expectations of women, but they have left men behind," Adela Raz, Afghanistan's

deputy foreign minister for economic affairs, was quoted as saying in the Sigar report. "This has created tension between genders, because men think as women become more 'aware,' they will cut ties with tradition and the families."

A study by Afghanistan's human rights commission found the continuing virginity tests so routine that the justice system was still regularly ordering female victims of domestic abuse who had sought protection in women's shelters to go through the procedure. The commission called the examinations "violence against women."

"The circumstances of virginity test are never humane," said Soraya Sobhrang, a commissioner at the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission. "In conducting virginity tests, no one asks for the consent of the victim or the suspect — 99 percent of the virginity tests are conducted by force and without considerations of its legality."

Virginity tests in Kabul are usually conducted in a small room at the city's main forensic center that looks more like a storage space than an examination facility. A narrow bed is tucked against the wall; several old computers and monitors are stored under it. The window is covered by a black cloth.

Khalil Ahmad Pashtonyar, the government's deputy director of forensic medicine, insisted that the center never forces women to undergo the examination. If a woman refuses, he said, the facility just sends the file back to the police stating that the subject did not consent.

But that does not speak to the continued pressure within families for women to remain obedient. That culture and tradition is so ingrained that the forensic center gets many cases that have not been forwarded to them by the police.

Newly married couples have arrived at the center after their weddings when the husbands suspected their wives had not been virgins, doctors said. Parents have also brought in young girls who may have damaged hymens so the forensic center can issue a certificate documenting the girl's "purity" for some future husband.

Fear of social devastation has also given rise to underground businesses that promise to repair hymens — for as

much \$1,500, a large sum in Afghanistan.

In an interview with The New York Times, one woman, who was afraid to allow her name to be used, described how she and her mother had sought the repair procedure to hide from her fiancé that she had previously had sex. "It is a big deal in Afghanistan," she said. "If your hymen is broken, it is finished — you fall into hell."

But the cost was too high, and the woman decided she had to tell her fiancé. He called off the engagement and demanded that her family repay everything he had spent on her, she said.

Some women are put through the tests several times.

One girl in northern Jowzjan Province who had run away with a young man was arrested and sent to the hospital for

**"In conducting virginity tests, no one asks for the consent of the victim or the suspect — 99 percent of the virginity tests are conducted by force."**

an examination, which showed that her hymen had been damaged, said Humaira Qarizada, the manager of the aid group Women for Afghan Women in Jowzjan. The girl was sentenced to three months in prison, Ms. Qarizada said, but that was not the end of it.

"Soon she was released when a second test in the same hospital revealed that she was still a virgin," Ms. Qarizada said.

For the girl who survived the mob attack in Kabul last July and was arrested and ordered to be examined, the test at the forensic medical center showed that her hymen was still intact, according to records at the center seen by The Times.

Still, she was held for 40 days at the children's detention center, according to her father. (The Times is not using his name because his daughter, who is a minor, could be identifiable.) He said that the public shame of the mob's accusation forced him to send her away to stay with family in a different province.

On the day she left, he said, the girl wrote him a letter expressing regret, but insisting: "I have done nothing wrong."

## BBC viewers split on ISIS comedy

LONDON

'Real Housewives' sketch has some questioning its appropriateness, or humor

BY DAN BILEFSKY

The comedy sketch opens with a hijab-wearing British woman named Afsana fretting over how to impress the Islamic State militants who recruited her. "It's only three days to the beheading, and I've got no idea what I'm going to wear!" she laments.

Another woman models her new suicide vest for her fellow jihadist wives. "What do you think?" she asks. "Ahmed surprised me with it yesterday."

A third woman reacts admiringly, typing into her phone and saying: "Hashtag OMG. Hashtag Jihadi Jane. Hashtag death to the West, ISIS emojis."

"The Real Housewives of ISIS," a sketch that debuted this week on the BBC Two satirical show "Revoluting," attracted millions of views on social media.

But it left viewers divided over whether a dark sendup of the Islamic State, one of the world's most fearsome terrorist networks, was appropriate, much less funny — no matter what its creators intended.

"The BBC really made a satirical show called 'The Real Housewives of ISIS' while the real housewives of ISIS are being raped and abused daily," Meraj, a Londoner, wrote on Twitter.

Writing in the comments section of BBC Two's Facebook page, a viewer named David Bill criticized the show's attempt to turn human suffering into "light entertainment."

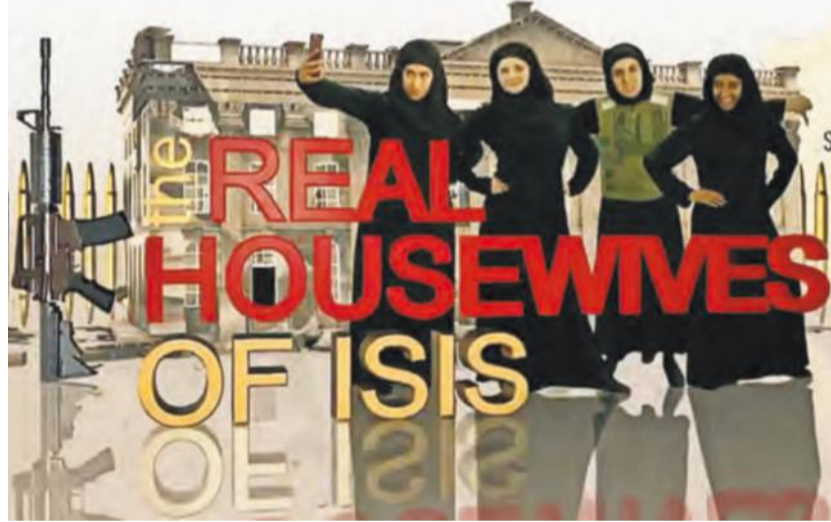
Many critics said they could not countenance any effort to draw laughs out of — or even at the expense of — a group that has enslaved women and girls for sex, compelling them to use birth control; recruited other women, under false pretenses, to become wives and sex slaves for its fighters; enshrined a theology of rape in its teachings; and shot and tortured women who resisted.

Others say the show has fanned Islamophobia and crossed well past the boundaries of good taste.

Still others railed against the BBC, which is financed primarily through a television license fee, for approving such a show.

The criticism has provoked a counterbacklash, with the show's sympathizers denouncing what they say is political correctness and arguing that freedom of expression — including pungent satire — is the best line of defense against extremism.

The satire, they say, mines a rich tradition that includes Charlie Chaplin's



A darkly comic BBC sketch has set off a debate on the limits of satire. Many critics said they could not countenance any effort to draw laughs out of the Islamic State.

1940 sendup of Hitler, "The Great Dictator."

"I like it. It's making fun of ISIS which is a good thing," Irfan Mansor, a man who identified himself as Muslim, wrote on the BBC Two Facebook page. "The whole point of satire is to bring people down to a level. If you can mock something, you're not scared of it. ISIS want to be feared. Don't give them that."

Several scholars of Islamist radicalism echoed that view, saying that comedy was a potent weapon because it denies the Islamic State the approval it so desperately craves.

"We think nothing when the Ku Klux Klan or the Nazis are satirized, so why not ISIS?" asked Shiraz Maher, deputy director of the International Center for the Study of Radicalization at King's College London. "ISIS wants to be taken seriously as an actor and state, they want approbation, and comedy denies them that, and takes away their shine."

A BBC spokeswoman, Kate Toft, said the broadcaster was not commenting on the show "other than to say that it's satire and the BBC has a rich history of satire."

"Revoluting," the show on which the sketch aired, is the brainchild of Jolyon Rubinstein and Heydon Prowse, who met at an elementary school in North London and relish using a mix of acerbic humor, gags and pranks to puncture the hypocrisy they see in politics, business and religion.

The two men attracted the ire of pro-Israeli groups a few years ago when they appeared in a comedy sketch in which they impersonated building contractors and told London store owners their land would be taken to make way for an extension of the Israeli Embassy.

Now they are defending "Real House-

wives of ISIS," saying that religious fundamentalism is fair game for satire. "It's important not to pull your punches in satire," Mr. Prowse told the British newspaper i. "You have to be fearless or it undermines your credibility."

Referring to the former prime minister, he added, "You can't go after David Cameron for five years like we did and not go after Islamic State."

Mr. Rubinstein said the show's comedy pointed an uncomfortable spotlight at the grooming of young women by Islamic extremists, and to real cases, including that of a British-born woman, Samantha Lewthwaite, a convert to Islam who married a man who later blew himself up on the London subway on July 7, 2005, part of a terrorist attack that killed 52 civilians.

It also warns of subjugation by the terrorist group, including a scene in which a woman scouring a floor complains that when she met her husband, an Islamic State fighter, in a chat room, she did not realize she would end up a servant.

Previous attempts at Islamic State satire have proved similarly divisive.

Four young refugees from the Syrian city of Aleppo risked their lives two years ago by making films mocking the terrorist group, including one depicting its leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, downing wine, grooving to rock music and trading selfies with girls using his smartphone.

In Israel, a promoter for gay events that organizes parties around Tel Aviv drew criticism after publicizing a party using pictures of handsome young men in poses inspired by ISIS beheading videos. But others praised the ads for turning the group's violent homophobia on its head.



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## WORLD

## Bumpy start to new year for leaders in Mexico

MEXICO CITY

## Peso hits record low, and increase in price of gasoline leads to protests

BY ELISABETH MALKIN

Six days into the new year, Mexico already has little to be happy about.

This week a jump in gasoline prices unleashed widespread protests that spiraled into looting. The country received an ominous warning that President-elect Donald J. Trump's protectionist rhetoric could have concrete effects when Ford Motor canceled a \$1.6 billion investment. The peso fell to its lowest level ever.

The new turmoil promises to make this year even more difficult for President Enrique Peña Nieto, whose approval ratings have already plunged below 25 percent.

He returned from a golf vacation on Wednesday and appealed for unity as images ricocheted across social media of people carting away televisions from Wal-marts and stealing snack foods from stalled delivery trucks.

Protests continued on Thursday, as demonstrators blocked highways and gas stations. Scattered looting continued, and marches are planned for this weekend to demand a reversal of the price increases. The president's explanation that the gasoline increase of almost 20 percent was necessary to maintain economic stability did nothing to calm the outrage. "Even in good times, it is a problematic decision" to raise gasoline prices, Vidal Romero, a political analyst at the Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico, said. "And this is a very bad moment."

Uncertainty has roiled Mexico as the government waits to see how far Mr. Trump will go to keep his campaign promises to renegotiate or tear up the North American Free Trade Agreement, deport Mexican migrants and build a border wall.

## The government has struggled to respond to Mr. Trump's rise.

On Tuesday, Ford announced that it was canceling its planned investment to build a small-car plant in the state of San Luis Potosí. Although falling sales of small cars may have had more to do with Ford's decision than Mr. Trump's criticism on Twitter, the president-elect promised that the Ford episode was just "the beginning."

He followed up with a broadside at General Motors for building the Chevrolet Cruze hatchback in Mexico, although only 4,500 of them were exported to the United States in the last year. On Thursday, he trained his Twitter fire on Toyota, saying "No Way" to the company's plan to build a Corolla factory in Mexico and warned: "Build plant in U.S. or pay big border tax."

In response to the Ford announcement, the peso sank to a record low, prompting the central bank to intervene in markets on Thursday. The peso's recovery proved short-lived after Mr. Trump took aim at Toyota. According to Toyota, the new plant — in the central state of Guanajuato, not Baja California as Mr. Trump asserted — would shift Corolla production from a Canadian factory, which would then switch to producing midsize cars.

Since last summer, the Mexican government has struggled to respond to Mr. Trump's rise. It even hosted him for a visit, prompting a furious response from across Mexico's political spectrum. Luis Videgaray — Mr. Peña Nieto's finance minister at the time, who championed the visit — resigned. But on Wednesday, the president brought Mr. Videgaray back into the cabinet as foreign minister in the hope that his presence would smooth relations with the incoming Trump administration.

At the brief ceremony to announce Mr. Videgaray's return, Mr. Peña Nieto seemed to address the upheaval caused by the gas prices as an afterthought. "I repeat, it hasn't been easy to take this measure," Mr. Peña Nieto said. "But it is with a sense of responsibility to safeguard the stability of our economy."

Talk of economic sobriety sits poorly with Mexicans, disgusted by a series of political scandals.

The gas-price increase was approved last year by Congress as part of an austerity budget designed to insulate Mexico from the market uncertainties of Mr. Trump's rise. The government plans to let prices — which have long been controlled and subsidized — float by the end of the year. This should lead to competition, and eventually lower prices.

Truck and taxi drivers have blocked highways since last Sunday. Outbreaks of looting escalated into a wave on Wednesday. A Mexico City police officer was killed as he tried to stop looters.

"They didn't take the measure of people's anger," said Graco Ramírez, the governor of the central state of Morelos and a member of the left-wing opposition. "Everything is going to be more expensive."

## Offering migrants a bit of fraternité

FRANCE, FROM PAGE 1

smaller, more globalized world, including fear of terrorism.

The contradictions are being played out in courtrooms, in politics and in farmers' fields, on the sidewalks of Paris and in train stations from the Côte d'Azur to the northern port of Calais, where the government demolished a giant migrant camp in the fall.

On the one hand, politicians in this year's presidential election are competing to see who can take the toughest line on securing France's borders. Most are promising a crackdown on migrants, with admission reserved for clear-cut cases of political persecution. Terrorist attacks, including the one last summer in Nice that killed 85 people, have exacerbated anti-migrant sentiment.

But in these remote mountain valleys, where Jews fleeing the Nazis and the Vichy collaborators found refuge during World War II, Mr. Herrou has become something of a folk hero by leading a kind of loosely knit underground railroad to smuggle migrants north, many destined for Britain or Germany. His work has won him admiration for his resistance to the state and his stand that it is simply right to help one's fellow man, woman or child.

Others in this region seem to agree. In the square outside the pastel-colored courthouse, hundreds of sympathizers gathered and shouted, "We are all children of immigrants!"

Mr. Herrou got a hero's welcome as he descended the steep steps late in the evening, trailed by television cameras.

Inside, not even the prosecutor, Jean-Michel Prêtre, seemed to want him there and praised his cause as "noble." He asked for an eight-month sentence, but quickly reassured the court that it should be suspended, "of course."

Still, the law is the law.

"He's demonstrated a manifest intention to violate the law," Mr. Prêtre told the court. "One can criticize it, but it's got to be applied."

The verdict, which will be made by the panel of three judges who heard the case this past week — there was no jury of peers — is scheduled to be announced on Feb. 10.

The appeal for leniency was both an acknowledgment of widespread discomfort with the law, as well as recognition of Mr. Herrou's growing status in the region around Nice and its mountainous backcountry, the Roya Valley.

Mr. Herrou was voted "Azuréen of the Year" last month by the readers of the leading local newspaper, Nice-Matin, to the fury of regional officials.

"I am Cédric," read one of the placards in the crowd. "Long live the righteous of the Roya," read another.

The courtroom on Wednesday was filled with people from the mountain — the men bearded and ponytailed, the women in duffel coats — who had come to support Mr. Herrou and who were convinced right was on their side.

The notion that Mr. Herrou is trying to uphold what he sees as basic French values, rather than violating the law, is much of the reason he appears to enjoy a considerable measure of popular support. The argument formed the essence of his lawyer's defense strategy.

Remember the last word in the French Republic's motto, "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité," his lawyer, Zia Oloumi, told the court.

"They are saying M. Herrou is endangering the Republic," Mr. Oloumi told the three judges. "On the contrary, I think he is defending its values."

"You see, you have got this value, fraternity, and the dictionary is quite clear,"



Migrants crossing a road near a Red Cross camp outside Ventimiglia, the last Italian city before the French border. Cédric Herrou sometimes picks up migrants at the camp. PHOTOGRAPHS BY PIERRE TERJUMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Mr. Herrou with migrants boarding a vehicle to take them from Italy to France. "It is right that society should know about all this," he told a judge at his trial.



Migrants at Mr. Herrou's property. Rather than violating the law, he and other smugglers see themselves as upholding basic French values by helping them.

Mr. Oloumi said. "Think about the impact of your decision on the practical application of the idea of fraternité."

Mr. Herrou was not making any political points, Mr. Oloumi insisted. He was merely responding to a humanitarian crisis in his own backyard; the Roya Valley had become a way station for migrants.

The judges did not respond. But the lightness of the sentence called for by Mr. Prêtre suggested that the concepts invoked by Mr. Oloumi had resonance.

Mr. Herrou's accusers seemed most taken aback by his stubbornness. Not every migrant Mr. Herrou picks up is by the side of the road. He finds many out-

side the migrant camp across the Italian border at Ventimiglia, looking especially for women and children.

The presiding judge, Laurie Duca, reminded him that he had first been arrested in August, near his mountainside home at Breil-sur-Roya, with a van full of migrants.

At that time, the prosecutor released him, suggesting that Mr. Herrou's humanitarian motivations absolved him. That first arrest was evidently merely a warning.

"After August, you said you knew it was illegal," Judge Duca remarked in court. No matter. Mr. Herrou persisted, describing his migrant-smuggling work

to journalists last fall and even occupying a disused summer camp owned by the state railroad when his own modest homestead became overwhelmed.

At that point, in mid-October, the authorities decided they had had enough of him. "You were there, and you were extremely active," the judge said. "Why so much press?"

Mr. Herrou replied, "It is right that society should know about all this."

The judge and the prosecutor suggested that this time Mr. Herrou would not get the humanitarian pass he had benefited from previously. The local political establishment is furious with him.

"At the very moment when we need

strict controls, Mr. Herrou's ideological, premeditated actions are a major risk," Eric Ciotti, the president of the departmental council and a leading right-leaning member of Parliament, wrote in Nice-Matin.

Mr. Prêtre, the prosecutor, suggested that Mr. Herrou's persistence and openness had been his undoing.

"Mr. Herrou acknowledges everything," Mr. Prêtre said, with astonishment. "This trial springs from a communications strategy for a cause that I totally respect."

Yet, "this is what he told the police. He said, 'I am violating the law.' But I am the prosecutor. I must defend the law."

## Greece's most-wanted is arrested

## Panagiota Roupá's group had attacked the U.S. Embassy in Athens

BY ILIANA MAGRA

She was a leader of an anarchist group called Revolutionary Struggle. She helped organize, officials say, a car bombing near the country's central bank. Later, the authorities say, she rented a helicopter using a fake name and then tried to hijack it in an effort to rescue her imprisoned partner.

On Thursday morning, the anarchist leader, Panagiota Roupá, was asleep in a house in Ilioupoli, a middle-class suburb southeast of Athens, where she was living under an assumed identity, when the antiterrorism police burst in. She surrendered without a fight. Her 6-year-old was taken into protective custody.

"Be careful with my son," she told the officers, according to Theodoros Chronopoulos, the chief spokesman for the national police.

Greek officials called Ms. Roupá, 47 — known by her nickname, Pola — the country's "No. 1 most-wanted" terrorist. With her partner, Nikos Maziotis, she was a leader of Revolutionary Struggle, which carried out a string of bombings and shootings targeting the police and others starting in 2003, and fired an anti-tank grenade at the United States Embassy in Athens in 2007. The attacks caused several injuries, but no deaths.

"She is the No. 1 most wanted domestic terrorist, as she has been crucial in managing the Revolutionary Struggle, but more specifically in recruiting," Mr. Chronopoulos said in a phone interview.

Starting in 2010, Ms. Roupá and Mr. Maziotis served 18 months in pretrial detention, the maximum possible, on terrorism charges. They were released in 2012 and were required to check in with the local police once a week, but instead they went on the run. In 2013, they were sentenced in absentia to 50 years in prison. Another group leader, Costas Gouras, also received a 50-year sentence.

The group, which had been thought to be inactive, claimed responsibility for an April 2014 bomb that was placed in a parked car in central Athens. No one



Panagiota Roupá being escorted by anti-terrorist police officers on Thursday.

was injured in the attack. That July, Mr. Maziotis was arrested after a shootout with the police in central Athens in which he and three other people — a police officer, a German tourist and an Australian tourist — were injured.

Early last year, the police said, Ms. Roupá tried to free Mr. Maziotis and other prisoners. She rented a helicopter and tried to force the pilot at gunpoint to fly over the prison where they were being held. But the pilot refused, and in the

struggle that followed, he managed to regain control and land the helicopter. Ms. Roupá ran off.

"Over the last year, the police had been collecting significant information and indications leading us to the municipalities of southern Athens," Mr. Chronopoulos said on Thursday. The police monitored the house over the past three days, he said, and on Wednesday evening, "when we were made sure that it was indeed Pola Roupá living in that house, we decided that it was time to go in with the raid."

A 25-year-old woman, who the police said was babysitting the son, was arrested in a nearby suburb, and charged with giving refuge to Ms. Roupá.

Ms. Roupá is to stand trial on two sets of charges: one for violating the terms of her release from pretrial detention, the second for her involvement with the 2014 car bombing. The police said they were also looking into the possibility that she had robbed banks.

According to her lawyer, Fragiskos Ragousis, Ms. Roupá has accepted responsibility for both crimes.

"She is planning to assume complete political responsibility for her actions, but she is demanding that her child is given to her mother and sister," Mr. Ragousis said in a phone interview.

Ms. Roupá's sister, Christianna, read a statement from Ms. Roupá, in which she pledged to be "an unremorseful enemy of the system until I die."

The statement added, "We are at war — this is a fact." It also said that she would go on a hunger strike until her son was turned over to her family, concluding that she would "remain their enemy until I die, and they will never break me. Long live the revolution!" it said.

## A son of Bin Laden is labeled 'terrorist' who poses risk to U.S.

BY RUSSELL GOLDMAN

The United States has officially listed a son of Osama bin Laden as a "global terrorist," and warned that the younger man, who has called for attacks around the world, poses a risk to American national security.

The son, Hamza bin Laden, who has pledged to take up Osama bin Laden's violent mantle and avenge his death, is "actively engaged in terrorism," the State Department said Thursday, putting his age at 27.

Placing Mr. Bin Laden on the government list, formally known as the Specially Designated Global Terrorist list, gives officials legal tools to isolate him and hamper his movements and transactions. It is also a reminder of the continued terrorism campaign by Al Qaeda, which Osama bin Laden founded, and its affiliates, and of its aim to recruit and groom a new generation of jihadists.

Hamza bin Laden, one of Osama bin Laden's 23 children, was named a member of the terrorist group in 2014 by his father's successor, Ayman al-Zawahri. Since then, in a series of recorded messages, Mr. Bin Laden has called for attacks on Western capitals and warned Americans that they would be "targeted in the United States and abroad," the State Department said.

Last year, in a video released by Al Qaeda's media outlet, As-Sahab, Mr. Bin Laden pledged to avenge his father's death, warning Americans that if they believed the killing of his father by American forces in 2011 had "passed without punishment, then you thought wrong."

From a young age, Hamza bin Laden expressed an interest in joining his father's terrorist campaign. As a boy, he appeared in propaganda films, and documents found after his father's death indicate that the young man was being groomed for a Qaeda leadership role.

In 2009, in a letter discovered at his father's hide-out in Pakistan and eventually reported by American officials, Mr. Bin Laden wrote: "My beloved father, I was separated from you when I was a small child, not yet 13, but I am older now, and have attained manhood."

"But what truly makes me sad," he added, "is the mujahedeen legions have marched and I have not joined them."

A letter said to have been written by Osama bin Laden in 2010 called his son "very sweet and good" and described his ardor to join Al Qaeda's fight.

"He comes back to me asking me that he should be trained and participated in giving," the letter read. "He does not want to be treated with favoritism because he is the son of 'someone.' I promised him to plan some safe training for him: firing arms and with various weapons."

Mr. Bin Laden, the son of Khairiah Sabar, is one of the few Bin Laden children to openly express a willingness to follow in his father's footsteps. The American government incorrectly said he was among the dead in the American raid that killed his father, later issuing a correction to say that another Bin Laden son, Khalid, had been killed.

Ms. Sabar, a native of Saudi Arabia, was among those captured in the raid, in Abbottabad, Pakistan, and was later released.

# Obama ambassadors denied extensions

WASHINGTON

## Mandate threatens to leave America without envoys in critical nations

BY JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

President-elect Donald J. Trump's transition staff has issued a blanket edict requiring politically appointed ambassadors to leave their overseas posts by Inauguration Day, according to several American diplomats familiar with the plan, breaking with decades of precedent by declining to provide even the briefest of grace periods.

The mandate — issued “without exceptions,” according to a terse State Department cable sent on Dec. 23, diplomats who saw it said — threatens to leave the United States without Senate-confirmed envoys for months in critical nations like Germany, Canada and Britain. In the past, administrations of both parties have often granted extensions on a case-by-case basis to allow a handful of ambassadors, particularly those with school-age children, to remain in place for weeks or months.

Mr. Trump, by contrast, has taken a hard line against leaving any of President Obama's political appointees in place as he prepares to take office on Jan. 20 with a mission of dismantling many of his predecessor's signature foreign and domestic policy achievements. “Political” ambassadors, many of them major donors who are nominated by virtue of close ties with the president, almost always leave at the end of his term; ambassadors who are career diplomats often remain in their posts.

A senior Trump transition official said there was no ill will in the move, describing it as a simple matter of ensuring that Mr. Obama's overseas appointees leave the government on schedule, just as thousands of political aides at the White House and in federal agencies must do. The official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity about internal deliberations, said the ambassadors should not be surprised about being held to a hard end date.

The directive has nonetheless upended the personal lives of many ambassadors, who are scrambling to secure living arrangements and acquire visas allowing them to remain in their countries so their children can remain in school, the diplomats said. They spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to comment publicly on the matter.

In Costa Rica, Ambassador Stafford Fitzgerald Haney is hunting for a house or an apartment as his family — which includes four school-age children and his wife, who has been battling breast cancer — struggles to figure out how to avoid a move back to the United States

with five months left in the school year, according to the diplomats.

In the Czech Republic, they said, Ambassador Andrew H. Schapiro is seeking housing in Prague as well as lobbying his children's Chicago-based school to break with policy and accept them back midyear. In Brussels and Geneva, Denise Bauer, the United States ambassador to Belgium, and Pamela Hamamoto, the permanent representative to the United Nations, are both trying to find a way to keep daughters from having to move just months before their high school graduation.

Ronald E. Neumann, the president of the American Academy of Diplomacy, a Washington-based nonprofit association for former ambassadors and senior diplomats, said it was reasonable to expect ambassadors to return at the end of a term, given that they are direct representatives of the president with broad grants of authority. But he could not recall an occasion on which such a strict timeline had been applied.

“When you have people out there whose only reason for being an ambassador is their political connection to the outgoing president of a different party, it's pretty logical to say they should leave,” said Mr. Neumann, a career Foreign Service officer who held ambassadorships in Algeria, Bahrain and Afghanistan. “But I don't recollect there was ever a guillotine in January where it was just, ‘Everybody out of the pool immediately.’”

W. Robert Pearson, a former ambassador to Turkey and a scholar at the Middle East Institute in Washington, said the rule was “quite extraordinary,” adding that it could undermine American interests and signal a hasty change in direction that exacerbates jitters among allies about their relationships with the new administration.

With the world already primed to be worrying about such an abrupt change, “this is just a very concrete signal that it is going to happen,” Mr. Pearson said.

At a White House farewell reception that Mr. Obama held on Wednesday night for noncareer ambassadors, many of them commiserated, attendees said, comparing notes about how to handle the situation. Some expressed dismay that Mr. Trump, whose wife, Melania, has chosen to stay in New York to avoid moving the couple's 10-year-old son, Barron, to a new school midyear, would not ensure that such allowances were made for American ambassadors.

They are weighing a direct appeal to Rex W. Tillerson, Mr. Trump's nominee for secretary of state, or other top transition officials to reconsider the policy.

Derek Shearer, a professor of diplomacy at Occidental College who is a former United States ambassador to Finland, said it was difficult to see a rationale for the decision. “It feels like there's an element just of spite and payback in it,” he said. “I don't see a higher policy motive.”



John B. Emerson, ambassador to Germany, greeted President Obama in Berlin in November. Donald J. Trump is against leaving Mr. Obama's political appointees in place.



KEVIN D. LILES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Talladega College in Alabama was established two years after the Civil War by newly freed slaves and is affiliated with the United Church of Christ, a liberal Protestant denomination.

# A marching band takes a stand

TALLADEGA, ALA.

## Caught in national uproar, a black college decides to play at inaugural parade

BY RICHARD FAUSSET

For a band at a tiny, little-known, historically black college, it seems in some ways to be the gig of a lifetime: a chance to march and perform at the Jan. 20 presidential inaugural parade in Washington. Some of the musicians at Talladega College have been excited to see the capital for the first time.

But because the president-elect is Donald J. Trump, the school has become the subject of an impassioned national outcry, with online petitions, threats to end donations and a flurry of how-could-you from alumni who feel that performing in the parade would betray the values of an institution founded by newly freed slaves 150 years ago.

On Thursday, after days of speculation that the college administration might bow to the pressure and remove the band from the parade roster, the president of Talladega College, Billy Hawkins, issued a statement confirming the participation of the band, the Marching Tornados, and argued, in essence, that the 58th presidential inauguration is about something bigger than Mr. Trump.

“We respect and appreciate how our students and alumni feel about our participation in this parade,” Dr. Hawkins said. “As many of those who chose to participate in the parade have said, we feel the inauguration of a new president is not a political event but a civil ceremony celebrating the transfer of power.”

Similar issues have been raised about other entertainers scheduled to perform, among them the Radio City Rockettes and the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. But because of Talladega's history, the issues have been especially intense here, with calls for the college to reverse



TALLADEGA COLLEGE

Talladega band members were split over whether they should play at the inauguration of Donald J. Trump because of his comments about women and minorities.

its decision to take part in the festivities.

And beyond Talladega, the controversies raise tough questions for Mr. Trump's most ardent critics as his presidency dawns: What is the proper response to a president as polarizing as Mr. Trump? Should the office of the president be honored, no matter who fills it? Or should there be four years of pure rejection and defiance?

And if Mr. Trump's opponents refuse to participate in his presidency, can critics on the right do the same thing to some other president-elect in the future?

To a number of Talladega alumni, the Dec. 30 announcement that the band would march in the parade was an insult to the very principles of the college, which was established two years after the end of the Civil War. The school is affiliated with the United Church of Christ, a liberal Protestant denomination that was deeply involved in the civil rights movement, and for decades it served as an incubator for theories and practices of social justice.

Nikky Finney, a poet and Talladega

graduate who is now a professor at the University of South Carolina, said in a statement this week that the band should not help celebrate Mr. Trump, who, she said, has maligned women and Mexican immigrants and has proposed barring all Muslims from entering the country. In an interview on Thursday, Ms. Finney, channeling a James Brown lyric, said the college had “sold out the history of Talladega College for chicken change” and “maybe a tin star on a hate-monger's parade route.”

As of Thursday afternoon, an online petition calling for the band to withdraw from the inaugural parade had attracted more than 1,900 signers, some of them supporters of the college who have threatened to withhold future contributions.

But a second petition, which had nearly 300 supporters, argued that the parade was not about politics but “about seeing firsthand the process of a transition” and giving the students a chance to be a part of history.

As the debate heated up this past week in online forums for students and

alumni, the leadership at the private, four-year college hunkered down to consider how best to proceed. The campus police ordered reporters off the 50-acre campus.

Brief interviews with a few band members on Tuesday evening revealed a group divided.

Jerome Haynes, 18, a freshman who plays the snare drum, said he hoped politics would not get in the way of an exciting opportunity for the band.

In contrast, Ronald Peterson, 21, a sophomore who plays cymbals, said he was going to talk to the director about staying home. “I feel that those who are not Republicans should not have to play for it,” he said.

On Thursday afternoon, some students said the administration had done the right thing, despite the protests from alumni.

Antonio Phillips, 24, a senior and a drum major, welcomed the exposure. “We're musicians, so this is a good platform for us to showcase our talent in front of the world,” he said.

His friend Ken Randolph, 20, a junior who is not in the band, said the concerns of alumni like Ms. Finney “weigh heavily on the students of Talladega.” But he said Mr. Trump might benefit from the exposure to a black art form. “This is a part of our culture,” Mr. Randolph said. “With it being on his front doorstep, he might be able to apprehend the vibe and the culture.”

That drama in Talladega, a city of 15,000 about an hour's drive east of Birmingham, played out as black activists, including the N.A.A.C.P. president, Cornell William Brooks, were arrested on Tuesday in Mobile in a civil-disobedience action at the office of Senator Jeff Sessions, the Alabama Republican nominated to be attorney general. Mr. Sessions, who is white, was rejected by the Senate for a federal judgeship in 1986 after he was accused of making racially insensitive statements.

In the statement on Thursday, school officials said they still faced the “challenge” of raising more than \$60,000 to cover expenses for the trip.

# A Clinton run for mayor? Unlikely, but it has New Yorkers talking

BY J. DAVID GOODMAN AND AMY CHOZICK

From political circles in New York City to cocktail parties on Capitol Hill, on right-of-center Facebook pages and among left-of-center donors, two of the biggest untethered threads in New York politics are being drawn together around a single question.

Would Hillary Clinton run for mayor?

The prospect has an obvious, novelistic allure: A run for mayor of New York this year would pit Mrs. Clinton against Mayor Bill de Blasio, a fellow Democrat who managed her Senate campaign in 2000, and, should she win, would put her in charge of President-elect Donald J. Trump's hometown, ensuring years of potential clashes between bitter rivals.

“Obviously, that's a conversation point for everybody; it's a logical point after you ask, ‘What is Hillary going to do next?’” said Alan Patricof, a fundraiser, donor and longtime friend of Mrs. Clinton and former President Bill Clinton. “Whether that's a university presidency, the head of some women's and children's group, something international, or even mayor of New York.”

A spokesman for Mrs. Clinton, Nick Merrill, declined to comment. A spokes-

man for Mr. de Blasio's campaign, Dan Levitan, declined to comment on the possibility that she might enter the race, though similar requests for comment are typically met with a response citing lower crime figures and the creation of universal prekindergarten and affordable housing on the mayor's watch.

The suggestion that Mrs. Clinton might run for mayor has been bubbling up for weeks. It appeared on a right-wing website in the days after the election and was then floated by a Fox Business Network commentator. It was also being discussed in Washington as Congress convened this week.

“I heard it three times in the two days I was on the Hill,” said Bradley Tusk, a former top aide to Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg who has been courting potential challengers to Mr. de Blasio.

Mr. Tusk, citing figures from a private poll of New York Democrats he conducted last year, said he believed that Mrs. Clinton would win the race if she entered. (He said she was included for comparison, not as a candidate.) But he said he did not believe she would run.

“The reality is that she's not going to,” Mr. Tusk said, “and all it does is further delay the thinking and plans of people who actually could run and win.”

# Feed children peanuts early, doctors advise

BY RONI CARYN RABIN

In a significant reversal from past advice, new United States health guidelines call for parents to give their children foods containing peanuts early and often, starting when they're infants, as a way to help avoid life-threatening peanut allergies.

The new guidelines, issued by the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases on Thursday, recommend giving babies puréed food or finger food containing peanut powder or extract before they are 6 months old, and even earlier if a child is prone to allergies and doctors say it is safe to do so. One should never give a baby whole peanuts or peanut bits, experts say, because they can be a choking hazard.

If broadly implemented, the new guidelines have the potential to dramatically lower the number of children who develop one of the most common and lethal food allergies, said Dr. Anthony Fauci, the institute's director, who called the new approach “game changing.”

Could the new guidelines mark the end of the peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwich bans so common in school lunchrooms? “If we can put this into practice over a period of several years, I would be surprised if we would not see a dramatic decrease in the incidence of

peanut allergies,” Dr. Fauci said. Peanut allergies are responsible for more deaths from anaphylaxis, or constriction of the airways, than any other food allergy. Though deaths are extremely rare, children who develop a peanut allergy generally do not outgrow it and must be vigilant to avoid peanuts for the rest of their lives.



TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Feeding babies food containing peanuts can help them avoid a peanut allergy.

“You have the potential to stop something in its tracks before it develops,” said Dr. Matthew Greenhawt, chairman of the American College of Allergy, Asthma and Immunology's food allergy committee, and one of the authors of the new guidelines. It appears there “is a

window of time in which the body is more likely to tolerate a food than react to it,” Dr. Greenhawt said.

The guidelines, published in *Annals of Allergy, Asthma and Immunology* and several other journals, represent an about-face from the advice given out by the American Academy of Pediatrics as recently as 2000, when parents were told to withhold peanuts from children at high risk for allergies until they were 3 years old.

Despite those recommendations, the prevalence of peanut allergies kept increasing.

Ten years later, around 2 percent of children in the United States had the allergy, up from less than half of 1 percent in 1999, and the academy started retreating from its advice, which didn't seem to be working.

The new guidelines grow out of several studies conducted in recent years that challenged the advice to ban peanuts in infancy.

One report, published in 2008, was carried out by scientists intrigued by anecdotal reports that Jewish children in Israel rarely suffered from peanut allergies.

Was it possible that early exposure to peanuts actually protected the Israeli children from allergies?

Dr. Gideon Lack, the senior author of

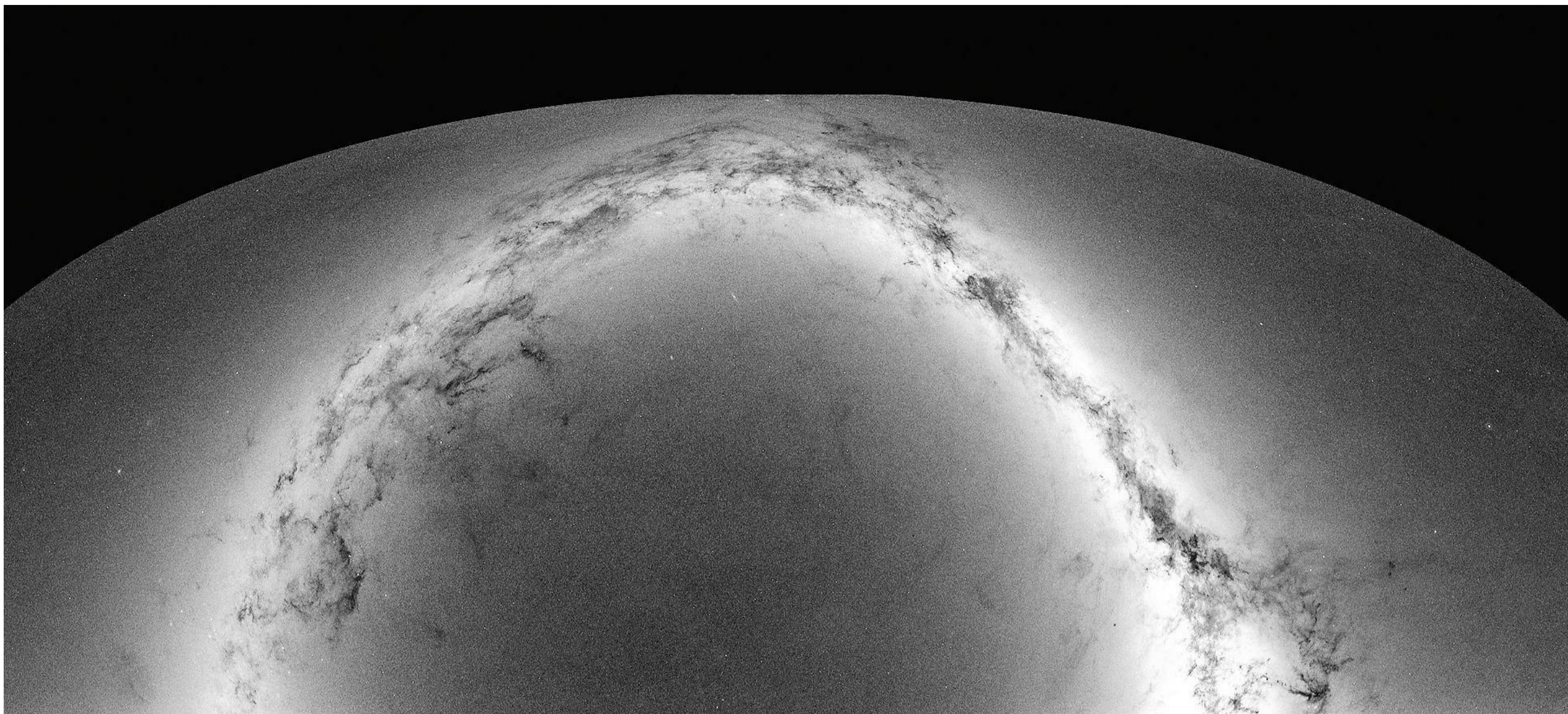
the study and a professor of pediatric allergy at King's College London, and fellow scientists tested the hypothesis in a large clinical trial in England. They recruited hundreds of infants aged 4 to 11 months, all of whom were deemed at high risk of developing a peanut allergy because they had eczema or an allergy to eggs. After running skin-prick tests

**It appears there “is a window of time in which the body is more likely to tolerate a food than react to it.”**

on the babies and excluding those who were already allergic to peanuts, they randomly assigned some babies to be regularly fed peanut products, and others to be denied all peanut-containing foods.

By the time they turned 5, only 1.9 percent of 530 allergy-prone children who had been fed peanuts had developed an allergy, compared with 13.7 percent of the children who were denied peanuts. Among another group of 98 babies who were more sensitive to peanuts at the start of the study, 10 percent of those who were given peanuts developed an allergy, compared with 35 percent of those denied peanuts.

# SCIENCE LAB



DANNY FARROW/PAN-STARRS SCIENCE CONSORTIUM AND MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE FOR EXTRATERRESTIAL PHYSICS

POINTS OF LIGHT

## The biggest digital map of the universe ever made

On the summit of Haleakala, a dormant volcano on the island of Maui in Hawaii, a telescope began clicking pictures of the night sky in 2010. Over the next four years, Pan-Starrs, short for Panoramic Survey Telescope and Rapid Response System, photographed the entire sky, as seen from Hawaii, 12 times in five colors of visible and infrared light.

In December, the astronomers who operate Pan-Starrs released the first results from their survey. Their big data universe lists the positions, colors and brightness of three billion stars, galaxies and other objects. It amounts to two petabytes of data, roughly equivalent to a billion selfies, according to a statement from the University of Hawaii's Institute for Astronomy. All this information, the universe in a box, now resides in the Mikulski Archive for Space Tele-

scopes (named for Barbara A. Mikulski, the retiring Maryland senator and space champion) at the Space Telescope Science Institute in Baltimore where any astronomer can get access to it. In 2017, the Pan-Starrs team plans to produce a new catalog of how these things are moving and changing.

This was an exercise in more than just curiosity. A big goal of the project, run by an international consortium led by the University of Hawaii, is to discover moving objects like asteroids so that we can visit them and perhaps steer them away before they visit us, as well as to discover supernovas and other rare violent events while they are still exploding.

Pan-Starrs is the biggest digital mapping effort yet done, but it is not the last.

DENNIS OVERBYE

TALE OF THE EGG

### Putting some distance between dinosaurs and birds

For decades now, the drumbeat of dinosaur news has been their similarity to birds. They were warmblooded! They had feathers! And they're still around, because birds are actually dinosaurs.

All true, but new findings about how long the eggs of some dinosaurs took to hatch emphasize that branch of the dinosaur line wasn't entirely birdlike.

Scientists reported on Monday that they had determined that embryos of such dinosaurs took twice as long to hatch as bird eggs of a similar size. The embryo of a large duck-billed dinosaur took at least six months to hatch, and the eggs of larger dinosaurs may have taken even longer.

The long incubation times complicate thinking about dinosaur behavior. While some kinds of dinosaurs may have tended their eggs and young, for others the difficulty of hanging around for most of a year to watch buried eggs would have been too much. And long incubation times mean slow reproduction, a disadvantage when a comet or asteroid slams into the planet, as hap-

pened 65 million years ago, leading to the extinction of dinosaurs and many other species. But not birds.

Gregory M. Erickson of Florida State University, the lead author of the study, in Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, said most researchers thought that because dinosaurs were closely related to modern birds their incubation rates must have been birdlike. Dr. Erickson used teeth from rare fossil embryos found in fossilized eggs, counting daily growth markers in the teeth.

He worked with Mark A. Norell, the head of paleontology at the American Museum of Natural History, a co-author of the paper, to study a sample of teeth from 71- to 75-million-year-old embryos (at left) of Protoceratops, a sheep-size dinosaur found in Mongolia. They came up with an incubation time of at least 83 days.

Dr. Erickson said the information from embryo teeth was the first direct evidence of how many days nonavian dinosaurs took to hatch.

Researchers calculated that the eggs of an Hypacrosaurus, a duck-billed dinosaur in what is now Canada that was about 30 feet long and laid eggs the size of soccer balls, needed at least 171 days of incubation time.

Because incubation increases with the size of the egg in both birds and reptiles, eggs of larger dinosaurs must have taken the greater part of a year just to hatch, Dr. Erickson said.

JAMES GORMAN



M. ELLISON/AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY



DAI KUROKAWA/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

NOWHERE TO RUN

### Outside refuges, cheetahs face outside threats

The cheetah, as swift as it is in the hunt, will not be able to outrun the threats to its survival without new conservation efforts, according to an international team of researchers who reported their findings in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences.

They found the threat to cheetahs, which now number about 7,000 world-

wide, had been underestimated because of a focus on groups of the cats living in protected areas like parks and refuges. The team called for the International Union for Conservation of Nature to change the cheetah's status from vulnerable to endangered, indicating the danger for the species.

The Wildlife Conservation Society, the Zoological Society of London and

Panthera led the study. Sarah M. Durant, a conservation scientist affiliated with the wildlife and zoological societies, and the lead author of the report, says the heart of the problem is that three-quarters of the territory where the cats live in Africa and Asia is unprotected. In those areas, the cheetahs suffer from loss of habitat, the animals they prey on are often hunted for

bushmeat, and young cats are captured for sale as pets.

The possibility of precipitous decline in those areas is clear, Dr. Durant said. The report cites the case of Zimbabwe, which lost 85 percent of its cheetahs from 1999 to 2015. The number of cats dropped to no more than 170 from about 1,200.

JAMES GORMAN

FLIGHT RISK

### A volcano simmers off the Alaskan coast

For a mere flyspeck, Bogoslof Island has been causing quite a commotion recently.

The island is the exposed summit of an underwater volcano in the Bering Sea about 40 miles west of the Alaskan island of Unalaska. Bogoslof has had a series of eruptions over the past several weeks, spewing gases and ash into the skies and prompting aviation warnings.

An eruption last Friday, which produced an ash cloud that was believed to rise to about 20,000 feet, was the sixth since Dec. 20. But Michelle Coombs, a geologist with the United States Geological Survey and scientist-in-charge of the Alaska Volcano Observatory, said that analysis of seismic data revealed several more eruptions earlier in the month.

Alaska is home to many volcanoes, 52 of which have been active in the past three centuries. But only about 30 have instruments to readily detect eruptions.

Bogoslof, which last erupted in 1992, is remote and protected as part of a national wildlife refuge. There are no instruments there, so the volcano observatory relies on equipment installed at other locations, as well as satellites, to determine if an eruption has occurred. "It's a fun bit of detective work trying to put all the pieces together," Dr. Coombs said.

A larger eruption could result in an ashfall on Unalaska, which has a population of about 4,000. But the main concern about Bogoslof, Dr. Coombs said, is its potential to affect flights to and from Asia.

Flying through volcanic ash can damage a plane's engines, so if the eruption is big enough and the ash cloud is high enough, air travel can be shut down. Although warnings have been issued and some flights rerouted, so far there has been no need to shut down airspace around Bogoslof.

HENRY FOUNTAIN



PAUL TUVMAN/ALASKA VOLCANO OBSERVATORY

POP, POP, FIZZ

### The burst of bubbles decoded

A cork pops. The sudden change in pressure in the bottle releases carbon dioxide. Bubbles form. Once in a glass, a million of them cling to its edges before rising to the top and bursting. The explosions release tiny droplets that dart across your tongue.

This may be how you welcomed 2017.

In an issue of the European Physical Journal Special Topics released this month, researchers follow carbon dioxide from where it first forms in harvested grapes until it bursts in your Champagne glass.

Thomas Séon, a physicist at Pierre and Marie Curie University in France, and his colleagues found that each bubble's spray has droplets full of intense aromas and flavors. An aroma can vary, depending on bubbling speed, a single bubble's size, tem-

perature of the liquid and even the shape of the glass. While some believe tiny bubbles flowing constantly improve the taste, researchers say big bubbles actually release more aromatic spray.

JOANNA KLEIN



GÉRARD LIGER-BELAIR

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# Business

## An economy largely on track

Where Trump sees 'disaster,' experts see something more nuanced

BY NELSON D. SCHWARTZ

President-elect Donald J. Trump has called the American economy a "disaster." But in Sioux Falls, S.D., Scott Lawrence, a local businessman and Trump voter, has a different take.

"Businesses that were hunkered down earlier in the year have come on strong," said Mr. Lawrence, who runs a local advertising firm, Lawrence & Schiller, which employs 95 people. "I'm definitely more optimistic than I was six months ago."

Mr. Lawrence is putting his money where his mouth is: His company hired five employees late last year, including digital strategists and content designers, and he plans to add another four in the next three months.

Although Mr. Trump was able to capture the White House by portraying an American economy in shambles, many of the economic fundamentals are solid.

The economy added an average of 180,000 jobs per month between January and November 2016, with a full year's reading due on Friday. The unemployment rate fell to 4.6 percent, the healthiest reading since before the Great Recession.

To be sure, there are some very real shortcomings that Mr. Trump identified in his campaign. They include minimal pay growth for less-skilled workers, near-record numbers of Americans not in the labor force and disappearing factory jobs.

Still, many mainstream economists say that the Trump agenda — aimed at lowering taxes, peeling back regulations and reopening trade deals — will not alter those trend lines.

"Tax cuts are unlikely to boost labor participation rates, nor will they reverse the aging of the population," said Michael Gapen, chief United States economist at Barclays. "Less regulation could have a positive impact on long-term growth, but it is unlikely to move the needle over the next two years."

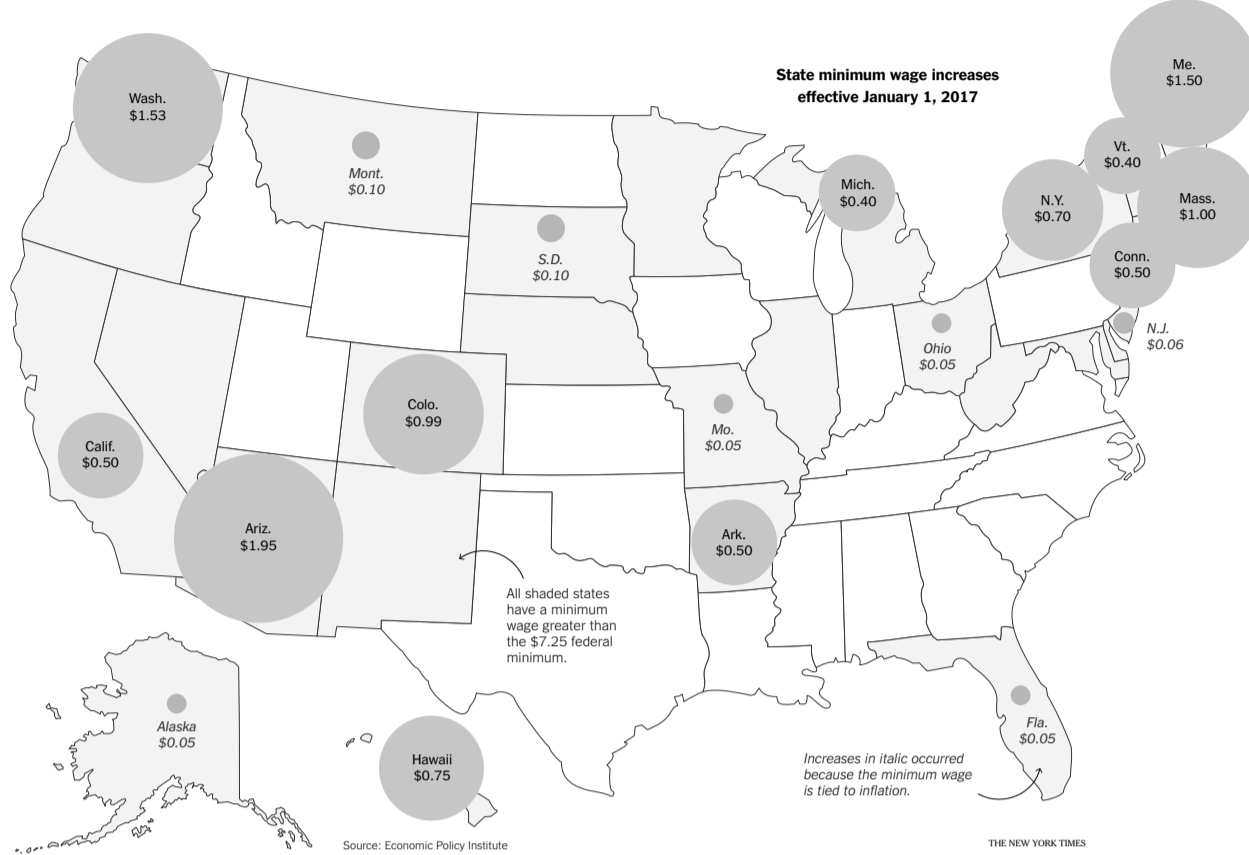
Many low-wage workers are getting a break in the new year through something seen as anathema to traditional Republican policies: government regulation. Nineteen states increased their minimum wages as of Jan. 1, with Arizona, Washington and Maine raising the floor by \$1.50 or more.

Even in states where the wage gain is not as steep, like California, with its 50-cent-an-hour increase, one in 10 workers has gotten a raise. As on many issues, Mr. Trump has sent conflicting signals on this subject, suggesting at times during the campaign that state increases were justified, but warning in primary debates that wages were "too high."

Whatever Mr. Trump eventually decides on the minimum wage, his economic plans may produce mixed results at best for his blue-collar, Rust Belt base.

Protectionist trade policies, Mr. Gapen said, will produce losers as well as winners, meaning upheaval for many industries and workers rather than a suddenly improved trajectory for growth and employment over all.

At the same time, while Mr. Trump's proposed tax cuts could give the economy a lift as measured by gross domestic product — a prospect that has buoyed Wall Street — the benefits are likely to flow to the group that has pro-



JAMES BROSHER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**HEALTH CARE** Unlike manufacturing, which has struggled, this sector has recently shown signs of strength.



LUKE SHARRETT/BLOOMBERG NEWS

**MANUFACTURING** The sector has been hurt by the strong dollar, automation and transfers of production overseas.



TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**TECHNOLOGY** New tech centers have brought significant cuts in joblessness to places like Rhode Island.

pered the most during the recovery under President Obama: the wealthiest 10 percent or so of households.

Indeed, as a business owner, Mr. Lawrence is thrilled at the prospect of tax cuts. "In terms of Trump, I voted for the platform as much as the individual," he said. "Paying less in taxes enables me to invest in my business."

That filters down to individual decisions about hires and investment. But while the positions Mr. Lawrence is fill-

**"Businesses that were hunkered down earlier in the year have come on strong. I'm definitely more optimistic than I was."**

ing are middle-class jobs in Sioux Falls — they start at \$45,000 to \$50,000 a year, plus benefits — all require a college degree or other technical training.

Helping workers who lack a college degree — among Mr. Trump's strongest supporters, and roughly 60 percent of the American work force — is much harder.

Economists like Nariman Behravesht of IHS Markit, who says Mr. Trump's proposals could raise growth meaningfully in the next two years, acknowledge this quandary.

"Stronger growth will help with the low participation rate, but what it's not going to do is help workers who have

been left behind by a lack of education or training," Mr. Behravesht said.

That's especially true in the factory sector, which is likely to employ more highly skilled workers in the future, albeit in smaller numbers than in the past.

"This is where I have trouble with Trump," Mr. Behravesht said. "A lot of those manufacturing jobs are gone forever. He is raising expectations, but it's not going to work. Even if they don't go to Mexico, a lot of jobs will be automated out of existence."

The ultimate impact of whatever Mr. Trump proposes and Congress approves will depend on whether the result is heavier on tax cuts and infrastructure spending or protectionist measures like higher tariffs, economists say.

In any case, tax cuts and infrastructure spending plans are likely to be whittled down in Congress, especially if deficit hawks return to the fore. At the same time, rising interest rates and a stronger dollar will serve as a headwind no matter what comes out of Washington.

The biggest economic danger under Mr. Trump comes from tariffs and other protectionist steps, especially if they provoke a response from the likes of China and Mexico.

And unlike taxes and spending, where congressional action is necessary, with tariffs the administration has considerable latitude to impose them on coun-

tries it labels as unfair trading partners or currency manipulators.

"You can make a case for leveling the playing field," Mr. Gapen said. "But the trade-off is more expensive goods for consumers."

For his part, Mr. Behravesht is looking for the economy to grow by 2.3 percent this year, up from an estimated 1.6 percent annual pace last year. Growth could reach 2.6 percent or higher in 2018, but is very unlikely to hit the target of 4 percent growth that Mr. Trump outlined during the campaign.

"I could be convinced on 3 percent, but you can't get there in this environment," Mr. Behravesht said.

Wherever growth ends up, the economy seems to have a feast-or-famine quality, which explains the disconnect between Mr. Trump's portrayal of conditions and that of Mr. Lawrence, the Trump supporter who is hiring in Sioux Falls.

Nationally, the white-collar professional and business services sector, which includes advertising firms like Mr. Lawrence's, has added more than a million jobs in the last two years.

Education and health care employment is up by a similar amount, and construction is showing signs of life.

Manufacturing, on the other hand, has struggled, hurt by the strong dollar, automation and the shift of production to cheaper overseas locales, which Mr. Trump has made a signature issue.

## Voice control in cars now has a better ear

Wheels

NEAL BOUDETTE AND NICK WINGFIELD

Every once in a while, just for laughs, Kevin Smith-Fagan tries to call a friend of his, Priscilla, using the voice-recognition system in his 2013 Chevrolet Volt.

"I've tried it so many times, and it never gets it right," said Mr. Smith-Fagan, an executive at a public television station in Sacramento. "It always thinks I'm saying 'Chris,' and I have like five people named Chris in my phone book, so it's always interesting to see who's getting the call."

Voice control systems have been in cars for more than a decade, and great strides have been made in the technology's ability to understand human speech. But many people still find these systems too unreliable, or annoying, to use for more than the most simple tasks, like "Call Mom."

That isn't stopping auto and tech companies from trying to give drivers the ability to do even more things by talking to their cars — while keeping their eyes on the road and hands on the wheel. The efforts have some added urgency now, as states pass stricter laws aimed at curbing distracted driving. Under a California law that went into effect Jan. 1, holding or operating a phone while driving is prohibited.

In the past week at the International CES, the giant electronics conference in Las Vegas, Ford Motor announced that owners of its cars would soon be able to use Amazon's Alexa voice-activated assistant in their vehicles. Drivers will be able to ask for a weather report, stream music from Amazon Music or add appointments to their calendars. They will also be able to use Alexa from home to start or unlock their cars remotely.

But the automaker also envisions drivers' using Alexa to help with other tasks — like shopping on Amazon. Stuck in traffic? You can take care of Valentine's Day by saying, "Alexa, order flowers on Amazon."

Other companies are moving in the same direction. Apple's Siri can be used to control iPhone functions in cars, and Apple's CarPlay software allows drivers to dictate text messages while driving, as well as program destinations into Apple Maps and have the route plotted on the car's display. Google's Android Auto can do the same.

In the past year, carmakers like BMW, Mercedes-Benz and General Motors have also introduced improved voice-recognition systems that can

understand normal spoken words for many tasks. Older systems required drivers to learn specific commands.

With newer models, owners can program in a destination just by saying the address, as if speaking to another person. In older cars, the state, city and street had to be given separately, one at a time — and if you were lucky, each was correctly understood.

While more advanced systems like Alexa will make it easier for drivers to use voice commands, there are still hurdles. The biggest is just changing habits, and persuading people to try talking to their cars.

On the day before Thanksgiving, Frank Kriebler bought a 2016 Dodge Challenger, granite gray, with a 5.7-liter Hemi V-8 engine, and the latest version of the Uconnect infotainment system. A few days later, when he set off on a road trip to Florida from his home in Michigan, he synced his phone to the car, but didn't bother to use the voice-recognition capabilities to enter destinations or handle other tasks.

"I probably should use it, but it's just easier to put in an address manually, so I haven't really played around with it," said Mr. Kriebler, a sales executive for a computer company. "My experience so far has been, when you tell it to do something, it doesn't do what you want."

Older cars used voice-recognition systems that were built into the car and had limited computing power and memory. Now that more and more cars have wireless connections, the voice-recognition processing can be done via the internet in distant computers and servers, what the tech industry calls the cloud.

That is an advantage that Ford sees in using Alexa, said Don Butler, Ford's executive director for connected vehicle and services. "If you have the voice recognition done outside the car, people will see a much greater ability to interpret normal, everyday speech," he said.

With Alexa, a user will need to download an Alexa app to a phone and carry the phone in the car, creating the connection with the cloud.

Ford and Amazon have also developed a way to get Alexa to work seamlessly with a Ford car's own built-in entertainment and navigation systems. Alexa will first be available in a few months in battery-powered and hybrid models like the Focus Electric and Fusion Energi, and later in other Ford models.

"You can ask Alexa where the nearest Starbucks is, and have her program the address into the Ford navigation system for you," Mr. Butler said.

For Amazon, the collaboration with Ford is another illustration of a broader push by technology giants to push their versions of voice assistants.



A Ford car equipped with Amazon's Alexa voice-activated system. Drivers will be able to ask for a weather report, stream music or add appointments to a calendar using Alexa.

## China to spend \$360 billion on renewable energy

Country makes bold move to dominate one of world's fastest-growing industries

BY MICHAEL FORSYTHE

China intends to spend more than \$360 billion through 2020 on renewable power sources like solar and wind, just as the United States is set to take the opposite tack with Donald J. Trump, a climate-change doubter, preparing to assume the presidency.

The National Energy Administration of China laid out a plan on Thursday to dominate one of the world's fastest-growing industries. The agency said in a statement that China would create more than 13 million jobs in the renewable energy sector by 2020, curb the growth of greenhouse gases that contribute to global warming and reduce the amount of soot that in recent days has blanketed Beijing and other Chinese cities in a noxious cloud of smog.

China surpassed the United States a decade ago as the world's biggest emitter of greenhouse gases, and now discharges about twice as much. For years, its oil and coal industries prospered under powerful political patrons and the growth-above-everything mantra of the ruling Communist Party. The result was choking pollution and the growing recognition that China, many of whose biggest cities are on the coast, will be threatened by rising sea levels.

But even disregarding the threat of climate change, China's announcement was a bold claim on leadership in the re-



Workers installing solar panels on a roof in Wuhan, China. Greenpeace estimates that in 2015, China covered the equivalent of one soccer field every hour with solar panels.

newable energy industry, where Chinese companies, buoyed by a huge domestic market, are already among the world's dominant players. Thanks in part to Chinese manufacturing, costs in the wind and solar industries are plummeting, making them increasingly competitive with power generation from fossil fuels like coal and natural gas.

Sam Geall, executive editor of Chinalogues, an English- and Chinese-language website that focuses on the environment, said that the United States, by moving away from a focus on reducing carbon emissions, risked losing out to China in the race to lead the industry.

Mr. Trump has in the past called the

theory of human-caused global warming a hoax and picked a fierce opponent of President Obama's rules to reduce carbon emissions, Scott Pruitt, the Oklahoma attorney general, to lead the Environmental Protection Agency.

The investment commitment made by the Chinese, combined with Mr. Trump's moves, means jobs that would have been created in the United States may instead go to Chinese workers.

Even the numbers on investment and job creation may understate what is already happening in China. Greenpeace estimates that China installed an average of more than one wind turbine every hour of every day in 2015, and covered

the equivalent of one soccer field every hour with solar panels.

China may meet its 2020 goals for solar installation by 2018, said Lauri Myllyvirta, a research analyst at Greenpeace who is based in Beijing.

But despite these impressive numbers, China's push to clean its air and reduce its greenhouse gases faces pressure from the powerful coal industry.

Mr. Geall and Mr. Myllyvirta both said that Thursday's announcement was missing any language on curtailment, or the amount of electricity generated by wind and solar that never finds its way to the country's power grid. In China, wind power curtailment was 19 percent in the first nine months 2016, Mr. Myllyvirta said, many times higher than in the United States, where curtailment levels are often negligible.

The main reason for curtailment, he said, is that China is plagued by overcapacity in electricity generation and operators of China's grid often favor electricity generated from coal.

In recent years the country has also been building coal-fired power plants at a furious pace, although that has recently slowed along with China's economy. Another omission from Thursday's announcements, Mr. Myllyvirta said, was the absence of any specific target to reduce coal consumption.

But both Mr. Geall and Mr. Myllyvirta said Thursday's announcement set the stage for still more power generation from renewable energy and a gradual shift away from coal.

"My experience with China is when a numeric target gets written down, it gets implemented," Mr. Myllyvirta said.

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BUSINESS

# 2016's top investors offer insights into year ahead



James B. Stewart

COMMON SENSE

Last year was one of unusually big surprises for markets — none more so than the election of Donald Trump. Not only were many money managers and experts dead wrong about his chances, but they were doubly wrong in betting on a big market sell-off in the event he won.

Mr. Trump's victory kicked off a continuing stock rally that left the Standard & Poor's 500-stock index up nearly 10 percent by the end of the year, a gain few anticipated a year ago.

But there were other major moves in markets last year. After interest rates hit what some have called a 5,000-year low (but who's counting?) — and moved into the through-the-looking-glass realm of negative returns in some parts of Europe — they suddenly reversed course in the United States, rising abruptly toward the end of the year as expectations for growth and inflation soared.

Even more striking was the abrupt turn in oil and commodity prices, which rippled through the economy and markets. A year ago they were in free fall, with no end in sight. But after hitting a 13-year low of less than \$27 a barrel on Feb. 11, they ended the year above \$53.

A year ago, investors were treating oil and commodity companies like Freeport McMoRan (a stock I highlighted last year) as all but dead. By the end of the year, its stock had more than doubled — a reminder that contrarian bets, when they prove right, can deliver huge returns.

Again this year, I turned to some prominent investors and market experts who successfully maneuvered

through what turned into a treacherous year, asking them for insights into how they did it and what they expect in 2017.

THE CONTRARIAN

"I was ridiculed," Anthony Scaramucci told me this past week, referring to his early and vocal support for Donald Trump. Unlike many on Wall Street, the outspoken Mr. Scaramucci — the founder of SkyBridge Capital, host of a revived "Wall Street Week" television show on the Fox Business Channel and author of several books on business and investing — went all in for Mr. Trump after initially backing Jeb Bush.

Nor did the so-called Trump rally come as a surprise to him. "To put it simply, if you get a 35 percent corporate rate reduced to 15 percent or even 20 percent, you're looking at a 30 percent earnings increase for most companies," he told me as he took a short break from the Trump transition team.

SkyBridge focuses mostly on hedge funds and other so-called alternative investments, but also offers a high-yielding stock mutual fund, the Sky-Bridge Dividend Value Fund. The fund gained over 15 percent last year, handily outpacing the S.&P. 500.

As a long-only fund — one that invests in securities for their potential gains and doesn't short stocks, or bet on potential declines — "we benefited enormously from the Trump win," Mr. Scaramucci said. "It's true that contrarians often get things wrong. But when they get it right, there's a tidal wave. Trump is an example. The conventional wisdom was that he couldn't win. Assets were priced relative to the conventional wisdom. So when he did win, there was huge upside."

Mr. Scaramucci attributes his contrarian view of Mr. Trump in part to the fact he lives on Long Island, a stone's throw from his working-class parents, and not among the Manhattan elite, even though he's an alumnus of Harvard Law School and Goldman Sachs. "Everyone in the local bar, from the bluest- to the whitest-collar workers, was voting for Trump," he said.

But Mr. Scaramucci isn't blindly contrarian. He did initially bet wrong on Mr. Bush. "I pivoted," he said. "Ev-



Freeport McMoRan's Grasberg complex in Indonesia in 2015. The copper producer's stock price more than doubled by the end of 2016.

eryone makes mistakes. The question is, How do you adapt? All entrepreneurs have to do that."

Now Mr. Scaramucci is in the Trump inner sanctum as a member of the transition team, in a position not only to predict the future, but also to help shape it.

Not surprisingly, he's bullish on the economy and stock market for 2017. He expects the kind of high-dividend, value-oriented stocks his fund invests in (some of its biggest holdings last year were Best Buy, Caterpillar and Boeing) to do well unless "we get to hyper-growth, in which case there will be a rotation to growth stocks."

He said fears of a Trump-induced trade war were overblown. "No one wants a trade war," he said. "All we're

calling for are fairer free-trade arrangements around the world."

He added: "We're not coming at this from a position of ideological purity. There are a lot of practical business people in the room. We're not asking if something is right or left, but whether it's right or wrong."

THE SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE INVESTOR

Jerome L. Dodson is the founder and president of Parnassus Investments, and lead portfolio manager for the Parnassus Endeavor Fund. He champions the notion of doing well by doing good. "Certain social and environmental values are really important to us," he told me this past week.

His fund doesn't invest in fossil fuels.

He seeks out companies that treat their employees well and where turnover is low.

In a highly competitive world where cutthroat capitalists scoff at such values, he's also emerged on top: His Parnassus Endeavor Fund is ranked by Morningstar as the No. 1 fund in its category (large-cap growth) over one-, three-, five- and 10-year periods — a remarkable feat.

Mr. Dodson follows a highly disciplined approach that considers only companies trading at less than two-thirds of their intrinsic value — a subjective assessment of the actual value of a company, without regard to its market price — which makes him as much a value investor as a growth investor.

He doesn't worry much about typical macro events or predictions, like the outcomes of presidential elections, the direction of interest rates, or oil prices. He said he was surprised that two of his fund's positions — John Deere, the farm equipment icon, and Cummins, the engine maker — ended up doing so well last year. "All you can do is look for good companies that are undervalued," he said. "There is no way to know when they're going to go up."

Indeed, with the market so high, it's getting hard for Mr. Dodson to find stocks that meet his intrinsic value criteria. Ideally, he'd like to have about 40 stocks in the fund. Currently he has just 25.

"It's fair to say I'm cautious about the coming year," he said. "That's because valuations are so high."

Still, "if Trump can deliver some of what he's talking about, which is tax cuts and infrastructure spending, and the economy starts growing at 3 percent, then earnings will increase, causing the price-to-earnings ratio to come down," he said. "That would make me more positive about 2017."

THE OIL EXPERT

Will resurgent oil prices continue to drive markets?

In all likelihood, yes, said Damien Courvalin, head of energy research for Goldman Sachs's global investment research commodities team. Mr. Courvalin makes a rare return appearance this year, after pretty much nailing it in his forecast for 2016. Last year he predicted further weakness in oil prices, followed by a recovery by the year's end — which is just what happened.

This year Mr. Courvalin and his team are predicting \$59 a barrel for Brent crude over the next three to six months, with prices stabilizing in the longer term at \$55 to \$60. That's because a price much above \$60 is likely to cause a supply surge, especially from United States shale producers.

"We expect oil demand to be good next year," Mr. Courvalin said. "We're at a point in the business cycle where you can expect to see much better returns from commodities than from equities, based on historical patterns."

# Tech giants see governments as biggest threat

STATE, FROM PAGE 1

Five are bigger than ever. As in 2016, they are half of the world's 10 most valuable companies, when measured by stock market value. Their wealth stems from their control of the inescapable digital infrastructure on which much of the rest of the economy depends — mobile phones, social networks, the web, the cloud, retail and logistics, and the data and computing power required for future breakthroughs.

Meanwhile, the Five are poised to jump beyond their corner of the lagoon. Over the last few years they have begun to set their sights on the biggest industries outside tech — on autos, health care, retail, transportation, entertainment and finance.

The Five aren't exactly immune to business cycles.

Apple's sales were flat last year, and after a monster 2016, Alphabet's stock price hit a plateau.

The Five also are not entirely safe from competition from start-ups, and one of the persistent features of the tech industry is that some of the most perilous threats to giants are the hardest to spot.

Still, at the moment, thanks to smart acquisition strategies and a long-term outlook, the Five sure do look insulated from competition from start-ups; today's most valuable tech upstarts, like

Airbnb, Uber and Snap, could grow quite huge and still pose little threat to the collective fortunes of the Frightful Five.

What has changed is public perception.

For years, most of the Five enjoyed broad cultural good will. They were portrayed in the news media as forces of innovation and delight, as the best that American capitalism had to offer. The exceptions were Microsoft, which reached towering heights through corporate ruthlessness in the 1990s, and Amazon, which got under people's skin for, among other things, making books cheaper and more widely accessible, thereby hurting bookstores.

But generally people loved tech giants.

They had gotten huge just the way you're supposed to in America — by inventing new stuff that people love. And even their worst sins weren't considered that bad.

They weren't causing environmental disasters. They weren't selling cigarettes. They weren't bringing the world to economic ruin through dangerous financial shenanigans.

Over the last year, perception began to change. Familiarity breeds contempt; as technology wormed deeper into our lives, it began to feel less like an unalloyed good and more like every



other annoyance we have to deal with.

Silicon Valley grew cloistered, missing people's unease with the speed with which their innovations were changing our lives.

When Apple took on the Federal Bureau of Investigation last year over access to a terrorist's iPhone, many in tech sided with the company, but a majority of Americans thought Apple should give in.

During the long presidential campaign, Mr. Trump said a lot of things that people in tech found ridiculous. He vowed to call on Bill Gates to help him shut down the parts of the internet that terrorists were using.

He promised to force Apple to make iPhones in America. He suggested that The Washington Post was running critical stories about him because its owner, Jeff Bezos, was scared that Mr. Trump

would pursue antitrust charges against Mr. Bezos's main company, Amazon. Few in the tech industry supported Mr. Trump, but the industry's antipathy seemed to matter little to the public.

For years, most of the Frightful Five were given the benefit of the doubt as economic disrupters that were undercutting the cultural and economic power of the big industries that many people despised — entertainment giants, cable and phone companies, and the news media, among others.

"During the periods where incumbents are battling disrupters, in general the U.S. has done a good job of encouraging disrupters," said Julius Genachowski, the former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission who is now a partner at the Carlyle Group, a private equity firm.

That describes the general direction of policy during the Obama administration. The tech giants were less giant for much of the Obama years, and various parts of the United States regulatory and legal infrastructure sought to protect and nurture them.

During Mr. Genachowski's term at the F.C.C., and then again during the term of his successor, Tom Wheeler, the commission passed rules favoring "network neutrality," which declared that telecommunications companies could not favor some kinds of content online

over others. It was a policy broadly favored by tech companies.

But as Mr. Genachowski noted, as the disrupters grow, the dynamic often shifts.

"The next part of the arc is that disrupters become very successful and in some ways turn into incumbents, and then you see two things — battles between incumbents and other incumbents, and a next generation of disrupters tackling incumbents," he said.

That's where we are now. The Five have become incumbents themselves, and they are more likely to be treated as such by governments, who will look to both sides of the ledger — their benefits to society as well as their potential costs — when deciding how to police them.

But there's a twist: With the Five, unlike in previous eras of tech, it is not clear that there are many potential disrupters among today's start-ups. The battles for dominance in cloud services, artificial intelligence and data mining, voice-activated assistants, self-driving cars, virtual reality and most every other Next Big Thing are being waged among the Five.

That could very likely raise the hackles of regulators and lawmakers even more; and depending on your position on corporate power versus governmental power, things could be fabulous, or frightful.

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# Beijing moves to stop currency slide

HONG KONG

BY NEIL GOUGH

Global markets spent most of 2016 adjusting to the reality of a slow but steady weakening of China's currency.

Now, Beijing appears uncomfortable with that state of affairs.

Financial regulators in recent days have introduced new rules to curb the amount of capital flowing out of the country, helping to slow the pace of the renminbi's decline.

They issued stricter rules on the movement of renminbi offshore for conversion into dollars. Analysts also cited worries over reports that the authorities were considering restrictions on companies as well.

The collective result: a temporary reverse in the slide of the Chinese currency's value.

The effect has been most pronounced in Hong Kong, where investors trade a small pool of offshore renminbi more freely than in mainland China. After a two-day rally, the offshore renminbi rose as much as 2.5 percent, to 6.7853 against the dollar on Thursday, an exceptional gain for a currency that is usually subject to staid trading.

It has helped that the dollar has stumbled against major currencies.

The currency has fallen in value after minutes from the Federal Reserve's lat-

est meeting showed policy makers were concerned over uncertainty caused by the election of Donald J. Trump.

In the minutes, Fed officials said they considered the outlook for economic growth more uncertain since the election.

Beijing's capital controls, and fears that more measures could be on the way, have tightened conditions in a city where the Chinese currency is already in short supply.

"China's effort to curb capital outflow continues," said Frances Cheung, head of rates strategy for Asia outside Japan at Société Générale. She added that "any restrictions that reduce the outflows" of China's currency will further tighten the market for offshore renminbi.

Borrowing costs for offshore renminbi have been edging up for weeks on the interbank market, where lenders and other major financial institutions seek funding.

By Thursday, that overnight deposit rate briefly rose as high as 100 percent. By comparison, it hovered between 1 percent and 3 percent for most of October and November.

Some analysts said the sharp swings in offshore exchange rates and borrowing costs appeared to be engineered by the Chinese leadership, as a way to ease depreciation pressure on the renminbi and to discourage speculation — namely short-sellers, investors who bet on de-

clines in the currency, often by using borrowed funds.

"Movements of this speed and magnitude have to be either official intervention or officially directed action by Beijing," said Christopher Balding, an associate professor of finance at the Peking University HSBC School of Business in Shenzhen, China. "The purpose is to remove renminbi from offshore centers like Hong Kong, which had been continuing to be a factor placing downward pressure on the renminbi."

The Chinese central bank, the People's Bank of China, denied that it was behind recent movements in the offshore currency market.

In an emailed response to questions, the central bank's media office said claims that it had directly or indirectly intervened in the offshore renminbi market in Hong Kong were "not true." It declined to elaborate.

Some economists noted that the tight conditions in the offshore market were enough to set off the squeeze without the central bank having to intervene directly.

"Liquidity had been tight since September, and the market had widely expected tight liquidity conditions to continue," said Becky Liu, the head of China macro strategy at Standard Chartered Bank in Hong Kong.

Kiki Zhao contributed research from Beijing.



# Opinion

## Shaped by geography

Its geography has given the United States balancing strains of isolationism and internationalism. Donald J. Trump can do only so much to change that.

**Robert D. Kaplan**

The extent to which the United States should use its power to lead and shape events in the world, and when and how it should intervene, is eternal in our history. In 1821, John Quincy Adams admonished us not to go abroad “in search of monsters to destroy.” But in a world more interconnected than anything he could have imagined, we have been forced or tempted on occasion to do just that: in the Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria or perhaps soon in North Korea. So what is the proper balance, given that Donald J. Trump’s threatened disengagement from the world is an extreme position that violates the trajectory of our history? Ironically, the one factor that best informs us in this debate is never discussed: America’s own geography.

Everyone knows that the United States is a virtual island-nation, protected by two oceans, with the sparsely inhabited Canadian Arctic to the north. But that is only the beginning of the discussion, in which America’s physical location and topographical characteristics help provide a spiritual direction for our foreign policy — something that Mr. Trump cannot change.

The United States, occupying as it does the temperate zone of North America, is the most consequential “satellite” of the Afro-Eurasian “World-Island,” wrote the British geographer Halford J. Mackinder in 1919. Not only was America physically isolated from the threats and complexities of the Old World, and not only is it abundantly rich in natural resources from minerals to hydrocarbons, but America claims more miles of navigable inland waterways than much of the rest of the world combined. And this river system is not laid over the sparsely inhabited and thinly soiled Great Plains and Rocky Mountains, but over America’s arable cradle itself: the nutrient-rich soil of the Midwest, thus unifying the centers of population in the 19th century, and perennially allowing for the movement of goods and produce in the interior continent. This river system, like the veining of a leaf, flows into the Mississippi, which, in turn, disperses into the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean, thus connecting farms and cities throughout the densely habitable part of the United States with the global sea lines of communication.

So while physically protected from the Old World, the United States has never really been isolated from it. The critical importance of the Greater Caribbean to the Mississippi River system made it necessary for America to strategically dominate what might be called the American Mediterranean — for such is the geopolitical centrality of the Greater Caribbean to the entire Western Hemisphere. This process of domination began roughly with the Monroe Doctrine and was completed with the building of the Panama Canal. Having become the dominant hemispheric power, the United States was then in a position to help determine the balance of power in the other hemisphere — and that is what the history of the 20th century was all about. Fighting two world wars and the Cold War was about not letting any power or alliance of powers dominate the Old World to the extent that the United States dominated the New World.

But before dominating the Caribbean, Americans first had to settle a continent. The barrier to that was the Great Plains, or the Great American Desert, as it was called in the 19th century. For the well-watered Midwest with its rich farmland was but an extension of the East. Yet the Great American Desert was dry, achingly flat in

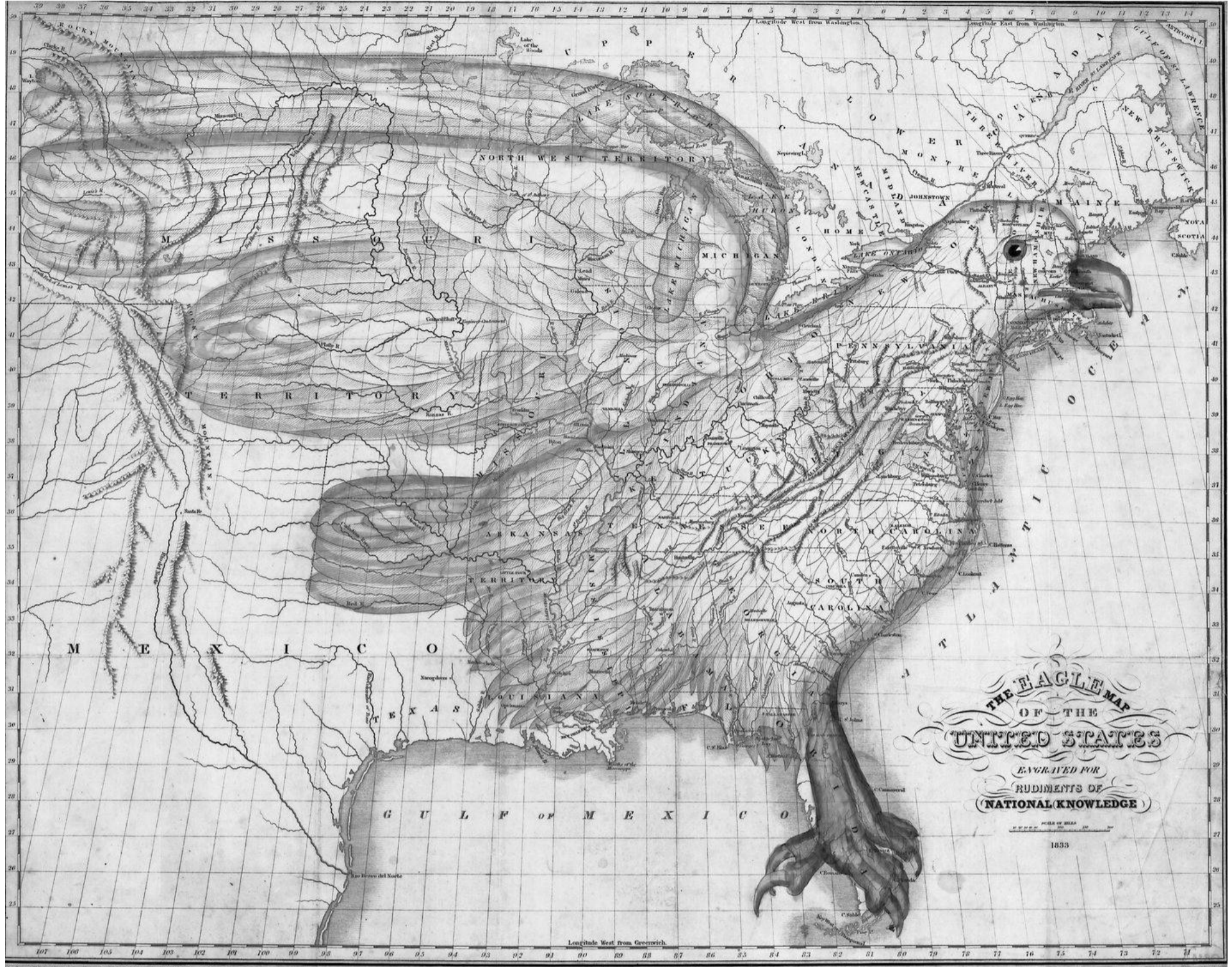


ILLUSTRATION BY ISAAC W. MOORE. PHOTO BY BUYENLARGE/GETTY IMAGES

large measure and water starved compared to the Midwest. While the riverine eastern half of the continent was friendly to individualism, the western half required communalism, to properly apportion scarce water resources. Indeed, whereas Iowa is basically 100 percent arable, Utah with its cindery bleakness is only 3 percent arable. The Great Plains and the Rocky Mountain West constituted the real discontinuities in American history, since they fundamentally altered Anglo-Saxon culture and created a distinctly American one.

This distinct American culture was only in small measure that of the cowboy tradition, with its lonesome risk-taking. In much larger measure it was about supreme caution, the respecting of limits, and thinking tragically in order to avoid tragedy: that was the only psychology and strategy able to deal with a stupefyingly hostile and water-starved landscape. The very settlement of the American West taught pioneers, despite all their conquests, that they could not always have their way in the world. And that is precisely the message advanced by the three greatest interpreters of westward expansion: Walter Prescott Webb, Bernard DeVoto and Wallace Stegner, all writing their most significant works in the middle decades of the 20th century, when the settlement of the West was much closer in time than it is now.

Another thing: The United States required the resources of an entire

continent to defeat German and Japanese fascism, and later Soviet Communism. Without Manifest Destiny, there could have been no victory in World War II. But because settling that very continent involved slavery and genocide against the indigenous inhabitants, American history is morally unresolvable. Thus, the only way to ultimately overcome our sins is to do

**Torn between nation-building and global responsibilities.**

good in the world. But doing good must be tempered by always thinking about what can go wrong in the process. These are all, deep down, the

lessons of the interaction between Americans and their landscape.

Technology now increasingly defeats distance, but geography does not disappear: Geography merely becomes more claustrophobic on a crowded, contested and interactive earth. The continued movement of Latin history north into the United States from Mexico and Central America — something a wall will not stop — is only the most obvious geographic and demographic face of America’s intensified involvement with the outer world. And because geography is more compressed, isolationism, which was a serious argument at a time when it took five days to cross the Atlantic by ocean liner, is an absurdity in a world of cybercommuni-

cations. Still, there is this dramatic pull of an interior continent — so vast, and with so many problems inside it — that the world beyond can seem not quite real.

So a militant interventionism, which ignores the pressing needs of the continental interior — as well as ignoring the pioneers’ respect for limits — is just as absurd as isolationism. But isolationism violates America’s need to project power — a need that actually begins with our river system’s meeting the Greater Caribbean. The American landscape itself, full of possibilities in some places and barely habitable in others, should make us humble, and therefore is an argument in favor of a measured, realist internationalism.

Realism is not isolationism. Because we are only a satellite of Eurasia, our allies are far away from us and situated on the rimlands of that supercontinent close to the great autocratic powers of Russia and China. Defending such allies allows us to prevent anyone in the Old World from attaining the same position of dominance that we have had in the New World.

We do this for a moral purpose, since only if we project power can our values follow along with it. Yet we must always remember that to invade is to govern: Once you conquer a territory, you assume responsibility for running it afterward. That, too, is a caution deeply embedded in the experience of the westering pioneers, who knew the dangers of a difficult geography. The

frontier was about being frugal with our assets. It was about pushing out over the perimeter, but only while tending to our own. It was about maintaining supply lines, however much that slowed us up. Above all it was about pragmatism. Such were the wages of settling a parched continent on the far side of the Missouri River — America’s first adventure in nation-building in a hostile physical environment. And the further removed we become from the psychology of that original experience, the worse will be our encounter with the world beyond.

Indeed, our geography fiercely argues for a balance: be wary of nation-building, but remember the global responsibilities of a maritime nation. After all, it was only by conquering a great desert that we became a sea power — since without reaching the Pacific Coast we never could have built our 300-ship Navy. And it is that Navy, our primary strategic instrument given that nuclear weapons must never be used, that guards the great sea lines of communication along with access to hydrocarbons for our allies, thus allowing for a semblance of global order in the first place. America, precisely because of its geography, is fated to lead.

**ROBERT D. KAPLAN** is the author of “*Earning the Rockies: How Geography Shapes America’s Role in the World.*” He is a senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security.

## Let opioid users inject in hospitals

Providing safe rooms for drug users in clinical settings will enhance trust and treatment.

**Tim Lahey**

**HANOVER, N.H.** “How am I feeling, Doc?” my new patient answered. “I’m feeling like a caged dog.”

Hospitalized for a heart-valve infection resulting from injection drug use, my patient had purple hair and arms covered with hand-drawn tattoos. She smelled unwashed.

“I can’t go out to smoke. My boyfriend can’t visit,” she said. She gestured to the security guard in the doorway. “I can’t even pee without her watching me!” The guard rolled her eyes.

So, rather than building a bond through small talk or discussion of her symptoms, we spoke of her confinement. The ban on visitors and the other unusually restrictive terms of her hospitalization were not a consequence of her drug addiction. They resulted from her behavior in the hospital.

Once a nurse found the patient in the bathroom shooting heroin into her I.V.

line, the sink spotted with blood. A housekeeper changing bedclothes was almost spiked by a used needle hidden under the mattress. A constant influx of boisterous visitors came to her room day and night, some delivering heroin.

With quality of care, professional propriety and staff safety at risk, polite conversations escalated to rancorous confrontations. Finally, the patient got an ultimatum: She would receive care with a 24-hour guard in her room, with no exit and no visitors; or she could leave.

It is a new world in health care as America grapples with an epidemic of opioid drug abuse. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported that opioid overdoses killed over 28,000 people nationwide in 2014, more than ever before.

From heart-valve infections to drug overdoses, the casualties of this epidemic wash up in our hospitals. It has changed my hospital service significantly. Almost every day, we try to save a young person dying from infectious complications of injection drug use.

Addicted patients usually bond with

their providers over the shared goal of healing. Yet these interactions, which often bridge divides of class, culture and personal psychology, can break down. When addicted patients inject drugs in the hospital, doctors and

**It is a new world in health care as America grapples with an epidemic of opioid drug abuse.**

nurses can find themselves cast in the role of disciplinarians, even jailers.

Confining patients to their rooms, restricting their activities and posting guards is expensive. It may also compromise a patient’s well-being: Ambivalent providers may visit less often, educate patients less avidly and spend less time devising the best treatments.

The worst effect of confining addicted patients in the hospital may be the damage to the patient-provider bond. I couldn’t blame my patient for feeling caged, even if she had brought

those consequences on herself. Her nurses told me they felt conflicted, too. They wanted the simple bond of caregiving back — and they wanted the patient to stop getting high and jeopardizing staff safety.

The problems presented by injection drug use are legion, but creative solutions exist. One is the provision of safe drug-use rooms. Cities as far-flung as Vancouver, British Columbia, and Paris and Berlin have opened safe, well-lit rooms where addicts can get clean needles and other equipment without fear of incarceration. In New York State, Ithaca and Manhattan are considering similar initiatives. Such facilities can also connect addicts to needed services like preventive testing, acute care and treatment for addiction.

Safe drug-use rooms are typically designed to help keep addicts out of the hospital, but they could work for addicts *within* hospitals. A safe place to inject for addicted patients in the hospital could reduce conflict with staff, protect patients and providers from dirty needles and other drug hazards, and enable patients to receive respect-

ful, high-quality care when back in their hospital beds.

The creation of these rooms for hospitalized addicts won’t be easy. There will be legal liability concerns, and hospitals must safeguard against the risk of overdose or unseemly behavior. It will be worthwhile to tackle these issues if it enables the provision of compassionate care for at-risk patients whose treatment would otherwise be endangered by conflict with providers.

As for my patient, I looked her in the eye and told her I was sorry she felt caged, and that I cared. In time, she relaxed, and trust grew. We discussed her symptoms, her life, and how we hoped to get her better.

We hadn’t cured her yet, not even close. Many challenges remained. I was glad we now had a chance to face them together.

**TIM LAHEY**, a physician and ethicist at Dartmouth-Hitchcock Medical Center, is the director of education at the Dartmouth Institute for Health Policy and Clinical Practice.

## OPINION

## The New York Times

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## MR. TRUMP CASTS INTELLIGENCE ASIDE

Why is he trying to undermine organizations meant to keep the country safe?

What plausible reason could Donald Trump have for trying so hard to discredit America's intelligence agencies and their finding that Russia interfered in the presidential election? Maybe he just can't stand anyone thinking he didn't, or couldn't, win the presidency on his own.

Regardless of his motives, the nation's top intelligence officials were having none of his nonsense on Thursday. In an extraordinary pushback against the president-elect, James Clapper Jr., the director of national intelligence, told the Senate Armed Services Committee that he was "even more resolute" in believing that Russia not only hacked the computers of the Democratic National Committee and others but also disseminated classic propaganda, disinformation and fake news.

Flanked by the Pentagon's top intelligence official and the head of the cyber command, Mr. Clapper acknowledged that the intelligence agencies can at times make mistakes. But he distinguished between presidential skepticism about their findings, which is healthy, and "disparagement" of the professionalism of the agencies, which is perilous for national security.

With his refusal to accept regular intelligence briefings on threats facing this country and his persistent denigration of the intelligence community, Mr. Trump has shown time and again that he worries more about his ego than anything else. He is effectively working to delegitimize institutions whose jobs involve reporting on risks, threats and facts that a president needs to keep the nation safe.

Since last summer, Mr. Trump has dismissed intelligence findings that the Russians were responsible for hacking the Democrats and leaking the emails that were eventually made public by WikiLeaks.

President Obama has sanctioned Russia for its interference in the election and his administration has released limited corroborating information while most Democrats and some Republicans in Congress voiced outrage over the Russian role and called for a full investigation. Nevertheless, Mr. Trump and his spokesmen have continued to deny there was any evidence of Russian involvement, and on Wednesday, Mr. Trump proved he could still shock people by embracing Julian Assange, the WikiLeaks founder, who has been long reviled by Republicans as an anarchist lawbreaker.

On Twitter, Mr. Trump enthusiastically endorsed Mr. Assange's insistence that the "Russians did not give him the info" with the leaked emails.

One has to wonder whether Mr. Trump's plans to reform the intelligence agencies are intended as a vendetta or a serious initiative to make the kinds of meaningful changes that some experts say are needed.

The Wall Street Journal reported on Thursday that Mr. Trump, believing that the office of the director of national intelligence had become bloated and politicized, wants to restructure and pare it back and also restructure the C.I.A., sending more staff members to foreign posts. A spokesman for Mr. Trump denied the report. Experts agree the director's operation grew beyond what was envisioned in the reforms after Sept. 11; some contraction makes sense, but not as political retribution, they say.

Having worked so hard to convince the American people that the intelligence community cannot be trusted, what will Mr. Trump tell the country when agents inform him of a clear and present danger?

## TAKE A SELFIE, PAY A FINE

New rules fine lawmakers for taking photos and video on the House floor.

House Democrats, ever chafing in the minority, staged a headline-grabbing protest in June — sending out selfies of themselves seizing the House floor in an impromptu sit-in to demand a gun safety debate after the Orlando nightclub shooting left 49 dead. In reaction, the Republicans declared a quick recess and turned off the C-Span television coverage.

But the Democrats took to streaming their protest live via cellphones in a free-media all-nighter. Senators came over to join and President Obama tweeted cheers. "Sometimes you have to make a way out of no way," explained Representative John Lewis, the Georgia Democrat and ever-vigilant civil rights protest leader.

Republicans were left sputtering about House decorum. This week they made clear just how much they didn't like being one-upped. They approved new House rules and penalties that prohibit lawmakers from taking photos and video on the House floor. Violators are subject to a \$500 fine, and additional infractions mean fines of \$2,500 each. Serial selfie-takers could be referred to the Committee on Ethics, the opaque panel that members know well as the vortex where complaints against themselves are disappeared.

For years, House lawmakers had routinely ignored a photo ban, clicking away on special occasions with no consequences. This G.O.P. Congress resolves to be different, specifying muscle against members who "impede, disrupt or disturb the proceedings of the House." Before the fines were approved on Tuesday, Democrats made merry of their defiance, snapping fresh selfies with abandon.

## A Bombay strongman's lessons

Suketu Mehta

As I watched Donald J. Trump campaigning, I thought, I've seen this show before. It was in the 1990s in Bombay (now called Mumbai). And the man playing the Trump part was Bal Keshav Thackeray, the leader of the Hindu nationalist Shiv Sena party, who rode to power on a wave of outrageous stories, bluster, lies, bigotry and showmanship. He died in 2012 after ruling — and ruining — the city I grew up in. The road to understanding Mr. Trump might just lie through understanding Mr. Thackeray, and what became of Bombay.

Mr. Thackeray, who founded his Shiv Sena party in 1966, began his career as a political cartoonist. He had a gift for outrageous parody. His own appearance was a caricature of a Bollywood guru: In his later years, he took to wearing dark shades, an orange robe and a necklace of holy beads, holding a Cohiba in one hand and a glass of warm beer in the other. His party workers, his ministers and the press referred to Mr. Thackeray as "The Supremo."

He was a master of the art of the outrage, of politics as performance. He would castigate his opponents as "vampires," "a sack of flour" and various untranslatable epithets like calling South Indians "yandu-gundus." Periodically, he would express admiration for Hitler, immediately attracting thousands of news pages of free publicity. He regularly called for books and films that he felt were antithetical to Hindu values to be banned. Egged on by his invective, his legions would go out and beat up artists and journalists.

Though Mr. Thackeray neither inherited nor ran businesses as Mr. Trump did, the two men's support base was remarkably similar in its political contours. The people Mr. Thackeray represented were the native Maharashtrians, the "sons of the soil." The list of his enemies varied with the seasons, from Communists to South Indian migrants to Gujaratis to Muslims and, eventually, North Indians.

Working-class Maharashtrians felt excluded from booming Bombay, capital of Maharashtra State, as it made the transition from manufacturing to a postindustrial financial and services economy. They resented both the moneyed cosmopolitan elites as well as the North Indian migrants who competed with them for low-skill jobs.

Mr. Thackeray promised to restore their jobs, by threatening mob violence against industrialists who hired non-natives. He promised to make Maharashtra great again by reversing the clock: His idol was the 17th-century warrior-king Shivaji, who held the Mughal emperors at bay. He demanded the requirement of a visa to enter Bombay.

Mr. Thackeray played fast and loose with the facts, claiming that the Indian Constitution allowed the imposition of a ban on non-natives in Bombay. His party newspaper, Saamna, was the Breitbart News of its time, chock-full of fake news about Muslims, outsiders, celebrities.

Bombay accommodated every faith and was relatively untouched by the mass violence that accompanied the Partition of India in 1947. But after a Hindu nationalist mob destroyed a medieval mosque in the North Indian town Ayodhya in December 1992, Bombay erupted in sectarian riots, which continued through January 1993. More than 1,100 people, most of them Muslims, were killed. Mr. Thackeray organized the violence, leading his troops "like a veteran general," according to a judicial inquiry.



Marking the 24th anniversary last month of the demolition by Hindi hard-liners of the Babri Masjid Mosque in Ayodhya, India.

In June 1993, when a court was about to admit a case against him for his writings in Saamna, Mr. Thackeray responded, "I piss on the court's judgments. Most judges are like plague-ridden rats against whom direct action must be taken."

After the riots, Muslims were pushed to or sought out their own ghettos. Muslim dons of the Bombay underworld retaliated by exploding 13 bombs across the city, which killed 257 people, Hindu and Muslim alike. Mr. Thackeray had destroyed the cosmopolitan, secular Bombay of my adolescence. The violence consolidated the Hindu vote behind Mr. Thackeray and propelled his party into power, in Bombay and in Maharashtra.

**A Hindu nationalist from Bombay, who rode to power on a wave of outrageous stories, bluster, bigotry and showmanship, might explain Donald J. Trump.**

On assuming office, Mr. Thackeray's party got into bed with the very elites it had scorned. Mr. Thackeray and big business loved each other. Trade unions controlled by his men were much more malleable than the left-controlled ones. On a return to Bombay in 2008, I met the Shiv Sena street fighters I had known in the 1990s, and the Muslims gangsters they had battled. They were all in real estate now. They had been hired by developers to extort slum dwellers into consenting to their houses being razed, in exchange for shabby tower blocks under a government program. The alligators in the Bombay swamp had never feasted better.

Mr. Thackeray never held a political office. He had to appear bigger than politics. "I hate politics," he said, and bragged that he ran the state by "remote control." I went to interview him in his bungalow, which had a perennial line of favor seekers waiting in the antechamber. They could be Bollywood stars, the chairman of Enron, gangsters or clerks. At one point during the interview, he burst into an unprompted, extended soliloquy about rats in Bombay. His answers had no relationship to

my questions; they were simply stray thoughts that seemed to occur at that particular moment. It was a mismatch of scale: this small-minded man controlling this enormous city.

Mr. Thackeray had no use for theories or data; he was all about action, or the illusion of action. "I like people who can get the things done!" a sign in his office proclaimed. His solutions to the city's vast problems were precise and petty: rename Bombay as Mumbai; increase water flow in the city's hydrants to enable the flushing out of rats.

Mr. Thackeray was the most powerful man in the city because, like Mr. Trump, he knew how to tell a good story. Mr. Trump's victory was the triumph of stories over numbers. Hillary Clinton had the research, the voter data. Mr. Trump went with his gut, told stories, ripping yarns. The audience laughed, cried — and voted.

I teach journalism at New York University, and none of the esteemed journalists I know predicted a Trump victory. In the 1980s, nobody in the Bombay elite could predict Mr. Thackeray's electoral victories. Mr. Trump entertained and outraged. We sought comfort in data. FiveThirtyEight and The Upshot reassured us hourly with numbers predicting a Clinton victory. But people are too sophisticated, too nuanced, too complex, to be captured in numbers. We respond with our head to numbers; we respond with our heart to stories. God speaks to us in stories. The scriptures of every faith are collections of stories, not assemblages of data.

Mr. Trump and Mr. Thackeray understood the power of stories and spoke not in policy, but in parables. A populist is, above all, a gifted storyteller. At this point in our great democracy, most voters are . . . bored, and they don't respond well to policy statements. Mrs. Clinton's address to a Bollywood show in New Jersey read like an academic paper on multiculturalism. Mr. Trump, on the other hand, was succinct: "It's a weakness. I love the beautiful Indian actresses. There's nothing like them."

Every fall during the Hindu festival of Dussehra, Mr. Thackeray would get on the stage at Shivaji Park in Bombay and deliver a performance lasting several hours, part stand-up comedy, part paranoid conspiracy theory, part scurrilous mockery of his political opponents. Thousands of his followers

cheered, laughed, engaged in frenzied call-and-response. He never used a written text. A high, or low, point was his mockery of Sonia Gandhi, the Congress Party leader. Mr. Thackeray would pull a sari over his head and mimic the Italian-born daughter-in-law of the Nehru-Gandhi family in a high falsetto, mocking her fumbling Hindi.

After the Bombay riots, one of his followers told me that Mr. Thackeray had powertoni, their contraction of "power of attorney": the awesome ability to act on someone else's behalf, to sign documents, to have people killed. Powerless factory workers in Ohio and coal miners in Kentucky see Mr. Trump as the man with powertoni. Every time your hero, your attorney, humiliates the good and the great, you feel a swell of pride; you feel, in your shabby house with the leaky roof, that you have obtained a measure of power, in Manhattan, in Washington.

Mr. Thackeray's men took pride in watching industrialists, bureaucrats and politicians bow before him, touch his feet. They spoke in awe about Michael Jackson's calling on Mr. Thackeray on his only visit to Bombay, in 1996. Jackson used his toilet; Mr. Thackeray later led reporters to the sanctified bowl.

He used mob violence to rule Bombay. The Muslims who were attacked in the riots were from all social classes. Their killers walked free; they had powertoni.

I don't know if Mr. Trump's America will bring rioting and mass violence. But his ability to sell a false story well, and our need to be entertained, means that the walls are already coming up — not on the border, but between city and village, red and blue state, white and nonwhite, man and woman, native and immigrant. Bombayites never imagined that Mr. Thackeray's riveting speeches could lead to dead bodies on the streets. Since the election, hate crimes have risen by 115 percent in New York, Mr. Trump's birthplace and my home for my first eight years in America. What happens if the violent incitement of Mr. Trump's campaign continues into his presidency?

**SUKETU MEHTA'S "Maximum City: Bombay Lost and Found," was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize. He teaches journalism at New York University.**



Bal Keshav Thackeray, the founder of Shiv Sena. His party workers, his ministers and the press referred to Mr. Thackeray as "The Supremo."

RAGHU RAI/MAGNUM PHOTOS



## Home buying under Trump



David Brooks

I've been thinking about the big decisions in life: How do people choose careers, colleges, spouses and towns. Of those decisions, buying a home ranks with the most difficult.

It is difficult *emotionally*. Like a lot of the biggest decisions, it is more emotional than coldly rational. People generally don't select a house; they fall in love with it.

Part of that falling-in-love process is aesthetic: the sense you get within 10 seconds of walking into a place that it just feels happy and right. Part is aspirational: When people fall in love with a house, they aren't really falling in love with the walls and the roof; they are falling in love with a beautiful vision of their future lives.

That process of falling in love is confusing and mysterious. When you're buying a house, you're making a stressful major financial decision based on a set of emotions you can't control, don't fully understand and can't pin down in any concrete way.

Cupid's housing arrow has a tendency to strike you unawares. You walk into a place and just start behaving differently. You find yourself talking about where you're going to put your furniture; you feel defensive when the Realtor mentions some of the place's flaws; you feel the urge to brag about the house to your friends; you feel comfortable walking into the bedrooms and bathrooms, even on the first tour; you feel bereft at the thought of not

having it. You're just buying an object, but your heart is suddenly on the line.

Choosing a house is also difficult *psychologically*. The whole process forces you to separate what you think you want from what you really want. Realtors have a phrase, "Buyers lie," because at the start of the process so many people don't know what they desire. You may have dreams of being the sort of person who has a fantastically eclectic house, filled with beautiful and exotic objects and where you can host squads of people for big dinners and parties; and that you can have a house that is a crossroads for diverse populations.

But when you actually survey the homes you are drawn to, you realize that you in fact love your privacy; that you don't care so much about interior design that you're really going to

### Breaking down the real estate decision.

that a sense of quiet, tranquility and privacy is more important to you than the frenetic chaos that comes with running Grand Central Station.

House hunting is *cognitively* challenging. At some point the inspections, the appraisal and the price negotiation impose cold rigor on this hot process. You don't know what the seller (that jerk!) is thinking, or how exactly you are getting shafted in the process (though you are!). At some point the head has to check and set boundaries on the heart, employing certain mental tricks to self-distance. For example:

How do you make the major decisions about offers and conditions? Pretend you are advising a friend, not yourself.

How do you know you've fairly sampled the market and haven't missed a better house somewhere out there? At the start, tell yourself you're going to see 50 homes total. Visit 18 without making an offer on any of them. Then make an offer on the next house that's better than the first 18.

How do you force yourself to remember in the middle of a negotiation that you've got to be willing to walk away? Remind yourself that this is not a narrow-framed binary buy-or-not-buy choice. There are many other housing options out there on the market.

Finally, house hunting is *morally* difficult. This is where Donald Trump comes in. We've become a ferociously fragmented country. People move close to people just like themselves. Every town becomes a cultural ghetto while Americans become strangers to one another and the civic fabric lies in ruins. People feel more comfortable in their insular neighborhoods, but self-segregation is damaging to one's own open-mindedness and to the country at large. In 2017 it's probably necessary to put a moral onus on realty decisions, to be seriously bothered by the temptation to talk about diversity but move to homogeneity.

The process of house hunting focuses your attention on the wrong things. It focuses your mind on the features of the house rather than on the features of your life. Think of all the people who fall for some expansive far-off home, without counting the cost of a long commute. They've got a happy home but a miserable existence.

It focuses on the features of the house, not on the social relationships that will happen in them, which is all you'll remember decades hence. Choosing this or that house has only a moderate effect on joyfulness. The neighborhood you choose, and the social fabric you enter, is more important than the structure you adore.

## The hard truth about Israeli society

BERGMAN, FROM PAGE 1

executioner; the belief that even if an Israeli soldier has killed a wounded Palestinian terrorist, simply for the sake of killing him, he should not be prosecuted. This frightening truth is a defiant challenge to the rule of law, to equality before the law, and is tainted by racism of the worst kind.

Sergeant Azaria did not create this frightening truth. His bullet in Mr. Sharif's head only exposed it. Politicians were the first to detect this sentiment pulsing through Israeli society. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who initially condemned the killing, quickly changed his tune after he saw that his greatest rival for right-wing votes, Education Minister Naftali Bennett, backed the soldier. Mr. Netanyahu even called Sergeant Azaria's father to express his sympathy.

On Wednesday, after Mr. Bennett called for Sergeant Azaria to be pardoned, Mr. Netanyahu echoed the call. In a survey carried out that evening, 67 percent of those polled agreed that Sergeant Azaria should be pardoned. Another right-winger, Avigdor Lieberman — an opposition member of Parliament when the trial opened — showed up at court to express his support for the soldier. Mr. Netanyahu fired Mr. Yaalon as defense minister and replaced him with Mr. Lieberman, at least in part because of his stance on Sergeant Azaria's case.

The Israeli army is now caught between the hammer of the politicians and the anvil of the public. At first, Sergeant Azaria was questioned by the military police on suspicion of murder; indeed, the wording of Wednesday's judgment makes it seem as though murder would have been an appropriate charge. Sources in the military prosecution told me that "because of the intolerable public pressure, we

thought that" charging him with murder "would lead to an earthquake," so the charge was reduced to manslaughter.

The Azaria case has demonstrated that the armed forces, which once enjoyed the total backing of the citizenry and few dared to criticize, can now be sacrificed on the altar of ultra-nationalist ideology. The top brass has found itself confronted by the social media, with the citizens waging war against "the citizens' army," as the Israeli military likes to call itself.

Commanders of all ranks, who have since the Hebron shooting been ordered to clarify the rules of engagement for their troops are finding that there is competition to their authority over their subordinates: the stream of pro-Azaria incitement on blogs and social media.

In the demonstration outside the court on Wednesday, there were some who chanted that General Eisenkot, the military chief, should beware because "Rabin is looking for a friend," referring to Yitzhak Rabin, the prime minister assassinated by a right-wing extremist.

General Eisenkot has remained firm, declaring before the judgment that Sergeant Azaria wasn't "the son of all of us," as his supporters like to call him. It remains to be seen if the chief of staff, or anyone else, will be able to continue to ensure that justice is done in the Israeli military and that its code of ethics, which Israelis have long prided themselves on, will be maintained.

Even if the military succeeds, the trends are worrying: A country, people and society are in a sorry state when the guardians of its democratic values and the rule of law are the officers of the armed forces who are forced to stand up to the mob and the politicians who incite it and kowtow to it.

**RONEN BERGMAN**, a contributing writer for *The New York Times Magazine* and a senior correspondent for military and intelligence affairs at *Yedioth Ahronoth*, is at work on a history of the Mossad.

## The age of fake policy



Paul Krugman

On Thursday, at a rough estimate, 75,000 Americans were laid off or fired by their employers. Some of those workers will find good new jobs, but many will end up earning less, and some will remain unemployed for months or years.

If that sounds terrible to you, and you're asking what economic catastrophe just happened, the answer is, none. In fact, I'm just assuming that Thursday was a normal day in the job market.

The U.S. economy is, after all, huge, employing 145 million people. It's also ever-changing: Industries and companies rise and fall, and there are always losers as well as winners. The result is constant "churn," with many jobs disappearing even as still more new jobs are created. In an average month, there are 1.5 million "involuntary" job separations (as opposed to voluntary quits), or 75,000 per working day. Hence my number.

But why am I telling you this? To highlight the difference between real economic policy and the fake policy that has lately been taking up far too much attention in the news media.

Real policy, in a nation as big and rich as America, involves large sums of

money and affects broad swathes of the economy. Repealing the Affordable Care Act, which would snatch away hundreds of billions in insurance subsidies to low- and middle-income families and cause around 30 million people to lose coverage, would certainly qualify.

Consider, by contrast, the story that dominated several news cycles a few weeks ago: Donald Trump's intervention to stop Carrier from moving jobs to Mexico. Some reports say that 800 U.S. jobs were saved; others suggest that the company will simply replace workers with machines. But even accepting the most positive spin, for every worker whose job was saved in that deal, around a hundred others lost their jobs the same day.

### How hyping the trivial obscures reality.

fake policy — a show intended to impress the rubes, not to achieve real results.

The same goes for the hyping of Ford's decision to add 700 jobs in Michigan — or for that matter, Mr. Trump's fact-challenged denunciation of General Motors for manufacturing the Chevy Cruze in Mexico (that factory mainly serves foreign markets, not the U.S.).

Did the incoming administration have anything to do with Ford's decision? Can political pressure change G.M.'s strategy? It hardly matters: Case-by-case intervention from the top is never

going to have a significant impact on a \$19 trillion economy.

So why are such stories occupying so much of the media's attention?

The incoming administration's incentive to engage in fake policy is obvious: It's the natural counterpart to fake populism. Mr. Trump won overwhelming support from white working-class voters, who believed that he was on their side. Yet his real policy agenda, aside from the looming trade war, is standard-issue modern Republicanism: huge tax cuts for billionaires and savage cuts to public programs, including those essential to many Trump voters.

So what can Mr. Trump do to keep the scam going? The answer is, showy but trivial interventions that can be spun as saving a few jobs here or there. Substantively, this will never amount to more than a rounding error in a giant nation. But it may well work as a P.R. strategy, at least for a while.

Bear in mind that corporations have every incentive to go along with the spin. Suppose that you're a C.E.O. who wants to curry favor with the new administration. One thing you can do, of course, is steer business to Trump hotels and other businesses. But another thing you can do is help generate Trump-friendly headlines.

Keeping a few hundred jobs in America for a couple of years is a pretty cheap form of campaign contribution; pretending that the administration persuaded you to add some jobs you actually would have added anyway is even cheaper. Still, none of this would work without the complicity of the news media. And I'm not talking about "fake news," as big a problem as that is becoming; I'm talking about respectable, mainstream news coverage.

Sorry, folks, but headlines that repeat Trump claims about jobs saved, without conveying the essential fakeness of those claims, are a betrayal of journalism. This is true even if, as often happens, the articles eventually, quite a few paragraphs in, get around to debunking the hype: many if not most readers will take the headline as validation of the claim. And it's even worse if headlines inspired by fake policy crowd out coverage of real policy.

It is, I suppose, possible that fake policy will eventually produce a media backlash — that news organizations will begin treating stunts like the Carrier episode with the ridicule they deserve. But nothing we've seen so far inspires optimism.



SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The New York Times

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# Sports

## Every extra penny helps in college

CLEMSON, S.C.

### From car repairs to pets, football players say stipends meet many needs

BY RAY GLIER

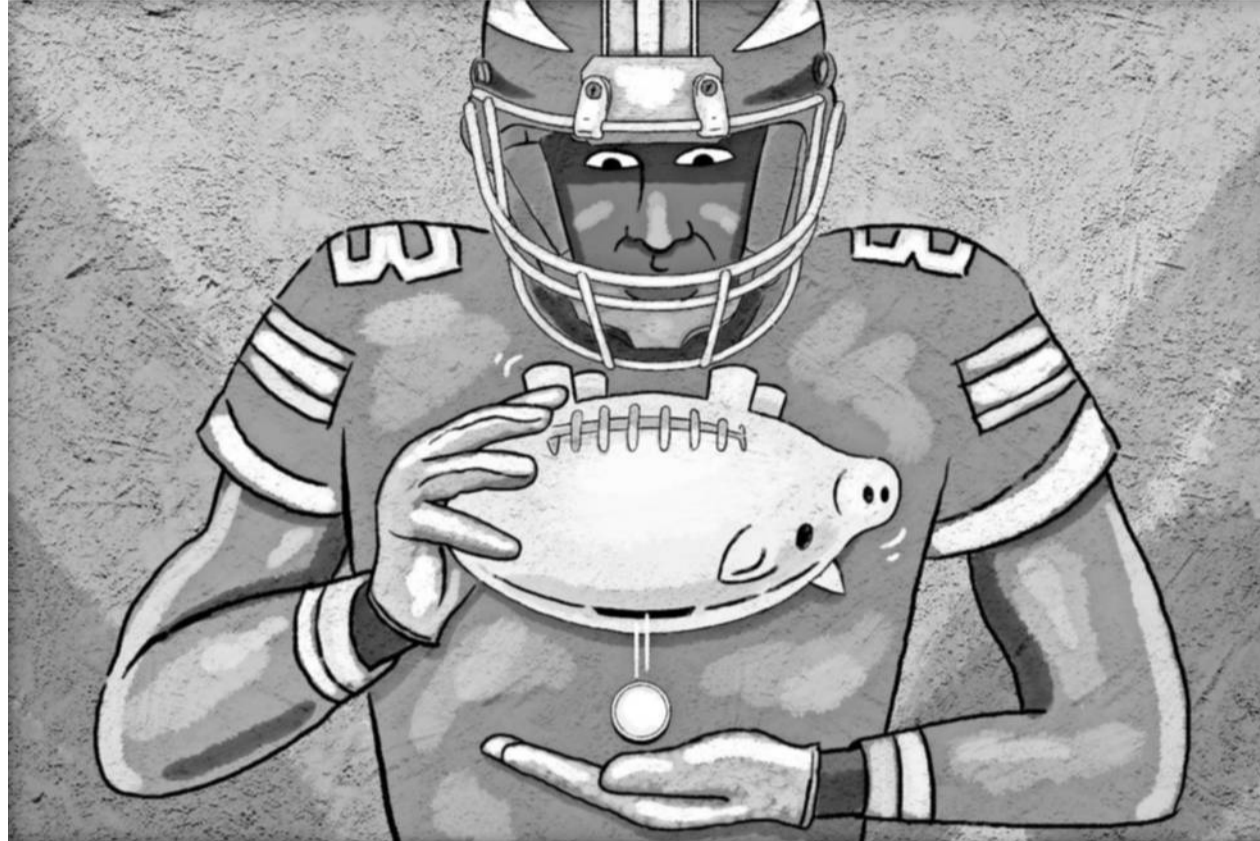
Clemson safety Van Smith drives a BMW, but the car is long past its days as a ride of luxury. It is a 1999 sedan with 300,000 miles on its odometer. Like many college students, Smith holds his breath every time he turns the key in the ignition — hoping the car starts. One day in November, it didn't.

"The starter went out in the middle of campus," Smith said. "It cost \$400. I had to get it towed up the street. Not cheap. "So, yeah, the \$388 stipend we get? I need that."

Smith was referring to the \$388 monthly stipend that Clemson players receive during the academic year. The payments, approved by the so-called Power 5 conferences in 2015, were created to supplement players' athletic scholarships to meet what is known as the full cost of attendance. They vary, sometimes widely, from college to college, but they are paid to almost every player in major college football, including the ones from Clemson University and the University of Alabama who will play for the national championship on Monday.

The stipends, which are meant to cover costs not included in a traditional athletic scholarship, have been allowed since before last season. The move came after the so-called Power 5 conferences, acting with the autonomy newly granted them by the N.C.A.A., voted to enlarge the grant-in-aid given to scholarship athletes to include the full cost of attendance. That figure is the more expansive measurement that every college already calculates, and it encompasses expenses like rent, cellphone bills and trips home.

The decision to introduce the stipends after years of objections from the N.C.A.A. came in response to outside pressure — from essays to lawsuits — criticizing colleges for not sharing more of the money they earned off their athletes. But it also came because of the



GORKA SAMPERO

continually rising amount of cash produced by innovations like the College Football Playoff itself, which is currently in the third year of a 12-year, \$7.3 billion deal with ESPN. (That contract allowed the playoff to return \$425 million to the 20 Football Bowl Subdivision conferences and the few remaining independents in 2015-16, money they added to the hundreds of millions of dollars they already divide up every year for the television rights to their regular-season games.)

How the players use the stipend money is up to them. Before his car repair, Smith used part of his to cover the \$100 fee his younger brother needed to play football at his high school. Tigers right guard Tyrone Crowder said he decided to spend some of his on a pet but, unable to keep a cat or dog where he lives, he bought a fish tank instead. "Fish are relatively cheap," he said.

University of Washington defensive

tackle Greg Gaines uses his stipend to keep his 2002 Mercury Mountaineer running. His teammate Chico McClatcher, like several other players interviewed over the past month, said he saved his stipend to pay for Christmas presents. Huskies running back Myles Gaskin and right tackle Kaleb McGary said they liked the feeling of having a little cash on hand to give to someone living on the streets in Seattle, a city with a significant homeless population.

"The stipend," McGary said, "means I might have a few extra dollars and I can run in the store and buy bread and some peanut butter and jelly for somebody on the street."

Clemson linebacker Dorian O'Daniel ticked off expenses not covered by his athletic scholarship. Car repair bills, gas and groceries were all on the list. The new stipend, he said, means he does not have to call home and ask for money to solve every inconvenience.

**"I'm paying the extra for sleep, so I can be close to class and don't have to go as far as these guys who live 15 minutes away."**

Clemson defensive end Clein Ferrell, the defensive most valuable player in the Tigers' 31-0 victory over Ohio State in the Playoff semifinals on Saturday, has his stipend check sent to his mother, Faye, a veteran of the first Iraq war, who lives in Richmond, Va.

"My mom was, 'Are you sure you want this sent to me?'" said Ferrell, whose father died when he was 13. "And I was like, 'Yeah, Mom.' Money is not a big thing with me. I will tell her how much money I need from that check, and she will send some back."

For some players, the stipend takes care of rent and food, and that's it. At Washington, freshmen receive \$300 a

month because they are required to live in a dorm. Older players who choose to live off campus are eligible to receive \$1,600 a month to cover rent, groceries and utilities.

"My roommate and I pay \$2,000 a month for an apartment," McGary said. "I'm paying the extra for sleep, so I can be close to class and don't have to go as far as these guys who live 15 minutes away in a cheaper place."

Gaskin, the Huskies running back, said: "The stipend money is not enough, if you really look into it. It is definitely under the poverty line in Seattle, because of the rents in Seattle. It hurts your pockets to live close to campus because of the rent, so the money forces you to make a whole lot of decisions. You have to be smart with your money."

That leaves little room for splurges on things like clothes. Ferrell said his favorite brand of clothing right now is "Clemson," a style choice echoed by Washington defensive lineman Elijah Qualls.

"I love the University of Washington," Qualls said, "but I would like to wear something without a W on it. Something that is not purple."

Some of Qualls's check covers the expenses of his dog, a Husky named Storm. When he was in Atlanta for a week to play Alabama in a Playoff semifinal, the extra money came in handy: It allowed him to pay friends to take care of Storm while he was away.

The rest of his money goes toward housing and the upkeep of his car, a 2007 Dodge Charger with 200,000 miles.

When the full-cost-of-attendance stipends were approved two years ago, there was worry among some college administrators that athletes would waste the money on frivolous purchases. But Georgia running back Nick Chubb said he saves his money every month, and his teammate Jeb Blazevich said he was surprised to learn how many Bulldogs send the money home to their families as soon as they receive it.

"That blew me away," said Blazevich, a tight end from Charlotte, N.C. "That's the thing that got me to love this team so well, just seeing these guys' heart and sending the stipend home."

He added: "People can be changed by money, but these guys are helping their mom out with a phone bill, or making a car payment. Wow."

## Texas may face fallout over a bathroom bill

BY MARC TRACY

When Texas officials unveiled a bill Thursday that would require people to use some bathrooms corresponding with their genders at birth, it drew unavoidable comparisons to a similar law passed last year in North Carolina. It also raised the prospect of a new confrontation with college and professional sports, which pulled several prominent competitions from North Carolina in light of its law and now could face pressure to back away from one of the largest and most sports-mad states.

The North Carolina law, known as House Bill 2 or HB2, curbed anti-discrimination protections for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people, leading to protests, boycotts and criticism from business interests in the state.

The Texas bill is known as Senate Bill 6. It would require transgender people to use bathrooms in government buildings and public schools and universities based on their "biological sex," overruling any contrary local rules.

North Carolina's law had significant consequences for sports in that state. Its passage prompted the N.B.A. to withdraw this season's All-Star Game from Charlotte; led the N.C.A.A. to relocate playoff games in several sports; and compelled the Atlantic Coast Conference to relocate several championships, including one in football.

Texas could face similar actions, should the bill pass.

Most notably, Houston is set to host the Super Bowl on Feb. 5. It is almost impossible for the N.F.L. to move the sports world's single biggest annual event, which is planned years in advance and involves millions of dollars in commitments, on such short notice.

Aside from the Football Championship Subdivision title game between James Madison and Youngstown State on Saturday in Frisco, Tex., the N.C.A.A. has a little more time to consider what to do with its events. Those include this season's women's basketball Final Four, which is set for early spring in Dallas, and next season's men's Final Four, currently scheduled for the Alamodome in San Antonio.

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### SUDOKU No. 0701

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Fill the grid so that every row, column 3x3 box and shaded 3x3 box contains each of the numbers 1 to 9 exactly once.

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### JUMBLE THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME

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

CATHL

CAWTH

LELNOY

AYEWEL

When the carpet store had a huge sale, customers were —

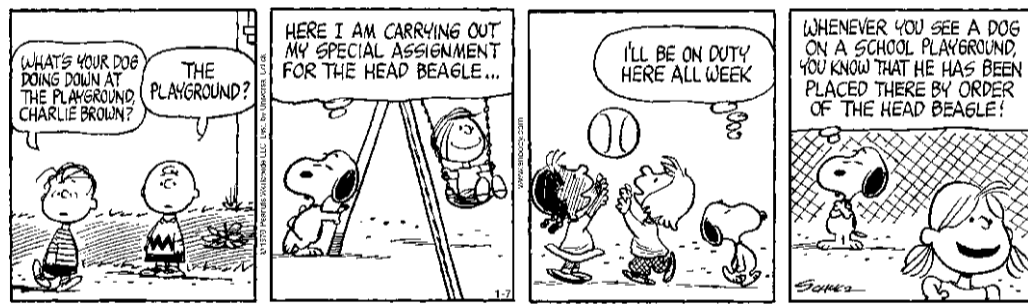
Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

Ans. here: OOOO - OOO - OOOO

(Answers Monday)

Jumbles: MERGE GIZMO WEEKLY PANTRY  
Answer: When ancient Italians built tunnels powered by ships, they created a — "ROW-MEN" EMPIRE

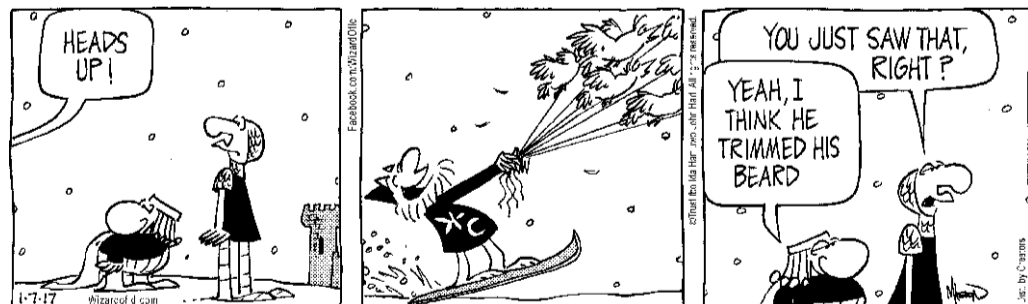
### PEANUTS



### GARFIELD



### WIZARD OF ID



### KENKEN

9+			5+		
		5+			7+
6+					8+

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

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### Answers to Previous Puzzles

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

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

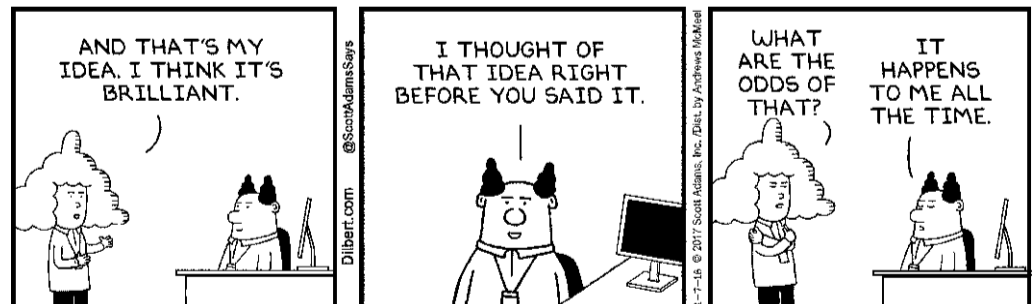
### DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1987



### CALVIN AND HOBBS



### DILBERT



### CROSSWORD | Edited by Will Shortz

- Across**
- 1 Barbecue chef's coat
  - 8 Angry Birds starting in 2010, e.g.
  - 15 Pick up
  - 16 Something on a ticket
  - 17 Deeply felt
  - 18 Small stabs
  - 19 Overused
  - 20 "Kinda"
  - 22 Company with a buck in its logo
  - 23 Literary character self-described as "poor, obscure, plain and little"
  - 24 Ostracized sort
  - 26 Plane wing part
  - 27 Inits. after a big media merger of 1958
  - 28 All-weather convertible?
  - 30 Alternative to Food Lion or Piggly Wiggly
  - 31 1990s "caught on tape" series
  - 33 Vagaries
  - 35 "No hard feelings?"
  - 37 Query about a phone call
  - 40 Many a maid of honor
  - 44 Roach of old comedy
  - 45 In the dictionary, say
  - 47 Mitsubishi sports car, for short
  - 48 Some thirst quenchers
  - 50 Shrinking
  - 51 Seed coat
  - 52 Something water lacks
- Down**
- 1 One pressing the flesh
  - 2 Subspecies of a distinct geographical variety
  - 3 Features of many doctor's office waiting rooms
  - 4 Veil material
  - 5 Widespread
  - 6 Latin American soccer powerhouse: Abbr.
  - 7 It's what you think
  - 8 Assured
  - 9 [Take THAT!]
  - 10 Within
  - 11 Banquets
  - 12 Not merely good
  - 13 Aristocracy
  - 14 Pre-euro money
  - 21 What a wormhole is a tunnel in
  - 24 Court blowout
  - 25 Took it easy
  - 28 Pricey strings
  - 29 iPhone rival
  - 32 Brief topic
  - 34 D.M.V. demands
  - 36 Hot spot
  - 37 Thoughts of wishful thinkers
  - 38 Imbbed modestly
  - 39 Ingredient in Pringles Light
  - 41 Unit in superfast data transfer
  - 42 Old Scratch, with "the"
  - 43 Wearable status symbols
  - 46 Stealth fighters
  - 49 Provide direction
  - 51 Express starting in 2000
  - 53 Model who wrote the 1996 book "True Beauty"
  - 55 Fall rapidly, as sales
  - 57 Grocery brand that's also a girl's name
  - 59 "Les Mille et \_\_\_ Nuits"

### Solution to January 6 Puzzle

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

## WEEKEND



KEVIN MAZUR/GETTY IMAGES

# Kanye West's year of breaking bad

The star rapper's very public upheaval has him facing new scrutiny

BY JON CARAMANICA

Back at the beginning of 2016, Kanye West was already sounding alarms.

On Dec. 31, 2015, he released "Facts," an out-of-nowhere harangue that insulted Nike, praised his wife's business acumen and seemed to express sympathy

for Bill Cosby. About a week later came "Real Friends," as potent and dispiriting a catalog of loneliness as he has ever recorded, a song about how fame warps and traps, and no matter how high it brings you, will always yank you down.

These songs set the stage for one of the most productive, disjointed and confusing years in the life of Kanye. It was one that began with him seeking grace, in the form of music, and also ended that way, but for very different reasons, fol-

lowing his hospitalization and his meeting with the president-elect, Donald J. Trump. And yet the Kanye of 12 months ago and the Kanye of today aren't so far apart: instability, loneliness, a sense that he was being treated unfairly, a continuing quest to be heard. Mr. West may be facing severe public scrutiny, skepticism and concern, but even during this most challenging stretch, there are clear bridges to his old self.

In the last year, he has been busy. He released an album, "The Life of Pablo," then continued to tweak it for a while in real time. He convened two runway collections of his Yeezy fashion line — one in Madison Square Garden, one in a park on Roosevelt Island. He had an art show in a Los Angeles gallery and teased a video game based on his mother's journey to heaven. He sold merchandise in a few dozen pop-up shops around the world and released several

iterations of his signature sneaker. And he performed dozens of nights of a tour that remade the proportions of arena concerts.

Though there were bumps along the way — the uncertain rollout of "Pablo," the collapsing models (and shoe heels) at Roosevelt Island — the first nine months of the year were Mr. West firing on all pistons, and meeting with success.

But the final three months of 2016 spiraled well beyond his control. First came the robbery of his wife, Kim Kardashian, in Paris, a violent affair that included the theft of the 20-karat diamond engagement ring he gave her, worth a reported \$4 million. That was followed by the disruption of his tour, and its eventual cancellation, following a couple of speeches in which he spoke admiringly of Mr. Trump; his involuntary admission to U.C.L.A. Medical Center hospital, followed by what will certainly be remem-

bered as the most public crack of all: his meeting with Mr. Trump at Trump Tower on Dec. 13.

Rupture has long been the axis around which Mr. West's career has turned — where most artists seek to create smooth narratives about themselves and get everyone else to play along, he instead prefers disruptive leaps, quick reframing and firebrand positioning. Stasis is his kryptonite.

The ruptures are typically intentional provocations, but not always: The period of deep trauma following the 2007 death of his mother remains one of Mr. West's most vital, influential and least understood times. The last three months of 2016 figure to be another such stretch. Mr. West dyed his hair blond, then multiple colors. In paparazzi photos, and even in the holiday-party family picture he posted on Twitter, his eyes are

Above, Kanye West onstage in September at Madison Square Garden in New York during his Saint Pablo tour. The klieg lighting baked and beatified him.

WEST, PAGE 16

# In London, 4 men's shows to watch

LONDON

BY ELIZABETH PATON

A new year brings a new name for the latest season of the biannual British men's wear spectacle formerly known as London Collections: Men.

The four-day event, in its fifth year, shall henceforth be known as... London Fashion Week Men's.

The rebranding isn't exactly surprising after a stormy year. The upheaval began when major British player Burberry abandoned its prime position in the local men's wear festivities in favor of see-now, buy-now runway shows that will take place during women's fashion week. The turmoil intensified with the "Brexit" referendum, which will put some distance between the tailors of Savile Row and their fashion friends in Paris and Milan.

Despite all that, Caroline Rush, the chief executive of the British Fashion Council, said the rationale for the event's name change was a sign of its success. "When we first launched the London's men's wear shows, the schedule lasted just three days," Ms. Rush said. "We could hardly call it a week."

She has a point. Furthermore, she said, now that consumers, rather than editors or buyers, have come to dictate how and why many brands invest in runway shows, it makes sense for the event to have a name that trips more easily off the tongue.

The London men's shows have begun. Here are four to look out for:

## CRAIG GREEN

Fresh from scooping up the British men's wear award at the British Fashion Awards last month, Craig Green will show his newest collection Friday night.

The 30-year-old graduate of Central

Saint Martins has made a name for himself with his quirky takes on wardrobe basics, and his trademark slim quilting has won him a number of celebrity fans, including Drake, Kanye West and Rihanna. Find his latest looks at Barneys New York and Dover Street Market.

## VIVIENNE WESTWOOD

The punk pioneer and fashion anarchist Vivienne Westwood has always gone her own way. While Gucci, Vetements, Burberry and Bottega Veneta will be showing their men's and women's offerings together during women's fashion weeks, Ms. Westwood has decided to buck the trend, meaning she'll be showing her women's wear along with her men's designs at London Fashion Week Men's.

Ms. Westwood's shows are always a good time, and her extravaganza Monday should be especially energetic, given that it is her return to London from the men's wear runways of Milan, where she has shown her goods in recent years.

## CHALAYAN

Born in Cyprus and raised in London, Hussein Chalayan is a clothing designer, film director, professor, architect, costumer, shop proprietor and choreographer. (Is there anything this man cannot do?) He is also an enfant terrible in an area of fashion sorely in need of enfants terribles, a man known for his runway spectacle who has unveiled everything from coffee tables that morph into hoop skirts to dresses that dissolve when showered with water.

As you might imagine, Mr. Chalayan's approach has occasionally left him on the industry's commercial fringes since he started his label in 1993. Two years ago, urged on by his regular clients, he reintroduced his men's wear line after an extended break. On Sunday, he will



NEIL HALL/REUTERS



JOHN PHILLIPS/GETTY IMAGES

Among the designers scheduled to show during London Fashion Week Men's are, from top, Craig Green and Vivienne Westwood. The event begins Friday.

show his men's designs in London for the first time.

## GRACE WALES BONNER

Grace Wales Bonner, 26, has sent the fashion cognoscenti into a spin with her daring approach to gender and race via ultra-luxe design.

Days after showing a jewel-encrusted, gender-fluid collection of beautifully tailored garments at the London men's wear shows last June, Ms. Wales Bonner cemented her status as the city's breakout young star by winning the 2016 LVMH Prize for emerging talent. This is the most prestigious industry award and it comes with 300,000 euros (about \$313,000) and a year of mentorship from LVMH executives, giving Ms. Wales Bonner the means to reach a larger audience.

Her show is scheduled for Sunday night.

# Tamara Mellon kicks it up

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.

The shoe queen moves to California with plans to start over using a new business model

BY MATTHEW SCHNEIER

Here near the heart of Hollywood, up a canyon at a compound lined with enough contemporary art for a respectable museum, Tamara Mellon, a founder of Jimmy Choo, is trying her hand at life in Los Angeles. The city represents a new beginning for Ms. Mellon, who has been, in various incarnations, a fashion editor, a fixture of tabloid fascination and a queen of shoes. Late of New York, and before that, of London, Ms. Mellon arrived here after a bankruptcy shuttered her first attempt at a Tamara Mellon label. Now she is giving the label another try.

"I'm starting again," she said, undaunted. As for before, she said, she had screwed up — though the actual wording she used was more colorful.

After years on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, Ms. Mellon, 49, moved into the palatial home of her partner, Michael Ovitz, a founder of CAA, the talent and entertainment agency. Coming with her out west, besides her teenage daughter, Minty, and Minty's stable of puffed-up dogs, is her team: her chief executive, Jill Layfield, who is also a founder of the second label; her chief design officer, Tania Spinelli, the previous creator of her own namesake collection; and a stylist-confidant in skintight shredded denim, Keegan Singh.

Though it shares a name with both its guiding light and a previous iteration, Tamara Mellon is technically a new company. Ms. Mellon founded its predecessor in 2013, having left Jimmy Choo both very rich and very successful. (She sold her stake in the company, which she founded with the Malaysia-born, London-based cobbler who gave it its name, for an estimated \$135 million in 2011. Labelux, a luxury group, bought the company for a reported \$800 million earlier that year.)

With the Mellon brand, Ms. Mellon aimed to shake up the industry by delivering shoes and, for the first time, clothes closer to the time one may conceivably want to wear them: winter clothes in the winter, spring clothes in spring. It was, in other words, an early version of the "buy-now, wear-now" model. When she used that phrase in 2013, "People looked at me like I had an alien growing out of the back of my head," she said, and the company founder. She filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy in 2015.

In starting over, Ms. Mellon has kept



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ELIZABETH LIPPMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

to listen to music, but we don't go to Tower Records and buy a CD. We download it. The same thing's going to happen to fashion."

In her quest to be fashion's premier direct-to-consumer luxury brand, she has been buoyed by investment from the venture capital firm NEA, which has stakes in such digital-forward properties as Goop and Moda Operandi, and by her connection with Mr. Ovitz, who is now a private investor and consults with companies in Silicon Valley.

"She's gotten a lot of great advice from all the people I deal with up north," Mr. Ovitz said in an interview. "She goes up with me often."

Ms. Mellon's new label will effectively test whether luxury consumers, raised on high-end department stores, will warm to an online-only model where success stories tend to center more often on items like T-shirts (Everlane) and mattresses (Casper) than on \$975 stretch-leather thigh-highs. Not everyone is convinced.

"In the designer world, you're selling more than a product," said Ron Frasca, a partner in Castanea, a private equity firm and the former president and chief merchandising officer of Saks Fifth Avenue, who worked with Ms. Mellon when she was at Jimmy Choo. "You're not really selling anything that anyone truly needs; you're selling wants and dreams and stories about the product. I think it becomes more difficult as a direct-to-consumer play, particularly if it's an online direct-to-consumer play. Doesn't mean it can't be done, but it certainly is more difficult."

The buy-now, wear-now model that Ms. Mellon has been championing since her last go-round (there will be new styles added to TamaraMellon.com monthly, rather than seasonally) has "a long way to go," he added. Ms. Mellon acknowledges the concept is still in its infancy, but she noted that some powerful industry peers were cautiously beginning to experiment with the same strategies. (Tommy Hilfiger, Burberry and Tom Ford have all shifted the timing of their shows and production to send products from the runways immediately into stores.)

The stumbles of the first Tamara Mellon brand have not dissuaded her of the wisdom of her approach. Along with bad timing, Ms. Mellon blamed the interference of her former colleagues at Jimmy Choo for its ultimate failure, saying the company "boycotted her" from using her former factories, even after a non-compete clause had expired. She is now suing Jimmy Choo; the companies have a February court date in New York. ("This suit is groundless and will be vigorously contested," said a spokesman for Jimmy Choo.)

In Ms. Mellon's favor are her long track record making (and marketing) hits. Jimmy Choo was an early proponent of celebrity placements, and Ms. Mellon continues to charm red carpet stylists and the celebrities they need to shoe. An article on Observer.com clocked Ms. Mellon's breakout style, the Frontline sandal, which featured clear plastic straps, on celebrities including Jennifer Lopez, Cindy Crawford, Gigi Hadid and Kylie Jenner.

"Hers is one of the only shoe lines I wear *not* on the red carpet, as well," said Constance Zimmer, the Emmy-nominated actress, who was a guest at Ms. Mellon's starry launch party in October. "I wear hers out. I rarely wear heels, but when I wear heels, I wear hers."

Ms. Mellon has, in the words of a friend, the jewelry designer Jennifer Meyer, "an intuitive sense of what a woman wants to wear."

And Mr. Ovitz said: "It's pretty extraordinary to me. It's an area I know nothing about. I always marvel at her closet, which has over 3,000 pairs of shoes in it that she's designed, and think how extraordinary it is that she could design that many different objects when they all have soles and heels. It's kind of frightening."

For his sake, Ms. Mellon has also adopted a new custom. Mr. Ovitz won't allow shoes to be worn in the house.

Tamara Mellon, a founder of Jimmy Choo, has started a second Tamara Mellon brand. Below, one of her shoe designs.



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her boho-scandalous aesthetic ("I can't take myself out of it") but reset her methodology. This time around, she is bypassing stores, including Bergdorf Goodman and Neiman Marcus, which once stocked her wares, selling directly to consumers via her website. Hers is a model that cuts out the middlemen and, in so doing, lowers prices. (A suede bootie from Ms. Mellon's line costs \$525; a similar one from Jimmy Choo was \$875.)

"The next generation of luxury brands will not be built the way that I built Jimmy Choo," Ms. Mellon said firmly, looking out through pastel-tinted sunglasses on her terrace with its views over Los Angeles. "The next generation of luxury brands will be built in a very different way, and in the business model I'm doing now."

Los Angeles has been magnetizing designers with a stronger pull lately. Tommy Hilfiger, Rebecca Minkoff and Rachel Comey will each move their usual New York Fashion Week shows here next month. Tom Ford will introduce his next collection here, just as he did in 2015. And Maria Grazia Chiuri, the new artistic director of Dior, will present her cruise collection here in May. But Ms. Mellon envisions her operation less as a fashion brand than as a tech company, albeit one in stiletto heels, just like so many others sprouting up along Los Angeles's growing Silicon Beach.

"Basically, every industry will be eaten by technology," Ms. Mellon said. "Right now, it's the fashion industry's turn. We've seen it in movies; Uber has eaten transport. But I always say to people, the best analogy is the music business. We all still love music and we want

# All the rage in Italy: Truly native pasta

PREDAZZO, ITALY

Varieties of durum wheat grown locally elevate both flavor and pride

BY NICK CZAP

A half-mile above sea level in the Dolomites, the fourth-generation pasta maker Riccardo Felicetti is leading a quiet revolution in the Italian pasta industry.

Thanks to innovations that Mr. Felicetti introduced as chief executive of the pasta company founded by his great-grandfather in 1908, Pastificio Felicetti is a 21st-century marvel, bristling with arrays of computer controls and a small army of seemingly autonomous robots that manipulate pallets of penne, rigatini and spaghetti with uncanny speed and precision.

But the real change Mr. Felicetti and other small pasta makers are creating is something more fundamental: using durum wheat grown exclusively in Italy.

The move is paying off in flavor and sales, capitalizing on growing interest in expressions of terroir and feeding Italian pride at a time in which the country could use it.

Italico, a new restaurant in Palo Alto, Calif., has built its menu around all-Italian-wheat pastas, and the New York chef Mark Ladner will use them at Pasta Flyer, the chain he plans to open after he leaves Del Posto this month.

One might assume, on opening a box of pasta marked “100 percent durum wheat, made in Italy,” that all the grain used had been grown in Italy. But almost without exception, Italian pasta companies use a mix of about 70 percent Italian and 30 percent imported durum wheat.

This is nothing new. In the early 1900s, Mr. Felicetti said, the nation imported about four-fifths of its durum wheat from Russia. After the Russian Revolution, Italy began importing grain from

North America, and later, from Australia and other countries.

The reasons have to do with both appetite and geography. Every year, an Italian eats on average about 60 pounds of pasta (compared with about 20 pounds for an American). Although Italian farmers grow an enormous amount of durum wheat — four million tons annually — they cannot meet the domestic pasta industry’s demand, which requires five million tons or more.

While the bigger pasta companies cannot subsist on Italian wheat alone, for smaller manufacturers, it is an increasingly appealing option.

Mr. Felicetti began his foray into domestic wheat 16 years ago, inspired by another Italian specialty: grappa. In the early 1970s, Italian distillers, which had long made virtually indistinguishable grappas from mounds of undifferentiated grape pomace — the freshly crushed skins, seeds and pulp — began using the carefully selected pomace of single grape varieties.

“Once, there was grappa, period,” Mr. Felicetti said. “Now there are monovarietal grappas — chardonnay, pinot nero, etc.” He added: “Around 2000, I began thinking you could do something similar with pasta. Instead of using a mix of Italian and imported grains, we could use monovarietal grains, grown in a specific place. Certainly, it would be a lot more complicated, but it would have a distinctive value and a competitive advantage.”

In 2004, after extensive experimentation to determine which wheat varieties performed best in particular regions, Pastificio Felicetti began manufacturing a line of pasta called Monograno, or “one grain.” Tasting notes on the packaging resemble the jottings of a sommelier: “stone cooked bread, butter and bamboo shoots” or “peanut butter and red date.”

Pastificio Felicetti makes about 400 tons of Monograno pastas annually, about 15 percent of its total production. In 2014, its Monograno Spaghettoni, made from a variety of wheat called



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CRISTIANO BENDINELLI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Matt, grown in Apulia in southern Italy, won the Specialty Food Association’s Sofi Award in the pasta, rice or grain category. Another Monograno pasta won the same prize in 2016.

In 2013, Pastificio Felicetti began using only Italian wheat for all of its pastas, although Mr. Felicetti emphasized that the decision had more to do with streamlining production than it did with concerns about the quality of his ingredients.

“We don’t necessarily consider Italian durum wheat to be the best,” he said, “but for us, getting wheat from Italy simplifies control of the supply chain.”

Pasta Mancini in the Marche region has taken the idea further, not only using Italian wheat exclusively, but growing it. Its small factory, built in 2007, sits in the middle of one of its fields. “In a world where, on average, a grain of wheat travels for about 6,000 kilometers before it becomes pasta, we are proud to say that in our case, and I repeat that this is an exception, there is not any separation between the fields and the factory,” Lorenzo Settimi, a Pasta Mancini spokesman, wrote in an email.

Even one of Italy’s largest pasta producers, Barilla, is embracing the trend, albeit in a small way. In 2014, the company began using only durum wheat grown in southern Italy for its premium brand, Voiello.

The rationale was simple. “It’s for sustainability reasons, energy use,” said Luca Di Leo, a Barilla spokesman. “You avoid using energy to transport the wheat all over the world, which adds both to the cost of the product and to the environment.”

Mr. Di Leo said the use of all-Italian wheat had more benefits. “I think that it does give an edge to say, in Italy especially, that it’s something that is made in Italy,” he said. “It is partly for patriotic reasons, and especially at a time in which the economy is facing hardships, and people are losing their jobs, to be able to say we make pasta that only uses Italian durum wheat, and that we are helping our farmers.”

These efforts seem to be benefiting from Italy’s vibrant local-food movement, which in recent years has been using the catchphrase “km 0,” short for zero kilometers.



Forthcoming legislation could give these pastas another edge in the marketplace.

In the first half of this year, the European Commission expects to start requiring food packaging to state the country of origin of the primary ingredient, if it is different from the country where the product is made.

A worker at Pastificio Felicetti preparing spaghetti for packing, top. Above, Riccardo Felicetti with his young staff.



COLE WILSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## A golden age for whiskey writers

It’s a good time to be covering American bourbon and related tipples

BY ROBERT SIMONSON

If you haven’t been to a liquor store in a while, you may be surprised to find the shelves of whiskey groaning with American bottles. Now the same transformation is playing out at the bookstore.

Soaring consumer interest in American whiskeys over the last decade has created a symbiotic cottage industry in writing about those spirits. Unlike almost any other spirits (Scotch is a notable exception), bourbon and rye and other American whiskeys have been taken up by many writers as their primary — and sometimes only — topic.

“I liken covering American whiskey to covering sports,” said Fred Minnick, who writes about whiskey full time and is the author of three books on the subject. “Sports teams have these very rabid fans. Bourbon fans are the same way. They want to know every single thing.”

And so, book after book on the subject has been published in the last few years. They include Mr. Minnick’s “Bourbon: The Rise, Fall, and Rebirth of an American Whiskey”; “Tasting Whiskey: An Insider’s Guide to the Unique Pleasures of the World’s Finest Spirits” by Lew Bryson; “American Whiskey, Bourbon & Rye: A Guide to the Nation’s Favorite Spirit” by Clay Risen; “The Art of American Whiskey: A Visual History of the Nation’s Most Storied Spirit, Through 100 Iconic Labels” by Noah Rothbaum;

and “Whiskey Distilled: A Populist Guide to the Water of Life” by Heather Greene.

Opportunities to write about American whiskey have grown well beyond trade journals like Whisky Advocate. Mr. Risen, for example, has written for The Atlantic, Men’s Journal, Fortune, Garden & Gun and The New York Times, where he is the deputy Op-Ed editor.

Though Mr. Risen also writes about other subjects, he describes himself as a whiskey writer as often as not. It’s a beat that has taken off only in the last 15 years. Sales of bourbon and its close cousin, Tennessee whiskey, have exploded in the United States, to more than 20 million nine-liter cases in 2015 from just over 13 million in 2002, according to the Distilled Spirits Council.

“When I started, there was really one person who had a sole focus on American whiskey,” Mr. Minnick said. “That was Chuck Cowdery.”

A former advertising man who worked for bourbon distillers, Mr. Cowdery is widely considered the dean of American whiskey journalism. He writes a well-read and highly opinionated whiskey blog.

None of these journalists worry about running out of copy.

“American whiskey is complex,” Mr. Minnick said. “Every day there is someone acquiring a little guy, or there is a lawsuit. From that side of things, there’s a lot of drama. If you have drama, you have something to write about.”

The very circumscribed nature of American whiskey lends itself to exacting reportage, Mr. Bryson said.

“The problem with writing about rum is there’s no regulation, and it changes and does whatever it wants,” he said. “But whiskey is quite regulated, and there is a lot more expectation there from the drinkers. You can make predictions and statements about it.”

The whiskey writers, from left, Heather Greene, Noah Rothbaum, Fred Minnick, Lew Bryson, Liza Weisstuch and Clay Risen at the Flatiron Room in New York.

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The Collection of the Late Countess of Lanesborough, previously at Swithland Hall, Leicestershire, likely by descent from 1st Earl of Lanesborough; probably acquired by Theophilus Butler, Baron Newtown-Butler, of the County of Fermanagh

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Tel: +44 (0)113 275 5545

12 Duke Street St James’s London SW1Y 6BN UK  
Tel: +44 (0)20 7839 9394

info@tomassobrothers.co.uk www.tomassobrothers.co.uk



BRYAN BEDDER/GETTY IMAGES FOR YEEZY SEASON 4

# Kanye West's year of breaking bad

WEST, FROM PAGE 13

somewhere far-off. Since his hospitalization, he has barely spoken publicly. When he and Mr. Trump descended to the Trump Tower lobby after their meeting, they were peppered with questions from the media, to which Mr. West replied only, "I just want to take a picture right now."

Mr. West's embrace of Mr. Trump, who spoke about black communities in cartoonish, inaccurate strokes ("They have no jobs, they have horrible education, they have no safety or security"), arrives at a particularly unlikely moment in his artistry. In 2013, he released "Yeezus," an album full of industrial thump that featured some of his most acidic political commentary. It struck a confrontational tone that Mr. West carried through that year and the next.

By contrast, "The Life of Pablo" takes a turn to the ornate, the melodic and also the emotionally intimate. "Ultralight Beam," the album opener, is a prayer. On songs like "Real Friends" and "No More Parties in LA," Mr. West sounds exhausted and exasperated, while "I Love Kanye" is a withering self-assessment passed off as a taunt ("I miss the old Kanye"). And on "FML," there was the specter of psychological instability, a possible foreshadowing of troubles to come: "You ain't never seen nothing crazier," he rapped, than him when he's "off his Lexapro."

The Saint Pablo tour, which began in August, took the worship elements of the album and rendered them literal. Each night, for a couple of hours, Mr. West performed while tethered to a platform that dangled over the crowd and moved from one end of the room to the other like a warship. The optics were bracing: Mr. West was both a god hovering over his subjects and a slave bound for their entertainment. Below him, chaos and thrill. Above him, klieg lighting that baked and beatified him. The approach was also a stark contrast to his

last tour, following "Yeezus," which became well-known for lengthy speeches that veered between motivation and tirade.

But in November, that impulse began to return. In San Jose, he said, "If I would've voted, I would've voted on Trump." In Sacramento a few nights later, he spoke for about 15 minutes before leaving the stage having performed only three songs. The remainder of the tour was swiftly canceled, and a few days later, Mr. West was hospitalized, after the police were called to perform a welfare check after an episode at his personal trainer's home.

Mr. West's collapse was very public, but then again, even his private space is public: "My psychiatrist got kids that I inspired/First song they played for me was 'bout their friend that just died," he rapped on "No More Parties in LA." He still appears on his wife's reality show, "Keeping Up With the Kardashians." Plus, some of his most fascinating work last year — the video for the song "Famous," and the ensuing art installation — was about the erosion of the public-private boundary.

In the clip for the song — which restocked the tension between him and Taylor Swift — doubles of him, his wife, Ms. Swift, Mr. Trump, Rihanna, Mr. Cosby and more celebrities all lay in an oversized bed, nude. It was an outrageous gesture of invasion, but it was also disarmingly tender — here were the famous, the powerful, the protected, shown in innocent, vulnerable slumber. It felt like a wish more than an attack.

How Mr. West interacts with other celebrities — fearlessly, stubbornly — continues to be one of his most powerful tools. During his Sacramento speech, he accused Beyoncé of negotiating her way to a video of the year award at the MTV Video Music Awards last year, and in October, lashed out at Jay Z, his longtime mentor, about the tensions between Apple Music and Tidal, and how the two



JACKIE NICKERSON

men's children "have never even played together." In this way, Mr. West makes art of his peers, too.

That's even more true of the younger generation. His most important mentor-mentee relationship is with Chance the Rapper, whose thumbprint is all over "The Life of Pablo." (He also appeared on Chance's "Coloring Book.") Lil Yachty, the smiling hip-hop provocateur then still at the beginning of his ascent, was a model in the Yeezy Season 3 show at the Garden, as was a lackadaisical Young Thug.

But to some from an older generation — Mr. West's elders, peers or his first wave of acolytes now grown up — Mr. West was floundering. Following Mr. West's embrace of Mr. Trump, Talib Kweli posted a series of emotional appeals on Twitter: "we love u u r everything u say u are. A genius, an icon. U added greatness to my life. But lifting Trump up kills us. Come home." And in early December, J. Cole released "False Prophets," a song that, while not using Mr. West's name, appeared to be discussing Mr. West's Icarus-like career path: "When he tell us he a genius but it's clearer lately/It's been hard for him to look into the mirror lately." Sometimes the critiques came directly to Mr. West's doorstep. During the Sacramento speech, Mr. West singled out Q-Tip: "I love you, bro. Don't tell me how to be me, though."

The low points of last year, whether a sign of deep trouble or just a momentary misalignment, have caused a radical shift in how Mr. West is publicly received. His weeklong hospitalization, and the presumed illness that led to it, rendered him more sympathetic to critics, but his support of Mr. Trump was, to some, unforgivable. (That his behavior can cause offense is something he is warning to: Three times last year, he used his Twitter for damage control, an unfamiliar position.)

Embracing Mr. Trump is perhaps the most consequential political act of an artist who, at a much earlier and less sure-footed stage of his career, in the



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

wake of Hurricane Katrina risked his mainstream acceptance to make a bold accusation on a national telethon: "George Bush doesn't care about black people."

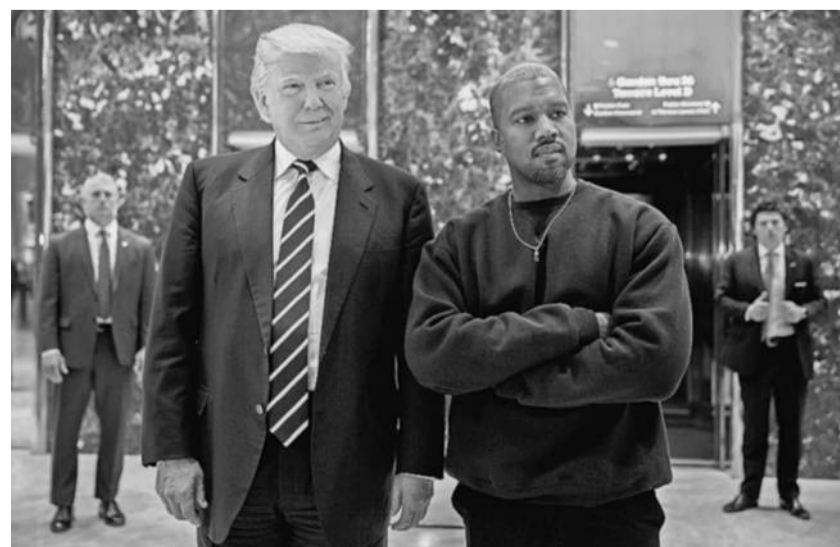
But he and Mr. Trump have parallels — both are vocal about those who they see as obstacles; both are steadfast in their self-belief. Perhaps Mr. West sees in Mr. Trump someone who freely speaks his mind and has been rewarded for it. During his speech at the Sacramento show, Mr. West referenced him as a sort of spirit guide: "Yeah, I'm taking his lead. I'ma just say how I say, be 'Ye, and win."

Read another way, Mr. West's embrace of Mr. Trump — symbolic or otherwise — suggests an incipient nihilism at work. Rather than align himself with broader social causes — "I love being a voice of freedom when so many people are scared to speak up," he wrote on Twitter in February — or the mainstream of black political thought, or

even the politics of his wife, a supporter of Hillary Clinton, Mr. West's unlikely shift suggests the maneuvers of someone who no longer believes in the systems that have previously nourished, sustained and inspired him — someone whose sense of safety has been revoked.

It should also be said, though, that Mr. West's sympathy for the publicly maligned is as central to his personality as his self-regard. His outspokenness in favor of Mr. Trump wasn't the first time he sided with a controversial figure — "Bill Cosby innocent!" he tweeted in February.

Bill Cosby, Donald Trump, Kanye West: highly visible stars with highly motivated antagonists. Mr. West may well perceive himself as still aligning with the persecuted, but the view from the top can be disorienting. It's one thing to side with those who suffer on the wrong end of power, but another thing altogether to side with the ones who wield it, consequences be damned.



SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Instability, loneliness, a sense that he was being treated unfairly, a quest to be heard.



# Lavish legacy of a maestro

A look at the complete Sony recordings of the late Nikolaus Harnoncourt

BY JAMES R. OESTREICH

A sign of the times, if more were needed: No classical musician rated much notice in the bulging year-end lists of notables who died in 2016, not even Pierre Boulez, perhaps the best-known composer and conductor of recent decades. Still less, the esteemed Austrian maestro Nikolaus Harnoncourt, who died in March at 86.

A cellist, conductor and scholar, Mr. Harnoncourt was also much more. (“Researcher, brooder, an artist with rough edges,” Christian Berger’s documentary “Mission Mozart” calls him.) Dour, and aristocratic in manner, he was nevertheless a lively character. His performances, while unfailingly musical and dramatic, were emblematic of the 20th century’s dismissal of Romanticism in their authenticist strivings and deconstructive idiosyncrasies.

Unlike the cosmopolitan Mr. Boulez, Mr. Harnoncourt confined himself mainly to Central Europe. Neither a composer himself nor active in contemporary music, he was as radically fixated on the musical past as Mr. Boulez was on the future. Yet he exerted a powerful influence on the present, having helped to negotiate a fruitful truce between mainstream practice and the early-music movement with his historically informed performances. The evidence lives in his recordings, said to number more than 500, and it has never been laid out as fully, albeit unsystematically, as in “Harnoncourt: The Complete Sony Recordings,” a monumental commemorative package released in October by Sony Classical.

On 61 CDs and three DVDs, the set offers recordings made by that label and others it owns, from 1991 to 2015. It includes a book with bare-bones information on the contents and lively notes on some of the music, by Mr. Harnoncourt.

Biography is incidental, but Mr. Harnoncourt’s notes offer lovely anecdotes. He recalls formative experiences with Mozart’s probing 40th Symphony, in what he calls “the ‘death key’ of G minor,” on his first full-time job, as a cellist in the Vienna Symphony Orchestra. “Time after time,” he writes, “I was forced to play it in such harmless and sugary interpretations that in the end I couldn’t bear this misunderstanding of Mozart’s music any longer: I had no choice but to leave the orchestra and take up the baton myself!”

He did so in 1968, devoting himself instead to his small period band, the Vienna Concentus Musicus, which he founded in 1953 with his new wife, Alice Harnoncourt, as concertmaster. He directed early performances from the cello and evolved into a standup conductor. It is the Concentus that he mostly conducts in these recordings, often with the superb Arnold Schoenberg Choir. The Vienna Philharmonic, the Chamber Orchestra of Europe and other ensembles also appear.

The repertory is imbalanced, lacking an overall plan, since the choices presumably reflect the shifting needs of the labels as well as Mr. Harnoncourt’s own wishes. Still, the whole suggests his wide range of sympathies and accomplishments as well as the basic parameters of his repertory. Here are some highways and byways.

## BACH, HANDEL

“When someone asked me what Bach meant to me,” Mr. Harnoncourt once recalled of his youth, “I replied that he was a mathematician, and that this wasn’t truly great music!” In his college years, Mr. Harnoncourt and fellow students played through arias from the Bach cantatas and much else, realizing in the process that “the performers in Bach’s time used different instruments.” The discovery led to his obsession with period instruments, which he collected, and the founding of the Concentus. “This was the period when I came at a certain point to see that Bach is simply the com-



HIROYUKI ITO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

poser,” he said. “A man head and shoulders above the other really great composers.” Mr. Harnoncourt and the Concentus first drew wide attention among record collectors with their performances of Bach: most notably, from 1971 to 1990, the 200-plus surviving sacred cantatas for Teldec, a project shared with Gustav Leonhardt and the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra. Intent on emulating Bach’s practice, Mr. Harnoncourt used boy trebles in solos as well as choruses there, to sometimes shaky effect. Here, in decade-old recordings of five cantatas (Nos. 29, 61 and 140 previously unreleased) and the “Christmas Oratorio,” he uses the mixed Schoenberg Choir and adult soloists. Handel is represented by a 2004 “Messiah” and “Timotheus,” a German version of the oratorio “Alexander’s Feast” orchestrated by Mozart and, later, von Mosel (undoubtedly the perpetrator of the lusty bass-drum whacks).

## MOZART, HAYDN

Some two decades after his Bach discovery, Mr. Harnoncourt admitted Mozart to his pantheon: “Bach and Mozart,” he said, “weren’t mortals.” He added: “Henceforth, I had one single responsibility, namely to place myself in their service.” Serve Mozart he does here, with all those performances of symphonies and readings from letters (in

which he plays Papa Leopold). There are also two operas: the unfinished “Zaide,” from 2006, and “Die Zauberflöte” (“The Magic Flute”), on two DVDs, in a production staged by Jens-Daniel Herzog, recorded live at the Salzburg Festival in 2012. The third DVD is Mr. Berger’s “Mission Mozart” documentary, detailing the making of one of the CDs, with Lang Lang joining Mr. Harnoncourt and the Vienna Philharmonic in the Piano Concertos Nos. 17 and 24. Often better heard than seen, with his physical antics, Mr. Lang is a disarming presence here in his eagerness to soak up Mr. Harnoncourt’s wisdom. Haydn is represented more sparsely yet solidly with, in addition to the “Paris” Symphonies, his two great oratorios, “Die Schöpfung” (“The Creation”) and “Die Jahreszeiten” (“The Seasons”); and one of his operas, “Orlando Paladino.”

## BEETHOVEN

Mr. Harnoncourt had another revelation in 1988, when he conducted his first staged production of Beethoven’s “Fidelio” and his first performance of the “Missa Solemnis.” “The scales fell from my eyes,” he recalled. “All that had seemed to me to be empty bathos suddenly turned into its opposite.” His last recordings, Beethoven’s Fourth and Fifth Symphonies and “Missa Solemnis,”

also followed a production of “Fidelio,” which wasn’t recorded. He leaves monumentality to the “Missa,” giving the Fifth a ripsnorting reading.

## ROMANTIC MASTERS

Mr. Harnoncourt’s interpretations of Bruckner, with the Vienna Philharmonic, come with bonuses: the Fifth Symphony accompanied by a rehearsal disc and the Ninth by a “workshop concert” with a thorough demonstration and analysis of the sketches for the unfinished finale. The choral feast continues with Brahms’s “A German Requiem” and Verdi’s Requiem, both with the Vienna Philharmonic and the Schoenberg Choir, and Dvorak’s “Stabat Mater,” with the Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra and Chorus.

## GERSHWIN, BARTOK

20th-century developments in composition are represented by an odd coupling. Mr. Harnoncourt applied the same rigorous scholarship to Gershwin’s “Porgy and Bess” that he did to everything else, trying to buttress its stature as a genuine opera and not merely a musical to mine for big tunes. What there is of a modernist strain here — Bartok’s “Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta” and Divertimento for String Orchestra — is just enough to make you wish there were more:

**Nikolaus Harnoncourt leading the Vienna Philharmonic in a performance of Beethoven at Carnegie Hall in 2010. Mr. Harnoncourt played the cello with the orchestra from 1952 to 1968. He died last March at 86.**



# Delectable? Not so fast

**BOOK REVIEW**

**THE CASE AGAINST SUGAR.** By Gary Taubes. 365 pp. Alfred A. Knopf. \$26.95.

BY DAN BARBER

Say your child petitioned for permission to smoke a pack of cigarettes a week. Say his or her logic was that a pack a week is better than a pack a day. No dice, right?

O.K., now substitute sugar for cigarettes.

Comparing the dangers of inhaling cigarettes with chowing down on candy bars may sound like false equivalence, but Gary Taubes's "The Case Against Sugar" will persuade you otherwise. Here is a book on sugar that sugarcoats nothing. The stuff kills.

Taubes begins with a kick in the teeth. Sugar is not only the root cause of today's diabetes and obesity epidemics (had these been infectious diseases, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention would have long ago declared an emergency), but also, according to Taubes, is probably related to heart disease, hypertension, many common cancers and Alzheimer's.

Name a long-term, degenerative disease, and chances are Taubes will point you in the same direction.

Taubes has written extensively about diet and chronic illness, notably in a 2002 New York Times Magazine cover article that challenged the low-fat orthodoxy of the day. Taubes expanded the piece into two books, "Good Calories, Bad Calories" and, several years later, "Why We Get Fat," in which he argued that the American medical establishment had bungled this century's biggest health crisis. Bad science and the processed-food industry have colluded to make fat public enemy No. 1 — all the while neglecting carbohydrates, especially the highly processed and easily digested kind. And these are the real culprits in the expansion of our waistlines.

In "The Case Against Sugar," Taubes distills the carbohydrate argument further, zeroing in on sugar as the true villain. He implicates scientists, nutritionists and especially the sugar industry in what he claims amounts to a major cover-up.

Taubes's writing is both inflammatory and copiously researched. It is also well timed. In September, a researcher at the University of California, San Francisco, uncovered documents showing that Big Sugar paid three Harvard scientists in the 1960s to

play down the connection between sugar and heart disease and instead point the finger at saturated fat. Coca-Cola and candy makers made similar headlines for their forays into nutrition science, funding studies that discounted the link between sugar and obesity.

It's tempting to predict that Taubes's hard-charging (and I'll add game-changing) book will diminish sugar's dominance, sealing the fate that no ingredient could evade after such public relations disasters. But the history of sugar in this country suggests it won't be that easy. Here is where Taubes is at his most persuasive, tracing sugar's unique and intractable place in the American diet.

Start with World War II as an example, when the government smoothed the way for sugar rationing by arguing that sugar was not part of a healthy diet. The American Medical Association agreed and recommended severely limiting consumption. Alarmed by the possibility of an American public that could learn to live without sugar, the industry founded the Sugar Research Foundation to proselytize its benefits. As Taubes sees it, the S.R.F. may have been created in the spirit of other industry-funded research programs — to promote and defend a product — but it helped establish relationships with scientists like the ones recently reported on at Harvard in the 1960s, and it institutionalized an aggressive, attack-dog public relations strategy that remains prevalent and pernicious to this day (tactics that the tobacco industry would also adopt).

With the rise of new calorie-counting dieting fads in the 1950s, the industry responded with a coordinated offensive. Blanketing daily newspapers with advertisements, it argued, successfully it turned out, that since obesity was caused by excess consumption of calories — a calorie was a calorie, dogma at the time — all foods should be restricted equally. Sugar has only 16 calories a teaspoon; why should it be disproportionately demonized?

The 1960s and '70s saw a similar pattern: another threat in the form of new evidence implicating sugar, another coordinated response.

Just when it looked as if the sugar industry, for all its campaigning, could no longer overrule scientific fact, it was saved by saturated fat. The rising belief that dietary fat consumption was the cause of obesity and heart disease — which had been written about sporadically for decades — suddenly coalesced into fact, shifting the public's attention away from sugar. This wasn't planned or paid for. It was just dumb luck. The American Heart Association, long considered unbiased and authoritative, played a crucial role by blaming fat and cholesterol for heart disease. The press, Congress and the Department of Agriculture followed suit.

Then things went totally bananas. High-fructose corn syrup, which is just as deleterious as sugar, got a passing grade from scientists (especially for diabetics!) and went mainstream in



HUDSON CHRISTIE

**Taubes's writing is both inflammatory and copiously researched. It is also well timed.**

the '80s and '90s. Same killer, new disguise: Americans were seduced by the sweet stuff all over again. A new category of products presented as health foods, like sports drinks and low-fat yogurt, played a sort of shell game by advertising that the bulk of their calories came from high-fructose corn syrup, without letting on that this was just another form of sugar. Learning about this made my heart hurt.

So, after decades of scrambled and spurious dietary advice, where are we now? There is a growing consensus in the medical community that a condition known as "metabolic syndrome" is perhaps the greatest predictor of heart disease and diabetes. Signs of the syndrome include obesity, high blood pressure and, more than anything, insulin resistance — which puts a particularly heavy strain on the body.

And what causes insulin resistance and metabolic syndrome? Taubes blames sugar, the "dietary trigger" hiding in plain sight for over half a century. And if he's right, he could prove its guilt once and for all.

But is he right? Taubes, who no doubt finds the answer blindingly obvious, nonetheless poses the question himself. Is sugar "the primary cause of insulin resistance and metabolic syndrome and therefore obesity, diabetes and heart disease?" His answer: "It certainly could be."

I know, I know — it's the prosecu-

torial equivalent of a deflating balloon. But Taubes explains his caution by reminding us that we are no longer dealing with deficiency diseases, like scurvy, which can be solved with a single magic bullet like vitamin C. We're talking about degenerative diseases, which take a long time to develop — a lifetime of sweets, in other words — and (frustratingly, if you're out to prove the hypothesis) don't develop in everyone.

If you're like me, you've read this review just as I read Taubes's book — respectfully interested in the history and the facts, but really wanting to be told how much sugar is too much. Taubes anticipates our self-interest, ending the book with a chapter just for us: "How Little Is Still Too Much?" But like some cryptic oracle, he answers the question with still more questions: How many cigarettes are too many cigarettes? What if the person who smoked a pack a week outlived the person who smoked a pack a day? Would we conclude that inhaling a pack of cigarettes a week is safe?

Herein lies Taubes's key point, and it's sort of a life lesson. We will never know for certain. Sugar may once again get off scot-free, because there is no definitive experiment or algorithm that can be developed to remove all doubt, no practical way to know for sure to what extent it's killing us. The only certainty is that Big Sugar will

continue to fight for its exoneration. Faced with more damning evidence, the industry will obfuscate rather than enlighten. It will insist that there are "two sides" to the story, and will corral skeptical scientists — readily available on any subject — to invalidate or at least cast doubt on solid medical consensus.

There's another certainty, too — one that Taubes doesn't acknowledge. When it comes to our health, sugar itself might be largely to blame, but the story can't end there. It's tempting to think — and Taubes insinuates — that if we managed to cut sugar out of our diets altogether, the chronic diseases discussed in this book would disappear. But that ignores a whole ecosystem of issues — our patterns of eating and excess, our poisoned environment — that informs our well-being. Put simply: Remove sugar and we'll still be sick.

Our job here — and not only here, but with everything from tobacco to global warming — is to override the imperfect, long haul to scientific certainty and instead follow the precautionary principle, which means recognizing what's staring us in the face and acting on it as if our health hangs in the balance. Because it does.

Dan Barber is the chef and co-owner of Blue Hill and Blue Hill at Stone Barns, and the author of "The Third Plate."

# The games they play

**BOOK REVIEW**

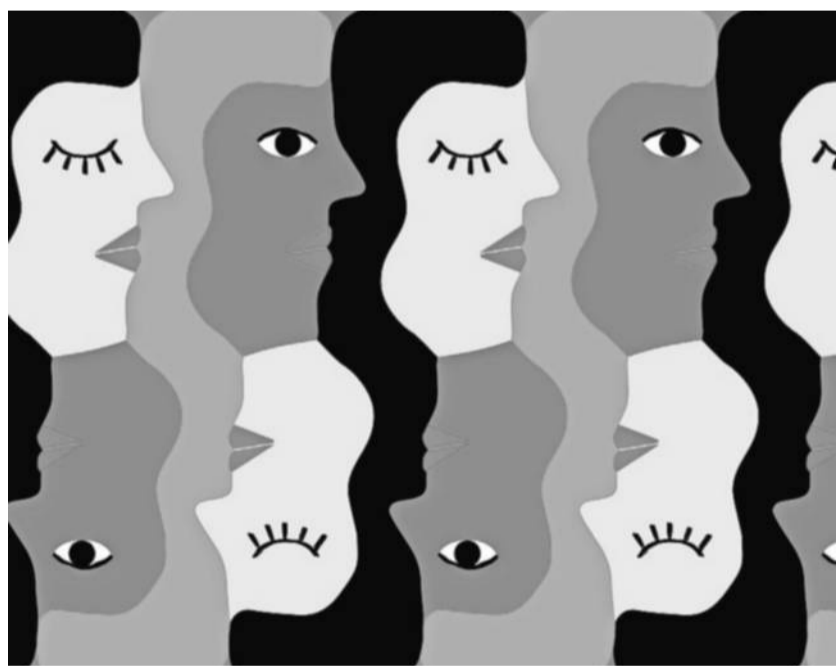
**DIFFICULT WOMEN.** By Roxane Gay. 260 pp. Grove Press. \$25.

BY GEMMA SIEFF

What constitutes a difficult woman? For Roxane Gay, she is easy — by the third date, one of her troubled, troublesome narrators tells us: "We have already slept together, twice. I'm not a hard sell." She is also needy, moody and above all unpredictable, which makes her dangerous. She is the opposite of Estelle, a minor character in "Difficult Women," Gay's new collection of stories, "a pale blond sliver of Connecticut" who clutches her pearls and thinks Baltimore is a jungle. Gay's difficult women are as wild as Tarzan's Jane. Or rather, because many of these stories are set in cold Northern states, they're wild enough to hunt deer with their husbands. They sully pure white snow with cigarette ash and keep boredom at bay with scarcely secret love affairs. "We play games because we can and we like it," the narrator of "Bone Density" says. "Most days these games keep us together, somehow."

Gay has fun with these ladies. Her narrative games aren't rulesy. She plays with structure and pacing, breaking up some stories with internal chapterlets, writing long (upward of 20 pages) and very short (under two pages). She moves easily from first to third person, sometimes within a single story. She creates worlds that are firmly realist and worlds that are fantastically far-fetched — there is a wife who is dogged by water, as if under a personal rain cloud, and a wife who is made of glass.

With these free-form experiments one finds overlapping motifs. Terrible things keep happening to babies: They are stillborn, or abandoned, or turned into "a bloody stretch on the hot pavement of a parking lot" by an old lady driving a 1974 Grand Prix. A woman calling herself a knife performs a cesarean section with her fingernail.



FRANZISKA BARCZYK

Pairs of women — sisters, twins, best friends — in possession of E.S.P. powers and able to reply to the other's unspoken thoughts are inseparable through thick and thin. If one gets kidnapped, the other hurls herself into the back of the pedophile's van. If one runs away to join her husband in another state, the other knows it is her lot to go too. If one develops real feelings for a new boyfriend, the other vets him by eavesdropping on their lovemaking: "I hand him the phone. I say, 'She wants to talk to you.' He smiles the sleaziest smile and says, 'Two chicks. That's hot,' and I tell him not to talk too much so we can still fall in love.... Gus puts Tate on speakerphone and she tells him all the terrible things she wants him to do to me. I marvel at her creativity and her cruelty and how much she loves me."

Sex and violence are just as tightly entwined. "I lay back on the ground, now soaked with the deer's blood. My husband undressed me slowly then stood and stared at me naked, shivering next to the animal he killed. I wondered if he could tell us apart." Nearly every story in the collection features one or more bouts of ferocious sex during which shoulders and earlobes are gnawed and tongues half-swallowed. "I love his body and enjoy marking him with my fingernails,

leaving the skin of his back angry and broken," the game-playing narrator of "Bone Density" says. Gay's female masochists give as good as they get. In "Break All the Way Down," a mother grieving the accidental death of her son begs her husband to hit her; when he won't, she finds a man at a bar who will. "You're stronger than I thought," her husband says at one point. "You have no idea," she replies.

The dialogue in "Difficult Women" occasionally falters, tending toward telegraphic language that broadcasts too tidily a character's interiority. A rich WASPy father who shares his son's lust for black women tells him: "You can look, boy, but you cannot touch. The family can't afford the scandal." Caridad, a fitness instructor and personal trainer, gets propositioned by an older male client and tells him: "I'm only here to help make bodies better. My body isn't for sale." Lines like these feel too obvious, especially compared with the cryptic, claustrophobic relationships described in these pages and the strange detours that riddle Gay's imaginary landscapes. With "Difficult Women," you really have no idea what's going to happen next.

Gemma Sieff's work has appeared in *n+1*, *Vice* and *The Paris Review*.

## CROSSWORD

*The Downsizing of Nathaniel Ames*

Edited by Will Shortz

**Across**

- 1 Loops in, in a way
- 5 Goddess with a throne headdress
- 9 Tempo
- 13 Figs. on drivers' licenses
- 16 When repeated, a Pacific tourist destination
- 17 Fish whose name is a celebrity's name minus an R
- 18 Old band leader with an Egyptian-inspired name
- 19 Outrigger projections
- 20 Things smoked by singer Courtney?
- 23 Scandalmaker in 2002 news
- 24 Speed demon
- 25 Headwear the N.B.A. banned in 2005
- 26 Game involving sharp projectiles and alcohol
- 28 Parrot's cry
- 29 1950s prez
- 31 "Charlie Hustle is my name / I am banned from Hall of Fame," e.g.?
- 33 First bump
- 34 "Yes, \_\_\_\_\_!"
- 36 Put a coat on
- 37 "Eureka!" moments
- 40 Press
- 42 Cloth colorist
- 43 Feature of Africa
- 44 \_\_\_\_\_ oil
- 46 Televangelist Joel
- 48 Alternative to "News" and "Maps" in a Google search
- 50 Road restriction
- 51 Pugnacious Olympian
- 53 Relative of a ferret
- 54 Cold and wet
- 55 F.B.I.'s div.
- 56 Hoopster Steph not playing at home?
- 60 Riff Raff
- 62 Japanese watchmaker
- 64 Like Granny Smith apples
- 65 Endless chore
- 66 Dickens's Uriah
- 68 Sega Genesis competitor, in brief
- 69 Radiant
- 71 Intersect
- 73 The sport of boxing in the 1960s and '70s
- 75 "Nothing to write home about"
- 76 Groups with co-pays, briefly
- 78 Jockey brief
- 80 "Star Trek: T.N.G." role
- 81 Installment
- 83 Personalized gifts for music lovers
- 85 Valet in P.G. Wodehouse stories
- 89 Contemporary hybrid music genre
- 90 Sots' sounds
- 91 Nickname for Louise
- 93 Feast
- 94 Sail support
- 95 In unison
- 97 Echo effect
- 99 El operator in the Windy City, briefly
- 100 Hat for pop singer Corey?
- 103 Anthem contraction
- 104 "Uhh ..."
- 105 Show what you know, say
- 107 "In all probability"
- 109 Regular
- 111 Obstinate one, astrologically
- 112 Two-time Best Actor winner arriving early?
- 115 Four-star rank: Abbr.
- 116 Monopoly purchase
- 117 Singer/songwriter Laura
- 118 Little foxes
- 119 Slump
- 120 \_\_\_\_\_ cosa (something else: Sp.)
- 121 Wanders (about)

**Solution to puzzle of December 31-January 1**

A	D	O	C	H	E	D	R	E	F	U	G	E	A	D	A	P	T	S
M	O	O	I	A	N	I	A	M	A	Z	E	D	C	O	V	E	R	T
R	E	C	O	R	D	S	M	O	V	I	E	H	E	A	T	E	R	
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E	T	E	S	T	A	L	L	I	V	E	R	S	B	A	R	D	S	
R	E	S	T	S	R	T	E	M	E	R	I	T	A	N	D	S		
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# In the new year, more cuddling

Needing human touch, I challenged myself to stay open to new experiences

## Modern Love

BY KRISTINE LLOYD

Attending a cuddle party was one of my fear-conquering New Year's resolutions for 2016. My other resolutions — I had a long list — included speed dating and taking a hike with a mountaineering club.

I never got around to speed dating or hiking, but by August I had worked up the courage to sign up for a cuddle party. And that's how I found myself lying on a foam pad on a stranger's floor with my head on the shoulder of a strange man. Strange in that I didn't know him, of course, but also strange in that he was so thin and bony that cuddling with him was no comfort at all.

Soon a young woman settled in on his other side and asked if she could hold my hand.

"O.K.," I said feebly.

We reached out and clasped hands across the man's chest. I felt rigid, tense, terrified.

A sea of foam pads and quilts and stuffed animals covered the expanse of the one-room carriage house. Even so, I felt the unrelenting pressure of my hipbone against hardwood. How long would I have to lie like this? What is the acceptable length of time to seem open to experience while also preserving my dignity?

It had been far too long since I'd been intimate with someone. At 44, I worried that I was becoming slightly feral. My parents, after 46 years of marriage, were still having sex — postmenopausal, geriatric sex perhaps, but sex nonetheless. Meanwhile, I had just shelled out \$25 to cuddle with a frail guy.

During the introductions, our host had said, "I started hosting cuddle parties two years ago because my touch tank was really low, but I knew I wasn't ready for dating."

Her touch tank? As we went around the room, at least two people said their therapist had told them to try this, and one woman clutched a stuffed, life-size Garfield while rocking slightly and mumbling about being afraid of people.

Years earlier, when I had a boyfriend and a constant supply of cuddles, I saw an advertisement for cuddle therapy and laughed. How sad, I'd thought. And yet here I was, partly out of curiosity, partly to challenge myself to stay open to new and frightening things, and partly because I hoped to meet someone.

I am an independent, professional woman living in a progressive city, but entire days pass in which I do not touch another human being. I never thought I would be here, in this place, at this time in my life. The fear that I am in some way defective has become harder to stave off each year.

A bell rang. "O.K., that's 20 minutes," our host said, giving us an opportunity to rearrange with new people.

I wasted no time heading to the bathroom, the only space in this little house where I could be alone. When I emerged, everyone was partnered up. There was a tangle of bodies in the middle of the room. I stood in the kitchen contemplating the snacks: dry shortbread cookies and veggies with ranch sauce. Unfortunately, no alcohol. That could turn things sexual, our host had explained. Cuddle parties are not about sex but about setting boundaries and connecting. But even with the lights dimmed, the entire setup felt more clinical than connective, as if we were all enrolled in Human Interaction 101.

I kept thinking about baby monkeys. In college I took an intro to psychology course where we learned about Harry Harlow's experiments with rhesus monkeys, and how the infant monkeys preferred a cloth mother to one made of wire and wood, even when the wire mother was the one supplying the food. Turns out primates prefer a cuddly fake mother to a fake mother who actually keeps them alive.

Maybe this explains my recent craziness and blood pressure spikes. I had chalked it up to some sort of midlife crisis, but perhaps it's too many years of too little touch and affection. I needed to put myself out there, but the longer I avoided it, the more frightening the prospect became. I was less afraid of becoming a war correspondent than opening a Tinder account.

Yet somehow I managed to corral enough bravery to do this.

"Should we cuddle?" asked a buffed-out guy who had come in late.

"Um, sure," I said, since we were the only people not cuddling.

"How about we spoon?" he asked. "Do you want to be Nevada or California?"

"I'll be California," I said, wanting to control our proximity, especially in our southern regions. But he didn't seem to want to get too close either, leaving at least two or three inches between us. I flung my arm over his side as we lay quietly, stiff as boards.

Then he started his nervous chatter. "Yeah, I've seen these ads for cuddlers-for-hire," he said. "Seems like pretty easy money. I was thinking I could do that instead of what I'm doing now. I work in a hospital, but my boss hates me, and she's stupid. Anyway, I told my therapist I was coming here tonight, and he said it's too soon."

Too soon for what? I didn't dare ask. He continued chattering away until the host called time again.

It feels like a weakness to admit I am so lonely. I am supposed to be a pioneer — a brave, single feminist, unafraid to go it alone. Except when it's a Saturday night and I'm eating my dinner while staring out my window into the dining room of the family across from me.

I watch the primates interact through their sliding glass doors. Father kisses mother on the neck while she washes dishes. Daughter No. 1 sits on father's lap reading. Daughter No. 2



BRIAN REA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Over the years I had become less available, less accessible, walling off my heart brick by brick.**

hugs father around the neck.

Do they watch me? Do they wonder: Why is the arctic shrew feeding again?

It's not that I haven't had opportunities. I've been engaged twice (the first time the man broke it off; the second time I did). But I've been deeply in love only once. My other relationships have been more like truces with loneliness. I pretend for months or years that I don't need a man to be happy. But is being smugly single any different from being smugly coupled?

"Will you come and cuddle with us?" asked a woman who had been sensually cuddling with the same man all evening. She was maybe 10 or 15 years older than me, as was the gray-haired man with her.

I was ready to leave, but I lay down on my back between them. He put his head on my chest and his arm across my midsection. She started caressing my forearm the way my mother used to, soft fingernails against skin. I thought I might cry.

Many of my single friends seem comfortable, even happy, alone.

"I'm too evolved for a relationship,"

one recently told me over a bottle of Two Buck Chuck.

I nodded, pretending to understand.

I moved to Seattle 11 years ago in search of love. In Alabama it seemed as if everyone married by 30, but Seattle was full of 30-something singletons. Every party I attended held great possibility.

And yet most were stridently single, satisfied with their lives. Climbing mountains. Rowing across oceans. The less baggage the better.

The woman I had lain down by said, "We knew we wanted to cuddle with you when you were introducing yourself and talking about how freaked out you are by all of this." Her hands were soft on my arm. "You were so honest and brave."

When I asked if they knew each other before this evening, she laughed and told me they met six months ago at another cuddle party.

A part of me hoped I would find love here, but as we went around the room introducing ourselves, I began to realize that I was possibly the most terrified person there, maybe more than

the woman hugging Garfield. Over the years, almost without noticing, I had become less available, less accessible, walling off my heart brick by brick.

The woman continued caressing my arm with one hand, and then, with the other, reached across my stomach to hold hands with her man. We seemed to be on the precipice of orgy territory.

Instead of freaking out, though, I actually let myself relax. And as the places where our bodies were touching warmed, I began to feel physically connected to other people for the first time in a long time.

Why had I been so frightened of this? Why is anyone?

There are now more single adults than married ones in this country, and the number of us living alone has increased to a quarter of all households. It shouldn't require scientific research with monkeys to understand that we need, perhaps above all else, physical comfort in this world.

My resolution for 2017: Seek it.

Kristine Lloyd, a law librarian in Seattle, is working on a memoir.

## By the Book

Bernard-Henri Lévy

The author of "The Genius of Judaism" believes the current American political situation is best illuminated by Philip Roth's "The Plot Against America."

**What books are currently on your night stand?**

I'm answering your questions from Erbil, the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan, where I am making a documentary on the battle for Mosul. In biblical times, Mosul was known as Nineveh, the city in which Jonah delivered his prophecy. So the book that lies on the table in my little hotel room tonight is the Book of Jonah, which figures prominently in my own book, "The Genius of Judaism." And next to it, since this is the only way to read texts like the Book of Jonah, is one of the great commentaries that Jonah provoked, that of Obadiah ben Jacob Sforno. Sforno, a rabbi and philosopher who lived in Italy in the first half of the 16th century, imparts to Jonah's wild and marvelous story (the story of a prophet who prophesies not in Israel but in the capital of evil that was Nineveh) its great metaphysical depth.

**What's the last great book you read?**

"The Real Life of Sebastian Knight," Nabokov's first novel in English. Reading it, one senses, almost physically, the change in languages, the metamorphosis from one language to another — and thus the very work of literature. I could also cite a novel by Serge Joncour, a French writer who is, I believe, unknown in the United States. His "Repose-Toi sur Moi" is a very beautiful love story.

**What's the best classic novel you**

**recently read for the first time?**

Goethe's "Elective Affinities." It's strange, these great writers whose reputation looms so large that it eclipses their works and gives you the feeling of having read them in the distant past. When chance puts one of those works in your hands, you're dazzled, as if you were reading the first words of a very young and very talented writer.

**What's your favorite book that no one else has heard of?**

Balzac's "Treatise on Modern Stimulants." It seems that very few people know this work, at least in the United States. The five stimulants in question are coffee, alcohol, tea, sugar and tobacco. And in this essay, one gets the sense that Balzac is rereading his entire "Human Comedy" with an eye to the influence that each of the five might have had on his characters.

**Which writers — novelists, playwrights, critics, philosophers, journalists, poets — working today do you admire most?**

Portuguese novelist António Lobo Antunes. Michel Houellebecq, the cardinal writer of my generation, the one before whom all of us, whether we like it or not (and without his having willed it), have had to measure ourselves. This actually worked out well for me, because we wrote a book together ("Public Enemies," Random House, 2011). And last I want to cite essayist Christopher Hitchens, who died a few years ago, though I think of him so often that I sometimes have the sense that he's not quite dead and still here.



JILLIAN TAMAKI

**What books do you think best explain or illuminate the political situation in France today? In Israel? And in the United States?**

With respect to France, the answer is a forthcoming book on terrorism by another fine writer named Yann Moix. For the United States, it's Philip Roth's "The Plot Against America." What better depiction of the country that has just elected — evidently without shame — the incredible Mr. Trump? As for Israel, I will go for Amos Oz's "Judas." I know the story is set in 1950s Jerusalem, but in a way that doesn't matter: The book seems to speak to us solely of today.

**What do you read when you're working on a book? And what kind of reading do you avoid when writing?**

I read books that help me tune out my own music and prevent me from wallowing in my own effects and rhetoric. Conversely, I avoid writers who are too close to me stylistically so as to help me "bend the stick." In short, I find

other people's writing very useful as a remedy for my own — an antidote, if you will.

**What moves you most in a work of literature?**

The inducement of a feeling, a shiver, a way of viewing or assessing the world of which I had previously been wholly unaware. That is the sole attraction of literature for me: to add something to the world and to my idea of it; to explore other ways of existing.

**Which genres do you especially enjoy reading? And which do you avoid?**

What I would love to read is an epic, a real epic on a scale commensurate with the upheavals of civilization through which we are living, an epic of the migrations, revolutions, assorted mutations, prostitutions and emotions that are the hallmarks of our age. But the epic genre requires a suitable language. Which of today's languages would be up to the task? Certainly not French, no more so than English. Hebrew, perhaps.

**How do you like to read? Paper or electronic? One book at a time or simultaneously? Morning or night?**

I read on paper and on the screen — either way. Several books at a time, obviously. Because if the appeal of literature is to help you tunnel into other worlds, other languages, other sensations, and so on, why hold back? Why not take full advantage? Why not pursue to the limit this prodigious multiplication of visions of the world and of other languages?

**How do you organize your books?**

In piles and jumbles in my library, near my bed, on my desk, in my car, in the hallways of my apartment — everywhere! But your real question, of course, is how they're arranged on the shelf. Our first impulse is usually to shelve them alphabetically by author. But what happens if you don't know the author's name? Or when you know that you'll forget the name as soon as the book is shelved and therefore lose any chance of ever finding it again? Well, you use the other alphabet, the alphabet of themes. Judaism, ethics, America, Europe, autobiography, Goethe, Faulkner, Spanish Civil War, Bosnia, resistance, Islam, rock 'n' roll, painting, all of the books on Heidegger, Wittgenstein, Spinoza or the Talmud... A juxtaposition of both alphabetical orders, in other words: by author and by subject. It is the mix of orders that makes the library truly mine and ensures that the library reflects the writer.

**What book might people be surprised to find on your shelves?**

The books of ideological adversaries whom I respect. As a matter of fact, I was tidying up my library before leaving for Erbil. And I realized that I had, neatly arranged, all of the books of Edwy Plenel, a French journalist and essayist who was editor of Le Monde before founding a site called Mediapart. He takes positions opposed to my own on numerous questions that matter to me. But I respect him.

**What's the best book you've ever received as a gift?**

"The Complete Works of William Shakespeare," edited with a glossary

by W. J. Craig, published by Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press.

**Who is your favorite fictional hero or heroine? And antihero or villain?**

The heroine is Ariane from Albert Cohen's "Belle du Seigneur." The hero is Jordan from "For Whom the Bell Tolls." An antihero, also from Hemingway, is Col. Richard Cantwell from "Across the River and Into the Trees." Cantwell is not a villain, of course, but he clearly is an antihero!

**What kind of reader were you as a child? Which childhood books and authors stick with you most?**

I was a dreamer. And, if I remember rightly, a compulsive reader. I had the idea that real life, life full and fulfilled, lay as much in books as in life. But I didn't read children's books. I never liked what goes by the name of "children's literature." My recollection is that I gravitated very early toward real literature — Walter Scott, Dickens, Jules Verne and good spy novels.

**What do you plan to read next?**

Bob Dylan's "Chronicles," which Simon & Schuster published in 2004. I am one of those who were pleased that he won the Nobel. There is, in Dylan, a bit of the legacy of the greatest European and American poets. But I also want to read the book because I hope to find in it (I'm probably kidding myself) the secret key to his work and the reason why I find it so admirable.

Responses translated from French by Steven Kennedy. An expanded version of this interview is available online at [nytimes.com/books](http://nytimes.com/books).

# Amid politics, a feast awaits

Capital gears up to celebrate Canada's 150th birthday with art, exhibits and a thriving food scene

## 36 Hours Ottawa

BY REMY SCALZA

Canada's capital has no shortage of historical charms — from Gothic Parliament buildings to a Unesco World Heritage canal — but it has long been dogged by a reputation as a workaday government center. A weekend in the city, however, proves otherwise. With a thriving food scene, a multicultural and multilingual sensibility owing to its location on the Ontario-Quebec border and an outside night life, Ottawa is emerging from the shadow of Montreal and Toronto with new infrastructure projects, including a multibillion-dollar light-rail line. As it gears up for Canada's 150th birthday bash this year, with a host of exhibitions and galleries set to open, Ottawa is anything but business as usual.

## Friday

### Hill time 3 p.m.

Yes, it is firmly on the tourist track, but Parliament Hill is worth the climb. High above the Ottawa River rise the copper-topped turrets and gargoyled facade of the Centre Block, the soaring Gothic Revival building that houses Canada's Parliament. Skip the guided tour and take the free elevator to the top of the Peace Tower (advance tickets required). At 302.5 feet, it is among the city's highest structures and is a good perch from which to survey Ottawa, as well as its twin city Gatineau, Quebec, across the river.

### Historical views 5 p.m.

A Unesco World Heritage site, Rideau Canal — 126 miles of locks and waterways completed in 1832 and stretching from Ottawa to Lake Ontario — turns into an ice rink in the frosty depths of winter. For a bird's-eye perspective, go to Major's Hill Park, whose grassy bluffs also afford great views of the Ottawa River and Parliament, especially at sunset. Slip inside nearby Château Laurier, the castelike railway hotel opened in 1912. Just off the lobby hang portraits from the hometown photographer Yousuf Karsh, including his famous 1941 shot of a scowling Winston Churchill, taken seconds after Mr. Karsh snatched a cigar from the prime minister's mouth.

### Bar politics 6:30 p.m.

Politicians, staff members and policy wonks descend from Parliament in

including the Jockey Full of Bourbon (Buffalo Trace Bourbon, Taylor Fladgate Port, Ancho Reyes liqueur; 14 dollars). Then head to Elgin Street, home to many taverns and some of the city's better restaurants. A line often snakes up from the Manx, a tiny, below-ground pub with local beers on tap, including Broadhead Wildcard, a lightly bittered Ottawa ale.

## Saturday

### Bread run 10 a.m.

Why trek to a windswept industrial drag on a chilly Saturday morning? For some of the best bread in Ottawa, not to mention almond croissants, brioche, scones and more. Lines out the door attest to the popularity of the French-trained pastry chef Kevin Mathieson's Art-Is-In Bakery. Weekend mornings, the bright, unfinished space is crammed with patrons who come for loaves of Mr. Mathieson's white sourdough and "dynamite baguettes" (blistered crust over an explosion of air pockets). Try the breakfast sandwich from the cafe (on buttermilk, sourdough or "crazy grain" bread; 6.95 dollars), and try to resist the plate-size "Kronuts" (4.25 dollars).

### Neighborhood rising Noon

A once shady stretch of dilapidated houses and storefronts, Wellington West has morphed into Ottawa's "it" neighborhood. Inside Maker House Co., find quirky objets d'art, furniture and housewares, most locally made, including deer heads fashioned from card stock that you fold yourself, origami-style. Farther on, the ceramicist Ginger McCoy's Hintonburg Pottery showcases her turquoise-hued vessels, as well as other local art. Stop into the tasting room at Tooth and Nail; the microbrewery draws a flannel-wearing crowd for great small-batch beers, including Solo Mission, a bright, peachy, single-hopped pale ale.

### Market feast 3 p.m.

Built to accommodate Ottawa's 19th-century canal builders, the ByWard Market neighborhood is a mix of pubs, clubs, fine-food shops and boutiques. The 1926 Market Square building is worth a stop if only for Moulin de Provence, a boulangerie serving patisserie and Québécois classics such as tourtière, a minced-pork-and-beef pie. Across the street, the irresistibly stinky House of Cheese stocks savory aged Lankaster from Ontario (top prize in the 2013 Global Cheese Awards) and cheese curds for a DIY poutine. Nearby, the chocolatier Heinrich Stubbe has been making dark chocolate bars, truffles and a mean stollen for 27 years at Stubbe Chocolates. For a consummately Canadian sugar rush, stop by the origi-



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID GIRAL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

twinkling city while sipping a 16th-Floor Martini, made with local Top Shelf Vodka and served with blue-cheese stuffed olives (17 dollars). On ground level, head to the 1849 Château Lafayette (fittly nicknamed the Laff), said to be Ottawa's oldest tavern, complete with quart bottles of Labatt 50 and rowdy live music. Nearby, the mazelike Heart & Crown pub consists of five interconnected bars spanning a city block and linked by doorways, dark corridors and stairs. On a recent night, a band performed Irish drinking songs in the front of the house, while a D.J. spun vintage hip-hop in another wing.

## Sunday

### Gallery hideaway 10 a.m.

A menacing, house-size bronze spider (Maman, by Louise Bourgeois) stalks

the entrance to the National Gallery (admission, 12 dollars), normally the place to see Canadian art. But renovations have closed those galleries through mid-May. Intrepid visitors, however, will discover one of the world's largest collections of contemporary Inuit works on a basement floor. Sculptors working in stone, whale bone, walrus ivory, wood and antler offer a vision of life in the Far North. Familiar animal forms give way to unexpected chimeras, like Kiugak Ashoona's Bird Creature, part bird, part crab, part man, sculpted in luminous green serpentine.

### NorthDal shopping Noon

Accessible rents have transformed the north end of Dalhousie Street (North-Dal) into a hub of local, ascendant designers. Workshop offers muted Canadiana — silk-screened T-shirts featuring antique snowshoes, howling wolves and

other images (35 dollars). Up the street, Goods curates local prints, candles and pottery, including mugs (40 dollars) by Nina Marchewka. Warm up with a hot chai-der (part chai, part local Hall's apple cider) inside Ottawa's cafe chain Bridgehead, before checking out Victoire, which showcases Canadian fashions for "rebel girls with good manners."

### The other half 2 p.m.

A brisk walk over the Alexandra Bridge, a railway span completed in 1900, leads to Gatineau, the Francophone half of Canada's National Capital Region. There, the Canadian Museum of History (admission, 15 dollars) is largely under renovation until July, but it is worth a peek inside to see the Grand Hall. Towering totem poles from Haida Gwaii and the Pacific Coast stand beside a curving, six-story wall of windows, keeping silent sentry over the river.

**At the BeaverTails stand, which sells whole-wheat, deep-fried confections.**



Alexandra Bridge, with Gatineau in the background, as seen from Parliament Hill.

droves for Hill Hour (4 till 7, weeknights) at the Métropolitain, a Parisian-inspired brasserie and oyster bar. Cozy up to the vintage zinc bar to eavesdrop on political intrigue over oysters from Prince Edward Island (1.50 Canadian dollars, or \$1.12) and beers from the local brewery Kichesippi. Barkeeps in pressed vests keep glasses filled, and the conversation in English and French grows more heated as the evening progresses.

### Food bank 8 p.m.

A dose of urban chic just off Parliament Hill, Riviera opened in 2016 in an Art Deco bank building. (Yes, the vault is now a wine cellar.) Inside, a small, changing menu is served to a well-dressed crowd under 50-foot ceilings with brass fixtures. Sit at the kitchen bar and start with the tuna crudo with puffed quinoa (18 dollars) or shaved black truffle on toast (18 dollars), before moving on to exquisite homemade pastas or smoked short ribs on white-corn polenta (32 dollars). The wine list is complemented by inventive cocktails,

nal BeaverTails stand: the whole-wheat, deep-fried confections — slathered with everything from cinnamon and sugar to chocolate hazelnut — gained popularity here before going global.

### Diplomatic dining 6 p.m.

Just opposite the United States Embassy, Play Food & Wine is Stephen Beckta and Michael Moffatt's casual, small-plates restaurant, spread over two floors. (Their Beckta restaurant has long been synonymous with Ottawa fine dining.) Start with cauliflower and apple soup, with curry and apple cardamom chutney, served in a teacup (9 dollars), before moving on to hanger steak and frites (17 dollars). Desserts — such as the white Cheddar apple crumble with candied bacon (9 dollars) — can be matched with a dessert wine flight (three one-ounce glasses for 20 dollars).

### High and low sips 9 p.m.

On the 16th floor of the new Andaz hotel, Copper, is the conspiratorial rooftop lounge Ottawa had been missing. Lights are low, the better to admire views of the

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# 52 PLACES TO GO IN 2017

A roadmap to sparkling locales for those who roam



RENDERING: WALT DISNEY IMAGINEERING

## Your 2017 travel forecast

### Big changes are coming to airplane cabins, hotel loyalty programs and theme parks

BY STEPHANIE ROSENBLOOM

2017 is shaping up to be a year of big change for travelers. In addition to a new president whose policies could affect where and how Americans travel, there are also major changes on the way from leading travel and hospitality brands, including new airplane cabins, hotel loyalty programs and theme park expansions. Below, a guide to what to expect in the new year.

#### CHANGES TO AIRPLANES AND LOUNGES

**United Airlines** In February the company plans to roll out its new United Polaris business-class seats on a Boeing 777-300ER fleet — a move that United is calling its most significant product transformation in more than a decade. Each seat can be turned into a bed and has its own direct-aisle access. Mattress cushions will be available upon request, and pajamas will be available, also by request, on flights longer than 12 hours. Polaris business-class lounges — with daybeds, showers and hot meals — are also coming. (There's only one so far, at Chicago

O'Hare International Airport.)

At the same time that United is souping up its business class, it's also beginning to offer "basic economy" fares. Travelers who buy these lower-priced fares will not know their assigned seat until the day of departure, will be among the last to board, and will not be allowed to use the overhead bins (their carry-on item will have to fit under the seat in front of them). Not happy? Neither is Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, who in December issued a news release saying that this "poses one of the most restrictive policies on airline passengers we have seen in a long time."

**Delta Air Lines** All of the legacy carriers are segmenting their main cabins into basic and not-so-basic, and Delta has led the way. It already offers basic economy as well as two other types of main cabin seats. In 2017, Delta plans to introduce a new experience, known as Delta Premium Select, on certain international flights. Travelers in these seats will have up to 38 inches of pitch; blankets and pillows; seasonal menus; a Tumi amenity kit with Malin & Goetz products; power ports; and priority check-in, security and boarding. For business-class passengers, the airline will roll out its Delta One suites, each of which will have direct aisle access, a seat that becomes a bed, and its very own sliding door.

**American Airlines** Like Delta, American plans to segment its main cabin, creating basic and premium economy classes. First and business-class passengers can expect new, larger lounges,

and there will be free tableside meal service for first-class customers. The "flagship dining" experience will be introduced at John F. Kennedy International Airport, but it is expected to be offered in more airports, including Dallas-Fort Worth International, Los Angeles International and Miami International.

**Other Airlines** The merger of Virgin America and Alaska Airlines has been approved, creating the fifth largest airline in the United States. Beginning Jan. 9, members of Virgin's loyalty program will be able to enroll in Alaska's Mileage Plan. For more information, see [differentwork.com](http://differentwork.com).

At JetBlue, the airline's Mint service (its version of business class) will begin rolling out in more cities, including Fort Lauderdale, Fla., Las Vegas, San Diego and Seattle.

#### CHANGES TO HOTEL LOYALTY PROGRAMS

**Hyatt** In March, Hyatt will replace its loyalty program, Hyatt Gold Passport, with a new program called World of Hyatt. The program will move from two to three elite tiers: Discoverist, Explorist and Globalist. (The entry-level tier is "member.") And your status will be determined by nights or by points (no longer by stays). For each eligible United States dollar spent, members will earn five points toward status. These are points earned toward status so, for instance, to obtain the highest status (Globalist) you could earn either

100,000 points or 60 qualifying nights. Members can also earn status through events and meetings. Current program members will retain their membership number, and any qualifying nights and points earned from Jan. 1 through Dec. 31, 2017, will count toward earning status for the year. Details are at [Goldpassport.hyatt.com](http://Goldpassport.hyatt.com).

**Taj Hotels Resorts and Palaces; Shangri-La Hotels and Resorts** In March, these two luxury chains, based in Mumbai and Hong Kong, will introduce a rewards program alliance. Known as Warmer Welcomes, the program will link the Taj Inner Circle and the Shangri-La Golden Circle loyalty programs. If you're a member of either program, you will have many more places where you can earn and redeem points (across 200 hotels in 27 countries) for awards at both brands. And if you have top-tier elite status at one brand, you'll receive top-tier status at the other.

**Marriott International** In 2016, Marriott acquired Starwood Hotels & Resorts, creating the world's largest hotel company, with more than 30 brands in more than 110 countries. In 2017, those looking for luxury will have even more options, when Marriott International opens nearly 30 luxury hotels, including Ritz-Carlton properties in Langkawi, off the coast of Malaysia, and in Astana, Kazakhstan; St. Regis properties in cities such as Shanghai and Cairo; W Hotels in places like Tel Aviv, Panama City and Shanghai; and Luxury Collection properties in areas including California, Sin-

gapore, Panama City and Havana where, after a renovation, Hotel Inglaterra will also join the brand.

#### CHANGES TO THEME PARKS

**Universal Orlando Resort** This summer, Universal plans to open a new water park, Volcano Bay, with rides such as the Krakatau Aqua Coaster with canoes that slide through a volcano, and the Ko'okiri Body Plunge featuring a 70-degree fall through a drop door.

**Walt Disney World Resort** Part of the largest expansion in the history of Disney's Animal Kingdom, Pandora — The World of Avatar, is scheduled to open in 2017 with a mythical land inspired by the James Cameron film. Visitors will be transported to other realms on rides such as Avatar Flight of Passage, where guests are made to feel as if they are flying on a banshee over the jungles of Pandora, and Na'vi River Journey, a boat ride through bioluminescent forests.

**Legoland Florida Resort** In January, Lego Ninjago, a theme park land influenced by Lego building sets and the "Lego Ninjago: Masters of Spinjitzu" television show, will open, allowing children to wander through a magical martial arts kingdom.

**SeaWorld Orlando** Among the new experiences to be unveiled this summer is a virtual reality update to the Kraken roller coaster. Guests will wear headsets to help transform the "deep sea mission" ride into what the park is calling "the only VR coaster experience in Florida."

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GOING PLACES TOGETHER

## 52 PLACES TO GO IN 2017

Our 12th annual list of places to go and what to expect when you get there



**Agra, India** Children playing in open fields near the Taj Mahal, which will become easier to navigate with a new orientation center this year. Many new attractions in the area give visitors more places to see nearby.

PORAS CHAUDHARY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

# Adventures to take now

New attractions, fine food, sights you cannot see anywhere else. And lions and lemurs, too

## 1. Canada

*A country with world to explore.*

Canada is huge — the second-largest country by area. It's also a world unto itself, with cosmopolitan cities, barely explored natural wonders and everything in between. And this is the year to visit: In honor of the 150th anniversary of its confederation, when the original colonies came together as one country, Canada is rolling out the welcome mat. All of the country's more than 200 national parks and historic sites are offering free admission through the year, from the turquoise lakes and mountain peaks of Banff in Alberta to the rolling dunes and red sandstone cliffs of Prince Edward Island along the Atlantic Coast to the newest reserve, the glacial-rounded Mealy Mountains in Labrador. Meanwhile, in the capital, Ottawa, a full year of celebration is planned. More events will be on offer in Montreal, which turns 375. And did we mention the exchange rate? A weak Canadian dollar means American travelers get more for their money. So 2017 offers an ideal time to go north.

REMY SCALZA

## 2. Atacama Desert, Chile

*Luxury in the world's highest desert.*

The Atacama draws adventure seekers and stargazers to its vast, otherworldly landscape of wind-carved dunes and kaleidoscopic salt lakes. Sunrise balloon rides, which started in August, reveal its staggering beauty from above. The luxurious, recently renovated Explora Atacama hotel reopened in December; overnight rates include guided desert excursions and nighttime access to the hotel's on-site observatory, equipped with Chile's largest telescope.

ARABELLA BOWEN

## 3. Agra, India

*Attractions beyond the Taj Mahal.*

Navigating the stunning, sprawling Taj Mahal will get easier when an orientation center opens this year, but 2017 also promises new reasons to venture beyond: Nearby streets have been repaved; the Agra Pavilion, a glass-walled dining complex, will host more than a dozen vendors and restaurants; and the Mughal Museum, a collaboration with the architect David Chipperfield and Studio Archohm, has broken ground. In addition, India's fastest train and longest expressway now cut travel time from Delhi and Lucknow.

RATHA TEP

## 4. Zermatt, Switzerland

*A new perspective on the Matterhorn.*

Zermatt, neighbor to the legendary Matterhorn, has been luring active travelers since 1898, when the Gornergrat train — Switzerland's first electric cog rail — began operating. In time for the rail's 200th anniversary, the five-star Riffelalp Resort, on the edge of a 7,290-foot-high plateau facing the Matterhorn, reopened in December with updated rooms and ski-in and ski-out access. Higher up, at Riffelberg, a permanent open-air theater will open this summer with performances of "Romeo and Juliet on Gornergrat."

ERIN LEVI

## 5. Botswana

*Old lions and new digs.*

If you've seen an African wildlife documentary in the last 30 years, chances are good that the filmmakers Dereck and Beverly Joubert had a hand in it. This spring the Jouberts, National Geographic explorers in residence, along with the company Great Plains Conservation, will open Duba Plains Camp, a luxury tented camp in a private 77,000-acre portion of the Okavango Delta that's rife with lions, elephants and species specific to northern Botswana like the red lechwe. Expect safaris on boats with built-in camera mounts (when water levels allow) and a chance to see the descendants of Ma di Tau, the



ANDY HASLAM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Croatia, England and Botswana

Clockwise from above, the city of Dubrovnik, Croatia, known for its limestone-paved streets and 80-foot-high walls surrounding Old Town, is starting an electric-scooter sharing program; a harbor in the Cornish port town of Penzance, England; and an elephant at the Duba Plains Camp in Botswana, scheduled to open this spring.



JOAO SILVA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

star of "The Last Lions."

TIM NEVILLE

## 6. Dubrovnik, Croatia

*New ways to the Dalmatian Coast.*

With its limestone-paved streets and 80-foot-high walls surrounding Old Town,

this star of the Dalmatian Coast has long been able to rest on its aesthetic laurels — you might recognize it as King's Landing on "Game of Thrones." In recent years, though, it has been adding to the luster. This summer, the city is starting an electric-scooter sharing program, allowing for locals and visitors to zip up



ANDY HASLAM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

and down the coast to more private beaches. The four-star beachside Hotel Kompas is a comfy addition to the scene, and the long-awaited renovation of the grande dame Hotel Excelsior will be finished in June. The new restaurant Portrait is serving elevated takes on Dalmatian fare in Old Town.

DAVID FARLEY

## 52 PLACES TO GO IN 2017

**Osaka, Japan**

Japan's culinary scene is alive and at work in Osaka, home to 91 Michelin-starred restaurants.

LAURYN ISHAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Detroit**

Below, the colorful exterior of the Museum of Contemporary Art on Woodward Avenue, painted by Andrew Kuo. A new streetcar line is scheduled to open in April.



KEVIN MIYAZAKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**7. Grand Teton National Park**

*A total solar eclipse amid the splendor.*

On Aug. 21, the continental United States will experience a total solar eclipse for the first time in 38 years. The eclipse will cut a diagonal swath across America, but city lights and overcast skies can be obstacles to prime viewing. A good bet is Grand Teton in Wyoming, which will get a generous two minutes and 20 seconds of darkness. If you miss the eclipse, you'll still be surrounded by the jagged peaks, mountain lakes and wildlife of a pristine national park in its summer glory.

ELISABETH EAVES

**8. Tijuana, Mexico**

*A border town with a great food scene.*

Though still rough around the edges, this fast-growing border town is on the rise, with a luxury condo boom and a new \$60 million bus rapid transit system. Tijuana is also having a culinary renaissance, fueled by craft breweries, stylish coffee shops and globally informed restaurants that range from Telefónica Gastro Park's hipster food trucks to bustling Baja Med spots like La Querencia in the riverside Zona Río neighborhood.

CHANEY KWAK

**9. Detroit**

*A city makes good on a comeback.*

Detroit's revitalization, after its 2013 bankruptcy filing, has long been building. In 2015, it was named a Unesco City of Design. But 2017 may be the year promise becomes reality. The new QLine streetcar is expected to open in April, connecting the central Woodward Avenue corridor some 3.3 miles between downtown and the revived New Center area. It passes through Midtown, home to the Detroit Institute of Arts, and the entertainment-focused District Detroit, where a stadium opening this fall will be shared by the Detroit Red Wings and, in a return from the suburbs, the Detroit Pistons.

ELAINE GLUSAC

**10. Hamburg, Germany**

*A haven for architecture and design.*

Zaha Hadid's meandering promenade along the Elbe recently breathed new life into the riverfront and the nearby 19th-century Warehouse District, which made the Unesco World Heritage list in 2015. Adding to the sheen, the much-anticipated Herzog & de Meuron-designed Elbphilharmonie is scheduled to open this month. The 360-foot-tall glass structure sits atop an old warehouse, its spiky roof evoking sails and the city's maritime past. And if all that architectural gawking tires you out, the uber-luxurious Fontenay will open this summer, the first five-star hotel in this northern German city in 18 years.

DAVID FARLEY

**11. Marrakesh**

*Art in a fashionable new museum.*

A new museum dedicated to the work of the fashion icon Yves Saint Laurent will debut this fall in Marrakesh, showcasing thousands of sketches, couture garments and accessories. The 43,000-square-foot structure sits adjacent to the Jardin Majorelle, which will celebrate its 60th anniversary as a public garden in 2017 (Saint Laurent saved it from demolition). The much-visited attraction also houses a museum dedicated to Berber culture and the designer's private residence, Villa Oasis.

NORA WALSH

**12. Greenville, S.C.**

*The next Charleston?*

Though small, Greenville, nestled in the Blue Ridge Mountains, may be the next major food destination, with four big

openings: Husk from Sean Brock, the Kitchen by Wolfgang Puck, Jianna from Michael Kramer and the speakeasy Vault & Vator. Before feasting, enjoy the city's many public artworks along the tree-lined streets, or grab a pour over at Methodical Coffee en route to biking the 21-mile Swamp Rabbit Trail.

DANIEL SCHEFFLER

**13. Pedregal, Ecuador**

*A natural beauty that's still natural.*

The earthquake that rattled Ecuador last year mostly shattered areas where international travelers seldom go. Now man-made threats may compromise El Pedregal, a popular place for visitors before or after Galápagos excursions. The valley south of Quito is surrounded by huge volcanoes and grassy steppes where haciendas serve as bases for travelers to go hiking, mountain biking and horseback riding. Go before June to see the valley before new power lines encroach on condors and views.

TIM NEVILLE

**14. Penzance, England**

*A glimpse of 'Poldark' country.*

Penzance, the Cornish port town in the southeast of England, is having a moment, thanks to the popularity of "Poldark," the BBC costume drama set in 18th-century Cornwall. The new Chapel House B&B joins a local favorite, the Artists Residence, while restaurants such as the Tolcarne Inn, in nearby Newlyn, and the Shore have put Penzance on the map as a culinary destination. Perhaps the best thing to see in Penzance — aside from the scenery — is the Art Deco-inspired Jubilee pool, one of Europe's last saltwater lidos. The enormous triangular public pool was built in the 1930s and just underwent a \$3.73 million renovation.

DAVID SHAFTEL

**15. Osaka, Japan**

*The ultimate Japanese feast awaits.*

If Kyoto represents Japan's spirit, and Tokyo its heart, Osaka is the country's insatiable appetite. The city's culinary legacy is alive and at work in the neighborhoods of Tsuruhashi and Fukushima, and in the 91 Michelin-starred restaurants spread throughout the city — like Ajikitcho, specializing in traditional Japanese cooking, and Taian, with a char-grilled focus. On April 28, it will all come together at the International Festival Utago ("feast"), a 10-day food festival, celebrating flavors from Japan's 47 prefectures.

KENAN CHRISTIANSEN

**16. Stockholm**

*A somewhat cheaper Scandinavia.*

Free state-owned museums will make visits to Sweden's capital less expensive in 2017. Over a dozen dropped their hefty entry fees last year, including the Museum of Modern Art, the Museum of Natural History, the Swedish History Museum and Skokloster Castle. Add to that a favorable exchange rate for Americans — the krona is about 20 percent weaker against the dollar than it was two years ago — and this beautiful city suddenly looks even more attractive.

INGRID K. WILLIAMS

**17. Sikkim, India**

*An accessible haven for spiritual seekers.*

With its first airport opening next year and its first rail link in the works, the remote northeastern Indian state of Sikkim keeps getting closer. Adventurous souls can trek Khangchendzonga National Park, a Himalayan haven of forests, valleys and mountains — including the world's third-highest peak — that earned Unesco World Heritage status this year. Spiritual seekers, meanwhile, can pursue nirvana around the historically Buddhist land, from centuries-old Buddhist monasteries like Tashiding and Pemayangtse to the mu-



ANDREAS MEICHSNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



DANIELLE VILLASANA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Ecuador, Germany and Stockholm**

Clockwise from above left, riding horseback in Pedregal, Ecuador, a valley surrounded by volcanoes and grassy steppes; the Warehouse District in Hamburg, Germany, which was added to the Unesco World Heritage list in 2015; Skokloster Castle in Stockholm, one of over a dozen museums in the city that dropped their hefty entry fees last year.

seum-like Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. And load up on spices, fruits and vegetables. Sikkim became the first fully organic state in India last year.

SETH SHERWOOD

**18. Île de Porquerolles, France**

*Plage, pétanque, pastis: parfait.*

Only 10 minutes by ferry from the mainland, this four-mile-long under-the-radar Mediterranean island is an unexplored refuge with mountain-biking trails, sandy beaches and a single rustic vineyard offering free daily wine tastings. Mostly national parkland, the car-free island has one idyllic village where you'll hear the clinking of both pétanque boules and glasses of pastis. The place to stay is Le Mas du Langoustier, an upscale hotel perched between two coves on the western end of the island.

INGRID K. WILLIAMS

**19. Madagascar**

*An island is an eco-tourism paradise.*

Madagascar has stabilized since its elections in 2013, and is luring tourists back to its stunning combination of jungles, beaches and reefs. Lemurs and chameleons are the headline attractions in this island nation the size of France, which lies off the east coast of Africa. Whale sharks and humpbacks cruise the undersea world, fat-trunked baobab trees dot the land and more than 90 percent of the island's mammals are not found anywhere else. Eco-friendly lodging options include luxurious island re-

treats like the new Miavana and rain forest camps like Masoala Forest Lodge. And it's not as hard to get to as you might imagine: Air France and South African Airways offer one-stop flights from New York.

ELISABETH EAVES

**20. Sanya, China**

*China's beach destination of choice.*

With its stunning white sand beaches and shimmering blue waters, Sanya on Hainan Island, China's southernmost province, is known as the Hawaii of China. The destination is in the midst of a resort boom, and these eye-catching properties are reason enough to visit. There are already a Park Hyatt, a St. Regis and a Shangri-La. And late last year, Ian Schrager's luxe Edition — a 500-room resort with a long list of amenities — made its debut. Next up, in March, is the tony One & Only Sanya, set amid 28 acres of coconut palms.

SHIVANI VORA

**21. Cyprus**

*Renewal on a Mediterranean island.*

The Cypriot city of Paphos has prepared a slew of events for its role as a 2017 European Capital of Culture. But the entire island boasts renewed attractions, especially in Nicosia, where the A.G. Leventis Gallery opened its collection of over 800 artworks in 2014. The renovated Altius Boutique Hotel and trendy hot spots like Cook Shop, To Elliniko Ouzomezedopoleio and the Pivo Microbrewery offer new lodgings, food and

drinks in the capital.

EVAN RAIL

**22. Great Barrier Reef, Australia**

*Tourists can help save a reef.*

Increased sea temperatures, caused by climate change, El Niño and other factors, have caused extensive coral bleaching, mostly in the northern sections of Australia's 1,430-mile long Great Barrier Reef. The world's largest living organism — a mosaic of some 2,900 coral reefs and 900 islands — faces serious threats but conservation efforts are bearing fruit, and visitors can play a role in saving the reef. A turtle rehabilitation center on Fitzroy Island welcomes volunteers, as does the Lizard Island Research Station, and a host of other citizen science groups. And new or recently refurbished resorts on Hayman, Orpheus, Pumpkin and Lizard Islands offer idyllic places to explore this fragile, extraordinary natural wonder.

DAVE SEMINARA

**23. Minneapolis**

*Painting a Midwestern city purple.*

There's a lot going on in the City of Lakes this year: the new U.S. Bank Stadium is hosting the X Games in July, and the Walker Art Center will open its popular sculpture garden after an extensive renovation in June. But, dearly beloved, you may be gathered in Minneapolis to celebrate the life of one of its most famous sons: Prince. Since his untimely death

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## 52 PLACES TO GO IN 2017

## Adventures to take now

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in April, fans of the pop genius can paint the town purple: Take a tour of First Avenue, the club featured in the 1984 classic film "Purple Rain," or go on a city-wide Prince-themed tour with Waconi-ville Tours. Most exciting, Paisley Park, Prince's private domain for two decades, about 20 miles outside of town, has opened for public tours, allowing fans a look behind the purple veil.

DAVID FARLEY

## 24. Kingston, Jamaica

*New lodging, local eats and, yes, music.*

The capital of Jamaica furthers its case as cultural destination, not just a stop-over to the beach. Stay at the Courtyard by Marriott, Kingston's first new hotel in over a decade, or at the SoHo-style Spanish Court Hotel, which has added a second pool and will open its Montego Bay branch in the summer. Eat like an Olympic legend at Usain Bolt's restaurant Tracks & Records, or get all things jerk at the hot spot Chateau 7 Juice. Take in old-school reggae at the One World Ska and Rocksteady Music Festival, launched this November; at the newly opened Peter Tosh Museum, honoring the former Wailer; or at one of the dub music parties debuting around the city. And if you still want beach, hop on the freshly completed North-South Highway and arrive in Ocho Rios in under two hours.

BAZ DREISINGER

## 25. Comporta, Portugal

*The anti-Algarve, an hour from Lisbon.*

The Algarve may be chockablock with tourists and grand hotels, but hippie-chic Comporta, a protected nature reserve and former fisherman's village in the Alentejo region, is deliberately underdeveloped and teeming with creative European A-listers. This year its only major hotel — Sublime Comporta, with rustic rooms and suites scattered across forests of pine, cork and olive — opened a restaurant, Celeiro, inspired by the area's old rice barns, along with 22 luxury villas. Nearby, Aman Resorts broke ground on a project that fell through, leaving locals buzzing about which big-name company will take up where they left off. Go before the branding happens.

BAZ DREISINGER

## 26. Kazakhstan

*From oil state to luxury eco-destination.*

Ten years after Borat put it on tourist maps, Kazakhstan aims to be a refuge of Silk Road luxury. A boom of hotels in the capital, Astana, include this year's openings of a St. Regis and Ritz-Carlton. But an earnest transition from oil state to eco-destination is also underway. Astana hosts the 2017 World Expo, which highlights future energy solutions and is home to a pavilion powered by clean energy, while the biodiverse Tian Shan mountains were included on Unesco's 2016 World Heritage list. The tour outfitters Remote Lands and Intrepid Travel have also started new tours.

ADAM H. GRAHAM



LAURYN ISHAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



DANIELLE VILLASANA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Thailand and Mexico**  
From far left, the arts scene has taken off in Chiang Mai, Thailand; Puerto Escondido, Mexico, has emerged as a beachy, bohemian alternative to Oaxaca City.

## 27. Gabon

*Wildlife without mass tourism, yet.*

Hippos surfing waves. Elephants strolling sandy beaches. Gorillas, man-

drills, sea turtles, whales. Gabon, a politically stable African country with abundant wildlife, isn't on many must-see lists, largely because of its lack of infrastructure. It's still challenging to move within the country and hotels are rare, but the government is working to

change that. In the last five years, it has improved the country's international airport, introduced an online visa application, established a national park system in long-protected reserves and neared completion of a national coastal road. Last year, two lodges reopened,

notably Loango Lodge, situated at the main entry point to Loango National Park and the gorilla habituation project. And in 2017, two more lodges will open near the Langoué Bai and Lopé national parks.

KELLY DINARDO

Need an idea? Consider a Prince-themed tour in Minneapolis, an electric scooter ride to the beach in Croatia or a reggae festival in Jamaica.



ROBERT RAUSCH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Kingston, Jamaica

A street market in the Jamaican capital, which is becoming of a cultural destination.



ANDY HASLAM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Comporta, Portugal

A clams dish at Celeiro, the new restaurant at the Sublime Comporta hotel.





## 52 PLACES TO GO IN 2017



MATTHEW MILLMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**28. Athens**

*An art boom in an ancient capital.*

Prices have dropped, but the Greek debt crisis has not dampened Athens's thriving arts scene. Recent years have seen a surge of galleries, collectives and non-

profit art organizations built for leaner times, like Radio Athènes, which hosts pop-up lectures and performances, and the immigration-focused Nomadic Architecture Network. In October, the renovated EMST National Museum of Contemporary Art opened in a former brew-



ANDY HASLAM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ery, while the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Cultural Center, designed by Renzo Piano, opened in August. Athens will co-host the 2017 edition of documenta, the influential art exhibition held in Kassel, Germany, since it started in 1955.

CHARLY WILDER

**29. Northwest Puerto Rico**

*A new place for surfers and foodies.*

A handful of New York exiles are defying the island's troubles and turning the tiny surf town of Isabela into a hot spot that draws those escaping the East

Coast winter. The Brooklyn-raised chef Wilson Davalos opened the chic, 20-seat restaurant CLMDO in 2014, which sparked a host of other ventures. Highlights include La Central, a lively craft cocktail bar, and the just-opened branch of a Rockaway Beach favorite, Uma's, a small resort that comprises a beachfront restaurant and surf shop with rooms for rent.

NELLY MCSHANE WULFHART

**30. Chiang Mai, Thailand**

*An avalanche of art in Thailand.*

January's second annual Galleries Night Chiang Mai and February's Documentary Arts Festival, a weeklong biennial, provide opportunities to discover the proliferating art spaces in the historic northern city. This year's crop included Chiang Mai's first contemporary art museum, MAIIAM; the multidisciplinary Asian Culture Station; and Thapae East, an art and performance venue, among others. Art pilgrims can crash at the chic X2 Chiang Mai Riverside hotel, opening next year, or the Art Mai Gallery hotel, decorated by Thai artists.

SETH SHERWOOD

**31. Napa Valley, Calif.**

*A new generation of openings.*

Long regarded as the country's classic wine region, this year the area will gain fresh life with the addition of a number of hotels and restaurants, not to mention a new emphasis on bespoke beer from the Fieldwork Brewery Company, which opened in October (and joins five other breweries on this 29-mile strip of wine country). Meanwhile, Las Alcobas, a hotel designed by Yabu Pushelberg, just opened its doors in St. Helena, and Two Birds/One Stone (owned by Kenzo wines) brings a yakitori-inspired dining spot to the area. Don't miss a tasting at the new JaM cellars, which moonlights as a recording studio and bespoke fashion salon.

ONDINE COHANE

**32. Puerto Escondido, Mexico**

*An artsy enclave on the Oaxacan Coast.*

In recent years, the former fishing community of Puerto Escondido, with its palapa-lined beaches and long-established surf scene, has seen the opening of the stylish Hotel Escondido; a number of imaginative haute Mexican restaurants, including Almoraduz; and a new arts complex, Casa Wabi, founded by one of Mexico's most famous living artists, Bosco Sodi. With Oaxaca state's capital, Oaxaca City, grappling again with political violence last June, coastal Puerto Escondido has emerged as a beachy, bohemian alternative.

FREDA MOON

**33. Sedona, Ariz.**

*Sun-soaked luxury that's Zika-free.*

Snowbirds have traditionally escaped gray skies by fleeing to the tropics. But with continued C.D.C. warnings about the Zika virus, some travelers — especially potential parents — are seeking mosquito-free destinations. Consider Sedona, which basks in the dry warmth of the Arizona desert, its natural beauty gleaming under a new sheen of luxury. Last year, resorts like L'Auberge de Sedona and Hilton Sedona Resort at Bell Rock completed multimillion-dollar renovations. New restaurants like Mariposa, L'Auberge's Cress on Oak Creek and SaltRock Southwest Kitchen have attracted national praise. And the growing wine industry draws oenophiles eager to sample the vintages of the Verde Valley.

ANN MAH

**34. Madrid**

*Way beyond tapas in the Spanish capital.*

Dining in Madrid is increasingly an international experience, with extraordinary and innovative Japanese, Brazilian, Vietnamese, Peruvian, Mexican or Indian cuisine. Among the most exciting new restaurants are Sandro Silva's Amazónico (with Brazilian and Indian tandoori elements), Dani Garcia's BiBo Madrid (an "Andalusian brasserie"), Chuka Ramen Bar (a Japanese take on

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GOING PLACES TOGETHER



## 52 PLACES TO GO IN 2017



LAURYN ISHAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Ryuku Islands, Japan, and Portland, Ore.** At left, the Miyanoura River on Yakushima, a Japanese island covered in cedar forests. Above, although it's been spoofed in "Portlandia," Portland just keeps getting better, including a new light rail system (shown) and a recently opened food hall.

## FRUGAL TRAVELER

## Savvy 2017 travel steps

It's a great time to visit Britain, and to let an app sneak money into a new savings account

BY LUCAS PETERSON

Saving on flights, hotels and other aspects of travel is a question of how much you value your time versus hours and energy spent. You can scour the internet for low prices on rooms and airfares, but at some point you just have to pull the trigger so you can start planning your trip. Keeping that in mind, there are still some great, relatively easy ways to get more bang for your travel buck in the new year. Here are eight things to think about as we boldly forge into 2017.

**1. SAVE MONEY** without thinking about it. Spending less money on that next trip is all fine and good — but what if you don't have any money socked away in the first place? The Digit app is trying to make saving for that next special excursion (and saving in general) an effortless experience. The free app analyzes your financial situation and spending habits, then pulls a few dollars from your checking account every so often and deposits them into a separate F.D.I.C.-insured savings account that Digit opens for you. You can tweak the app's savings habits, chatting with it in a text thread and telling it to be more or less aggressive depending on how quickly you want to save. (Digit is confident in its algorithm and offers overdraft protection, as well.) While it might be scary to have a robot taking money from your checking account seemingly at random, reviews from users have generally been positive.

**2. CONSIDER BRITAIN.** I don't always feel good about exploiting the weakness of a nation's currency — but with the United Kingdom (and London in particular), you'll forgive me for having no such qualms. After Britons voted to leave the European Union, the pound sterling, which was valued at over 1.6 to the dollar just a couple of years ago, plunged to

around 1.17 to the dollar in October, making Britain one of the best travel values in the world right now. Suddenly, that £5 cappuccino on Oxford Street is no longer cause for outright alarm. A quick look at the travel aggregator Trivago shows hundreds of hotel rooms available for under £100 a night for a weekend in mid-April. While London will never truly be a bargain, if you have always wanted to go, this may be as cheap as it's going to get. As for feeling guilty — an argument can be made that American tourist dollars are exactly what an ailing economy needs.

**3. IT'S THE WILD WEST** for airfares. With European low-budget carriers like Norwegian Airlines and Wow Air aggressively expanding their routes state-side, there is no better time than now to go with whatever company rolls out the lowest prices. And there are some truly head-scratching low fares out there: As I write this, Norwegian is offering \$585 round-trip, nonstop fares between Los Angeles and London in April, and I just found a \$306 round-trip flight from Newark to London on Wow Air (with one stop in Iceland), also in April. Even the larger carriers are slashing fares: I'm currently able to find round-trip flights from Boston to Beijing on Air Canada for a mere \$485.

**4. OR, PICK AN AIRLINE,** any airline — and stick with it. There is another side to that coin: Sometimes allegiance to a particular airline can pay off. The turning over of the calendar year resets the accumulation of qualifying miles and dollars that airlines track to assign status, so if you're planning to stick with a particular carrier to reap the potential benefits of loyalty, January is the time to start. A new year gives even modest travelers a chance to shoot for low-level status on a major airline.

If you travel even somewhat regularly between a few predictable destinations, you can achieve the lowest tier of status on one of the major carriers by the end of the calendar year. Flying round-trip every six weeks between New York and Los Angeles, for example, could be enough to reach the lowest status (silver) on Delta Air Lines. What does that get you? Quite a bit: Free ac-

cess to Delta Comfort Plus, which could ordinarily cost you \$120 on each leg, along with priority boarding and a free checked bag. (Don't expect any upgrades to first class, though.)

**5. GET FLEXIBLE.** "If your travel plans aren't 100 percent finalized, learn the rules of your preferred airlines in relation to holding a ticket before purchasing it," said Mark Orłowski, a travel contributor at Marketplace Morning Report. Sometimes it can actually help to do a bit of research and use a different partner airline that is part of the same alliance. For example, if you have Chase points and are looking at redeeming a United Airlines award flight, consider transferring those points to Singapore Airlines instead of United. Why? You can use Singapore miles to book awards on other Star Alliance airlines (including United) while benefiting from Singapore's more generous fee policies. Changing an award ticket booked with United miles could cost you a whopping \$125. If redeemed through Singapore, changing that same award ticket would cost you only \$20.

**6. TRACK YOUR PRICES** after a purchase. Citi Price Rewind is a service that will refund you up to \$500 an item, and \$2,500 per year, if you buy an eligible

product (think jackets and sleeping bags) with your Citi card and the price drops within the next 60 days. The best part? It will do the tracking for you automatically when you register your purchase (made with a Citi card, naturally) on its database of retailers. You can search, too, and if you find an advertised price that is lower, you can initiate a refund request. It's a painless way to avoid the stress of wondering if you're getting a good price. (Other cards offer price protection as well, but Citi makes it easy.) You can also do monitoring on your own: The site Camelcamelcamel tracks items on Amazon and offers data on price history, which can help you decide when to buy.

**7. FOCUS ON POINTS,** not miles. Legacy loyalists who have hoarded their miles over the last several years have learned this lesson the hard way: Miles are getting less and less valuable. Frequent-flyer programs at all three major carriers have gone through changes that have left many travelers less than pleased, to put it generously. If there is a bright side to this, it's that credit card points are more plentiful and valuable than they have ever been. "The trend I see is more focus on nonairline/hotel branded cards and more focus on transferable points

cards that allow for more flexibility when booking travel and don't have blackout dates or capacity controls," said Brian Kelly, the founder of the website The Points Guy.

There are some incredibly generous credit card sign-up bonuses available now, including 100,000-point offers from certain Chase and American Express products. While you certainly shouldn't take opening a new line of credit lightly, those bonuses alone will be enticing to many: 100,000 points can be worth as much as \$2,000 when redeemed directly for travel.

**8. CHECK OUT PROJECT FI.** Sick of switching SIM cards or paying outrageous overages to your phone carrier while overseas? Google's Project Fi charges flat rates of \$20 per month for unlimited talk and text, as well as \$10 per gigabyte of data. Even better, Project Fi offers unlimited messaging and no roaming data charges in over 135 countries. You can use your phone as you normally would — provided you're using a compatible phone. (You knew there would be a catch, right?) Officially, Project Fi works only on Google's Pixel, Nexus 6P and Nexus 5X. At least it will transfer over your existing number if you decide to make the switch.



ANDY RASH

## So how did we get here?

What makes a No. 1 destination and other questions you might have

For the 12th straight year, the Travel section presents its annual Places to Go issue. You will likely have some questions: How did the No. 1 spot get there? Why is my favorite spot not on the list? What's the deal with those 360 videos online at [nytimes.com/52places](http://nytimes.com/52places)? Here are some frequently asked questions about how we chose our 52 Places to Go in 2017.

**What made Canada the top choice? And why would you choose an entire country?**

Canada has it all (O.K., maybe not

tropical beaches). It's a world unto itself, with Vancouver Island surf breaks, culinary delights in Toronto and Montreal, and natural glories of parks like Banff in Calgary and Cape Breton Highlands in Nova Scotia.

And, let's face it, clichés of Mounties and hockey aside, Canada remains a terra incognita for Americans and much of the world. It's a great time to correct that, as the country celebrates its 150th anniversary this year (which means free admission all year to those national parks) and currently offers a generous exchange rate with the United States dollar.

**What is special about the list online?**

Look at the interactive version of the list on a computer or mobile device and you'll notice a bunch of 360 videos that

allow you to explore some of these places in a newly immersive way.

"Travel is a great match for 360 videos because the medium provides a vivid a sense of place," said Maureen Towey, the senior producer for 360 News at The Times. "We ask our shooters to be adventurous in their camera placement. When they ask if they can rig the camera to a motorcycle, a hot air balloon or a ski lift, we say yes every time."

On a computer, you'll also notice a stunning drone video, shot in Tofino on the western coast of Vancouver Island. "After many wet days, there was one morning the clouds broke and the waves were a bit better," said Josh Haner, a staff photographer who shot the footage. "As my drone's batteries were running out, I looked to the right and a

beautiful rainbow filled the beach. It was a spectacular 45 minutes."

**How do you start the process?**

We do our regular contributors, many of whom live overseas or roam the globe, for ideas. We get hundreds.

**What are you looking for in those ideas?**

First, why now? That is, why is this the year to go to a particular place? We also aim for a geographic and thematic diversity. And we look for a mix of destinations both well known and off the beaten path. (That means we often exclude the very obvious spots; even though cities like London, Berlin and Tokyo are always exciting, they didn't make this year's list.)

**How do you narrow it down to the final list?**

We look for a mix of destinations both well known and off the beaten path. (That means we often exclude the very obvious spots; sorry, London, Berlin and Tokyo.)

A marathon-length meeting in which we discuss each idea. We get pretty punchy toward the end but are always happy with the final list.

**My favorite destination didn't make the list. Why not?**

The 52 places we select are, of course, just the start. There are thousands of wonderful destinations to consider. We'd love to hear your suggestions — use the #52places hashtag on Instagram to suggest yours.



# Going places together

Falling in love with the sights and sounds of a new city all starts with your journey there. Travel with our award-winning cabin crew and you can look forward to an exceptional travel experience when you fly to any of the more than 150 places we serve worldwide.

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