

# The New York Times

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## For Europe, uncertainty in U.S. shift

Wolfgang Ischinger

### OPINION

MUNICH America owes Donald J. Trump an open mind and a chance to lead, Hillary Clinton said on Wednesday. So does Europe.

But understandably, Europeans are deeply worried about some of the views expressed by Mr. Trump during the campaign. This moment of trans-Atlantic uncertainty must end quickly. It is essential for the president-elect to explain his plans without delay. How will he square the circle between strengthening America's global role while at the same time reducing America's foreign commitments — both goals he has announced? If he really means what he says about the value of NATO (or lack thereof), what exactly does he intend to do?

Both Europe and Mr. Trump need to switch now from campaign mode to policy mode. Instead of waiting for the Trump inaugural speech, Europe

America's strongest allies expect a clear commitment to the trans-Atlantic security partnership.

should enumerate its own policy expectations and demonstrate how much the United States can continue to benefit from a close partnership with it. First, European allies expect a clear

commitment to the trans-Atlantic security partnership. Mr. Trump should reaffirm America's security guarantee in NATO, never questioned by any president since its founding in 1949. As a 2016 survey by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs has shown, a vast majority of Americans continue to believe in the value of their country's alliances and partnerships. Even 60 percent of Trump supporters said they wanted to increase or at least maintain the commitment to NATO.

On this basis, Mr. Trump might then also be able to engage directly with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and try to bring about a new détente. Europe would certainly not be opposed to a renewed push for summit diplomacy. But these efforts must not compromise the security of our Eastern European allies.

Not reassuring the Europeans would be tantamount to pulling the rug out from under the NATO alliance. Historically, it has always been cheaper for the United States to actively underwrite European security instead of leaving Europe largely on its own. President-elect Trump can and should push for more equitable burden-sharing.

The Europeans may not be easy

ISCHINGER, PAGE 16



Migrants from Honduras and El Salvador last month at a shelter in Tapachula, Mexico, near the Guatemalan border. "It's really a refugee crisis," a United Nations official there said.

## A surge of families fleeing gangs

TAPACHULA, MEXICO

### Central American violence leaves many with no choice but to head north

BY KIRK SEMPLE

Leaving El Salvador had never been in Alberto's plans. He and his wife had stable jobs and supportive friends and relatives, and their five children were happy.

But a local gang tried to recruit one of Alberto's sons as a drug mule and beat him up when he resisted, the family said. A gang leader approached his daughter, then 10 years old, and told her that he was going to make her his girlfriend. Then Alberto and his family received a phone call threatening to kill them if they did not turn over the children for the gang's use. The corpse of a boy even appeared on the street in front of their house.

The family fled north, taking only what it could carry.

"We can't just hand them over to the gang," Alberto said of his children, sitting with his family in a shelter in Tapachula, a small Mexican city near the Guatemalan border. (Like other migrants interviewed, Alberto and his family asked that their last name not be



Migrants from Honduras prepared to move to an apartment from a shelter in Tapachula. Parents describe the threat of gangs' recruiting their children, including as child brides.

used, fearing their persecutors could find them.)

Gang violence in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala has combined with economic desperation to drive an unrelenting exodus of migrants, including entire families, seeking safety in other countries, mainly the United States.

Despite American-backed efforts to

tighten regional borders and address the root causes of the exodus, American and international officials say the migration numbers have soared in the past year.

"It's really a refugee crisis," said Perrine Leclerc, the head of the field office for the United Nations refugee agency in Tapachula.

In the 2016 fiscal year, which ended in

September, nearly 409,000 migrants were caught trying to cross the southwestern border of the United States illegally, a 23 percent increase over the previous fiscal year, according to statistics released by the Obama administration. Officials said the increase reflected the growing number of people heading north, not any sweeping changes in enforcement.

The trend continued through October, according to figures released Thursday by American immigration officials: More than 46,000 people were caught last month on the southwestern border, up from about 39,500 in September.

The recent flow has been particularly notable for the unusual number of Central American migrants traveling in family groups. In the most recent fiscal year, about 77,700 migrants caught on the southwestern American border were traveling in families, nearly twice as many as were detained in families the previous year. About 91 percent of all those migrants were from El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, a region known as the Northern Triangle.

As part of his presidential campaign, Donald J. Trump promised an unforgiving approach to illegal immigration, including building a wall along the border with Mexico and stepping up deportations beyond even President Obama's record removal rates. Now, among the

FAMILIES, PAGE 4

## Trump softens his stance on immigration

WASHINGTON

### But he vows to appoint a Supreme Court justice who'll curb abortion rights

BY JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

President-elect Donald J. Trump has appeared to soften some of his hardest-line campaign positions on immigration, but he also has restated his pledge to roll back abortion rights and used Twitter to lash out at his critics, leaving open the possibility that he would continue using social media in the Oval Office and radically change the way presidents speak to Americans.

In his first prime-time television interview since his upset victory on Tuesday, Mr. Trump on Sunday repeated his promise to name a Supreme Court justice who opposed abortion rights and would help overturn the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision that recognized them, returning the issue to the states.

Asked where that would leave women seeking abortions, Mr. Trump, on the CBS program "60 Minutes," said, "Well, they'll perhaps have to go — they'll have to go to another state."

On immigration, he said the wall that he has been promising to build on the nation's southern border might end up being a fence in places. But he said his priority was to deport two million to three million immigrants he characterized as dangerous or as having criminal records, a change from his original position that he would deport all of the estimated 11 million undocumented immigrants in the country. President Obama has deported more than two million undocumented immigrants during his time in office.

Mr. Trump said that undocumented immigrants who are not criminals are "terrific people," and that he would decide how to handle them after the border is secure. The House speaker, Paul D. Ryan, echoed the president-elect, saying on Sunday that there would be no deportation force, something Mr. Trump had promised to create early in his campaign.

"That's not what we're focused on," Mr. Ryan said on CNN's "State of the Union."

Mr. Trump also said he considered the Supreme Court decision last year that validated same-sex marriages as settled, and that he was "fine with that." He endorsed popular aspects of Mr. Obama's health insurance law, including a provision that requires coverage of people with pre-existing medical conditions and one that allows young people to remain on their parents' plans until the age of 26.

But even as he appeared to inch toward the political center, Mr. Trump used a series of postings on Twitter to

TRUMP, PAGE 5

## Cynical avian freeloader wins some respect

BEIJING

### Bird groups in Beijing are shocked to learn where the cuckoo winters

BY CHRIS BUCKLEY

When Flappy McFlapperson and Skybomb Bolt sprang into the sky for their annual migration from wetlands near Beijing, nobody was sure where the two cuckoos were going. They and three other cuckoos had been tagged with sensors to follow them from northern China.

But to where?

"These birds are not known to be great fliers," said Terry Townshend, a British amateur bird watcher living in the Chinese capital who helped organize the Beijing Cuckoo Project. "Migration is incredibly perilous for birds, and many perish on these journeys."

The answer to the mystery — unfold-



Skybomb Bolt, a cuckoo, after he was fitted with a satellite tag in May near Beijing. He landed in India in mid-September and then flew, nonstop, across the ocean to Africa.

ing in passages recorded by satellite for more than five months — has been a humbling revelation even to many experts. The birds' journeys have so far covered thousands of miles, across a total of a dozen countries and an ocean. The "common cuckoo," as the species is called, turns out to be capable of exhilarating odysseys.

"It's impossible not to feel an emotional response," said Chris Hewson, an ecologist with the British Trust for Ornithology in Thetford, England, who has helped run the tracking project. "There's something special about feeling connected to one small bird flying across the ocean or desert."

But to follow a cuckoo, you must first seduce it.

The common cuckoo is by reputation a cynical freeloader.

Mothers outsource parenting by laying their eggs in the nests of smaller birds, and the birds live on grubs, caterpillars and similar soft morsels. British and Chinese bird groups decided to study two cuckoo subspecies found

CUCKOO, PAGE 2

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PAGE TWO

GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK,  
ARIZ.  
AMERICAN JOURNAL

Tending to park's electricity  
requires people skills and  
no fear of high places

BY FERNANDA SANTOS

He has two offices. One is made of cinder block. The other is made of jagged rocks hundreds of millions of years old.

His title is local representative for Arizona Public Service, the largest energy utility in the state. But Kevin Hartigan is a lot more than that. He is in charge of keeping the power on at the Grand Canyon National Park.

Without power, the water pumps in the park stop working. If the pumps stop working, water no longer flows into faucets, toilets, showers and drinking fountains in and on the busy southern edge of the park. If there is no water, the park must close.

"That's the main reason I'm here," he said one afternoon while strolling along the South Rim. "To keep the park open."

Some 10,000 people on average visit Grand Canyon National Park every day, from all over. Mr. Hartigan likes to lose himself in the sounds of the languages the visitors speak that he does not understand, his eyes turned to the ancient rocks that change color as the sun shines on them from many angles, brush strokes from a painter's palette.

He used to be a troubleshooter in Phoenix for the utility, which is known by its acronym, APS. He fixed problems big and small — from a flickering light bulb on a street lamppost to an entire neighborhood that suddenly found itself in the dark.

The position here opened after the man who had it for 23 years retired six years ago. It was a one-of-a-kind opportunity. Power-line workers here must be skilled, though Mr. Hartigan said skill is only one of the requirements.

To work in the park, Mr. Hartigan must be nimble. He must be easily adaptable. He must be good at talking to people: The local representative is the face of the utility in this corner of the state and interactions happen at all hours — in his offices, at the gas station, while dropping off his children at school or when neighbors knock on his door, rousing him from sleep.

Also — and this is crucial — "you positively cannot be afraid of heights," Mr. Hartigan said.

He says the Grand Canyon is like the ocean: "no end in sight." Often, his job requires diving into its depths.

Mr. Hartigan might commute by mule. He might hike or rappel — a loaded tool belt around his waist, his backpack full of supplies — to inspect or repair power lines that drop 7,000 feet, from the rim to the bottom of the canyon.

There is a lot of informed guesswork involved in the decisions he makes.

"When there's trouble going on, my mind's racing," he said. "How am I going to get there? What am I going to need to fix it? How many people am I going to need?"

Once a year, he flies by helicopter over the power-line poles wedged on the walls of the canyon, checking to see if the wires are frayed, or if the glass insu-



Above-ground and buried power lines provide electricity to Grand Canyon National Park. Kevin Hartigan, who works for Arizona's largest energy utility, keeps the park's lights on.



Mr. Hartigan flying to the South Rim of the park in a National Park Service helicopter.

lators that wrap the wires are chipped.

The poles are covered with scratches made by the hooks at the bottom of his climbing boots.

Once a month, Mr. Hartigan rides a helicopter to the canyon floor to read electric meters. There are 20 of them — at Phantom Ranch, the only lodge below the canyon's rim, and at Indian Garden, a campground and way station between the rim and the ranch.

One recent day, the helicopter left the National Park Service base, veered west under a partly cloudy sky and plunged into the canyon through an entry point known as the Abyss. The Colorado River emerged, its emerald waters browned by sand stirred by recent rains.

The helicopter followed the river, framed by rocks chiseled by time. From down there, the canyon could well be a foreign planet in a sci-fi movie set.



A map of Grand Canyon Village.

"It never gets old," Mr. Hartigan said as he gazed out the window.

The helicopter landed on the northern edge of the river. Mr. Hartigan stored his helmet, flight suit and gloves in a nearby ramada and began to walk.

He passed hikers who had stopped to take a picture. He passed a woman calling home from a pay phone, the only line of communication to the world above. He walked past clusters of camping

**"When there's trouble going on, my mind's racing. How am I going to get there? What am I going to need to fix it?"**

tents set by the crystalline Bright Angel Creek.

He opened a metal closet, where he found an electric meter in his line of sight and a black widow crawling on a web by his feet. He ignored the spider.

He once found a rattlesnake coiled inside one of these closets. He stepped aside, waiting for the snake to make its move. It did not, so he checked the meter and went on his way.

"Wasps are worse than black widows, and they're worse than rattlesnakes," he said, because wasps are quick and aggressive — it is hard to outrun a swarm.

The electronic meter reader he carried that morning did not work, so Mr. Hartigan wrote the numbers from the meter in a notebook he carried in his backpack.

To work in the park, he must be good at improvising.

He recalled one day when a colleague in the operations team in Phoenix called him on the radio. He was panting.

"Are you tired? What's going on?" the colleague asked.

"Dude," Mr. Hartigan exclaimed, "I just got chased by an elk."

Hit maker,  
songwriter,  
musicians'  
musician

LEON RUSSELL  
1942-2016

BY JON PARELES

Leon Russell, the longhaired, scratchy-voiced pianist, guitarist, songwriter and bandleader who moved from playing countless recording sessions to making hits on his own, died on Sunday in Nashville. He was 74.

His website said he had died in his sleep but gave no specific cause.

Mr. Russell's health had incurred setbacks in recent years. In 2010, he underwent surgery for a brain fluid leak and was treated for heart failure. In July he had a heart attack and was scheduled for further surgery, according to a news release from the Oklahoma Historical Society, in his home state.

With his trademark top hat, hair well past his shoulders, a long, lush beard, an Oklahoma drawl and his fingers splashing barrelhouse piano chords, Mr. Russell cut a flamboyant figure in the early 1970s. He led Joe Cocker's band Mad Dogs & Englishmen, appeared at George Harrison's 1971 Concert for Bangladesh in New York City and had hits of his own, including "Tight Rope."

Many of his songs became hits for others, among them "Superstar" (written with Bonnie Bramlett) for the Carpenters, "Delta Lady" for Mr. Cocker and "This Masquerade" for George Benson. More than 100 acts have recorded "A Song for You," which Mr. Russell said he wrote in 10 minutes.

By the time he released his first solo album, in 1970, he had already performed on hundreds of recordings as one of the top studio musicians in Los Angeles. He was in Phil Spector's Wall of Sound Orchestra, and he played sessions for Frank Sinatra, Sam Cooke, Aretha Franklin, the Ventures and the Monkees. His piano playing is heard on "Mr. Tambourine Man" by the Byrds, "A Taste of Honey" by Herb Alpert, "Live With Me" by the Rolling Stones and all of the Beach Boys' early albums, including "Pet Sounds."

The music Mr. Russell made on his own put a scruffy, casual surface on rich musical hybrids, interweaving soul, country, blues, jazz, gospel, pop and classical music. Like Willie Nelson, who collaborated with him, and Ray Charles, whose 1993 recording of "A Song for You" won a Grammy Award, Mr. Russell made a broad, sophisticated palette of American music sound down-home and natural.



Leon Russell in 1973. His "A Song for You" was recorded by more than 100 acts.

After his popularity peaked in the 1970s, he shied away from self-promotion and largely set aside rock, though he kept performing. But he was prized as a musicians' musician, collaborating with Elvis Costello and Elton John, among others. In 2011, after making a duet album with Mr. John, "The Union," he was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. At the ceremony, Mr. John called him "the master of space and time" and added, "He sang, he wrote and he played just how I wanted to do it."

Leon Russell was born Claude Russell Bridges in Lawton, Okla., on April 2, 1942. An injury to his upper vertebrae at birth caused a slight paralysis on his right side that would shape his music: A delayed reaction time in his right hand forced him to think ahead about what it would play. "It gave me a very strong sense of duality," he said last year in a Public Radio International interview.

Mr. Russell delved into various idioms over the next decades, mostly recording for independent labels. He toured and recorded with the New Grass Revival, adding his piano and voice to their string-band lineup. He made more country albums as Hank Wilson. He recorded blues, Christmas songs, gospel songs and instrumentals.

In 1992, the songwriter and pianist Bruce Hornsby, who had long cited Mr. Russell's influence, sought to rejuvenate Mr. Russell's rock career by producing the album "Anything Can Happen," but it drew little notice. Mr. Russell continued to tour for die-hard fans, who called themselves Leon Lifers.

A call in 2009 from Mr. John, whom Mr. Russell had supported in the early 1970s, led to the making of "The Union" — which also had guest appearances by Neil Young and Brian Wilson — and a 10-date tour together in 2010. Mr. Russell also sat in on Mr. Costello's 2010 album, "National Ransom." Then he bought a new bus and returned to the road, on his own.

A cynical avian freeloader wins some respect

CUCKOO, FROM PAGE 1

near Beijing, because their winter get-aways were a puzzle. In an online poll for the project, nearly half the respondents guessed they went somewhere in Southeast Asia.

"We really didn't know for sure," said Yu Fang, a coffee importer and a prominent member of the Beijing bird-watching community and a volunteer on the project.

"We knew that the cuckoos breed around here. But where do they go over winter? I guessed it was India," Mr. Yu said. "I've been bird-watching in India, and they are often spotted there. I thought that's where they stopped."

To tag the birds, the team set up soft, barely visible nets in May to safely catch the birds. A stuffed female cuckoo was attached to a tree or bush, and a recording of the bird's come-hither mating call was played out.

They responded lustily.

"The male cuckoos just can't resist. They come in from a long way," said Mr. Townshend, who works as a consultant on a variety of environmental projects. Unexpectedly, female cuckoos also came to the party, seemingly jealous about an apparent rival in their patch, he said.

After excluding birds too light to safely carry the sensors, the team attached solar-powered tags weighing 0.16 ounce to the backs of five birds, each weighing around 3.5 ounces, and freed them into the wild, where satellites followed the signals from their tags. Such technology has revolutionized the study of migratory birds since the 1990s.

"Tracking technology has ushered in

a new age of exploration," Mr. Hewson said.

But the project was also intended to raise awareness of wild birds and their needs, especially in China, where expanding cities, pollution and commercial capture with huge nets threaten the creatures. Schools in Beijing for local and foreign children gave the birds their names. As well as Flappy and Skybomb, there was Hope, Zigui and Meng Zhi Juan, a poetic Chinese phrase meaning "dream bird."

The wait began. As blazing summer arrived, time approached for the birds to begin their migration. But not all could. Cuckoos often have brief lives. The

**"When Skybomb set out across the ocean, it was like, Whoa! He's going for it."**

trackers ran out of contact with Hope after she flew north to Russia, possibly dying or losing her tag. And Zigui's signal stopped near Beijing, where he probably perished.

Then in early August, Flappy struck south, followed weeks later by Skybomb and then Meng Zhi Juan. Each day, Mr. Townshend checked the satellite data to see whether any other birds were on the move. Their journeys, chronicled on Twitter, drew in more and more fans, including me.

By mid-September, Skybomb and Flappy were in India. That more or less ruled out the idea that they were headed to Southeast Asia, and they appeared

likely to head west. But by which route?

The first answer came in late October. Skybomb struck out boldly from central India and, without stopping, headed across the northern Indian Ocean, apparently aiming to reach Africa in one lunge. It was a breathtaking gamble for one of these small birds.

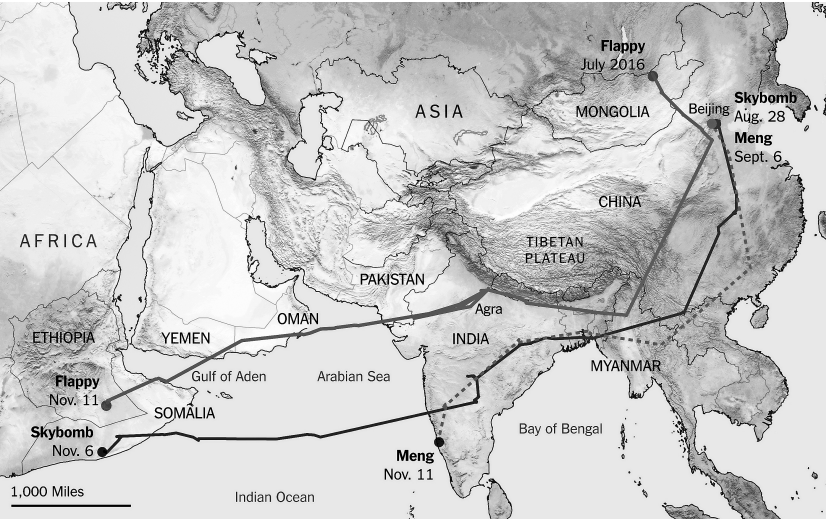
"When Skybomb set out across the ocean, it was like, Whoa! He's going for it," Mr. Townshend said. Skybomb had fattened on grubs, but Africa was thousands of miles away without the prospect of a stop or meal in between.

"It was a real celebratory moment," Mr. Townshend said. "But fingers were crossed that he was going to make it across the ocean."

There was an implacable logic in the cuckoos' seeming folly, said Mr. Hewson, who had guessed that they would go to Africa. They stopped over in India when rains had still left plenty of food there and waited for the monsoon winds to make a drastic turnaround, so the birds could fly onward with the help of the breeze. Cuckoos that summer in Europe also head to Africa to avoid winter.

Skybomb plowed on. Flying at roughly 2,600 feet above the sea, he held to an astonishingly straight path, apparently calibrating for shifts in the wind and conditions. By the second day, he was halfway across. After a third day, the east coast of Africa, and food and rest, beckoned.

For much of the flight, tailwinds helped Skybomb. But as land approached, crosswinds and then a frontal headwind struck. It was a moderate breeze, but maybe enough to exhaust a cuckoo after days without stopping.



On Oct. 31, Mr. Townshend announced on Twitter that Skybomb "is in Africa!"

Sixty-four days after he had begun his migration, the cuckoo had reached the coast of Somalia about an hour after dusk. He had flown nonstop for 2,300 miles from central India. "What a bird!" Mr. Townshend declared.

But even then, Skybomb was not done. Right away, he flew for another 190 miles until he reached an area where recent rains would have brought a proliferation of caterpillars and grubs to eat. Somehow, he knew where to follow the rain.

The other birds began their long flights later than Skybomb. Flappy took a more cautious path, crossing the Arabian Sea from India to Oman. That made for a shorter flight over water, but also

meant she hit land in northern Africa, farther from the lush terrain to the south. By Friday, Meng Zhi Juan had jumped to just a few miles from the Indian coast and appeared poised to follow Skybomb's swoop across the ocean to Somalia or thereabouts.

The birds appear likely to edge south in Africa, following the rains. If they survive, they are expected to arrive back in Beijing in May.

Mr. Townshend and his colleagues hope to follow more cuckoos next year, if they attract enough donations to pay for the tags and satellite services.

"They're birds that are shared by China, India, Myanmar, Somalia and wherever else they go," Mr. Townshend said. "With that comes a shared responsibility to protect them."



# World



Laying cable for a solar-paneled roof near Johannesburg. Solar plants have helped to end the blackouts that plagued South Africa.

## Will it be wind, sun or atoms?

UPINGTON, SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is debating how to replace coal amid a renewable energy boom

BY NORIMITSU ONISHI

In one of the most sun-drenched corners of the planet, a 670-foot tower rises above a desert dotted with 4,160 mirrors. Tracking the sun throughout the day, the mirrors, called heliostats, redirect the sun's rays into the tower, where water is heated to generate steam — and electricity.

Since the plant, Khi Solar One, began operating early this year near Upington, it has produced enough power for 65,000 homes during the day, but also, thanks to the latest technology, for a few hours after the sun sets.

South Africa is experiencing a boom in renewable energy, nonexistent here just a few years ago. Now, dozens of solar plants clustered in the country's northern reaches and wind farms operating along the southern coast are generating 2.2 gigawatts — more than what most African nations can produce.

As the facilities have increased production, they have helped stop the blackouts that plagued South Africa until a year ago. In a country still dependent on coal, the renewable energy industry has been lauded by many energy experts and environmentalists as a model for developing nations.

But South Africa's utility, Eskom, and some government officials do not see it that way. Criticizing wind and solar energy as costly and unreliable, they are pressing instead for a huge investment in nuclear energy: three power stations with a total of up to nine reactors to generate 9.6 gigawatts.

The battle over South Africa's energy future has become increasingly fierce, often fought over kilowatts and other

technical details, sometimes waged with bitter personal attacks between functionaries and electrical engineers. It is also being fought on South Africa's larger political landscape, with forces seemingly close to the scandal-ridden administration of President Jacob Zuma pushing hardest for the nuclear deal while others support an expansion of renewables.

"A line of attack is that anyone who wants nuclear is linked to President Zuma and therefore is corrupt," said Matshela Koko, the head of generation at Eskom. "People aren't dispassionate about nuclear. People have taken a political view. If you're dispassionate, and look at the science and engineering of it, you will conclude that you need nuclear."

Developing nations are closely watching the standoff between nuclear and renewables, two forms of low-carbon energy that they hope will power their grow-

ing economies. Countries as diverse as Bangladesh, Belarus, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates and Vietnam are adopting nuclear power.

In Africa, many countries are looking at solar and wind as a quick way to bolster generation capacity by leapfrogging older and dirtier sources of energy. Renewable energy could also bring diversification to nations dangerously dependent on a single source of electricity, like Malawi and Zambia, which have experienced crippling blackouts because of a severe drought that lowered water levels at hydroelectric dams.

As sub-Saharan Africa's most advanced economy, South Africa has about half of the continent's power-generating capacity. It has operated a nuclear power station, the only one on the conti-

nent, since 1984, though coal-fired power plants generate about 80 percent of its electricity.

Abengoa, a Spanish company, was the first to win contracts to build two concentrated solar plants near Upington. Unlike traditional solar plants, a concentrated solar plant harnesses the sun's energy to produce steam, which can be stored for a few hours and then used to run turbines after the sun sets.

The region surrounding Upington experiences temperatures up to 113 degrees Fahrenheit, or 45 degrees Celsius, and intense sunshine year-round.

"South Africa is one of the best places in the world for solar power," said José David Cayuela Olivencia, the general manager of Khi Solar One.

Concentrated solar power can generate electricity at peak times of the day after the sun sets — but at a cost. The electricity produced by Khi Solar One, which Eskom must buy as part of a 20-year contract, is significantly costlier than regular solar power.

Eskom officials say the supply from traditional solar and wind power plants fluctuates or comes during the day, when it is not needed.

At 7 p.m., when demand peaks, "the wind may not be moving, and the sun has set," said Brian Molefe, Eskom's chief executive. He added that further expansion of renewable energy should "go slow" until cheap and efficient storage technology for renewables is developed.

As South Africa weans itself off coal over the coming decades, in part to comply with the Paris agreement to mitigate climate change, Eskom officials argue that only an expansion of nuclear power will meet the country's energy needs.

"We need baseload capacity," said Mr. Koko, Eskom's head of generation, referring to plants that can run around the clock. "We don't want it to be coal, so it has to be nuclear."

But others say that building nuclear reactors, with a life span of 60 to 80 years, would commit South Africa to an energy source just as renewables are getting cheaper.

In the past five years, production costs for solar and wind have dropped so much that the most recently approved plants, now under construction, will generate electricity at the cheapest rate in South Africa.

Over the coming decades, critics of the nuclear project argue, advances in storage and other technologies will emerge even as South Africa is saddled with nuclear power.

Massive nuclear plants will become outdated as national electrical grids are decentralized, critics say. Businesses in South African cities are increasingly installing solar panels, effectively going off the grid.

Elsewhere in Africa, it is becoming more and more common to see villagers connecting cellphones to single solar panels outside mud-brick homes.

"The concept of baseload is actually an outdated concept," said Harald Winkler, the director of the Energy Research Center at the University of Cape Town. "Eskom was built around big coal and to a lesser extent big nuclear — big chunks of baseload power. It's really myopic in terms of where the future of the grid is going to go. We're going to see in South Africa and the rest of the world much more decentralized grids."

Opposition to South Africa's nuclear plans is also coming from the government's main research agency, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

An expansion of solar and wind energy, in addition to natural gas, could meet South Africa's future energy needs for a cheaper price, according to a projection by the council.

"No new coal, no new nuclear," said Tobias Bischof-Niemz, who leads the council's research on energy. "South Africa is in a very fortunate situation where we can decarbonize our energy system at negative cost."

## Jakarta protests seen as political

JAKARTA

Calls to jail governor for blasphemy may be challenge to president

BY JOE COCHRANE

The sight of tens of thousands of Islamists marching through the Indonesian capital this month, demanding that its Christian governor be jailed for blasphemy — some even calling for his death — brought back recurrent fears of "creeping Islamization" in the world's most populous Muslim-majority nation, where a more tolerant brand of Islam has been the norm.

But analysts here saw something different: a protest that was really about cutthroat, secular-dominated domestic politics, and an attempt to strike a blow at President Joko Widodo.

"If you look at their posters during the demonstration, there is no mention about banning alcohol, banning gay and lesbian groups, nothing like what they normally protest about," Azyumardi Azra, a prominent Muslim scholar and former rector of the State Islamic University in Jakarta, said of the Nov. 4 protest, which erupted in violence that left hundreds injured and one dead.

"It's purely political, and they are using the blasphemy issue as an entry point to challenge Jokowi and pressure him," Mr. Azra said, referring to President Joko by his popular nickname.

The direct target of the protest, the largest in Jakarta in recent years, was a political ally of the president: Gov. Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, the first Christian to run Jakarta in several decades. The Islamist groups that led the protest have seized on a reference Mr. Basuki made to the Quran in September — he lightheartedly cited a verse that warns against taking Christians and Jews as friends — and said that he should be prosecuted and jailed under Indonesia's blasphemy laws.

Analysts like Mr. Azra believe the Islamists organized the protest at the behest of opposition parties hoping to derail Mr. Basuki's re-election in February. They see this as an opening salvo against his backer, Mr. Joko, aimed at

settling scores and ultimately denying the president re-election in 2020.

"It's a sad development in Indonesian politics when race and religion are being used by politicians," said Philips J. Vermonste, the head of the politics and international relations department at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta. Opponents of Mr. Basuki have also made an issue of his Chinese ancestry.

Neither Mr. Joko nor Mr. Basuki has directly accused opposition parties of being behind the Jakarta protest. But the president later said that "political actors" had taken advantage of Islamist anger to incite violence. Both opposition parties, Gerindra and the Democratic Party, denied being involved in planning the demonstration, but they have supported its goal of jailing Mr. Basuki for blasphemy and sought to link Mr. Joko to that controversy.

Both parties are fielding candidates in the Feb. 15 election, in which Mr. Joko's governing Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle is backing Mr. Basuki.

One of the governor's opponents is Anies Baswedan, a former minister of higher education. He is backed by Gerindra, the opposition party of

council of Indonesia's widely respected Nahdlatul Ulama, the world's largest Muslim organization.

"The masses have this negative feeling toward Ahok, and all this political maneuvering has been increasing their negative emotions toward him," he said, referring to Mr. Basuki by his nickname and describing the sentiments of protesters, most of whom were from outside Jakarta. "This makes Muslim leaders, who are in fact moderate, afraid to speak out against it, because they are afraid of the masses."

Mr. Joko was governor of Jakarta before becoming president in 2014, and Mr. Basuki, then his deputy, inherited the position. He immediately became a political target for hard-line Muslim groups, who said a Christian should not govern the capital.

Mr. Basuki, 50, the grandson of a tin miner from Guangzhou, China, has been a popular figure here. Brash and blunt, he has continued Mr. Joko's populist focus on quality-of-life issues and is known for publicly berating civil servants he considers incompetent or corrupt. Opinion polls indicate that he holds a large lead heading into the election for governor and that voters do not see ethnicity and religion as campaign issues.

The governor has apologized for his September remarks, saying he meant no harm. The National Police have opened a preliminary investigation into the blasphemy allegations and have questioned Mr. Basuki. But they are also questioning protest leaders on accusations that they had incited violence.

Last week, Mr. Joko promised that the investigation into Mr. Basuki would be carried out "strictly and transparently," and said he would "not protect him" from any criminal charges. Analysts, however, said it was unlikely Mr. Basuki would face charges, given his political support as well as questions about whether he had really insulted Islam.

Marcus Mietzner, an associate professor at Australian National University in Canberra, said it was telling that organizations in Jakarta not affiliated with hard-line Islamic elements had argued that Mr. Basuki should be held accountable for blasphemy.

"For me, this shows that the racial and religious sentiment have deeply penetrated the educated middle classes," he said.

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WORLD

# Small band of militants transfixes Kashmir

TRAL, KASHMIR

Young leader's death spurs insurgency in disputed region in the Himalayas

BY GEETA ANAND AND HARI KUMAR

They hide in the forest, emerging occasionally to lure police officers into villages where they try to kill them with explosive devices. They steal weapons from the security forces. Then they disappear back among the trees.

They are members of Hizbul Mujahadeen, a militant group that has emerged as the face of the independence movement in Kashmir, the Himalayan region that was subsumed into India when it shook off colonial rule in 1947 and that remains at the center of the country's 70-year dispute with neighboring Pakistan.

Relatively few in number, about 200, roughly half of them from local villages, Hizbul Mujahadeen is the larger of two militant organizations and has widespread support from a populace that has lost faith in dialogue to resolve differences with the Indian government.

"They are adored," said Sridhar Patil, head of the regional police in Gulgam district, where crowds have burned a courthouse and a police station. "The younger generation of Kashmir is searching for a good leader, a good role model," he said, and they have settled, for better or worse, on these young men.

Daily life in Kashmir has come close to a standstill since July, when Indian security forces killed the 22-year-old leader of the local militancy, Burhan Muzaffar Wani, who had attracted a broad following through videos he posted on Facebook and WhatsApp. He started the trend of young, charismatic militants, dressed in military fatigues and carrying assault weapons, revealing their names and faces on social media in efforts to spread their message to a wide audience.

The killing of Mr. Wani touched off four months of violence, including bombings, shootouts and attacks by stone-pelting youths, as well as protests by tens of thousands of people.

In a lengthy interview, the young man's father, Mohammad Muzafar Wani, said he had tried hard to influence the path of his son, a handsome youth who gelled his hair and changed his outfits twice a day, preferring Western-style T-shirts to traditional kurtas.

But in 2010, three weeks after Burhan and his older brother were beaten up by security forces, the brainy boy who got top grades at school dropped the original plan to train as a doctor and instead joined Hizbul Mujahadeen.

"He was not a small child; I couldn't have confined him to home," his father said. "I could have stopped him for a day or two, but not all days."

The Kashmir police have counted 2,400 clashes since July. Schools remain closed, more than 30 of them burned, and public transportation is almost entirely shut down. The state's education minister was holed up in his home for days after receiving a threat.

In all, 70 public buildings have been damaged, most of them destroyed. The carved wooden houseboats in Dal, a lake popular with tourists, are almost all empty, having had barely a visitor since the trouble began.

Seventy-six people have been killed in the violence, the police in Kashmir say, while local activists put the toll at closer to 100. At least a thousand protesters



Kashmiri women in mourning at a funeral in Srinagar, the capital of Jammu and Kashmir. The Kashmir region is at the center of a 70-year dispute between India and Pakistan.

have been struck in the eyes by pellets fired by police officers, and some have been blinded. Thousands have been wounded, including 6,500 members of the security services. The police have arrested nearly 6,000 people, many for throwing stones.

Kashmir, part of India's only Muslim-majority state, Jammu and Kashmir, was promised some measure of self-determination and autonomy after India was partitioned and Pakistan was formed. That promise was not fulfilled, and since then, India and Pakistan have fought two border wars over the region and have assembled nuclear arsenals.

A violent secession movement arose in Kashmir in the late 1980s, as thousands of militants spilled over the border from Pakistan. India responded by moving tens of thousands of troops into the scenic Vale of Kashmir and slowly crushing the uprising.

Still, the independence movement persisted, giving rise every few years to violence and protests. Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India made overtures to Pakistan early in his tenure that rekindled hopes for a resolution of Kashmir's future. But he has made no public moves to restart discussions over the region.

"Is people's confidence in dialogue shaken? Yes it is," said Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, a founder of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference, a coalition of separatist groups.

The young men who have joined the Kashmir militancy grew up in a militarized land where they were routinely stopped and searched by security forces, and at times brutally beaten, their families say.

Mr. Wani's older brother, Khalid, did not join the insurgency, even after the

two were beaten by the security forces. Nevertheless, he was the first to be killed. In 2015, he was shot after delivering a meal to his brother and his comrades, his father said.

The older Mr. Wani, 54, the principal of a government high school in the valley, said he was now focused on trying to keep his only surviving son, 16-year-old Naveed, from following his brother's deadly path into the militancy. "My life

**"They are adored. The younger generation of Kashmir is searching for a good leader, a good role model."**

is in him," Mr. Wani said, looking over at the lean, bearded teenager who gave monosyllabic answers to visitors' questions.

The current rebel commander, Zakir Rashid Bhat, 22, went through many of the same experiences as his predecessor, said his father, Abdul Rashid Bhat, 56, an assistant government engineer.

Mr. Bhat said his son was arrested and jailed in 2010 for pelting security forces with stones. Mr. Bhat said that he had tried to broker a deal with the police to bring back his son, then 16, who was hiding in another part of the state, in return for leniency.

But not only did the police throw the son in jail for several days until a court granted him bail, they also opened several criminal cases, accusing him of violence and of destroying government property, his father and the Kashmir police say.

The rebel commander's older brother, Dr. Shakir Rashid Bhat, 32, an orthopedic surgeon in the Kashmiri city of Sri

nagar, tried to explain why his sibling had joined the militancy. "The experience of seeing his father begging police for mercy changed him," he said. "It was humiliating."

In 2012 and 2013, even as Zakir attended an engineering college in another state, he had to return to Kashmir every few months for court hearings. Then, in July of 2013, one month into his summer vacation, he disappeared, leaving a note saying that his parents should not look for him and that he was at peace with himself and with his God, his father said.

Mr. Bhat said his son had left his iPhone, his iPad and cards for his family's three bank accounts, taking nothing except the pants and T-shirt he had been wearing.

In retrospect, the father said, the only clue to his son's radicalization was an increased interest in religion before he left. The youth, whose major passion had previously been his Yamaha motorcycle, suddenly began accompanying his father to the mosque each day during the holy month of Ramadan.

On Saturday morning last week, only hours after an explosive device went off a few miles from the three-story brick house where Zakir grew up, a security officer was on the phone with his father, telling him his son was the prime suspect. Three police officers had been wounded, one critically.

Mr. Bhat, a stocky man who was wearing a brown woolen cape and sitting on the pink-carpeted floor of his living room when the call came through, sounded despondent at times as he responded again and again that he had no idea of his son's whereabouts.

"If you want to kill me, kill me," he told the officer. "If that ensures safety to

your country, do it."

A few miles away, in another village in the Tral area, several dozen children and young men played cricket in a field adjoining the graveyard where Mr. Wani is buried. They stopped playing when visitors arrived, and they crowded around to list the names and academic credentials of the several dozen young men — all militant leaders — who were buried there.

A 6-year-old boy in a blue cape, Muneeb Shah, began leading the crowd in a cheer, egged on by his father, a shawl merchant. "What do we want?" the boy shouted. "Azaadi," the group responded, using the Urdu word for freedom. "For the sake of Burhan," the boy called out next, going down the list of dead militants, one by one.

Security officials worry that the glamorization of militant leaders might draw a larger number of young people into the fold. So far, however, that does not seem to have happened. Only a few, no more than 20, they say, have joined up since Mr. Wani's death.

The police are trying to counter the appeal, in part by aggressively tracking down the leaders and the new recruits. But it is hard to make arrests because the militants operate in the forests around the villages where they grew up. When the police close in, crowds of people rush to the scene and try to stop the security forces by throwing rocks, yelling chants and generally interfering, knowing the officers will resist shooting at them.

"From the front side you are fighting the militants and from the back side you are getting hit by stones," said Mr. Patil, the police chief.

*Sameer Yasir contributed reporting.*

# Earthquake kills at least 2 and sets off sea surge

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

7.8-magnitude temblor in New Zealand followed by strong aftershocks

BY MICHELLE INNIS

A powerful earthquake measuring 7.8 magnitude struck the east coast of New Zealand's South Island early Monday, causing tsunami waves and killing at least two people, officials said.

Hours later, another strong quake measuring 6.4 magnitude hit the same region, northeast of Christchurch, around the small town of Hamner Springs, according to Geoscience Australia.

The New Zealand Ministry of Civil Defense and Emergency Management warned people living near the coast to move inland to higher ground as tsunami waves raised seawater levels in some places by about six feet. Officials in Wellington, the capital, urged people to stay out of the city's central business district until the risk of damage to buildings could be assessed.

Prime Minister John Key said the earthquake had killed at least two people, Reuters reported. "We don't have any indications at the moment to believe it will rise, but we can't rule that out," Mr. Key said of the death toll, speaking to reporters in Wellington.

Glasses broke and furniture moved at Premier House, the prime minister's official residence in Wellington, Mr. Key said. He had stayed there overnight after meeting with United States Secretary of State John Kerry, who was on a diplomatic visit on his way to Antarctica.

Geoscience Australia said the 6.4-magnitude earthquake was one of three large aftershocks that measured between 5.1 and 6.4 magnitude.

There have been at least 12 aftershocks since early Monday in New Zealand.

Caroline Little, a spokeswoman for GeoNet New Zealand, which monitors geological hazards, said seismologists

**"We expect aftershocks for weeks, maybe months."**

had modeled the probability of the number and intensity of aftershocks on Monday morning.

"The initial earthquake was a complex rupture," she said in a telephone interview. "It was one quake, but there were a number of fault segments and a series of orientations in terms of the way the energy was released." She described it as a zigzag rather than a single fault and said this would affect the way aftershocks played out. "We expect aftershocks for weeks, maybe months," she said.

The New Zealand Herald reported that one of the confirmed deaths was caused by a heart attack and that the other had taken place on a homestead near the beach town of Kaikoura. Military helicopters flew there to assess the damage after roads were destroyed.

"There are some reports of casualties in the Kaikoura area, but just exactly what the extent of that is is not yet reported," Gerry Brownlee, the country's acting minister of civil defense, told reporters.

The first earthquake struck about 50 miles southwest of Kaikoura and 50 miles north of Christchurch.

Elliot Fim, a regional official in Christchurch, said in a telephone interview that there were no reports of damage, injuries or fatalities there. The Fire Department was dealing with a large number of emergency calls.

Mr. Fim said people living along about 200 miles of coastline had been evacuated. A spokesman for the Wellington Region Emergency Management office said there were reports of minor damage in the capital.

One of Wellington's newest hotels, the Sofitel, had minor damage. Some members of Mr. Kerry's staff had to evacuate the hotel in the middle of the night.

Dan Jaksa, a duty officer from Geoscience Australia, said that if the small townships north of Christchurch did not have earthquake-resistant buildings, "it is going to be tough."

In 2011, an earthquake measuring 6.3 magnitude devastated Christchurch and killed 185 people. The earthquake on Monday was about 40 to 50 times as large as the one in 2011, Mr. Jaksa said.

In Cheviot, a small town thought to be close to the epicenter, there were no reports of casualties. "There is minimal damage to buildings that we can see," Grant Burnett, the chief of the Cheviot volunteer fire brigade, said in a telephone interview. "It is surprising, because it was a big quake."

Mr. Burnett said that some properties along the coast had been evacuated, but that none had been seriously damaged by the surge. The fire brigade went door to door to check on residents.

*Liam Stack contributed reporting from New York, and Justin Gillis from Wellington, New Zealand.*

# A surge of families fleeing gangs of Central America

FAMILIES, FROM PAGE 1

array of immigration challenges he will face upon taking office, Mr. Trump will have to contend with this surge of migrants, an issue that has overwhelmed not only American border officials but also governments throughout the region.

Some American officials have floated the theory that families may be migrating together in the hope that adults will have a better chance of avoiding detention in the United States if they enter with children.

But interviews with migrants and their advocates suggest that families are fleeing — sometimes in groups of as many as 15 people — because they have no alternative. Gangs in certain communities in the Northern Triangle have become so merciless, and their control so widespread, that a family is often left with a stark choice: Comply, flee or die.

"Today the violence is widespread, and because it's widespread, it's affecting the whole family," said Diego Lorente, the director of the Fray Matias de Córdoba Human Rights Center in Tapachula.

Almost all of the migrants said they had once had no intention of ever leaving their countries.

Alberto said he had a thriving business breeding livestock and dogs. His wife ran a food stand. Their youngest children were on track to attend college, he said. They were active members of their church.

The family first fled in 2013 to northern El Salvador, where Alberto rebuilt his business and the children returned to school. But the gang members tracked them down, forcing them to

**"Tapachula is the first place that they arrive where they have a perception of security."**

move two more times, he said. They finally fled the country in March.

While they were staying at a migrant shelter run by the Catholic Church in southern Mexico, a nun told them about Mexico's asylum program. They applied and are now waiting for their claim to be adjudicated.

"What can I say?" Alberto said with a sigh. "This is the horrible reality that our country is living now."

As the violence and impunity have soared in the Northern Triangle, so has the number of asylum claims from those countries, according to the United Nations. Nearly half of those asylum seekers this year have sought sanctuary in the United States. But migrants are increasingly viewing other countries, including Belize, Costa Rica and especially Mexico, as asylum destinations.

Under international pressure, the Mexican government has been expanding its capacity to receive refugees. Its acceptance rate for completed applications increased to about 62 percent in the first six months of this year, from about 45 percent in 2015.

United Nations officials and migrants' advocates here believe that of the hundreds of thousands of Central American migrants who crossed into Mexico last year, as many as half may have qualified for refugee protection. Yet only about 3,400 people applied for asylum in Mexico, according to government figures. By comparison, nearly 177,000 Central



Migrant parents from El Salvador with their children in a shelter in Mexico City.

Americans were deported by Mexican immigration authorities last year.

The migrant shelters here in Tapachula are full, and advocates are struggling to accommodate the growing number of families that find their way here, either as a pit stop on their journey to the United States or as a place to file for asylum.

"Tapachula is the first place that they arrive where they have a perception of security," Mr. Lorente said.

The migrants tell of grisly murders, of how gangs have recruited boys as look-outs and drug runners and forced girls into becoming their brides. They speak of "war taxes," sometimes amounting to half of their earnings. Noncompliance is

met with death.

"It's butchery," Ms. Leclerc said. Entire neighborhoods have fallen under the control of gangs, which are abetted by corrupt officials on their payrolls. Several migrants said they had not reported crimes to the police, fearing that the police would inform the gangs.

Most said they had left their homes with no understanding, or even awareness, of asylum protections in other countries, only a determination to find a safer place to live.

Fatima, 19, said she had fled El Salvador after gang members killed her husband, an apprentice auto mechanic, and threatened her, too. Traveling with her 2-year-old son and two close rela-



# Obama leaves successor ‘loaded weapon’ on security

WASHINGTON

His flexible approach presumed next president would also be prudent

BY CHARLIE SAVAGE

As a presidential candidate, Donald J. Trump vowed to refill the cells of the Guantánamo Bay prison and said American terrorism suspects should be sent there for military prosecution. He called for targeting mosques for surveillance, escalating airstrikes aimed at terrorists and taking out their civilian family members, and bringing back waterboarding and a “hell of a lot worse” — not only because “torture works,” but because even “if it doesn’t work, they deserve it anyway.”

It is hard to know how much of this stark vision for throwing off constraints on the exercise of national security power was merely tough campaign talk. But if the Trump administration follows through on such ideas, it will find some assistance in a surprising source: President Obama’s have-it-both-ways approach to curbing what he saw as overreaching in the war on terrorism.

Over and over, Mr. Obama has imposed limits on his use of such powers but has not closed the door on them — a flexible approach premised on the idea that he and his successors could be trusted to use them prudently. Mr. Trump can now sweep away those limits and open the throttle on policies that Mr. Obama endorsed as lawful and legitimate for sparing use, like targeted killings in drone strikes and the use of indefinite detention and military tribunals for terrorism suspects.

And even in areas where Mr. Obama tried to terminate policies from the George W. Bush era — like torture and the detention of Americans and other people arrested on domestic soil as “enemy combatants” — his administration fought in court to prevent any ruling that the defunct practices had been illegal. The absence of a definitive repudiation could make it easier for Trump administration lawyers to revive the policies by invoking the same sweeping theories of executive power that were the basis for them in the Bush years.

Two decisions by Mr. Obama in 2009 set the tone for his leave-it-on-the-table



JOHN MOORE/GETTY IMAGES

The Guantánamo Bay prison on Cuba. President-elect Donald J. Trump has said that American terrorism suspects should be sent there for military prosecution.

approach. They involved whether to keep indefinite wartime detentions without trial and to continue using military commission prosecutions — if not at the Guantánamo prison, which he had resolved to close, then at a replacement wartime prison.

Told that several dozen detainees could not be tried for any crime but would be particularly risky to release, and that a few might be prosecutable only under the looser rules governing evidence in a military commission, Mr. Obama decided that the responsible policy was to keep both the tribunals and the indefinite detentions available.

The president refused to use either power on newly captured terrorism suspects, instead prosecuting them in civil

ian court. But by leaving the options open, he helped normalize them and left them on a firmer legal basis.

Mr. Obama followed a similar course with several national security practices that became controversial during his first term. After his use of drones to kill terrorism suspects away from war zones led to mounting concerns over civilian casualties and other matters, he issued a “presidential policy guidance” in May 2013 that set stricter limits. They included a requirement that the target pose a threat to Americans — not just to American interests — and that there would be near certainty of no bystander deaths.

But the Obama administration also successfully fought in court to establish

that judges would not review the legality of such killing operations, even if an American citizen was the target. Mr. Trump — who has said he would “bomb the hell out of ISIS,” beyond what Mr. Obama is doing, and go after civilian relatives of terrorists, prevailing over any military commanders who balked — could scrap the internal limits while invoking those precedents to shield his acts from judicial review.

Similarly, after a surge of criminal prosecutions against people who leaked secret information to the news media and bipartisan outrage at aggressive investigative tactics targeting journalists, the Obama Justice Department issued new guidelines for leak investigations intended to make it harder for investiga-

tors to subpoena reporters’ testimony or phone records. It also decided not to force a reporter for The New York Times to testify in a leak trial or face prison for contempt.

But the Obama administration also successfully fought in court to establish that the First Amendment offers no protection to journalists whom the executive branch chooses to subpoena to testify against confidential sources.

Geoffrey R. Stone, a University of Chicago law professor who is a friend and adviser to Mr. Obama, defended the president’s approach. He said that after 2010, when Republicans took over the House, internal executive branch restraints were the only option because Congress was not going to enact legisla-

tion limiting national security powers.

He also said that even if Mr. Obama had gotten rid of indefinite detention or military tribunals, Mr. Trump could have brought them back.

“Short of legislation that restricts things, there is not much a president could do in these matters to restrain a successor,” Professor Stone said.

Still, Bruce Ackerman, a Yale University law professor who is helping with a lawsuit alleging that Mr. Obama was waging an illegal war against the Islamic State because Congress never specifically authorized it, said Mr. Obama had contributed to the growth of executive powers that Mr. Trump would inherit. That includes “the fundamental institutional legacy” of relying on executive branch lawyers to produce creative legal opinions clearing the way for preferred policies, Professor Ackerman said.

The two areas where Mr. Obama broke most cleanly with Bush-era practices were torture and the indefinite military detention of Americans and other terrorism suspects arrested on domestic soil. Mr. Obama issued an executive order requiring interrogators to use only techniques approved in the Army Field Manual, and he later signed a bill codifying that rule into statute. He also resisted repeated calls by Republicans to put newly captured terrorism suspects arrested in the United States into Guantánamo-style military detention.

But the Obama administration also ruled out criminal investigations into Bush-era officials for involvement in torture practices that the Justice Department had blessed as legal under a sweeping theory that the commander in chief could not be bound by anti-torture laws.

Anthony D. Romero, the executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has sharply criticized the Obama administration’s approach, said it was now clear that Mr. Obama had “missed an opportunity” to fundamentally reject the sort of policies that the Bush administration put in place after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.

“Obama’s failure to rein in George Bush’s national security policies hands Donald Trump a fully loaded weapon,” Mr. Romero said. “The president’s failure to understand that these powers could not be entrusted in the hands of any president, not even his, have now put us in a position where they are in the hands of Donald Trump.”

# Trump to fight abortion rights

TRUMP, FROM PAGE 1

argue that The New York Times’s coverage of him has been “BAD” and “very poor and highly inaccurate.” He falsely stated that The Times had issued an apology to readers, an apparent reference to a letter to readers from The Times’s publisher, Arthur Sulzberger Jr., and its executive editor, Dean Baquet. The letter noted the unpredictable nature of the election and said The Times aimed to “rededicate” itself to “the fundamental mission of Times journalism.”

In the letter, The Times posed a series of what it called inevitable questions, including, “Did Donald Trump’s sheer unconventionality lead us and other news outlets to underestimate his support among American voters?”

Mr. Trump also claimed that the newspaper had been losing thousands of subscribers over its campaign coverage. In a Twitter message in reply to Mr. Trump, The New York Times Company said it had seen a “surge” in new subscriptions since the election — four times the pre-election rate.

“We’re proud of our election coverage & we will continue to ‘hold power to account,’” the company said.

Mr. Trump, in another Twitter post, said The Times had falsely reported that he believed additional nations should acquire nuclear arms.

However, in an interview in March with The Times, Mr. Trump, asked about the North Korean threat to its neighbors, said he thought the United States’ allies might need their own nuclear deterrent.

“If Japan had that nuclear threat, I’m not sure that would be a bad thing for us,” he said. Later, he added, “The bottom line is, I think that frankly, as long as North Korea’s there, I think that Japan having a capability is something that maybe is going to happen whether we like it or not.”

His posts on Twitter were a striking public display from a man who, after winning the election, had worked to project an air of seriousness and self-discipline, first in a victory speech early Wednesday and then in an Oval Office meeting the next day with Mr. Obama, whom he called a “good man” for whom he had “great respect.”

But by Thursday evening, Mr. Trump was using Twitter to complain about demonstrations against his victory, saying they were being mounted by “professional protesters, incited by the media,” and branding them as “very unfair!”

The social media sniping — unparalleled in the history of presidential communication — suggested that Mr. Trump plans to bring his confrontational style

“I’ve done a lot of big things; I’ve never done anything like this. It is — it is so big, it is so — it’s so enormous, it’s so amazing.”

of speaking to Americans to the White House, working to undercut news outlets that do not comport with his views, silence his critics and elevate his own standing. On Sunday, he selected Stephen K. Bannon, the executive chairman of Breitbart News, a site known for its nationalist, racially charged and conspiracy-laden coverage, to be his chief strategist and senior counselor.

It was only one indication of the extraordinary nature of the president-elect’s tactics.

In the “60 Minutes” interview, Mr. Trump suggested he would not hold to the longstanding post-Watergate tradition of presidents refraining from interfering in F.B.I. criminal matters, hinting that he would quiz the director, James B. Comey, about his handling of the investi-

gation into Hillary Clinton’s private email server before deciding whether to dismiss him.

“I’m not sure,” Mr. Trump said when asked if he would seek Mr. Comey’s resignation. “I would have to see — he may have had very good reasons for doing what he did.”

In an interview on Friday with The Wall Street Journal, Mr. Trump did not rule out prosecuting Mrs. Clinton.

On Sunday, his campaign manager, Kellyanne Conway, warned that Senator Harry Reid, Democrat of Nevada and the minority leader, could face legal action for having said that Mr. Trump’s election had “emboldened the forces of hate and bigotry in America.”

Mr. Trump has said he is proud of how he has used social media to create his own version of events and communicate it to his followers. He suggested in the “60 Minutes” interview that he is reluctant to surrender that platform when he takes the oath of office in January.

“I’m not saying I love it, but it does get the word out,” Mr. Trump said of Twitter during the interview, adding that his millions of followers on various social media sites had given him “such power” that it helped him win the election.

“When you give me a bad story, or when you give me an inaccurate story,” Mr. Trump added, “I have a method of fighting back.” He said, however, that he would be “very restrained” in his Twitter posts should he continue to make them as president.

Mr. Trump is a highly public scorekeeper of his own accolades and accomplishments, and his elevation to the highest office in the land has not changed his instinct to crow about the smallest details. During the interview, Mr. Trump boasted that since his election, he had built up his social media following by tens of thousands of people. “I’m picking up now — I think I picked up yesterday 100,000 people,” Mr. Trump said.

The interview, which also featured Mr. Trump’s wife, Melania, and adult children, showed a side of the president-elect that he did not display during the campaign — a man awed and somewhat intimidated by the significance of the office to which he had just laid claim.

“I’ve done a lot of big things; I’ve never done anything like this,” Mr. Trump said. “It is — it is so big, it is so — it’s so enormous, it’s so amazing.”

Mr. Trump said he had been inaccurately portrayed as “a little bit of a wild man” during the campaign, and he promised that he would be able to tamp down some of his more heated speech as president. But he suggested that he would still use such tactics to galvanize his supporters, just as he did during his bid for the White House.

“Sometimes you need a certain rhetoric to get people motivated,” he said. “I don’t want to be just a little nice monotone character.”

## A MASTERPIECE 170 YEARS IN THE MAKING

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Donald J. Trump with his wife, Melania, and the House of Representatives speaker, Paul D. Ryan. Mr. Trump said he would prioritize deporting immigrants with criminal records.



WORLD

Key transition jobs going to lobbyists

WASHINGTON

To Trump critics, inclusion of advisers with industry ties undermines a promise

BY ERIC LIPTON

President-elect Donald J. Trump, who campaigned against the corrupt power of special interests, is filling his transition team with some of the very sort of people who he has complained have too much clout in Washington: corporate consultants and lobbyists.

Jeffrey Eisenach, a consultant who has worked for years on behalf of Verizon and other telecommunications clients, is the head of the team that is helping to pick staff members at the Federal Communications Commission.

Michael Catanzaro, a lobbyist whose clients include Devon Energy and Encana Oil and Gas, holds the “energy independence” portfolio.

Michael Torrey, a lobbyist who runs a firm that has earned millions of dollars helping food industry players such as the American Beverage Association and the dairy giant Dean Foods, is helping set up the new team at the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Trump was swept to power in large part by white working-class voters who responded to his vow to restore the voices of forgotten people, ones drowned out by big business and Wall Street. But in his transition to power, some of the most prominent voices will be those of advisers who come from the same industries for which they are being asked to help set the regulatory groundwork.

The president-elect’s spokeswoman, Hope Hicks, declined a request for comment, as did nearly a dozen corporate executives, consultants and lobbyists serving on his transition team, which was outlined in a list distributed widely in Washington on Thursday.

A number of the people on that list are well-established experts with no clear interest in helping private-sector clients. But to critics of Mr. Trump — both Democrats and Republicans — the inclusion of advisers with industry ties

bers for the federal government’s many financial services agencies.

Edwin Meese III, who served as attorney general under Mr. Reagan and is now associated with the Heritage Foundation, the conservative think tank, is helping oversee management and budget issues, along with Kay Coles James, a Bush administration official who now runs an institute that trains future African-American leaders.

Former Representative Mike Rogers, Republican of Michigan, who served as chairman of the House Intelligence Committee and was once a special agent in the F.B.I., is overseeing issues related to national security, including the intelligence agencies and the Department of Homeland Security.

But in other areas, most notably the energy sector, the transition team advisers are far from independent.

Mr. Catanzaro’s client list is a who’s who of major corporate players — such as the Hess Corporation and Devon Energy — that have tried to challenge the Obama administration’s environmental and energy policies on issues such as how much methane gas can be released at oil and gas drilling sites, lobbying disclosure reports show.

He also worked with oil industry players to help push through major legislation goals, such as allowing the export of crude oil. He will now help pick Mr. Trump’s energy team.

Michael McKenna, another lobbyist helping to pick key administration officials who will oversee energy policy, has a client list that this year has included the Southern Company, one of the most vocal critics of efforts to prevent climate change by putting limits on emissions from coal-burning power plants.

Advisers with ties to other industries include Martin Whitmer, who is overseeing “transportation and infrastructure” for the Trump transition. He is the chairman of a Washington law firm whose lobbying clients include the Association of American Railroads and the National Asphalt Pavement Association.

David Malpass, the former chief economist at Bear Stearns, the Wall Street investment bank that collapsed during the 2008 financial crisis, is overseeing the “economic issues” portfolio of the transition, as well as operations at the Treasury Department.

Mr. Malpass now runs a firm called Encima Global, which sells economic research to institutional investors and corporate clients.

Mr. Eisenach, as a telecom industry consultant, has worked to help major cellular companies fight back against regulations proposed by the F.C.C. that would mandate so-called net neutrality — requiring providers to give equal access to their networks to outside companies. He is now helping to oversee the rebuilding of the staff at the F.C.C.

Dan DiMico, a former chief executive of the steelmaking company Nucor, who now serves on the board of directors of Duke Energy, is heading the transition team for the Office of the United States Trade Representative. Mr. DiMico has long argued that China is unfairly subsidizing its manufacturing sector at the expense of American jobs.

In October, declaring that “it’s time to drain the swamp in Washington,” he promised to institute a five-year ban in which all executive branch officials would be prevented from lobbying the government after they left. He has also promised to expand the definition of a lobbyist, so it includes corporate consultants who do not register as lobbyists but still often act like one.

Bruce F. Freed, the president of a nonprofit group called the Center for Political Accountability, which is pressing major corporations to be more transparent about their political spending, said Mr. Trump’s transition team had sent an unfortunate signal to his followers.

“This is one of the reasons you had such anger among voters — people rigging the system, gaming the system,” Mr. Freed said. “This represents more of the same.”

Binyamin Appelbaum contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett contributed research.



In Wisconsin this month, a campaign sign for Paul D. Ryan, the Wisconsin representative who is speaker of the House of Representatives, was repurposed to promote Donald J. Trump.

Single party dominates divided nation

SOMERS, WIS.

Republicans now control White House, Congress and more states than ever

BY JULIE BOSMAN AND MONICA DAVEY

It is the stunning paradox of American politics. In a bitterly divided nation, where last week’s vote once again showed a country almost evenly split between Democrats and Republicans, one party now dominates almost everything in American government.

With Donald J. Trump’s win, Republicans will soon control the White House, both chambers of Congress, the tilt of the Supreme Court, more state legislative chambers than at any time in history and more governor’s offices than they have held in nearly a century.

Republican leaders say that shift — to a level of one-party control that some historians said the Republicans have not seen since the 1920s — will finally end gridlock in now-divided Washington. They say it will allow the party to charge forward on pledges to change policies on health care, immigration and taxes, and expedite changes that have long been sought in the states. Democrats say the change has the potential to undo years of legislation meant to ensure a more equitable America, upend progress fighting climate change, leave millions stranded without health insurance and usher in harsh laws against immigrants.

Experts said that no one thing handed the Republicans so much power, even in places like Somers, Wis., that were once reliably blue. The current power balance reflects, among other things, the extraordinary dynamics of a race featuring a television-savvy outsider against the first female major-party nominee, the vagaries of turnout in a nation where roughly half of registered voters cast ballots, the systematic redrawing of political maps in ways that favored Republicans and frustration among voters over lost jobs, low wages and a changing racial and ethnic mix.

“That’s just the way it broke,” said Tim Storey, an elections expert at the National Conference of State Legislatures. “Republicans thought they were playing defense, and Democrats thought that it was going to be a good



“The Republican regime is just doing a better job right now,” said Dianne Hegewald, a resident of Wisconsin, where the party commands the governor’s office and Legislature.

year for them, but Republicans outpaced them and came out as strong as they went in, all across the board.”

At the state level, the outcome means 24 states will be under full Republican control in legislatures and governor’s offices, clearing the way for new policy. Only six states will have legislatures and governor’s offices exclusively dominated by Democrats, Mr. Storey said.

Matt Walter, the president of the Republican State Leadership Committee, said the Republican sweep has been mounting for years, particularly in state legislatures, where Republicans have grown increasingly dominant since 2010. During President Obama’s time in office, Democratic state lawmakers lost more than 800 legislative seats.

“The personalities this time were so big, and the drama was so big and so rapidly changing and consumed so many people’s attention that it, in some respects, blinded them to this trend line that this has been bubbling up for many years,” Mr. Walter said. “It really is the manifestation of this change that we’ve been seeing bubbling up from the bottom for many cycles now.”

In theory, one-party control in a divided nation might spur lawmakers to find bipartisan answers to bipartisan problems. But few people expect that. In Wisconsin, where Republicans took hold of state government years ago though the populace remained somewhat split politically, the political leaders have done the opposite — pressing forward with a conservative agenda that has included

measures to reduce the power of labor groups, limit abortions and add restrictions on voting that disproportionately affect Democratic constituencies.

Last Tuesday, Wisconsinites chose a Republican for president, something they had not done since 1984, propelled by worries over the economy and a desire to shake up Washington. Mr. Trump beat Hillary Clinton by about 1 percentage point, or about 27,000 votes. Some voters here said that they were encouraged by a flip to Republican control of Wisconsin’s Legislature and governor’s office six years ago, and favored Mr. Trump in the hopes that he would deliver more of the same to the nation.

“Since 2011, we have made decisions one after another — some controversial, many, many bipartisan — to move Wisconsin forward,” Robin Vos, the speaker of the State Assembly, said. “And I think that’s the model that we want to use as we go to look at what Washington, D.C., should do. Stick to your principles. Remember the people who actually sent you to get things done.”

Wisconsin’s state-level switch to Republican control was not without a battle. In 2011, thousands of demonstrators furiously protested efforts to limit labor union power, including sharply cutting collective-bargaining rights for most public-sector workers. Gov. Scott Walker soon faced a recall election, which he won. Labor unions shrank significantly in the state, and the Republicans pressed on with other parts of their agenda, including voter ID require-

ments and redrawing political maps. On Tuesday night, the Wisconsin Legislature remained firmly in the hands of Republicans, including what leaders described as their largest majority in the Assembly since 1956.

“The Republicans didn’t work with the Democrats at all,” said Chris Larson, a state senator, who was among a group of Democratic lawmakers who fled to Illinois for weeks in 2011 in an unsuccessful attempt to block passage of the collective-bargaining cuts. “They came in and just did everything as fast as they could. They jammed through everything. And pretty quickly, they had everything they wanted.”

In Somers, a bedroom community on Lake Michigan, many residents said they were surprised to wake up to the news that their state had flipped from blue to red. “We’re still a mix of Democrats and Republicans here — I don’t think you could call us a red state,” said Dianne Hegewald, 71. “I have very close friends who are Democrats. But the Republican regime is just doing a better job right now.”

One-party rule can produce results, experts say, and it can also produce changes that will benefit the party in power. Control tends to breed more: Legislators have the ability to redraw political maps and establish voting rules that benefit their party. Cooperation between state and federal leaders of a single party can speed along results, from infrastructure projects to federal grants.

But there are risks. Charging too far too fast can cause blowback as quickly as in elections two years from now. “There’s always a danger of overreach,” said KC Johnson, a professor of history at Brooklyn College. He noted the Republican dominance in the 1920s, when, he said, a debate over cultural issues tended to overshadow mounting economic questions that culminated in the Great Depression.

Fred Risser, a Democratic Wisconsin state senator who is the longest-serving state lawmaker in the nation, said the stakes of the Republicans’ dominance for the nation’s policy — for taxes, education policy, environmental regulation — were enormous. Yet Mr. Risser, 89, who first held political office in 1956, said the risks for the Republicans were also large. “They’ve got everything now, and so everything that happens they are responsible for and no one can blame the Democrats anymore. It’s always difficult to control everything. They have a lot to lose.”

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# Business

## Can Trump save the jobs of factory workers?

INDIANAPOLIS

President-elect predicted he would stop a plant from moving to Mexico

BY NELSON D. SCHWARTZ

By the time the Chicago Cubs won the World Series for the first time in 108 years this month, Paul Roell was already asleep. He had not stayed up to see Barack Obama win the presidency in 2008, or to watch in 2000 as the margin of votes separating George W. Bush and Al Gore in Florida shrank to the vanishing point.

After all, he has to clock in daily at 5:30 a.m. at the soon-to-be-closed Carrier factory here, where he has worked 17 years.

But shortly before 3 a.m. last Wednesday, when the networks projected that Donald J. Trump would be the next president of the United States, Mr. Roell was wide awake. His wife, Stephanie, was up, too, and they exchanged high fives.

In fact, Mr. Roell was so keyed up, he did not sleep at all that night and headed straight to the plant before sunrise, bleary-eyed but euphoric. “I don’t watch sports, but this was my World Series,” he said.

It is precisely this level of enthusiasm, from Mr. Roell and millions of like-minded Americans, that pollsters and the campaign of Hillary Clinton did not appreciate, even though it was vividly on display in February after a video went viral showing furious Carrier workers here learning from management that their jobs would be going abroad.

Carrier’s decision to move the factory to Monterrey, Mexico, will eliminate 1,400 jobs by 2019. Mr. Trump quickly made the factory Exhibit A in his argument against the trade policies of Republicans and Democrats alike.

He cited Carrier again and again on the campaign trail, threatening to phone executives at the company and its parent, United Technologies, and to hit them with 35 percent tariffs on any furnaces and air-conditioners they imported from Mexico. To the cheers of his supporters, he predicted at rallies that Carrier would call him up as president and say, “Sir, we’ve decided to stay in the United States.”

Now his supporters expect action. “If he doesn’t pass that tariff, I will vote the other way next time,” warned Nicole Hargrove, who has worked at Carrier for a decade and a half and was not certain what she would do if and when her job went to Mexico.

Carrier isn’t changing its plans. On Friday in a written statement, the company said, “We are making every effort to ease the transition for our Carrier colleagues in Indiana.” The company pointed out that it will finance four-year retraining and educational programs for employees and provide financial help.

For Mr. Trump, now comes the hard part. In interviews in recent days and in March, Trump voters here made clear that if he does not follow through on his promises, they are prepared to turn on him, just as they are seemingly punishing Democrats today for not delivering the hope and change that voters sought from President Obama after he won as an outsider in 2008.

And while Mr. Roell is a conservative, Mr. Trump’s tough talk about Carrier, the economy and the future of American



PHOTOGRAPHS BY WHITTEN SABBATINI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jennifer Shanklin-Hawkins, above left, and Nicole Hargrove work at a Carrier factory, below, that is leaving Indianapolis for Monterrey, Mexico, eliminating 1,400 jobs by 2019.

“I feel like the American people are at the point where they’ve had it, and this was the last chance.”

manufacturing jobs also appealed to moderates like Darrell Presley, a steelworker in rural Crawfordsville, Ind., who voted for Mr. Obama in 2008. “He was for change, and said he would take care of the middle class, but he didn’t live up to those expectations,” Mr. Presley said. “I feel like the American people are at the point where they’ve had it, and this was the last chance.”

Last Tuesday, blue-collar workers across the industrial heartland hearkened to Mr. Trump’s call, putting states never thought to be in serious play, like Wisconsin and Michigan, in his win column.

As president, however, Mr. Trump will face a tough balance. Tariffs and trade wars stand to hurt American workers who make products that are exported to Mexico or China. Few voters will be happy paying more for imported goods.

And regardless of who is in the Oval Office, manufacturers are seeing relentless pressure, from investors and rival companies, to automate, replacing workers with machines that do not break down or require health benefits and pension plans. Wall Street hedge fund managers are demanding steadily rising earnings from Carrier’s parent, United Technologies, even as growth remains sluggish worldwide.

The Carrier plant here in Indianapolis is plenty profitable. But moving to Mon-

terrey, where workers earn in a day what they make here in an hour, will increase profits faster.

Mr. Roell, who earns about \$55,000 a year with overtime as a team leader making furnaces, has few illusions about the gulf separating him from Mr. Trump, or the global challenges that American factory workers face. “His father was a millionaire, he’s a billionaire,” Mr. Roell said, sitting at Sully’s Bar & Grill on Thursday night opposite the factory with fellow Carrier workers. “His son Barron’s allowance is probably more than my salary.”

Nor does he underestimate the profound economic threat to the 1,400 workers at the factory, where layoffs are expected to begin next summer and continue in waves until it closes in 2019. Mr. Roell was promoted to team leader in March.

The mood in the factory has worsened. Senior engineers travel from Indianapolis to Monterrey to supervise the shifting of production lines, workers and union officials said. Mexican engineers, in turn, have been coming here, measuring and assessing the machines they will operate south of the border; unless, of course, Mr. Trump can deliver on his promise.

“It’s demoralizing when you see them taking pictures,” Mr. Roell said. “It’s like you are getting divorced but you are still living with your wife and her new boyfriend is coming over.”

For workers like Mr. Roell, 36, who started at Carrier just weeks after receiving his high school diploma and never returned to school, the problem is not a shortage of jobs in the area. In-



stead, it is a drought of jobs that pay anywhere near the \$23.83 an hour he makes at Carrier, let alone enough to give him a toehold in the middle class.

When he drives to work each day before dawn, Mr. Roell passes warehouse after warehouse of giants like Walmart and Kohl’s with “Help Wanted” signs outside promising jobs within. The problem is that they typically pay \$13 to \$15 an hour.

“I guess I could work two full-time shifts a day,” he joked.

The situation confronting Mr. Roell and other blue-collar Carrier workers is not simply one anecdote from the region called the Rust Belt. It is part of a broad predicament for workers without

college educations, and it is borne out by Census Bureau data. And it explains why even in Indiana, a state with a lower rate of unemployment than the national average and a strong rebound from the recession in many ways, the economic and political frustration is palpable.

Since 2010, the private sector in Indiana has added roughly 300,000 jobs, bringing the unemployment rate from a high of 10.9 percent in January 2010 (nearly a percentage point above the national average) to 4.5 percent now (nearly half a percentage point below the national unemployment rate).

But nearly all that growth occurred in the service sector — hotel and food service workers, or health care technicians,

or workers in the warehouses Mr. Roell drives past — which added more than 220,000 positions, for a total of 1.9 million today. While manufacturers added 85,569 jobs since the sector bottomed out at 434,919 in January 2010, factory employment in Indiana over all remains significantly below where it was before the recession.

And service jobs do not come close to paying what manufacturing jobs do. According to the Census Bureau, the typical service sector position in Indiana paid \$39,338 in 2015, compared with \$59,029 for a manufacturing position.

The cross-generational drop-off can be stark, and it scars families. Within Local 1999 of the United Steelworkers union, which includes workers at Carrier and other local industrial employers, members typically start at \$17 an hour, according to Chuck Jones, Local 1999’s president. For comparison, his 21-year-old granddaughter Haley Duncan is about to finish college and take a job in health care that pays \$14.50 an hour.

Ms. Duncan and her older brother, Drake, were tempted by factory work. But Mr. Jones and their parents told them to forget it and stay in school because, while manufacturing might pay more, its future was becoming more precarious. The Rexnord bearing factory here — where Mr. Jones started working fresh out of high school in 1969 and where his stepson works now — last month said it might follow Carrier to Mexico and eliminate at least 300 jobs.

Can Mr. Trump, with his promises to bring these jobs back and his calls to retaliate against chief executives if they do not listen, stem the tide?

Broader economic trends suggest Mr. Trump will face an uphill struggle even if he does follow through on his threat to pressure Carrier’s executives or hit the company with steep tariffs. What is more, while the bully pulpit of the president is something corporate chieftains fear, Rexnord’s plan to pull up stakes even after the Carrier situation suggests businesses will not bow to the threat of bad P.R.

And even if Congress and the White House agree on a plan to increase manufacturing — tax credits for research and new investments or financing apprenticeships as European countries do — automation will continue to claim jobs.

“I’m pretty skeptical Trump’s policies will reverse this process,” said John Van Reenen, a professor of economics at M.I.T. who studies how technology and innovation affect profits and wages at companies. “These are fundamental forces that have more to do with technology than trade.”

In particular, he said, across developed economies more national income is going to capital, that is, owners and shareholders, rather than labor. “We’ve seen this in many countries with different political systems,” he said. “It’s a winner-take-all world.”

Even Robin Maynard, a Carrier team leader who enthusiastically backed Mr. Trump, acknowledges that even a phone call from the Oval Office to the company’s executive suite might not be enough to save his job. “Hopefully, he can do something for us,” Mr. Maynard said. “But I think it’s out of the C.E.O.’s hands. It’s in the hands of the shareholders.”

In this age of 401(k) investment plans and individual retirement accounts, these shareholders are, in a real sense, all Americans. But for the Carrier workers in Indianapolis and millions of other blue-collar workers, no matter how they **WORKERS, PAGE 9**

## Right-wing opinion and news site gains voice in White House

BY MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM AND JOHN HERRMAN

There is talk of Breitbart bureaus opening in Paris, Berlin and Cairo, spots where the populist right is on the rise. A bigger newsroom is coming in Washington, the better to cover a president-elect whose candidacy it embraced.

Mainstream news outlets are soul-searching after being shocked by Donald J. Trump’s election last week. But the team at Breitbart News, the right-wing opinion and news website that some critics have denounced as a hate site, is elated — and eager to expand on a victory that it views as a profound validation of its cause.

“So much of the media mocked us, laughed at us, called us all sorts of names,” Alexander Marlow, the site’s editor in chief, said in an interview on Sunday. “And then for us to be seen as integral to the election of a president, despite all of that hatred, is something that we certainly enjoy, and savor.”

Breitbart not only championed Mr. Trump; its chairman, Stephen K. Bannon, helped run his campaign. On Sunday, Mr. Trump named Mr. Bannon as his chief White House strategist and senior counselor, further closing the distance between Breitbart’s newsroom and the president-elect.

Those who consider Mr. Trump, who has vilified the news media, a threat to the free press view Mr. Bannon’s appointment as more cause for alarm. Critics say Breitbart now has the potential to play an unprecedented role in a modern presidency, as a weaponized media

adjunct for the White House. “It will be as close as we are ever going to have — hopefully — to a state-run media enterprise,” said Kurt Bardella, a former Breitbart spokesman who quit the site this year, saying it had turned into a de facto “super PAC” for Mr. Trump.

Breitbart has been denounced as misogynist, racist and xenophobic, and it served as a clearinghouse for attacks on Mr. Trump’s adversaries, spreading unsubstantiated rumors about Hillary Clinton’s health and undermining its own reporter, Michelle Fields, after she accused Corey Lewandowski, then Mr. Trump’s campaign manager, of assaulting her.

The site frequently boasts about knowing the pulse of its readers. News articles with evocative headlines, like “Paris Streets Turned into WARZONE by Violent Migrants,” are frequently followed by comments from readers about “the enemy within,” migrant “scum” and the “Jewish-controlled media.” Breitbart’s writers often vilify the Black Lives Matter movement, emphasizing what they say is a wave of “black-on-black crime.”

But the site’s influence on social media, where more and more Americans now consume information, has been palpable. On election night, Breitbart’s Facebook page received the fourth-highest number of user interactions on the entire platform — beating Fox News, CNN and The New York Times.

Mr. Marlow, the editor, praised Mr. Bannon on Sunday, saying, “Steve understands the voters, the American people, better than just about anyone.” But



RUTH FREASON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Stephen K. Bannon, Breitbart’s chairman, helped run Donald J. Trump’s campaign and has been named to a White House position as strategist and senior counselor.

he rejected the premise that Breitbart could become an American version of Pravda.

“Our loyalty is not going to be to Donald Trump; our loyalty is to our readers and to our values,” Mr. Marlow, 30, said. “That’s regardless of what role Steve has.”

“If Trump runs his administration and honors the voters who voted him in, we’re all good,” Mr. Marlow added. “But if he is going to turn his back on those values and principles that drove his voters to the polls, we’re going to be

highly critical. We’re not going to think twice about it.”

For now, Breitbart is supporting the president-elect. Its post-Election Day coverage has been, if anything, emboldened: “Meltdown Continues: Wave of Fake ‘Hate Crimes’ Sweeps Social Media,” read a headline on its home page on Sunday, attempting to cast doubt on a wave of reports of intimidation and harassment by Trump supporters. “Anti-Democracy Crybabies March by Thousands Nationwide,” read another.

The site’s expansion of political coverage comes at a time when other news outlets in Washington are concerned about staying relevant with readers — and girding for tensions with a president-elect who denounces reporters as dishonest, or worse.

A spokesman for the White House Correspondents’ Association, which coordinates press coverage of the White House, declined to comment on Mr. Bannon’s appointment.

Andrew Breitbart, the site’s founder, who died in 2012, “used to talk about the Democrat-media complex,” recalled Ben Shapiro, Breitbart’s former editor at large.

“It’s hard to think of a more Republican-media complex than Breitbart and the Trump team,” Mr. Shapiro said. “I’ll be fascinated to see if there are any points of departure, any points of criticism at all.”

Outlets like Fox News, which has a large Republican audience, insist that Breitbart is no competitor, saying that an online-only outlet with few known personalities can hardly compete with television networks that reach tens of millions of homes.

Breitbart receives far fewer unique web visitors than Fox News’s digital sites, according to statistics from comScore. Still, its Facebook audience has more than doubled in the last year, and it frequently sets the agenda for social media users with their own mass followings. The site has spotlighted nationalist views and conspiracies once relegated to the right-wing fringe.

Larry Solov, Breitbart’s chief execu-

tive, declined on Sunday to provide revenue figures for the site. Nor would he comment on whether Mr. Bannon, a former Goldman Sachs banker, retained a financial stake. (Mr. Solov is a part owner, along with Andrew Breitbart’s estate and the family of Robert Mercer, a wealthy Trump donor.)

Speaking by telephone from Hearst Castle in California, which he was visiting for a postelection vacation, Mr. Solov said that his teams had been flooded with résumés from reporters and even some aspiring journalists with no experience, “who feel motivated and energized.”

“We’ve built a community, and I really emphasize that,” Mr. Solov said. “People come to us because they feel they belong to something.”

Mr. Marlow, the editor, said the site’s international expansion was tied to upcoming elections in France and Germany. He said that Breitbart planned to support the candidacy of Marine Le Pen, the leader of France’s far-right National Front party.

“There’s an underserved readership” in Europe, Mr. Marlow said, before referring to the recent “Brexit” vote. “It’s the same readers who had been ignored in Britain and had been ignored in the United States.”

On Sunday, with Mr. Bannon elevated to one of the country’s most powerful positions, the site took on a celebratory air. Linking to a story about Mr. Bannon’s new role, the @BreitbartNews Twitter account wrote, to its more than 400,000 followers: “What a time to be alive.”



BUSINESS

Oceans of data and few facts

Top ad executives try to readjust after they misread Trump's appeal

BY SAPNA MAHESHWARI

The presidential race was not far from the minds of executives from America's biggest brands and advertising agencies last month in Orlando, Fla., at the annual conference held by the Association of National Advertisers. The industry leaders had traveled from cities like New York, Chicago and San Francisco, and any political conversation seemed to be premised on the assumption that Hillary Clinton would win.

There was some talk about how to best market to Donald J. Trump's supporters after Nov. 8 and debate about what a potential Trump media organization might look like. Many were aghast that the race was close at all, criticizing aspects of Mrs. Clinton's branding and messaging for holding her back in what they thought should have a no-brainer for voters.

So when Mr. Trump won the election last week, an industry that prides itself on always knowing what motivates and excites the American public was in a state of shock. Marketers now find themselves asking serious questions about how they study consumers, use data and quantify the value of facts — questions about the fundamental nature of their business.

Advertisers, like many others, “may have found ourselves in bubbles of our own making,” said Rishad Tobaccowala, chief strategist for the Publicis Groupe.

Sarah Hofstetter, the chief executive of the digital agency 360i, said the disconnect between Mr. Trump's win and the predictions from polls and forecasters threw into question “the rules of market research,” traditionally rooted in surveys, interviews and discussions with focus groups in controlled settings.

That information should now be supplemented with “social listening” on Twitter, Reddit and other parts of the internet, and behavioral data including what people are searching for online, said Ms. Hofstetter, whose agency has worked with brands like Oscar Mayer and Toyota.

“It's a wake-up call,” she said. “One data set is not going to give you the full picture, because with people, what people say is not always what they think or

what they do, whether intentional or not.”

At the same time, advertisers are prepared for a new period of second-guessing any customer data, whether it has been gathered internally or supplied by the brands they work with. Some of that is rooted in recognizing the one-sided nature of the world they experienced on Facebook and Twitter during the election.

“In a world of social and filtered media, we are not getting enough signals that we might be wrong,” Mr. Tobaccowala said. “All marketers must actually look for evidence and actually search out why they may not be right.”

Rob Schwartz, chief executive of TBWA\Chiat\Day New York, said: “There's going to be scrutiny on data and a big demand from clients saying, ‘Yes, there's data, and what do we really know? Who's been to Kansas to understand what they're consuming in Kansas, and is it the same in Nebraska? And don't just Google it.’”



Wendy Clark, a former Coca-Cola marketing executive, said the election showed that “we live in a postfactual democracy.”

Some marketers have been left wondering if facts and reason matter less than they expected — a counterintuitive discovery in the age of information.

Wendy Clark, the chief executive of DDB North America and a former Coca-Cola marketing executive, said the election showed “facts are somewhat negotiable.” Ms. Clark spent some time working with Mrs. Clinton's campaign last year, a rumor confirmed last month when an email she wrote about the importance of Mrs. Clinton's logo was disclosed by WikiLeaks.

“Facts are sort of, ‘I might take them

or I might not,’” she said. “They're certainly discretionary now, so there is that notion as a marketer and advertiser of understanding we live in a postfactual democracy.”

Mr. Tobaccowala remarked that “emotion brings people out, reason probably doesn't.”

“You had a candidate who was more experienced and probably had a résumé better than anyone to be president of the United States defeated by a candidate with a résumé who is least likely to be president of the United States,” he said. “One spoke to reason and the other spoke to emotion.”

Mr. Schwartz said he saw that reflected in how Mr. Trump was able to fashion himself as the protagonist of a David and Goliath story, appealing to those looking for an “outsider” to “fix the system,” he said. It was akin to what Bernie Sanders offered voters, he said.

“The story of ‘I'm taking on big government’ was more compelling at this point in history than the story of, ‘I'm going to keep this thing going and make it incrementally better’ and the story of experience,” he said. “Sometimes the story of experience can be really soothing for people and really be the thing that captures people's imaginations. The Bernie narrative and the Trump narrative is the same.”

Some see a broader lesson in the rejection of experience by the electorate. Richard Edelman, the chief executive of the public relations company Edelman, said Mr. Trump's use of Twitter — which he often used to forcefully attack Mrs. Clinton and the news media — and reduced reliance on traditional TV ads showed the power of “peer-to-peer” communication.

“The more effective messaging might be from the mass population as opposed to using celebrities and using media and academics,” he said.

Ms. Clark said on Thursday that she was eager for people to “lean back into being Americans,” especially after “the level of dialogue that took place,” a reference to the often ugly nature of the campaign. She anticipates more ads highlighting values like the importance of diversity as the nation works to find common ground.

“Brands can shape culture, so I think in that sense brands have a responsibility to represent their values and talk about them,” Ms. Clark said. “And if you're an inclusive brand — there's nothing more democratic to me than inclusion.”

If you don't know the face

WESTPORT, CONN.

Newman's Own brand shifts marketing approach to emphasize philanthropy

BY ZACH SCHONBRUN

Newman's Own was having trouble getting the word out about its philanthropy.

The brand has “All Profits to Charity” inscribed across every label on its popular salad dressings, pasta sauces and microwaveable popcorn — a pledge that has amounted to more than \$485 million donated since 1982.

But some wondered if consumers were simply being distracted by the movie star Paul Newman's dazzling smile.

“They might see it the first time, but the second or third time they only see Paul's face,” said Bruce Bruemmer, vice president of marketing for Newman's Own. “The ‘All Profits to Charity’ is lost.”

Well, the grin is not going anywhere. But Newman's Own is making more of a show of its record of magnanimity, rolling out a marketing initiative aimed at millennials who might not recognize the famous face of the brand and might have little to no knowledge of its altruistic story.

For a no-frills company that has tried to avoid the spotlight — its celebrity co-founder notwithstanding — the new promotional effort is an unusual step. But it follows a growing pattern among large corporations to highlight their philanthropic work to appeal to a younger audience. Millennials especially have demonstrated a propensity to favor companies with a generous mission.

“What we're doing is not new,” said Robert Forrester, chief executive of the Newman's Own Foundation and a longtime friend of Mr. Newman, who died in 2008. “This is in our DNA.”

Newman's Own worked with the production company the Narrative Content Group, which is based in Atlanta, to produce videos that highlight a few of the 600 charities the company works with each year. Three of the videos were set to be released on Monday on social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram and YouTube; the rest will be circulated in 2017.

Newman's Own is also rewording and repositioning the “All Profits to Charity” banner that typically frames Mr. Newman's face. The new label, which is expected to start appearing in stores in December, will be more prominently located on the products. The wording has also changed to “100 Percent to Charity,” which Newman's Own feels is a slight but significant clarification to consumers.

“It's definitive,” Mr. Bruemmer said. “It's unambiguous.”

“We give it all away. That makes a big difference,” he added.

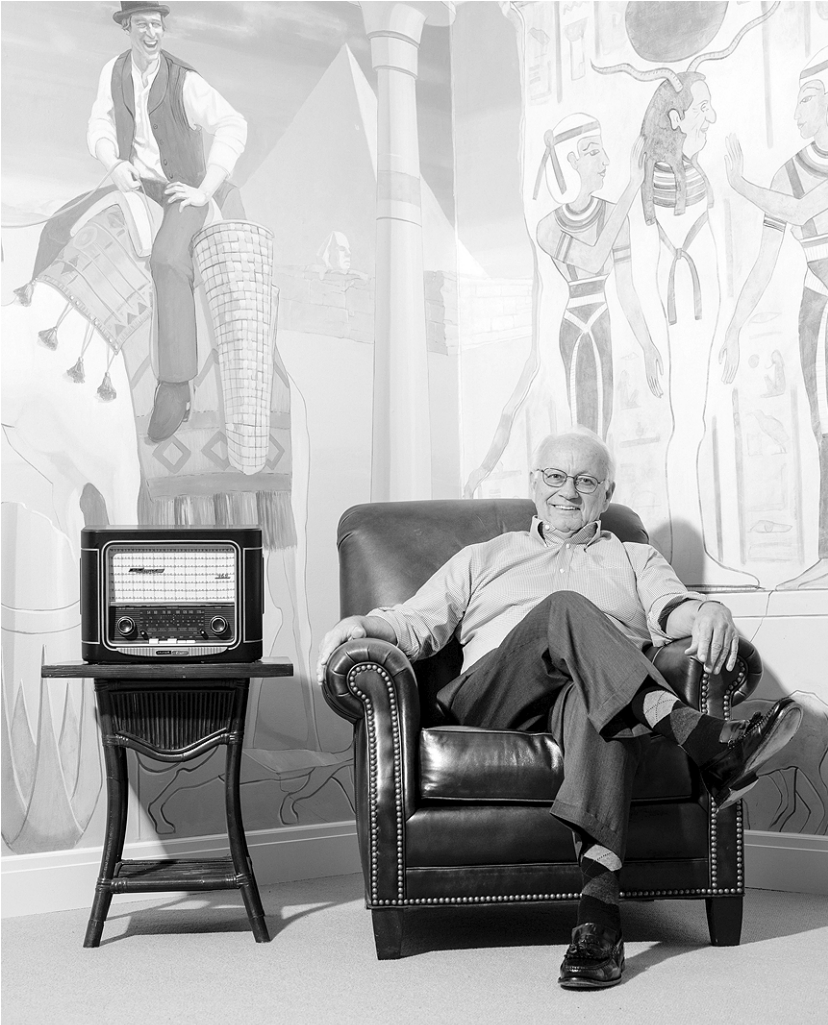
Newman's Own's charitable endeavor remains unchanged. It gives all proceeds to people or organizations in need. That was Mr. Newman's original concept.

“Paul had two founding values: Quality would always trump the bottom line,” Mr. Forrester said. “And if we ever have any money, we'd give it away.”

The foundation, which is funded entirely through sales of Newman's Own products and does not accept donations, gave away \$260.8 million before Mr. Newman's death and \$224.4 million since then, or about \$28 million annually since 2008.

But only a third of Newman's Own customers said they realized the company gave away its profits, according to Mr. Bruemmer.

That figure was even lower among millennials, he said; only 12 percent acknowledged they knew how much of



PHOTOGRAPHS BY COLE WILSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Robert Forrester, chief of the Newman's Own Foundation, said the company's philanthropic mission “is in our DNA.” Below, products with the new “100% Profits” labeling.

Newman's Own's profits were donated. Mr. Forrester said those numbers surprised him, until he took another look at the label and realized that the banner did not stand out.



“A lot of people, particularly older generations, just understood this is what Newman's Own always did,” Mr. Forrester said. “It was this younger consumer that, frankly, we were overlooking.”

This did not surprise Jason Dorsey, a researcher at the Center for Generational Kinetics, a consulting group based in Austin, Tex., that specializes in millennial marketing. He thinks young buyers were having a hard time connecting with the Newman's Own story, partly because many of them are too young to be aware of the entertainer.

“This is a perfect example of a great model that is not positioned well for the generation they're trying to influence,” Mr. Dorsey said in a telephone interview.

Mr. Dorsey's research shows that millennials are more likely to come back to a product if they believe it has a social conscience. Brands have certainly noticed. Joel Babbit, founder and chief executive of the Narrative Content Group, which counts AT&T, Coca-Cola and Delta among its clients, said it was becoming more common for companies to highlight philanthropic works in their marketing strategy.

Still, when Newman's Own called and said it needed a campaign to highlight

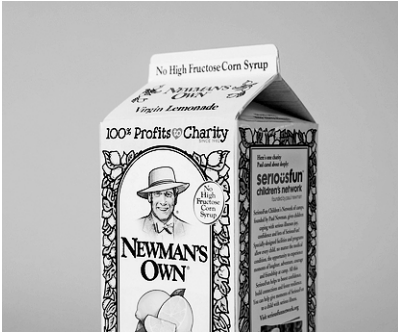
its good will, he was a bit surprised.

“It was surprising that millennials weren't aware of it to the degree they should be,” Mr. Babbit said.

The videos are not typical promotional ads, because they do not mention anything about Newman's Own products. Instead, they highlight its partnerships, such as those with organizations that provide guide dogs to blind veterans and a school for girls in Kenya.

These partnerships are recognized throughout Newman's Own's new headquarters in Westport, Conn., a couple of miles down the road from where it resided for more than 30 years. The offices are bright and airy, filled with reclaimed wood and adorned with gifts from the charities it supports, such as a bubble gum statue of a puma made at the Hole in the Wall Gang Camp, a free summer camp for children with serious illnesses (the gum was softened using hair dryers, not by chewing).

Mr. Forrester said he was encouraged when millennial buyers used three words to describe what Newman's Own meant to them: trust, authenticity and consistency.



When asked what his old friend might say about the company's new advertising initiative, Mr. Forrester guessed that Mr. Newman would react in the understated manner he normally used to convey his appreciation for a job well done: “Good start. Let's go have a beer.”

“That'd be it,” Mr. Forrester added. “That was Paul.”

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# Media warily hoping for change in Trump



**Jim Rutenberg**

MEDIATOR

It was mid-June, and relations between Donald J. Trump and the news media had taken another dreadful turn. He had already vowed to change the libel laws to make it easier to sue journalists, and his personal insults were becoming more vicious. (One news correspondent was a “sleaze”; another was “third rate.”)

Most troubling was that he was keeping a blacklist of news organizations he was banning from his rallies, and it was growing.

I called him at the time, to see what this would look like in a Trump administration. Would he deny White House credentials to select reporters and news organizations?

No, he said. “There, I’m taking something away, where I’m representing the nation.”

We can only hope he means it. Because if Mr. Trump keeps up the posture he displayed during the campaign — all-out war footing — the future will hold some very grim days, not just for news reporters but also for an American constitutional system that relies on a free and strong press.

It’s one thing to wage a press war as a candidate, when the most you can do is enforce reporting bans at your rallies, hurl insults and deny access (all of which are plenty bad).

It’s another thing to do it from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, where you have control over what vital government information is made public and where you have sway over the Justice Department.

Imagine what somebody with a press vendetta and a dim view of the First Amendment would do with that kind of power.

For their part, American newsrooms are conducting their own reassess-

ments, vowing to do a better job covering the issues that animated his supporters and acknowledging that Mr. Trump tapped into something in the national mood, the power of which they failed to grasp.

They now know they underestimate him again at their own peril. Yet they also know that the need to continue with probing, unflinching reporting that promotes the truth in the face of whatever comes at them will be great.

In the days immediately after Mr. Trump’s victory, journalists that don’t work at organizations with Breitbart in their names were preparing for potential reporting challenges, the likes of which they had never seen, while lawyers were gaming out possible legal strategies, should Mr. Trump move against press freedoms.

Right after his victory Mr. Trump was telegraphing a gentler tone, declaring to The Wall Street Journal, “It’s different now.” Perhaps he was making his long-promised “pivot” to become “more presidential than anybody” save Abraham Lincoln.

But then came the Saturday night release of his “60 Minutes” interview, in which he said he would keep his Twitter account so that when any news organization gave him “a bad story,” he would “have a method of fighting back.”

And he didn’t skip a beat on Sunday morning, when he attacked The New York Times with a Twitter post that read, “Wow, the @nytimes is losing thousands of subscribers because of their very poor and highly inaccurate coverage of the ‘Trump phenomena.’”

The statement was false. The paper said Sunday that postelection cancellations had been so substantially stripped by a surge of new subscriptions that its subscription growth rate in the period that followed Tuesday’s result was four times the growth rate in the same period of last quarter.

In an atmosphere in which it’s not shocking to hear about anti-Semitic literature being sent to the home of a Jewish reporter — the address having been published online by supporters of Mr. Trump — it was hard to see any of this as very presidential, though the definition may be changing.

The funny thing is that few major political figures have had a more codependent and at times friendly relationship with the press than Mr. Trump.



Donald J. Trump traveled separately from reporters during his campaign. Newsrooms now know the risk of underestimating him.

**If Mr. Trump keeps up his all-out war posture, the future will be grim, and not just for reporters.**

Before he stopped doing news briefings in the later phase of the campaign, he was shaping up to be the most accessible major-party nominee in modern history.

But displeasing him could have an intensely personal cost, which the Fox News anchor Megyn Kelly recalls in her new book, “Settle for More.”

Ms. Kelly, who became Mr. Trump’s leading television nemesis during the primary campaign, writes about how the candidate, unhappy with a segment she did in July 2015, threatened to unleash “my beautiful Twitter account against you.”

After enduring her tough question-

ing at the first presidential primary debate, he made good on his Twitter promise, which in turn led to death threats against her, she said. (“I would spend many days of the coming months accompanied by security,” she writes.) It didn’t help, she wrote, that Mr. Trump’s special counsel, Michael Cohen, recirculated a Trump supporter’s tweet that read “we can gut her.”

That was followed by what she took as another threat, from Mr. Trump’s campaign manager at the time, Corey Lewandowski. As Mr. Lewandowski unsuccessfully lobbied a Fox News executive to remove Ms. Kelly from the next Fox debate, she writes, he said he would hate to see her go through such a “rough couple of days” again. (Fox News described the conversation the same way earlier this year.)

Mr. Lewandowski had been the

living embodiment of Mr. Trump’s aggressive approach to the press. He was, after all, arrested on charges that he manhandled the former Breitbart News reporter Michelle Fields. (Prosecutors in Florida ultimately dropped the charges.)

After a paid stint at CNN, Mr. Lewandowski returned to the Trump fold last week, and could wind up in the administration or at the Republican Party headquarters.

Another member of Mr. Trump’s transition team, the Silicon Valley investor Peter Thiel, broke new ground this year by financing the “Hulk Hogan” lawsuit against Gawker, which resulted in Gawker’s bankruptcy and sale to Univision.

Though that was technically an invasion-of-privacy case, it was a model for what Mr. Trump has said he wants to see in opening up libel laws.

## Grasping at a chance to save jobs

WORKERS, FROM PAGE 7

voted, nuances like that do not matter so much now. Just the hope that Mr. Trump will try to reverse the long decline in their neighborhoods, their living standards and even their longevity is an emotional balm.

“He doesn’t like blacks. He doesn’t like Hispanics. He doesn’t like disabled people,” said Jennifer Shanklin-Hawkins, who, like roughly half the Carrier factory workers, is African-American. “He’s not presidential material. But my husband and I weren’t mad or upset when he won. I know blacks who voted for him, and I want to give him a chance.”

Some blue-collar neighborhoods that supported Mr. Trump have been portrayed as monocultures, the opposite of supposedly more diverse, cosmopolitan cities that favored Mrs. Clinton, the Democratic candidate. That caricature does not hold up here.

At least half of the workers on Carrier’s assembly line are women. And dozens of Burmese immigrants have gone to work at the factory in recent years, part of an influx of nearly 15,000 refugees from Myanmar into Indianapolis since 2001.

“It can be hard to communicate, but they work very hard,” Mr. Maynard said. “They don’t complain, and I love their work ethic.”

And the neighborhoods around Carrier’s factory are considerably more diverse than many wealthy New York and San Francisco suburbs, where Democrats dominate.

Down the road from the Carrier factory, past the railroad tracks and a few patches of farmland that remain in Indianapolis, the tidy neighborhood of split-level and ranch houses where Cecil Link Jr. lives has changed in recent years. A worker at a plastics factory nearby, Mr. Link noted that a Hispanic family recently moved in next door, and he said he was pleased that blacks and whites now socialize in ways almost unimaginable decades ago.

“It pains me to see this country divided by race,” Mr. Link said. Nevertheless, he voted for Mr. Trump.

The last time he voted in a presidential election was 1992, when he cast his ballot for Bill Clinton. But this time, he said, he registered explicitly to vote for Mr. Trump. “I was tired of corruption and lies in Washington,” he said. “I just wanted a nonpolitician like Trump.”

Mr. Presley, the Crawfordsville steelworker, is a white 59-year-old who voted for Mr. Obama in 2008 and Mr. Trump in 2016. He was even more emphatic that racial resentment or ethnic bigotry was not behind his support for Mr. Trump. “I grew up on the West Side of Indianapolis in a racist environment,” he said. “But I went to a high school that was 57 percent black, and I played football with a lot of black guys, and we became close friends. I learned not to be racist.”



Cecil Link Jr. lives down the road from the Carrier plant and works at a plastics factory. “I was tired of corruption and lies in Washington,” he said of his vote for Donald Trump.

Instead of bias, what animates these voters, whatever their race or political orientation, is a profound distrust and resentment of wealthier, educated Americans, a group they say lacks a connection to them and does not care about their economic situation. And to them, Mrs. Clinton seemed at least as elite as Mr. Trump, if not more so.

“I just couldn’t bring myself to vote for him, but both candidates are evil,” said Ms. Shanklin-Hawkins, who reluctantly voted for Mrs. Clinton but has never forgiven her for her remarks about “super-predators” in the 1990s, or the mandatory prison sentencing guidelines Mr. Clinton signed into law as president.

“Hillary hasn’t sweated a day in her life, unless it was losing a tough case as a lawyer,” Mr. Maynard said. “We wanted

**“We wanted to take America in a different direction. I’m just hoping Trump will do what he says.”**

to take America in a different direction. I’m just hoping Trump will do what he says.”

Can the Democratic Party recapture these voters if Mr. Trump does not deliver? Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio, among the most liberal Democrats in the Senate, contends it can, if Democrats follow his lead in appealing to working-class concerns and opposing free trade deals like the North American Free Trade Agreement and the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership, a pact with Asian nations that President Obama supported. Of course these, too, are Mr. Trump’s positions.

Mr. Presley readily acknowledges that Mr. Trump is a billionaire with an Ivy League education.

“But he gets that the country is in bad shape,” Mr. Presley said. “Sure, he made some mistakes and sometimes he went a little overboard, but the guys I work with related to it. If we spoke in public, we’d make mistakes too.”

To them, it’s not only industry that’s in bad shape. So are the institutions that once provided structure to working-class life in America. Many Carrier workers are regular churchgoers, but Ms. Hargrove said she was deeply troubled by how priests abused children, or how the police shot suspects even though their arms were raised in the air.

“Things are chaotic,” she said.

The distrust is evident even within the steelworkers union, another institution that once provided a support system for workers. Mr. Roell is leery of area leaders like Mr. Jones of Local 1999, who had battles of his own with the union’s top officials over their support for Mrs. Clinton.

A fierce supporter of Bernie Sanders, Mrs. Clinton’s rival for the Democratic nomination, Mr. Jones did not make an endorsement in the general election. “I held my nose and voted for her,” he said between drags on a Marlboro at the local’s union hall. “I didn’t trust her a bit. I told people she would flip on trade deals after she was elected.”

“I’m as left-wing as you can find, and I thought Trump was full of it,” he said. “But everybody is tired of the same old politicians. It could have been Captain Kangaroo and he might have won.”

As for the candidate who did win, Mr. Trump, the union leader said he was waiting for him to make that phone call to Carrier. “He’s got time. He doesn’t take the oath of office until Jan. 20,” Mr. Jones said. “Trump made Carrier the poster child and said he would hold Carrier accountable. Well, we’re going to hold him to it.”

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TECH

Smartphones and the spy who loved me

SEATTLE

Using apps to track people can be reassuring but it can also feed an obsession

BY NICK WINGFIELD

In the middle of a long bicycle ride several weeks ago, I pulled over for a rest and took out my iPhone to send a text message to my wife. I had a feeling she might be watching me.

“If you’re checking my location, I’m not dead,” I wrote to her. “I’m getting coffee on Mercer Island.”

As it happens, she was not keeping tabs on where I was, but she could have — and has in the past — because I have allowed her to do so using the location-tracking capability in my phone. Whenever she’s curious, she can see me represented as an orange dot on a digital map on her phone.

An unmoving dot could be a cyclist husband who got a flat tire, grabbed a beer with a friend or was hit by a car (hence the reassuring text).

Now and again, I, too, check my wife’s location so I know when she leaves work and can time dinner with her arrival. She and I have both tracked the whereabouts of our 13-year-old daughter using her phone to reassure ourselves that she was on her way home from school or a trip to the store.

When did you start working for the National Security Agency, I’ve asked myself in jest.

Most Americans don’t like the idea of their government spying on their internet activities, and a lot of them have misgivings about companies tracking their online habits for commercial purposes. But when they are presented with the tools and opportunity to play Big Brother with others in their family, it’s tough for some to resist.

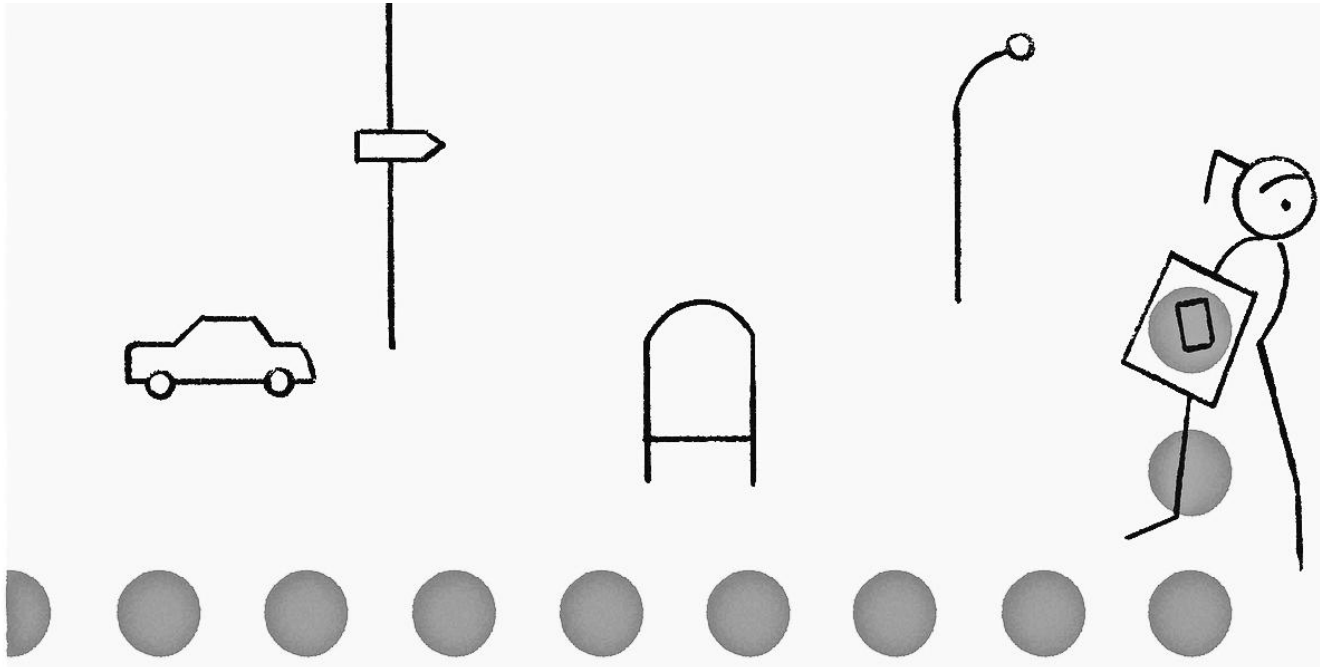
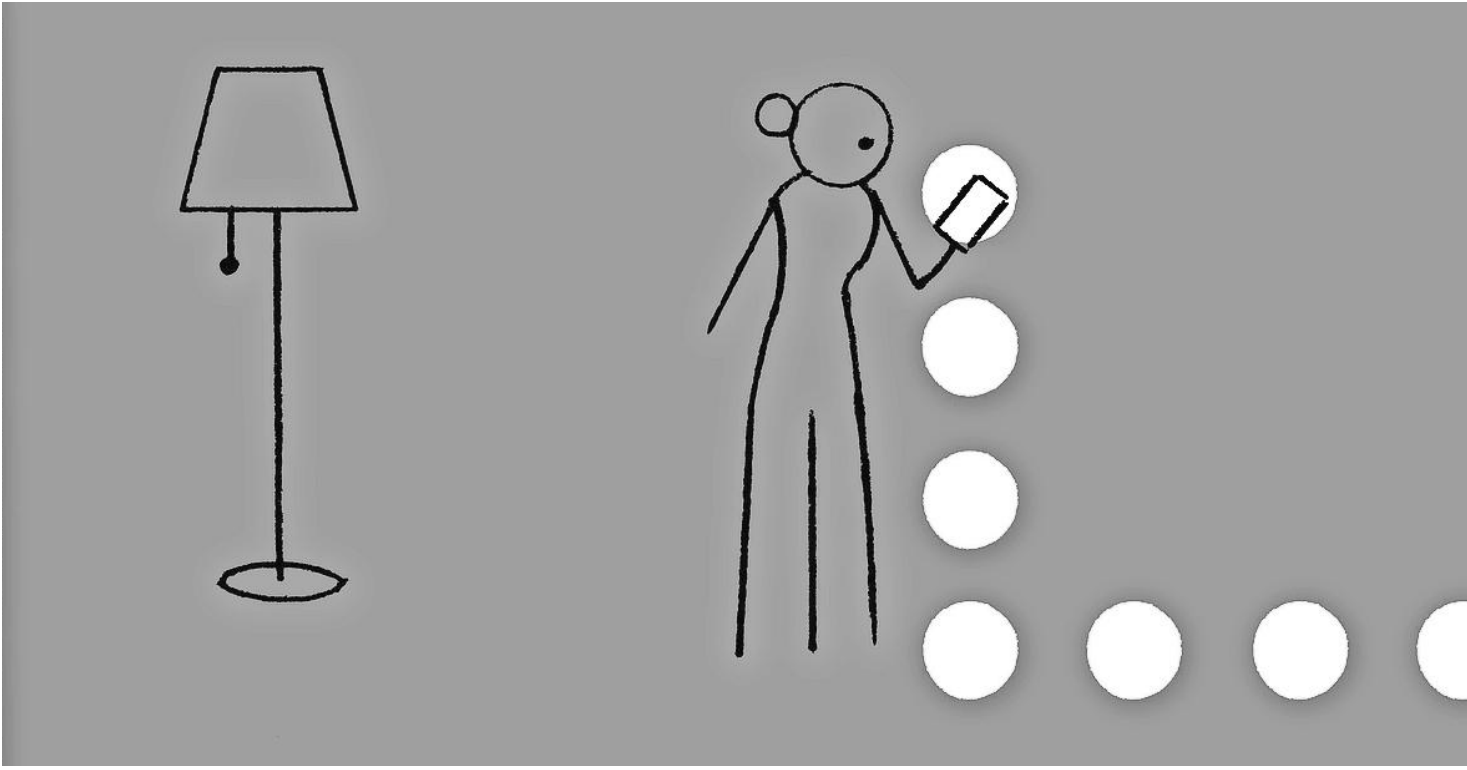
I’m not just talking about family members who register on the creepy-stalker side of the spectrum, although there are certainly jealous spouses and overbearing parents out there who surveil their partners and children with an unhealthy vigilance. Digital monitoring — from tracking those whom loved ones communicate with to snooping on their social media accounts to checking their locations — is becoming common even among people who view themselves as mindful of the boundaries with their children and partners.

Is there such a thing as responsible spying on loved ones?

The answer depends on whom you ask. Strong believers in privacy reject the premise of the question outright, while others believe it is possible if consent, trust and respect are involved.

“It comes down to power dynamics,” said Mary Madden, a researcher at Data & Society, a nonprofit research organization. “You can imagine a scenario where, in a family, it’s an unhealthy dynamic.”

Parents now routinely keep tabs on their children’s digital behavior in one form or another. A Pew Research Center survey of adults with children 13 to 17 years old published this year found that 61 percent of parents checked the websites that their teenagers visited, 60 percent visited their social media accounts and 48 percent looked through their phone calls and messages. The portion



ILLUSTRATIONS BY LAURENT CILLUFFO

that tracked their child’s whereabouts through their cellphones was 16 percent.

“We’re moving closer to a world in which parental surveillance becomes opt out instead of opt in,” Ms. Madden said.

The prevalence of parental tracking is the logical outcome of a world in which children spend so much of their lives in the digital realm, for entertainment, communications and information access. Smartphones and tablets, the advent of social media and the explosion of forms of communication like texting have made digital technology an even deeper part of the fabric of adolescence.

As these digital phenomena have proliferated, so, too, have tools for controlling access to them for health and safety reasons. Since the ‘90s, start-ups have pitched filtering software to parents for preventing their children from seeing sexual content and other material.

Then smartphones came along, and

the major wireless carriers began marketing services for controlling access to content, apps and those whom children could communicate with, along with tools for tracking a phone’s location using the wireless communication chips in the devices.

One carrier, T-Mobile, says it has four million customers using a free service that blocks their children from viewing sexual content, graphic violence and crude humor. It also has 375,000 customers who pay \$4.99 a month for something called Family Allowances, which lets parents block their children from texting and calling certain phone numbers, shut down their phones during school and homework hours, and monitor how much they are texting.

T-Mobile has about 100,000 subscribers who pay \$9.99 a month for another service, FamilyWhere, which lets families keep track of the location of all phones on their accounts.

More recently, phone makers like Apple have made capabilities like family location tracking even more accessible by building them into their phone software free. Activating the function on an iPhone also helps one locate a misplaced device.

One danger of these technologies, of course, is that many parents will be tempted to overuse them, and in intrusive ways. A parent who constantly micromanages a teenager’s life — Why did you stop here? Why did you go there? — risks stifling the independence needed to develop into an adult.

Lee Tien, a senior staff lawyer at the Electronic Frontier Foundation, a nonprofit focused on online rights, is among those who are skeptical about digitally monitoring children.

“It’s really hard for me to imagine that a parent who had been trying to be rational and understanding would do that,” said Mr. Tien, who has two children in

their 20s. “My approach to parenting is at a certain point, long before the age of maturity, you treat them like adults.”

My wife and I have found that tracking each other’s locations makes some of the logistics of busy family life easier and safer. We don’t need to text each other from our cars to say we’re on the road, unless one of us makes an unplanned stop, as I did.

Sarah McQuade, a stay-at-home mother in Kittery, Me., worked out a similar arrangement with her boyfriend, who lives about 70 miles from her. They use an app called Glympse that allows people to share their locations for defined periods of time.

When her boyfriend drives to see her, the app lets her know he is still moving, especially on treacherous winter roads.

“If you’re doing it for verification purposes instead of safety and convenience, then maybe you need to rethink why you’re using it,” she said.

A face-off: Google Home vs. the Amazon Echo

Tech Fix

BRIAN X. CHEN

To get an idea of how annoying it can be to say “O.K., Google” multiple times a day, try replacing the word Google with another brand.

O.K., Pepsi. O.K., Chipotle. O.K., Skittles. You get the picture. It’s difficult to utter “O.K., Google,” the phrase used to control Google’s new Home smart speaker, without sounding like a marketing tool.

That is too bad because Google’s Home is otherwise a preternaturally smarter speaker than its closest rival, Amazon’s Echo.

Google started selling Home this month in the hope of riding the coat-tails of Echo, the Amazon gadget that is powered by the virtual assistant called Alexa. Echo became available last year to much fanfare. By posing questions and making requests to Alexa, people have since put Echo to work as a shopping assistant, kitchen companion and home automation tool. Amazon has a bona fide hardware hit.

So Google created a similar smart speaker powered by the omniscient brains of Google search. To see how Home compares with Echo, I grilled both Alexa and Google side by side for six days. I tested the speakers in categories that they shared in common: music, trivia, dining, entertainment and the smart home.

What I found was that while Echo is currently more capable than Home, partly because a larger number of third-party companies have worked with Amazon to add capabilities to its speaker, Google’s product is poised to

surpass Echo in the coming years.

Home’s link to Google’s database of information means it will most likely be able to give superior answers in the future. In addition, music played from Home sounds clearer and its virtual assistant is a better listener than Alexa. So for those deciding between the two products, I recommend waiting to see if Home expands its abilities before making a purchase.

POP QUIZ

All virtual assistants, which are backed by artificial intelligence, are still fairly dumb, including Google’s Assistant, Apple’s Siri, Amazon’s Alexa and Microsoft’s Cortana. But Google’s Assistant is smarter than Alexa.

Just give them both a pop quiz to see. A competent virtual assistant should be able to answer all sorts of arbitrary questions. Is Pluto a planet? Was Bill Murray in any TV shows? How do I build a bee trap?

Amazon’s Alexa was not able to answer those questions. But Google’s Home speaker yanked an answer from its vast database of online search results.

Pluto is a dwarf planet. Bill Murray was in “Saturday Night Live.” And to make a bee catcher, you cut the top off a bottle, flip over the top and staple it inverted in the bottle.

Amazon declined to comment. Occasionally there are times when Google gets stumped while Alexa succeeds.

Why would Assistant not produce a response when the answers are out there from a quick Google search? Rishi Chandra, a vice president for product management at Google, said that when Google could confidently answer a question, Home would respond appropriately. But when it is less certain, it won’t offer a guess.

“We don’t want to presume an answer that may not be right,” he said.

SMART HOME

Google’s speaker is called Home because of a vision that it will work with many devices in someone’s residence, be it a coffee maker or a garage door opener. Yet on Day 1, the speaker was set to work with products from only three smart home companies.



ERIC RISBERG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Google Home, a smart speaker that is designed to compete with Amazon’s Echo.

Those include Nest, the thermostat maker owned by Google’s parent company Alphabet; SmartThings, Samsung’s smart home accessories maker; and Philips, which offers smart lighting systems called Hue.

Missing from Home is support for smart home products from companies like Honeywell, TP-Link and LIFX, all of which are supported by Echo.

With Home, I managed to get Google’s Assistant to control my Hue smart lights. The setup was relatively easy but ran into some problems: The Home app detected four lights when I actually had two. I wasn’t able to hook up my Honeywell smart thermostat or

my TP-Link smart plug for controlling my coffee maker because of Google’s lack of support for the devices.

Google said that for Home’s release, it focused on getting Nest, SmartThings and Hue because they were the largest smart-home companies on the market. More partnerships are to come.

MUSIC AND PODCASTS

One major purpose of smart speakers is to play music and radio programs. Both speakers were good at serving tunes and radio programs from popular services and stations, but Home was superior.

For playing music from my Spotify account, both Home and Echo were adept at playing songs from popular artists like Sia, Radiohead and Bon Iver. Home was generally better at understanding requests to play specific Spotify playlists or soundtracks. For example, asking the speakers to play the soundtrack for the film “Drive” resulted in Home playing the correct soundtrack, but Alexa played the album “2014 Forest Hills Drive” by J. Cole.

Google also came out ahead in this category because of sound quality. Both speakers sound good, but Home sounds louder and clearer, with deeper bass. In my tests, Home also did a better job taking requests while the speaker played loud music, whereas Alexa often seemed deaf.

FOOD AND FUN

On the down side, Alexa and Home are fairly lacking when it comes to requests related to food and entertainment.

The Google speaker does not have the capability to place orders for delivery food. Alexa can order a pizza from Domino’s, but otherwise can’t do much

else for delivery orders. Neither speaker can book a table for a restaurant nearby.

Still, both assistants excelled in detailing places to eat in the area. Asking them to find Chinese food nearby prompted them to list some local Chinese restaurants. Google did better here by also listing the street where the restaurants are.

One task Alexa can pull off that Google can’t is list showtimes for movies playing in the neighborhood.

BOTTOM LINE

Echo and Home are largely the same in the basic tasks they can perform. The capabilities that Home currently lacks, like movie showtimes or support for control home accessories like lights and thermostats, Echo is a better product for you.

So what really distinguishes one from the other? Right now, Echo’s major advantage is its ability to order items from Amazon.com and its broader smart home capabilities. If you like the idea of using a speaker to quickly reorder diapers or toilet paper, or if you are eager to get a speaker to control home accessories like lights and thermostats, Echo is a better product for you.

But if you aren’t big on Amazon shopping and can wait a few months to see how Home evolves, Google’s speaker may be your long-term bet because of its smarter artificial intelligence and superior audio player. Home, priced at about \$130, is also cheaper than Amazon’s \$180 Echo.

Let’s just hope Google eventually gives people more ways to talk to its speaker other than “O.K., Google.” (The only other option is “Hey, Google.”) It gets so tedious that you may eventually say, “O.K., I’m over this.”

Giving vehicles a well-tuned interior

Digital wizardry can mask annoying sounds or add a roar to the thrill of driving

BY JOHN R. QUAIN

It can make engines sound like purring pussycats — or growling tigers.

Through the wizardry of digital technology some of today’s most sophisticated vehicles, like the GMC Sierra Denali, are designed to keep annoying engine noise from seeping into the cabin.

Others, like the Lexus NX F Sport, include digital tuners to accentuate the engine’s throaty growl to satisfy the primal urges of driver and passengers.

And sometimes — in a seeming contradiction — the same car does a bit of both.

In the Nissan Maxima, for example, noise-cancellation technology helps suppress undesirable droning frequencies from the engine. But the throb of horsepower is acoustically amplified when the driver steps on the gas.

“It’s about the driver’s comfort,” explained Aaron Gauger, a product planning manager at Nissan. “But we also want the driver to have a good experience during acceleration.”

All of this, like so much else in modern automobiles, happens through the magic of digital software and hardware.

“There are many companies that are using noise cancellation to make your ride quieter,” said Grant Courville, a senior director at the software company QNX, a BlackBerry subsidiary whose technology is used in Chrysler, Ford and Honda vehicles.

Suppressing noise digitally can reduce the need for insulation, helping to make vehicles lighter and thus improving fuel economy.

Noise cancellation can also improve the accuracy of voice recognition for navigation systems and other controls in cars. In addition, it can make it easier to appreciate the music from sophisticated onboard audio systems, or even make it easier to have conversations in the capacious cabin of a seven-seater S.U.V.

Noise-cancellation systems use multiple microphones (usually positioned near the driver’s and passengers’ ears in the liner of the vehicle’s ceilings) to

“Automakers are particular about which harmonics they want to enter the cabin and which ones they don’t.”

detect sounds in the interior, isolating particular unwanted wavelengths and frequencies.

Software and digital signal processors then use the car’s audio system to create countervailing waveforms that are broadcast over the speakers to block the original noise.

Not all unwanted sounds can be eliminated. The noises in and around a car — like the whine of tires on different surfaces, the rush of wind through an open window or a road crew’s jackhammers — are too varied and changing to cancel out completely.

“We can’t create a cone of silence — yet,” said Alan Norton, senior technical leader for audio quality at Ford.

Bose, which has been working on active noise cancellation with automakers including Nissan and General Motors since 2010, says the technology is necessarily more complex than that employed in the company’s familiar noise-canceling headphones, which some travelers wear on jetliners to block the steady droning of engines.

“Headphones cancel broadband noise,” explained John Pelliccio, a product manager in the automotive division at Bose. “The noise canceling that we do in cars is designed to go after specific engine harmonics.”

That can mean eliminating lower-frequency engine sounds, some of which result from newer fuel-saving designs. Cylinder deactivation, for example, which can turn off four cylinders in a V8 at cruising speed to save gas, may also generate booms, throbs and other noises that may make drivers think something is wrong with the car.

Mr. Pelliccio said Bose’s active noise canceling can reduce such annoyances by tapping into the car’s computers to determine the status of the cylinders and the engine load, and making the necessary acoustical adjustments.

The technology relies on complex algorithms that are tuned to specific vehicle interiors, accounting for reflective glass surfaces, the position of passengers, and even such details as whether there are cloth or leather seats.

“There’s also a signature to every engine,” Mr. Pelliccio said, “and automakers are particular about which harmonics they want to enter the cabin and which ones they don’t.”

That is where the ability to enhance engine sounds can come into play. Because the current generation of smaller, more fuel-efficient engines and turbochargers often does not generate the sort of throaty resonance drivers expect, automakers design systems to augment the sonic experience.







# Opinion

## Who owns the street in Mexico City?



CHRIS KINDRED

The tense relationship among automobile drivers, cyclists and pedestrians presages the emergence of a new transportation culture.

Antonio Martínez

**MEXICO CITY** To get about on a bicycle in Mexico City is an experience ranging from complicated to downright scary. The cracked and broken paving makes it torture to ride anywhere, specially if you're constantly dodging hostile cars and trucks. It's frequently said that "Mexico City is not Amsterdam." Drivers in Amsterdam share the streets with bicycles and pedestrians as a matter of course; here, it seems we do so because we're forced to. Nevertheless, we inhabitants of Mexico City have the same right as any Dutch citizen to enjoy a complete network of bike lanes to get around the city.

The deficient infrastructure for nonmotor traffic is becoming dangerous for cyclists. In July, we saw via social media a confrontation between a man driving an Audi in a bike lane, Rafael Márquez Gasperín, and a cyclist named Ari Santillán. After running into the cyclist, Mr. Gasperín, now known as "Lord Audi," insulted Mr. Santillán, and proceeded to attack a bank security guard who tried to intervene to enforce traffic regulations. (In theory, a recent reform of these rules has put automobile drivers on the lowest level of the street-user totem pole, giving priority instead to pedestrians, bicycle riders and public transportation.)

The attacker made fun of the guard: "This is Mexico. Get it, güey?" (using a

slang word that can be translated as "man," or "dude"). The phrase sums up how the city's residents regard public services. For some, everything public is really private and can be used as they please; for others, it is community property to be enjoyed collectively. These opposing views are part of a wider cultural battle over public space.

Whom does the street belong to? In urban settings, streets and sidewalks — along with parks and plazas — make up the public environment. "Public property" is the sum of all the assets that belong to everyone in society. The government must guarantee equal access to whatever is public; no one should be excluded. Even though traffic regulations now give preferential treatment to pedestrians and cyclists, there is a disturbing paradox: Despite being the lowest in the official hierarchy of street users, the drivers of motor vehicles are the No. 1 beneficiaries of government spending.

Little by little, the world's cities are transforming their streetscapes. In Atlanta, for instance, there is an ambitious plan for a bike-lane network that will cover the entire city; Oslo is considering a ban on cars in the downtown area; in Seoul and New York, former elevated thruways and subway routes have been converted into pedestrian oases. And in all of these cities, the inhabitants have adopted the reforms enthusiastically.

In contrast, the administration of Miguel Ángel Mancera, the mayor of Mexico City, has spent 85 percent of its budget for transportation infrastructure on projects for private automob-

iles, 13 percent on public transportation and barely 2 percent for nonmotor mobility, according to a report from the Transportation and Development Policy Institute.

In this immense and undisciplined city, cyclists ride at their own risk. There were 207 road accidents involving cyclists in 2015. Movimiento Ciudadano, a leftist political party, is proposing a bill to give life insurance to cyclists using money from traffic fines.

The city does have a bike-share program, Ecobici, but it serves the most privileged neighborhoods, such as Roma or Condesa, while a majority of bicycle trips occur in poor neighborhoods like Iztapalapa.

The Mexico of "Lord Audi" is not just a cultural fantasy, but a real world where public policies

have chosen the winners: automobile owners. Every corner of this vast city is laid out for the convenience of automobiles; every new building project creates more parking spots, or even pedestrian overpasses and underpasses so as not to inconvenience car drivers. The problem has increased as public transportation is gradually abandoned and private options like Uber are on the rise.

Everywhere, the automobile is king. We witnessed this when the city government turned the Zócalo, the grand square that is the traditional heart of the city, from a communal plaza into a parking lot for politicians' S.U.V.s. The

rule of the motor vehicle has already caused great damage. This year, the air-quality monitoring system registered 10 days when readings showed levels of pollution hazardous to health and not seen since 1993.

The tense relationship among automobile drivers, cyclists and pedestrians presages the emergence of a new transportation culture. The city seems torn between enforcing its new guidelines, which protect pedestrians, cyclists and mass transportation, and favoring businesses that want to privatize public spaces to the advantage of automobiles.

Here, in one of the planet's most populous cities, the only route to a sustainable future is a gradual transformation of urban life that enables personal mobility but discourages car use. If Mexico City carries out an experiment that succeeds in changing the way millions of people circulate through the city, it could become an international example. The first task would be to recover the stewardship of public property and invest in an infrastructure of nonmotor mobility.

These measures will be inconvenient for the middle class, which moves around by car. So they would have to be accompanied by an effective awareness campaign.

We are far from solving all the problems, but little by little, things are falling into line. The authorities have absorbed the lesson that even the smallest change has to be part of an integrated plan. In recent weeks, the mayor's office has been promoting an ambitious public consultation on the Plandcmx project, which seeks to define our city's future urban planning

priorities.

It took four years before civil society groups working on sustainable urban development, such as Bicitekas and the World Resources Institute, were invited to the bargaining table. The goal was to ensure discussion of a more progressive set of policies and regulations for urban mobility. This type of consultation has worked well in small cities like Curitiba, Brazil, but its conclusions may be difficult to apply in a gigantic, complex city like Mexico City.

Civil society groups have certainly had an impact on how the city is managed. But the responsibility for implementing meaningful change is in the hands of the authorities. Traditionally in Mexico, what emerges through consultation is never put into practice, and what is implemented is never subject to consultation. The signs are not encouraging.

"Although it took civil society years to have sustainable mobility included in the federal budget," said Areli Carreón, a founding member of Bicitekas, "the current proposal for the 2017 budget will not put a single peso toward it."

The future of cities no longer lies in automobiles, but in the capacity to make them places that are livable, enjoyable and rewarding. For now, bicycle riders like Ari Santillán are losing the daily battle for space. And car drivers like Lord Audi still rule.

**ANTONIO MARTÍNEZ** is a Mexican journalist and co-founder of the digital magazine *Horizontal.mx*. This essay was translated by Sonia Berah from the Spanish.

## Trump slump coming?

Don't count on an immediate disaster after the next president takes office.



Paul Krugman

Let's be clear: Installing Donald Trump in the White House is an epic mistake. In the long run, its consequences may well be apocalyptic, if only because we have probably lost our last, best chance to rein in runaway climate change.

But will the extent of the disaster become apparent right away? It's natural and, one must admit, tempting to predict a quick comeuppance — and I myself gave in to that temptation, briefly, on that horrible election night, suggesting that a global recession was imminent. But I quickly retracted that call. Trumpism will have dire effects, but they will take time to become manifest.

In fact, don't be surprised if economic

growth actually accelerates for a couple of years.

Why am I, on reflection, relatively sanguine about the short-term effects of putting such a terrible man, with such a terrible team, in power? The answer is a mix of general principles and the specifics of our current economic situation.

First, the general principles: There is always a disconnect between what is good for society, or even the economy, in the long run, and what is good for economic performance over the next few quarters. Failure to take action on climate may doom civilization, but it's not clear why it should depress next year's consumer spending.

Or take the signature Trump issue of trade policy. A return to protectionism and trade wars would make the world economy poorer over time, and would in particular cripple poorer nations that desperately need open markets for their products. But predictions that Trumpist tariffs will cause a recession never made sense: Yes, we'll export less, but we'll also import less, and the overall effect on jobs will be more or less a wash.

We've already had a sort of dress

rehearsal for this disconnect in the case of Brexit, Britain's vote to leave the European Union. Brexit will make Britain poorer in the long run; but widespread predictions that it would cause a recession were, as some of us pointed out at the time, not really based on careful economic thinking. And sure enough, the Brexit recession doesn't seem to be happening.

Beyond these general principles, the specifics of our economic situation mean that for a time, at least, a Trump administration might actually end up doing the right thing for the wrong reasons.

Eight years ago, as the world was plunging into an economic crisis, I argued that we'd entered an economic realm in which "virtue is vice, caution is risky, and prudence is folly." Specifically, we'd stumbled into a situation in which bigger deficits and higher inflation were good things, not bad. And we're still in that situation — not as strongly as we were, but we could still very much use more deficit spending.

Many economists have known this all along. But they have been ignored, partly because much of the political establishment has been obsessed with

the evils of debt, partly because Republicans have been against anything the Obama administration proposes.

Now, however, power has fallen into the hands of a man who definitely doesn't suffer from an excess of either virtue or prudence. Donald Trump isn't proposing huge, budget-busting tax cuts for the wealthy and corporations because he understands macroeconomics. But those tax cuts would add \$4.5 trillion to U.S. debt over the next decade — about five times as much as the stimulus of the early Obama years.

True, handing out windfalls to rich people and companies that will probably sit on a lot of the money is a bad, low-bang-for-the-buck way to boost the economy, and I have my doubts about whether the promised surge in infrastructure spending will really happen. But an accidental, badly designed

stimulus would still, in the short run, be better than no stimulus at all.

In short, don't expect an immediate Trump slump.

Now, in the longer run Trumpism will be a very bad thing for the economy, in a couple of ways. For one thing, even if we don't face a recession right now, stuff happens, and a lot depends on the effectiveness of the policy response. Yet we're about to see a major degradation in both the quality and the independence of public servants. If we face a new economic crisis — perhaps as a result of the dismantling of financial reform — it's hard to think of people less prepared to deal with it.

And Trumpist policies will, in particular, hurt, not help, the American working class; eventually, promises to bring back the good old days — yes, to make America great again — will be revealed as the cruel joke they are. More on that in future columns.

But all of this will probably take time; the consequences of the new regime's awfulness won't be apparent right away. Opponents of that regime need to be prepared for the real possibility that good things will happen to bad people, at least for a while.



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## THE WORLD WAITS AND WONDERS

Donald Trump's election has rocked other governments used to seeing America as a beacon for democracy.

The forces that brought Donald Trump to victory were largely American. The repercussions of his election, however, have rocked Western democracies accustomed to seeing the United States as a beacon for democracy, progress and stability. If the president-elect wants to take seriously his responsibilities as head of the free world, he should waste no time in making clear how much of his campaign bluster was just that.

In the immediate wake of the election, the chorus of excited reactions from Europe's far right, which has made common cause with Mr. Trump's anti-globalization, anti-immigration and anti-establishment messages, reflected a sense that its cause had been given a huge boost.

Marine Le Pen, head of France's far-right National Front, saw in Mr. Trump's election a "great movement across the world" to upend the status quo. In the Netherlands, Geert Wilders of the similar Party for Freedom declared the election "historic." In Britain, Nigel Farage, whose U.K. Independence Party was a major force behind the vote to leave the European Union, declared he "couldn't be happier." Germany's Alternative for Germany and Austria's Freedom Party chimed in with similar cheers.

The Netherlands, France and Germany all face national elections next year, and though the far-right parties have not been given strong chances of winning, neither had Brexit nor Mr. Trump.

Mr. Trump's victory was also greeted warmly in Russia, where it raised speculation that sanctions over the annexation of Crimea might soon be lifted. Aside from such concrete possibilities, foes of Western liberal democracy in Russia, China and elsewhere celebrated what they perceived as a vindication of their illiberal policies.

Beyond the threat of further advances by the far right in European electoral politics, mainstream European politicians and commentators were aghast at the potential of a Trump presidency to upend the political, economic and social order of the post-Communist world.

The entire structure of convictions and policies that were to underpin the Western world in the 21st century — the international trading regime, the united Western front against Russian revanchism, the security of NATO, the Paris accord on climate change — seems uncertain.

The German chancellor, Angela Merkel, infused her message of congratulations to Mr. Trump with an unusual lecture on liberal democracy: "Germany and America are bound by their values: democracy, freedom, the respect for the law and dignity of human beings, independent of their origin, skin color, religion, gender, sexual orientation or political beliefs."

Mr. Trump would do well to recognize the genuine and profound trepidation behind it, and to give Ms. Merkel, Europe and the world the urgent reassurance they require.

## A TROUBLING NEW INTERPOL PRESIDENT

An agency with a history of allowing its databases to be misused by authoritarian governments will be led by a senior Chinese security official.

Interpol, the international law enforcement agency, has had a history of allowing its international database of fugitives to be used by authoritarian governments to persecute dissidents and critics. It is therefore deeply troubling that a senior Chinese security official will become the organization's next president.

Interpol announced last week that Meng Hongwei, China's vice minister of public security, was elected by members of the agency's general assembly to serve as president for a four-year term. He is the first Chinese official to lead the agency.

Human rights lawyers and activists in China have been persecuted by the authorities for years. Some have been detained and harassed; dozens have been held in secret prisons without access to lawyers, according to Human Rights Watch.

Beyond handling routine policing matters, China's Ministry of Public Security protects the Communist Party and its leaders. This raises the possibility that Mr. Meng could use his influence at Interpol to target critics of the Chinese government. Mr. Meng steps into the post as Interpol embarks on an effort to systematically collect and share biometric information of suspected terrorists.

China and Russia are among the countries that have abused Interpol's "red notice" database of information about fugitives. While the system is central to international law enforcement cooperation — preventing suspected terrorists from obtaining visas, for instance — it has been used to punish journalists, pro-democracy activists and human rights defenders.

As Interpol's president, Mr. Meng will run its executive committee, which plays a key role in setting the agenda for new initiatives. His appointment calls into question the firmness of Interpol's commitment "not only to refrain from any possible infringements of human rights, but also to actively promote the protection of human rights."

When Interpol's general assembly meets next year in Beijing, it should, at the very least, take steps to prevent the red notice database from being misused. It can also clarify and strengthen its human rights policy so that Interpol is used solely to share intelligence about legitimate threats and criminals.

# Leonard Cohen's darkness and praise

Leon Wieseltier

"Dear Uncle Leonard," the email from the boy began. "Did anything inspire you to create 'Hallelujah'?" Later that same winter day the reply arrived: "I wanted to stand with those who clearly see G-d's holy broken world for what it is, and still find the courage or the heart to praise it. You don't always get what you want. You're not always up for the challenge. But in this case — it was given to me. For which I am deeply grateful."

The question came from my son, who was preparing to present the most irresistible hymn of our time to his fifth-grade class and required a clarification about its meaning. The answer came from the author of the song, who was for 25 years my precious friend and comrade of the spirit. Leonard Cohen was the most beautiful man I have ever known.

His company was quickening in every way. The elegance and the seductiveness were the least of it. The example of his poise was overwhelming, more an achievement than a disposition, and much more than an affair of style.

He lived in a weather of wisdom, which he created by seeking it rather than by finding it. He swam in beauty, because in its transience he aspired to discern a glimpse of eternity: There was always a trace of philosophy in his sensuality. He managed to combine a sense of absurdity with a sense of significance, a genuine feat. He was hospitable and strict, sweet and deep, humble and grand, probing and tender, a friend of melancholy but an enemy of gloom, a voluptuary with religion, a renegade enamored of tradition.

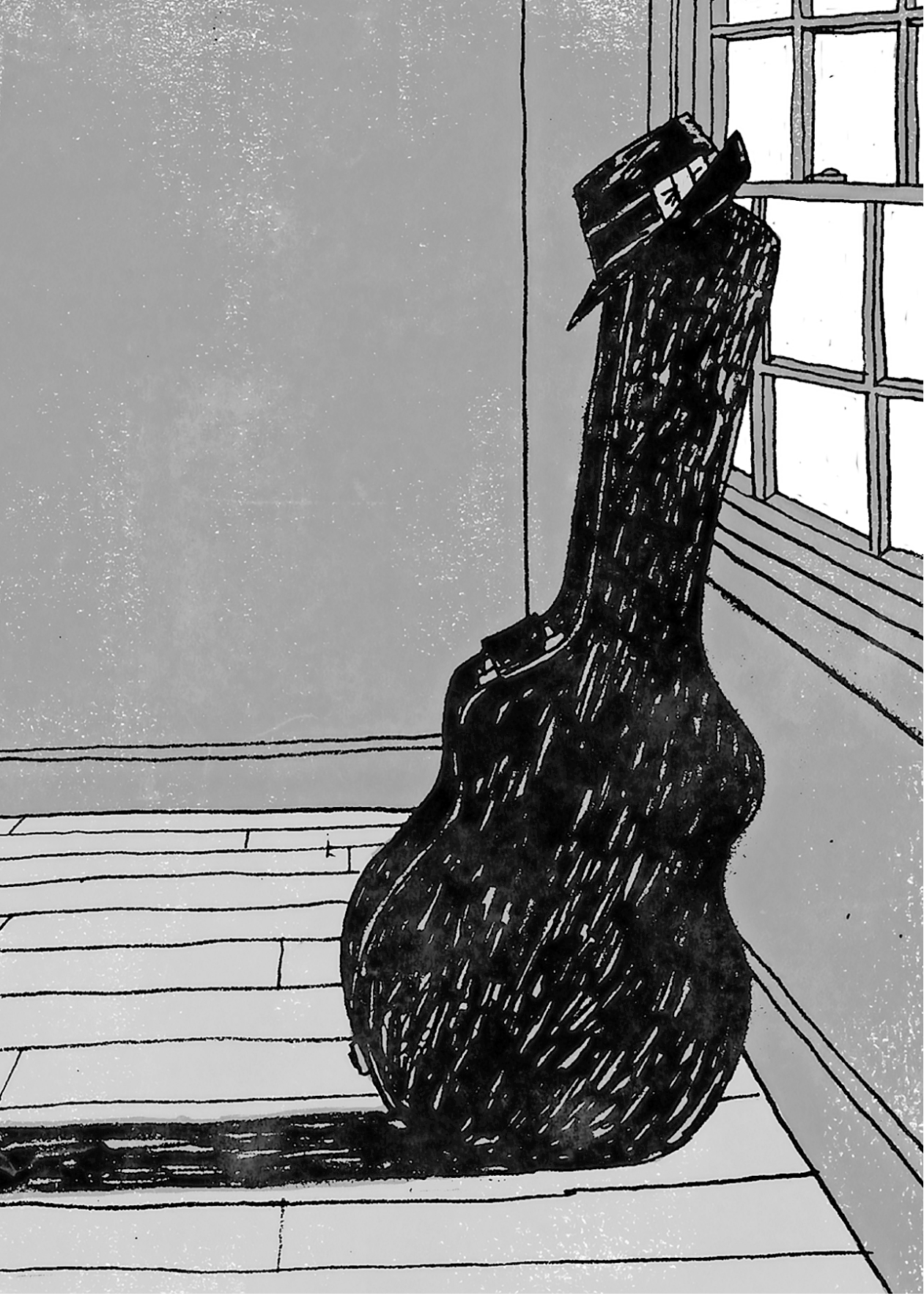
Leonard was, above all, in his music and in his poems and in his tone of life, the lyrical advocate of the finite and the flawed. As he wrote to my son, who was mercifully too young to understand, he was possessed by a lasting sensation of brokenness. He was broken, love was broken, the world was broken.

But "Famous Blue Raincoat" notwithstanding, this was not the usual literary abjection, or any sort of bargain-basement Baudelaireanism. Leonard's reputation for bleakness is very imprecise. His work documents a long and successful war with despair. "I greet you from the other side of sorrow and despair/ With a love so vast and shattered it will reach you everywhere." The shattering of love has the effect of proliferating it.

Leonard had an unusual inflection for darkness: He found in it an occasion for uplift. His work is animated by a laudatory impulse, an unexpected and profoundly moving hunger to praise the world in full view of it. His attitude of acceptance was not founded on anything as cheap as happiness.

Leonard sang always as a sinner. He refused to describe sin as a failure or a disqualification. Sin was a condition of creatureliness, and his feeling for our creatureliness was boundless. "Even though it all went wrong/ I'll stand before the Lord of song/ With nothing on my tongue but Hallelujah!"

The singer's faults do not expel him from the divine presence. Instead they confer a mortal integrity upon his exclamation of praise. He is the inadequate man, the lowly man, the hurt man who has given hurt, insisting modestly but stubbornly (except in "I'm in Your Man," when he merrily mocked himself) upon his right to a sacred exaltation.



LESIE HERMAN

Leonard wrote and sung often about God, but I am not sure what he meant by it. Whatever it was, it inspired "If It Be Your Will," his most exquisite song. He sought recognition for his fall- enness, not rescue from it. "There is a crack in everything. That's how the light gets in." He once told an interviewer that those words were the closest he came to a credo. The teaching could not be more plain: fix the crack, lose the light.

All this gave Leonard's laughter an uncommon credibility. He put punch lines into some of his most lugubrious songs. He delighted in expressing serious notions in comically homely ways. (On ephemerality, from an unre-

leased early version of a song: "They oughta hand the night a ticket/ for speeding. It's a crime.") We laughed all the time. At the small wooden table in his kitchen the jokes flew, usually as he prepared a meal. While he was genuinely in earnest about the pursuit of truth, Leonard had a supremely unsanctimonious temperament. Whether or not darkness was to be relieved by light, it was to be relieved by lightness. Before Passover, which commemorates the biblical exodus, he sent this: "Dear bro, happy Pesach. I miss Egypt! Love and blessings, Eliezer." Before Shavuot, which commemorates the giving of the Torah in the desert, he sent this: "Dear bro, See you at Sinai. I'll be wearing headphones! Love and blessings, Eliezer." The laughter of the disabled was yet another of his gifts.

Eliezer was his Hebrew name. We sometimes read and studied together, Lorca and midrash and Eluard and

Buddhist scriptures and Cavafy. We could get quite Talmudic, especially with wine. In Judaism there is a custom to honor the dead by pondering a text in their memory. Here, in memory of Eliezer ben Natan ha'Cohen, is a passage on frivolity by a great rabbi in Prague at the end of the 16th century. "Man was born for toil, since his perfection is always being actualized but is never actual," he observed in an essay on frivolity. "And insofar as he attains perfection, something is missing in him."

In such a being, perfection is a shortcoming and a lack." Leonard Cohen was the poet laureate of the lack, the psalmist of the privation, who made imperfection gorgeous.

LEON WIESELTIER is the Isaiah Berlin Senior Fellow in Culture and Policy at the Brookings Institution and the author of "Kaddish."

# Trump, Israel and American Jews

Shmuel Rosner

Contributing Writer

The day before Americans voted for their next president, I met with Representative Debbie Wasserman Schultz in the area she knows best — her district in southern Florida.

It is a heavily Jewish area, and Ms. Wasserman Schultz was dressed the part. The pin she wore on her jacket said "Ani Ita," Hebrew for "I'm with her." I have no idea how many of the Jews sitting in the coffee shop where we talked were actually able to understand the words, but I'm sure most of them could identify Hebrew letters, and hence associate the congresswoman with their Jewish culture.

Persuading Jewish voters in Florida to vote for Hillary Clinton was not nearly as hard as it was to persuade them to vote for Barack Obama eight and four years ago. Ms. Wasserman Schultz told me that Jewish voters trusted and loved Mrs. Clinton, and had few doubts about her.

The congresswoman seemed to be right: Exit polls indicated that 71 percent of Jewish voters cast their ballot for the losing Democrat. In Florida, according to a poll commissioned by the organization J Street, 68 percent of Jews voted for Mrs. Clinton.

So it seems that most Jewish Americans are in the losing camp. Seventy-

two percent of Jews have an unfavorable view of the winning candidate, Donald J. Trump, according to another J Street poll. Some Jewish organizations clashed with Mr. Trump — denouncing his words against Muslim immigrants and arguing that his campaign encouraged anti-Semitic language. When the American Israel Public Affairs Committee asked Mr. Trump to speak at its policy conference, some critics called the invitation "shameful." In word and deed, Jewish Americans — even many Republican-leaning Jews — steered clear of Mr. Trump.

Now Mr. Trump has been elected president. And Israel, while surprised by his rise, is quickly getting used to this new reality. Israeli Jews, like their American counterparts, would have preferred a Clinton victory and were somewhat suspicious of Mr. Trump's erratic ways.

Then again, the president-elect says that he supports Israel, he seems to have amicable relations with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, and he has surrounded himself with people like Rudolph Giuliani and Newt Gingrich, who are well known for their friendship with Israel. What's not to like?

If all goes well, Israelis are going to love the Trump administration. Mr. Trump seems uninterested in pressuring Israel to give away land and he has promised to move the United States Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, a

longtime request by Israel, which views Jerusalem as its capital. His view of the international agreement on Iran's nuclear program is as bleak as Israel's, and he vowed to make it a priority to "dismantle the disastrous deal with Iran."

If his policies match his campaign rhetoric, Israelis, with time, will grow to like him. American Jews, meanwhile, will seethe. Israel is dear to the hearts of most American Jews, but it is not a main political consideration when they vote in America. Fewer than 10 percent of them cite

Israel as one of the most important issues in deciding for whom they vote. The Trump administration will not represent the first time that Israeli and American Jews have been at odds over American politics. In fact, in the

The truth is that Israel is going to love President Trump as much as American Jews will hate him.

last 16 years this has been the norm. American Jews did not support the George W. Bush administration — Israelis did. American Jews were highly supportive of the Obama administration — Israelis were highly critical of it.

American presidents like Mr. Bush, Mr. Obama and Mr. Trump are bad for relations between Israel and Jews in

the United States. They lay bare the fact that American Jews and Israeli Jews have different sets of priorities and values. These presidents underline the understandable, if unfortunate, reality that Jewish Americans prioritize Israel quite low as they vote — and that Jewish Israelis do not care about the political sensitivities of American Jews.

At times, this becomes contentious. Such was the case when some Jewish American groups debated whether their opposition to President Richard M. Nixon ought to be tamed because of his support for Israel during the 1973 Yom Kippur War. Such is the case when Israel knows that Jewish Americans are wary of certain leaders of the evangelical religious right, and yet accept their political support without many reservations.

What will happen if American Jews see the good relationship that President Trump has with Israel? It will make many of them uneasy. It will make them doubt Israel's values and morality. It will alienate them from Israel.

What is going to happen if Israeli Jews see American Jews oppose President Trump at every step? It will make the Israelis question the Americans' good judgment, and doubt their commitment to Israel's security.

SHMUEL ROSNER is the political editor at The Jewish Journal and a senior fellow at the Jewish People Policy Institute.



OPINION

# Australia's addiction to coal

Richard Denniss

**CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA** A world determined to limit climate change needs fewer coal mines. Burning coal is the largest single source of greenhouse-gas emissions, and the particles from its combustion are a major cause of air pollution, causing hundreds of thousands of deaths each year.

Despite agreeing to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions at a global climate-change conference in Paris last year, the Australian government has recently given the go-ahead to a private company to open Australia's biggest coal mine. The state govern-

dustry was struggling with low prices, following the end of a five-year boom. But this year the price of coal has more than doubled as the market has caught up to the big reductions in supply from countries like China, Indonesia and the United States, all of which have announced temporary stops on building new coal mines. The owners of existing mines have seen their profits soar over the last year.

Most people would be skeptical of a tobacco company that simultaneously claimed it supported efforts to curb smoking while building a new cigarette factory. Yet Australia's politicians say they want to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions while planning to build new coal mines — and they go largely unchallenged. This hypocrisy is possi-

developing countries to access electricity.

There are no meaningful treaties or laws to prevent Australia from pursuing its huge expansion of coal exports. Indeed, the structure of the world's climate change negotiations is such that at the Paris talks last year, attended by nearly 150 world leaders, and previous similar world meetings, the word "coal" rarely, if ever, appears in official communiqués. Such an omission is no accident. Energy-exporting countries like Australia work hard to ensure that the language of official proclamations does nothing to reduce the legitimacy of a major export.

All mines eventually run out of coal. And because the world has thousands of mines, each year hundreds of them inevitably shut down. It follows that the easiest and fairest way to begin the transition away from coal is to simply stop new mines from being built while the old ones gradually run down. This relatively simple solution — a moratorium on building new coal mines — is gaining support around the world among economists, environmentalists and elements of the coal industry itself.

While the thought of the world's largest coal exporter voluntarily agreeing to stop building new mines might seem far-fetched, the fact that China, the United States and Indonesia have all announced such policies shows it is possible.

Further, while a great many of Australian politicians are enthusiastic supporters of building new coal mines, Australian voters are far less so. Polls show that most Australians want governments to stop approving new mines, and economic modeling shows that stopping the building of new mines would have a negligible impact on Australia's economy. That's because, contrary to popular belief, coal is not a large employer here and accounts for a small share of Australia's gross domestic product.

If Australia follows through in its plans to build enormous new coal mines, the world will fail to rapidly reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. Australia's politicians need to catch up to other big coal-producing nations that have supported a moratorium on the construction of new mines.

**RICHARD DENNISS** is the chief economist for The Australia Institute.



Coal being stockpiled at the coal port of Newcastle in New South Wales, Australia.

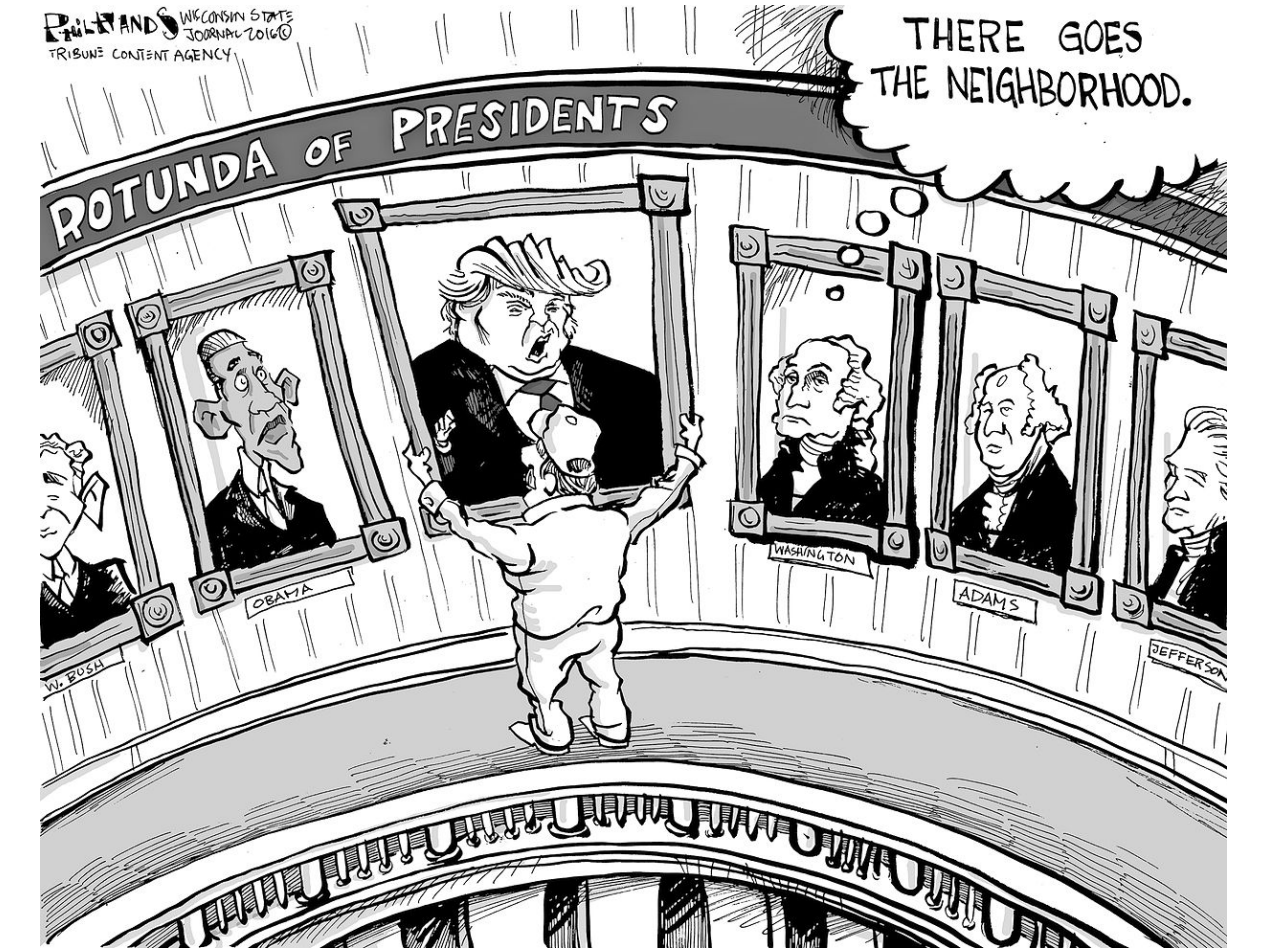
ment has declared that the new mine, owned by the Indian Adani conglomerate, is a piece of "critical infrastructure."

Australia is big in coal. It has a larger share of the export market than Saudi Arabia has of the oil market. Since world leaders agreed in 1992 that climate change was real and that fossil-fuel consumption must decrease, Australian coal exports have more than tripled — from around 125 million tons a year to about 388 million tons. And Australia is intent on producing more. Current proposals for new coal mines would result in another doubling of exports.

A year ago, the Australian coal in-

ble because emissions from exported coal are not counted in the country's targets.

And like gun ownership in the United States, support for the construction of new coal mines in Australia is a powerful political issue. Conservatives like Malcolm Turnbull, the Australian prime minister, use coal mining to unite a coalition of climate skeptics, free marketers and workers in mining regions by talking up the country's "moral obligation" to build new mines that create jobs for Australians and coal for the world's poor. They depict opponents of new mines as unconcerned with exports, workers and the right of people in



# How Trump is good for China

Eric Li

**SHANGHAI** Perhaps no country has taken more hits from Donald J. Trump than China. During the presidential campaign, Mr. Trump made it sound as if making America "great again" meant defeating China.

But much of the Chinese public supported him. And President Xi Jinping was among the first world leaders to congratulate him. Mr. Xi, in his message to the president-elect, expressed hopes of building on the "common interests" between the world's two largest economies.

Beijing is looking forward to change in Washington. For the Chinese, the Obama era has been the most difficult period in United States-China relations since President Richard M. Nixon renewed ties in 1971. The Obama administration, with Hillary Clinton as secretary of state, made its "pivot to Asia" about containing Beijing, aiming to strengthen and enlarge the American alliance system in the Asia-Pacific region while increasing America's military footprint there. The pivot was backed by an economic plan, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a now-moribund trade pact created in part to isolate Beijing.

Since the end of the Cold War, from President Bill Clinton to President Obama, the United States has been trying to remake the world in its own image — building an American empire in the name of globalization. Through ever larger and more complex alliances and global institutions that the United States designed, Washington has sought the global standardization of rules in trade, finance and international relations. It has used political, economic and military might to push other countries to adopt electoral democracy and market capitalism.

China has refused to yield. While the Chinese have been great beneficiaries of this era, Beijing has engaged globalization on its own terms. China's gains from globalization have helped turn the country from a poor agrarian economy into an industrial powerhouse within one generation. Yet Beijing has insisted on strengthening its one-party political system and opening its market only so much.

This approach is working for China. The Chinese economy continues to advance in both size and technological sophistication, so much so that China looms in the minds of many American elites as the most potent long-term threat.

But these elites fail to realize — and Mr. Trump appears to understand — that while they have been ob-

With Mr. Trump in the Oval Office, there may be some tough days ahead between China and the United States. Relations may nose-dive in the short run over trade, for example.

But in the longer term, Chinese-American relations could become healthier as the Chinese prefer a relationship with a United States that doesn't try to remake the world. The Chinese know how to compete and can deal with competitors. What the Chinese have always resented and resisted is an America that imposes its values and standards on everybody else.

Mr. Trump's America is likely to break from this pattern. He has shown no desire to tell other countries how to do things. China is run by competent leaders who are strong-minded and pragmatic. Mr. Trump is a resolute businessman with little ideological underpinning. Without the shackles of ideology, even the most competitive rivals can make deals. This is a new day for the world's most consequential bilateral relationship.

The Obama pivot is failing. It was unable to produce a more peaceful Asia-Pacific region, and even America's closest ally in the region, the Philippines, is abandoning it. It was a project in costly global policing at the expense of American national interests.

Beijing harbors no design to rival the United States for global dominance. But it is only natural that it seeks to reclaim a leading role in its Asia-Pacific neighborhood. China desires its own space to reach its development goals. At the same time, America with Mr. Trump as president needs to turn its attention to rebuilding itself.

In the long term, Mr. Trump's America and China are more likely to work with each other than in any other period in recent memory.

**The Chinese prefer a relationship with a United States that doesn't impose its values on the world.**

essed with the rise of China as a threat to the United States-led liberal order, America's domestic political foundations have been decaying. The tendency of American elites to try to mold the world to their liking created a conflict in their own country, between Americans with power and ordinary people. The American empire was built at the expense of the American nation.

Globalization has benefited those Americans at the top with concentrated wealth and influence while the middle class has stagnated or shrunk. The country's industrial base, the economic bedrock of the middle class in the postwar era, has been shattered. America's infrastructure is in disrepair, its education system badly underperforming, and its social contract in shambles. It has 4.5 percent of the world's population and about 20 percent of its gross domestic product, yet accounts for nearly 40 percent of the world's military expenditures.

## Uncertainty in U.S. shift

**ISCHINGER, FROM PAGE 1**

partners; even Barack Obama often got frustrated with Europe's indecisiveness and free-riding tendencies. But wherever Mr. Trump looks, he will not find better partners to work with to secure America's strategic interests and to serve as force multipliers for its military power.

But Europe shouldn't wait for Mr. Trump. Europeans need to come up with a strategy of their own to engage him, but also to hedge against a possible shift in American grand strategy. The challenges are tremendous — and it is in Europe's self-interest to speak with one voice, and to be a more credible and capable actor in regional and global crisis management. For that, Europe needs to invest more in civilian and military capabilities, and to start pooling and sharing defense assets more comprehensively.

Second, Europe expects the Trump administration to support and propose initiatives to build an even stronger trans-Atlantic economy. Mr. Trump's predecessors, Democrats and Republicans alike, have built a liberal economic world order, based on the idea of open and free trade. Mr. Trump should reassure the world that he will not question this fundamental strategy. Or would he be willing to risk a new trade war, letting loose a cascade of protectionist measures at the end of which we will all be worse off?

European companies would not steal blue-collar jobs from the United States. Nor would Europeans engage in dumping. They are partners, not opponents, in securing a fair global trade system. Without a vibrant trans-Atlantic economic exchange, "making America great again" will remain an unreachable goal.

Finally, some of Mr. Trump's campaign comments have been unacceptable for those of us who believe in the open and truthful exchange of ideas for

the greater good. In Europe, we have long looked to the United States as a model democracy, the shining city upon a hill. Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany found the right words when congratulating Mr. Trump on his victory: Enumerating the list of shared values that bind the United States and Europe, she offered her cooperation — "based on these values." Leading the free world, even for Mr. Trump, will not work in the absence of a clear commitment to these values.

Without a strong trans-Atlantic alliance under responsible American leadership, the free world as we know it may soon no longer exist. We all live in difficult and dangerous times. Our adversaries are waiting for us to become disunited, disoriented and thus more vulnerable. Clearly, there is no job in the world that comes with more global responsibility than that of president of the United States.

During his campaign, Donald Trump used the slogan "Make America Great Again." But securing American greatness will not succeed without the United States' best allies, many of whom are now concerned about America's future foreign policy. Mr. President-elect, I am happy to invite you to present your vision at the Munich Security Conference, where key trans-Atlantic leaders will meet in mid-February. For decades, the United States has served as the main stabilizing force in the world and has greatly benefited from a stable order. As you set out to "make America great again," we trust you will not make the world afraid again.

**WOLFGANG ISCHINGER** is the chairman of the Munich Security Conference and teaches at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin. He served as Germany's ambassador to the United States from 2001 to 2006.

## From Readers

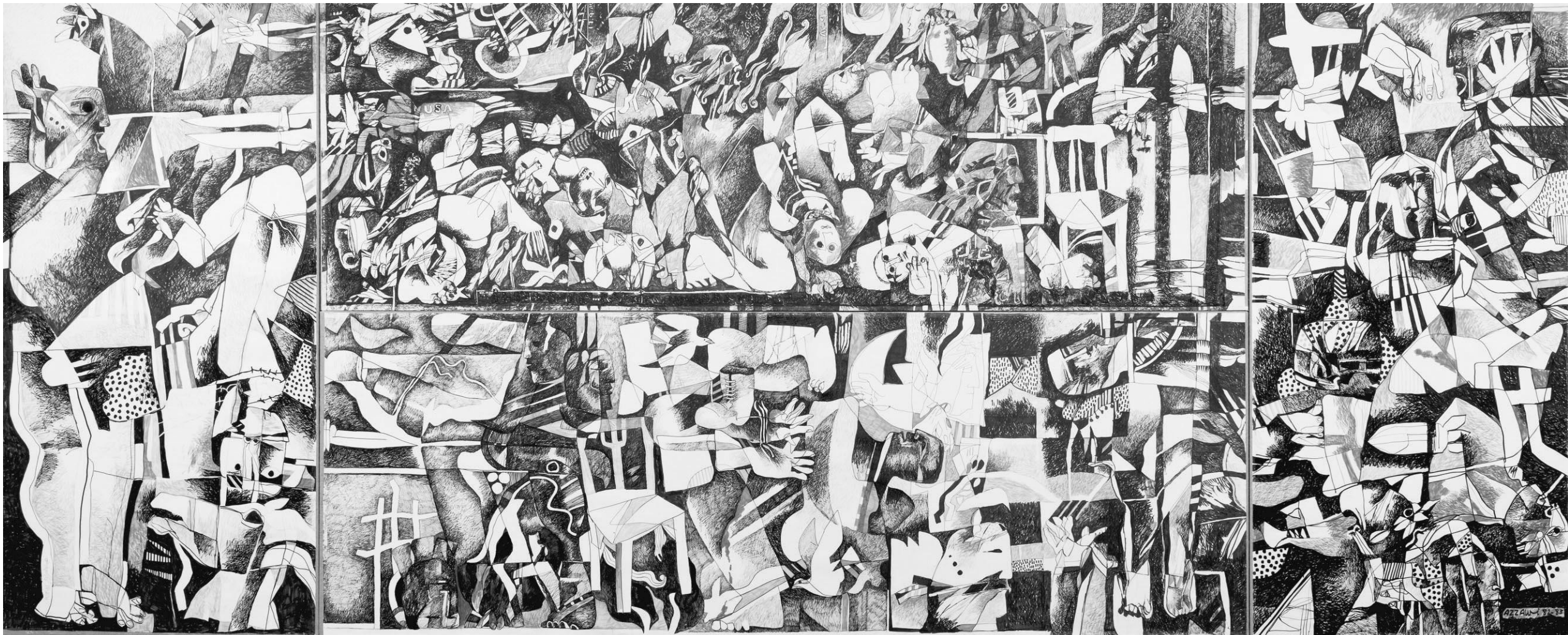
**THE PROBLEM WITH COAL**  
Re "Coal Opponents' Canary in the Mine" (news article, Nov. 3):  
Your statement that American coal producers are "suffering under the weight of Obama administration regulations," while true, masks the underlying cause of the industry's suffering.  
Companies and citizens have recognized that the costs of coal to our health and climate far outweigh the benefits of cheap electricity. With price-competitive clean electricity alternatives, like solar and wind proliferating throughout the country, coal is no longer the best choice to power our homes and businesses.  
Rooftop solar is surging, and corporate demand for renewable power is also increasing, with 30 major United States-based companies, including General Motors, Apple and Bank of America, committed to using 100 percent renewable power in their global operations.  
Coal played a valuable role in powering our 20th-century economy, but the 21st century will be powered by cleaner, healthier and cheaper renewable solutions.  
**Amy Davidson,**  
New York  
The writer is executive director of the Climate Group, a nonprofit that works on emission issues.

**CANADA, HERE I COME?**  
Re "Anxiety, and Jokes, North of Border After U.S. Vote" (news article, Nov. 10):  
While the thought of hordes of well-heeled American citizens fleeing to Canada is kind of heartwarming, perhaps a note of caution is called for.  
Anyone seriously thinking of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, should try a week or two in the winter. Also, some practice at standing on a hilltop to get decent cellphone reception would be advisable. Quebec has its own challenges: Try listening to "The Apprentice" in French before making that move. Most important, why would we roll out the welcome mat for anyone who is too spineless to stay in his own homeland and fight for what he truly believes?  
**Frank Taker,**  
Prescott, Ontario





# Culture



“Sabra and Shatila Massacre,” by Dia al-Azzawi, is a mural evoking the killing of hundreds of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon in 1982. It is the focus of a large solo show at the Mathaf Arab Museum of Modern Art and the Al-Riwaq exhibition space in Doha.

## Painting the Arab world, from afar

LONDON

Retrospective in Doha traces Dia al-Azzawi’s semiabstract visions

BY FARAH NAYERI

Dia al-Azzawi was working at the Iraqi Antiquities Department in Baghdad in the early 1970s when he was assigned to install a new museum building in the northern city of Mosul. The museum and cultural administrator spent a year and a half there, scrupulously overseeing the display of antiquities from the nearby archaeological sites of Hatra, Nimrud and Nineveh.

So when Mr. Azzawi, now 77, saw those priceless artifacts being smashed in a video released by the Islamic State in February 2015, he was heartbroken. “I couldn’t believe it,” the artist said in an interview in London last month. “The guy who brought a mechanical saw to cut the winged bull from Nimrud — it was awful to see.”

“What struck me was, how can Iraqis destroy their own heritage?” he said.

Mr. Azzawi, who has spent his career recording the traumas of his native Iraq, is now the focus of what is billed as the biggest solo show any Arab artist has ever had. Through April 16, more than 500 works — murals, paintings, sculptures, prints, drawings, art books — are on display across two sprawling venues in Doha: the Mathaf Arab Museum of Modern Art, and the QM Gallery Al-Riwaq exhibition space.

Although the artist moved permanently to London in 1976, “Dia Al-Azzawi: A Retrospective” shows that the troubles of Iraq and the Arab world have been a never-ending source of pain, and of creative inspiration. After each of Saddam Hussein’s epic clashes with the West, Mr. Azzawi produced works la-

menting the sad fate of his people. The Palestinian issue has been another enduring concern, as epitomized by “Sabra and Shatila Massacre” (1982-83, on display in Doha), an arresting mural evoking the killing of hundreds of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon in 1982.

“Dia al-Azzawi is not an illustrator, and he’s not a man who makes political posters. But his work is completely infused with events in the Middle East,” said Catherine David, the curator of the Doha exhibition, who is the deputy director of the Musée National d’Art Moderne at the Pompidou Center in Paris.

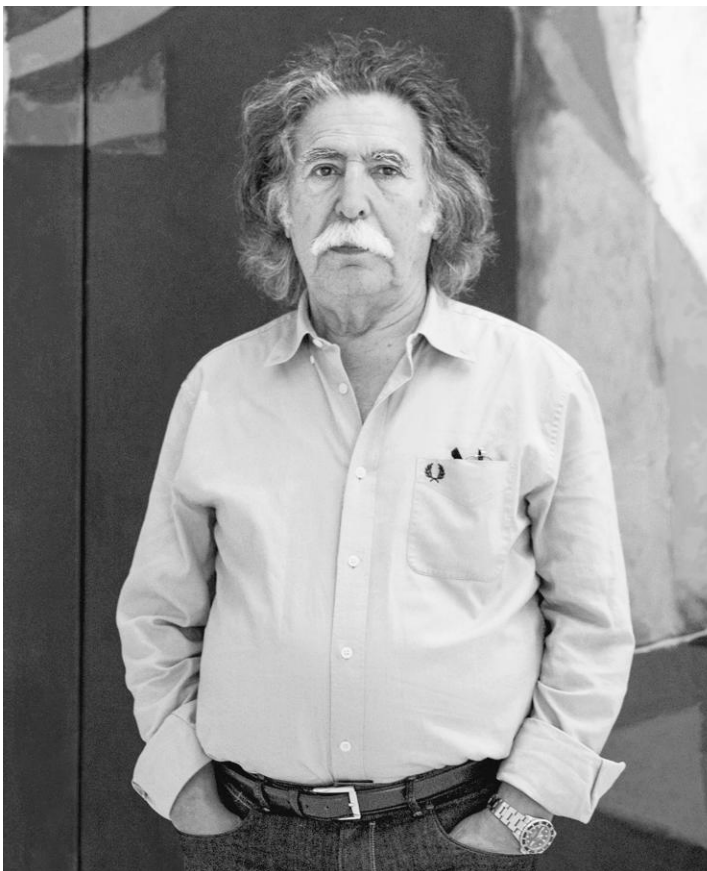
Ms. David described the artist as an exceptional draftsman and print maker and “a painter with a genuine sense of rhythm.” “Placed in the context of 20th-century art, Dia al-Azzawi is not only a great Arab artist, but a great artist, full stop,” she said.

So why is he little known in the West? “He’s not in major European and American collections,” Ms. David said. “He’s in major Arab collections, which don’t have the same visibility. The same could be said for many artists.”

His work appears at auction occasionally, with a high sale price of \$235,500 in October at Christie’s in Dubai for the 1970 painting “Arsak Mowt (Your Wedding Is Death).”

Mr. Azzawi works in a large and luminous atelier located in an industrial cluster on London’s western outskirts. Window sills are covered with colorful sculpture models, and tall canvases lean against the wall. The artist’s frizzy gray hair and bushy mustache give him a Mark Twain air. He is friendly and unceremonious, and prone to bursts of high-pitched laughter.

He was drawn to art from a young age. His father, a Baghdad grocer with nine other children, disapproved, worried about the career prospects. Yet the boy’s talent quickly became obvious to his instructors, and to Iraq’s last king, Faisal II, when he visited young Dia’s school. Mr. Azzawi said that the king promised to send him to Italy for study.



“Iraq is the inner soul which kept me working for all these years.”

(King Faisal was subsequently executed in the 1958 revolution.)

Mr. Azzawi went on to become an archaeology student. He spent his days studying artifacts from Iraq’s past, and his evenings painting in the studio of a Western-trained artist and mentor, Hafidh al-Droubi.

He soon developed his own semiabstract style, fusing ancient Iraqi iconography — particularly the wide-eyed fig-

ures of Sumeria — and Western modern art, which he came across by observing the work of fellow artists who had studied abroad.

This can be seen in many of the works in Doha: the outstretched hand in “Three States of One Man No. 1” (1976) almost mirrors the ones in Picasso’s “Guernica,” and “Interconnection” (1972) features shapes that recall late Cubism.

“I’m from the generation which was very much fascinated with identity,” he said. “We had to create something different, something related to our own history.”



DIA AL-AZZAWI, MATHAF ARAB MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, DOHA

Mr. Azzawi, above left, has spent his career recording the traumas of his native Iraq. Above right, “Homage to Baghdad VI” is at the exhibition.

In 1975, when he was 36, a maiden trip to Europe — during which he attended a printmaking workshop in Salzburg, Austria, and visited Rome and London — proved life-changing. After that, Baghdad seemed “too limited,” he said. “So I thought, why not leave and start something in Europe?”

Six years after his move to London AZZAWI, PAGE 18

## A star ballet couple discuss their contemporary turn

LONDON

Natalia Osipova and Sergei Polunin talk about working together

BY ROSLYN SULCAS

Natalia Osipova and Sergei Polunin are ballet’s wunder-couple. She is the former Bolshoi ballerina of the steel-sprung jump and artless impetuosity who has been a principal guest artist with American Ballet Theater, and who surprised the dance world by decamping, first to the Mikhailovsky Ballet in 2011, then to the Royal Ballet here. He is the Ukrainian-born, wildly gifted former Royal Ballet dancer who became a principal at 19, then caused a sensation by walking out in 2012 amid mutual allegations of ill treatment. The British press ate up the mildly salacious rumors of drug abuse, tattoos and high living that ensued, and Mr. Polunin — about whom a documentary film has recently been made — became famous beyond the dance world, hitting a viral streak (close to 17 million views to date) on YouTube in a solo filmed by David LaChapelle.

Ms. Osipova, 30, and Mr. Polunin, 26, who were to appear together in “Natalia

Osipova and Artists” at New York City Center, Thursday through Saturday, never crossed paths at the Royal Ballet. But they met two years ago when Ms. Osipova was looking for a partner for a guest appearance at La Scala. To the delight of the ballet world, they fell in love and have been an offstage pair ever since.

Onstage they have had little chance to dance together, since Mr. Polunin, who has been little seen in the United States, hasn’t yet been welcomed back at the Royal Ballet. But in June this year, Ms. Osipova followed in the footsteps of older ballerinas like Sylvie Guillem and Diana Vishneva by commissioning — under the auspices of Sadler’s Wells — a program of works, by Russell Maliphant and Arthur Pita, that pair the couple. (Ms. Osipova also dances with James O’Hara and Jason Kittelberger in Sidi Larbi Cherkaoui’s “Qutb.”)

Just before they left for New York, Ms. Osipova (known to her friends as Natasha) and Mr. Polunin spoke in a restaurant near their London home about the challenges and rewards of performing contemporary work, and about their future plans. Here are edited excerpts from the conversation.

**Natalia, you’re still at your peak as a classical dancer, why did you decide to do this program of contemporary**

**I really want to find my choreographer and create something special and substantial with that person.**

**dance now?**

**NATALIA OSIPOVA** I think contemporary dance needs the kind of physicality I have now; it’s tough on the body, and I think by 35 or so, it might be late for me. But the main thing is I really want to find my choreographer and create something special and substantial with that person.

**What are the challenges involved in working with such different physical styles?**

**SERGEI POLUNIN** I found it hard. When I worked with Russell [Maliphant] for the documentary, it was my first contemporary work, and a huge thing for me. I was very biased; I felt, I’m a classical dancer, modern is not my thing. At the beginning, I had no idea how to do even the most basic things he wanted.

**OSIPOVA** What’s difficult for me is that I’m an emotional person, and I want a reason for moving. In Russell and Larbi’s work it is pure dance, and it’s also not about giving everything at every moment. In ballet, you are always pro-

BALLET, PAGE 18



BILL COOPER

Natalia Osipova and Sergei Polunin in Arthur Pita’s “Run Mary Run.”



CULTURE



“Gilgamesh’s Struggle with the Wild Beasts,” far left, is a work from 1966, as is “Folkloric Mythology,” left.

DIA AL-AZZAWI, PRIVATE COLLECTION, LONDON

The Arab world, painted from afar

**AZZAWI, FROM PAGE 17**  
came the Sabra and Shatila massacres in Lebanon, described in an eyewitness account by the French author Jean Genet. The killings were “too harsh, and too unbelievable. I couldn’t accept,” Mr. Azzawi recalled. “I just had a roll of paper. I started working on it without thinking that it would be better to work on canvas.”

The artist produced a long and dense ink-and-crayon drawing that was then mounted on four giant panels. The work is reminiscent of “Guernica,” yet Mr. Azzawi insists he was not thinking of Picasso when he made it.

Shown at the National Council for Art

and Culture in Kuwait in 1983, the work remained on loan to the Kuwaitis there until days before Saddam Hussein invaded their country in 1990. It was transported back to London and kept in a box in the artist’s studio until it was shown at the opening of Mathaf in Doha in 2010. The work was bought by Tate in 2012.

“The scale and the style makes it really one of the most important works by an artist of the Middle East,” Mr. Oikonomopoulos said.

In his years in exile, Mr. Azzawi proved that Iraq was still the driving force behind his work. The first Gulf War and a decade of sanctions led him to start a body of work that he continued

with the 2003 American-led invasion and the subsequent sectarian violence. One small but poignant example, on display in Doha: “Abu Ghraib” (2011), a small bronze sculpture of a dog and a contorted human figure that recalls the abuse of Iraqi prisoners at the facility by American military personnel.

Mr. Azzawi recently completed his largest-ever work — a 34-foot-wide by 14-foot-high mural titled “My Broken Dream” that depicts what he calls “the chaos created by differences” in present-day Iraq, with three sharp knives placed at the very top.

“Iraq is not just a piece of land with a flag and a national anthem. Iraq is the

inner soul which kept me working for all these years,” the artist said, pointing to a large paper-on-cardboard reproduction of the work. “I shared a dream with these people of how to build a country. When it became so sectarian, when it became ethnic cleansing, I could no longer think about the dream of rebuilding the country.”

Mr. Azzawi was last in Iraq in 1980, and he said he had no hope for his homeland. Yet the mood inside his studio seemed anything but despairing, and he approached art with visible appetite. “I come here in the morning and leave at 6 o’clock,” he said. “I don’t like to sit without doing anything. So I have to work.”



BILL COOPER

Natalia Osipova and Sergei Polunin in Russell Maliphant’s “Silent Echo.”

Contemporary turn for ballet’s star couple

**BALLET, FROM PAGE 17**  
jecting forward, but here, sometimes you have to hold back.

**Has working in these idioms changed you as dancers?**

**POLUNIN** I still think that contemporary dance isn’t really my thing, but through working with Natasha on this, I’ve learned about a whole other world. I saw nothing but ballet growing up. I was very ignorant. I still am actually, unlike Natasha, who knows everything! I’m working on my own program now [Project Polunin], and starting to learn a bit more.

**OSIPOVA** When we first started performing this program, I was dancing “Giselle” in Munich, and I actually felt much more freedom within the classical. I was using my arms, my body a little differently, bringing more detail to everything. I think the more you enrich your body language, the more you can speak as an artist.

**You seem to have quite different dance tastes.**

**OSIPOVA** Completely! But it’s boring if you think the same way all the time.

**POLUNIN** Natasha works very hard be-

**I’m an emotional person, and I want a reason for moving.**

fore the performance to be more free onstage. I am more relaxed before so that I am focused onstage. It’s more dangerous, things can go wrong, but it makes me concentrate.

**What are your plans?**

**POLUNIN** I would love to integrate proper management, proper representation of dancers into Project Polunin. That doesn’t exist in the ballet world. Why can’t dancers travel, do talk shows, earn decent money? Their work is just as amazing as footballers or actors. Opera singers go everywhere, but when a dancer wants to move around, the companies behave like you are betraying them.

**OSIPOVA** You have to understand that this profession is very hard and you sacrifice your life to do it. For us, it’s O.K., we have some kind of fame. But you look at the ballet girls in the corps; they are beautiful and talented, and no one cares about them. And they are some of the best dancers in the world.

India personified

BOOK REVIEW

**INCARNATIONS.** A History of India in Fifty Lives. By Sunil Khilnani. *Illustrated.* 449 pages. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. \$30.

BY VIKAS BAJAJ

Save a few giants like the Buddha, Akbar and Gandhi, the great figures of Indian history are little known outside the country, and some are little remembered inside the country, either. “Whether it’s arts, business, politics or sports, we have no biographies,” Ramachandra Guha, one of India’s most respected historians, said at a recent book event in New Delhi. Sunil Khilnani’s new book, “Incarnations: A History of India in Fifty Lives,” admirably tries to remedy that paucity by casting light on some of those obscured men and women.

Mr. Khilnani, who is the director of the India Institute at King’s College London, provides a whirlwind tour of roughly 2,500 years of Indian history in 50 fast-paced chapters. Each is a biographical sketch of an important personality from Indian politics, art, culture and economics, starting with the Buddha and ending with Dhirubhai Ambani, the son of a teacher who ended up building India’s largest and most successful corporations. Among these figures are the giants like Gandhi whom many readers will be familiar with. But the book really shines when Mr. Khilnani writes about the ideas and exploits of the many lesser-known characters like Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian slave who through luck and grit came to rule a patch of India’s Deccan peninsula and frustrated the Mughals who were trying to bring all of India under their control. Then there is Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya, a Robert Moses-like figure who oversaw public works in the kingdom of Mysore and helped bring electricity to Bangalore several years before it reached Bombay, which was under British control at the time. And the sad but inspiring story of the artist Amrita Sher-Gil, who gained fame and notoriety through her provocative paintings of herself and everyday Indian life but whose own life was cut short by either food poisoning or an abortion gone wrong.

Mr. Khilnani’s writing is easy to read, yet authoritative. He has spent much of his career studying India. His book “The Idea of India,” first published in 1997 and updated several times, is required reading for anybody seeking to better understand the country, its conflicts and its flawed but enduring democracy. In “Incarnations,” Mr. Khilnani draws on his prior scholarship but also on the work of numerous other scholars and journal-

ists and primary sources. The book follows a BBC radio and podcast series of the same title that Mr. Khilnani wrote and narrated. The nearly 400-page book and the radio series contain a lot of the same material.

A potential pitfall of a book that seeks to tell the story of a country through 50 mini-biographies is that the stories won’t hang together and the sum of their parts will seem dull. But Mr. Khilnani avoids that trap and strives to connect the lives and ideas of his subjects to one another and to contemporary India. For example, he helps explain the role that the teach-

**The best thing Sunil Khilnani has done is to leave the reader wanting more.**

when read from start to finish.

There are, however, a couple of big, unexplained holes in this otherwise solid volume. There is no chapter on Jawaharlal Nehru, India’s first prime minister and, arguably, one of the country’s most consequential leaders. While Nehru appears prominently in chapters about other people, including one about his daughter, Indira Gandhi,

another important prime minister, we never get a full portrait of him or Mr. Khilnani’s assessment of his place in Indian history. He acknowledges the omission in his introduction but never fully explains the reason. It could be that Mr. Khilnani is saving that material for his long-awaited biography of Nehru.

The other big gap is less obvious but just as important. “Incarnations” does not profile any of the right-wing Hindu ideologues and activists whose ideas are ascendant in India right now and are subscribed to by the country’s charismatic and controversial prime minister, Narendra Modi. One of those figures, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, has a cameo in the chapter on Gandhi, but Mr. Khilnani moves on pretty quickly without discussing in much detail how Savarkar and others like him developed the idea of Hindu nationalism. This absence is all the more strange when placed next to Mr. Khilnani’s keen interest in

one of the central fault lines in Indian politics and public life: the tension between liberals, who celebrate the country’s diversity and advocate policies to protect minority rights, and Hindu nationalists, who reject secularism and insist that Hinduism should be the central organizing principle of the country and its government.

That said, any book that seeks to tell the story of a country and a people as complicated and diverse as India and Indians will leave stones unturned. To my mind the best thing Mr. Khilnani has done is to leave the reader wanting more. It would be a huge accomplishment if the most enduring contribution of “Incarnations” to the literature about India, especially in the West, should be to open the door to more biographies about Indians.

*Vikas Bajaj, an editorial writer for The New York Times, was previously the paper’s Mumbai bureau chief.*

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TRAVEL

What effect will Trump have on tourism?

THE GETAWAY

It's not just policies that affect travel to U.S., but strength of dollar, too

BY STEPHANIE ROSENBLUM

With Donald J. Trump set to become the 45th president of the United States, the spirit of openness that has permeated everything from our increasingly global economy to how we travel may be poised to change.

Mr. Trump has not addressed tourism specifically, but on the campaign trail he has signaled a retrenchment from globalism. He has talked about the possibility of reversing course with Cuba, barring Muslims from entering the United States (though the Trump Hotels website is decidedly international, available in several languages, including Arabic), and building a wall along the border with Mexico. In his victory speech on Nov. 9, he said he planned to rebuild the nation's infrastructure — including airports — and make it “second to none.”

Less than 24 hours after Mr. Trump's unexpected victory, travel experts and economists were asked to try to read the tea leaves. Below, they offer some early thoughts about how Mr. Trump's presidency might affect tourism, including foreign travel to the United States, Americans traveling abroad, access to Cuba, the cost of airfare, and, of course, Trump Hotels.

TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES

More money is spent in the United States by international travelers than anywhere else in the world, said Adam Sacks, president of Tourism Economics, an Oxford Economics company based in Wayne, Pa.

Yet experts say that how attractive the United States continues to be to foreign tourists will depend on how affordable it is to visit; what, if any, policies the Trump administration puts into place (new immigration procedures that make the customs and border process harder, the scrutiny of particular groups of people); and the perception of how welcoming and safe (or not) the United States is.

“If certain groups are targeted, if hate speech is tolerated against certain ethnicities, inbound travel will dry up,” said Henry Harteveldt, the founder of Atmosphere Research Group, a travel industry research company. “It will be bad for us.”

“There are people in Mexico, Latin America, the Middle East who view Trump with suspicion and concern,” continued Mr. Harteveldt, who is also a former marketing director for Trump Shuttle, an airline that Mr. Trump used to own, “and I think he is going to have to show that he can be magnanimous and can have a broader vision, which will be very important for international trade and inbound tourism.”

On Election Day, Royal Jordanian encapsulated such concerns when the airline tweeted an advertisement for its fares that said: “Just in case he wins ... Travel to the U.S. while you're still allowed to!”

Indeed, Gus Faucher, deputy chief economist with the PNC Financial Services Group in Pittsburgh, said that foreign tourists might be reluctant to visit the United States after the election, not only because of Mr. Trump's “nationalist” campaign but also because of the relative strength of the dollar. “The strength of the dollar plays an important role,” he said. (And the dollar could certainly lose strength, say some in the financial world, depending on Mr. Trump's policies.)

Gary Leff, the founder of the View From the Wing travel blog and a co-founder of the frequent flier site InsideFlyer.com, agreed that for now, the world most likely sees the United States as less open to tourism and immigration. That perception is not good for airlines and hotels, Mr. Leff said, though in the short term it could mean that



Tourists having their portraits drawn by a caricature artist in Times Square in Manhattan. The United States is one of the top travel destinations in the world.

travelers benefit from lower airfares.

Few think that Mr. Trump, and whom ever he appoints to his cabinet, will carry out mass deportations and erect a wall between the United States and Mexico, if only because of the impracticalities of such endeavors. “I don't believe he will build a wall,” said Mr. Harteveldt of Atmosphere Research Group. But he said he is concerned that Mr. Trump might break with NATO, and that he might make it more difficult for people to get visas.

Mr. Sacks of Tourism Economics said policy proposals that would undermine longstanding alliances, along with Mr. Trump's rhetoric, could certainly hurt tourism to the United States. But by how much?

With Trump Hotels, “a brand that was once deemed toxic by many consumers is now seen as not only a safe option, but an emotionally desirable option.”

He and his team examined data from 2000 to 2006, comparing arrivals to the United States with the Pew Research Center's favorability index, which rates America's image. The takeaway was that while there was a correlation between the perception of a place and the growth in visits to that place, it wasn't a strong one. Even if Trump the president is not more conciliatory than Trump the campaigner, Mr. Sacks said, the United States is still likely to be an aspirational travel destination because of its arts, culture and diversity.

AMERICANS TRAVELING ABROAD

Whether Americans travel internationally depends largely on the health of the United States economy. A weaker dollar could hurt outbound tourism.

“Travel is a discretionary product,” said Mr. Harteveldt. “If the economy isn't good, travel is always one of the first areas where consumers start to cut back.”

On the other hand, Mr. Faucher of PNC Financial Services Group said that if high-earning Americans end up seeing tax cuts under Mr. Trump, they

might decide to travel more.

The cost of airfare will be interesting to watch. United States legacy airlines like American Airlines, United Airlines and Delta Air Lines don't want more competition; they want American travelers to buy their (costly) tickets. To that end, they have been fighting to limit access to the American market by major Gulf carriers like Etihad, Emirates and Qatar Airways, which would breed competition, pushing the airlines to improve and to lower airfares.

While that would be a boon to travelers, Mr. Leff said that the legacy airlines are hoping to prevent it by capitalizing on Mr. Trump's “protectionism” to keep their competitors at bay. If that protectionist attitude prevails, options will continue to be limited and prices will continue to be high.

Still, the decision to travel will ultimately be about more than money. It will also hinge on how Americans think they will be treated when they go abroad, something people typically assess based on what they're seeing in State Department reports, news media and on their fellow travelers' Facebook and Twitter feeds. They will ask themselves whether they feel it's safe to travel, or whether they think they will be targets of anti-American sentiments. “We are all ambassadors of our country,” said Mr. Harteveldt. “You don't want to be attacked or harassed or looked down upon as an American.”

CUBA

Cuba is only just opening up to the United States, yet it is already on many travelers' bucket lists.

Airlines and cruise ships have begun taking Americans there, and more hotels are in the works. But during the presidential campaign, Mr. Trump said that unless there is greater political freedom on the island, he might reverse the historic agreement President Obama made with President Raúl Castro of Cuba. Are Americans still likely to be able to go?

“There's some risk to Cuba policy changing,” said Mr. Leff, because Mr. Trump could issue his own directive. Additionally, Mr. Leff said that the uncertainty surrounding Cuba could delay investment there in travel-related infrastructure, slowing tourism.

structure, slowing tourism.

Mr. Harteveldt, however, thinks that Mr. Trump won't necessarily back off international trade with Cuba and other places because four years from now, “he probably would like to see Trump-branded hotels open in more cities and more countries.”

TRUMP HOTELS

During Mr. Trump's campaign, his eponymous hotel brand appeared to be in trouble. And when the family an-

nounced that a new hotel brand was in the works but that it would not use the Trump name, some companies speculated it was because the Trump brand was indeed tarnished. In May, Hipmunk, the travel comparison site, said that “while overall Hipmunk hotel bookings have been on the rise year-over-year, that has not been the case with bookings of Trump Hotels.” The share of Trump bookings on Hipmunk as a percent of total bookings was down 59 percent year over year.

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