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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDPUEBLO, Colo. -- After obliging a request for a selfie from a woman in the lobby, Bill Clinton left his hotel here on Friday and rode to his rally, where he made the case that Hillary Clinton cared more about restoring jobs to forgotten workers than Donald J. Trump did.

Mr. Clinton said that his wife got things done, as evidenced by ''a lady in a hotel lobby right here.''

''I said, 'Who do you think we ought to elect?''' Mr. Clinton said, supposedly recounting his conversation with the woman. ''She said, 'You don't have to ask me that. I'm from Belfast. I remember what she did to help make the peace in Northern Ireland.'''

It was Mr. Clinton, not his wife, who played a major role in brokering a peace accord. And the woman in the lobby, Lorraine Gordon, who **immigrated** from Belfast and is now an American citizen, never said those things.

Like so many white Americans who adored Mr. Clinton but despise his wife, Ms. Gordon and her husband have already cast their ballots for Mr. Trump.

''I don't trust Hillary,'' said Ms. Gordon, 57, who added that she resented illegal **immigrants** because she went through a long and expensive naturalization process. Her husband, John, 62, an engineer, added that ''there'll be more jobs'' with Mr. Trump in charge.

Since January, Mr. Clinton has done nearly 500 public events, a good deal of them designed to capture the affection white working-class voters had for him and then transfer it to Mrs. Clinton. But that happens to be the demographic that constitutes Mr. Trump's base. Indeed, the man who was arguably the greatest political mind of his era has become something of a peripheral player, even within his wife's campaign. He has spent much of his time seeking support on the Democratic margins among those white voters he refuses to believe have abandoned him -- and his wife -- for good. ''They took a leave of absence from normal politics because, you know, they went a long time without a raise,'' Mr. Clinton explained in a brief, post-selfie interview with a reporter in the hotel lobby. ''So that's cyclical.''

Mrs. Clinton's campaign managers and pollsters, aided by sophisticated data models and experience in the elections of 2008 and 2012, have shifted their focus away from the ''Bubba'' voters and to the winning Obama coalition of African-Americans, young progressives and Hispanics who are powering Mrs. Clinton. And while members of his campaign say they cannot imagine a more valuable political spouse to have, in interviews as well as hacked emails released by WikiLeaks, Mr. Clinton has sometimes come off as an old master struggling to get with the new program.

According to two advisers to the Clintons, who declined to be identified because they were describing internal conversations, Mr. Clinton has at times doubted the trust-the-data approach of her campaign manager, Robby Mook, and has required mollifying assurances from senior staff members. Sometimes lower-rung staff members, or one of his numerous Democratic allies in the country, have gone to Mr. Clinton to complain about decisions being made by Mrs. Clinton's top campaign officials, causing irritation all around.

One of the Clinton advisers said Mr. Clinton feared that her primary opponent, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, would commit voter fraud in the Iowa caucuses by busing college students into the state, and urged the campaign to divert valuable energy away from organizing and onto defense against dirty tricks.

Mr. Clinton saw his wife's coming blowout loss in New Hampshire, where his unexpectedly strong showing in 1992 helped propel him to the nomination, as a crisis that desperately needed to be staved off, despite polling that showed Mrs. Clinton would quickly rebound as the race moved to more diverse states.

''He still thinks that HRC/he should be spending more time in Iowa/NH -- earlier in January,'' his chief of staff emailed Mr. Mook last December.

Mr. Clinton's travel schedule, while robust, has operated on a second tier, with Clinton surrogates such as President Obama and his wife, Michelle, Mr. Sanders and Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts appearing in the most prime locations. At times, the campaign even seems to prefer him off the radar.

Before Mrs. Clinton's debate with Mr. Sanders in October 2015 in Nevada, Jake Sullivan, Mrs. Clinton's top policy aide, responded to an email from Huma Abedin, her top personal aide, confirming that Mr. Clinton would be joining his wife on the plane to Las Vegas with the words, ''This is not a positive development.''

Asked about Mr. Clinton's role and standing in the campaign, his aides said his trips to Massachusetts and Missouri, both of which Mrs. Clinton narrowly won in the primaries, were based on his feedback and that the campaign's data showed Mr. Clinton was decisive in delivering victory. And Mr. Mook said Mr. Clinton has been nothing but helpful.

''He's been an integral part of this campaign throughout,'' said Mr. Mook in a statement. ''Once or twice a day I'm able to get his feedback and advice, and I could not be more grateful to have someone who is at once a mentor, a political junkie and a brilliant tactician for our campaign.''

Mr. Clinton acknowledged that he was glad the campaign was finally drawing to a close but added, ''I'm having a good time, as you can see.''

But it has not always seemed like much fun. One of Mr. Clinton's closest allies said he had been demoralized by an election that had resuscitated talk of his sexual affairs, alleged and otherwise.

He has generally stuck to the script but sometimes unintentionally causes trouble, as when he met with Loretta Lynch, the attorney general, on a tarmac in Phoenix, an encounter Mr. Trump has used to accuse Ms. Lynch of rigging the State Department email investigation for Mrs. Clinton. In a January email, Mr. Clinton's press secretary, Angel Ureña, let Mrs. Clinton's staff know that one trip by Mr. Clinton to New Hampshire had resulted in no such drama: ''Fair to say we didn't break anything.''

And on the trail, his age can show, with drifting sentences coming out of a dried mouth.

At a rally at the New Belgium brewery in Fort Collins, Colo., where a propeller plane with the words ''Go Trump'' painted under its wings buzzed overhead, Mr. Clinton relayed how he had told hurting coal miners who disliked his wife, ''You guys did well when I was president, let's come in and talk.''

But his few applause lines came when he mentioned the Black Lives Matter movement and Mr. Sanders, and when he doled out progressive red meat about free college.

In a Denver nightclub, Mr. Clinton made his case under a giant disco ball. Brooke McReynolds, 24, said she was impressed, but found his attention to the white working classes ''a dying mind-set.'' Still, she said, ''He's getting there.''

And yet when Mr. Clinton returns to form, he remains something to behold.

At his Pueblo rally, Mr. Clinton had the crowd uh-huhing as he lamented Mr. Trump's degradation of politics. (''It looks more like reality TV and doesn't do anything to change reality.'') He got them laughing when he told men who feared a female president to get over it because when women work on weekends, ''We'll have more time to watch football.'' And a hush fell over the crowd when Mr. Clinton slipped inside the mind of the white voters who had left his family to support Mr. Trump.

''Look, his base is where I grew up. I was born in Arkansas to a mother of Scots-Irish lineage,'' Mr. Clinton said. These were good, trustworthy people, he said, ''but always and forever we have been manipulated by scoundrels.''

Mr. Trump, he said, followed in a long line of exploiters who ''just -- rub -- salt -- in our wounds.''

A white middle-aged man standing beside his young son in the back shouted the refrain often heard at Mr. Trump's rallies: ''Lock that bitch up.''

Mr. Clinton continued as if he had not heard a thing.

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Correction: November 8, 2016, Tuesday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: Because of an editing error, an article on Monday about Bill Clinton's efforts to secure the support of white working-class voters for Hillary Clinton misstated Mr. Clinton's finish in the 1992 New Hampshire primary. While he achieved an unexpectedly strong showing, he placed second, not first.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald J. Trump is in striking distance of winning the election with two days to go, and there's really just one reason for that: He's leading white voters without a college degree by a huge margin.

In recent national surveys, Mr. Trump leads Hillary Clinton by 59 percent to 30 percent among that group. It's larger than the 57-35 lead that Mitt Romney had with those voters in the final polls in 2012.

On their own, Mr. Trump's gains among this group have been enough to cancel out four years of favorable demographic shifts for Democrats among Hispanic and well-educated white voters.

He has even won supporters among some of the same white voters who backed Barack Obama in 2008. It suggests that Mr. Trump and Mr. Obama might have a little more in common than you might think -- at least from a political standpoint.

If Mr. Trump wins the presidency, that will ultimately be why. It has been a consistent pattern all year. Whenever Mr. Trump fights his way into a tight race with Mrs. Clinton, it's because he manages to run up the score with blue-collar white voters.

In the past week, analysis of the early vote has already made it clear that turnout will be more than high enough for a Democrat to win a presidential election. Latino turnout will be high. Black turnout may not reach 2012 levels, but it will not be so low that one could reasonably blame black turnout for a Clinton loss.

But Mr. Trump's strength among the white working class gives him a real chance at victory, a possibility that many discounted as recently as the summer. He could win enough Electoral College votes without winning the popular vote, through narrow victories in Midwestern and Northeastern battlegrounds like Wisconsin and New Hampshire, where Democrats depend on support among white working-class voters. Mr. Trump's strength with that group could even be enough for him to win Florida, where Mrs. Clinton's abundant support among Hispanic voters would otherwise all but doom a Republican.

The conventional wisdom after 2012 held that Mr. Obama was a historically weak candidate among white working-class voters, and that there wasn't much room for the Republicans to make additional gains. To the extent that there was an argument for how Republicans could make big gains among the group, it was that they could rally the support of missing white voters -- a group that in reality appears more Democratic than the white voters who do turn out in elections.

But exit polls tend to undercount the number of less educated voters, and the national exit polls obscured Mr. Obama's strength among white voters in the North. They showed him faring worse among white voters than any Democrat since Walter Mondale, but that was exclusively because of his weakness in the South. In many Northern states -- like Iowa and Ohio -- Mr. Obama did better among white voters than past Democrats. There was a lot of room for Mrs. Clinton to fall. She's proving it.

For many, it was very hard to imagine that Mrs. Clinton -- a white Democrat who excelled among white working-class voters in the 2008 Democratic primary -- could lose voters who supported Mr. Obama in the 2012 election, or who approve of his performance today. It's even stranger if one believes that racism is at the core of Mr. Trump's appeal: If Mr. Trump's supporters are animated by racism, then why did so many of them vote for Mr. Obama?

Racism might well animate Mr. Trump's base. But his appeal among some white Obama supporters suggests that Mr. Trump and Mr. Obama might have something in common.

Mr. Trump has changed the story lines of the 2012 and 2008 elections -- and tapped into many of the same issues and frames that helped Mr. Obama.

In 2008, Mr. Obama depicted himself as an agent of hope and change: He ran against Washington, the establishment and special interests. In 2012, the Obama campaign attacked its Republican opponent, Mitt Romney, as a plutocrat who would outsource jobs and help the wealthy, not the middle class.

Those are the kinds of reasons that white working-class Democrats in places like Scranton, Pa., and Youngstown, Ohio, remained with the Democrats.

In this election, Mr. Trump flipped that frame. He ran against the establishment -- and against a candidate who embodies it far more than John McCain or Mr. Romney. He depicted Mrs. Clinton as someone who supports corporate -- even global -- interests over the middle class on issues like trade and **immigration**. The various allegations against Mrs. Clinton neatly complement the notion that she's not trying to help ordinary Americans.

Mrs. Clinton, meanwhile, has spent more time questioning Mr. Trump's fitness for the presidency than emphasizing the traditional Democratic campaign message about the economy.

Mr. Trump is expected to fall short of the presidency, in part because of his problems capitalizing on Mrs. Clinton's deep weakness among white working-class voters. There are probably many young white men without a degree, for instance, who liked Mr. Obama and don't like either Mr. Trump or Mrs. Clinton.

Regardless of the outcome, these voters will loom over American politics. Huge parts of the Republican Party's establishment would undoubtedly prefer a candidate who's friendlier to their views on **immigration** and trade. If Mrs. Clinton wins with strength among the well educated and Hispanic voters, much of the Republican establishment will conclude that those groups are in their electoral interest as well.

But the voters receptive to Mr. Trump's views on these issues would have pulled Republicans awfully close to victory, even with a deeply flawed candidate. They're also among the voters likeliest to be skeptical of Mrs. Clinton in four years. It would be difficult for the party not to cater to them.

Democrats would have the opposite challenge. Four years after demographic shifts were credited for Mr. Obama's victory, the party would undoubtedly realize the extent to which they remain dependent on the support of voters whom they might have assumed they no longer needed. At the same time, their winning coalition would be better educated and more diverse than ever before. Without a Republican like Mr. Trump as a foil, it could be hard to devise an agenda and a message that would hold Mrs. Clinton's coalition together.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**SAMARKHEL, Afghanistan -- There is one country in the world that is now taking in more Afghan migrants than all the countries in Europe and South Asia put together this year.

That would be Afghanistan itself.

By the end of the year, aid officials here expect some 1.5 million migrants to return to Afghanistan -- many of them forcibly, and including some officially registered as **refugees**.

Some will come from Europe, which has recently signed a deal with Afghanistan to return tens of thousands of migrants who were not granted asylum. A far larger number are being forced back by Iran and, particularly, Pakistan, where the United Nations says there are 1.3 million registered Afghan **refugees** and an additional 700,000 undocumented Afghans.

Many Afghans report that concerted harassment and discrimination by the Pakistani authorities have become too much to bear. And Pakistan has flatly given Afghans a Nov. 15 deadline to obtain legal documents like passports and visas -- a near impossibility for most -- or they will face arrest and deportation, which could lead to even greater numbers leaving Pakistan in the coming weeks.

The last straw for Ghulamullah, a father of 10 who had sons in Pakistani schools and one married to a Pakistani woman, was when a soldier entered his house with a dog.

''I came to Pakistan to save my honor and my religion,'' he said, ''but I see there is no more honor in Pakistan. The Pakistani Army gave me 15 days to leave.'' He has now settled in a camp near Jalalabad, in eastern Afghanistan.

Official or unofficial, many of the Afghans had lived abroad for decades, and they are returning to a country where the war is at its most traumatic since 2001. And as they come back, they are redrawing the demographic map of a region that has long been defined by its displaced population and where cities are already straining to deal with rapidly expanding tent camps and shanty towns.

''With all these returns from Pakistan and Iran as well, and looming returns from Europe, it's a perfect recipe for a perfect storm because that puts a strain on the capacity of the government to respond,'' said Laurence Hart, the head of the International Organization for Migration office in Kabul.

Aid groups do not have budgets to care for many of the new arrivals, who are expected in many cases to end up swelling the ranks of the internally displaced -- people who have lived often for years in squalid conditions in camps around cities.

''It's a poverty competition here now,'' Mr. Hart said. Referring to internally displaced people, he added, ''Existing I.D.P.s are increasingly vulnerable because of new arrivals.''

Within Afghanistan, the worsening war with the Taliban has sent record numbers of people fleeing their homes in conflict areas. Just in the past two months, according to Afghanistan's Ministry of **Refugees** and Repatriation, 600,000 people have been displaced from their homes by conflict, swelling the ranks of the 1.2 million internal **refugees** or displaced people in Afghanistan from previous years to as much as 1.8 million.

That could mean more than three million internal or returning **refugees** inside the country, more than Afghanistan has ever experienced. Many of them will have nowhere to go, pitching up at existing camps, making new settlements and crowding into already overcrowded villages -- since few of the returnees can go back to their original homes, often in war-torn areas that they left decades ago.

Add to that mix programs that have quietly ramped up in recent months to return Afghans from Europe who are judged ineligible for asylum there.

This year, Norway has sent back 442 Afghans, more than half of them forcibly, while Germany has returned 2,900 Afghans, nearly all voluntarily. Early in October, the European Union signed an agreement with Afghanistan to return Afghans whose asylum appeals are rejected -- most likely resulting in tens of thousands of repatriations. Known as the Joint Way Forward declaration, which critics say Europe made a condition of continued development assistance to Afghanistan, it even provides for building a dedicated airport terminal in Kabul to handle the expected repatriations.

Many of those returning spent many years and even decades in their host countries, including many people born there who are now adults with children of their own.

''I don't remember a time this difficult,'' said Maya Ameratunga, the Afghanistan director for the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees**. She had previously worked in Pakistan. ''Now we're dealing with the population who left Afghanistan in the 1980s and don't know this country.''

Every morning now, a parade of trucks loaded 15 feet high with household possessions, firewood and small children -- and even sometimes a cow or two -- pulls up at the Samarkhel Encashment Center outside Jalalabad. The center is run by the United Nations **refugee** agency, and catches the traffic coming from the main border crossing with Pakistan, at Torkham.

Each day, about 400 **refugee** families come through the encashment center, which, as its name suggests, is the place where registered **refugees** get cash from the United Nations agency to start new lives -- about $400 per family member, expected to last them six months.

By contrast, only 467 families came through Samarkhel in all of 2014 -- a busy day's worth now. After relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan soured in June, anti-**refugee** campaigns by the Pakistani authorities began driving many people to leave.

''We believe if it continues at the same rate, no more Afghans will be left in Pakistan by next July or August,'' said Ahmed Wali, who manages the center for the **refugee** agency.

**Refugees** say they have faced a campaign of police and official harassment in Pakistan ever since relations between the two countries hit a new low last summer. Among the Afghans who have been suddenly rounded up on various legal charges, often after decades of residence, was Sharbat Gula, who became internationally famous as the ''Afghan girl'' who appeared on a cover of National Geographic magazine in 1985.

Almost none of the Afghans leaving Pakistan are doing so in the belief that Afghanistan is now safer to live in. Official pressure and discrimination are the most common reasons given.

Under international law, Pakistan is obliged to allow registered **refugees** to stay, and most of those who leave are doing so voluntarily -- in theory. ''I personally don't see this as a voluntary repatriation,'' said Mohammad Ismail, the head of the United Nations **refugee** office in Jalalabad. ''When you are harassed, intimidated, rounded up by police, taken to court, forced to pay bribes, you are being forced to leave.''

Shaqiullah, 46, fled the Soviet invasion to Pakistan at age 17. Last month, he returned with his two wives and their 20 children, ranging in age from 6 months to 28 years, all born in Pakistan. He stopped in Samarkhel to collect his reintegration payment before heading on to Jalalabad.

''They are all sad and unhappy in their new home,'' he said. ''They had friends there, schools there, everything there. They didn't know anything else.'' Shaqiullah is luckier than most, however, since he is a mullah and has already found a job -- as the mullah for a **refugee** camp in Afghanistan for newly homeless Afghans.

Undocumented returning migrants, who never succeeded in being registered as **refugees** but have often spent years abroad, are even worse off. Since they are not entitled to cash reintegration payments from the United Nations agency, the International Organization for Migration screens those who come back and singles out the 40 percent who are most vulnerable -- a sort of triage brought by funding shortfalls.

Typically, the vulnerable returnees receive $500 a family, and other emergency services, from I.O.M., which has begun an emergency appeal to be able to fund even that level of service. The United Nations **refugee** agency also says it is greatly underfunded to help the returnees.

Other than the cash payments, when available, most of the **refugees** have little to come home to in Afghanistan. While the Afghan government has promised them plots of land, that is unlikely to come about any time soon; internally displaced **refugees** already have been waiting for years for promised land grants to materialize.

''There are more than a million people on the move,'' Ms. Ameratunga said. ''And this is happening at a time when winter can be a life-or-death challenge, and when donor fatigue is stretched with all the disasters happening all over the world.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**VILNIUS, Lithuania -- Facing trial in Russia over the theft of a street-art drawing valued by its creator at $1.55, Nikita Kulachenkov, a Russian forensic accountant involved in anticorruption work, fled to Lithuania to avoid what he decided was a doomed battle against trumped-up charges.

What he did not realize was that Russia's reach these days extends far beyond its borders. Arriving in Cyprus from Lithuania in January to join his mother for a holiday, Mr. Kulachenkov was stopped at airport passport control, questioned for hours by **immigration** officials and then taken in handcuffs to a police detention center.

''They told me there was a problem with Russia and kept asking me what crime I had committed,'' Mr. Kulachenkov recalled. Cypriot **immigration** and police officers seemed as mystified as he was, he said, by a note in their computer systems that described him as a wanted criminal requiring immediate arrest.

The wanted notice had been put there in August last year by Russia, where the theft of millions and even billions of dollars by the politically connected goes mostly unpunished but where the alleged theft of a street sweeper's all-but-worthless drawing has been the focus of a lengthy investigation involving some of the country's most senior law enforcement officials.

The arrest demand, known as a ''diffusion,'' had gone out to Cyprus and 50 other countries through the international police organization, Interpol. It had not been endorsed by Interpol, which is ''strictly forbidden'' by its Constitution from any action of a ''political character,'' but nonetheless labeled the 34-year-old anticorruption activist as a criminal in databases around the world.

Determined to punish domestic opponents who flee abroad, as well as non-Russians whose lives and finances it wants to disrupt, Moscow has developed an elaborate and well-funded strategy in recent years of using -- critics say abusing -- foreign courts and law enforcement systems to go after its enemies.

Some countries, including Russia, ''work really hard to get Interpol alerts'' against political enemies, said Jago Russell, the chief executive of Fair Trials International, a human rights group in London, because ''this helps give credibility to their own prosecution and undermines the reputation of the accused.''

''It is also potentially a good threat to use against people still in the country: 'You may be able to leave, but don't assume you will be safe,''' he added.

The efforts have often fallen flat in the end, but have succeeded in tying up their targets in legal knots for months and years.

Acting on a Russian request, a British court, for example, froze the worldwide assets of Sergei Pugachev, a former close friend of President Vladimir V. Putin's who fell out with the Kremlin in a squabble over property and fled to Britain, then France.

Russia has also used British courts and Interpol to pursue what many Western governments view as a vendetta against William F. Browder, an American-born British citizen. Mr. Browder was convicted in absentia in Russia of tax fraud after he fled to London and mounted an international campaign against Russia over the killing of his jailed Moscow lawyer, Sergei Magnitsky.

Mr. Browder defeated a libel case in 2013 brought in London by a Moscow police officer whom the financier had accused of involvement in a fraud uncovered by Mr. Magnitsky. But he faces a new fight as Russia seeks to get British courts to find and freeze his assets and enforce a civil judgment against him in Russia.

The only winners in most such cases are expensive lawyers, for whom pursuing Russia's foes in foreign courts has become a highly lucrative business.

Russia pushed three times between 2012 and 2015 to get Interpol to issue arrest orders against Mr. Browder. Having failed each time to convince the police organization that it did not have political motives, it announced this summer that it would try yet again.

''The Russians try stuff a hundred times, and sometimes it works,'' Mr. Browder said. ''They can fail 99 times, but the 100th time it could work. For them, that makes it all worthwhile.'' He described the practice as ''lawfare.''

Based in Lyon, France, and comprising 190 countries, Interpol defines its role as enabling ''police around the world to work together to make the world a safer place.'' It has often done this, allowing police forces to share information about the whereabouts of mafia bosses, murderers and other criminals, and to secure their arrest.

But the Interpol membership of nations -- like Russia, Iran and Zimbabwe -- that routinely use their justice systems to persecute political foes has stirred worries that wanted notices can be easily misused. In September, the congressional Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission heard a litany of complaints about abuse from experts and victims of Interpol notices during a discussion of how to reform the police organization's system of so-called red notices.

Interpol issues such notices, which amount to an international arrest warrant, at the request of a member country seeking help in catching a fugitive who has fled abroad. Interpol's computer system also circulates diffusions like the one against Mr. Kulachenkov. These are less formal than red notices, but are also used to request the arrest or location of an individual, or information, in relation to a police investigation.

Interpol does not release figures for how many red notices or other arrest alerts are issued through its computer system by each member country, but the number of people identified in Interpol's databases as wanted criminal suspects has risen sharply in recent years.

In 2004, Interpol issued just 1,924 red notices at the request of member countries. Last year, it issued 11,492, as well as 22,753 diffusions.

As a result of one of those, Mr. Kulachenkov spent nearly three weeks in a Cypriot jail while the authorities in Cyprus reviewed a request from Moscow that he be sent to Russia to stand trial in a case that even Russia's prosecutor general had initially ruled was not worth pursuing.

The drawing he is accused of stealing was done by Sergei Sotov, a street sweeper and artist who had left it and other examples of his work hanging on railings around Vladimir, a city east of Moscow. The street sweeper made no complaint to the police when the drawing disappeared, and said he was glad that someone liked his work.

In the end, Cyprus decided not to extradite Mr. Kulachenkov after Lithuania advised it that he had no criminal record and had been granted political asylum because of his work in Russia with Alexei Navalny. A prominent anticorruption campaigner and Kremlin opponent, Mr. Navalny himself has been ensnared in a tangle of apparently trumped-up criminal cases in Moscow, including the supposed art theft.

The Russian authorities, said Mr. Kulachenkov, whose name has been purged from Interpol's databases, ''don't really care about me, but they wanted to send a message that if you get involved with Navalny, we will make problems for you, even if you leave Russia.''

Stung by criticism that its role fighting real crime is being hijacked by repressive regimes, Interpol has moved to strengthen safeguards against abuse, particularly since the naming of a new secretary general, Jürgen Stock, in late 2014. Mr. Russell, of Fair Trials International, acknowledged that the group ''is trying to make it more difficult to game the system.''

Interpol said last year that it would not issue arrest notices against people who had been granted political asylum or other forms of **refugee** status, though this did not help Mr. Kulachenkov when he traveled to Cyprus in January.

Asked about that, a spokeswoman for the Interpol General Secretariat in Lyon said that she could not comment on individual cases, but that the policy of not targeting recipients of political asylum for arrest would work only if countries passed on information about who had been granted such a status. In most cases, she added, ''this information is not available to the General Secretariat'' when red notices or diffusions are issued.

Whatever Interpol finally does to stop the gaming of the system, it is too late for Petr Silaev, a 34-year-old Russian editor. Mr. Silaev took part in demonstrations against the destruction of a forest in Khimki near Moscow in 2010 and fled to Brussels seeking **refuge** after several protesters were badly beaten and the authorities branded the protests an armed riot.

He was later given political asylum in Finland and felt safe, until he took a trip to Spain to visit friends. Two days after his arrival, Spanish antiterrorism police officers stormed a hostel where he was staying and arrested him on the basis of a red notice issued against him by Interpol at Moscow's request.

Held for nearly two weeks in a Spanish prison while a Madrid court approved his extradition to Moscow, he finally managed to phone a lawyer in Finland and contact Fair Trials International, which has campaigned against abuses of Interpol by repressive governments.

After appeals from a German member of the European Parliament and a storm of protest in the European news media, the authorities released Mr. Silaev from prison but ordered that he report to the Spanish police once a week.

Six months later, in early 2013, a Madrid court canceled Mr. Silaev's extradition order and allowed him to return to Finland, where he spent another year pleading with Interpol to purge his name from its database.

''Interpol is a very Soviet-style organization,'' Mr. Silaev said, describing it as ''absolutely nontransparent'' and easily manipulated by governments that regard protesters as no different from ''rapists and murderers.'' Interpol says it cannot publicly share information that belongs not to itself but to the member countries that provide it.

''It is a nightmare that keeps coming back if you don't know how to fight it,'' said Eerik-Niiles Kross, a member of Parliament in Estonia and former coordinator of the country's intelligence services who has been targeted for arrest at least twice by Russia through Interpol.

Pilloried on Russian state television as a dangerous criminal, Mr. Kross has battled for years to purge international arrest orders issued against him. He and Estonian government officials say the orders are based entirely on fabricated claims by Russia that he was involved in hijacking a cargo ship off the coast of Sweden in 2009.

Mr. Kross, who is the son of a prominent Estonian writer arrested by the Soviet authorities and a frequent critic of Russia's direction under Mr. Putin, believes the Russian accusations are payback for his work helping Georgia during its 2008 war with Russia.

''All Western institutions, particularly those in law enforcement, are based on good faith in government,'' Mr. Kross said. ''It is not foreseen that governments themselves are criminal. They can cook up anything they want and put it in the system, and the whole system starts to work against its purpose.''

Invented criminal cases, he said, ''work like a computer virus: You put it in the system, and it starts to create havoc.''

Mr. Kulachenkov, the accused Russian art thief, said friends had warned him that Russia might try to get at him through Interpol. After his flight from Moscow to Lithuania in 2014, he wrote a lengthy letter to the police organization, pleading that it not list him as a criminal.

''It has become evident that Russian authorities use local investigation bodies and criminal justice systems to pursue their own political objectives,'' he wrote. He detailed the Russian case against him for the supposed theft of the crude drawing that even Russian investigators, after inflating the artist's initial evaluation of less than $2, valued at just $75.

He said he wished he had never taken the drawing, which he and a colleague gave to Mr. Navalny as a birthday gift. Taking the art ''was a bad idea, but it was not a criminal offense,'' Mr. Kulachenkov said.

''This whole thing is not about the drawing or me, but about Alexei,'' he said of Mr. Navalny. ''They are making him toxic. Anybody involved with Alexei gets a criminal case.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Ten years ago, Jim Gilchrist was waging a lonely battle.

His organization, the Minuteman Project, which sent volunteers, often armed, to patrol America's southern border, was widely considered a fringe vigilante group with alarmist views about the dangers posed by Mexican **immigrants**.

Today, Mr. Gilchrist feels vindicated.

''I never thought I'd see the day where illegal **immigration** was included in a presidential candidate's top three issues,'' Mr. Gilchrist, a supporter of Donald J. Trump, said. ''For me personally, my mission has been accomplished.''

While Mr. Trump seems likely to lose the election, many of his most extreme supporters say they believe that they have already won. Whether the subject is **immigration**, military intervention, the news media or federal government corruption -- and even the entire democratic process -- their views, long thought to be well outside the political mainstream, have been given a voice inside it. And that voice belongs to the presidential nominee of a major political party.

Of course, Mr. Trump's populist candidacy has energized ordinary Americans across the country who previously felt **alienated** from the political system, but it has also emboldened extremist groups that say he has validated their agendas.

It is unclear how much legitimacy these organizations can realistically expect to gain, given the extreme nature of their views to most Americans. But if they are able to maintain even a measure of influence on the right after the election, this could be Mr. Trump's most enduring legacy.

''Trump has shown that our message is healthy, normal and organic -- and millions of Americans agree with us,'' said Matthew M. Heimbach, a co-founder of the Traditionalist Youth Network, a white nationalist group that claims to support the interests of working-class whites. It also advocates the separation of the races.

Whatever happens on Nov. 8, Mr. Trump's candidacy has brought groups like Mr. Heimbach's out of the shadows, and they say they have no intention of returning.

''For racists in this country, this campaign has been a complete affirmation of their fears, worries, dreams and hopes,'' said Ryan Lenz, the editor of the Hatewatch blog at the Southern Poverty Law Center, which tracks such groups from its headquarters in Montgomery, Ala. ''Most things they believe have been legitimized, or have been given the stamp of approval, by mainstream American politics to the point now where it's no longer shameful to be a racist.''

The biggest beneficiary may well be the so-called alt-right, the once obscure and now ascendant white nationalist movement with close ties to Breitbart News, the website operated by Mr. Trump's campaign manager, Stephen K. Bannon.

''If Trump loses, I am going to be a little bit sad, but I'm certainly not going to feel like all is lost, because he sling-shotted us a long way,'' said Richard Spencer, who is credited with coining the term alt-right in 2008. ''We can just look at 2015 and 2016 as the beginning of a new stage.''

Some on the far right say they believe the election of Hillary Clinton could prove to be its own sort of boon, further embittering and maybe even radicalizing some disappointed Trump supporters.

''There will be people who will say, 'There's nothing we can do to change this system from within,' and they are going to look to perhaps alternative options,'' said Nathan Damigo, the founder of Identity Europa, a California group dedicated to fighting what it calls the ''dispossession'' of white Americans.

Mr. Damigo envisions building a protest movement along the lines of Black Lives Matter -- only to promote the interests of whites. Others on the far right talk about working from inside the political system, lobbying Congress or getting behind Republican candidates who espouse similar views. Some even draw parallels to the post-2008 period, when roiling anger at Barack Obama's election gave birth to the Tea Party, which ended the political careers of Republican moderates from Washington to state capitals.

In short, they say they believe that Mr. Trump's campaign has turned them into a force that the Republican establishment cannot ignore.

''What you can't say is that we're just a bunch of marginal loons,'' Mr. Spencer said. ''The truth is that we have a deeper connection with the Trumpian forces and Trumpian populism than the mainstream conservatives do. They're going to have to deal with us.''

Mr. Spencer predicted that the conservative movement's broader embrace of the far right could start with news media outlets adding what he described as ''alt-lite'' hosts. These would be people who did not consider themselves members of the movement, but shared the conviction that policies on **immigration** were threatening the country's identity and well-being.

To members of the alt-right, Mr. Trump is a transformative figure. It has been a long time since a mainstream politician, let alone a presidential nominee, talked about the mass deportation of undocumented **immigrants** and warned about ''international banks'' plotting ''the destruction of U.S. sovereignty.'' Mr. Trump has given them the legitimacy they long craved.

''Trump reaffirms what we say,'' Mr. Heimbach said. ''He has brought to the forefront the policies of nationalism and secure borders.''

While he made headlines in the spring for shoving a young black woman at a Trump rally in Louisville, Ky., Mr. Heimbach said he had not formally endorsed Mr. Trump because ''he is not a white nationalist.'' But Mr. Heimbach added that he and other white nationalists were grateful to Mr. Trump for championing ideas they support.

For his part, Mr. Trump has not expressed support for the white nationalist groups that have rallied to his candidacy. But neither has he distanced himself from them, with the exception of David Duke, the former Klansman who is running for Senate and whom Mr. Trump disavowed after some initial wavering last winter.

They are now beginning to grapple with how to best harness the energy that his campaign has stirred up. Mr. Spencer's group, the National Policy Institute, which says it is ''dedicated to the heritage, identity and future of people of European descent in the United States, and around the world,'' is organizing a valedictory conference in the Ronald Reagan Building in Washington shortly after the election.

The aim is to take stock of the presidential campaign -- ''when our ideas began invading the mainstream'' -- and figure out what's next. In addition to Mr. Spencer, the speakers will include Peter Brimelow, the founder of Vdare.com, an anti-**immigration** website named for Virginia Dare, the first white baby born in the English colonies.

Many of these groups say they have seen a significant surge in interest in the last year. Jared Taylor, a prominent white nationalist, said traffic to his website, American Renaissance, was up 30 percent since the beginning of the Trump campaign.

Mark Pitcavage, a senior researcher at the Anti-Defamation League, suggested that these extremist groups might be trying to rationalize the growing certainty of a Trump loss for their supporters.

''They need an optimistic message for their followers, lest there be demoralization and dropouts,'' he said. ''They are less likely to be willing to talk about how a Trump defeat might hurt their cause.''

It is possible that without the organizing force and urgency of his candidacy, these groups will lose much of the momentum that they have gathered over the last 18 months. Other politicians may try to replicate his success, but Mr. Trump is in many ways a unique figure, between his name recognition and his embrace of provocative and even offensive language and ideas as a campaign strategy.

Whether they are able to build on the success of the Trump campaign will depend in part on what Mr. Trump decides to do after the election. It is unclear whether his America First platform was largely a product of political opportunism, or if he is truly committed to the nativist cause. It is equally unclear whether he will try to remain an active political force, most likely through his own media organization, after the election.

In the meantime, Mr. Trump's candidacy has served as a call to arms for extremist leaders who usually have little use for electoral politics.

Mr. Taylor, who has not supported a presidential candidate since Pat Buchanan sought the Republican nomination in 2000, recorded robocalls for Mr. Trump during the Republican primary. And Andrew Anglin, the founder of the neo-Nazi website The Daily Stormer, endorsed Mr. Trump days after he issued his first promise to build a wall to keep out Mexican criminals and ''rapists'' in June 2015.

''I basically agree with everything Donald Trump advocates,'' Mr. Anglin wrote in an email. He went on to say Mr. Trump has made it ''socially acceptable'' to talk about thing that were once off limits, such as ''the globalist Jewish agenda.''

Even in the age of Trump, not everything is socially acceptable. The Daily Stormer recently featured a post urging its readers to make one final push for Mr. Trump via their social media feeds.

''ONLY NORMIE FRIENDLY STUFF,'' it specified. ''NO Nazi stuff, just intense anti-Hillary stuff.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Forget the fight for the White House, if just for a moment. As the 2016 campaign rumbles into its final hours, there are other things going on around the country on Election Day that are just as important and engaging. Well, almost.

Here's a quick guide:

Marijuana

Look for marijuana to take another big step into the American mainstream. Voters in five states -- California, Nevada, Arizona, Maine and Massachusetts -- will decide whether to make recreational marijuana legal; if they all pass, that means that recreational marijuana will be legal in nine states. And four other states -- Montana, North Dakota, Arkansas and Florida -- will decide whether to legalize the use of medical marijuana.

Given the size of California -- the nation's most populous state with nearly 40 million people -- approval there alone would be a milestone in the movement toward legalized pot, and no matter that federal law still outlaws it. Voters there narrowly defeated an initiative that would have made pot legal in 2010, but it is back on the ballot now with polls suggesting it is heading for an easy win, particularly in a high-turnout presidential election year.

''The name of the game is California -- and that's where our chances of winning are the best,'' said Ethan Nadelmann, the executive director of the Drug Policy Alliance, which has been pushing for legalization.

Blue, Blue, Blue?

Democrats and Republicans have long thought that the nation's political map has been changing as increasingly diverse and urban states become more favorable for Democrats.

One of the most intriguing states being watched is Georgia, which has not voted for a Democrat since a Southerner -- Bill Clinton -- was elected president in 1992. (It voted against him in 1996.) With the state growing increasingly diverse, Hillary Clinton has waged a vigorous campaign there. Some polls show it close, and, win or lose, Democrats see Georgia as another state coming into play.

Outside of the South, the political upheaval has been particularly notable in the West and in states with heavy Latino populations. The question is whether the shift that members of both parties believe is taking place is going to be accelerated this year, in no small part because of Donald J. Trump's tough language on **immigration**. Keep an eye on Arizona, North Carolina and, to a lesser extent, Virginia.

Indeed, Arizona was a turn-it-blue target for President Obama in 2012, before his aides decided early in the summer the time had not yet come and pulled out.

''Arizona has been slower to change because of the high senior citizen population,'' Jim Messina, who managed Mr. Obama's campaign in 2012, told me. ''But when you have Donald Trump and you are talking historic numbers of Latino votes, you are putting Arizona in play. When states become battleground states, they tend to stay battlegrounds.''

Latinos

Mr. Messina's remarks about turnout among Latino voters signals something else to watch on election night: Is this the year that the Latino vote really comes through? In states across the country -- California, Texas, New York, Florida, Arizona, Nevada, Iowa -- the Latino population has been on the rise. But that has not translated into power at the polls, despite concerted efforts by Democrats and Latino political organizations to turn out Latino voters.

If that changes this year, it could make a drastic difference in swing states like Arizona, Florida, Nevada and Colorado.

''All of the early data is pointing to a record Latino turnout,'' said Matt Barreto, a professor of political science at U.C.L.A. and an adviser on Latino issues to Mrs. Clinton's campaign. ''In Florida, 30 percent of early votes among Latinos are from new first-time voters, and Latino early voting is up by 173 percent compared to 2012. There is no question that the Trump campaign has struck a serious nerve with Latinos.''

The Obama Legacy

President Obama is as popular as he has been for most of his presidency. But can he translate that popularity into votes for Mrs. Clinton? The president has put his reputation and support behind Mrs. Clinton more than any outgoing president in memory. And there is a reason for that: concern for the fate of his biggest legislative priorities -- Obamacare, for one -- but also because the election of Mrs. Clinton will be judged in part as a validation of Mr. Obama's legacy as president.

There is one important side note here: Can the nation's first African-American president inspire the kind of turnout among African-Americans that Mr. Obama himself saw when he ran? Can Democrats count on the high levels of participation among African-Americans once Mr. Obama has left the scene? The early signs were not encouraging for Democrats in early voting; election night should answer that question.

Where the Action Really Is

Things may have ground to a halt in Congress over these past eight years, but that doesn't mean that legislators have stopped making new policy or passing laws. It passed to the statehouses -- and considering the fact that Republicans have made huge gains in statehouses during the Obama presidency, that means that much of the new policy reflects a Republican view of the world. Over the years, Republicans have used their dominant power in statehouses to, for example, put restrictions on voting, union organizing and access to abortion. Democrats have pushed to expand services to the poor or provide more services to **immigrants**.

A key question on Tuesday is whether Democrats can recapture some of the statehouses and governorships they lost during the Obama years, in states like Nevada and New Hampshire, where Mrs. Clinton had been particularly competitive. Right now it is a bit of a mismatch: Republicans held 36 of the nation's 99 statehouse chambers in 2010, and that number has climbed to 68.

By the way, there is one important thing these legislatures will not be attending to next year: drawing district lines for congressional and state offices. Redistricting does not happen until 2020, the year when Democrats would hope to get back enough statehouses to make up for the redistricting shellacking they took in 2010.

Remember Bernie Sanders?

A final question: Will this election produce signs of a lasting movement inspired by Senator Bernie Sanders? Will he be a player in Democratic and national politics going into the next four years, and will the policies he advocated as a presidential candidate influence policy in a Clinton administration or in statehouses?

There are a few things to look for in measuring the durability of a Sanders movement. One, Mr. Sanders has campaigned heavily in California for a voter initiative -- Proposition 61 -- that would hold down the cost of prescription drugs. He endorsed it during his primary race against Mrs. Clinton here, and has stuck with it since.

In Oregon, Mr. Sanders has endorsed a voter initiative that would impose a sharp increase in corporate taxes for many companies. And he has thrown his weight and name behind a single-payer health care proposal that is on the Colorado ballot, another one that might have come right out of the Sanders playbook.

Mr. Sanders is also campaigning for Democratic candidates across the country, among them Russ Feingold, the Democratic candidate for Senate in Wisconsin; Katie McGinty, a Democrat running for Senate in Pennsylvania; and Zephyr Teachout, a liberal organizer running for Congress in upstate New York. Their victories could certainly enhance Mr. Sanders's standing in Washington.

Of course, the best way to measure just how much of a force Mr. Sanders might be in American politics -- and in a Clinton White House, should she win -- is how successful he is in getting his army of supporters to the polls to support her on Tuesday.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald J. Trump maligned undocumented **immigrants** as murderers and rapists. Hillary Clinton hired a woman who had been one for many years as her national director of Latino outreach.

Clinton organizers rolled through the streets of Orlando, Fla., blasting reggaeton music from their cars, calling out to Puerto Rican residents to vote for the woman many of them know as ''La Hillary.''

And in Arizona, a grass-roots group released an online video game that rewards players with points every time they smack Mr. Trump and the Maricopa County sheriff, Joe Arpaio, in the face with a flip-flop, but that also tells those who play where to vote.

Many votes have yet to be counted, but this much is already clear: Hispanic America has been mobilized like never before in the 2016 election, and is emerging as a formidable force with the power to elect a president.

Energized by anger at Mr. Trump and an aggressive Democratic campaign to get them to the polls, Latinos are turning out in record numbers and could make the difference in the outcome in several highly contested states.

And with African-American turnout so far failing to match the historic levels of 2008 and 2012, Hispanics could make up the difference. In fact, they could turn out to be Mrs. Clinton's firewall.

In Florida, a state that is likely to be decided by the thinnest of margins, about one million of the nearly 6.2 million early votes counted as of early Sunday had been cast by Hispanics, an increase of almost 75 percent over 2012. In Clark County, Nev., home to Las Vegas and the state's largest Hispanic population, a record 57,000 people voted on Friday alone.

Eight years ago, President Obama inspired a wave of African-American turnout, with black voters hopeful and deeply moved by his candidacy. This time, it is not an admired figure but a disliked one -- Mr. Trump -- who is driving the surge among Hispanics. Motivated by fear about what a Trump presidency would mean for their families, many Hispanics say they cannot afford to stay home.

''I'm scared for my country's future,'' said Cinthia Estela, 30, who is helping to organize Latinos for the Arizona Democratic Party. Sometimes, Ms. Estela brings along her mother and two young daughters, who are 8 and 9, to help in the effort.

''This is breaking us apart,'' she said of the election. ''This is taking us back many years.''

Crucially, many of the Latinos casting ballots are new voters. According to an analysis of early vote returns in Florida by Daniel A. Smith of the University of Florida, more than one-third of Hispanics who have cast ballots so far did not vote in November 2012.

''It is truly historic,'' Mr. Smith said. ''Donald Trump has done more to energize Hispanics in Florida than any Democratic candidate.''

But the Democrats were laying the groundwork even before Mr. Trump emerged as the Republican nominee, with years of organizational planning and tens of millions of dollars in investment by pro-**immigration** groups, state Democratic Party organizations and the Clinton campaign itself.

From the beginning of her campaign, Mrs. Clinton and her team saw untapped potential in the 27 million Hispanics who would be eligible to vote in 2016, a 26 percent increase since 2012.

But voter turnout among Hispanics was stubbornly low. In the 2012 presidential campaign, 48 percent of eligible Hispanics voted, compared to 64 percent of eligible white voters, according to Pew.

So they set out to reach them in their communities, talking to them in their language, with the belief that touching them in the most personal way possible, at churches, bodegas, bus stops and nail salons, was also the most persuasive. And the effort was focused on more than registering potential voters. Democrats sought to make electoral politics part of the daily conversation for a demographic that had until now largely sat on the sidelines.

Starting in Nevada, the campaign convened groups of women to discuss issues that were important to them, like health care and education. After each meeting, the women were asked to write down the names and contacts of five other women who might support Mrs. Clinton. The program, called ''Mujeres in Politics,'' was deemed such a success that the campaign replicated it in Colorado and other states with large Hispanic populations.

''We understand this community. We know culturally what are the strongest messages that work for them,'' said Lorella Praeli, Mrs. Clinton's national director of Latino outreach, who had lived undocumented for years after coming to this country from Peru but is now an American citizen. ''This wasn't created in an office. This was built on the ground.''

Mrs. Clinton also had to grapple with the fact that many Latino voters were disappointed with Mr. Obama, who had increased deportations and failed to bring about an overhaul of the country's **immigration** laws. Mrs. Clinton knew she would need to tell Latino voters at the start of her presidential campaign that she would go further than Mr. Obama in extending a path to citizenship, even if it meant upsetting the president.

Mrs. Clinton and her Democratic allies now have a presence in every state with a large Hispanic population with customized strategies for each.

In Florida, the campaign identified early on the influx of Puerto Ricans who had fled the island amid its economic crisis as a potential bloc of new Democratic voters. Both Bill Clinton and Amanda Renteria, the campaign's political director, were dispatched to Puerto Rico. And the campaign issued bilingual messages of support for funding to combat the spread of the Zika virus and to encourage legislation to address the debt crisis in Puerto Rico.

In Arizona, a state Democrats believe they have a chance of winning for the first time since Mr. Clinton carried it in 1996, Mrs. Clinton and her allies have focused much of their efforts on the restrictive **immigration** policies that have been approved by the Republican-led state government.

Ian Danley, the executive director of One Arizona, a coalition of 14 organizations that lead voter mobilization efforts, said the group was sending 350,000 text reminders to Latinos, urging them to vote.

While Hispanic turnout this year is largely driven by on-the-ground voter outreach, Mrs. Clinton has also paid careful attention to select the right issues.

And there are few issues that have bonded her as closely to Latinos as **immigration**. On the polarizing questions surrounding what to do with undocumented **immigrants**, Mrs. Clinton has taken a more sympathetic posture than many in her party have, including the president, whom she has criticized as acting too aggressively on deportations.

She has embraced undocumented **immigrants** in a way that would have been practically unthinkable when her husband ran for president in 1992. And she has pledged to make the politically combustible issue of **immigration** reform a priority of her first 100 days in office if elected.

The Democrats have especially leaned on Hispanic women for their campaign. Similar to how black women became an influential engine of support for Mr. Obama, Hispanic women have been central to the organizing efforts of Democrats.

Latinas have been working phones and knocking on doors, often in mother-daughter pairs. And they say they are hearing the same story again and again from the neighbors they have persuaded to go to the polls: They have never voted before, but feel they must now because they cannot stomach the thought of Mr. Trump in the White House.

Asked if there was anything in particular that drove him to the polls in West Tampa, Fla., on Sunday, Oscar Diaz, 44, a maintenance worker with Puerto Rican roots, said simply, ''Trump's big mouth.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Americans beaten down by the vitriolic presidential campaign can be forgiven for accepting the conventional wisdom that the country is irredeemably polarized, with divisions so profound as to make governing in the next administration even harder than it has been for President Obama.

Now comes new data suggesting that on foreign policy, at least, there is more consensus among voters than is normally thought. It offers some hope that Hillary Clinton, if she is the next president, could rally a majority of the nation around a common agenda. All bets are off if Donald Trump wins.

The data comes from the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, which has conducted regular surveys of public opinion since 1974. The latest report, issued last month, divided respondents into four groups by political affiliation: Democrats, Independents and Republicans, with those who said they supported Mr. Trump broken out separately.

Mr. Trump's supporters are far more anxious than other voters about the economic effects of globalization and about a nation that is becoming more multiethnic and multicultural. Eighty percent view **immigration** as a critical threat to the United States, compared with 67 percent of Republicans, 40 percent of Independents and 27 percent of Democrats, the survey found.

But on other issues, there are areas of convergence between Trump supporters and the others. For instance, 51 percent of Trump supporters want the United States to play an active international role, compared with 64 percent of all respondents. Although Mr. Trump's campaign slogan is ''Make America Great Again,'' most Americans, including the candidate's core base, already see their country as the most influential in the world.

One of Mr. Trump's most dangerous positions has been to question America's commitment to NATO and its alliances with South Korea and Japan. That is at odds with the vast majority of Americans, including 60 percent of Trump supporters, who want to increase or maintain the commitment to NATO and who believe that alliances in general are effective.

All groups cited international terrorism as the primary threat, with nuclear proliferation and North Korea's nuclear program among other top concerns. Mr. Trump, by contrast, has glibly suggested that he wouldn't care if South Korea, Japan and Saudi Arabia acquired their own nuclear weapons.

On **immigration**, most Americans, 58 percent, favor a path to citizenship for undocumented workers. Support for globalization -- specifically, increasing economic connections with the rest of the world -- resonates with 74 percent of Democrats, 61 percent of Independents and 59 percent of Republicans. Although Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton have criticized the 12-nation Trans-Pacific Partnership, the survey found that 60 percent of all respondents, including 49 percent of Trump supporters, actually favor the trade deal.

The bottom line is that ''this is quite a united nation when it comes to the main ways of thinking about foreign policy, why the United States should engage and how it should engage,'' said Ivo Daalder, president of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs.

That means that if Mr. Trump is elected and tries to effect many of the controversial and dangerous foreign policies he has espoused, he could run into serious trouble with his base, not to mention most other Americans. As for Mrs. Clinton, who is more in step with majority views, she would have an opportunity to forge consensus around the kind of bipartisan foreign policy that for decades has been the American way.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**DELRAY BEACH, Fla. -- Some pro-Clinton videos circulating in this part of South Florida do not feature Barack Obama, Bernie Sanders or Elizabeth Warren. Instead, the praise comes from Shimon Peres, Henry Kissinger and the son of Yitzhak Rabin.

Republicans are sending around cards showing a glowering Hillary Clinton, an Iranian flag and missiles, and saying: ''The Obama/Clinton Iran Deal Puts Israel at Risk and Makes Us Less Safe.''

Then there is the Facebook ad and robocall campaign puckishly titled ''WWJD.'' It answered the question many Jews here were wondering: What would Joe (as in Lieberman) do?

Both campaigns see a path to victory in Florida, the largest swing state, if they can engage the right demographic groups, from the Cuban **refugees** in Miami to the rural whites in the panhandle. But one of the most prized groups of voters in the Sunshine State is its hundreds of thousands of Jews, whose interest in the race often goes beyond the usual questions of Hillary Clinton's judgment or Donald J. Trump's temperament.

In interviews, Jewish voters here have said their votes were motivated by the same issues that matter to much of the rest of the electorate, such as **immigration**, the makeup of the Supreme Court and, perhaps more so this year, the character of the candidates.

But layered on top of that are specific concerns over support for Israel; the nuclear arms agreement with Iran, which is unpopular with Jewish conservatives; and unease over anti-Semitism that has surfaced among segments of Mr. Trump's supporters.

''Trump has become their champion,'' said Rabbi Mark Winer, the president of the Florida Democratic Party Caucus of American Jews. ''To me, that's disqualifying in itself.''

At an early-voting site on Friday in Delray Beach, where an almost hourlong line had formed on a sidewalk, Al Drelich showed up in his red ''Make America Great Again'' cap. He gave his spare hat to a Trump volunteer, and stayed around to talk up Mr. Trump and to debate the many Clinton supporters.

He bristled at the criticism he had heard about Trump supporters, saying they were wrongly maligned as racist. Plus, he seemed to be saying, Jews should know better than to blame anti-Semitism on Mr. Trump.

''That will be there forever. It will never change,'' Mr. Drelich, a retired mortgage underwriter in his 80s, said. ''We survived, and we will survive. But Trump is better for Israel than Hillary.''

Clinton supporters argued that her support for Israel was clear. Beyond that, they said, she is simply more qualified to be president.

''She's a decent, educated, well-prepared human being, who respects people's rights and who conducts herself like a lady,'' said Ken Sommers, 73, a retired dentist from Long Island.

Benna Golub, 69, a retired special education teacher, conceded that she had to think hard before picking Mrs. Clinton over Mr. Sanders in the primary. But there was no wavering, she said, when she voted for Mrs. Clinton again in the general election: ''She's more stable, more experienced, more capable.''

Early-voting turnout in South Florida has been higher than it was in 2012, and Democrats are hoping that Jewish support can counterbalance the Republicans who have been flooding voting sites elsewhere in the state. More than six million Floridians had voted as of Sunday morning, according to state statistics, with Democrats holding a slight edge. (Whom these voters chose will not be known until Tuesday.)

The three large South Florida counties have more than 500,000 Jews, or roughly 7 percent of the population, a percentage higher than anywhere in the country outside the New York metropolitan area, according to a 2015 study by researchers working under the auspices of the Jewish Federations of North America.

For decades, Jews brought their politics with them from the Northeast as they filled up South Florida's many condominiums and subdivisions for middle-class retirees. Mrs. Clinton is widely expected to carry a majority of the Jewish voters in Florida, just as President Obama and other Democratic nominees have done.

The Democrats had once counted on the assistance of so-called condo commandos, who imported the machine-style politics from back home and were considered very effective at drumming up support from their neighbors. Though their influence has faded, as many of those political organizers have died and the area has become more diverse, the contingent of Jewish voters has remained significant enough that both parties court them religiously.

Republicans have tried repeatedly to siphon Jewish voters, making appeals based on promises of lower taxes and being a stronger ally of Israel. Many here recall a crush of direct mail and television ads in 2012, as well as the billboards placed by the Republican Jewish Coalition along Interstate 95 lamenting, ''Obama ... Oy Vey!!''

Republican Jewish activists believe they have a good chance of helping Senator Marco Rubio win his race for re-election against Patrick Murphy, a Democratic congressman from South Florida. But Mr. Trump's candidacy, which has been divisive even among Jewish Republicans, has tempered those ambitions for the presidential campaign.

''There was hope that the Iran arms deal would provide an avenue, but that's frankly drowned out by the concern about Trump,'' said Kenneth D. Wald, a political scientist at the University of Florida, who studies Jewish political behavior. ''The level of alarm about Trump is very high.''

While Palm Beach County is one of the centers of Jewish life in the United States, it is also notorious in the history of American, and American Jewish, politics. Its confusing ''butterfly'' presidential ballot in 2000 helped lead to the defeat of Senator Joseph I. Lieberman, who would have been the country's first Jewish vice president. Thousands of voters in the area mistakenly voted for Pat Buchanan, the ultraconservative candidate deeply disliked by many Jews. The Supreme Court ultimately ended a statewide recount of votes, giving the election to George W. Bush.

Mr. Lieberman later became an independent and a free agent of sorts, endorsing Senator John McCain, a Republican, over Mr. Obama in 2008 and speaking at that year's Republican National Convention. That, Jewish Democratic leaders believe, made it all the more potent when he announced this summer that he was backing Mrs. Clinton, citing their years in the Senate together and saying she would be good for bipartisanship.

Whether Mr. Lieberman's endorsement, and the numerous Facebook ads and robocalls touting it, has influenced anyone is not clear. It certainly has not moved Eddie Rosianu, 88, who said he had been a steadfast supporter of the Republican Party since he arrived in the United States from Romania by way of Israel.

''Eisenhower brought me here, and gave me a good future, a good family,'' said Mr. Rosianu, a jewelry manufacturer whose business was on 47th Street in Manhattan for nearly 40 years.

His vote for Mr. Trump was based on more than party loyalty. ''He has charisma,'' he said. He also recalled a yearslong process to get him into the country, but now, echoing Mr. Trump, he said **immigrants** were entering more easily and with less scrutiny today. ''We don't know who they are,'' he said.

And as it is November, Jeff Goldings, a 50-year-old freelance writer and editor who had come to the Palm Beach County Democratic Party's office to volunteer with his mother, expressed a simple feeling many Floridians, Jewish or gentile, have been feeling of late.

He complained about the commercials on television and radio that ''bombard you every day,'' the constant phone calls and canvassers knocking on doors, trying to eke out every swing state voter they can.

''You can't escape it -- it's everywhere, on every medium,'' Mr. Goldings said. ''I think people need a break.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**They campaigned urgently, even frantically, at airfields and arenas, on a college campus in Wisconsin and in a Philadelphia church. Hillary Clinton and Senator Tim Kaine, their prospects brightened by news that the F.B.I. had found no new troublesome emails in a review of Mrs. Clinton's private server, pleaded with Americans on Sunday to get out and vote as if their very way of life were on the line.

Scrambling across the electoral map, Donald J. Trump and his running mate, Gov. Mike Pence, addressed supporters in darker and even graver terms, with Mr. Trump casting the election as a now-or-never moment for his brand of right-wing nationalism.

Surpassing the anxious entreaties of an ordinary presidential race, Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump begged voters to see the 2016 election as a choice of almost apocalyptic significance. Mr. Trump called the vote on Tuesday a final chance to turn back foreign forces menacing American identity, while Mrs. Clinton said the country's long journey toward equality for women and minorities was at risk of being reversed in a day's balloting.

Mrs. Clinton began her day in Philadelphia, speaking at the Mount Airy Church of God in Christ with Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey, a fellow Democrat. In a city where high black turnout could seal her grip on the presidency, Mrs. Clinton framed the campaign in the context of historic struggles for equality -- from the origins of the women's rights movement in Seneca Falls, N.Y., to the march for black civil rights in Selma, Ala.

''Everything you care about, everything I care about and have worked for, is at stake,'' Mrs. Clinton said, without mentioning Mr. Trump.

Mrs. Clinton has delivered a broad message of national unity in the campaign's closing days, offering herself to voters as an avatar of tolerance and reconciliation, in contrast to Mr. Trump. She campaigned on Sunday in New Hampshire with Khizr Khan, the father of an Army captain slain in Iraq, whose speech in July castigating Mr. Trump as biased against Muslims and **immigrants** electrified the Democratic National Convention. Mr. Khan branded Mr. Trump as a figure of exclusion and division, asking of him, rhetorically: ''Would anyone who is not like you have a place in your America?''

Mr. Trump, for his part, warned voters that they would never again see a candidate like him within reach of the presidency. At a rally in Sioux City, Iowa, he said repeatedly that he represented a ''last chance'' for voters angry about trade and **immigration**.

''The media, Wall Street and the politicians are trying to stop us because they know we will fix the rigged system,'' he said.

The announcement from James B. Comey, the F.B.I. director, reaffirming his assessment that Mrs. Clinton should not be charged with a crime over her handling of classified information, came as a blow to Mr. Trump and other Republicans hoping that a pre-election bombshell would upend Mrs. Clinton's campaign.

As it stands, Mrs. Clinton appears to be entering Election Day as a solid if not overwhelming favorite, even as the race has narrowed over the past few weeks. A poll published Sunday by NBC News and The Wall Street Journal found her ahead of Mr. Trump by four percentage points nationally, and she maintains a clear upper hand in the Electoral College.

And Mrs. Clinton appears to be benefiting from a surge in participation by Latino voters as well as unusually high enthusiasm among women. Early voting by Latinos may have already given Mrs. Clinton a decisive lead in the swing state of Nevada, as well as a meaningful edge in Florida, a state without which Mr. Trump has no path to the presidency.

Mrs. Clinton and her leading surrogates have also been making a last-minute appeal asking voters to embrace the idea of a female president, seeking to increase her lead among women and to persuade some hesitant men to discard their reservations about Mrs. Clinton's gender.

Campaigning in Florida over the weekend, Mr. Kaine accused Mr. Trump of tapping into sexism as a political tactic. He reproached Mr. Trump for saying at a rally that military officers would not want to follow orders from Mrs. Clinton, and for suggesting that she did not look presidential.

In Wisconsin on Sunday, Mr. Kaine hailed the historic nature of Mrs. Clinton's candidacy and urged confident Democrats not to take victory for granted.

''If it had been easy for there to be a woman president of the United States, there would have been a woman president of the United States,'' he said.

The Clinton campaign also booked national airtime during football games on Sunday night to run a pair of commercials featuring men who said they could not vote for Mr. Trump because of his treatment of women.

And Mrs. Clinton campaigned this weekend with two singers, Katy Perry and Beyoncé, who have hailed her as a barrier-breaking candidate.

In some respects, the campaign of encouragement and reassurance echoes the Democrats' successful push in 2008 to ease any hesitation about Barack Obama among white voters. That year, prominent white men in the party -- including Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. of Delaware, now the vice president, and Richard L. Trumka, an A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive -- made intensive efforts to bring along reluctant white voters.

Stephanie Schriock, the president of Emily's List, a group that supports female Democratic candidates, said it had been important for leaders like President Obama and Mr. Kaine to speak directly to voters who ''may still feel hesitant'' about electing a woman.

Ms. Schriock said Mr. Kaine and Mr. Obama had also helped send the message to wavering men that Mr. Trump's treatment of women was ''not normal behavior.''

Tom Bonier, a Democratic data strategist and the chief executive of the firm TargetSmart, said there was ample evidence that women were ''especially motivated to vote in this election.'' He added that enthusiasm from female voters alone could push Mrs. Clinton's final vote tally a point above where she stands in public polls.

''In every single battleground state, women not only make up a clear majority of ballots cast thus far, but the female share of the electorate is larger than it was in the 2012 election,'' he said.

Female voters may play an especially influential role in a few states Mr. Trump is targeting late in the campaign, including Pennsylvania, Michigan and Minnesota, where there are fewer nonwhite voters and Mrs. Clinton's lead depends in part on white women in the suburbs.

Mr. Trump has increasingly staked his candidacy on long-shot states in the Upper Midwest that have not voted Republican in a generation or more, in an attempt to escape the backlash against his candidacy from Latino voters in more diverse swing states.

He was competing at a frenzied pace on Sunday, with events planned in five states and stretching well into the night as he fell behind schedule. But with the exception of Iowa, where he is ahead in the polls, Mr. Trump is competing on unfriendly turf, scrounging for support in unlikely areas like liberal-leaning Minneapolis and the prosperous suburbs of Northern Virginia.

While Mrs. Clinton has campaigned with an eye toward turning out specific voter groups in crucial states -- firing up black voters in North Carolina and Latinos in South and Central Florida, for instance -- Mr. Trump has crisscrossed a wider map of states, but he has done little to attract support beyond his mostly white, less educated political base.

In Minneapolis, home to a sizable population of **immigrants**, Mr. Trump railed against **refugees** coming into the United States and singled out Minnesota's Somali community for attack.

Mr. Trump's campaign drew criticism over the weekend for releasing a two-minute closing advertisement that cast Mr. Trump as an opponent of international financial interests, and pictured three people -- Janet L. Yellen, the Federal Reserve chairwoman; Lloyd C. Blankfein, the chief executive of Goldman Sachs; and George Soros, the liberal investor -- as emblematic of the forces aligned against Mr. Trump. All three of those people are Jewish.

In a statement, the Anti-Defamation League said the ad had -- perhaps unintentionally -- invoked ''subjects that anti-Semites have used for ages.''

Jason D. Greenblatt, a lawyer for Mr. Trump, said any suggestion that the ad had been anti-Semitic was ''completely false and uncalled-for.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERKELEY, Calif. -- Although the University of California, Berkeley, has some of the best resources in the country for undocumented students like me -- in the form of financial and legal aid, for example -- it's been a tense couple of years, magnified by the anti-**immigration** build-a-wall language of Donald J. Trump's presidential campaign.

Berkeley's Undocumented Student Program, which the university established in 2012, works with more than 400 undocumented students and continues to grow as more go public about their **immigration** status, sometimes at considerable risk to themselves and their families.

But by coming out of the shadows, undocumented people open themselves to cruelty and threats. Last year, when I helped organize a campus protest to get the University of California to renew funding for some crucial programs for undocumented students, I was called an illegal leech who should be deported. I shrugged it off: I was proud of marching at Berkeley, where the Free Speech Movement started in the 1960s.

But looking back, I think I should have made a bigger deal about the maliciousness I witnessed and saw building. A few months later, I received an anonymous email threatening to report my family and me to **immigration** agents. The threat included details about my actions during the protest -- it seemed to be coming from someone who had seen me on campus. I was so disturbed I stopped attending classes, and even when I returned a week later, my anxiety kept me from engaging in class discussions or focusing on my studies.

Soon after that, the Undocumented Student Program began to receive anonymous email threats about students, and a fellow undocumented friend -- a prominent member of the student government -- was told by another student on Facebook: ''Thanks for identifying yourself as an illegal ... Now get out. I'll look for you on campus.'' All of this information was brought to the administration, but there was no follow-up.

Despite the supposed pride the administration takes in our accomplishments as undocumented students -- often displaying our faces on posters around campus or on the school's social media pages -- the university remains silent when we are threatened. This September, after a group of Trump supporters came onto campus to build a mock wall and spew racially charged talk about ''illegals,'' the undocumented students were told to draft a statement of inclusion as a response, and that perhaps certain departments would send it through their email listservs as a gesture of support.

Administrators have said they are determined to earn our trust, but undocumented students on campus don't want to be placated -- we want our administrators to fully stand with us through actions and not just promises. After all, when posters with anti-Semitic language began to crop up around campus in late September, the associate chancellor took swift action by sending an email to all students condemning this language.

Some argue that hateful displays of racism or anti-Semitism are different from the actions of those on campus who yell, ''Build a wall!'' But too often, hate speech toward **immigrants** in this country is written off as political opinion, and school administrators don't want to side with one political group or another. However, this political issue happens to be our futures, in the country where we grew up.

That's why it was disheartening when Janet Napolitano, the president of the University of California system -- and, it should be noted, the former head of the Department of Homeland Security -- wrote, in a Boston Globe op-ed essay, that students must be willing to listen to not just opposing views, but offensive ones, for the sake of free speech. She did not condone hate speech -- ''that which is designed to personally intimidate or harass'' -- but wrote that exceptions to free speech should be ''narrowly construed.''

So many powerful college administrators across the country have made this argument now that I think they have no idea just how offensive speech has gotten, especially during this election. They lament what they see as a lack of resilience in students and fail to realize that some speech that might qualify as merely offensive -- and could not be ''narrowly construed'' as hateful -- has become extremely intimidating. The political climate is ugly.

This is not to say that those with conservative opinions should be silenced. But because it is often campus conservatives who complain of the scourge of political correctness, I think it is tempting for college administrators to rally behind conservative students, to see them as the new gadflies, the protectors of free speech. Yet it is comical to think that those of us with lesser rights are somehow infringing on those who have no fear of deportation.

What is a matter of political discourse for one group of students can be a threat to the future of another group. The university could best demonstrate its dedication to free speech by dispensing with empty rhetoric and speaking out for undocumented students -- or even by taking a controversial stance on the political issues that affect them.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The sensational, spidery plot of the most gripping game of thrones in modern history is best captured by two images. The first is from Donald J. Trump 's extravagant third wedding at his Mar-a-Lago estate in 2005: The junior senator from New York, glowing in gold silk and pearls, smiles up at the mogul in white tie with genuine delight as he says something that cracks up Hillary, Bill and Trump's bejeweled bride, Melania. Donald and Hillary look ''just like teenagers in love'' in the flashbulb moment, as David Patrick Columbia, the editor of the website New York Social Diary, notes dryly. The second, more sinister image is from the St. Louis presidential debate last month: A Tang-colored Trump looms behind Hillary like a horror-movie fiend as she makes a point, while three of Trump's guests in the front row, women who accused Bill of sexual assault, give her the stink eye and Chelsea and Bill sit nearby looking grim.

What a difference a decade makes: from a Babylonian celebration, with Hillary and Bill cozying up to Donald, to a seething face-off, with Donald summoning ghosts from Bill's scandalous past and threatening to throw Hillary in the clink if he's elected.

We are in the final days of the first presidential contest between two New Yorkers in 72 years, since Thomas Dewey ran against Franklin D. Roosevelt: The 42-year-old Republican governor of New York used a Trump-style attack on the 62-year-old Democratic president, calling him ''a tired old man.'' On election night, the party and the wake will both be held in Manhattan. Hillary will hold hers at the Javits Convention Center, with its literal glass ceiling and, as The Times's campaign reporter Maggie Haberman noted, an air of trolling: Back in the late 1970s, Trump wanted to build the center and slap the Trump name on it, but the city refused.

In this historically dreadful and mesmerizing election, which could lead to the death of the Republican Party and the ideological makeover of the Democratic Party, the New York aspect has been largely overshadowed. Only Lin-Manuel Miranda made a point of highlighting it, on ''Saturday Night Live,'' urging people to take their minds off the crazy election by coming to ''Hamilton'': ''It's about two famous New York politicians locked in a dirty, ugly, mudslinging political campaign. Escapism!''

In the ''single compact arena'' of New York, E.B. White wrote, a gladiator and a promoter can come together in a city vibrating with great undertakings. ''These two names, for the last two or three decades, represent what has been incredible and vulgar about this country at the same time,'' says the Manhattan ad man and television personality Donny Deutsch. ''We can trace our downfalls or upticks as a society through them.'' The story of how Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton rose and reinvented themselves and embraced and brawled is the story of New York itself. It is a tale of power, influence, class, society and ambition that might have intrigued Edith Wharton, whose family once owned a grand home down the block from what is now Trump Tower.

The Clintons started their move to New York from Washington in 2000, so Hillary could pursue her bid for the United States Senate and fly on her own after the Monica Lewinsky scandal. She had never lived in New York, but carpetbagging was no sin to cosmopolitan New Yorkers, who embraced Bobby Kennedy when he decamped from Massachusetts and suburban Washington in 1964, so she looked North to Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Senate seat.

When they arrived, the Clintons found a lot of raw nerve endings among the moneyed elite, who were bitterly divided following Bush v. Gore. Although wealthy Democrats and Republicans in New York have largely united around Hillary this time, business executives were more suspicious of Gore than they were of the Clintons. In those days, Democrats were complaining that the election had been stolen from them, and Republicans were whinging that it had almost been stolen from them.

Hillary knew she should not be seen as a Manhattan insider, so just as Bobby chose Long Island as his base, she chose Westchester. She recast herself as a Yankees -loving New Yorker in the city and a Chicago-born daughter of the Great Lakes when she campaigned upstate. New York -- and being a senator in the horrific aftermath of 9/11 -- would change Hillary. ''It toughened her up,'' says Senator Charles Schumer of New York. ''She's harder-nosed about things. Life did that, but New York did, too.''

Bill also needed a reinvention. After the impeachment and the Marc Rich pardon, he was in bad odor. He had to abandon plans to rent lavish offices for their foundation in Carnegie Hall Tower for almost $800,000 a year after critics pounced. He moved instead into offices in Harlem for $210,000 a year. The mulligan-loving ex-president was snubbed by four of the prestigious Westchester County golf clubs he reportedly tried to join. As Trump marveled to me at the time: ''Now Clinton can't get into golf clubs in Westchester. A former president begging to get in a golf club. It's unthinkable.'' Bill started an elaborate campaign to improve his image, making speeches at colleges and enlisting former cabinet members and other surrogates to talk up his legacy. Once Bill moved up in public estimation, he moved downtown with the foundation.

With Hillary's Senate bid underway, the Clintons held out their tin cup. They had been fund-raising in the city nonstop since 1990, but the asks intensified as they started their foundation in 2001 and rubbed shoulders with all the new wealth on Wall Street, which was driven by hedge funds and technology funds. With book deals and lucrative speeches and Bill's role as an adviser to Ronald Burkle's private-equity firm, Yucaipa, the Clintons worked their way out of the debt accrued by legal bills from a cascade of federal investigations to earn an estimated $230 million in the next 15 years.

As the Clintons fashioned a new life in New York, Trump was transforming himself as well -- from a risk-taking developer facing bankruptcy to a low-risk licenser of his name for other people's projects, from a brazen builder to a gilded reality-TV star on ''The Apprentice.'' He had come out of Queens, a pushy New York kid with family money but no social tools to climb the society ladder. ''Even stuck out on Avenue Z, his head was always in Manhattan,'' says Wayne Barrett, author of the biography ''Trump: The Greatest Show on Earth.'' Gwenda Blair, author of ''The Trumps,'' says Trump, resplendent in the '70s in his three-piece burgundy suit with matching shoes and matching limo, recalled ''this strapping lad from the provinces who comes to the city, like a figure out of Balzac's 'Lost Illusions.' ''

The New York society scene was set by the Rockefellers and the Astors with a tradition of civility, philanthropy and the arts at its heart. Even those who make money the rough way -- especially them -- adopt this genteel facade. Michael Bloomberg is the quintessential emblem of this model and Donald Trump is the quintessential raspberry to it. One top New York foundation official who requested anonymity -- many people will only speak anonymously about the Trumps and the Clintons, because both clans are known to be vindictive -- notes that ''in the community of plutocrats and superachievers who come to New York, Donald Trump is seen as persona non grata. He's not a civic leader.'' New York, this person says, is a place where private-equity C.E.O.s like Henry Kravis and Stephen Schwarzman see themselves making commitments to the public good. Their status doesn't come only from being in charge of powerful corporations. ''It also comes from some attachment to a hospital or university or cultural center. Trump was never part of that ecosystem.'' When the tightfisted Trump hosts a charity event for veterans or a charity golf tournament, it is dismissed as something to polish the Trump brand. Trump has turned off many people in the worlds of real estate, banking and law with his strong-arming, fee-shaving or stiffing, bankruptcies and litigiousness. ''Most real estate guys won't go near him,'' a leading New York financial executive says. ''You lie down with dogs, you get up with fleas.''

Trump thumps his chest about money, acting as if he's Bloomberg-wealthy, while the Clintons pretend they have less than they do. Trump wants to belong, to get more legitimacy by elbowing his way into the power crowd, while the Clintons passed that threshold of belonging after two terms in the White House. A top media mogul dismisses all three as outsiders: ''No one here thinks of the Clintons as New Yorkers, and Donald is a bridge-and-tunnel person. He's always been a poseur in New York.''

Trump realized that golf was his entree if he wanted to pal around with Bill Clinton , whom he considered a kindred spirit in some ways -- a great man who attracted jealous haters. ''Bill is kind of Trump with a dictionary,'' one author who has written about New York real estate says. Trump had been obsequious in trying to lure Ronald and Nancy Reagan to his business empire, and tried just as hard with the Clintons. He happened to have his own country club with a golf course in Westchester, which he bought out of foreclosure in the late 1990s. He closed the club in 1999 to redevelop it from top to bottom and reopened it as Trump National Golf Club in 2002. It was six miles from the Clintons' house, and Trump could play with him, ingratiating himself further by hanging photos of Bill on the wall. As of June, Bill still had a locker at Trump's golf club.

Trump once told me that he rebuilt the club, in part, because he knew Bill Clinton would need a place to play. As Don Van Natta Jr., an ESPN senior writer, wrote in his book about presidents and golf, ''First Off the Tee,'' Trump enjoyed playing with the ex-president. ''He's got a lot of golf talent, but he really likes those mulligans,'' Trump told Van Natta. ''If he misses a shot, he wants to take another crack at it. It's like life.''

Trump greased the wheels of his relationship with the ex-president and the senator, giving the Clinton Foundation a $100,000 gift from his own foundation. According to ''Trump Revealed,'' by Michael Kranish and Marc Fisher, Trump donated to Hillary's Senate war chest six times between 2002 and 2009, for a total of $4,700, and between 1999 and 2012, he switched his registration among the Republican, Democratic and Independence parties seven times.

The friendship, on both sides, was a transaction. Not personal, as they say in the ''The Godfather'' -- just business. Trump's life in New York was all about promoting the brand and making money for the family business. It was the same for the Clintons. A former Clinton White House official puts it more bluntly: ''This was a classic Clinton go-where-the-money-is move.''

''They all played the same game in the same town with the same thing in mind,'' says Bernard Kerik, the former New York City police commissioner, who was invited to Trump's third wedding and served prison time for tax fraud and other felony charges. ''Better your relationships and build the business. It's all about money and getting ahead and hedging your bets and playing the angles.''

Trump wasn't on the dinner-party circuit. He lived in a narrow alternate universe called Trumpworld, and his favorite way to spend the evening was ordering a steak or cheeseburger (well done) from Fresco by Scotto, eating quickly and watching a sporting event on TV. ''Trumpworld is a world he weaves for his own needs and desires, depending on what they are and when they are,'' says Louise Sunshine, a former Trump Organization vice president, noting that Clintonworld is much broader and more global.

Though the Clintons might show up at some events and galas and friends' birthday parties, they were never really around enough to become part of the society dinner-party circuit, either. When I asked Trump last summer to describe his relationship with the Clintons, he was neutral: ''As a businessman, you have to get along with all politicians,'' he said. ''I wouldn't say it was a close relationship.''

Hillary presents the trip to Trump's wedding as a lark. ''The dates worked,'' a friend says. But some of her aides expressed surprise that she was going to such a gaudy affair; they believed Hillary rearranged her schedule because she thought Trump was a more important donor than he was.

The senator and former president beamed in pictures, mingling with the starry crowd, which included Heidi Klum , Barbara Walters, Arnold Schwarzenegger , Sean Combs, Usher, Steve Wynn, Derek Jeter, Don King, Simon Cowell, Gayle King, Matt Lauer and Katie Couric, who got in trouble for her enterprising move of bringing a purse-cam. Paul Anka, Billy Joel, Elton John and Tony Bennett all performed.

André Leon Talley attended with Anna Wintour because the bride was going to be featured on the cover of Vogue , where he was then American editor at large. He had flown to Paris to shop with Melania for the dress -- she chose a John Galliano for Dior strapless gown worth $230,000 and a Vera Wang cocktail dress to change into later -- and he was ''on duty'' at the wedding and the reception paying attention to the ''birthday cake of a dress'' when Melania ''was walking around or dancing.'' He calls Melania ''the most silky, well moisturized, meticulously groomed woman'' he has ever known, adding that ''dehydrated skin is so unattractive.''

Trump was a reality-show star now, starting his third hit season of ''The Apprentice'' on NBC . Just as his taste in his apartment at Trump Tower was ''like Louis XIV dropped acid,'' as Timothy O'Brien, author of ''TrumpNation,'' describes it, so was his third wedding straight-up Versailles. ''This was a man building a ballroom for his trophy wife,'' Talley said. ''It was Baroque, the way he loves it. The marble was flown in from Italy, and the ceiling was like a palace, all gold, painted by artisans flown in from France. He had a full-on live symphony orchestra.''

David Patrick Columbia, the society editor, asserts that the Clintons were another accouterment: ''Donald liked the fact that the Clintons were there because it was just another affirmation of who he had become in his life, a successful person. That's what matters to him.''

Perhaps the collision of Donald Trump and the Clintons on the biggest stage of all was inevitable. But was it orchestrated? At the restaurant in Trump Tower last summer, I asked the mogul about the ''Manchurian Candidate'' buzz, about that phone call he got from Bill Clinton in May 2015, when the businessman and reality star was making up his mind whether to run. The Washington Post quoted four Trump allies and one Clinton associate as saying that Clinton encouraged Trump's efforts to play a larger role in the Republican Party.

Roger Stone, author of ''The Clintons' War on Women'' and a longtime confidant of Trump's, claims that Bill urged Trump to get in the race and told him he thought he could get the nomination. ''That's why the people with the tinfoil hats are convinced the whole thing is a setup,'' Stone says. ''Bill can't help himself from giving advice. He loves the game. He's the great kibitzer.'' Stone said Trump also asked Bill three years ago if anyone could be elected president as an independent, and Bill told him no.

I tried to get to the bottom of this murky story that day at Trump Tower, but when you're dealing with Bill and Donald and truth, it's an elusive goal.

''Did Bill tell you that you should run?'' I asked.

''He didn't say one way or the other,'' Trump replied, over a plate of meatballs.

To make the whole conspiracy wackier, when I began fact-checking this story, the Trump Tower version flipped, with Trumpsters saying that the phone call entailed Bill trying to talk Donald out of running because the former president knew that Trump could beat Hillary.

This new version was met with eye-rolling and mockery from Clintonistas. ''Bill Clinton is not Frank Underwood,'' a former top aide says. ''I guarantee you he did not call Trump with an uber-plan, where he was five moves down the chessboard. He has a theory: You've got to give a lot to get a lot. But he doesn't meddle like that, telling people to get in and get out. Trump shouldn't flatter himself that Bill gave a damn one way or the other. Trump was just another guy on the call list.''

No matter how Trump got into the race, the way he has conducted it has made Bill burn. Trump escalated his attacks after the Billy Bush hot mike incident, dragging Bill's accusers back onto the stage. No one else would have gone there or said, as Trump did, that Hillary had ''one of the great women-abusers of all time sitting in her house, waiting for her to come home for dinner.'' As a Clinton ally ruefully notes, ''The last 15 years, everyone had forgotten about that, and now it's back.'' Trump also eagerly pounced to lash the Clintons to an astonishing new twist in the F.B.I. email investigation, involving Anthony Weiner, the estranged husband of Hillary's closest aide, Huma Abedin, and his sexts to a 15-year-old North Carolina girl.

New York elites have gone from flabbergasted that Trump got this far to debating how the Trump family and one of Trump's top strategists, Jared Kushner , Ivanka's husband and the publisher of The New York Observer, will be received if they have to slink back into town. Some people say the attitude toward the Trump children will be more lenient; others think that the Trump brand is irrevocably damaged and that the whole family will be pariahs.

''Will the word 'Trump' be used almost in profanity for some time to come among average New Yorkers?'' asks Hank Sheinkopf, a veteran Democratic political consultant. ''Likely so.''

It may be beginning to dawn on Trump that he has thrown acid on his brand. He left the campaign trail during the final push to promote his new Washington hotel. The hotel is clearly struggling, cutting its expensive room rates and losing the famed chef José Andrés after Andrés decided Trump was ''a racist, a divider.'' I went to check it out recently, and it had a deserted feel. There was one African-American family posing under the Trump sign -- giving a thumbs-down -- and a strip of yellow crime tape across the front after vandals wrote ''Black Lives Matter'' on it.

''I can tell you, in my crowd, they would rather not do anything associated with Trump,'' says one advertising and marketing big shot. ''People are nauseated by what he's doing.''

Cindy Adams, the New York Post columnist, disagrees: ''He'll go back to being the most famous face on this planet. No, his brand won't be hurt. Trump will be Trump. Everybody will still want to meet him.''

Trump has said he hopes that Chelsea and Ivanka -- who shared the problems of coming of age when their fathers were enmeshed in very public affairs -- can remain friends. But on the Clinton side, people privately play down the friendship, saying that Ivanka, as with her father and the Clintons, was the one pushing the alliance. ''There's no Ivanka-Chelsea relationship,'' the foundation executive says. ''There was an Ivanka P.R. moment. It was a transaction. They both got what they wanted.''

Some say it will be hardest for Kushner, an Orthodox Jew who got in deep with helping Trump as anti-Semitic sentiment swirled around the candidate. Joe Conason , author of ''Man of the World'' and a former employee of Kushner's at The Observer, says: ''People will remember this. Maybe you could get away with this in parts of Florida. But in New York City, this doesn't fly.''

One friend of Trump's from the real estate world is worried that Trump does not understand how the groups he has derogated and demeaned will wreak revenge on him. ''He's **alienated** women,'' the friend says. ''He's **alienated** wealthy people. He's **alienated** people from the Middle East. He's **alienated** people from Latin America. These are all fertile ground where people could buy condos from him.''

At the annual Al Smith dinner last month at the Waldorf Astoria, a white-tie charity fête put on by the Catholic Archdiocese of New York that brings together high society and media and features humorous speeches by politicians, Trump was greeted warmly enough after he was introduced by Al Smith IV. ''A kid from Queens with a big heart and a big mouth is without question a New York institution,'' Smith said.

But when Trump began to make harsher cracks about Hillary toward the end, out of sync with the tone of the event, he was repeatedly booed -- spurned by the same Manhattan elites whose approval he had spent so long seeking. Afterward, he fled quickly with Melania without talking to anyone. As Trump returned to the seclusion of his Fifth Avenue Xanadu, he was playing a scene of megalomania and mortification straight out of one of his favorite movies, ''Citizen Kane,'' about the fall of a brash New York mogul who flew high, gave politics a shot and then had a steep fall after a sex imbroglio. '' 'Citizen Kane' was really about the accumulation,'' Trump once said. ''At the end of accumulation, you see what happens, and it is not necessarily all positive.'' Hillary, meanwhile, was spotted nearly 20 minutes after he left, still laughing and mingling with the crowd.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PEMBROKE PINES, Fla. -- Hispanic voters in key states surged to cast their ballots in the final days of early voting this weekend, a demonstration of political power that lifted Hillary Clinton 's presidential hopes and threatened to block Donald J. Trump 's path to the White House.

In Florida, energized by the groundswell of Latino support and hoping to drive even more voters to the polls, Mrs. Clinton visited a handful of **immigrant**communities on Saturday and rallied Democrats in a town filled with Hispanic and Caribbean migrants.

''We are seeing tremendous momentum, large numbers of people turning out, breaking records,'' Mrs. Clinton said here in Pembroke Pines before cutting her remarks short when torrential afternoon rain began falling on the racially mixed crowd. Before taking the stage, she greeted voters at a heavily Cuban early voting center in West Miami and then stopped in at her storefront field office in Miami's Little Haiti.

Indeed, even as she fought a rear-guard action to defend a series of more heavily white states that appear to have grown more competitive, making trips to Michigan, Pennsylvania and New Hampshire, Mrs. Clinton appeared to find a growing advantage in the more diverse presidential battlegrounds.

This long, unpredictable and often downright bizarre election was, in other words, ending along the lines it had been contested all along: with Americans sharply divided along demographic lines between the two candidates. But Democrats continued to hold the upper hand, thanks in part to the changing nature of the electorate in the most crucial states: Florida and a cluster of states in the South and the West.

Mr. Trump also began the day in this state, rallying supporters in Tampa, where he recognized Hispanic supporters in his audience and declared ''the Cubans just endorsed me,'' citing an award he had been given by a group of Cuban-Americans. Without explaining what he meant, Mr. Trump said, ''The Hispanic vote is turning out to be much different than people thought.''

He also continued to assail Mrs. Clinton over her use of a private email server as secretary of state, highlighting the F.B.I.'s apparent discovery of messages on a computer used by Huma Abedin, a longtime Clinton aide, and her estranged husband, the former congressman Anthony D. Weiner. But, continuing a recent pattern, Mr. Trump hurled claims at Mrs. Clinton that were highly speculative.

''Anthony Weiner has probably every classified email ever sent,'' said Mr. Trump. ''And, knowing this guy, he probably studied every single one, in between using his machine for other purposes.''

The F.B.I. is investigating whether Mr. Weiner sent sexually explicit text messages to a 15-year-old.

Mr. Trump also stopped on Saturday in North Carolina, and took advantage of the time-zone differences by flying west for evening rallies in Colorado and Nevada.

In Reno, Nev., he was rushed offstage by Secret Service agents after someone shouted that a member of the crowd had a gun, a reminder of the charged atmosphere at many of his events. No weapon was found, and Mr. Trump returned to finish his speech after a few minutes.

By holding events in those four increasingly diverse states, he was signaling a refusal to concede any ground to Mrs. Clinton and rejecting the strategy of past presidential candidates who have fought within the confines of a narrower electoral map in the campaign's final hours.

He even announced Saturday morning that he planned to add a stop in Minnesota, long a Democratic bulwark and a state he had not been even contesting.

But the evidence from polling and the early voting turnout seemed to indicate he was facing the possibility of sweeping losses in states with sizable Hispanic populations, most likely affected by the racially tinged language he has used since beginning his campaign over 16 months ago, when he claimed the ranks of Mexican migrants were filled with rapists and drug dealers.

''The story of this election may be the mobilization of the Hispanic vote,'' said Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, an anti-Trump Republican who has pleaded with his party to do more to win over Latinos. ''So Trump deserves the award for Hispanic turnout. He did more to get them out than any Democrat has ever done.''

The question for Republicans, just 12 years after President George W. Bush carried at least a third of the Hispanic vote, is how long the Trump-inflicted damage with Latinos will haunt them.

Raising the specter of how difficult it has been for California Republicans since former Gov. Pete Wilson's hard line toward illegal **immigrants** there, Mr. Graham said, ''If we don't come to grips with the demographic challenges we have with Hispanics in presidential politics, we'll never right the ship.''

In Florida, at least 200,000 more Hispanics had voted early as of Friday than did during the entire early voting period four years ago, according to an analysis by Steve Schale, a Democratic strategist who helped run President Obama's two campaigns here.

The turnout has been particularly explosive in South Florida and Central Florida, where thousands from Puerto Rico and other regions of Latin America have migrated in recent years. And 24 percent of the Hispanics casting early ballots were first-time voters, the analysis showed.

''It's the demographics that are bailing her out,'' Mr. Schale said.

In Orlando, voters waited up to 90 minutes on Saturday at one early voting location at a library, some spending the time taking pictures of one another in front of candidates' signs. Parking lots for a quarter-mile surrounding the area were packed.

Mrs. Clinton clearly carried the day there. Jon-Carlos Perez, 30, an independent voter and a concrete laborer originally from Puerto Rico, said he cast his vote for Mrs. Clinton in part because ''she's not an idiot like Trump.''

Alyssa Perez, 23, a doctoral student at the University of Central Florida who voted at another busy location in Orlando, said she considered Mr. Trump to be ''anti-women, anti-Hispanic, anti-Muslim'' and said, ''I don't want to live in a country where there is a president who has those kinds of views.''

Canvassing on Saturday morning in North Miami, Mary Kay Henry , the president of the Service Employees International Union, and a handful of local members focused on households, many of them Haitian or Hispanic, with an infrequent voting history. But nearly every resident who answered their door assured her they had already voted.

''The word is out,'' said Ms. Henry, as roosters scooted between yards.

But it was not just Florida where Hispanics were poised to send a powerful message. In Nevada, which has the fastest-growing Latino population in the West, Democrats appeared to have built a fearsome advantage in Las Vegas's Clark County at the end of early voting Friday, largely because of a surge of votes from Mexican-Americans. The early voting period was extended until 10 p.m. at one Hispanic grocery store in Las Vegas, where the images of hundreds of voters waiting in line ricocheted across the internet. (On Saturday, Mr. Trump claimed, without any evidence, that the hours had been extended so Democrats could be bused in.)

As of the end of early voting on Thursday, five states with surging Hispanic populations -- Arizona, Colorado, Florida, North Carolina and Nevada -- had already cast ballots equivalent to over 50 percent of their total turnout from 2012, according to an analysis by Catalist, a Democratic data firm.

While the changing face of the American electorate seemed to offer Mrs. Clinton a political cushion, the F.B.I.'s decision to continue investigating her use of a private email server as secretary of state appeared to push some loosely committed white voters away. Mr. Trump has seized on the issue in virtually every speech, repeatedly insinuating that Mrs. Clinton was on the verge of being charged despite no evidence to support the claim.

''She's under multiple federal investigations, has committed many crimes, including perjury, and she's now facing the prospect of a federal indictment,'' Mr. Trump said as he delivered the Republican Party's weekly radio address.

And Mr. Trump has been trying to take advantage of Mrs. Clinton's slippage in mostly white states by making a late incursion into Michigan and Wisconsin.

Acknowledging that Mr. Trump is threatening the grip Democrats have had on Michigan in presidential races since 1988, Mrs. Clinton appeared on Friday in Detroit and planned an event in Grand Rapids for Monday while announcing that Mr. Obama would visit Ann Arbor the same day.

She appeared in Philadelphia on Saturday night, before heading on Sunday to New Hampshire, and then returning to Ohio, where she was to appear with the Cleveland Cavaliers star LeBron James in a state Mr. Obama twice captured but has proved elusive for her.

Mrs. Clinton also dispatched her running mate, Senator Tim Kaine, to Wisconsin and onetime rival, Senator Bernie Sanders, to Iowa over the weekend to blunt Mr. Trump's support among white voters. A new Des Moines Register poll this weekend showed Mr. Trump leading Mrs. Clinton by seven points in Iowa.

But Mrs. Clinton can afford to lose Ohio and Iowa and even Michigan and still easily amass the 270 electoral votes needed for victory if she is able to secure the Southern and Western states that have tilted away from Republicans as they lost ground with nonwhites over the past decade: Virginia, North Carolina and Florida, as well as New Mexico, Colorado and Nevada.

And while she may not win every one of these diverse states, capturing most of them would be enough to deny Mr. Trump any path to the White House.

''You can credit him for that,'' said Karl Rove, the Republican strategist. ''Not her.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Last May, Poland's Ruling Law and Justice Party, a right-wing nationalist party committed to upending Poland's established liberal order, convened an ''audit'' of the previous government in the high-Modernist Parliament building in Warsaw. Since winning a decisive electoral victory in October 2015, Law and Justice had set about dismantling many of the structural checks and balances designed to prevent a return to the authoritarianism of the Soviet era. The audit, called with little advance warning, was intended to discredit Civic Platform, the centrist, pro-European party that ruled Poland from 2007 to 2015.

It was a strangely knockabout inquisition. ''They didn't even give us any documents to read or respond to,'' Rafal Trzaskowski, the former minister of European affairs, who testified at the audit, told me when I visited him in his office two days later. ''Each minister just got up and made accusations.'' The Law and Justice prime minister, Beata Szydlo, kicked off the audit by claiming that Civic Platform had squandered 340 billion zlotys ($88 billion) through waste. Trzaskowski listened in amazement as one of Szydlo's colleagues accused an unnamed Civic Platform minister of using a state discount to buy an iPhone for less than the retail price.

The foreign minister, Witold Waszczykowski, declared that Civic Platform had sold out Poland's national interests to the European Union . The defense minister, Antoni Macierewicz, in a speech that lasted for more than an hour, claimed that under Civic Platform, Poland's military-and-intelligence officials had been doing Russia's bidding -- perhaps, he conceded, unknowingly -- and presented a photograph that he said showed Polish intelligence officers playfully donning Russian navy caps at a gathering in St. Petersburg. Trzaskowski was shocked. ''He was saying that leading ministers and generals had betrayed Poland,'' he told me. ''I was dumbfounded. I had to smoke a cigarette, and I don't even smoke.''

After she left the lectern, Szydlo stopped to receive a congratulatory embrace from a short, stocky man sitting immediately to the right of the lectern: Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the founder, guide and master of the Law and Justice Party. The grayest of eminences, Kaczynski holds no government post. Yet neither allies nor enemies doubt that Kaczynski runs Poland; he did not speak during the audit, but it was plainly his affair. To Trzaskowski, the entire spectacle appeared to have been engineered for the benefit of the supremo, who occasionally beamed with delight as the allegations unfurled.

Poland has been the great success story of the former Eastern bloc, a nation that rapidly adopted democratic norms and moved toward a free-market economy after the fall of communism in 1989. But over the last year Kaczynski and his followers have moved with astonishing speed to alter this trajectory, in hopes of deflecting Poland from the orbit of Western Europe and returning it to a past defined by family, church and home. In its first months in power, the new government moved swiftly to gain control over the country's public media, its Civil Service and its judiciary, and it has largely neutralized the Constitutional Tribunal, the nation's highest court. The European Union , in a rare rebuke, accused Law and Justice of undermining the rule of law; Kaczynski told the E.U. to mind its own business.

Law and Justice's particular resentments, above all its virulent anti-Communism in the absence of actual Communists, may be distinctly Polish. But in its revolt against European liberalism, the party stands at the forefront of a growing movement. The one unifying feature of Western democracies today is the rise of nativist, nationalist parties. All of them tap a deep and thickening vein of pessimism about the economic and political prospects of the West. In part their ascent reflects the aftershocks of the financial crisis of 2007-2008, which shook the faith of many working-class and middle-class voters in the wisdom of liberal elites. The continuing **refugee** crisis has also provoked a fierce backlash against newcomers in many countries. And anxieties about a globalized world have created a bull market in nostalgia.

These are the fears that carried the day in the Brexit vote and that propelled Donald Trump to the Republican nomination. As the largest country in the West to have elected one of these authoritarian-minded parties to power, Poland may be a harbinger. Radoslaw Markowski, a leading political scientist, told me that he had begun to have an awful premonition. ''Maybe this 25 years of democracy and liberal values in Poland is a deviant period,'' he said. ''Maybe now we're returning to normal.''

The European Solidarity Center, a research institute and museum in the old Baltic city Gdansk, sits on the site of the former Lenin Shipyard. This was the birthplace of the Solidarity movement, the union of workers and intellectuals that confronted Poland's Soviet masters starting in 1980 and ultimately filled the vacuum left by the Soviet withdrawal less than a decade later. The museum offers a vivid reminder of one of Europe's most heroic episodes since the end of World War II, with pictures of the young protesters killed or imprisoned by the puppet regime. Toward the end of the exhibition hangs a photograph of Lech Walesa, the electrician and Solidarity co-founder who later served as Poland's first post-communist president, and his fellow Solidarity leaders at the end of a strike at the Lenin Shipyard in 1988. On the edge of the group there are two nearly identical young men with round faces: Jaroslaw Kaczynski and his twin brother, Lech. My guide at the museum was especially eager that I understand the significance of their placement in the picture: These were marginal men, acutely aware that the glory went to others.

The Kaczynski brothers were born in Warsaw in 1949. At 12, they became famous as the adorable, mop-topped stars of a children's film, ''Those Two Who Stole the Moon.'' Both received law degrees, then became caught up in history. In 1976, Jaroslaw joined the Committee for the Defense of Workers, or KOR, a group that formed in the aftermath of a government crackdown. Lech, who by chance had moved to the Gdansk region, went to work for Walesa. When, in December 1981, the Communist government declared martial law, outlawing Solidarity and imprisoning many of its leaders, the Kaczynskis continued to work underground with the union. After Walesa was released from prison, the Kaczynskis returned to his side, writing policy briefs and drafting memos on legal issues. The twins became his functionaries.

''They were useful in a support role,'' Walesa told me when I met him at the office he now keeps at the Solidarity Center, ''but they didn't have the ability to be leaders themselves.'' This was a view I heard from a number of Solidarity veterans: The Kaczynskis did work no one else wanted to do but never fully tasted either the suffering or the sublime romance of Solidarity. Walesa speculated that Jaroslaw's turn against the liberal post-Communist consensus arose from ''an inferiority complex,'' a massive chip on Kaczynski's shoulder.

''From the very beginning,'' Walesa told me, ''when they were kids, they used to fight, fight, fight. It's like Romulus and Remus. They knew how to pick fights, but sometimes they chose the wrong fights.'' At first, they fought for Walesa himself. Many of Solidarity's intellectual leaders, who were steeped in the Western tradition of limited government, broke with Walesa when he ran for president, fearing that he planned to become a new autocrat. The Kaczynskis stayed by his side. Their parents had fought in the anti-Nazi, anti-Communist resistance, and the children grew up ardent patriots and conservatives.

Then an election in 1991 brought a conservative prime minister, Jan Olszewski, to power. One of the new government's ministers, Antoni Macierewicz, claimed that dozens of members of Poland's lower house had cooperated with the secret police; this was the same man who, a quarter of a century later, would serve as Kaczynski's inquisitor in the audit of Civil Platform. His accusations smacked of the kind of ideological bloodletting that Solidarity's leaders had vowed to put behind them. The Kaczynskis, however, left Walesa to join Olszewski. And when Olszewski fell, in 1992, the Kaczynskis fell with him.

In 2001, the twins began clawing their way back to the center of Polish political life with the founding of Law and Justice. The party appealed to those who felt left out of the new, cosmopolitan Poland, with its cafe culture and its easy flights to London and Frankfurt. As Europe has secularized, Poland has remained a deeply Catholic country. Poland, in short, was less liberal than it looked from the outside. In addition, many Poles were disgusted with the persistence of ex-Communists in Poland's economic and political life, which was a consequence of the decision made by Solidarity leaders not to prosecute the apparatchiks of the old regime. In the 2005 parliamentary elections, Law and Justice narrowly edged out Civic Platform as the largest party; soon after that, Lech Kaczynski defeated Donald Tusk of Civic Platform to become president.

A very strange thing happened at the moment that Lech learned that he had been elected president. On national television, he turned to his brother and said, ''Mr. Chairman, I report: Mission accomplished.'' Lech was president; but Jaroslaw, the party leader, was boss. Almost everyone who knew the two was struck, first, by their near indissolubility, and second, by Lech's deference to his brother. Walesa told me that every time he offered the twins a bonus -- he couldn't quite tell them apart -- Lech would say, ''Give it to my brother.''

The twins were quite different as people. Lech was a temperamental moderate who fancied himself a statesman-intellectual; Jaroslaw was the wily back-room operator. He has never lived abroad and rarely travels. Lech had a wife and child. Jaroslaw lived with his mother until her death in 2013; his only bedtime companion, he has said, is his cat, Fiona. Until recently, he had, famously, neither a bank account nor a driver's license. His asceticism functions as a kind of charisma.

At first Jaroslaw remained in the background, but in July 2006, he took the job of prime minister for himself. Poland's two highest officials were now twins.

That September, Jaroslaw Kaczynski delivered a little-noticed speech to the conservative Heritage Foundation in Washington, which in retrospect offers an invaluable guide to his worldview. The liberals who led Poland for much of the post-Soviet era, he argued, had made no effort at ''changing the social hierarchy,'' which remained dominated by ex-Communists. The old elite simply exchanged its former political power for wealth. How, he asked, had these despised anti-Polish elements gained the legitimacy to remain at the top rungs of Polish life? Who smoothed their way? It was ''the most influential portion of the counterelite'' -- the liberals. They had agreed to be ''co-opted to the socially privileged sphere.''

Kaczynski was claiming that his own former colleagues, the heroes of the anti-Communist struggle, who had endured isolation and prison, had secretly joined forces with the Communists and betrayed the nation. But now, he went on, a momentous reclamation had begun. Poland was witnessing the ''tempestuous process of reconstructing social awareness, restoring history and exposing post-Communist legitimation myths.'' A real revolution was finally supplanting a specious one.

That was Kaczynski's view and his goal. But Law and Justice's plans ran into resistance in Parliament and with the Constitutional Tribunal, and in 2007, the ruling right-wing coalition -- of which Law and Justice was part -- collapsed amid accusations of scandal. Civic Platform won the ensuing election. Poland was barely scathed by the financial crisis, and in 2011 voters awarded Civic Platform a new term. During the party's eight years in office, Poland's economy grew by 25 percent, one of the highest rates in Europe. Life was getting better. Tusk thought, as many intellectuals did, that after centuries of tragedy and oppression, Poland had at last sailed out into the calm waters of Francis Fukuyama's supposed end of history. Civic Platform had little ideology beyond keeping hot water on tap, as Tusk put it.

''But he was wrong,'' says Konstanty Gebert, a leading Polish journalist and intellectual. ''People wanted history, they wanted glory, they wanted meaning.'' In 2015, Gebert said, Law and Justice ''offered a meaning. Their meaning was: 'We'll make Poland great again.' ''

The strongholds of Law and Justice's support are the economically depressed rural regions of Poland's south and east. I spent several days in the east, which suffered deeply during both the Nazi and Soviet onslaughts and is thus not only inured to the cruelty of history but intensely nationalistic and suspicious of the outside world. In Siedlce, a modest city halfway between Warsaw and the border with Belarus, I spoke to Wojciech Kudelski, the city's genial, elderly mayor in his office in City Hall. I asked Kudelski why he joined Law and Justice. ''My family has lived in this region since the 15th century,'' he replied. ''We've fought invaders, we've made peace, we've farmed and worked.'' Law and Justice stood for the true Poland. Its outlook, he said, ''comes from values and rules. The rules are based in the Catholic Church.''

Siedlce has a slow and sleepy feel, perhaps because so many young people have left in recent years for England and other European destinations. Over the last six or so years, the big steel plant in town, Polimex-Mostostal , has shed half its jobs. Albert Milatti and Slawomir Szczepanik, who run the two unions at the plant, support Law and Justice and say that most of their members do as well. Both men share the party's cranky anti-Communism, but jobs and wages are paramount for them. The average worker at the plants, they told me, earns $700 a month, with little wage growth over the years. ''Right now we're stuck in the mud,'' Milatti told me. The party, he went on, ''is our only hope to improve.'' Both union bosses, along with many others I talked to around the region, believe that Civic Platform systematically ignored a region that gave it few votes, while Law and Justice will send investment their way.

The sense of marginalization among Law and Justice supporters has a basis in economic reality. Among the zealots, however, it feels more like a psychic condition. Zbigniew Sobolewski, a local businessman, keeps pictures of the Kaczynski twins on an office wall, where they flank a Polish eagle. When I asked him to speak of Jaroslaw, he warned me that he might get emotional, and he promptly started to tear up. ''In personal relations,'' he conceded, ''Jaroslaw Kaczynski is not such an easy person. But he is a man who is very strict in his values. At our very first meeting'' -- in the early 1990s -- ''I knew that he was the man who could save Poland.''

When we spoke of Kaczynski's rivals, Sobolewski's mood blackened. He described Tusk, now the president of the European Council, as a traitor. Civic Platform, he insisted, was controlled by ''the sons and daughters of those who after World War II were destroying our country.''

''You mean Communists?'' I asked.

''In the broad sense, yes.''

This sort of paranoia has grown more pronounced in the Law and Justice worldview since April 10, 2010. That day, Lech Kaczynski, beginning a new campaign for president, was traveling to Smolensk in Russia with dozens of political leaders and government officials to attend an event marking the 70th anniversary of the murder of 20,000 Polish military officers by the Soviet secret police -- a catastrophe that devastated Poland's officer and intellectual class and has reminded Poles ever since of Soviet barbarity. On its descent into the airport, the delegation's plane crashed, and all aboard were killed.

Polish and Russian investigations concluded that crew members made fatal mistakes in response to worsening weather conditions. Almost immediately, however, officials of Law and Justice cited supposed evidence that Russia had brought the plane down and that the Tusk government had conspired either in Lech's death or in covering up Russian involvement, despite the fact that several Civic Platform officials also died in the crash. For the die-hard supporters of Law and Justice, the word ''Smolensk'' soon came to be shorthand for ''a conspiracy so immense.'' Three plaques commemorating the dead were placed in front of the Presidential Palace, which became a place of vigil for the party faithful. On the 10th of every month -- not just on April 10 -- Jaroslaw Kaczynski stands on the sidewalk in front of the palace to deliver a speech in honor of the dead.

All the Law and Justice supporters I met in Siedlce believed that Civic Platform had been complicit in Kaczynski's death or at least in a Russian cover-up. Sobolewski told me of a picture of Tusk with Vladimir Putin where Tusk ''seems to be expressing the feeling, 'You see, we did it.' '' A vast constellation of enemies was plotting against the faithful. Sobolewski gravely informed me that the brother of Adam Michnik, the great Solidarity intellectual and activist who spent years in prison for his beliefs, was a judge who ''put our greatest patriots in jail'' under the Communists. (Actually, it was his half brother.) Michnik is Jewish, and I asked Sobolewski if he viewed the opposition as Jewish. Siedlce and the surrounding area were among the heavily Jewish regions of Poland before the population was liquidated by the Nazis. Sobolewski said, ''I would recommend that you read a book by Henry Ford: 'The International Jew.' He had a lot of knowledge.''

By 2015, Kaczynski was persuaded that he had become toxic in Polish politics, and so in that year's elections he put forward as president Andrzej Duda, a law professor and former official in his brother's government, a handsome and compliant figure. The party focused on the Polish pocketbook. In the name of increasing Poland's dwindling population, it proposed to give parents 500 zlotys (about $130) monthly for every child beyond the first. It would reverse an increase in the retirement age and raise the ceiling below which income would not be taxed. The fact that these measures were almost certainly unaffordable didn't make them any less popular.

In the waning days of the election, Kaczynski made a rare campaign speech, in which he warned of the dangers of the **refugees** then streaming toward Europe from Syria and elsewhere, ''There are,'' he claimed, ''already signs of emergence of diseases that are highly dangerous and have not been seen in Europe for a long time: cholera on the Greek islands, dysentery in Vienna. There is also talk about other, even more severe diseases.'' The speech was widely credited with helping put Law and Justice over the top. Though Poland lies far north of the route **refugees** take from Turkey to Europe, many Poles shared the fear of an **alien**Muslim presence widespread in Eastern Europe. The Civic Platform government had agreed to take 7,000 of the 160,000 **refugees** European officials were hoping to distribute across the continent. Law and Justice repudiated the agreement and vowed not to take a single **refugee**.

Though Law and Justice won only 38 percent of the popular vote, fragmentation among the other parties allowed it to gain an outright majority in Parliament. Once in office, the party moved to gain control over all those sectors that, according to Kaczynski, remained in the hands of the nomenklatura and their liberal allies, starting with the Constitutional Tribunal, which had frustrated him in his previous time in office.

The outgoing government had made appointments to replace five of the court's 15 judges, who were scheduled to retire, a decision that was plainly unconstitutional with regard to two of the judges, whose term expired after that of the current Legislature. But the new Parliament simply invalidated all five choices and picked five new judges, which was an even more gross violation of the constitutional order. When the court refused to accept them, Duda, the president, went ahead and swore them in anyway. And that was only the beginning. In December, Parliament adopted a measure that required a two-thirds vote, rather than a majority, for binding decisions. The law also stipulated that at least 13 of the 15 judges be present to hear a case. Together, the two amendments would effectively neutralize the court.

The new government went on to eliminate the independence of Poland's chief prosecutor, placing him underneath the minister of justice. It passed an antiterror law giving the police expanded access to digital data. An amended Civil Service law eliminated merit-based appointments for high-ranking officials, permitting them to be named by the government. Most controversial of all, a law passed in January transferred the power to pick the head of public broadcasting from a government-appointed panel to the ministry of the Treasury. The minister promptly appointed Jacek Kurski, who had once described himself as Jaroslaw Kaczynski's ''bull terrier.''

In April, the European Parliament adopted a resolution stating that Poland's move against the independence of the Constitutional Tribunal constituted ''a risk to constitutional democracy,'' adding that ''other issues that are of serious concern ... may constitute breaches of European law and fundamental rights.'' Poland could be stripped of its vote. But such decisions must be unanimous, and Viktor Orban , Hungary's prime minister, who has presided over a similar rollback of civil liberties in his own country, has already stated that he will defend Poland. As Adam Bodnar, Poland's official ombudsman, puts it, ''The lesson learned from Orban is not only about the weakness of European institutions but also about how you can buy time by playing with the E.U. Meanwhile, you can make systematic changes in the way the government operates. Even if you get rebuked, you can take a step back, and you're still operating in a completely different world.'' Bodnar believes that Law and Justice's ultimate goal is to ''reshape the country in terms of an authoritarian model.''

I was eager to hear Law and Justice's views from its own officials, but that proved extremely difficult. Kaczynski rarely speaks to the Western press, and spokesmen for several senior party figures did not respond to requests for interviews. Strikingly, none of the liberal scholars and journalists I met in Warsaw had any contacts inside Law and Justice; they came from different worlds. The party spokeswoman did not respond to emails and phone calls.

Finally, however, I was able to arrange a conversation with Ryszard Terlecki, the head of the party's parliamentary caucus and one of Kaczynski's small circle of confidants. When we met, late on a Sunday evening in the dark and deserted Parliament building, I learned that Terlecki belonged to a political category that I had never before encountered: ex-hippie anti-Communist hard-liner. Youthful dissolution had taken its toll. At 67, Terlecki is a prematurely played-out looking man, tall and gaunt, with graven cheeks, a grizzled chin and great bags beneath dark eyes.

''I've always been a member of right-wing parties,'' he told me. He shared Kaczynski's conspiratorial view of recent Polish history. The post-Solidarity elite, he assured me, made common cause with the Communists ''because it was the only way they could stop the conservative Catholic movement that was rising up in Poland.'' Terlecki said that he was not anti-Western. The difference between Law and Justice and the opposition, he said, was that ''we don't want a Poland that is a colony of the West.'' Terlecki meant not only that Poland should not blindly follow Germany, as he accused the previous government of doing, but also that Poland should embrace its own values, above all the conservatism of the church and the belief in the sanctity of the family.

It was clear that Terlecki did not accept the difference between the ruling party and the state. For him, all institutions served as instruments of power either for his side or the other, and the other side was out to harm Poland. How then, I asked, could he possibly accept the idea of political compromise? Terlecki laughed dryly. ''What kind of compromise do you mean?'' he asked. ''There's no need for one.''

The rise of nativist, anti-liberal parties in Poland and elsewhere and the backlash against migrants and multiculturalism in the Brexit vote raise the question of what we mean when we talk about Europe. If we mean a particular piece of geography and demography -- that is, the white, Christian culture that has flourished for most of the last millennium in the continent north of the Mediterranean and west of the Black Sea -- then the rise of Law and Justice and kindred parties represents no threat to Europe. But if Europe is not just a place on a map but a community of values, the home of secularism, liberalism and tolerance, the answer is much less clear. For many Law and Justice supporters, ''the West'' means moral nihilism. Bronislaw Wildstein, a conservative political philosopher whose writings have provided intellectual rationale for Law and Justice policies, described himself to me as an admirer of Burke who saw individuals nested inside history, tradition and culture. ''Across Western Europe,'' he said, ''the great word is 'emancipation': emancipation from family identity, emancipation from sexual identity. After all this emancipation, what is left? Nothingness.''

But Solidarity's leaders did not risk their lives and livelihoods in order to bow before the authority of the church. And those figures are not so very old today: Walesa is 73; Michnik is 70. These founding fathers have called the new government a menace to Polish democracy. A new protest movement known as KOD -- a conscious echo of KOR, the pre-Solidarity intellectuals' movement -- formed last year. In early May, a demonstration called by KOD in Warsaw brought out a crowd estimated by the city's mayor at roughly 250,000 (and by the police at 45,000).

No one mistakes KOD for Solidarity. The movement has been limited to the big cities and attracts mostly older and better-educated people. Until recently, the inroads the government made on personal freedom felt abstract to most Poles. In early October, however, an estimated 100,000 people demonstrated against a new abortion law, strongly advocated by the Catholic Church, that would have subjected doctors and women seeking abortions to potentially long prison sentences. The government abruptly withdrew its support for the legislation. Activists hope that the mass protests will fan the embers of opposition.

Michnik feels as if he has seen this drama before. He is still the publisher of Gazeta Wyborcza, the daily newspaper he founded with other Solidarity leaders in 1989. Along with Vaclav Havel, Michnik defined the meaning of the anti-Soviet uprisings both for the people of the Eastern bloc and for readers in the West. Michnik stressed the idea that Solidarity must function not simply as an instrument for organization and negotiation but as an embodiment of another, better way to live: egalitarian, truthful, free from fear. He spent years in prison for his beliefs.

''The great objective of this government is to reorganize Poland into a Putin-like system,'' Michnik told me when we met at the newspaper's office. ''There will be some democratic trappings left behind to appeal to those concerned about democracy, but at its core, it will be Putinism.'' Michnik fears that the justice minister, Zbigniew Ziobro, a member of the Kaczynski inner circle, could open criminal investigations of leading members of the opposition. Even the threat of such a process, he says, might intimidate lawmakers into falling in line on important votes.

The veterans of Solidarity have learned to trust the Polish people in a crisis. Eventually, say Michnik and others, people will awaken to the threat that the Law and Justice government poses to the liberties for which Poles began fighting four decades ago. But what is ''eventually''? What transgression would trigger a truly national response? How much damage would be done to Polish democracy in the meantime? ''One thing is obvious,'' Michnik said. ''Behind us is a wall, and we see inscribed on that wall the specter of dictatorship. We cannot go back.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDBOSTON -- The television ads are relentless, fueled by a historic surge of campaign spending. Fliers are clogging mailboxes. Both sides are knocking on doors across the state.

But in deep blue Massachusetts, the contentious campaigning is not for president but for a ballot question on whether to expand charter schools.

The pitched battle in this state, known as a bellwether on education policy, reflects the passions that charter schools arouse nationwide, particularly regarding a central part of the debate: If they offer children in lagging traditional public schools an alternative path to a quality education, do they also undermine those schools and the children in them?

Because Massachusetts's charter schools rank among the nation's best, advocates say a yes vote to allow more of them would send a strong signal that they have a crucial role to play in improving student learning and closing the achievement gap between white and black students.

But opponents say a no vote would show that even in a state where charter schools have been successful, most voters believe the schools -- privately run but publicly financed -- undermine traditional public schools, drain resources and perpetuate inequities, and should be curtailed.

''What happens in Massachusetts will send shock waves throughout the United States either way,'' said Parag Pathak, a professor at M.I.T.'s Department of Economics, who studies education.

''If the voters reject more urban charters here,'' he said, ''then it's not clear what more the charter movement can do to convince opponents and skeptics.''

Question 2 on the ballot asks whether the state should be allowed to approve up to 12 new charter schools or larger enrollments at existing charters each year, not to exceed 1 percent of the statewide public school enrollment.

The measure would affect nine communities that have either reached their caps on charter enrollment or have room for only one more charter school: Boston, Chelsea, Everett, Fall River, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, Springfield and Worcester. All have long waiting lists.

It would not affect 96 percent of the state's school districts, yet strategists say voters in those districts -- largely in suburbs with good public schools -- could determine the outcome Tuesday.

Earlier this year, the charter proposal appeared to be nonpartisan and headed for passage. But in recent weeks, as the ad war has heated up, the campaign has taken on a partisan edge, with Republicans generally favoring charter expansion and Democrats generally opposing it, with the no side gaining steam.

Polls show that support for the measure has slipped. The most recent, from Western New England University and conducted through Wednesday, showed that 39 percent of likely and registered voters supported lifting the cap on charters, while 52 percent opposed it.

The money raised so far -- more than $34 million -- exceeds the amount raised for any other ballot question in state history, and makes the campaign one of the most expensive in the country this year. The yes side has raised almost $22 million, much of it from out-of-state groups that do not have to identify their individual donors; the no side has raised more than $12 million, most of it from teachers' unions.

What has really inflamed the argument is the question of equality, which has persisted since the inception of charter schools here 20 years ago: Do they exacerbate inequality? Or do they ease it?

Voters can be forgiven for being at sea in this debate as the spin machines on both sides have gone into overdrive and prominent political leaders have diverged.

''This is an issue about social justice,'' Gov. Charlie Baker, a Republican leader of the yes side, said recently as he campaigned for the measure in Dorchester, a heavily minority section of Boston. ''This is an opportunity to give every kid in Massachusetts the same opportunity my kids have.''

But Senator Elizabeth Warren, a Democrat who has supported school vouchers in the past and had remained aloof from this battle, issued a statement of opposition in September.

''I am very concerned about what this specific proposal means for hundreds of thousands of children across our Commonwealth,'' Ms. Warren wrote, ''especially those living in districts with tight budgets where every dime matters. Education is about creating opportunity for all our children, not about leaving many behind.''

Still, one thing is indisputable: The charter schools here -- which, like those around the country, operate independently from school committees, are rarely unionized and have more flexibility in matters like hiring, termination, curriculum and length of the school day -- have performed well. The urban charter schools, in particular, have produced better academic results than the district schools have.

Unlike other states, Massachusetts has increased its charters gradually; it still has only 78. In districts like New Orleans, they multiplied at a faster clip and have been less successful.

In addition, Massachusetts has no for-profit charter schools, which have been blamed for uneven quality in areas like Detroit, and no online charter schools, which have been controversial in Ohio.

Voters in cities like Boston who otherwise have much in common can differ on charters.

Claudia Rodriguez, 50, a social worker who lives in Hyde Park, a Boston neighborhood, and has two children in a charter school, voted yes in early voting, hoping to expand her options.

''To me, it's about choice,'' said Ms. Rodriguez, an **immigrant** from Guatemala. ''Why we cannot have the choice?''

But Irlande Plancher, 51, a Haitian **immigrant** in Hyde Park who sent three children to district schools and one to a charter, is voting no.

Ms. Plancher, a registered nurse, was glad her youngest child had the charter option. But with four charter schools in her area, she has seen two public schools close. She said she worried that adding more charters would further crimp the traditional schools.

''I think whatever we have is enough,'' she said. ''We cannot pick and choose which kids we educate and leave the rest out.''

What has further confused voters is how public figures and especially African-American organizations have been lining up.

Most Democrats here, including Mayor Martin J. Walsh of Boston, oppose the measure, while President Obama and Hillary Clinton, the Democratic presidential nominee, have supported charter schools. (They have not taken positions on Question 2 despite a misleading mailer and YouTube video from supporters of the yes campaign implying that Mr. Obama had endorsed it.)

While the Urban League and many black educators support the ballot measure, the N.A.A.C.P. opposes it and has called for a moratorium on charters, saying they worsen segregation. Black Lives Matter in Cambridge has also come out against the measure.

The opponents' chief message has been that charter schools drain money from district schools.

''This year alone,'' one piece of campaign literature claims, ''charter schools will drain more than $400 million that would otherwise stay in neighborhood public schools to help all students.''

Opponents also cast the ballot measure as a goal of ''out-of-state billionaires,'' including the brothers Charles G. and David H. Koch and members of the Walton family, which controls Walmart. Their real intent, Question 2 opponents say, is to bust teachers' unions and privatize public schools.

''We can't let people demonize our schools, particularly those who never have and never will set foot in any of our schools in the city of Boston,'' Mayor Walsh declared Tuesday at a raucous rally.

But supporters of expanding charter schools say the argument that they drain money from public schools is alarmist and misleading. The yes side points to a study by the nonpartisan Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation -- the Boston Foundation, which supports charters, financed the study -- which concluded that charters do not take more money than their fair share, since financing follows children when they switch schools. This year, the study reported, 3.9 percent of the state's students attend charter schools, which are receiving 3.9 percent of education money.

Opponents counter that when students leave, public schools still have to pay overhead, teacher salaries and other costs, which can lead to closings.

Maurice T. Cunningham, a political scientist at the University of Massachusetts Boston, said he was shocked at how big this ballot fight had become. Mr. Cunningham, a member of a teachers' union who said he had not taken a position on the ballot question or on charters, noted that the labor movement had turned the campaign into ''a good old-fashioned union brawl,'' which escalated the spending on both sides.

Because the unions had worked so hard to defeat this measure, he said, the outcome would show that ''if you can't stop the hidden billionaire money in Massachusetts, then you can't stop it anywhere.''

Correction: November 13, 2016, Sunday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An article last Sunday about a ballot question in Massachusetts on charter schools misstated the academic affiliation for Prof. Parag Pathak, who discussed the issue. He teaches at M.I.T.'s Department of Economics, not its Sloan School of Management.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the November 06, 2016 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending October 22, 2016. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (†) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers[http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers].

Weeks

                              Best Sellers: Hardcover Graphic Books

This On

Week List

1 1

SUPERMAN: AMERICAN **ALIEN**, by Max Landis and others. (DC Comics) Clark Kent’s life is explored through a series of vignettes.

2 2

THE WALKING DEAD, BOOK 13, by Robert Kirkman and Charlie Adlard. (Image Comics) Rick must prepare his community for a war with the Whisperers. Collects issues 145 through 156.

3 3

THE BEST AMERICAN COMICS 2016, edited by Roz Chast and Bill Kartalopoulos. (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt) This collection features contributions from Chris Ware, Cece Bell and others.

4 7

ANGEL CATBIRD, VOL. 1, by Margaret Atwood and Johnnie Christmas. (Dark Horse) When a scientist holding an experimental serum is hit by a car, his body mutates and takes on the physical characteristics of both a cat and an owl.

5 227

BATMAN: THE KILLING JOKE, by Alan Moore and Brian Bolland. (DC Comics) This critically acclaimed story from 1988 offers a possible origin for the Joker.

6 24

NATHAN HALE’S HAZARDOUS TALES: ALAMO ALL–STARS, by Nathan Hale. (Abrams) The Texas Revolution is the latest subject in this nonfiction series.

7 1

ROLLING BLACKOUTS: DISPATCHES FROM TURKEY, SYRIA AND IRAQ, by Sarah Glidden. (Drawn & Quarterly) The author travels with a team of journalists as they interview civilians and **refugees** from various war zones.

8 1

TROLL BRIDGE, by Neil Gaiman and Colleen Doran. (Dark Horse) Gaiman’s short story, in which a man is haunted by a troll throughout the course of his life, is adapted here.

9 2

THE UNBEATABLE SQUIRREL GIRL BEATS UP THE MARVEL UNIVERSE!, by Ryan North and Erica Henderson. (Marvel Entertainment) Squirrel Girl must defeat the most powerful enemy she has ever faced: an evil duplicate of herself.

10 17

FIGHT CLUB 2, by Chuck Palahniuk and Cameron Stewart. (Dark Horse) In this sequel to Palahniuk’s 1996 novel, Tyler Durden re-emerges to create mayhem once again.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**With only hours left before Election Day, here's the painful, self-evident truth facing lifelong Republicans like me: The 2016 presidential campaign has revealed dark and disturbing things about not only Donald J. Trump but also the party that nominated him.

Self-renewal starts -- but doesn't end -- with self-examination.

The forces that propelled Mr. Trump's rise need to be confronted and defeated. It won't be easy, given that tens of millions of Americans will vote for him and believe deeply in him. But if these forces are not defeated, what happened this year will be replicated in one form or another, and the Republican Party will continue to inflict great harm on our republic.

If Mr. Trump loses the presidential race, as I believe is likely but hardly a sure thing, it will not be enough for Republicans to excuse or ignore his candidacy. It could never have happened unless things had gone terribly awry in the Republican Party. Its political and moral recovery requires Republicans to reverse three destructive trends that have emerged over the last decade.

Anti-intellectualism. As Margaret Thatcher once said, first you win the argument, then you win the vote. One of the appealing things to me about the Republican Party in the early 1980s, as a young conservative, was that it had become a party of ideas, of governing experiment. But somewhere along the way large numbers of Republicans began to devalue serious ideas. For example, as early as 2013, Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey, one of Mr. Trump's most emphatic supporters, said of his fellow Republicans, ''I think we've had too many people who've become less interested in winning an election and more interested in winning an argument.''

Pointing to the precise moment this devaluation occurred is difficult; it was a gradual process. But the embodiment of what I'm talking about is someone like Sarah Palin, who started out as a relatively conventional, if unaccomplished, Republican governor and was thrust into the spotlight as John McCain's vice-presidential nominee in 2008. Since then she has become the proud personification of thoughtlessness. I don't agree with President Obama on very much, but he was right when he said there was a straight line that could be drawn from Ms. Palin to Mr. Trump. A party that produces Ms. Palin as its vice-presidential nominee and Mr. Trump as its nominee is at war with reason.

Political recklessness. Over the years a large number of Republicans began to dismiss the craft of governing. They embraced a style of politics characterized by unceasing combativeness, intemperance and a deep hostility toward compromise and temperamental moderation. One example: the 2013 shutdown of the government, a ridiculous and politically damaging move led by Senator Ted Cruz of Texas.

Particularly since the election of Barack Obama, we have witnessed on the Republican side the rise of fear, anger and apocalyptic rhetoric. It didn't have to be this way, but we've also seen the growing appeal of conspiracy theories, with the most poisonous and revealing being that Mr. Obama was not born in the United States.

In 2011, I wrote a column in The Wall Street Journal criticizing Mr. Trump's embrace of birtherism, warning that ''when prominent figures in a party play footsie with peddlers of paranoia, the party suffers an erosion of credibility.'' I also pointed out that ''people are generally uneasy about political institutions that give a home to cranks.'' But I never for a moment imagined that Mr. Trump, as the chief apostle of this crazed, racist conspiracy theory, would become the nominee of the Republican Party five years later. Yet he did, and he did it in large part not despite but because he has championed one conspiracy theory after another. When conspiracy theories gain wide currency within a political party, it means it is losing -- or has lost -- contact with reality.

Appealing to nativism and xenophobia. Within the Republican Party there are legitimate concerns about illegal **immigration**. While I favored comprehensive **immigration** reform in the past, I never believed that most of the opposition to it was based on nativism. (Even now, most Republicans favor a pathway to legal status and citizenship for illegal **immigrants**.) But what can't be denied is that the Republican nominee began his campaign by appealing to nativism and xenophobia, and as the primaries unfolded it was the issue he returned to time and time again. Mr. Trump's success has emboldened ugly forces within the Republican Party that had been confined to its fringes. Demonizing people of other races, cultures and faiths succeeded; demeaning women and war heroes succeeded. The fact that we're now so familiar with his offenses shouldn't inure us to how damning they are.

That a demagogue like Mr. Trump would emerge when there is a lot frustration in the lives of Americans who feel that their suffering is ignored isn't without precedent. Which is why the greater sin of the Republican Party wasn't that Mr. Trump won the nomination by carrying a plurality of votes in a large field. It was that people who surely knew better rallied to Mr. Trump once he became the nominee. Some advised him, others defended him and excused him, and still others tried to ignore him. Certain people acted worse than others. But in the end, they were all caught up in Mr. Trump's ethical confusion and moral corruption. They didn't pull him up; he pulled them down.

It is not as if the trends cited above were unknown to responsible Republicans and conservatives before the advent of Mr. Trump. They were, and some party loyalists challenged them at the time. Those efforts clearly failed, and Republicans have to come to terms with the fact that the rot was far more advanced than we understood.

Those of us who have long defended the Republican Party could do worse than honestly assess what role we might have played in all this, what we missed and why, and what more we could have done to stop it. When you are part of a political movement that chose Donald Trump as your nominee, some serious self-reflection is in order.

For now, though, the Republican Party faces a crisis. If Mr. Trump loses, the party faces a daunting reconstruction challenge. Policies that promote economic growth, social mobility and greater opportunity are important. But in some respects the party's stance on the tax code, wage subsidies, higher education, tax credits or entitlement programs are a secondary priority.

Republicans need to wrestle with more fundamental questions first: Will their party choose as its leaders people who respect democratic institutions and traditions, or not; who conceive of America as a welcoming society or as one that is racially and religiously closed; who are committed to helping or exploiting the weak and vulnerable; who admire or oppose tyrants; who respect truth or view it in purely utilitarian ways; who abhor ignorance or embrace it? Will Republicans gravitate toward leaders who have authoritarian tendencies, who incite violence in their followers, and whose personalities are vindictive, cruel and disordered?

In a post-Trump world, Republicans need to ask themselves if their party will be characterized by its aspirations or its resentments. Can it make its own inner peace with living in an increasingly diverse and nonwhite America? Does it conceive of its role as tamping down or inflaming ugly passions? Does it believe in a just social order or not?

These questions are not about whether the economic concerns of Mr. Trump's core constituency should be taken seriously and addressed by Republican policy makers. They clearly should, and in fact many of the people who urged the party to focus on this long before Mr. Trump entered the race are his most scathing critics. These questions go to how the Republican Party conceives of itself, its role and purpose in our political system and our common life. No single person can answer them. This self-definition rests with Republicans in every state and social stratum.

The next few months will tell us a lot about whether Mr. Trump and Trumpism were an anomaly or are now the new norm of the party that Lincoln helped create. Even liberal critics of the Republican Party who believe Mr. Trump was an inevitable result of the party's political machinations have to concede he is in a different category than the nominees who preceded him. President Obama and Hillary Clinton have both said as much.

If Mr. Trump should win on Nov. 8, the Republican Party will be fundamentally redefined, to put it mildly. Many of us could not continue to be a part of a political institution defined by Donald Trump, by Breitbart.com and Ann Coulter, one that most resembles the right-wing nationalist parties we see in Europe. Our allegiance isn't to a party; it is to a set of ideas and ideals, to the good of the whole, to what the prophet Jeremiah called ''the welfare of the city.'' No party is simply the embodiment of ideas, of course. All parties are coalitions. But a party that is recast into the image of Mr. Trump is something many of us would want nothing to do with.

Of course, if Mr. Trump wins, it won't simply be the Republican Party that faces its moment of reckoning. Our republic will, too. That worries me a great deal more, because I love my country far more than I love my party.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The United States has seen worse than Donald Trump. It has endured political crises and corruption, war abroad and bloodshed at home. But that doesn't make it any easier to contemplate the catastrophe that looms if we wake up Wednesday morning to President-elect Trump.

There's no sense complaining anymore. The hurricane is three days from landfall. The urgent thing now is to avert the worst, minimize the damage, save the foundations, clear the mess.

Averting the worst starts with electing Hillary Clinton. For many voters that will mean defying Republican efforts to jam the electoral machinery through lies, legal obstructions and the threat of violence. We hope the voters hold out, however intimidating the process and long the lines. For Americans who may feel unmoved or unwilling to vote for Mrs. Clinton, here is a question from the future: In 2016 we were closer than ever to electing an ignorant and reckless tyrant -- what did you do to stop him?

This surreal, miserable presidential campaign exposed a lot of rot in our democracy's infrastructure, and anger in the populace. Those conditions are related. It has exposed a sick Republican Party. Some in the never-Trump movement tried and failed to stop the nominee. But history will not be kind to the other Republicans who, out of cravenness or calculation, sidled up to a man they knew to be unfit for office. Paul Ryan, Mitch McConnell, Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio -- weaklings all. A party of holier-than-thous standing athwart history, saying, ''Stop Hillary, whatever the damage.'' Mike Huckabee, on Twitter, shared this pithy lunacy: ''Trump may be a car wreck, but at least his car is pointed in right direction.''

It is a history of coded race-baiting combined with myopia and cowardice that puts the Republican establishment in lock step now with the alt-right, the Ku Klux Klan, the racists and misogynists and nut jobs, the guy who shouts ''Jew-S.A.,'' the crowds that scream, ''Lock her up.'' For some it is taxes, abortion or **immigration**, for many it is simply Clinton hatred that allows them to justify supporting a candidate who also stands for torture, reckless war, unchecked greed, hatred of women, **immigrants**, **refugees**, people of color, people with disabilities. A sexual predator, a business fraud, a liar who runs on a promise to destroy millions of **immigrant** families and to jail his political opponent.

If Mr. Trump is rejected on Tuesday, the nation will have a momentary breather. And some good news to build on. The Republicans who have spent the last weeks and months jumping on, then off, then on the Trump bus will have been discredited, and some may be unseated. Those in the Trump inner circle will be freshly disgraced, and perhaps go away -- like Rudy Giuliani, former New York mayor, now Mr. Trump's conspiracy ghoul, and Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey, who has been separately brought low in an unrelated courtroom drama. And the electorate will have demonstrated its decency.

The rejection of Trump is the simple part. Win or lose, the harder job will be confronting the conditions that spawned him. This country's problems will still be deep and complex, and the Republicans in Congress show no signs of giving Mrs. Clinton any more respect than they gave President Obama, or of abandoning their jihad against responsible governing. If she wins, Mrs. Clinton will have the burden of managing the jihadis, while governing for the benefit not only of her supporters but also of the tens of millions who will have voted for Mr. Trump expecting -- against all evidence -- that he will make everything better. It won't be easy.

''Winter Is Coming'' is the title Garry Kasparov gave his book about Vladimir Putin. Autumn is here in the United States, too. It's time to focus. To confront what Trump represents, the better to end it. Let this election have the salutary effect of reminding Americans as a nation of who we are, and the good we can do, when we are put to the test.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The government of Australia has come under withering criticism for its harsh anywhere-but-here approach to **refugees** and other migrants who attempt to reach the country by boat. But instead of revisiting a cruel and costly policy -- which involves sending everyone intercepted at sea to offshore prisons -- Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull has decided to double down.

His administration intends to propose legislation this week that would bar anyone who seeks to enter Australia without authorization and by boat from ever setting foot in the country. That would ban, among others, the approximately 1,200 people currently being held in camps in Nauru and Papua New Guinea from finding a legal way to even visit Australia, where some have relatives.

Mr. Turnbull billed the lifetime ban as a stern message to smugglers. ''They must know that the door to Australia is closed to those who seek to come here by boat with a people smuggler,'' he said last Sunday during a news conference. ''It's closed.'' But his initiative targets **refugees** who are scrambling to find a haven amid the largest displacement crisis since World War II.

Australian lawmakers should oppose this proposal. Draconian **immigration** measures are often passed without due consideration for the human toll and opportunity cost they represent.

The United States adopted a similarly austere policy when it passed a sweeping overhaul of **immigration** laws in 1996. The Illegal **Immigration** Reform and **Immigrant** Responsibility Act said that anyone who lived without authorization in the United States for more than a year would have to wait 10 years before seeking to be admitted lawfully. This made it nearly impossible for American citizens to sponsor foreign-born spouses who were subject to the 10-year ban for permanent residency.

A blanket ban on migrants who attempted to reach Australia by boat would surely deprive Australia of talented people. Take, for instance the remarkable Afghan photojournalist Barat Ali Batoor, who was admitted lawfully to Australia in May 2013 -- the year Australia began its zero-tolerance approach toward smugglers -- after he documented a harrowing failed attempt to reach the island by boat in a series of haunting photos. How would the country benefit from barring skilled and energetic **immigrants** like Mr. Batoor?

Bill Shorten, the opposition leader in Parliament, reacted to the proposal with reasonable skepticism, saying it seemed ''ridiculous to me that a genuine **refugee**who settles in the U.S. or Canada and becomes a U.S. or Canadian citizen'' after being barred from Australia ''is banned from visiting Australia as a tourist, businessman or businesswoman 40 years down the track.''

Beyond being ridiculous, this is a cruel, shortsighted and shameful position for a nation that has historically welcomed **refugees**.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**I heard it often, traveling around Europe as a journalist. I even heard it from an **immigration** officer at Gatwick Airport outside London, who teased me as he looked at my passport. I was an American abroad, which meant being held accountable for the strange and fevered state of my homeland, which meant facing some version of the question ''What is going on in the United States?'' Sometimes the query had an air of schadenfreude, but just as often there was a hint of real concern. The rest of the world already seemed to be going off the rails. It couldn't afford to have America follow.

I didn't really know how to respond. I hadn't lived in the United States since 2003, when The New York Times moved me to Beijing as a foreign correspondent, along with my wife and two kids. We assumed we would move back home soon enough, but it never happened. We lived for six years in China, where our third child was born, followed by four years in New Delhi, where my beat was South Asia. By the time we settled in Rome in 2013, we had drifted into the category of American expatriates. When we saw our countrymen around the city -- big, friendly tourists, a bit loud -- my kids referred to them as ''the Americans.''

We weren't completely cut off. Most summers, we visited family and friends in the States; the kids streamed the American shows; my wife listened to ''Morning Edition.'' I worked for an American company, for American bosses, and I wrote articles trying to explain the world to a mostly American audience. All of this created the gentle illusion that we were still truly connected to home. Yet as the years passed, I realized that I had lost touch, that the country I left was no longer the same.

The year I moved away, George W. Bush stood beneath a ''Mission Accomplished'' banner on an aircraft carrier and declared an end to major combat operations in Iraq. Facebook hadn't yet been turned into a company. The iPhone did not exist. I left before Hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans, before Detroit went bankrupt. I missed the Great Recession (though I am still living the European translation of it). I missed most of the last two presidencies. I missed Brangelina.

Instead, I witnessed from the other side the global forces that would bring profound changes to America. I visited industrial regions of southern China where the ground seemed to vibrate under the weight and bustle of all the countless new factories. Once iPhones had been invented, it was Chinese workers who assembled them. I watched Bangladeshi seamstresses stitch clothes sold at Walmart. American consumers benefited from the cheaper goods, but American manufacturers did not. Between January 2000 and December 2014, the United States lost roughly five million manufacturing jobs.

Then I moved to Rome and watched the European Union grow ineffective and paralyzed, as the dream of a vibrant, unified Europe seemed to wither. Democracy was losing ground in Hungary and the Philippines; it had all but surrendered in Russia. Syria became a slaughterhouse. The Islamic State dispatched terrorists around the world. China's politics became more oppressive, as President Xi Jinping cracked down on dissent and nurtured a Maoist-style cult of personality. Economic globalization was supposed to accelerate political liberalization around the world, but instead authoritarianism appeared to be on the rise. The West, it seemed, had failed to anticipate the possibility that globalization could contribute to the destabilization of -- or pose a threat to -- democracy, even in the United States.

This summer, I decided I wanted to explore this place that had become a foreign country to me. I didn't understand what had happened since I left, why so many people seemed so disillusioned and angry. I planned a zigzag route, revisiting places where I once lived or worked, a 29-day sprint through 11 states (and four time zones). I knew I would be moving too fast to make any sweeping declaration about the state of America, and I wouldn't ask people which presidential candidate they were voting for. I was more interested in why they were so anxious about the present and the future. I wanted to find out why the country was fragmenting rather than binding together. Most of all I wanted to see with my own eyes what had changed -- and so much had changed.

By the time I arrived in Washington in late July, the notion that American democracy could come unmoored was not being easily laughed off. Before beginning my journey in earnest, I paid a visit to Patrick J. Buchanan at his white mansion near the headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency in Northern Virginia. I'd thought of Buchanan often over the last year, as Donald Trump secured the Republican nomination. In 1992, I covered Buchanan during a campaign stop in Macomb County, outside Detroit, when he was a Republican insurgent running for president, the Trump of that era. He mocked Republican elites, denounced free trade and globalization, antagonized minorities and vowed to build a ''Buchanan fence'' along the Mexican border. Buchanan's nostalgia for the era of white-majority America was often interpreted, not without cause, as barely concealed racism. He lost in 1992, and again in 1996 and 2000, but he always predicted that his issues and his angry coalition would endure.

When I asked if he had any concern about this election damaging American democracy, he said he didn't worry too much about that. He talked about the European Union as evidence of the political dangers posed by **immigration** and described ''ethno-nationalism'' and economic nationalism as potent political forces. ''I look around the world, and I think all those countries are coming apart,'' he said. ''And I think ours is going to come apart. The melting pot is not melting anymore.''

I mentioned that I was leaving the next day to travel along the Texas-Mexico border. Buchanan grimaced for a moment and jokingly offered to lend me a shotgun. I thanked him, and later I flew off into the heat.

From the sky, there is no border. The helicopter thump-thumped above downtown El Paso as we passed over the concrete ditch through which the Rio Grande flows, dividing El Paso from the Mexican border city of Ciudad Juárez. If not for the ditch, you'd assume the two cities were one, a single urban sprawl blanketing a valley between two desolate mountain ranges. Only when we headed west did the border become distinctly visible, a straight brown line jutting into the scrub desert. I could see a metal fence that divided the two countries and, near it, the white S.U.V.s of the American agents on patrol. My colleague, the photographer Tomás Munita, leaned out of the copter to take pictures.

I had been in contact with United States Customs and Border Protection but never thought to mention my aerial tour. A few hours after we landed, an agency spokesman emailed me. He was friendly but anxious: Agents reported seeing someone taking photographs from a helicopter tracing the border. Was it us?

I had gone to El Paso often as a national correspondent for The Times, and I always liked the atmosphere there. Everybody seemed to know everybody else. El Paso is isolated from most of Texas, yet Juárez lies no more than a long baseball toss away. There is a fluid give and take between the two sides, even as the disparities are stark: Juárez has frequently ranked among the most violent cities in the world, while El Paso routinely rates among the safest municipalities in the United States.

My helicopter ride had come about in typical El Paso fashion: I called a state senator, who connected me to the county judge, who nudged a local businessman to organize the trip. They saw it as a good opportunity to help rebut the 2016 election narrative that the border was a lawless, out-of-control sieve through which illegal **immigrants** flooded north and wreaked violence upon unsuspecting Americans. The county judge, Veronica Escobar, had grown wearily accustomed to the assumptions made in other parts of the country. ''One of the first questions people frequently ask is, Will I be safe?'' she told me. ''You can tell people that deportations are up and that in-migration is down from Mexico. You can tell people that the border has never been safer. You can provide people with as many statistics as possible -- and it doesn't make a difference.''

Escobar, a Democrat and El Paso County's highest elected official, grew up here and considers the city an unlikely oasis of tolerance. She is Mexican-American; the city's police chief is African-American. We had dinner my first night in El Paso, and when I mentioned something Pat Buchanan said to me -- he dared me to drive around El Paso with a Trump bumper sticker on my car -- she laughed. But she worried that El Paso was changing. Even some of her own relatives, people who had moved away from El Paso, have posted pro-Trump, anti-**immigrant** messages on Facebook. Fear and anger overcame the facts on the ground, she said.

''How did America get that way?'' she asked. ''I don't know. And it's heartbreaking.''

I was starting my journey in El Paso because six months earlier I was across the border in Juárez, on the outside of America, looking in. As a correspondent based in Rome, I also cover the Vatican, so I traveled with Pope Francis' retinue on his trip to Mexico in February. His final stop was Juárez. As he prayed for migrants at the border's edge, I stared through the fence into the United States. Snipers were posted on rooftops; police cars with flashing lights blocked an overpass; agents watched from horseback or peered across the border with binoculars. Presumably some of this was to protect the pope, but I flew back to Italy startled by this show of force, this demonstration of American power and anxiety.

Soon after setting out in my rental car from El Paso, I saw just how thoroughly the Texas border had become militarized. Since I left, the number of Border Patrol agents nationwide had roughly doubled, to more than 20,000, a vast majority of them stationed along the 1,989-mile border with Mexico. They have motion detectors, helicopters, cameras, fixed-wing aircraft and drones at their disposal. Their boats ply stretches of the Rio Grande. Texas state troopers have also been dispatched to ''secure the border.''

The El Paso County sheriff, Richard Wiles, who has criticized the buildup, told me that so many troopers were present that they often had little to do besides enforce traffic laws. ''It is a waste of money,'' Wiles said. ''It was a response to the rhetoric that the border is unsafe. And that is wrong.'' (A new study by the Border Network for Human Rights found that troopers have been disproportionately stopping Latino motorists in many border counties, including El Paso.) At a convention of the Texas Republican Party this year, Gov. Greg Abbott falsely stated that the Islamic State was ''running through the border.'' In April 2015, the conservative watchdog group Judicial Watch asserted that the Islamic State had a training camp in Mexico, near El Paso. Again, there was no evidence to back up the claim.

Safety feels like a tenuous concept right now, when a malcontent can detonate a homemade bomb in Chelsea or suicide bombers can blow themselves up outside a soccer stadium in Paris. But so much of the safety rhetoric around the border blends legitimate concerns -- especially when it comes to smuggled drugs, money and weapons moving in both directions -- with political opportunism. The rate of people being apprehended while trying to cross the border from Mexico declined in 2015 and is now at its lowest point in more than 40 years. And even as President Obama pushed for **immigration** reform, his administration approved high numbers of deportations.

One afternoon, I pulled up to a checkpoint on Interstate 10, about an hour or so east of El Paso, near the town of Sierra Blanca, Tex. A Border Patrol agent in a bulletproof vest asked if I was an American citizen while a dog sniffed the rental car for drugs. Less than an hour later, a Texas state trooper pulled me over on State Highway 90 in Presidio County for failing to use my blinker while changing lanes. The road was so quiet that a jack rabbit hopped across. The trooper asked if I was an American citizen, checked my passport and sent me on my way with a warning. Traffic enforcement.

I had forgotten how big the people are, how big the cars are, how much fried food can be stacked onto a single plate. Everything seemed larger than I remembered, even the night sky. Driving along the 610 Loop in Houston, I saw a cigar shop named SERIOUS CIGARS that was easily triple the size of my grocery in Rome.

''This country is huge,'' Tomás said one day. ''It is like 50 countries all together.''

Tomás, a Chilean, has traveled the world, but this was his first long tour across the United States. On seeing one rural road sign, he asked what it meant to ''adopt a highway.'' Another day, another road sign: ''Hitchhikers May Be Escaping Inmates.'' Tomás was startled by how thoroughly so many American cities emptied out at night. In Colorado Springs, we attended a rodeo where the announcer made a long soliloquy praising our military for defending our freedom at home. Tomás had embedded many times with American forces in Afghanistan. He liked the soldiers, but he didn't understand how sending troops to other countries, particularly Iraq, kept Americans free at home.

Before the rodeo, I met two ranchers, Rob Alexander and Bill Craig. The air smelled faintly of horse manure as we sat on a plastic cooler drinking Coors. Alexander, 53, explained that the rodeo was a fund-raiser for ranch hands, who often lacked health insurance or a safety net to help out in emergencies. Ranching families had taken a hit in the past two decades, in part because trade agreements led to the consolidation of many cattle operations and an increase in imported beef from South America. Craig, 35, is a fourth-generation rancher, but he said land is now so expensive and profit so meager that he could never afford to start a ranch from scratch today. They talked like men whose lifestyles and values were endangered.

''Something is wrong,'' Craig said. ''Watch the TV. The moral compass is so far out of whack in our country right now.''

At the University of Texas at Austin, I met Lisa Moore, a professor of English and women's studies who is one of three plaintiffs suing to overturn a new state law allowing students to carry concealed handguns on campus. Born in Canada but a resident of Texas for 27 years, Moore is a naturalized American citizen who is still a bit baffled by her new country. ''That is the weirdness of the United States to me: Everybody is always talking about their rights,'' she said, while identity in Canada derives from the idea of the social compact.

Moore is a gay, married mother of two children who teaches courses on L.G.B.T. literature. ''Campus carry'' infringes on free speech, she argues, by inhibiting her ability to provide a safe learning environment. What if a student becomes enraged by the subject matter and pulls out a Glock?

American gun manufacturers produced 3.3 million guns the year I left for China, according to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. By 2014, the number was nine million (supplemented by 3.6 million guns imported into the country). According to some recent estimates, there are now roughly as many guns as people in the United States, maybe even more. To many foreigners, the American infatuation with guns is an inexplicable, if defining, national trait. On a taxi ride in Beijing once, the driver, upon discovering I was American, shaped his hand like a pistol and began shooting imaginary bullets.

At a firing range outside Austin, I met six guys shooting semiautomatic rifles. Several of them worked for Defense Distributed, the open-source organization in Austin that came up with a plastic handgun whose design can be downloaded from the web and produced with a 3-D printer. The State Department ordered the company to remove the design code, but the company is challenging that order in court. For Benjamin Denio, at the time a 36-year-old who worked in desktop support and did product testing at Defense Distributed, being able to produce your own plastic gun is a safeguard against the tyranny of the state. ''The term I would use to describe the level of vitriol in the country,'' Denio said, ''is that it is the 'cold civil war.' ''

I was running into so many disgruntled people that I began to worry, as I dipped in and out of places, that I was inadvertently being drawn to angry people. I figured I would get a taste of Middle America by stopping in Russell, Kan., which I visited 20 years earlier when a local hero, Bob Dole, was the 1996 Republican presidential nominee. Walking along the redbrick Main Street, I saw a crowd streaming out of a local theater. Inside, Christina Fowler, a pastor, had just finished services for her nondenominational congregation. Today was her son's birthday, and she invited me to a potluck lunch with the congregation in her backyard.

Everyone sat at folding tables eating potato salad and lasagna. I sat with the associate pastor, Lonnie Whitten Jr., and a congregant named Cindy, who asked that her last name not be published. Whitten, who had a bushy ZZ Top beard and arms covered in tattoos, described himself as a reformed bad boy. This congregation, he said, was moving away from the culture of the ''corporate church'' and also opposed same-sex marriage. Cindy had been part of a local delegation taken to San Diego for the 1996 Republican National Convention as living proof of Dole's hometown values. ''We were treated like royalty!'' she said. Now 59, Cindy explained that too many ministers around the country watered down the true message of the Gospel, serving up baby food, not meat. And what was the real message? That homosexuality is a sin. That Islam is incompatible with Christianity.

''It's just a matter of time when someone gives the signal,'' she told me of Muslims living in America, ''and we're all going to be beheaded.''

I ate some potato salad, a bit stunned.

My iPhone broke in Baton Rouge, La. -- something to do with the ''lightning port'' -- so I headed to the Mall of Louisiana. I walked into the carefully engineered retail ecosystem of the Apple store, where a young, friendly, racially mixed staff in matching blue shirts circulated in the showroom. Apple products lay sparsely across the counters like pieces of art. I waited at the Genius Bar until an Apple employee gave me a replacement iPhone 6. Only later did I realize that the Mall of Louisiana had played a not-insignificant role in the continuing struggle over segregation in Baton Rouge.

Living in Louisiana in the 1990s, I regularly visited the capital for stories about state politics. I thought back to 1991, when the white supremacist David Duke made it to a runoff in his gubernatorial campaign against Edwin Edwards, the former Democratic governor who was perpetually under investigation for corruption. ''Vote for the Crook: It's Important,'' his supporters' bumper stickers read. (Years later, he was finally convicted.) Now Duke is running for the Senate, and his re-emergence has coincided with the racial splintering of Baton Rouge.

On July 5, Alton Sterling was shot by the police as he sold CDs outside a convenience store. The police shooting of yet another black man, captured on video, became a national scandal. Twelve days later, a black veteran of the Marines shot six law-enforcement officers in Baton Rouge, killing three, including one who was black.

One afternoon, Lionel Bazile Jr. picked me up at my hotel for a tour of the neighborhood where Sterling was killed. Bazile, a 66-year-old retired postman, is a Roman Catholic and a member of an interracial, interfaith coalition called Together Baton Rouge. It was founded about six years ago, after a prominent black pastor, Lee T. Wesley, led an outreach effort to some white ministers and community leaders because he felt the city was dangerously, if silently, divided. That split became clear when a predominantly white group of organizers in southern Baton Rouge sought to create their own school system and, ultimately, incorporate their own city, St. George. They needed a new school system, they argued, because the East Baton Rouge Parish schools were struggling. But carving out a wealthy area of Baton Rouge as a new municipality would have drained tax revenues from the surrounding city and gutted the funding for Baton Rouge public schools. The new municipality was also laid out to include the Mall of Louisiana, a major source of sales-tax revenue. Bazile, along with others from Together Baton Rouge, helped defeat the St. George movement, but the underlying problems had hardly gone away.

''Now we are crossing Florida Boulevard,'' Bazile told me as we rode in his truck. ''We call Florida Boulevard the Mason-Dixon line that divides Baton Rouge.''

Once we entered North Baton Rouge, the historically black section of the city, the road immediately became bumpier. According to Bazile, the neighborhood received only a small slice of the money from the citywide road-improvement project. ''You are not going to see too many shopping centers around here,'' he said as we passed dilapidated strip malls. We drove by a hospital where the emergency room had been closed down. During our drive, I did not see a single national chain store.

North Baton Rouge had apparently died from gradual abandonment. Most politicians ignored the neighborhood. When crime began to rise, Bazile's home was burglarized four times, and the value of his property began to depreciate. He and his family moved out, as did many middle-class black families. The Mall of Louisiana opened in the late 1990s near the city's predominantly white southern suburbs and soon became a magnet for more public and private investment. ''North Baton Rouge was dying,'' Bazile said, ''but southern Baton Rouge was booming.''

Bazile and I pulled into the parking lot of the Triple S Food Mart, where Sterling was killed. Someone had painted Sterling's image on the side of the store, and soggy bouquets of flowers and tributes lay piled on the pavement. Veda Washington-Abusaleh, one of Sterling's aunts, stood nearby with a protest poster rolled up in her hands. She told me she was out there every day. When I explained that I was a journalist, she began shouting. ''Ain't nothing changed!'' she said. ''It is still the same. I can tell you what needs to change! White police officers need to be better trained.'' She pointed to the spot in the parking lot where activists and political leaders erected a stage in the days after the killing. ''Right where his blood stained the street,'' she shouted. ''It is a political thing for them. But I want justice.''

A lot of people did. Today, Baton Rouge is a reminder of the entrenched racial and economic segregation in many American cities. Nationally, stubborn disparities remain between whites and blacks as far as income, college-graduation levels and employment. The median adjusted income for white households was roughly $71,300 in 2014, compared with $43,300 for black ones. The median net worth of white households is about 13 times as high as that of black ones, according to the most recent figures from the Pew Research Center. John Logan, a sociologist at Brown University, told me that racially biased economic development is one reason these disparities remain entrenched. Black communities have been routinely passed over for commercial projects, like shopping malls, which attract other development projects and lift property values.

On my last morning in Baton Rouge, I met Gary Chambers Jr., a black civil rights advocate and journalist who was a leader of the protests over the Sterling killing. We met at an IHOP, which Chambers picked because the franchise was black-owned. Chambers had become an outspoken advocate for North Baton Rouge and a blunt critic of the city's racial status quo. He blamed the police and politicians, including the city's black mayor. Chambers described his own agenda as being unabashedly ''pro-black.'' ''We are supposed to live in this society where we want everybody to be a part of what we're doing,'' he told me. ''And we do. But I live in Baton Rouge, and it's just not the case.''

To Chambers, the Sterling killing was as much about economics as bad policing. ''Why is Alton Sterling selling CDs in the middle of the night, outside a convenience store in the hood?'' he asked. ''Because we don't have economic opportunities in North Baton Rouge.'' When I mentioned Together Baton Rouge and the efforts to build deeper relationships between whites and blacks, Chambers chuckled softly and then paused a moment. ''They are all right,'' he said. ''They are trying.''

But I could tell he was skeptical. He told me that it was time for the older generation to simply get out of the way. ''I'm 31,'' he said. ''So if you've been in office since the '80s and my community looks like this, then you have some blame. My generation is inheriting this. We didn't create this. So don't tell us how to feel about it.''

A week or so after I left Baton Rouge, the city flooded; some areas were inundated with six to eight feet of water. Parts of the region were declared disaster areas. After I sent a sympathy note to Broderick Bagert, an organizer of Together Baton Rouge, he wrote back: ''We'll invite you back when the plague of locusts arrives, which I understand is expected to be next week.''

I lived in the Bay Area as a teenager, and while it was affluent then, the levels of wealth, along with the cost of living, are magnitudes greater today. Tomás and I arrived in San Francisco late at night after searching for hotels online. A basic room at a Holiday Inn was more than $300. Finally, we found one advertised at $217 a night that turned out to be in the Tenderloin, the neighborhood that has long absorbed new **immigrants** but has also become the catch basin for the city's poorer residents. One reason for this is that churches, nonprofit groups and city agencies operate soup kitchens and subsidized housing programs in the neighborhood. But another is the tech money driving up property values in neighborhoods like SoMa, the Mission and Bayview.

This has pushed some low-income people onto the streets, or out of the city, and intensified the pressure on street people to move on, often to the Tenderloin and other commercial neighborhoods downtown. After three days in the city, Tomás and I were dazed by what we had seen: drug addicts shooting up; two people engaging in oral sex, in broad daylight; a young woman vomiting on the sidewalk, unable to digest a donated pastry; homeless people camping on streets that reeked of urine; two old men, wheeling their possessions in dueling grocery carts, fighting midday on Market Street near the offices of Twitter, with one man waving a steel rod and the other swinging a bear knife until the police arrived.

''Homelessness issues are very real, but they are also very symbolic of so many other inequities and stressors that are happening in the city,'' Peter Cohen, an affordable-housing advocate, told me one morning. ''You say, What's the problem? The tech economy is booming. Employment is up. It only becomes apparent when you drill down to the level of the neighborhood. We are struggling in San Francisco, to some extent, with the excesses of wealth that have concentrated here.''

In the November elections, San Francisco has multiple local ballot initiatives related to homelessness (which has been a woefully nonexistent issue in the presidential campaign). There is also a battle over the rapidly expanding sharing economy, some of whose largest companies were started in the area. Airbnb, which is based in San Francisco, markets thousands of units in the city and spent heavily to defeat a local ballot initiative last November that would have severely restricted short-term rentals. In June, the city's Board of Supervisors approved some restrictions anyway, prompting a lawsuit from Airbnb. Whatever the outcome, the usual parameters of housing issues -- say, tenants versus landlords -- seem forever changed.

Dale Carlson, a consultant who has played a central role in the political fight against Airbnb, said the sharing economy has contributed to the rise in rents and has encouraged some landlords to evict tenants and convert apartments to short-term rentals. (Advocates for house-sharing platforms say the rentals are vital in helping people make extra money to afford the high cost of living in the city.)

''It's essentially, Who gets to live here?'' Carlson said of the political fight. ''And who is squeezed out?''

One day, I drove down Highway 101 to Silicon Valley to meet Reid Hoffman, a partner at the venture-capital firm Greylock and the chairman of LinkedIn, the professional-social-networking company, which was then in the process of being sold to Microsoft for $26.2 billion. Hoffman founded LinkedIn the same year I left for Beijing; now he was a billionaire. He is politically active, having supported and advised Obama and raised money for and donated money to Hillary Clinton. I mentioned how the election had become a referendum of sorts on globalization and trade, yet there had been little discussion about the next big earthquake -- artificial intelligence, or the approaching world of self-driving cars, smartphones that can diagnose a melanoma and much more. Globalization may have ravaged blue-collar America, but artificial intelligence could cut through the white-collar professions in much the same way.

Hoffman said the reactions to artificial intelligence range from utopian to dystopian. The utopians predict huge productivity gains and rapid advances in medicine, genetic sequencing, fighting climate change and other areas. The dystopians predict a ''Robocalypse'' in which machines supplant people and, possibly, threaten humanity itself. ''My point of view,'' he said, ''is that it is a massive transformation and does really impact the future of humanity, but that we can steer it more toward utopia rather than dystopia with intelligence and diligence.''

Either way, another major economic shift is coming, perhaps sooner than people realize. Hoffman said that many of the jobs in today's economy will change fundamentally during the next 20 years. On the same day I met with Hoffman, Uber announced a pilot program to test self-driving vehicles in Pittsburgh. It also bought a company developing self-driving trucks. ''We have to make sure that we don't have a massive imbalance of society by which you have a small number of people that own the robots and everyone else is scrambling,'' he said.

Back in the Tenderloin, I met with Del Seymour, a former drug dealer who runs a nonprofit organization called Code Tenderloin, in which he trains local low-income people for the job market. In recent years, the city had granted major tax breaks to companies that opened offices in the area, and Seymour offered tours to show tech workers their new neighborhood. I joined a small group from Zendesk, a cloud-based customer-service software company founded in Denmark whose headquarters are in the Tenderloin. Its employees had already done volunteer work with a local nonprofit organization, distributing clean syringes to local drug users to prevent the spread of AIDS. It was not the usual tech job.

The tour ended inside the Cadillac Hotel. Jerry Garcia once lived there in the early 1960s, Muhammad Ali once sparred there, and it now has many subsidized rooms for low-income residents. Seymour asked the Zendesk employees to sit in the lobby and praised the company for its volunteer work. But then he pointed out that tech companies hire more than just techies -- about 30 percent of the jobs, he said, did not require technical training. He told them how he was once one of the biggest dope dealers on Taylor Street. He had changed, however, and other people in the Tenderloin could, too. ''Let us in your back door,'' he said, his voice rising like that of a preacher. ''We don't want your food. We don't want your sympathy. We want jobs.''

I was in Detroit, in the August heat, and it was just so weird. Downtown was coming back, but so much else was strangely empty. Entire neighborhoods were practically abandoned, and arsonists had torched hundreds of houses. Wildflowers grew on the empty lots. It was as if the city had fragmented into mismatched pieces. One street was a ghost town. Another was a construction site for a new Red Wings hockey stadium.

''There will be fires tonight,'' Elaine Cromie said as we drove through the city streets. ''That is for sure.''

Cromie, a freelance news photographer, was giving me a tour of the city. Even though Detroit was out of bankruptcy and downtown boosters were pushing a resurgence narrative, the arson fires were still happening often enough that the local media had to pick and choose which ones to cover. ''It's really only news if it is a hazardous-materials fire,'' she said.

We turned onto Goldengate Street and parked near a few vacated houses. Trees still shaded the rotting homes where middle-class families once lived, before many of them walked away from bad mortgages. The emptiness of some streets reminded me of photographs of the depopulated, decaying buildings left behind after the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl. That part of Ukraine has been largely without people for 30 years and is now known as the Zone of **Alienation**, which seemed like a fitting phrase to describe parts of Detroit too.

Five years back, the organizers of Occupy Detroit spent the winter on Goldengate, but the anticapitalist movement fizzled and the street today is mostly populated by hippies and squatters. It is, in fact, a counterculture oasis, known as Fireweed Universe-City. Cromie was looking for a guy who was supposed to connect us with a community leader, Doctor Bob, but instead we bumped into Zack Zduniak. Zduniak, 26, had simply checked out of mainstream America, which today's Detroit made possible.

Zduniak grew up in suburban St. Clair Shores in an era of diminished prospects, while the local auto industry declined. He liked living off the grid, but it wasn't easy; he was sleeping with his cat in a friend's delivery truck. He worked part-time at a restaurant, sometimes foraged for berries and knew which churches gave out free food. Visitors turned up, often Europeans, some via couchsurfing.com, for a binge of partying or a voyeuristic taste of life on the antimaterialist fringe. ''We just don't want to be involved in this crazy, consumerist society,'' he told me.

Zduniak thought Doctor Bob could better represent the community, so we knocked on his door. Bob Pizzimenti is a chiropractor, urban farmer and the proprietor of the healing center and vegetarian cafe down the street, which was the only nearby outpost of private enterprise that I spotted. Everyone called him Doctor Bob. He bought his two-story brick house six years ago for $1,400 when others were fleeing. He liked that there were seemingly no rules in Detroit. He bought several empty lots around his house and planted corn and other vegetables on them. He wanted a different type of community, something new. He thought America had lost its way.

''We've bought into a system that nobody believes in, but everybody walks around like something real is going on,'' he told me. He added: ''This is real.'' He was pointing to a stalk of corn.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CITY OF DREAMS

The 400-Year Epic History of **Immigrant** New York

By Tyler Anbinder

Illustrated. 738 pp. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. $35.

In publishing as in politics, timing is everything. Tyler Anbinder's sweeping ''City of Dreams: The 400-Year Epic History of **Immigrant** New York'' scores big on both counts. A richly textured guide to the history of our **immigrant** nation's pinnacle **immigrant** city has managed to enter the stage during an election season that has resurrected this historically fraught topic in all its fierceness.

With the exception of a thinly argued final chapter, the writer, a professor of history at George Washington University and the author of two previous books on early American history, rightly avoids drawing explicit lessons for today's controversies from the past, though readers can find plenty. Support for the ideals of diversity and tolerance on the one hand and fears of tribalism and social fragmentation on the other collide on almost every page, beginning in the chaotic, polyglot trading outpost that was New Amsterdam. At the southern tip of Manhattan, Dutch fur traders, English merchants' sons, random fortune seekers from Spain or Norway, Welsh tavern keepers, Gaelic blacksmiths, religious dissidents and a smattering of Jews and freed slaves somehow managed to conduct business even while speaking 18 different languages.

Over the next two centuries the arrival of starving, war-ravaged, oppressed or just plain restless huddled masses, almost all of them from Europe, pushed the settlement north, turning New York into the largest and most diverse city in the United States. By 1860, an extraordinary 69 percent of voting-age New Yorkers were foreign-born. Only Vienna and Berlin had more German inhabitants, and they were still considerably outnumbered by the Irish. Fifty years later the flood of foreigners, who began disembarking at the iconic Ellis Island in 1892, showed no signs of receding. As many as a million migrants, an increasing number of them Italians and Russian Jews, arrived annually in the years leading up to World Warâ€¯I. After Congress passed restrictive laws in the 1920s, the city experienced its first and only sustained **immigration** drought. But in 1965, with the passage of the Hart-Celler Act, Gotham began to return to its original **immigrant**-rich identity. Today more than a third of the population is foreign-born. ''To me this city appeared as a tremendous overstuffed roar, where people just burst with a desire to live,'' a Russian **immigrant**, Morris Shapiro, recalled about his arrival in the 1920s. His description might well strike today's migrants, now largely from Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia, as apt.

Anbinder devotes at least one chapter to each of the major **immigrant** groups -- Irish, Germans, Russian Jews and Italians -- vividly detailing the political turmoil, famines and pogroms that led them to leave their homes and families, the horrific steerage voyages across a turbulent Atlantic Ocean and their lives in New York. Despite the Babel of cultures, newcomers adapted to New York in similar ways, by first creating their own isolated ethnic islands. Early Irish arrivals moved into the wooden tenements in the notorious, gang-infested Five Points. The area we now know as the Lower East Side was Kleindeutschland, a German enclave further subdivided as South Germans, Hessians, Prussians and Bavarians laid claim to separate neighborhoods. Likewise in Little Italy, Sicilians clustered near Elizabeth Street while Neapolitans and Calabrians kept company along Mulberry Street.

The social benefits of the **immigrant** enclave were immense, especially at a time when governments didn't provide much in the way of garbage collection -- roving pigs were about the best slum dwellers could expect until later in the 19th century -- much less social services. In their transplanted villages, newly arrived Irish found jobs on the docks or as servants with the help of a cousin's brother-in-law on the next block. Lower East Side Jews could track down tailoring jobs on a tip from a neighbor. Ethnic groups sorted themselves into distinct occupations, as they still do: Italians became barbers, shoemakers, longshoremen and newsboys; Germans ruled the brewery, peddling and saloon businesses.

Some of the enclaves became reeking, overcrowded slums that would catalyze progressive reformers like Jacob Riis, the author of the classic ''How the Other Half Lives.'' But they also hummed with Tocquevillian energy. **Immigrant** civic groups sprang up to meet every sort of need from the medical to the recreational to the spiritual. Neighborhood churches, some of them built and sustained by successful fellow **immigrants** with a stake in edifying their greenhorn countrymen, were crucial, especially to the poorest migrants. As early as 1756, Scottish **immigrants** founded the still extant St. Andrews Society under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church. Churches also started schools and hospitals; by the early 20th century, New York had eight Catholic hospitals alongside an assortment of Lutheran, Methodist, Jewish and Baptist institutions. The Germans were avid participants in gymnastic societies. Every ethnic group had its own home-language newspaper.

Hostility from the native-born majority undoubtedly intensified ethnic separatism. ''Hordes of wild Irishmen'' were especially reviled: ''Any country or color .â€ˆ.â€ˆ. except Irish,'' read one 1853 Herald help wanted ad. But Jews and Italians were hardly spared: Rental ads might warn, ''No Jews and no dogs.'' In the eyes of many New Yorkers, the **immigrants**' ''low moral tendency'' -- the words are Theodore Roosevelt's -- made them seem hopeless as future citizens. As the numbers of foreigners grew, officials passed harsh restrictions, starting with Peter Stuyvesant's limits on the rights of Lutherans, Quakers and Jews, continuing with the **Alien** and Sedition Act of the late 18th century and the Naturalization Act (which expanded from five to 14 the years before an **immigrant** could become a citizen) and then in the 19th century a variety of statutes barring convicts, ''idiots,'' paupers, polygamists, epileptics, anarchists, prostitutes and other outcasts. Finally, in 1924 the National Origins Act, ''one of the most momentous laws enacted in all of American history,'' imposed strict quotas and turned Ellis Island into a historical curiosity.

It's tempting to chalk up this anti-**immigrant** record to simple bigotry, but ''City of Dreams'' casts doubt on that conclusion. The Know Nothing party accused German states of programmatically shipping their poorest and least desirable citizens to the United States; according to Anbinder, they turned out to be right. Decades later, New Yorkers worried that newcomers would become a ''public charge'' for a reason. Their city was ill-equipped to help the many desperately poor and ill; housing was scarce and shoddy, creating disease-ridden slums more crowded than modern Mumbai. And accusations of divided loyalties and subversion were not necessarily paranoid fantasies. As World War I broke out, German **immigrants** were discovered preparing to return to fight for their home country. It was most likely Italian **immigrant** anarchists who killed 38 in a Wall Street bombing in 1920. And during World Warâ€¯II, Anbinder writes, ''New York was crawling with **immigrant** spies.''

These stories raise the question: How did New York turn so many of its **immigrants** into able American citizens? The enclaves were a life preserver for recent arrivals, but also isolated them in their Old World customs and their poverty. Women and children in particular didn't venture beyond their immediate blocks. ''I did not see any reason for learning English,'' one **immigrant** woman recalled. ''Everywhere I lived, or worked, or fooled around there were only Italians.'' The text of ''City of Dreams'' clocks in at nearly 600 pages, yet it gives little insight into how newcomers like these assimilated, and how their children and grandchildren were educated into the growing middle class, as they so often were.

To delve into that question, an especially crucial one today as **immigrants** struggle to make their way in an ''hourglass'' postindustrial economy, readers of this admirable history will have to look elsewhere.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**SAME FAMILY, DIFFERENT COLORS

Confronting Colorism in America's Diverse Families

By Lori L. Tharps

203 pp. Beacon Press. $25.95.

In Danzy Senna's 1998 novel ''Caucasia,'' two sisters -- Cole and Birdie -- share a bond so intimate that they create a language only they can understand. Engulfed in the racial chaos of Boston in the mid-70s, the sisters nestle themselves away in the cozy world they have created in their attic bedroom. Their lives are forever changed when their mother, a liberal white New Englander, and their father, a black man with radical political leanings, decide to divorce. The sisters are divided: Birdie lives with her mother and essentially passes for white, while Cole, who looks black, moves in with her father and his black girlfriend. In a city as racially divided and explosive as Boston in the 1970s, this separation by skin color strikes the reader as a chillingly rational decision.

Forty years later, America is no longer the bipolar racial regime of black and white that set Birdie and Cole on such different paths. Not only have personal attitudes changed, but the Hart-Celler Act of 1965 -- which upended American **immigration** policy by abolishing the quota system based on national origins -- has also transformed the country's demographic character. The landmark Loving v. Virginia case of 1967 prohibited legal restrictions on interracial marriages. Federal racial classifications now recognize mixed-race identities. But neither Cole nor Birdie would have been widely understood as mixed-race in the 1970s. As Danzy Senna, who is mixed-race, has written of her own experiences during that tumultuous decade: ''Mixed wasn't an option. .â€ˆ.â€ˆ. No halvsies. No in between.''

Lori L. Tharps's new book, ''Same Family, Different Colors: Confronting Colorism in America's Diverse Families,'' is an urgent and honest unveiling of how generations of American families have lived with these changes. Tharps focuses on ''colorism,'' which she notes is not an official word, but has been defined by Alice Walker as ''prejudicial or preferential treatment of same-race people based solely on their color.'' Most of the book discusses the preferential treatment that has been reserved for light-skinned African-Americans, but Tharps, a journalist, also includes chapters on Latino and Asian-American families. She makes the claim that treating lighter-skinned people more favorably is a worldwide problem, not just one that was developed in the United States. To solve it, everyone must recognize his or her part in perpetuating it. As Tharps writes, ''For every African-American girl hiding from the sun under her mother's strict orders, there is a Korean-American girl playing in the shadows as well.''

With great sensitivity and unapologetic boldness, Tharps skillfully weaves the rich historical context of the United States, the Americas and Asia with wrenching contemporary first-person accounts to investigate how color operates in the most intimate spaces of American families. Relying on numerous interviews of parents and children with a wide range of skin colors, Tharps proves the quotation by the social scientist Frank Sulloway to be painfully true: ''No social injustice is felt more deeply than that suffered within one's own family.''

''Same Family, Different Colors'' begins with Tharps's story of marrying a man from the south of Spain whom she met during her junior year of college, while she was studying near Madrid. Tharps describes her husband as having a ''milky-white complexion'' and describes herself as having medium-brown skin that easily darkens in the sun. Their three children represent a broad range in skin color, from, borrowing Tharps's descriptions, ''the color of cinnamon'' to ''beige'' to ''warm almond,'' yet two could pass for white. While Tharps and her husband were not concerned with these differences, they found that people all around them were noticing that there was something unusual about their family -- the neighborhood dry cleaner, a 5-year-old playing an innocent game of ''I Spy'' (''I spy something white!'' the girl exclaimed, pointing to Tharps's daughter), the Brooklynites who assumed that Tharps was her son's nanny. Tharps soon faced the reality that our identities are rarely our own. She was constantly seeing herself, her husband and her children through the eyes of others.

Mixed-race families like Tharps's often find themselves open to public scrutiny. The lack of phenotypical uniformity that many people expect to be clearly visible led to stares, whispers and uncomfortable questions, including one about whether her son was adopted. Onlookers seemed to question the coherence of her family and to wonder whether they were a family at all. As Tharps writes: ''Most of the time I try to ignore other people's issues with my children's skin color, but sometimes it really bothers me. And sometimes it just hurts.''

It may come as a surprise that often those who can be the most unkind are one's own family members. Tharps delicately but honestly presents the recollections of many people who were insulted -- indeed, wounded -- by family members mocking their darker skin. She also tells the stories of light-skinned individuals who felt isolated from their own families and communities because their skin color made them feel as though they did not fit in. Some parents prized their lightest child's beauty, while others paid more attention to their darker children, worried about the emotional consequences of societal beauty norms that would ignore or denigrate them. Some parents did not talk about color at all. The range of experiences that Tharps presents is wide and rich. In all but a few cases, skin color exerted considerable pressure on those of nonwhite backgrounds and played a profound role in shaping self-understanding and sense of personal value.

Tharps reminds us that this problem is found not only in the United States: Latin America, East and South Asia, the Caribbean and Africa all grapple with colorism. It is an interracial and an intraracial problem.

Studies have shown that white Americans often demonstrate preferential treatment of lighter-skinned blacks that leads to disparities in employment and hiring practices and in socioeconomic mobility. In Latin American countries, popular telenovelas focus on white-skinned Latinos and Latinas, correlating lighter skin with higher social class and casting darker-skinned actors to portray the roles of lower-class characters, including maids, gardeners and even criminals. In East and South Asian countries, the legacy of colonialism has led to the reverence of white skin and European features. The Bollywood movie industry in India prizes lighter-skinned actresses, sometimes even importing white actors to play Indian people.

These ideas, planted in one's home country, become even more insidious in the United States. Observing that African-Americans were situated and largely stuck on the lowest rungs of the social, economic and political ladders, **immigrants** learned upon arriving in the United States that to succeed, one had to distance oneself as far as possible from blacks -- despite the common oppression and common economic disadvantages that nonwhite groups shared.

Progress on this front, given the long histories and the worldwide phenomenon of colorism, seems to occur only at a glacial pace. But we are already seeing the diversification of the black-white American racial binary, as well as cracks in the edifice of the ''one-drop rule.'' Tharps ends on a hopeful note: Beliefs that parents with mixed-race children do not ''match'' are giving way to new ideas about the irrelevance of skin color to the composition of a loving family. We are on the front lines of a new racial order that has been a long time coming.

People of all races and backgrounds deal with race each and every day in a multiplicity of ways. This thoughtful, honest, historically textured and valuable book offers a detailed and current syllabus of work on the social and cultural meanings of colorism around the world and brings colorism ''out of the closet,'' as Tharps writes. Most important, ''Same Family, Different Colors'' makes clear that we are all implicated in how just and inclusive that new order will be.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The widespread use of self-driving cars promises to bring substantial benefits to transportation efficiency, public safety and personal well-being. Car manufacturers are working to overcome the remaining technical challenges that stand in the way of this future. Our research, however, shows that there is also an important ethical dilemma that must be solved before people will be comfortable trusting their lives to these cars.

As the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration has noted, autonomous cars may find themselves in circumstances in which the car must choose between risks to its passengers and risks to a potentially greater number of pedestrians. Imagine a situation in which the car must either run off the road or plow through a large crowd of people: Whose risk should the car's algorithm aim to minimize?

This dilemma was explored in a series of studies that we recently published in the journal Science. We presented people with hypothetical situations that forced them to choose between ''self-protective'' autonomous cars that protected their passengers at all costs, and ''utilitarian'' autonomous cars that impartially minimized overall casualties, even if it meant harming their passengers. (Our vignettes featured stark, either-or choices between saving one group of people and killing another, but the same basic trade-offs hold in more realistic situations involving gradations of risk.)

A large majority of our respondents agreed that cars that impartially minimized overall casualties were more ethical, and were the type they would like to see on the road. But most people also indicated that they would refuse to purchase such a car, expressing a strong preference for buying the self-protective one. In other words, people refused to buy the car they found to be more ethical.

This is a version of the classic ''tragedy of the commons'': People acting in their self-interest behave contrary to the actions that everyone knows are necessary for the common good. One solution to such dilemmas is for the government to enforce regulations. But our research suggests that when it comes to self-driving cars, Americans balk at having the government force cars to use potentially self-sacrificial algorithms.

Car manufacturers, for their part, have generally remained silent on the matter. That changed last month when an official at Mercedes-Benz indicated that in those situations where its future autonomous cars would have to choose between risks to their passengers and risks to pedestrians, the algorithm would prioritize passenger safety. But the company reversed course soon after, saying that this would not be its policy.

Mercedes was confronting the same dilemma suggested by our research. Carmakers can either **alienate** the public by offering cars that behave in a way that is perceived as unethical, or **alienate** buyers by offering cars that behave in a way that scares them away. In the face of this, most car companies have found that their best course of action is to sidestep the question: Ethical dilemmas on the road are exceedingly rare, the argument goes, and companies should focus on eliminating rather than solving them.

That's a commendable goal, but the widespread adoption of driverless cars will happen only when people are comfortable with carmakers' solutions to these ethical dilemmas, however seldom they arise. Last June, the first fatal accident in a driverless car drew considerable media attention, and the victim was a passenger; imagine the level of public interest in the first driverless car accident that harms someone not in the car.

This is why, despite its mixed messages, Mercedes-Benz should be applauded for speaking out on the subject. The company acknowledges that to ''clarify these issues of law and ethics in the long term will require broad international discourse.'' Bill Ford Jr., the executive chairman of the Ford Motor Company, recently called on the auto industry to engage in ''deep and meaningful conversations'' with the public on the subject.

To promote such a discussion, we have created an online platform, which we call the Moral Machine, and which allows people all over the world to share their intuitions about what algorithmic decisions they see as most ethical. So far, more than two million people from more than 150 countries have participated.

The sooner driverless cars are adopted, the more lives will be saved. But taking seriously the psychological as well as technological challenges of autonomous vehicles will be necessary in freeing us from the tedious, wasteful and dangerous system of driving that we have put up with for more than a century.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BELFAST, Northern Ireland -- On the surface, Britain would seem to be in the throes of an alarming wave of hate crimes.

In 2015, Britain recorded eight times as many hate crimes as the United States, which has five times as many people; that was 31 times the hate crimes reported in France and 88 times the total in Italy.

The rise of the nationalist U.K. Independence Party, resentment of **immigration**, terror attacks in Europe and perceptions of anti-Semitism on the fringes of the Labour Party have all contributed to an atmosphere of increased fear and hostility in parts of Britain.

Things seemed to worsen after Britain voted in June to leave the European Union, an outcome driven in large part by anti-**immigrant** sentiment. A Polish family's house and a Romanian-owned shop were set on fire; Eastern Europeans were spat upon, beaten up and told to go home.

The assaults extended to Muslim women, whose face veils were torn off. Blacks, Asians, gays and people with disabilities also reported abuse. Britain recorded 71,140 hate crimes in the 2015-16 financial year, ending in March. In July, the month after the referendum, the number of hate crimes recorded by the police was 41 percent higher than in July of last year, though they have fallen lately.

All in all, it is a numerical portrait of a society in the grip of hatred and bigotry. Except the statistics are misleading, said Mark Hamilton, the assistant chief constable of the Northern Ireland police, who leads Britain's hate crime policy for the National Police Chiefs' Council.

''In most cases, it's not a rise in hate crimes. It's a rise in reporting,'' he said in an interview in his Belfast office. Since hate crimes are generally underrecorded, he said, ''our national strategy is to increase the level of hate crime reporting.''

The number of reported hate crimes in Britain has risen for two reasons: increased public awareness and changes in the law so that almost anything can be recorded as a hate crime so long as the victim experiences a verbal or physical assault as such. Many of the changes stem from the racially charged murder of Stephen Lawrence, an 18-year-old black man who was stabbed while waiting for a bus in 1993.

Many crimes counted in the statistics are registered through True Vision, a government-funded website that allows anyone to anonymously report what they have experienced or witnessed as a hate crime.

Rather than a hotbed of racial hatred, then, Britain is more a country that takes hate crime seriously and encourages citizens to report such acts when they occur. Far from painting Britain as a xenophobic society, Mr. Hamilton said, the numbers point to greater intolerance among Britons directed not at foreigners, but at hateful behavior toward them. The figures also suggest that public trust in the police is improving, he said.

Although the so-called Brexit vote ''created a license'' for some to lash out, Mr. Hamilton said, ''if we look at what we're reporting, we're not reporting massive numbers of serious crime.''

Data from the Home Office published last month showed that more than half of all hate crimes were categorized as threatening but nonviolent behavior. Still, a third involved some physical violence.

Excluding online hate crimes, which are difficult for the authorities to monitor, police data show that about 82 percent of hate crimes are racially or religiously motivated, including ones related to anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. The remainder are crimes against gays, transsexuals and people with disabilities, which the police consider to be badly underreported.

Interest groups have their own counts. Community Security Trust, a British charity, said anti-Semitic incidents rose 11 percent year on year in the first six months of 2016, after totaling 924 in 2015. Tell Mama, which tracks Islamophobia, said it had received 1,128 reports in 2015, more than double those in the previous year. European embassies in Britain have also logged dozens of incidents against their citizens, mostly from Eastern Europe.

But because the official figures do not break down hate crimes by religion, it is difficult to verify such counts.

The rate of prosecution varies across the four countries that make up Britain. In England and Wales, about a quarter of reported hate crimes were prosecuted last year. In Scotland, the rate was about 80 percent, while in Northern Ireland, it was more than half.

Once brought to court, more than four in five hate crime prosecutions result in conviction in Britain.

''The police response has improved in a lot of ways,'' said Neil Chakraborti, a criminology professor and the director of the Center for Hate Studies at Leicester University. ''Britain has a clear set of laws, a policy that is victim-led, and there is a collective endeavor'' to tackle hate crime.

The shift to a perception-based definition of hate crimes emerged from the Lawrence case.

The police were dogged by allegations that Mr. Lawrence had been denied first aid because of his race, and that they had run a smear campaign against his family and supporters who criticized how the authorities conducted proceedings.

A subsequent government inquiry described the London Metropolitan Police as ''institutionally racist.'' It said there had been a ''collective failure'' by the authorities ''through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.''

Although the British police still struggle with minority relations, officials say the recognition of racism in the police force drastically changed the mind-set inside the organization.

Most of the recommendations made by the report were put into practice shortly after its publication in 1999.

The police are now subject to greater public scrutiny. The handling of racist incidents is closely monitored, as are stop-and-search procedures. The police routinely measure how satisfied minorities are with their service. Officers are given racial awareness training, and there have been efforts to make the force more racially diverse, even though the number of minorities remains disproportionately low.

Some of the changes also came about because of the 1998 Human Rights Act, which incorporated the European Convention on Human Rights into British law. It enshrined, among other things, an individual's right to life, humane treatment and fair trial. In addition, the Human Rights Act requires minimal use of force and firearms by police officers.

''The threading of human rights through every response of the police service has been a fundamental element in changing how we go about our business and how we view how we do our business,'' Mr. Hamilton said. ''It's a superb thing.''

Mr. Hamilton is based in Belfast, once called the hate crime capital of Europe because of Northern Ireland's long history of sectarian violence between mostly Protestant pro-British unionists and mostly Roman Catholic pro-Irish republicans.

Given the history, the police force in Northern Ireland has led Britain's hate crime strategy for 20 years out of a bunkerlike compound on the outskirts of Belfast.

Tensions remain, but the reframing of hate crimes and a greater emphasis on human rights in British law also had an impact here.

Sectarian crimes in Northern Ireland are now categorized as hate crimes, which officials say has encouraged more people to come forward. But mistrust of the police still runs deep, and reports of hate crimes in Northern Ireland are generally lower than in England and Wales. (Leaflets recently pasted on street lamps urged citizens not to give information to the police.)

Today, anyone caught painting a fresh mural seen as inciting racial hatred can be prosecuted for a hate crime.

''In recent years, we've had a collective courage to name hate crime for what it is,'' Mr. Hamilton said, adding that most people develop hatred for other communities because they themselves have suffered.

''What we're talking about is what motivates people,'' he said. ''Those are things you can affect. Those are things you can challenge.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**HOW did we get here? How did it come to this? Not just to the Donald Trump phenomenon, but to the whole choice facing us on Tuesday, in which a managerial liberalism and an authoritarian nationalism -- two visions of the president as essentially a Great Protector: a feisty grandmother or fierce sky father -- are contending for the votes of an ostensibly free people?

Start with the American family. Start with my own family, as an illustration -- white Protestants for the most part on both sides with a few Irish newcomers mixed, rising and falling and migrating around in the way of most families that have been in this country a long time.

My maternal great-grandfather had five children, four of whom lived to have families of their own. His son, my grandfather, also had five children, two sons and three daughters, who grew up as part of a dense network of cousins.

On my father's side, the families were a little smaller. But my dad was one of three siblings, meaning that I had six aunts and uncles overall.

Then the social revolutions of the 1970s arrived. There were divorces, later marriages, single parenthood, abortions. In the end all those aunts and uncles, their various spouses and my parents -- 12 baby boomers, all told -- only had seven children: myself, my sister and five cousins.

So instead of widening, my family tree tapered, its branches thinned. And it may thin again, since so far the seven cousins in my generation have only three children. All of them are mine.

This is a very normal Western family history. Everywhere across the developed world, families have grown more attenuated: fewer and later marriages, fewer and later-born children, fewer brothers and sisters and cousins, more people living for longer and longer stretches on their own. It's a new model of social life, a ''post-familial'' revolution that's unique to late modernity.

For a while, conservatives have worried that this revolution is a boon to liberalism, to centralization and bureaucratic control -- because as families thin people are more likely to look to politics for community and government for protection.

This idea is borne out in voting patterns, where marriage and kids tend to predict Republican affiliation, and the single and divorced are often reliable Democratic partisans. The Obama White House's ''Life of Julia'' ad campaign in 2012 -- featuring a woman whose every choice was subsidized by the government from cradle to grave, with a lone child but no larger family or community in sight -- seemed to many conservatives like a perfect confirmation of our fears: Here was liberalism explicitly pitching the state as a substitute for kith and kin.

But while we worried about the liberal vision, our own ideological side was adapting to the family's attenuation in darker ways -- speaking not to singletons or single mothers, but to powerful post-familial anxieties among the middle-aged and old.

Human beings imagine and encounter the future most intensely through our own progeny, our flesh and blood. The Constitution speaks of ''our posterity'' for a reason: We are a nation of **immigrants**, but when people think about the undiscovered America of the future, its strongest claim on them is one their own descendants make.

If those descendants exist. But for many native-born Americans there are fewer of them -- fewer children and, as birthrates drop and marrying age rises, still-fewer grandchildren or none at all. Which means that when they look ahead into their country's future, white baby boomers especially see less to recognize immediately as their own.

This **alienation** is heightened when the descendants they do have seem to be faring worse than they did -- as in those white working-class communities where opioid addiction, worklessness and family breakdown have advanced apace. The combination of small families and social disarray feeds a grim vision of the future, in which after you've passed, your few kids and fewer grandkids will be beset, isolated and alone.

This sense of dread, in turn, bleeds easily into ethno-racial anxiety when the benefits of that imagined future seem to belong increasingly to people who seem culturally **alien**, to inheritors who aren't your natural heirs. For this reason mass **immigration**, the technocratic solution to the economic problems created by post-familialism -- fewer workers supporting more retirees -- is a double-edged sword: It replaces the missing workers but exacerbates intergenerational **alienation**, because it heightens anxieties about inheritance and loss.

In this landscape, the white-identity politics of Trumpism or European nationalism may be a more intuitively attractive form of right-wing politics than a libertarian conservatism. Right-authoritarianism offers some of the same welfare-state protections that liberalism offers to its Julias, it offers tribal solidarity to people whose family bonds have frayed -- and then it links the two, public programs and tribal consciousness, in the promise of a welfare state that's only designed for you and yours.

For conservatives who abhor Trumpism this presents a hard dilemma. No politician can address a Trump voter (or a LePen or UKIP supporter) **alienated** from their country's future and say -- as strangely true as it may be -- that ''you should have had more children when you had the chance.'' So conservatives have to figure out how to go partway with their anxious older voters, to push against the post-familial trend in public policy while also adapting to the anxieties that it creates -- and all without being swallowed up by bigotry.

For liberals, to whom an expansive state is a more uncomplicated good, the challenge may seem easier. They can hope that with time the racial and ethnic differences between the generations will diminish, and that eventually state programs can more smoothly substitute for thinning families without ethno-cultural anxieties getting in the way.

But I'm not so sure that it will work like this. A post-familial society may unleash tribal competition within the coalition of the diverse, as people reach anew for ethnic solidarity and then fight furiously over liberalism's spoils.

Or else a technocratic and secular liberalism may simply not be satisfying to a fragmented, atomized society; there may be a desire for a left-wing authoritarianism to bind what's been fragmented back together, in comradeship and common purpose.

In either case, the demagogues of the future will have ample opportunity to exploit the deep loneliness that a post-familial society threatens to create.

This loneliness may manifest in economic anxiety on the surface, in racial and cultural anxiety just underneath. But at bottom it's more primal still: A fear of a world in which no one is bound by kinship to take care of you, and where you can go down into death leaving little or nothing of yourself behind.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MEXICO CITY -- The young Mexican couple packed their possessions in boxes and garbage bags 20 years ago, locked them in a room of their half-built house in Mexico City and then migrated illegally to the United States with their 3-year-old daughter in search of work, taking only what they could carry.

The plan was to return a couple of years later, but instead they remained, undocumented, in New York City. The boxes and bags stayed where they had left them, their contents mostly forgotten: a family's beacon of hope.

One recent morning, the daughter, Guadalupe Ambrosio, now 23, stood in front of the locked door of that room, the key in her hand. It was her first visit to Mexico since she had left when she was 3. She was about to open those boxes and bags for the first time since they had been stored, reconnecting with her interrupted childhood and closing a yawning circle for her family.

Ms. Ambrosio, an undergraduate at Borough of Manhattan Community College, was never sure she would have this chance. She, too, is undocumented. For most of her life, had she tried to visit Mexico, she would have been barred from re-entering the United States.

But in 2012, she enrolled in a federal program that allows young, undocumented **immigrants** to remain in the United States temporarily and work legally. Participants in the program, known as deferred action, can also apply to travel abroad for humanitarian, educational or work purposes, and re-enter the United States without penalty. Since the advent of the program in 2012, thousands of young undocumented **immigrants** have used the travel permission to visit the countries they left as children.

But with the American presidential election at hand, the future of the program, an initiative of the Obama administration, remains uncertain. The new president could cancel it, leaving young undocumented **immigrants** to wonder whether they can ever return to their homelands without having to forsake their lives in the United States.

''People are scared,'' Ms. Ambrosio said. ''We've been fighting for this.''

The trips have been intense periods of discovery, and rediscovery, as the young **immigrants** reconnect with relatives and family friends -- many known only through phone calls or their parents' stories -- and return to places that have come to seem more imaginary than real.

The visits have been marked by deep and sometimes painful reflection about identity and belonging, freighted with the yearnings of undocumented parents back in the United States who are unable to make the trip themselves without giving up everything they built.

''It has always been so difficult to find words to describe how important this journey is,'' said Alyshia Gálvez, the director of the Jaime Lucero Mexican Studies Institute at the City University of New York's Lehman College.

She added, ''To live most of their lives with secondhand information about Mexico and why their families left, and given the awful stagnation in **immigration** law, they haven't been able to develop their own understanding of their country and their relationship to it.''

Ms. Ambrosio was part of a group from CUNY who spent about six weeks in Mexico this summer. Nearly all were Mexican-born and returning to their birthplaces for the first time since leaving the country as children.

Nearly all were undocumented -- the sons and daughters of construction workers and domestic workers, landscapers and restaurant workers -- and were traveling with permission. The justification for the trip was a community-service program in San Miguel de Allende, after which the group split up to visit relatives and friends around Mexico.

Sergio Torres, 25, a theater student at Borough of Manhattan Community College, planned to confront his estranged father, whom he had refused to talk to for years because of his violent treatment of the family when Mr. Torres was a boy.

Marlen Fernandez, 24, a staff member at the Jaime Lucero Mexican Studies Institute in the Bronx, was returning with her daughter, who is 2 -- a year younger than Ms. Fernandez was when her parents took her to New York City.

Gloria Farciert, 21, a senior at Brooklyn College, was heading back to her hometown, a village in rural Puebla State that, in recent years, has been gutted by migration to the United States, especially to the New York region. She had left Mexico when she was 11.

''Sitting on this airplane feels surreal,'' Ms. Farciert wrote on her Instagram account on July 4 next to a photo of her Mexican passport and airplane tickets. ''There's a lot of mixed emotions happening.''

The flight to Mexico City was, for some, a transcendent experience, temporarily erasing a political barrier that had defined their lives. As the plane flew from American airspace into Mexican airspace, with the border somewhere below, Ms. Fernandez thought to herself how easy it was to cross.

''That border is so heavy for me,'' she said.

In Mexico, they were something between natives and tourists, regarded by other Mexicans as not quite brethren yet not quite foreigners. This uncertain acceptance echoed the feeling of dislocation that hounded them in the United States: They had grown up American in every way but lacked the legal status of belonging.

''I don't know if I'm an American in disguise or a Mexican trying to be American,'' Mr. Torres said midway through the visit. ''We're coming home in a sense, but it doesn't feel like home anymore.''

Many also came to realize just how much the trip meant for their parents, for whom they were serving as envoys. ''That puts a little pressure on you because you're giving them voice,'' Ms. Fernandez said.

After the program in San Miguel de Allende, Ms. Ambrosio stayed with her paternal grandparents in San Miguel Teotongo, a working-class neighborhood on the outskirts of Mexico City. Reconnecting with her relatives, she felt a sense of acceptance that she had struggled to find growing up in the United States.

A watershed moment came when she opened the boxes that had been packed and stored 20 years ago. Her grandparents had gone in from time to time to dust the storage room but everyone had left the boxes as they were.

''They always thought that we would come back,'' Ms. Ambrosio said.

She found a large garbage bag with dozens of stuffed animals and another full of children's' clothes and plastic toys -- all of them once hers, though long forgotten.

''I didn't imagine I had so many things,'' she said as she methodically unpacked the stuff.

There was kitchenware, furniture, costume jewelry and even artifacts from her mother's quincienera party. But the grand prize for her, it seemed, were the photo albums.

She had grown up with only a few photos of herself as a girl in Mexico. Now she had the motherlode in her hands. As Ms. Ambrosio flipped slowly through one of the albums -- photos of her as a baby and as a child, with her mother, with her relatives, with her late grandmother -- she began to cry.

''This is a childhood that I always wanted,'' she said.

Elsewhere in Mexico, the other students were making discoveries of their own.

In Puebla State, Ms. Farciert was struck by the emptiness of her hometown, the rural village of San Miguel de Lozano. And she saw the length of her time away reflected in the aging of her grandparents.

''Whenever my grandfather talks to my dad, the question is always: 'When are you coming back?''' she said. ''The truth is, there is no definite answer because my mother nor my dad knows when they'll come back.''

''I wish that my parents had this opportunity and not me,'' she continued. ''Borders break us in all different types of ways.''

In Mexico City, Mr. Torres visited relatives and made a trip to the Basilica de Guadalupe, a national shrine, to buy religious iconography that his mother, back in East Harlem, had requested. He then traveled to Puebla to visit more relatives. But all of that was a preamble to the most important task on his agenda: confronting his father.

When Mr. Torres was 6, his father had violently thrown him, his younger brother and his mother out of their house in the state of Guerrero. Mr. Torres had not spoken with his father since he was 13.

''I need to know why he did what he did,'' he said.

The encounter, about a week later, did not go well.

''I was hoping he would be, like: 'I'm sorry. I'm sorry the way I treated your mom. I'm sorry about the way I treated you guys,''' Mr. Torres said. ''But all he was, was like, 'Oh, what I did was because your mom talked back to me.''' After arguing with his father for 40 minutes, Mr. Torres left. As Mr. Torres recounted the episode, there was pain in his voice. But he insisted his father's total lack of remorse allowed him to move on. ''I'm ready to close that chapter,'' he said.

The students -- now back on the American side of the border, in a country that regards them with ambivalence -- have resumed their classes and returned to their jobs, caught between two nations, yet of neither place entirely.

''I came back more angry than I was,'' Ms. Fernandez said about American **immigration** laws. Her anger extended to the Mexican government for its failures to ''provide us with a better place to live,'' she said.

Her relatives pleaded with her not to wait another 20 years before visiting again, but asked, if she could not make it, that she send her sister or her daughter instead.

One aunt had not seen her son since he migrated to the United States about 15 years ago. ''She was like, 'Please tell him to come back and see me before I die,''' Ms. Fernandez recalled. '''Tell him to send me my grandchildren. I don't care if they don't speak Spanish. I just want to hug them.'''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Asking what's new in Manhattan is like asking what's old in Rome: too much for 10 visits, so don't bother trying in one. The eight or so square miles of Manhattan south of Central Park sees more restaurant, hotel and shop openings per year than many nations. While some Manhattan residents lament skyrocketing rents and the demise of neighborhood institutions, visitors freed from nostalgia can focus on newfangled attractions and refangled improvements to the surviving classics. Sure, some tourists are venturing farther afield to other boroughs. Want dirt-cheap Tibetan momo dumplings? That's Queens. Looking for hipsters and their locally sourced millennial angst? Head to Brooklyn. But the center of the world still radiates east and west from Broadway at Columbus Circle to the Battery.

Friday

1 3 P.M. Pic Two

Confusing, overwhelming, unsettling -- those words often describe visitors' first hours in Manhattan anyway, so why not double down with a visit to the debut exhibition of the International Center of Photography's new Lower East Side museum ($14). In ''Public, Private, Secret'' (through Jan. 8), artists try to make sense of the torrent of images unleashed by YouTube, social media, surveillance cameras and more, as older works from the 36-exposure era stand in contrast. Kim Kardashian's selfies between works by Andy Warhol and Cindy Sherman? What hath digitalization wrought? A 10-minute walk away, the Morrison Hotel Gallery soothes with stunning, classic images of rock 'n' roll heroes. Hidden in a second-floor space on Prince Street, the gallery represents 110 of the world's best music photographers. You might find Hendrix and Springsteen, or Elton John in a sequined baseball uniform at one of his 1975 Dodger Stadium concerts. No need to look up archival footage on YouTube, though, of course, you could.

2 5 P.M Early Bird Special

There's no happy hour at the Top of the Standard, informally known as the Boom Boom Room, but getting there early makes it easier to slip in (fashionably dressed and with a reservation) before things get too velvet ropey. The glittery setting and live jazz appeal, but the attraction is the view: From this height even the Sanitation Department facility on the Hudson is picturesque. You'll pay for it -- cocktails are in the low $20s and appetizers are as dear as they are tasty -- but it's worth it, especially if you stick around for sunset.

3 7 P.M. Chicken Feed

Manhattan's ethnic enclaves have largely gone by the wayside, but the Koreatown business district, a stone's throw from Macy's, is still going strong. And you don't have to know your galbi from your bulgogi to know what to order at Turntable Chicken Jazz, a hidden (but mobbed) spot up a blue-lit stairway from Fifth Avenue. The slow-fried, thin-crusted chicken wings in hot and spicy or soy garlic versions ($9.95 a half-dozen) are worth fighting the crowds for a table. The crunchy fried dumplings are also addictive, and you can get your fix for gochujang -- the fermented spicy pepper paste ubiquitous in Korean street food -- with an order of rice cakes.

4 9:30 P.M. Intimate Broadway

A few hundred bucks will get you a Broadway show -- make it a thousand and you might even find a pair of cheap seats to ''Hamilton'' on StubHub. But there's a more intimate and affordable theatrical affair to be had down the stairs and into the lush red lighting of Feinstein's/54 Below supper club. The underground (literally) cabaret features solo shows by some of musical theater's finest talents. You'll either delight in the insider Broadway name-dropping or feel like an anthropologist documenting the rituals of a mysterious subculture. Reserve $45 bar rail seats for a still-excellent view and order stiff ($16) Manhattans with Grand Marnier.

Saturday

5 10 A.M. Line-Free Brunch

What's worse, arguing over where to go for brunch or waiting in a line once you decide? Avoid both problems by patching together a glorious meal in one of Manhattan's newest food halls, which are to mall food courts what Emirates business class is to Spirit Airlines. TurnStyle may be in a subway tunnel at Columbus Circle, but it's bright and cheery, and like the subway itself, is mobbed on weekdays but runs on a slower weekend schedule. Stop at Bosie Patisserie for a Breton kouign-amann ($2.50) and a cortado -- or perhaps a greens 3 (greens, celery, cucumber, apple, lemon and ginger, $6.50) from the Pressed Juicery. For more substantial fare try a grilled cheese from MeltKraft or a pork shoulder salteña ($8, don't call it an empanada) from Bolivian Llama Party. You can also take it to go and head to Central Park, depending on how seriously you're taking this ''south of 59th Street'' thing.

6 Noon Coming to America II

Ellis Island accepted 12 million **immigrants** between 1892 and 1954 (and rejected a couple hundred thousand), but the story of American **immigration** started well before and continues today (in case you haven't been paying attention this election season). In 2015, the National Park Service site opened the Peopling of America Center, which recounts **immigration** back to Native Americans, Pilgrims and slaves and forward to Cubans, Hmong and Somali girls who play basketball in Minnesota in traditional dress. The $18 ferry includes admission to the Statue of Liberty, but you can just admire it from the boat; after all, that's what the 12 million **immigrants** did.

7 7 P.M. Rabbit Whole

Critics have gone -- what's the word? -- nuts over Le Coucou, Stephen Starr's French restaurant that opened this year under the helm of the American-born, Paris-famous chef Daniel Rose. There are a few surprises: The space is cavernous (forget about eavesdropping on the celeb at the next table), and the expected French formality is on the plate, but not in the service, which has an American-style, I'm-your-buddy vibe. Servers may refuse to suggest a favorite dish, but ''tout le lapin'' (''the whole rabbit'') is first among equals, a three-part entree of rabbit loin under crumbled rabbit kidney, a front-leg pot au feu and deboned hind legs marinated in Dijon and white wine and slow baked for four hours. Reserve in advance. Dinner for two without wine, about $200.

8 9:30 P.M. Up in Arms

Suffolk Arms may look like an English pub but strives to be a very New York cocktail bar, from Streit's matzo ball soup, short rib steamed buns and bone marrow to its walls covered with sketches of local personalities, from Ed Koch to Sonia Sotomayor, and Grandmaster Flash to the leonine library guardians Patience and Fortitude. Eyes over 25 years old may have trouble making out the 0.01-point-font-size menu in dim light, but eyes under 25 may have trouble appreciating the expertise behind the drinks (around $15): a classic New York Sour (with egg white and a splash of malbec); recipes borrowed from New York cocktail royalty like Brian Miller of Death & Co. (the rye-bourbon-Calvados-cognac Conference); and the passion fruit, lime and vanilla Porn Star Martini.

9 11 P.M. I Love the '80s

Where to dance in New York is a question for the ages -- specifically, your group's ages. But people young and old, or at least young and middle-aged, agree: The '80s were a glorious decade for popular music. That explains the Saturday night, age-diverse crowd at (Le) Poisson Rouge. Named for the 1981 Rick Springfield hit, the (Karma) chameleonlike cover band Jessie's Girl makes choreographed costume (and wig) changes to perform very danceable impressions from Cyndi Lauper to Dexys Midnight Runners. Their version of Wham!'s 1984 classic, ''Wake Me Up Before You Go-Go,'' will put the jitterbug into your brain, going bang bang bang till your feet do the same. (I said the music was glorious, not the lyrics.)

Sunday

10 9 A.M. Latkes to Like

The deli-diner décor at Russ & Daughters Cafe might seem kitschy if it weren't for its Lower East Side pedigree -- the original 1914 Russ and Daughters deli is still hawking smoked fish and noodle kugel (alongside modern interlopers like wasabi-infused flying fish roe) a few blocks away. The same ingredients make for a great New York brunch. Skip the matzo ball soup in favor of the rich smoked whitefish chowder; add a herring variety plate to share. For dessert, the challah bread pudding is a wild ride, as if a Jewish grandmother and a Six Flags amusement park had a son.

11 11 A.M. Snack and Shop

You probably can't afford to live in the West Village, but you can pretend by wandering its elegant streets, crookedly unhinged from the orderly Manhattan grid. Even if some of the shops are too pricey -- yes, that T-shirt costs more than your cable bill -- others are only mildly overpriced. First, pacify your shopping-averse companion with a bag of bulk Swedish candy from Sockerbit. Then you're off -- '50s and '60s glass and ceramics in riotous color at the End of History; quirky cards ($5) at Greenwich Letterpress; and bow ties and 1980s bar mitzvah shirts at Star Struck Vintage Clothing, on Greenwich Street since 1980.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**We asked students what they would do if they were in charge, what their concerns and hopes for the future would be. Empathy and forgiveness -- a plea for more -- and climate change were recurring themes, as well as issues political and personal. Here are condensed selections. Add your own ideas in the comments section at the bottom of this page (student submissions will be highlighted). Photos and drawings that interpret the question can be submitted via email, to edlife@nytimes.com.

HYEWON CHOI, American International School Chennai (India), sixth grade:

If I were the president of the world, I would first prevent girls from marrying at a young age. One of the reason I want to prevent girls from marrying at a young age is because the girls who are marrying quickly are not able to spend their childhood and they have to stay inside the house. And the second reason is that it is violating the international Declaration of Human Rights article 16, which says that men and women have right to marry. So if I were the president of the world, I would prevent more creation of child brides.

JINWON CHOI, American International School Chennai (India):

By looking at Malala [Yousafzai], I got to learn about lots of women not getting education in Pakistan and also other countries. I want to fix this problem. Human Rights article 26 says that everyone has their rights to have education, just being a woman doesn't changes that. Some people think that women should stay at their house and do housework while men gets to study and get jobs. Well, it's WRONG! Men and women are same humans who only has different gender. So if I become the president, I want to fix the discrimination between girls and boys.

JASON FONG, Redondo Union High School (Calif.), class of 2017:

If I were in charge, I would spread the word that there is strength in empathy. Those who can step into the shoes of another are powerful. They can imagine what it is like to lose a child to gun violence, to plead for your husband's life at the hands of police. They can imagine what it is like to come to a new country as a kid. They can see the loneliness of a soul struggling alone against a powerful, raging addiction. Our country is made stronger when we help each other lighten our loads. Let's rise together -- not fall apart.

ANNA ROTH, Beacon College (Fla.), class of 2020:

I'm terrified. I'm terrified of a world where everyone hates each other. I'm terrified of the way people put other people into boxes and assume they're different from people in their box. I'm terrified the outcome of the election could see L.G.B.T. people further be **alienated** in our culture and I'm terrified that some of my friends think Donald Trump supporters are evil.

I've experienced unkindness. Despite this, I don't really believe evil exists. Everyone makes mistakes. We've all said something hurtful in our lives. I believe that almost everyone deserves forgiveness, including people who are sexist or racist or homophobic. However, I know some people have trouble accepting humanity's blemishes while also being open-minded about people different from themselves.

If I were president, somehow I'd want to create an atmosphere of empathy for all.

MADELEINE GAISER, Gettysburg College (Pa.), class of 2017:

If I were president, of my college or the country, I would put resources into making diversity work. Cultural education would start in kindergarten and colleges would make use of the safe spaces they brag about. Fostering diversity is not creating a rainbow of skin tones and filling the air with a symphony of languages and smells. Those colors and sounds, which came because of promises, because of recruitment, cannot be placed on the pedestal of diversity and inclusion if they are met with bigotry and hate.

Leaders do not understand that diversity is a culture. That culture is learned and requires all the time and resources that recruiting the diversity required. True diversity is achieved when hearing Korean spoken at the gas station, and Arabic spoken by a hijabi at the Apple store doesn't turn heads; when the sounds and smells mingle harmoniously.

DAN McCARTHY, Boston College, class of 2020:

I've been at Boston College for a month now, exploring deep questions and confronting complex issues in classes. Thus far, nothing has terrified me more than climate change. If I were president, I would lead the greatest push for climate mitigation. Carbon taxes, funding alternative energies, advocating for Elon Musk's next revolutionary project. I would do my best to champion compromise as the primary tool of politics. That is what I want to see of our politicians. Compromise for the sake of improving our world. In short, doing their jobs.

MARSHALL BENDER, Vilseck High School (Germany), class of 2019:

If I were the president of the United States, I would enforce stricter gun laws. Japan, a country where guns are banned -- even something like firing a gun can get you a hefty jail sentence or fine -- has virtually zero gun violence.

Second, I would end the war on drugs, which has caused mass incarceration, the waste of billions of dollars, killed many innocent people and hasn't solved a single problem that was addressed. In Portugal, drugs are still illegal, but the citizen found with drugs is sent to treatment, not prison.

Third, I would adopt a prison system like Norway's, which focuses on rehabilitation. By teaching the prisoners that we care for them and want to help them, we can bring them back into the real world successfully and without them being multiple-time offenders.

Finally, and arguably the most important of the four, I would work to make America use 50 percent renewable energy by 2050.

JILLIAN KLASCIUS, Syracuse University (N.Y.), class of 2018:

I have many concerns for the future -- overturning the Supreme Court's Citizens United ruling, fighting climate change (more regulations, decreased greenhouse gas emissions, etc.) and raising the minimum wage to $15 an hour.

But my biggest issue is our need to get money out of politics. This issue has bipartisan support from the people, yet nothing is done because those with the power to enact these changes need the corporations and 1 percenters' money to get re-elected. It's a vicious cycle that has serious consequences in regards to which laws and policies are passed or not passed. Without our elected government truly being representative of the people, and responsive to the people, all other policy issues won't stand a chance unless they are aligned with corporate interests.

I am hopeful for the future of our country because Bernie Sanders received high percentages of the young vote in the presidential primary, and I will be (and am currently) looking, supporting, volunteering and voting for other Bernie-esque candidates at every level of government.

ALEJANDRO VAZQUEZ, Northbrook High School (Houston), class of 2017:

If I were president of the United States of America, I would emphasize **immigration** reform, dedicating my administration to improving the opportunities given to Dreamers and parents of Dreamers. The deferred action for childhood arrivals policy would be altered to protect a larger population of **immigrants**, with benefits like traveling outside the country without any problem. I would also create a financial aid process for undocumented students. Although this already exists in some states, I would make sure to enforce it in all 50 states.

This is a more complete version of the story than the one that appeared in print.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LOS ANGELES -- The message on the steel roll-up gate of Mihai Nicodim's gallery could not have been clearer: With obscene language, the spray-painted words condemned what they labeled ''white art.''

It was not the first time Mr. Nicodim had been targeted by activists in Boyle Heights, a neighborhood long seen as the heart of Los Angeles's Mexican-American community. Just days before, two cars pulled in front of his gallery during an opening and the passengers, their faces covered in bandannas, hurled potatoes, hitting one woman in the leg. At the opening of another gallery, protesters threw beer bottles through the windows.

Earlier this fall, activists placed mock eviction notices in front of galleries. Marching down the street, they shouted ''fuera!'' -- ''out!'' -- and carried signs declaring ''Keep Beverly Hills Out of Boyle Heights.''

The protests come at a time when the city has gained a reputation as a contemporary art capital that some critics say eclipses New York. Over the past decade, the Los Angeles art scene has grown tremendously, with the opening of the popular Broad museum, large flagship spaces created by local galleries, and outposts set up by a string of prominent New York and European dealers, including Hauser Wirth & Schimmel's 100,000-square-foot complex, all of which have helped transform downtown.

Few neighborhoods have seen the change as much as Boyle Heights, just east of downtown, where at least a dozen galleries, both local and from out of town, have opened in the past three years.

But the backlash from activists in the neighborhood has reached a new intensity in the past month. Now the Los Angeles Police Department is investigating the vandalism as a hate crime and is promising more patrols in the area.

Urban areas across the country, including Oakland, Calif.; Washington; and Brooklyn have also battled anti-gentrification movements, but typically the ire has been directed at developers and city hall. In Boyle Heights, the anger is focused almost entirely on the art galleries, which they portray as outsiders that are simply harbingers of real estate speculators looking to make money off the lower-income neighborhood.

Mr. Nicodim opened his gallery two years ago, after operating a smaller space in Chinatown. An **immigrant** from Romania, he has lived in Boyle Heights for more than a decade. For a year, he said, he ran the gallery with no problem. Now, he said, ''It has escalated to the point where it feels dangerous.''

''There is this perception that if you are doing art you are this rich white guy from Beverly Hills,'' he said. ''But I am not this rich white guy. I came to this country with $36 in my pocket. And it's pretty sad that after 30 years I am being told to go back where you came from.''

The activists in the neighborhood are making no apologies for the radical tactics and portray themselves as defenders of working-class neighborhoods in the city. They look to other neighborhoods, such as Echo Park and Silver Lake, that were once working class and are now filled with upscale bakeries that sell artisan doughnuts and have replaced mom-and-pop taco shops and locally owned grocery stores.

''We think of gentrification as displacement and white supremacy,'' said Nancy Meza, an organizer of Defend Boyle Heights, a group that formed nearly a year ago and has organized most of the protests against the galleries. Ms. Meza said that some gallery owners brought dogs out to intimidate local residents walking the street. ''These galleries are coming in and trying to replace the current culture that is already in Boyle Heights. They are not looking to attract members of our communities.''

As the protests have built in recent months, many gallery owners have tried to ignore them. Mr. Nicodim did not report either episode in front of his gallery to the police. But somebody did. After Capt. Rick Stabile saw reports of three separate cases of vandalism targeting what was labeled white art, he said it was ''common sense'' to pursue the acts as hate crimes because they were targeting the owners based on race. There are no suspects so far, but a hate crime conviction is punishable by up to a year in jail. After the episodes, he organized a meeting of the gallery owners and promised them a greater police presence for gallery openings.

''Everyone has a right to protest, but when it becomes a hate crime, we have a problem in the area that we really need to address,'' Captain Stabile said. ''The concern is this getting more out of hand.''

As rents across the city have skyrocketed, gentrification has been a persistent worry for longtime residents of Boyle Heights. Some welcome the changes, which include a bustling subway station in Mariachi Plaza and improvements to local parks and schools that had been neglected for decades. More recently, Chicano residents who grew up in the area but left for college have begun to move back in, opening their own businesses in the area -- a process they've referred to as gentefication, a play on gentrification and gente, Spanish for people.

Self Help Graphics and Art, a nonprofit that has worked in the area for more than 40 years, has held forums about the pitfalls of gentrification for years. The vast majority of residents in the neighborhood are renters, many living with a near constant threat of eviction. When the group opened its doors for such a meeting this summer, a dozen activists came in and took control of the microphone, holding signs that read ''Out with the galleries, out with the sellouts.''

Betty Avila, the associate director of Self Help, said it was unfair to conflate the nonprofit, which focuses on exhibiting Latino artists, with the galleries that have opened up on Anderson Street, the industrial-looking strip that has been drawing the art collectors east of the Los Angeles River. But Ms. Avila shares many of the protesters' concerns.

''Residents see that the neighborhood is attracting more people who would have never come in here before, and they see people who are interested in living here who can't afford downtown looking to move here,'' she said. ''You have a community that is really frustrated and afraid of being displaced. The galleries are the most visible sign of change now, and you go after what you see. It's not all art; it's art that's not for this community.''

The gallery owners see the focus on race as misplaced and unfair. After Eva Chimento opened Chimento Contemporary last year, she said, two activists came into her gallery, threatened her and demanded that she show Latino artists. This summer, she attended a Defend Boyle Heights meeting only to be shouted down by activists.

Ms. Chimento said she refuses to discuss her ethnicity with the activists, but she has shown several local artists and is preparing an exhibition with two Puerto Rican artists about **immigration**. She has repeatedly told activists that she hires from the community and welcomes local residents into the space. This year, she took down the sign from her gallery to try to deflect threats. And she no longer uses local banks or restaurants out of fear of being recognized and targeted.

''I've been scared and nervous and jumpy. In the beginning I wanted to leave, but now it's principle,'' she said. ''To say that white galleries need to leave, so they can decide what goes in their spaces, it's an unrealistic expectation. There's no way I can leave my space unless they give me $20,000-plus to buy me out of my space, because I have a landlord, just like everyone else.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Breweries provide them, waiters keep running tabs on them, tourists collect them, and this summer a local government repurposed them as political billboards to spread messages of tolerance.

They are Germany's bierdeckel, the pressed-paper mats that are slid under every beer stein or stange glass from the beer gardens of Bavaria to the hipster breweries of Berlin.

Don't dismiss them as mere coasters. For generations they have doubled as advertisements for the establishments where the pilsners, dunkels, bocks and hefeweizens are served in half-liter glass mugs or shapely flutes. But the discs -- they are usually round, but sometimes other shapes -- serve many other purposes.

Waiters mark them with a line for each beer a customer is served. At the end of the night, the patron shows his often soggy tab to a cashier, who flips it over and calculates the final bill on the back.

A politician once seized on that practice as a model for a ''beer coaster tax,'' a tax code so simple that you could work out what you owe on the back of a bierdeckel. (The concept never took off.)

The mats are perfect playing pieces for a drinking game: Balance one on the edge of the bar, flip it upward with the back of your hand and then try to catch it in midair. Miss, and you must drink.

They can also be stacked to make houses of cards, but beware the impatient barkeep in search of a coaster for a frothy mug. And tourists collect them as souvenirs, stamped with familiar logos like the blue-and-white of the Munich Hofbräuhaus or the slogan of the Bitburger breweries, ''Bitte ein Bit'' -- A Bitburger pilsner, please!

Officials use them as campaign gimmicks or to carry a public service message. In the eastern state of Saxony, the integration minister is using the mats to counter rumors and stereotypes about **refugees** right where such notions often originate and spread, over beers in a bar.

One side lists things people often mistakenly assume about the state's 11,200 **refugees**: that they get more government aid than poor Germans do, for instance. Flip it over and you get the facts, including that **refugees** receive 354 euros a month (about $390), compared with €404 for citizens on welfare -- a difference you can work out on the back of a bierdeckel.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Donald Trump campaign inadvertently performed a public service when it exposed the weakness and vulnerability of the euphemisms long used by political journalists. News organizations have been forced to acknowledge that phrases like ''stretched the truth'' and ''fudged the facts'' are useless for describing a candidate who speaks falsely in virtually every breath. Genteel circumlocution has given way to calling out lies as lies.

Mr. Trump's campaign has also made it difficult for opinion writers -- even those disposed to give him the benefit of the doubt -- to avoid describing his behavior as racist. The signal moment came when, having already characterized Mexican **immigrants** as criminals and rapists, he declared an American-born judge of Mexican descent unfit to preside over a lawsuit against the con game known as Trump University. Even the House speaker, Paul Ryan, had to concede that this was ''the textbook definition of a racist comment.''

Instead of using phrases like ''racially inflammatory'' or ''racially insensitive,'' editorial pages were calling racism by its name. The shift was clear in the language of the endorsements Hillary Clinton received from news organizations across the political spectrum.

The Cincinnati Enquirer -- endorsing a Democrat for president for the first time in a century -- observed that Mr. Trump seemed incapable of even opening his mouth ''without saying something misogynistic, racist or xenophobic.'' The Dallas Morning News -- in its first Democratic presidential endorsement since before the United States entered World War II -- argued that Mr. Trump's appeal to racism and other pathologies brings out the worst in the country. The New Yorker recoiled from a Trump campaign it described as ''sickeningly sexist and racist.''

This brand of frankness came second-hand to the traditional press through social media, especially Twitter, where younger African-Americans are more likely than other internet users to be heavily engaged. That Americans in general -- and news organizations in particular -- are increasingly using social media has also helped push frank racial discussions to the fore.

The black-inflected online community has offered a nonstop tutorial on the nature of institutional racism and how it has led to tragedies like the Charleston church massacre and the shootings of Trayvon Martin, Walter Scott, Tamir Rice, Laquan McDonald, Philando Castile and many others.

Black Twitter has ridiculed attempts by traditional news media and others to draw a distinction between racism and ''unintentional bias.'' Those who defend this distinction typically argue that deploying the charge of racism commits harm by **alienating** people and stopping ''the conversation.''

This argument reduces the discussion of structural racism to the equivalent of dinner party chatter, in which one guest challenges the bigoted views of another without spilling the Margaux. But life is no dinner party. And an unarmed black man shot by a police officer is dead whether the officer is openly bigoted or not. The Black Lives Matter movement deserves much of the credit for pushing back against that distinction and advancing a candid way of speaking about racism that is making its way into the national consciousness.

Social media platforms and online publications have also given the country a window into another world, one defined by hate: the white supremacist Trump supporters who rain down anti-Semitic vitriol on people like Jeffrey Goldberg, editor in chief of The Atlantic. Mr. Goldberg, in a recent interview, described the dispiriting feeling of signing onto Twitter some days and finding ''100 messages all with basically the same theme, which is that I should be gassed and that my family should be put in the ovens.'' Noting the candidate's failure to take a definitive stand against this brand of horror, Mr. Goldberg has reached the conclusion that Mr. Trump himself is a racist.

The bigoted outpouring licensed by the Trump campaign will surely persist -- whether or not Mr. Trump wins. This election has made clear that racism, anti-Semitism, misogyny and xenophobia still have broad constituencies in America. The first step toward keeping them at bay is to insist on calling them by their rightful names.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**HERNDON, Va. -- During the 10 hours a day that Bianca spends stretching and massaging patients at the chiropractic clinic where she works, she allows her mind to rest. But around 8 p.m., as she drives home to her husband and three children, her fear comes rushing back:

When a new president steps into office, will she be sent back to Honduras?

A rapt 11-year-old when she first entered the United States illegally, Bianca, 27, was nearly deported this year after making herself known to the American government by applying for asylum. When a judge explained that he did not have sufficient evidence to let her stay, a government lawyer offered to pause the proceedings rather than deport her immediately -- something the Department of Homeland Security has done with increasing frequency under President Obama.

As a result of the agreement she made, known as administrative closure, Bianca is not legally allowed to live in the United States, but she is not forced to go, either.

''You can't have a normal life,'' she said in barely accented English, ''We just don't know what's going to happen.''

Bianca, who asked to be identified only by her first name because she could be called back into court at any time, is one of about 24,000 **immigrants** this year who have accepted the government's offer to put their deportation cases on hold. Government figures show nearly 80,000 **immigrants** have done so since 2012, hoping that a route to legal status will materialize while they wait.

Their uncertain status reflects a chronic enforcement problem in the absence of new **immigration** laws that could offer protection to some **immigrants** here illegally. Attempts at reform have stalled throughout the Obama presidency. Instead, the application of current laws has been guided by a series of memos and informal policies that can shift with the political winds.

With administrative closure, for example, no specific laws or rules dictate who qualifies.

Government lawyers have been instructed by the Department of Homeland Security to consider factors such as the length of time **immigrants** have lived in the United States, their family ties and any criminal records. But **immigrants** and their lawyers say that it is difficult to anticipate who will be offered prosecutorial discretion, and that the application of the policy can feel random.

They add that while those who have accepted administrative closure are not being actively pursued for expulsion, they have few rights or protections. Some qualify for work permits depending on the details of their cases; none are allowed to come back if they leave the country. And the government could reactivate their cases at any time without stating a reason.

Some report feeling more vulnerable than before because **immigration** officials know who they are and where to find them. But their main concern is over what, if anything, the next administration will decide to do with their cases.

''People are increasingly frightened about how secure they are with this status,'' said Judy London, a directing attorney at Public Counsel, a pro bono law firm that serves **immigrants** in Los Angeles. ''And the answer to that question is, there is no answer.''

For both Bianca and her husband, Bairon, who live in a small two-bedroom apartment in Virginia, the end of the Obama era brings enormous risk. Both lack legal status.

Bairon, 27, also Honduran, works as a mechanic. He came to the United States when he was a teenager -- the two met at the repair shop where he worked.

In 2012, Bairon was deported after being caught driving without a license. Bianca and the couple's only child at the time went, too, planning to rebuild their lives in Honduras.

But she was unsettled by the sounds of gun shots that woke them in the middle of the night. And when gang members started threatening the family directly, she said, they decided to return to the United States and apply for asylum.

**Immigration** lawyers have struggled with how to advise clients like Bianca. Turning down a temporary reprieve is risky, but a successful **immigration** case can yield much greater rewards -- including permanent legal status and the ability to apply to bring family members to the United States.

Those odds convinced Mayra Lopez in April to decline an offer to pause her asylum case. Ever since, she has spent much of her time inside the bare-walled apartment in Herndon, where she rents a room for her three children and herself. She has stopped letting her children play outside, almost superstitiously afraid of drawing attention to their family until their cases are resolved.

Ms. Lopez said that she fled her home country, El Salvador, because her partner was physically abusive to her children and her, and threatened their lives. She is not legally allowed to work in the United States while she awaits an **immigration** judge's decision, so her two brothers -- one who is 18 and works at Chipotle, the other 28 and a restaurant manager -- split her $800 rent. She uses food stamps to pay for groceries.

''I want to walk freely in the streets. I want to be able to drive my kids to school,'' she said in Spanish. She had been tempted by the government's offer, but ultimately could not settle for a life spent in limbo with the constant fear of being deported.

''It's like I'm not of here, or of there,'' she said.

But Bianca and many other **immigrants** -- some who know their claims to stay are not strong, and others who don't feel the need to find out -- have chosen to settle for that lack of belonging.

The administrative closure agreements, which fall under a broad category known as prosecutorial discretion, have already increased 35 percent since last year, and 160 percent since 2012, according to data from the Justice Department.

Those **immigrants** who have accepted administrative closure are temporarily shielded from deportation -- the same protection that Mr. Obama sought to offer millions of **immigrants** through an expansion of his deferred action policies, which was blocked by a federal appeals court. Since then, the administration has been doling out protection on a case-by-case basis.

Donald J. Trump's hard-line statements against **immigrants** throughout his presidential campaign have made clear that if he wins, this kind of leniency would most likely end.

Hillary Clinton has provided few specifics around her plans for overhauling **immigration** laws. ''Theoretically, a new president could come in and stop it tomorrow,'' Ms. London, the **immigration** lawyer, said.

On the drive back and forth to work, Bianca clenches the steering wheel of her S.U.V. as she retraces the same route. Even when she is running late, she never drives above the speed limit, acutely aware that the break she was given can just as easily be taken away.

Her lawyer has offered to file a motion to reopen their asylum case, and try again to obtain legal status. Bianca has resigned herself to the temporary fix. It feels safer, for now at least.

''I'm just going to wait and see if something else happens,'' she said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**JERUSALEM -- Three American military trainers assigned to help upgrade Jordan's armed forces were shot to death on Friday at a Jordanian Air Force base, an alarming confrontation that raised questions about the relationship between two longtime allies.

The Jordanian military said the trainers failed to stop as they approached a gate at the air base in the southern part of the country, and the Pentagon said it was examining the circumstances of the episode. It came a year almost to the day after a Jordanian police captain killed two American contractors in a rampage at a training facility.

A Jordanian military official, who declined to be identified discussing a matter that is now under investigation, said the trainers had tried to enter the base in a vehicle without heeding the orders of guards at the gate to stop.

American officials confirmed that the trainers had been killed at the gate but did not comment on whether they had been ordered to stop and failed to obey. ''We are working closely with the government of Jordan to determine exactly what happened,'' said Peter Cook, the Pentagon press secretary.

The Pentagon did not identify the Americans who were killed or their unit. One trainer was reported killed at the scene while two others were initially said to be in critical condition and transported to King Hussein Hospital in Amman, the capital. They were reported later to have died. Jordan said one of its soldiers was wounded as well.

The fatal clash echoed last year's shooting at a police training center in Amman. A Jordanian police captain killed two Americans along with two fellow Jordanians and a South African. The deaths raised fears of rising extremism in a country that has largely resisted it in a volatile region.

It was unclear whether Friday's shooting was purely an accident or the result of hostility of some sort, but it could unsettle relations between Jordan and the United States for the near term. Jordan has been one of the most reliable American allies in the tumultuous Middle East in recent years, aiding the coalition fighting the Islamic State in neighboring Syria and sheltering hundreds of thousands of **refugees**.

American and Jordanian soldiers conducted a live-fire military exercise together just last month, culminating two weeks of joint training. The C.I.A. and Arab partners have also run a training program for Syrian rebels on Jordanian territory.

Yet investigators have found that some weapons shipped to Jordan by the C.I.A. and Saudi Arabia had been stolen by Jordanian intelligence operators and sold on the black market. Some of the stolen weapons were determined to have been used in the police training center shooting a year ago.

Jordanian officials said privately that initial indications suggested the shooting at the King Faisal air base near Al Jafr on Friday stemmed from some sort of confusion rather than deliberate targeting of the Americans.

But American military officials had questions about this version of events. American soldiers certainly know to slow or stop at military base gates, whether in Jordan or anywhere else in the world. It was not clear whether the Americans who were killed were driving or being driven. The Jordanians said there was an exchange of gunfire, but the Americans did not confirm that.

Security experts in Washington and Amman were concerned that the shooting might reflect increasing radicalization in Jordan, which is surrounded by nations struggling with terrorism, including Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Israel.

In June, an attack on a Jordanian intelligence service office in a Palestinian **refugee** camp near Amman killed five people.

''Jordan is not going to escape from unharmed from all this trouble,'' said Fares Braizat, who served as director of strategic studies in the office of King Abdullah II until this year.

''I don't want to make a judgment on this yet because we don't know the facts yet,'' added Mr. Braizat, who is now chairman of NAMA Strategic Intelligence Solutions. ''But the overall atmosphere is not very encouraging because we have seen so many attacks on Jordanian security forces. These incidents are occurring more frequently, and that is indicative of a deeper issue.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**JACKSON, Ga. -- ''Put the guns down!''

The order crackled over a loudspeaker from two sheriff's deputies crouched behind the doors of police cruisers, semiautomatic rifles at their sides.

Several middle-aged militiamen were toting loaded AR-15 rifles and 9-millimeter pistols at a makeshift checkpoint -- two lawn chairs and a narrow board -- on a dirt driveway in central Georgia. The men, members of the Georgia Security Force III% militia, grumbled but laid their weapons down on the red clay earth.

The brief standoff ended with an amicable chat, and the men retrieved their weapons the moment the lawmen drove away. But the episode further stoked the militiamen's abiding fears that their cherished Second Amendment rights were under assault.

The Georgia Security Force is one of scores of extremist militias nationwide that have rallied around the presidential campaign of Donald J. Trump, heartened by his harsh attacks on **immigrants**, Muslims and Syrian **refugees**. But no single issue motivates militiamen more than guns -- and the enduring belief that Hillary Clinton, despite her insistence that she is not anti-gun, is plotting to take them away.

The Georgia militiamen mobilized in the woods here last weekend to fire weapons and train for the day when, they believe, they will be forced to defend what they call ''our way of life.'' Two dozen armed men and women conducted live-fire search-and-destroy drills, pumping out enough rounds to saw through and topple a loblolly pine.

''We thought it was bad under eight years of Obama, but the gun-grabbing is going to get a whole lot worse if Hillary gets elected,'' said Chris Hill, 42, a blond-bearded paralegal who goes by the code name Blood Agent and commands the militia. He wore combat fatigues and packed a .40-caliber Smith & Wesson pistol on his hip.

When Mr. Trump says he wants to make America great again, a message that has appealed to a broad segment of the electorate, Mr. Hill and his roughly 50 local militiamen are particularly enthralled. They long for an America they believe has been stolen from them by liberals, **immigrants** and ''the P.C. crowd.'' Their America is one where Christianity is taught in schools, abortion is illegal and **immigrants** hail from Europe, not faraway Muslim lands.

These weekend warriors form the obdurate bedrock of Trump Nation: white, rural and working class. They vote, and they are heavily armed, right down to the .22-caliber derringer fired by Nadine Wheeler, 63, a retiree who calls her tiny gun ''the best in feminine protection.''

During two days of conversations, grievances poured forth from the group as effortlessly as bullets from a gun barrel. On armed excursions through sun-dappled forests, they spoke of a vague but looming tyranny -- an amalgam of sinister forces to be held at bay only with a firearm and the willingness to use it.

They are machinists and retirees, roofers and factory line workers, all steeped in the culture of the rural South. They say Mr. Trump, a Manhattan billionaire and real estate tycoon, speaks for them.

''Within the extreme right, many of Trump's most passionate backers come from the militia movement,'' said Mark Pitcavage, a senior research fellow at the Center on Extremism at the Anti-Defamation League. ''The militia movement is overwhelmingly behind Trump's candidacy.''

For militias, Mr. Trump's anti-establishment views ''play right into their paranoid style of politics,'' said Ryan Lenz, editor of the Hatewatch blog at the Southern Poverty Law Center.

The Georgia Security Force is noteworthy among militias for its acute Islamophobia, Mr. Pitcavage said. Its members are so-called 3 percenters, who believe that only 3 percent of colonists fought in the Revolutionary War. That is ''a historical myth,'' said Mr. Pitcavage, a historian, but useful for those who believe a few people with guns can defeat tyranny.

At least 330 such 3 percenter groups have formed, in all 50 states, by Mr. Pitcavage's count. There were 276 active militias in 2015, Mr. Lenz said. The number includes some 3 percenter groups.

Mr. Trump has retweeted posts from white nationalists and Nazi sympathizers, but Mr. Hill and his followers insist they are not racists, only staunch citizens and patriots with an admittedly apocalyptic outlook. They consider Mr. Trump a bulwark against the candidate they call ''Shillary'' Clinton.

Teresa Bueter, 41, worked for 26 years behind a grill at a Waffle House while raising three children. Now she is an active member of the Georgia Security Force, decked out in military fatigues. She owns a .32-caliber pistol and a German-made sniper rifle.

Mrs. Bueter said Syrian **refugees** entering the country ''scare the crap out of me.'' With her guns and the militia's weekend paramilitary drills, she said, she is prepared to fight for the values she has instilled in her children and three grandchildren.

''Donald Trump would fit right in with our little group,'' she said. ''He wants America the way we want it, back like it used to be.''

Firearms are central to their identities. In September, some Georgia Security Force members paraded with guns while protesting plans for a local mosque; one wore a T-shirt that read, ''Islam Is of the Devil.'' Last year, armed Security Force militiamen rallied in support of the Confederate battle flag. At their campground, militia members squeezed off several dozen rounds before breakfast. Then they sat down to scrambled eggs and sausage amid the lingering scent of cordite. Mr. Hill asked who was voting for Mr. Trump. Everyone shouted a unanimous ''Oorah!''

The militia members seem comfortable inside the same sort of echo chamber of self-confirming arguments they ascribe to the liberal elites they say denigrate and demean them. They repeat tropes gleaned from militia websites and social media. They seem convinced that either the Islamic State, or agents sent by Mrs. Clinton, or both, may soon descend on the woods of central Georgia.

In separate interviews, various militiamen shared the same conspiracy theories, almost word for word: Muslim **refugees** have established terrorist training camps on American soil. The liberal billionaire George Soros has rigged voting machines for Democrats.

''We're like a small military of like-minded people,'' said Donald Ensey, 44, a father of four and grandfather of two, who wore fatigue pants and a black T-shirt bearing a profane depiction of an Islamic State fighter and a goat.

Mr. Ensey, who has a 3 percenter logo tattooed on the back of his hand, said training with the militia was essential to securing everything he had worked for in his lifetime. Even if Mrs. Clinton is not elected, he said, surely someone else will come for his guns.

Mr. Hill, a Marine veteran, holds FTX sessions, or field training exercises, roughly once a month. Otherwise the members communicate via regular posts on Facebook. Prospective members are approved by a ''review board'' of current members who vet them on their compatibility with the militia's beliefs. This session was held on 14 acres owned by Devin Bowen, a machinist who was having a miserable day even before the deputies forced him to drop his pistol.

The door of his trailer -- the one with a sign that reads, ''If You Don't Live Here, Don't Come Here'' -- was smashed in that day. Three rifles, a crossbow, 13,000 rounds of ammunition and an 800-pound gun safe were taken -- not by federal agents, but by local thieves. Worse, Mr. Bowen was coughing up blood from an unknown malady. He soothed his throat by chugging cold Coca-Colas.

Mr. Bowen's comrades urged him to see a doctor, prompting a sour discussion about yet another conspiracy they see: the Affordable Care Act. Mr. Bowen waved them off. He was more concerned about Muslim **immigrants**' imposing Shariah law. ''You cannot come to my country and shove your religion down my throat,'' he said, coughing.

Phillip King, 25, who builds ductwork for a living, was outfitted in camouflage fatigues and a tactical vest holding ammunition clips. Mr. King, code name Cowboy, is the only African-American member of the Georgia Security Force.

He said he was not offended by the militiamen's affection for the Confederate battle flag. He shares their love of guns, their conservative values and their view of Mr. Trump as someone who will insulate them from the tyranny of the political left. ''This is my family -- a brotherhood,'' he said.

For Daniels Potts, 21, owning a gun and learning to use it as part of a well-trained militia are essential to halting what he calls ''the spread of radical Islam.'' He appreciates Mr. Trump's fierce opposition to Muslim **refugees**. ''Not every Muslim is ISIS, but a lot of them are,'' Mr. Potts said.

He proudly calls himself an infidel and a deplorable. His arms bear tattoos of the 3 percenter logo and of the Kuntry Krackerz, a group affiliated with the Georgia Security Force.

Mr. Potts earns $16 to $18 an hour as a commercial roofer. He considers himself the type of law-abiding, hard-working American he said is belittled and marginalized by coastal elites. ''We've been forgotten,'' he said.

Mr. Hill, the militia commander, led Mr. Potts and two dozen other members through a boot camp-style obstacle course carved out of the woods. They clambered over a wall of logs and fired at imaginary enemies as they ''cleared'' rooms made of plywood and sheets of black plastic.

One militiaman wore a shirt with a message that read, ''When Tyranny Becomes Law, Resistance Becomes Duty.''

It was all part of the militia's efforts to be armed, ready and united for looming threats, especially if Mrs. Clinton is elected, Mr. Hill said. He mentioned his two children. ''The security and safety of my kids motivates what I do,'' he said.

Mr. Hill, who calls his group a ''defensive militia,'' predicted unrest and violence from extremists on both sides no matter who wins the presidential election. If Mrs. Clinton wins, he said, millions of gun owners will march on Washington at the first attempt to restrict gun ownership.

''If the people decide they can no longer suffer the inequities,'' he said, ''I'd be with the people and I'd take my guns up to Washington, D.C.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**FORT LAUDERDALE, Fla. -- Hillary Clinton stood beneath the strobe lights, her back to the palm trees -- hoarse, but hiding it well, at least for a moment.

It was the third event of an endless Tuesday, well after 10 p.m., and an occasion, again, for Mrs. Clinton's ritual plea: begging Americans to care enough about themselves to vote for her.

''Any issue you care about -- anything -- is at stake,'' she began. ''I get sometimes a little overwhelmed by the fact. ...''

She lost the crowd midsentence. Something was stirring on the lawn in front of her, a man with a neon green sign and a chant to match: ''Bill Clinton is a rapist!''

She glared back at him, raising her index finger and thinking.

This is Mrs. Clinton's view the week before Election Day: a final national slide show as she trudges to the White House, or to the most stunning loss in modern American political history, produced amid the blur of ''Hello, (Insert City Here)!'' rallies and bewildering political headaches that have consumed her final sprint.

Perhaps on a different day, at a different hour, she would have resisted the urge to engage. She had seen such protests before -- and especially lately -- goaded by the far-right, Donald J. Trump-supporting website Infowars in attempts to highlight Mr. Clinton's treatment of women.

But this time, Mrs. Clinton did not pretend not to hear.

''I am sick and tired,'' she called out, off-script, pointing toward the man, ''of the negative, dark, divisive, dangerous vision and behavior of people who support Donald Trump.''

Her supporters roared. The candidate collected herself. It was time to discuss income inequality.

Mrs. Clinton's period in public life -- undulating, pathbreaking, exhausting -- has spanned more than a generation. The portrait feels complete. The surprises are few. It can seem as though she has faced down every kind of moment there is.

This -- tugging her bid to the precipice of history, four days out -- is a new one.

It is also familiar, delivering her political career to its logical climax.

So she campaigns in contradictions: alternately high-minded and scorched-earth, inspirational and deflating, triumphantly reveling in her gender identity but still subjected to the impulses of men.

She speaks of the need for ''positive energy'' -- ''I Believe in Love + Kindness,'' read a sign behind her head on Wednesday -- and of the obligation to oppose a man known for ''demeaning, degrading, insulting and assaulting women.''

She has smiled through speeches from Representative John Lewis of Georgia, the civil rights icon, and Alicia Machado, the former Miss Universe whom Mr. Trump once called ''Miss Piggy.''

She has ventured to Arizona, typically safe Republican turf, to present her opponent as a singular threat to **immigrants**, and has repeatedly asked voters to really, truly, thoroughly consider the specter of Mr. Trump in the Oval Office.

''Imagine, with me, what it would be like,'' she said in Las Vegas, setting off on the thought exercise at a training center for plumbers and pipe fitters.

Aboard her campaign plane, aides project relative confidence, thumbing through text messages but not, they insist, stolen emails about themselves. (They appear to believe that nothing less than the fate of the republic is at stake, which tends to focus the mind.)

Still, her events can crackle with the anxious hum of people who read too many polls, their attendance swelling some but remaining shy of Mr. Trump's standard, both in head count and volume.

''Lock him up!'' a man shouted in Dade City, Fla., as Mrs. Clinton relayed Mr. Trump's history of disparaging women. No one echoed his call.

In Raleigh, N.C., on Thursday evening, Mrs. Clinton led supporters in something resembling group therapy, taking stock of the election's physical toll.

''I've had people say that they can't sleep,'' she said to nods, ''that their stomachs are bothering them, that they have headaches.''

It is by now electoral gospel that Mrs. Clinton can struggle to generate passion with the Democratic base, particularly young people. But among some admirers, there appears to be less an enthusiasm gap than a personality distinction, a class of voters reflecting its candidate.

The intensity is quieter, the moments less conspicuous to a television audience.

There is the woman in her wheelchair, sitting on one Clinton sign and holding another, propelling herself briefly onto two feet as the candidate took the stage in Florida; the boy with a ''Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles'' sweatshirt, shifting on a parent's shoulders, waving as Mr. Lewis held forth on the ''precious'' voting right he nearly died defending in Selma, Ala.; the teenage girl, snapping pictures from the back and repeating after Mrs. Clinton.

''I will defeat ISIS,'' Mrs. Clinton said sternly.

''I will defeat ISIS,'' the girl mouthed with a giggle, turning to her friends.

Not long ago, Mrs. Clinton seemed eager to end her campaign with soaring optimism, a prospective luxury of the sturdy polling lead she had built after the presidential debates.

Last week, before her latest brush with the F.B.I., she was exultant. Voters serenaded her on her birthday. Staff members surprised her with a cake, which she later shared with the traveling press corps that she had earlier often avoided.

She made an impromptu stop at an Adele concert in Miami, joining aides, including Huma Abedin, who were indulging in pizza and power ballads.

She sat for a series of increasingly madcap television and radio interviews, twirling to salsa music with a television host named El Gordo (''The Fat One'') and proposing a remedy for a politics-weary nation. ''I think we need a big national dance,'' she said.

The moment passed.

Now, there is mostly urgency, insistent and raw.

In Sanford, Fla., on Tuesday, Mrs. Clinton seemed to hit upon a guiding principle of sorts, as she parried Mr. Trump's ubiquitous ''Make America Great Again'' with the kind of rhetorical Q. and A. that can breach the bumper-sticker character limit.

''Do we have problems? Of course we have problems!'' she said. ''But we've never not had problems in America's history.''

Imperfection was inevitable, she suggested, as surely as progress was achievable.

By Wednesday evening in Tempe, Ariz., where some 15,000 people greeted her, the message was simpler.

Mr. Trump, she said, had insulted **immigrants**. African-Americans. Muslims. Prisoners of war. Pope Francis. Carly Fiorina.

''All I ask is that you really think about the kind of person he's shown himself to be,'' she said.

In an overflow space beyond a barricade, a small protest rippled. One heckler held a sign bearing an offensive four-letter term for female genitalia.

Mrs. Clinton pressed on. ''Sometimes,'' she said, ''sometimes the fate of the greatest nations comes down to single moments in time.''

She implored the people to protect themselves against that irksome inner voice, festering top-of-mind after Election Day, that would wonder, ''Ohhhhhh, if only I had done a little more.''

She did not want that for herself, she said. She did not want that for anyone.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON -- European Union officials, feeling exasperated on Friday by the court ruling that imperiled Prime Minister Theresa May's strategy to exit the bloc, have gone from pleading with Britain to stay to wanting it out -- fast.

The ruling by Britain's High Court -- that she must gain Parliament's approval to begin the process of withdrawal from the European Union, or Brexit -- raised the possibility that negotiations could drag on far past Mrs. May's deadline of the end of March.

That poses problems not only for the British prime minister but also for the political establishment on the Continent, where, among other things, France and Germany are heading toward important elections, with populist parties gaining strength.

The High Court ruling also is a reminder of the fragility of the European Union, which seemingly is buffeted by an existential threat every other week. Last week, it was Wallonia's nearly killing a trade deal with Canada. Next month, it is a constitutional referendum in Italy.

The European Union was already struggling with a witches' brew of problems: low economic growth; high joblessness; uncertainty in the eurozone, with Greece again in economic difficulties and questions about the soundness of Italian banks; a crackdown in Turkey; and an aggressive Russia. **Immigration** from the Middle East, North Africa and Afghanistan, seemingly under control earlier this year, is on the rise once again.

Looming over all of this are the growing populist, nationalist and far-right movements in core European Union countries like France, Germany and the Netherlands, not to speak of newer members like Hungary and Poland.

Nor has faith in the European Union been helped by recent embarrassments, like the hangup on the trade deal with Canada. That led Peter Ziga, the Slovak economy minister, to wonder, ''If we don't agree with Canada, with whom will we agree?''

Cecilia Malmstrom, the bloc's trade commissioner, went further, saying with a smile, ''If we can't make it with Canada, I'm not sure we can make it with the U.K.''

The European Union found a way to buy off the Walloons, a tactic it often relies on when under great pressure. But few think lurching from crisis to crisis without addressing fundamental problems is any way to manage an alliance of 28 nations that share important aspects of sovereignty including, for 19 of them, a single currency.

And then there is the vexed, complicated problem of Britain and its exit after more than 40 years, which few European countries either expected or wanted. Like the guest at a party who overstays his welcome, Britain and its internal psychodrama are getting on the nerves of its European partners, who fear further economic and political uncertainty to add to the already unhappy mix.

The British government and the ruling Conservative Party are deeply divided about what kind of relationship they want with the European Union, apparently having forgotten that the other 27 nations must unanimously agree to any new deal, and what Britain wants is not entirely the point.

The frustration for Brussels is that it cannot force Britain to act. It has to wait for the government to trigger Article 50, which begins a two-year negotiating period for exit. While many European leaders had wanted Article 50 to be invoked immediately after Britons voted to leave on June 23, they agreed to the March timetable.

That remains Mrs. May's stated goal. But the High Court decision -- which the government is appealing to the Supreme Court -- has created the potential for months more delay, as well as the prospect that Parliament might lay down negotiating parameters that could make the talks even more difficult.

Mrs. May's few public statements imply that she is leaning toward a ''hard Brexit,'' emphasizing control over **immigration** and Britain's borders, even if that forces the country to leave Europe's single market and hurts the economy. But the pro-European forces who make up a majority in Parliament, emboldened by the court ruling, may now have the means to soften her stance enough to keep Britain in the single market.

That would mean compromising on **immigration**, which is anathema to hard-line supporters of Brexit in her party and right-wing nationalists. The haggling could go on for some time.

On Friday, in telephone calls with Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, and Jean-Claude Juncker, president of the European Commission, Mrs. May said she was confident she would meet the March deadline and that the government would win in the Supreme Court, which will hear the case in early December.

But not everyone is so sure, and the timing matters. The bloc's leaders want Britain out before elections for the European Parliament, scheduled for 2019, and to allow for planning a new European Union budget. Mrs. May's original timetable works for that, but it is no longer certain she can deliver on her promises. And no one really knows how to handle, or budget for, a Britain that is not yet out but does not want to be in.

In Berlin on Friday, the German foreign minister, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, told his British counterpart, Boris Johnson, ''Dragging things out won't serve anyone.''

He warned Britain against expecting special treatment and urged for negotiations to start as soon as possible.

''Two years sounds at first like a lot of time,'' he said, ''but if you look at the complexity, two years is comparatively short.''

Mr. Johnson, who backed Brexit, said that Britain would leave the bloc but remain a part of Europe. But the future balance of the relationship remains extremely unclear.

As a measure of Britain's febrile political mood, the largely right-wing British press, which mostly supports Mrs. May, attacked the three High Court judges for being ''out of touch'' and seeking to undermine the popular referendum in favor of Brexit. One paper, the popular and often rabid Daily Mail, had a huge headline under photographs of the judges, reading, ''Enemies of the People.''

Even the more staid Daily Telegraph headlined its front page: ''The judges versus the people.'' With that was a front-page column by Nigel Farage, the leader of the pro-Brexit U.K. Independence Party, saying that the court ruling means that ''a great betrayal is underway.''

Even though Mr. Farage and the ''Leave'' camp won the referendum handily, 52 percent to 48 percent, many, like him, are obsessed with the idea that Mrs. May is feigning support for Brexit and that the government, Parliament, the judges and ''the elite'' will betray the more than 17 million voters who wanted out of the European Union.

It is an obvious irony that one prime reason they had for supporting Brexit was to restore the full sovereignty of Parliament, a stance taken by the judges, too, but inconveniently now, because it might slow down Britain's exit.

Mrs. May also faced criticism from another front on Friday, when a Conservative member of Parliament, Stephen Phillips, who supported Brexit but has accused her government of trying to sideline Parliament, resigned his seat.

Last month, he crystallized his objections in an opinion article in The Guardian in which he said that ''not giving Parliament the chance, before Article 50 is invoked, to say where it thinks these negotiations should end up is, at its core, undemocratic, unconstitutional and likely to exacerbate the divisions in our society to which the referendum gave rise.''

With a small majority in Parliament, Mrs. May is being urged by some, including The Times of London, to call an early election to win her own mandate and increase her majority at a time when the Labour and Liberal Democrat parties are weak.

She has vowed not to have an election before its scheduled date of 2020, but if Parliament creates too many difficulties and delays for her, she may have no choice.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PARIS -- The migrant crisis in France has shifted from the ''Jungle'' of Calais to the streets of Paris, with hundreds camped out in tents in the city's northern neighborhoods and dozens more arriving each day.

The wildcat encampments have thrust the European migrant issue in the face of Parisians and once again underscored the French government's inability to resolve a problem it hoped Italy and Germany would forestall.

The numbers have been far greater in those countries, but migrants -- largely Africans and Afghans -- nonetheless keep trickling into Paris. As many as 100 migrants are arriving a day, according to aid groups. Most have vague hopes of reaching Britain or getting asylum in France.

Stretching far up the Avenue de Flandre in the city's working-class 19th Arrondissement and bunched under nearby subway overpasses at the Jaurès and Stalingrad Métro stations, the enclaves of pup tents are islands of misery in the midst of first-world prosperity.

As many as 3,000 are camped here, according to aid groups. Since the spring of 2015, more than 18,000 in Paris have been sheltered -- meaning they were bused to reception centers elsewhere in France and, in some cases, expelled from Paris sidewalks, according to the city and the French news media.

In a pattern that has not varied for months, the migrants establish themselves on the sidewalks of Paris, their numbers gradually swell over a period of weeks, and then the police come to clear them out.

This week has seen another replay of that. The authorities vowed to clear out the latest encampments by the end of the week, as the city of Paris feuds with the French government over who is responsible for the migrants.

With the migrant flow across the central Mediterranean Sea to Italy at record levels -- almost 160,000 so far this year, compared with 141,000 last year -- there is little prospect of its slowing here. On Thursday, the United Nations **refugee** agency reported that 239 migrants were missing after two boats capsized.

European officials have been meeting with African governments in an effort to stem the flow, including promises of aid and vows to repatriate the arrivals.

Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, recently traveled to Ethiopia, Mali and Niger, promising money and military aid. It was an unusual foray in regions where the Germans have been absent, but also testimony to the migratory pressure her country is feeling.

Parisians try to bustle about their business -- buying bread at the bakeries and other provisions in the neighborhood's small stores, lingering at cafes, even strolling up the avenue's median between the tents -- against a backdrop of forlorn Sudanese, Eritrean and Afghan men looking bewildered, eating, talking and living on the sidewalks.

At the Stalingrad Métro station, where African migrants are clustered in the shadow of the elegant, late-18th-century Rotonde de La Villette, one of the capital's architectural landmarks, residents hurry by as they hold their noses against the reek of urine.

There are far fewer portable or public toilets than there were at the Calais encampment known as the Jungle, and they are rarely cleaned by the city. The aid groups that substituted for government help there are not much in evidence in Paris.

Perhaps 100 tents are clustered under the ironwork subway overpass at Jaurès, by the Canal St. Martin. On Monday, small Afghan children scampered among the tents, as an aid worker advised the young men of their rights, should the police return.

Mayor Anne Hidalgo of Paris wrote to the national government last week of the migrants' ''desperate humanitarian and sanitary situation,'' urging it to do something. Soon she intends to open a temporary shelter in the 18th Arrondissement. Aid groups say the 400 spaces available there are far below what is needed.

An older Frenchman out for his afternoon stroll picked his way through the tents and the small drifts of trash on the Avenue de Flandre this week. ''This is disgusting,'' said Robert Aversunq, 87, looking at the tents. He described himself as a ''retired bureaucrat'' and a military veteran.

''And the government isn't doing a thing about it,'' he said. ''These people came down from Calais,'' he insisted, saying the encampment here had sprung up only in the last week. ''Not very scenic, is it?''

Aid groups, too, say that some of the 6,000 or so migrants cleared out of Calais in the last 10 days have simply landed in Paris, though the government denies it.

Inside some of the tiny tents, barely big enough for one person, there are small children; outside, young men sit, bored and listless, waiting for periodic visits by law enforcement, like one on Monday in which the riot police swooped in to check identity papers.

The groups said that about 60 Afghans were taken away on Monday. Those without papers are often hauled off to the police station, and some will be expelled from the country, according to the aid groups.

One Afghan still on the street, Abdul Adrim Ze, 26, from Logar Province, in eastern Afghanistan, had learned enough French in three months in Paris to refer to his unwilling adoptive homeland as ''the land of human rights,'' just as the French do.

With plenty of time on his hands, Mr. Adrim Ze has been taking advantage of the free French classes offered by the aid group BAAM, the Bureau d'Accueil et d'Accompagnement des Migrants.

''Since we have no work, this is our work,'' he said. ''France is a great country,'' he said, hopefully. ''Here, it is democracy.''

Farther up the Avenue de Flandre, a young Sudanese man passed the time tearing up bits of bread outside his tent to feed the pigeons. His neighbor sat in a folding chair as the evening chill settled in.

''It is so difficult here. We have nothing,'' said Hassan Khairallah, 33, from the Darfur region in western Sudan. ''We must wait for the government. We must wait on our destiny.''

The French authorities, however, are not in a particularly welcoming mood.

''There's been no will to help,'' Baptiste Pelletan, of BAAM, said about the migrants. ''On the contrary. They've put up fences, to fence them in. And, it's pretty tough out there,'' he said.

''A lot of them are sick and cold,'' Mr. Pelletan said. ''There's a total denial of the problem, a denial of responsibility. Paris is hardly a 'city of **refuge**.' ''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERWYN, Pa. -- Melania Trump made a rare appearance on the campaign trail in the battleground state of Pennsylvania on Thursday, seeking to soften her husband's coarse image by proclaiming to voters that Donald J. Trump respects all Americans and promising that as president he would promote values of compassion and charity across the country.

The deployment of Ms. Trump comes as her husband's campaign is trying to extend a late burst of momentum before Election Day by swaying undecided voters and women who have been wary of the Republican nominee. Urging Americans to ''find a better way to talk to each other'' amid one of the most caustic presidential campaigns in recent history, Ms. Trump cast **immigrants** as patriots and lamented, in spite of her husband's tough talk on Twitter, cyberbullying as one of the country's worst problems.

Mr. Trump needs the trove of wealthy and educated voters in the counties surrounding Philadelphia to succeed in turning the state red for the first time since 1988, but many of those former Republicans have been turned off by his comments about **immigrants** and women.

Ms. Trump, who is trying to change that, spoke at a recreational center in this Main Line town about 20 miles west of Philadelphia.

As her fans waved ''Women for Trump'' signs, Ms. Trump told her story of **immigrating** to the United States, emphasizing the arduous 10-year process that she went through, and described **immigrants** as the ultimate patriots.

''I'm an **immigrant**, and let me tell you that nobody values the freedom and opportunity of America more than me,'' Ms. Trump, dressed in pink and standing between six American flags, said.

Despite signs of overall tightening in the race, a Quinnipiac University poll of likely Pennsylvania voters released this week showed the uphill fight that Mr. Trump is facing among women in the state. Hillary Clinton leads him with that demographic by 20 percentage points, as many female voters have been turned off by Mr. Trump's proclivity to make sexist comments.

The hope for the Trump campaign is that Ms. Trump, a former Slovenian model, can help smooth Mr. Trump's rough edges. On occasion, she has even told him to tone down his habit of being on Twitter into the wee hours, and on Thursday explained that combating online bullying would be her top priority as first lady.

''Our culture has gotten too mean and too rough, especially to children and teenagers,'' Ms. Trump said. ''It is absolutely unacceptable when it is done by someone with no name hiding on the internet.''

She added, ''We have to find a better way to talk to each other, to disagree with each other, to respect each other.''

The comments were a sharp contrast from the vitriol of the campaign, and some on social media noted that Mr. Trump had attributed much of his political success to his ability to bully rivals and critics with cutting posts on Twitter.

The calls for a more civil discourse also clashed with the tone of some of Mr. Trump's supporters who came to see Ms. Trump. Before Ms. Trump arrived, chants of ''lock her up'' directed at Mrs. Clinton spontaneously erupted. Some Trump supporters carried signs labeling former President Bill Clinton a rapist and others wore shirts suggesting that Mrs. Clinton should be killed.

Whether Ms. Trump's late foray into campaigning will work remains to be seen. Many of the women who attended her rally in Pennsylvania said they were already committed to Mr. Trump and that they had been waiting to finally see his wife in person.

''She's a beautiful, classy woman,'' Micki DiBella, 61, of Broomall, Pa., said. ''And she's an **immigrant**. To me, that means Donald Trump doesn't care if you were born in America.''

Susan Jane, of Gwynedd Valley, Pa., said that Ms. Trump was the most effective advocate for her husband because of her warmth and positive persona. ''They try to paint him as a monster,'' she said, ''but if he was a monster, she wouldn't be married to him.''

Although Ms. Trump has tried to avoid the brutal combat of presidential politics, it has proved nearly impossible to escape. During the campaign, she has faced scrutiny of her **immigration** status, questions about her educational history and even accusations that she was once an escort. She has also had photographs of her posing nude strewn across the internet, and last month had to publicly accept Mr. Trump's apology for talking, in a 2005 ''Access Hollywood'' video, about inappropriately grabbing women.

Ms. Trump has been mostly absent from the campaign trail, aside from a handful of television interviews, since an address at the Republican National Convention in July.

That ended in calamity after it was revealed that passages from Ms. Trump's remarks were lifted from a speech delivered years ago by Michelle Obama. The episode became a surprising distraction at the convention, and Ms. Trump has largely receded from the spotlight since then to focus on raising her 10-year-old son with Mr. Trump, Barron.

In welcoming Ms. Trump to the state, the Pennsylvania Democratic Party made light of the convention speech on Thursday, sending out an email that purported to contain ''exclusive'' excerpts from Ms. Trump's remarks.

The text, however, was of a speech that had been given by Mrs. Obama.

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the Morning Briefing newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Leer en Español

Aracely Nuñez and Dalia Luque are both the children of Mexican **immigrants** who entered the country illegally and settled in Phoenix.

They're strangers, with stories that echo each other.

In high school, they were both model students who hoped to become lawyers. Now that they are 21, all that American democracy offers would seem to be within their grasp, especially here in a state that is expected to be majority Latino by 2030, and where Latinos are already the largest ethnic group in public schools.

But theirs is not just a generation consumed with aspirations; it is also a generation scarred.

Each of these women has been deeply affected by the politics of **immigration** in Arizona -- with laws, speech and policing that have pushed families like theirs to the margins.

Now, in their daily routines and in the way they relate to democracy, each tells a different story of where this state, and the country, may be heading with the next generation of Latinos in the United States.

One points to a future of entrenched second-class status; the other to an era of deeper political engagement and influence.

In a series of interviews with The New York Times, Aracely and Dalia described their situations, hopes and expectations.

Choose which one to read first, then tell us how you would respond to their situations.

Aracely ''Mama Lola's. How can I help you?''

Dalia ''I'm calling to remind you to vote this year.''

Aracely Nuñez

Mama Lola's. How can I help you?

People can't really understand my name, so when I'm working and I pick up the phone, and I say, ''Aracely speaking,'' I get all different kinds of responses. I've been called Candy. I've been called Ashley. Rosa.

People, they assume, since you're working for a tortilla company called Mama Lola's and your name is Aracely, you must not know English. So I'll call one of our clients and I'm like, ''This is Aracely. I'm calling from Mama Lola's. I need to speak to so-and-so,'' and they'll say, ''Oh, uno momento por favor.''

They don't speak Spanish, but they want to try because with a name like Aracely and working for Mama Lola's, there's no way I know English. And I'm like, O.K., I do speak English. I grew up here.

My dad left us over there in Mexico when I was 1. He came over to Phoenix -- he had a brother living here already -- and a year later, he sent for my mom and me.

My mom never made it a secret.

Ever since I was little, starting in preschool even, she said, ''You're not from here, so they're going to treat you differently. I want you to work hard and whatever you do in school, just do your best, do the best you can.''

I was one of the two, three top students in my class. I always was really competitive.

I had to have the highest grades, the highest test scores. I was good at everything, but I was really good at math.

I believed that for a long time, that all it takes is hard work.

Until I got to high school.

[Aracely entered high school in 2010, the year SB 1070 became law. Some of its provisions were later struck down, but it was the toughest state **immigration** law passed in generations.]

Everything started changing. High school is when they started doing raids. High school is when you started having to watch your back, looking over your shoulder every time you get in your car because you can be stopped any point in time and you don't have a license. You could be in trouble just because you're brown.

We got pulled over by two sheriffs one night. It was about four years ago. We were coming back from a party. I guess you can call it a party; all we did was have dinner.

There were two sheriffs in the patrol car. They were trying to make it seem like my dad was drunk or something because, ''Oh, you just came from this party. We saw you leave.'' They'd followed us out. But then they got an emergency call, so they got called away and left us alone.

We just went home. It was all of us in the car: my mom, my dad, me, my brother, my sister and the little one.

You can't really trust people when you're undocumented. My mother would tell me over and over: ''Don't trust anyone. Don't talk about your family.''

I worked really hard to get good grades, but that still wasn't good enough.

I applied for the ACE program in my sophomore year.

[ACE is a program that enrolls promising high school students in community colleges, allowing them to get a high school diploma and an associate degree concurrently.]

The guy that interviewed me said, ''You know, you're a really good candidate.'' But then I didn't hear from him, so I had my math teacher call. In school, my math teacher was the one pushing me. And basically it came down to money.

Paying for me would mean paying out-of-state tuition at a community college, and that's enough to pay for five people who are citizens.

[In 2006, Arizona voters approved Proposition 300, a ballot initiative that prevented undocumented students from paying in-state tuition at public colleges and universities.]

I called my mom and I told her, ''Come pick me up!'' I didn't want to be in school. I couldn't stop crying.

I don't have time to think about politics.

I don't even watch the news anymore. I'm really busy, and I'd rather not think about all that's going on.

Everything that Donald Trump says, it's just, I just, oh, I can't. He thinks so badly of us. How can you say all these negative things -- that we're drug dealers, we're rapists, we're killers -- when most of the people in this country who are in jail, they're American, they're not Mexican. They're not undocumented.

Some of them, yeah, but it's a very small portion because we know that if we get sent to jail, they'll send us back, deport us.

I have never been back to Mexico ever since I was brought here. I don't know anything other than this country.

It's not my fault I'm here. I didn't tell my mom, ''Bring me over.''

I don't think about the future anymore.

I mean, sometimes your mind wanders. What am I going to do if I decide to leave this job? How am I going to get another job?

Growing up, I thought I'm going to be a doctor, or I'm going to be a dentist, or I'm going to be a ballerina, or a teacher, or a lawyer. I changed my mind so many times. But I dreamed. I thought, ''I'm going to give my mom and dad a better life.''

There's this whole idea that this is the country where you can come to and you can do anything. But then you get here and you can't.

If you don't know the right people, if you don't have the right documentation, you can't really do anything other than live paycheck to paycheck. And that's how I'm living.

I applied for a lot of jobs.

[In 2012, Aracely was accepted into the Obama administration's deferred action program for **immigrants** brought into the United States as children.]

I applied at restaurants. I applied at I don't know how many different stores. And the only one that called back was the tortilla factory.

After I finished high school, they called me up and said they had a job in the front office and it was mine if I wanted it. They started me at $9.50 an hour, and after three months' probation, I got a raise. I make $12 an hour.

I want to help people. That's what I want to do with my life.

I don't want to get stuck in an office, typing invoices, getting yelled at.

All the research that I did for programs and scholarships and all that, I gave it to my sister, Jazmin. I told her, ''You're the one who has papers. You were born here. You're a citizen here. You can do whatever you want with your life. These people will help you. They can't help me. But they can help you.''

I think there could be change. Later. In the future.

Well, here in Arizona, it could be a lot harder than in a lot of other places. But that doesn't mean there won't be any change later on.

Just not for me.

[Now read the next story, and tell us what you think.]

Dalia Luque

I'm calling to remind you to vote this year.

I heard about the internship opportunity through school. I'm a junior at Williams College.

The description made it seem like I was going to be very involved -- organize volunteers, keep track of people who come into the office to volunteer. It was in Phoenix. It paid, so I could help my mom with some bills at home.

I think it might actually have been the description of canvasser, the people who go out and do voter registration, that made it sound really interesting to me.

I thought it would be a challenge. I've always thought of myself of not very much a people person because I'm not very outspoken, so to approach strangers, to be in charge of volunteers who are strangers to me, seemed like a really interesting opportunity.

This woman who works in the office next to mine, she's in charge of doing interviews with people who came in for help. So this woman came in. She wanted help with domestic abuse. My colleague allowed me to sit in on the conversation because she didn't speak much Spanish and she wanted to make sure she wouldn't miss anything.

I'm there listening to the story this woman was telling -- it was a bit similar to my mom's.

So afterwards I told my mom about the experience and how there's, like, other people living like her in our community -- living like us, in similar circumstances.

I felt like I was the only one.

That's how I felt. Then I go to Williams and I get these big ideas -- the structure of discrimination against people of color, against women, this big-picture thing.

But Promise was this place that allowed me to see that my life fits somewhere. If you're super rich, you can go to the U.N. and have a big discussion. You can be a diplomat, a politician. But it's all theory.

[Promise Arizona is one of many advocacy groups working to engage and register Latino voters.]

To me, it's real. I just assumed that no one or very few people lived like we lived, or went through what we've gone through.

I was a baby when my parents moved in together. They had four more kids, all boys.

I was 14 when he was deported, my father.

He got pulled over. He wasn't driving, but the police officer asked him for his driver's license. He didn't have a driver's license, so they took him. He lives on the other side of the border, in Nogales. He's not from there, but he wanted to stay close so his children could visit.

I moved around a lot growing up. We lived in a hotel at one point. I think we were homeless.

A lot of the decisions I made, I made for myself because my mother just didn't know. I guess the choice came in fifth grade when they labeled me as gifted, whatever that means. In middle school, I took the option of going to a school that had a more rigorous curriculum.

I don't know how I came to the decision. It was like, you have the option to be more challenged, why not be more challenged?

I've always been so focused on school. I haven't paid much attention to the news. I guess that's why I'm studying political science because I want to expand my awareness.

I study political science not because I'm politically aware, but because I want to be politically aware.

The whole class thing is definitely more real now that I go to Williams because there's such a contrast. There's such a difference between me and, like, the wealthier people. No one knows anything about me, except for my friends, who are a lot like me. All my close friends come from relatively marginalized backgrounds.

This is my first presidential election. In the primaries, I had some knowledge of the candidates, of who was running.

[Dalia, who voted for Senator Bernie Sanders in the Democratic presidential primary, avoids even mentioning Donald J. Trump, the Republican nominee, by name.]

I try not to talk about him. I don't want to give him any attention. He gets too much media attention already. My mom mostly brings it up when she hears about the things he says, like the wall. She says why she disagrees. I just tell her that I'd rather not talk about him. He's very hurtful to our community.

I took a Latino studies class in my freshman year.

We talked about the marginalization of the Latino community, the creation of the Latino identity, how it's very America-centric. People in Latin America don't consider themselves Latinos. They just say they're from wherever country they're from. And then we talk about other terms like Hispanic to group all these people who are very different together.

I also took a Poverty in America class this past year, and then I came home and everything looked different -- how could it not? I found myself thinking about how my family fits in this trend, doesn't fit in this other trend.

I just learned a little bit about myself, but as more of an outsider looking in. I tried to tell my mother about it, but she didn't understand. There's this thing about structural discrimination against women that is hard to explain. Like how the system is designed to discriminate against women and minorities, poor people, people of color. It's just difficult to explain to her.

My mom and I, we were thinking that when I turned 21 I'd be able to apply for her papers.

So I wasn't all that worried when DAPA didn't pass. It was, like, oh, we'll just have to wait a little longer. I knew I was going to be able to take care of her. But it turns out I can't.

[DAPA, or Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents, would have shielded as many as five million unauthorized **immigrants**from deportation, but an appeals court ruling blocking President Obama's plan remains in place after a 4-to-4 decision by the Supreme Court.]

One of the lawyers that volunteers at Promise Arizona, I called her, and she told me it wouldn't be possible because my mom entered the country more than once and she's been apprehended, so the government has her name in some database. She's been waiting for it for years. I haven't told her yet.

I got to work that day and there were all these people, undocumented people, talking to reporters. It takes a lot of courage to be able to share your story. I'd never talked to a reporter.

Everybody wants to feel that way. To feel really comfortable with who they are.

I feel more confident about my identity in every respect because I've been able to work with such empowering people in the sense of how they communicate their experiences. I've had the privilege of meeting really great people and hearing their stories, and it's made me feel more comfortable about my story, which is really not something I used to talk about at all.

I guess I believe in the movement now. There can be a different future, and I can help make that happen.

For the longest time, I've wanted to be a lawyer because of my parents' status, my mom. I want to be an **immigration** lawyer.

The whole point is that I want to make some kind of impact in my community, however small that may be.

[What policy changes, if any, would you recommend to address Dalia and Aracely's situations? Tell us in the comments.]

Interviews have been edited and condensed. Fernanda Santos reported from Phoenix. Photographs by Caitlin O'Hara. Edited and produced by Damien Cave, Rodrigo de Benito Sanz and Marisa Schwartz Taylor.

This is a more complete version of the story than the one that appeared in print.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Emeka Ogboh

'Das Afrikanische Bierlaboratorium I'

Ludlow 38, MINI/Goethe-Institut Curatorial Residencies

38 Ludlow Street, near Hester Street, Lower East Side

Through Nov. 13

What if a Nigerian **immigrant** in Berlin created a spicy stout that became the most popular beverage in the land? Emeka Ogboh imagines this possibility in his exhibition ''Das Afrikanische Bierlaboratorium I,'' at Ludlow 38.

The show's centerpiece is an 11-minute video -- part mockumentary, part fake infomercial -- for Sufferhead Original, a fictional ''black beer'' brewed with chili peppers and named after the Fela Kuti song ''Original Suffer Head'' (1981), which detailed Nigerian political problems that spurred mass emigration. The video includes cameos by curators and friends posing as beer experts and enthusiasts, as well as Mr. Ogboh explaining the concept and development of Sufferhead Original.

Both silly and poignant, the video and accompanying bottles and canvases, which are affixed with Sufferhead Original labels, point to the challenges for migrants thrust into cultures where they are treated as interlopers, disrupters or terrorists. (The exhibition was inspired partly by a right-wing German politician's demeaning remarks -- quoted in a gallery handout -- about the ''life-affirming African mode of propagation.'')

But Sufferhead Original also underscores the importance of food and taste as cultural touchstones and imagines a utopian assimilation in which **immigrants** are not only accepted, but also embraced. Precedents for this type of reverse-colonization-through-food exist: In the 1990s, curry surpassed fish and chips as Britain's favorite national dish. And since Mr. Ogboh is a craft-beer enthusiast who has formulated his own recipes, perhaps Sufferhead Original will become a reality, capturing Germany by the taste buds.

MARTHA SCHWENDENER

R. Luke DuBois

'The Choice Is Yours'

Bitforms Gallery

131 Allen Street, near Rivington Street, Lower East Side

Through Dec. 23

Just in time for Election Day, the data-driven artist R. Luke DuBois has mounted an interactive, intellectually stimulating show about the way we vote, at Bitforms. By connecting mechanical voting machines from the mid-20th century to computerized surveys, he examines both the psychology behind the act of pulling a lever and the sometimes fragile technologies that record our decisions.

Step behind the burgundy velvet curtains of ''Learning Machine #1: Values,'' a 1945 voting booth purchased from a government-supply store upstate, and you are confronted not with candidates and party names, but rather with 300 ''values,'' drawn from the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator personality test. Some are shown in binaries that mimic the two-party system (''Adventurous v. Credible''; ''Motivated v. Helpful''). Your selections are then funneled into a computer program that uses them as search terms on Instagram and the digital version of The New York Times; once you exit the booth, you can step back and look at a scrolling digital montage of images and articles. (As the artist has observed, the Times searches have a tendency to bring up obituaries.)

You can also play with smaller ''learning machines'' (small voting machines of similar vintage, purchased on eBay) that look as if they might have been designed by Dada poets; one asks you to choose from sound effects such as ''roar/bang,'' ''whistle/hiss'' or ''screech/buzz.'' Your choices produce small, customized digital animations, which are often less engaging than the menu that precedes them. Real-time results from all the interactive ''learning machines'' are tallied on a monitor in the gallery's front window, which reads like an absurdist FiveThirtyEight website.

Mr. DuBois has thoughtfully included a kind of mini-museum of voting, with a display case of punch-card ballots, party-line labels and other historical ephemera. Also in this section, an upbeat 1957 promotional film produced by the Automatic Voting Machine Corporation is a real period piece (as seen from our era of hanging chads and hacking fears).

Posted around the gallery, an essay by the New York University history professor Jonathan Soffer, outlining the history of vote-recording in this country, from the oral votes of Colonial America to today's touch-screen systems, is essential reading. (It delivers stinging examples, along the way, of technology's leapfrogging social progress; the earliest use of mechanical voting machines, for instance, dates to the 1890s, predating women's suffrage by almost three decades.) However you cast your ballot on Tuesday, a visit to this show is likely to render you a little more self-conscious about the process, but a lot less likely to take the right for granted.

KAREN ROSENBERG

Benjamin Butler

'Forest(s)'

Klaus von Nichtssagend

54 Ludlow Street, near Grand Street, Lower East Side

Through Dec. 4

Benjamin Butler started painting trees about 15 years ago. At first they appeared in recognizable landscapes, sometimes with snowy mountains or by the sea, but they quickly shed their worldliness in favor of a minimal, partly abstracted tree-ness with which they could also masquerade as multicolored snake skins, veiny leaves backlit by the sun, or esoteric chemical diagrams.

In his latest show, at Klaus von Nichtssagend, Mr. Butler has narrowed his focus even further, to thrillingly psychedelic effect: His work now seems balanced on a razor blade between Conceptual practice and ''The Starry Night,'' but at the same time, somehow, it has ample room to move.

Across every one of the 15 paintings that fill this recently expanded gallery marches a brigade of evenly spaced vertical lines. Mr. Butler works in sizes ranging from open notebook to barn door. But every painting uses the same untreated, burlap-colored linen; the thickness of the lines varies, yet only -- as far as I could tell -- among two or three brushes. And the brigades march in tighter or looser formation, but all stop equally short of the edges. In ''Red Forest'' and ''Autumn Forest,'' red lines scorched with black stand beside black lines bloodied red, all of them flickering yellow -- but the colors are mostly somber. And then there are the branches, extending up from these ''trunks'' at 30 or 45 degrees, sometimes with a slight curve, usually in the painting's upper half, with an effect more like that of a fasces or of an Ogham stone than of a forest.

WILL HEINRICH

Carolee Schneemann

'Further Evidence -- Exhibit A'

PPOW

535 West 22nd Street, Chelsea

'Further Evidence -- Exhibit B'

Galerie Lelong

528 West 26th Street, Chelsea

Both through Dec. 3

Carolee Schneemann made her name in the 1960s and '70s with performance pieces and videos that pushed contemporary limits of feminist and artistic expression. But her laserlike focus, aggressively personal material and volatile intensity have carried on across the decades. This first double show since PPOW and Galerie Lelong announced joint representation of the artist last year brings welcome light to a scattershot but vital selection of hits from the '80s and the more recent past.

The highlight at Lelong is the 2009 multichannel video installation ''Precarious,'' which runs an obsessive, trance-inducing loop consisting of three stable wall-size projections and two more that bounce around the room. We see images of a cockatiel violently bobbing its head like a teenager at a concert. We also see Filipino prisoners in red uniforms doing synchronized dance routines; a dancing bear on a chain; and a frame of leafy branches, accompanied by the sound of rushing water, that quivers like an unattainable fantasy of liberation from this world or from the body.

But the stronger work is at PPOW, in particular, ''Fresh Blood -- A Dream Morphology,'' the video of a 1983 performance. Here, Ms. Schneemann veers from the mind-bending difficulty of pushing back against power in the power structure's own language (''Are we dreaming ourselves or dreaming the dreams of the men dreaming us?'') to the kind of bedeviled search for meaning that teeters between insight and a panic attack.

WILL HEINRICH

Aki Sasamoto

'Delicate Cycle'

SculptureCenter

44-19 Purves Street, Long Island City, Queens

Through Jan. 2

It's not easy to make funny art. What's even more difficult is to achieve what the Japanese-born artist Aki Sasamoto has in her first solo American museum show: to make work whose humor coexists with, and amplifies, its vividly humane sense of tragedy.

Ms. Sasamoto is best known for performance. And, indeed, the laundry-themed, site-specific pieces with which she has filled the SculptureCenter's courtyard, stairwell and complex, crypt-like basement aren't so much sculpted objects as a series of set dressings so suggestive that they work even when she's not in them. (The show does include performances, though the remaining two -- one this month and one in December -- are sold out.)

In fact, her absence is key. Ms. Sasamoto, like Cosima von Bonin, whose exquisitely sad stuffed-fabric clams and octopuses are on this museum's ground floor, gets a lot of mileage out of the so-called pathetic fallacy. ''Washboard Belt -- Maidrite,'' an old-fashioned washboard hanging from one corner in the stairwell, with a barbecue fork slung across its back, like some character in a Pixar prison-break movie, is so sweetly doomed that it's hard not to see it as a mirror of all of your own most foolish hopes.

What is most striking throughout is an almost psychotherapeutic sense of receptivity. In the courtyard, five ghostly white twin contour sheets, one of them signed Sasamoto (in all caps) in a Sharpie marker, flap around a double clothesline hung on the diagonal. In the basement, two commercial washers and a double stack of dryers, arranged in step fashion like the most ancient Egyptian pyramids, stand gaping under a video with a heavily accented voice-over lecturing on the sacred significance of the dung beetle. In the hall, in emulation of the dung beetle, the artist constructed a ball of knotted white sheets five feet across. And back in the courtyard again, three cheap aluminum pots and pans, with speakers concealed under their lids, juxtapose recorded washing sounds with the manic construction noise of Long Island City.

The work's studied neutrality, partly down to its color scheme, but mostly because of its careful balance of satire and empathy, creates an empty space in which viewers can, to an unusual degree, hear their own thoughts and notice, maybe for the first time, just how peculiar they sound.

WILL HEINRICH

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Ludlow 38, MINI/Goethe-Institut Curatorial Residencies

38 Ludlow Street, near Hester Street, Lower East Side

Through Nov. 13

What if a Nigerian **immigrant** in Berlin created a spicy stout that became the most popular beverage in the land? Emeka Ogboh imagines this possibility in his exhibition ''Das Afrikanische Bierlaboratorium I,'' at Ludlow 38.

The show's centerpiece is an 11-minute video -- part mockumentary, part fake infomercial -- for Sufferhead Original, a fictional ''black beer'' brewed with chili peppers and named after the Fela Kuti song ''Original Suffer Head'' (1981), which detailed Nigerian political problems that spurred mass emigration. The video includes cameos by curators and friends posing as beer experts and enthusiasts, as well as Mr. Ogboh explaining the concept and development of Sufferhead Original.

Both silly and poignant, the video and accompanying bottles and canvases, which are affixed with Sufferhead Original labels, point to the challenges for migrants thrust into cultures where they are treated as interlopers, disrupters or terrorists. (The exhibition was inspired partly by a right-wing German politician's demeaning remarks -- quoted in a gallery handout -- about the ''life-affirming African mode of propagation.'')

But Sufferhead Original also underscores the importance of food and taste as cultural touchstones and imagines a utopian assimilation in which **immigrants** are not only accepted, but also embraced. Precedents for this type of reverse-colonization-through-food exist: In the 1990s, curry surpassed fish and chips as Britain's favorite national dish. And since Mr. Ogboh is a craft-beer enthusiast who has formulated his own recipes, perhaps Sufferhead Original will become a reality, capturing Germany by the taste buds.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**More people are dying while attempting to cross the Mediterranean from Libya to Europe: at least 239 drowned in two separate shipwrecks, the United Nations reported on Thursday.

Nearly as many migrants have died at sea this year as all of last year, the United Nations' **refugee** agency has said, even though far fewer have attempted the perilous crossing.

Smugglers Are Changing Their Tactics

The sharp rise in fatalities -- 3,940 deaths this year, compared with 3,700 in all of 2015 -- can be attributed in part to the changing tactics used by smugglers. They are loading thousands of people at a time and using less seaworthy boats, including inflatable rubber rafts that do not last the crossing.

On Wednesday, a rubber dinghy believed to be carrying scores of migrants from West Africa collapsed a few hours after it left Libya early in the morning, a spokesman for the International Organization for Migration told Reuters. The spokesman, Flavio Di Giacomo, cited accounts by survivors who said that most of the passengers, including several children, had drowned.

Another raft carrying about 130 people from Libya sank around the same time, according to two women who had been rescued. The other passengers had not been recovered.

Fewer Migrants, but Greater Challenges

Despite the overall decrease in the number of migrants, the smugglers are straining the capacity of rescue services to cope.

More than one million people made the crossing last year. So far this year, about 328,000 have tried to do so, the United Nations **refugee** agency said last week.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PHOENIX -- ''No hablo español perfectamente,'' Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia told an audience of 150 guests here on Thursday, during a political event billed as historic by the Hillary Clinton campaign. For the first time, a candidate on a United States presidential ticket delivered a speech entirely in Spanish, a language that is a synonym for **immigration** in this state.

Well, Señor Kaine, lo hablaste muy bien.

Mr. Kaine's Spanish delivery was steady, confident but far from flawless.

From a stage at a community center in Maryvale, this city's most Hispanic neighborhood, he corrected himself, repeating the word ''llegaron'' (arrived) after mistakenly placing the stress on the last syllable, instead of properly on the second. He spoke with ease, drawing connections between his Irish ancestry and the story of Africans who were ''brought here against their will'' and Native Americans, ''who have always been here.''

''La fundación de nuestro país tiene raíces en todas partes del mundo,'' he said -- The foundation of our country has its roots in all parts of the world.

Mr. Kaine learned Spanish during a year he spent in Honduras in 1980 working with Jesuit missionaries.

During his speech here, he occasionally pronounced his r's as English speakers do. In most cases, though, he placed his tongue where it should be -- on the roof of his mouth, just behind his front teeth. His r's came out sounding like drumrolls, even in a word as tricky as ''carrera,'' as in career.

He was relaxed enough to add a line here or there to his prepared comments. When he talked about Sheriff Joe Arpaio, who is facing criminal contempt charges for his refusal to obey a federal judge's orders to stop singling out Latinos for enforcement, a woman bellowed, ''¡Que lo pongan en la cárcel!'' -- stick him in jail.

Without missing a beat, Mr. Kaine retorted, ''En su carcel'' -- in one of the jails Sheriff Arpaio runs.

He thanked the guests for their patience with his ''Castilian,'' which was an odd choice of words. Castilian denotes Spanish from Spain and anyone would be hard-pressed to find a Spanish speaker in the audience who had learned Spanish in Spain.

To a reporter who asked him, in Spanish, if it had been his idea to deliver a speech in Spanish, Mr. Kaine replied, in Spanish, that yes, it had, and that it made sense to do it in Arizona because of the demographic makeup of the state.

If all projections hold, Latinos will be the majority by 2030. And this may well be the year when enough Latino voters turn out to deliver Arizona to a Democrat, which would be the first time since another Clinton, Bill, won the state in 1996.

''Vamos a votar,'' Mr. Kaine said. Let's vote.

The community center in Maryvale, between a public library and a public pool, ordinarily hosts jazz, ballet and belly dancing classes for children and adults; private music instructions; and sports leagues. (Two basketball hoops were folded up above the stage.) On Thursday, it had a mix of elected officials, community activists, **immigration** advocates, union leaders and teachers wearing T-shirts that read ''Educators for Hillary'' and ''Families Fighting Back.''

Everyone who spoke at the rally did so in Spanish, from Ray Martinez, a candidate for the State House of Representatives who read entirely from a script, to Thomas E. Perez, the United States secretary of labor, who spoke off the cuff -- mixing up pronouns and genders, but getting his message across. There were plenty of English-only speakers in the crowd, including people of Hispanic heritage, look and last names like Salgado and Benevidez.

One of them was Lorenzo Sierra, a city councilman from Avondale, home to Arizona's second-largest Latino community. He said his parents forbade him from speaking Spanish at home some 40 years ago, fearing that if he did so, he would not be able to learn English. It is a common narrative among older generations of Hispanics in the United States.

Mr. Sierra did not mind that he could not quite understand what Mr. Kaine was saying. That he spoke Spanish at all, and for a whole 30 minutes, ''speaks volumes of the importance of our community,'' Mr. Sierra said. ''It's a sign of respect that we haven't seen from anyone else on this and other presidential campaigns.''

Follow Fernanda Santos @fernandanyt on Twitter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Early voting is underway, and according to Donald J. Trump, so is voter fraud. Almost daily, he proclaims that ''large-scale voter fraud'' is happening and that the election is ''rigged.'' Politicians across the spectrum have criticized this nonsense as divorced from reality, deleterious to our democracy and unprecedented in our elections.

It's good to see such a strong, bipartisan pushback, but the critics are wrong on that last point. Thinly supported allegations of electoral malfeasance have been deployed throughout American history, often by those who want to restrict the vote.

In the Jim Crow South, discriminatory devices from poll taxes to all-white primaries were justified as a means of fraud prevention. In 1902, Texas adopted a poll tax. Its champions argued in The Dallas Morning News that the tax would prevent fraud and protect against ''corrupt methods at the polls.'' Their reasoning? If casting a vote is free, then poor people will sell their votes ''for a trifle.''

An 1875 article in The Houston Telegraph made clear who the potential vote sellers were: ''the low, groveling, equal-before-the-law, lazy, purchasable Negro, who pays no taxes,'' and who must be prevented from ''neutralizing the vote of a good citizen and taxpayer.'' The specter of vote buying was also invoked to justify the state's all-white primaries.

This strategy was not unique to the South. Around the same time, progressive reformers in the North made similar appeals to justify more elaborate requirements for voter registration. New Jersey, for example, established a voter registration system in 1911 that gave prospective voters four days to register, required voters to re-register every time they failed to vote and applied only to large cities.

History books often portray such measures as well-intentioned responses to the corruption that sometimes characterized early 20th-century urban machine politics. But that's not entirely accurate, according to the pre-eminent voting rights historian Alexander Keyssar of Harvard. ''What is most striking is not how many but how few documented cases of electoral fraud can be found,'' he wrote in ''The Right to Vote.'' ''Most elections appear to have been honestly conducted,'' with systematic fraud being ''the exception, not the rule.''

Without such evidence, many Progressive Era reformers justified the new restrictions with ''thinly disguised'' appeals to ''antagonism toward poor, working-class and foreign-born voters,'' and ''unabashedly welcomed the prospect of weeding such voters out of the electorate,'' Mr. Keyssar wrote.

These registration ''reforms'' had their intended effect: After New Jersey adopted the 1911 registration law, turnout declined sharply, particularly among African-Americans and **immigrants**.

Fraud continues to be a rallying cry. Today, states are mandated by federal law to make voter registration opportunities available at Department of Motor Vehicles offices, public assistance agencies and through other means under the National Voter Registration Act, known as the Motor-Voter law.

But in the early 1990s, opponents of Motor-Voter raised fraud concerns. President George H. W. Bush vetoed an early version of the law, admonishing that it was ''an open invitation to fraud and corruption.'' That warning proved inaccurate, and today most Americans don't think twice about the propriety of offering voter registration services at D.M.V.s.

Years later, the conservative writer Kevin Williamson warned ominously in National Review that the 2012 election would be marred by ''fraud'' and called for the repeal of Motor-Voter. Without much evidence of fraud, he quickly pivoted to another justification, lamenting ''the ongoing conversion of our republican institutions into so many tribunes of the plebs.'' He added that ''it is perfectly fine (and maybe more than that) if fewer people vote.''

The truth is that electoral fraud is vanishingly rare. A comprehensive study by Justin Levitt, a senior Justice Department official, found only 31 credible allegations of in-person voter impersonation from 2000 to 2014, during which over one billion ballots were cast.

This brings us to Mr. Trump's recent calls to watch polling places in ''certain areas.'' In itself, there is nothing wrong with poll monitoring. States often allow certified observers to watch polls. Trained poll monitors can help prevent mishaps on Election Day, like ensuring that eligible voters don't slip through the cracks because of poll-worker error.

But undisciplined poll watching can degenerate into voter intimidation. In 2013, a Texas federal court found that voting practices in Harris County, home to Houston, had ''a dilutive effect'' on Latino voting power, crediting testimony that ''poll watchers have intimidated Latino voters at the polls, such as inquiring about the voters' citizenship status.''

There is still cause for concern. A Trump supporter recently told The Boston Globe that he would racially profile ''Mexicans. Syrians. People who can't speak American.'' And he wasn't shy about what he'd do next: ''I'm going to go right up behind them,'' he said, and ''make them a little bit nervous.''

We're witnessing merely the latest round of efforts to delegitimize and exclude minority and **immigrant** voters with baseless allegations of fraud. But our commitment to universal suffrage demands that every eligible voter who wants to vote has the chance, free from intimidation and harassment. In this election, unnecessary barriers to the ballot and calls to racially profile voters are the real threats. Voter fraud is not.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Ronald Reagan visited the South Bronx in the summer of 1980, when Charlotte Street was still lined with vacant lots and the rubble of toppling tenements. The place looked like London after the blitz, he said, and he wanted to do something about it.

The Republican candidate for president that year, Mr. Reagan wasn't merely mugging for the kind of photo op that unnerves white suburban voters. Earlier that day, he spoke to the National Urban League in New York. Then he flew to Chicago to meet with the editors of Ebony and Jet magazines, pillars of the black press, and Jesse Jackson, the civil rights leader.

He wasn't always greeted warmly, but it was the kind of campaign itinerary that's hard to imagine a Republican presidential candidate even contemplating in 2016. Mr. Reagan believed he could make a genuine play for urban voters in 1980. Today, his party has all but conceded them.

Only three of the 25 largest cities in America now have Republican mayors. In the House of Representatives, Republicans from dense urban congressional districts have become extinct. In the 2012 presidential election, the counties containing Manhattan, the Bronx, Brooklyn, Washington, San Francisco and Philadelphia each gave less than 20 percent of their vote to Mitt Romney. In this coming election, Donald J. Trump is unlikely to do better -- and may fare worse.

Even as much else about this election feels unprecedented, America's urban-rural divide will be as strong as ever, continuing a decadeslong process in which the two parties have sorted themselves ever more clearly by population density.

The Realignment

The pattern highlights a paradox about Mr. Trump: ''He's the most urban candidate in American history -- he was born in Queens and lives in a skyscraper on Fifth Avenue,'' said Aaron Renn, a senior fellow at the conservative Manhattan Institute. And Mr. Trump's personal fortunes have risen with the comeback of major American cities, with signature real estate projects in New York, Washington and Chicago. But he has portrayed these same cities as dystopias.

Mr. Trump has elevated a strategy that is risky to the Republican Party in the long run. Not only have recent Republican candidates neglected cities, but they've also run against them, casting urban America as the foil to heartland voters. Rick Santorum and Sarah Palin caricatured coastal cities as unmoored from the ''real America.'' Ted Cruz derided ''New York values,'' as if those values, whichever ones he meant, were **alien**. Mr. Trump has pre-emptively annulled the votes of Chicago, St. Louis and Philadelphia, cities where he warns the election will be rigged against him.

''It's unimaginably distressing, even by eight years ago, let alone 16 years ago,'' said Stephen Goldsmith, a former Republican mayor of Indianapolis and an adviser to George W. Bush in the 2000 campaign. ''We had an opportunity to reach broadly across the country to have an inspiring voice of opportunity, and there's a set of coherent Republican policies that would amplify that opportunity. We're doing the opposite. We're insulting folks who could vote for us.''

The history of how the G.O.P. got here is partly about the ideological realignment of the two parties, and the disappearance of liberal Republicans like Jacob Javits, a senator from New York State, and John Lindsay, a mayor of New York City (a Republican who left the party, he said, when it left him). The party even moved away from conservative Republicans like Jack Kemp, the secretary of Housing and Urban Development in the George H.W. Bush administration, who spoke often about urban opportunity. But this history is also about the physical realignment of voters, as the rise of suburbia enabled Democrats and Republicans to move, literally, farther apart.

One Word: Race

In 1966, white voters in Chicago who'd long supported the city's Democratic machine began to bolt for the Republican Party. They were alarmed by urban riots, by civil rights legislation in Congress and -- much closer to home -- by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s campaign in Chicago that year for ''open housing.''

Pamphlets soon began to appear on the stoops of the city's middle-class bungalows: ''Your Home is your castle -- Keep it that way by Voting STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN.'' This was the summer, the historian Rick Perlstein writes in his book ''Nixonland,'' when the party of Lincoln changed its mind.

Those newly converted Republicans in Chicago voted in 1968 for Richard Nixon. ''But these were the people,'' Mr. Perlstein said in an interview, ''who largely would have left the city within 10 years.''

Those Chicago voters embody both trends -- party realignment and white flight -- that have remade political geography since then. In the 1950s, in presidential election results compiled by the Stanford political scientist Jonathan Rodden, a county's population density was a poor predictor of how its residents voted. Today, the pattern is remarkably consistent: The denser the county, the more overwhelmingly its residents vote Democratic.

''This story could be written in one word,'' Mr. Perlstein said of that historical arc. ''The one word would be 'race.' ''

In the early days of white flight, two federal policies -- the construction of the interstate highway system and mortgage guarantees for the new suburbs -- pulled whites out of cities even as they were getting pushed by racial tension, desegregation and school busing.

''The people who go to the suburbs are not a random selection,'' said Jessica Trounstine, a political scientist at the University of California, Merced. They were the middle and upper class. They became homeowners. They prized neighborhoods of single-family houses. Those characteristics today all correlate with leaning Republican. ''These population shifts happen for reasons that are external to politics,'' Ms. Trounstine said, ''but politics is embedded in who goes.''

Metropolitan areas with more highway construction became more polarized over time between Democratic cities and Republican suburbs, according to research by Clayton Nall, a Stanford political scientist. Where highways were built, they helped sort people. Where they led, suburbs became more reliably Republican. They created entirely new places, Mr. Nall argues, with new politics.

In the 1980s, after Mr. Reagan's election, the link between population density and partisanship tightened further. Mr. Rodden suspects the battles over moral values helped drive the trend. Issues like abortion with urban-rural divides in public opinion further widened the gap between the two groups.

In many ways, it was becoming clearer over this time what each party stood for, whether on race or cultural cleavages or transportation or poverty. The basic party infrastructure Republicans would need to win in cities, at any level, disintegrated. Even the average congressional district held by Republicans today has a quarter of the population density it did in 1950.

As they have had less to say to cities, Republicans have come to talk, instead, about them.

''They have it in their interest to appeal to suburban voters who are looking back to the city through their rearview mirrors with a mix of disgust and romance for an imagined past,'' said Thomas Sugrue, a New York University historian.

In party platforms, the G.O.P. eventually tiptoed to an almost anti-urban stance. In 1988, the platform called for ''special attention to urban residents'' in the census to ensure their full federal representation. In 2000, the party still nodded toward support for transit. By 2012, it accused the Obama administration of ''replacing civil engineering with social engineering as it pursues an exclusively urban vision of dense housing and government transit.''

Cities today come up in the platform when they're scolded for their **immigration** stands as ''sanctuary cities.'' They're mentioned for their ''soaring'' murder rates and the funds they siphon to mass transit that should be spent on highways instead. And that's about it.

Density Defines

The approaching election will look no different. Hillary Clinton's strongest base of support -- where adults surveyed by Gallup are most likely to say they hold favorable views of her -- is in the densest counties. Mr. Trump fares the best in the sparsest places.

Beneath this election's dark plotlines about temperament, party infighting and accusations of sexual assault, that underlying pattern bodes badly for the G.O.P.

''What happens if you abandon the places where most people live?'' said Mr. Perlstein, the historian. After its 2012 defeat, the Republican Party wrung its hands over the need to face demographic change in a country that's becoming majority-minority. But geography poses a problem, too: Once-white suburbs are growing more diverse; poverty is spreading there; and central cities that Republicans relinquished are now the country's economic engines.

The anti-city strategy holds up today only because Democrats, with their tight clusters of urban support, are at a structural disadvantage in Congress.

''One of the most important implications of all this is that ignoring cities can be a winning strategy in House races,'' Mr. Rodden said. ''The mix of positions that the Republicans have taken has served them really well in winning the House. But it's not working out so well in presidential elections.''

The seemingly cynical solution is to count on low turnout among urban voters. The alternative is to compete for them.

''If you compete in cities, you don't have to win in them,'' said Thomas Ogorzalek, a political scientist at Northwestern. ''If you go 70-30 in Chicago, instead of 90-10 like Trump is going to do, you can win Illinois. That's not a bad strategy.''

Mr. Goldsmith, the former Republican mayor of Indianapolis, says the idea isn't far-fetched. Picture a Republican who runs on effective government instead of against government: a Michael Bloomberg type minus the nanny-state laws. Or a school-choice advocate, but not a culture warrior. Or someone who talks about crime without caricaturing the communities that confront the worst of it.

''I think that would work for a Republican candidate, if they could get nominated,'' Mr. Goldsmith said. And cities short on conservative policy ideas would be better for it, he added.

The question, though, is what Republicans would lose if they tried. What if they didn't evoke urban iniquity to excite exurban voters, or if they toned down the values overtures that play well in Utah?

Electoral necessity will demand at least a new round of Republican soul searching.

Looking back in history, and to a future beyond Mr. Trump, the G.O.P. may need, not a Ronald Reagan, but a Jack Kemp. That is, a conservative articulate on racial justice and upward mobility who would be comfortable in any incarnation of the Bronx -- the dismal 1980 landscape or the one today, where fancy coffee shops fuel concern about gentrification. The party in 2016 still contains some of Kemp's acolytes, although it is hard to make out his influence.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Senate race in Nevada between Catherine Cortez Masto, a Democrat, and Representative Joe Heck, a Republican, is gripping on several levels. Nevada is the only state where Republicans have a solid chance of winning a Democratic Senate seat this year. The seat has belonged for 30 years to Harry Reid, the current minority leader, who is not seeking re-election. A Republican victory would thus be not only a loss for the Democrats but a personal embarrassment for a venerable power broker. It would also be a triumph for the Koch brothers, who say they're seeking poetic justice after years of being denounced by Mr. Reid for their conservative politics, and are spending lots of money to make that happen.

Mr. Reid calls Mr. Heck, a three-term congressman, ''an absolute stooge for these right-wing nut cases.'' He hand-picked Ms. Cortez Masto, a former Nevada attorney general, to succeed him and is throwing the state Democratic machine behind her battle in a race that is now too close to call. Ms. Cortez Masto, the granddaughter of a Mexican **immigrant**, would be the first Latina to enter the Senate. Her victory would be a proud repudiation of Donald Trump's anti-**immigrant**platform in a state where Latinos' proportion of the electorate has grown to 17 percent from 10 percent in 2004.

Ms. Cortez Masto addressed a host of problems during her years as attorney general, from 2007 to 2015: drug use, fraud schemes exploiting senior citizens, domestic violence and sexual assault.

When the 2008 financial crisis left Nevada with one of the nation's highest unemployment rates, Ms. Cortez Masto started a broad effort to hold predatory lenders to account. In 2010, she defied the state's Republican governor in declining to join other attorneys general in filing suit against the federal government to block an expansion of Medicaid as part of the Affordable Care Act. The League of Conservation Voters credits her help in winning several environmental battles.

On **immigration**, a critical issue in Nevada, Ms. Cortez Masto worked with Republicans in the State Legislature to combat human trafficking, and she supports a path to citizenship for undocumented **immigrants**.

Mr. Heck is a doctor and brigadier general in the U.S. Army Reserve who ran the trauma center in a field hospital outside Baghdad during the Iraq war. He seems torn between moderate voters in his district south of Las Vegas and the radical rightists in Nevada's G.O.P. apparatus. He says he supports a path to legalization for undocumented **immigrants**, paired with tougher border controls and identity checks, but he also joined Republicans in opposing President Obama's efforts to protect undocumented children and their parents from deportation.

Mr. Heck has a good reputation for constituent service, but on a broad range of policies his views are indistinguishable from those of most other House Republicans. He's voted to repeal Obamacare, defund Planned Parenthood and block measures to combat climate change.

He was an early, enthusiastic supporter of Mr. Trump. Asked, cameras rolling, whether he trusted Mr. Trump with the nation's nuclear codes, his answer was, ''Why wouldn't I?'' It wasn't until the infamous ''Access Hollywood'' tape was released last month that Mr. Heck made a tactical retreat, saying, ''Americans deserve better.''

Nevadans deserve better than Mr. Heck, whose votes accomplish little for Nevada's workers. Neither candidate possesses Mr. Reid's long record of service to his home state, but Ms. Cortez Masto would be a far more faithful steward of his legacy.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**GRANTVILLE, Pa. -- It didn't take long for Jack Morris to regret voting for President Obama. A few months after Mr. Morris, a lifelong Republican, cast his first vote for a Democrat in 2008, he learned that the carpet company where he worked planned to lay off 36 people in Pennsylvania and move his job to Maryland.

He went home and lamented to his wife that he had made a big mistake buying into Mr. Obama's message of hope and change. The president had been in office less than half a year, and already the disappointment that would color the next eight years for Mr. Morris was sinking in.

''I just told my wife, 'I screwed up. I should've never voted for him,''' said Mr. Morris, 46, who now supports Donald J. Trump. ''I took the chance, left my party to come and try and vote for him to change. It didn't work, and now I'm back to my party.''

Mr. Morris is one of a small subset of voters who supported Mr. Obama in 2008 and have now embraced Mr. Trump, attracted by his vow to shake up the political status quo and restore lost jobs. A CBS News poll conducted last month found that 7 percent of likely voters who supported Mr. Obama in 2012 now back Mr. Trump, a ray of hope for a candidate who remains behind in most polls and has **alienated** many centrist voters.

Interviews with Mr. Morris and more than a dozen others show a common theme: The message of change that inspired them to vote for Mr. Obama is now embodied by Mr. Trump, whom they see as a brash outsider unconnected with Washington bureaucrats and the big-money donors funding Democratic and Republican candidates.

Many of those interviewed said they felt duped by the president and frustrated by their personal circumstances. They said Mr. Obama had not done enough to create jobs, unfairly pushed through the Affordable Care Act, and damaged the international reputation of the United States with his handling of foreign affairs. Some also complained that the first black president had bungled his response to racially charged killings.

Susanne Murphy, 63, of Gettysburg, Pa., voted for Mr. Obama twice but said she now supported Mr. Trump. The Affordable Care Act led her and her husband to fire five employees from their electrical company because they could not afford to provide them benefits, she said. ''It made us feel like we failed,'' she said while waiting for the start of a rally featuring Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana, Mr. Trump's running mate.

Ms. Murphy said that while Mike Huckabee, the former governor of Arkansas, had been her first choice for president, she gradually warmed to Mr. Trump. ''For me, Donald Trump speaks the truth, tells it like it is,'' she said. ''He wants to unify this country. He wants to take care of America first.''

Gary Kerns, 42, of Gettysburg, said he had been impressed with Mr. Trump for a long while and called himself a ''bandwagon voter'' -- one who is drawn to the most popular candidates. In 2008, Mr. Kerns voted for Mr. Obama because he was moved by the charismatic young senator's speeches.

''Obama was blazing hot,'' he said. ''There was momentum with him, and I got caught up with it. I loved it.''

Now Mr. Kerns, a registered Republican, sees Obama-like energy in Mr. Trump's candidacy. ''Let's roll with the hot hand,'' he said.

Mr. Trump has even attracted some black voters who were inspired by Mr. Obama's 2008 candidacy but have since soured on him.

Chuck Linton, 69, of Baltimore, a retired military veteran, described Mr. Obama as ''condescending'' and said that as a black man, he was fed up with Democrats telling him how to vote.

''Have you ever seen somebody that talks so good and makes you feel that he is in your favor, he's in your corner, but the truth of the matter he's not?'' he asked. ''That's Obama.''

Mr. Linton, a longtime Democrat, said he planned to vote for Mr. Trump because he believes the businessman will work to quell violence in places like Baltimore, where Mr. Linton said several people he knows have lost loved ones to gun violence.

'''What do you have to lose?' That's a very good question,'' he said, repeating a question frequently posed by Mr. Trump in stump speeches to blacks. ''What difference does it make if you try something else? He's absolutely right. We need to try something else.''

For others it was Mr. Obama's stances on racial justice issues that made them recoil at his presidency.

Meg Amamolo, 57, voted for Mr. Obama in 2008 and 2012, and was excited, as a black woman, to vote to put a black man in the White House. But she grew especially frustrated in 2012 when Mr. Obama weighed in on the shooting death of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin, who was shot by a neighborhood watch volunteer in Sanford, Fla. ''If I had a son, he'd look like Trayvon,'' Mr. Obama said.

While many praised Mr. Obama for sympathizing with the teenager's family, Ms. Amamolo thought the president was unfairly taking sides and signaling to her sons that they would face discrimination because they are black.

''It became all about making the young black boys realize that the country doesn't want them,'' she said. ''Black Americans, they are being made victims by the Democrats so they can get the votes, but nothing is changing.''

Laverne Gore, 58, a registered Republican in Cleveland, thinks Mr. Obama didn't do enough to help black people after she excitedly cast her ballot for him in 2008.

She said she cried when Mr. Obama was declared the winner, but soon lost faith in his administration because he focused more on gay rights and **immigration**than the concerns of black people.

''I kept waiting and praying for him to show me that I mattered, my children mattered, my neighbors who are black mattered,'' Ms. Gore said. ''I didn't get it.''

For other former Obama supporters, the attraction to Mr. Trump is more visceral.

''He is a blue-collar man's billionaire,'' said James Bates, 37, a sales trader who lives in Cleveland, said of the Republican nominee.

Mr. Bates said that he felt he could have a friendly conversation with Mr. Trump, and that because of the candidate's riches he would not be indebted to anyone if elected.

''Much like how I voted for Barack Obama in 2008 is how I am voting for Donald Trump in 2016,'' Mr. Bates said. ''He is the only person who can get in, I believe, and really bust out the Washington establishment.''

''I believe 110 percent that Donald Trump is for the American electorate,'' he added. ''Not for the Washington special interests. Not for his own interests. For the people.''

Mr. Morris also believes Mr. Trump will make his life better.

Six months after he agreed to a three-hour daily commute to and from Baltimore to keep his carpet company job, the company moved again, this time to Georgia. Rather than uproot his life, he gave up the $125,000-a-year job.

Now, he said, he lives paycheck to paycheck and supports his wife and three children making about $72,000 doing maintenance for apartment complexes. He said he hoped Mr. Trump would follow through on his promises to bring back high-paying jobs.

''He's not going to put up with crap from anybody,'' Mr. Morris said of Mr. Trump. ''He's not going to promise me change, and then not do that.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CASA GRANDE, Ariz. -- Since moving to Arizona 15 years ago, Nieves Lorenzo watched as Hispanics grew in numbers but only haltingly asserted themselves as a political force. Then came Donald J. Trump's presidential candidacy.

''He has woken up the sleeping giant,'' Ms. Lorenzo, a native of Venezuela, said as she stood in a local Democratic campaign headquarters here in the desert between Phoenix and Tucson.

By driving women, educated white voters and, most significantly, growing blocs of minorities away from the Republican Party, Mr. Trump has hastened social and political changes already well underway in two key regions, the interior West and the upper South, that not long ago tilted to the right.

Now, even as Hillary Clinton contends with inflamed Democratic anxiety over renewed scrutiny of her private email server, these once-red areas are providing an unexpected firewall for her campaign.

Democrats are already strongly confident of victory in three of them -- Colorado, Nevada and Virginia -- and believe that a fourth, North Carolina, is likely to break their way as well. Added to the party's daunting advantage in the Electoral College, these states have impeded Mr. Trump's path to amassing the 270 electoral votes needed to win, limiting his ability to exploit Mrs. Clinton's late vulnerabilities and forcing him to scrounge for unlikely support in solidly Democratic places like Michigan and New Mexico.

The shift is stark enough that Democrats are pressing for victory in Arizona and Georgia, two historically Republican strongholds, while Mrs. Clinton's standing has wobbled in familiar battlegrounds like Ohio and Iowa.

Mrs. Clinton has moved aggressively on Arizona, seeing it as a substitute for any losses in the Midwest. She campaigned in Tempe on Wednesday; her running mate, Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia, will be there and in Tucson on Thursday; and she and her allies have poured millions of dollars into commercials in Arizona and Georgia, which they view as a longer-shot target.

Looking beyond the election, Republicans fear that Mr. Trump's geographic dilemma could offer a grim glimpse of their party's future: Unless they can win back constituencies he has driven away, the two fastest-growing regions of the country may continue to move decisively toward the Democrats.

''I think we may be seeing the ground shift under us,'' said Senator Tom Udall, Democrat of New Mexico. ''This may be a major political turning point.'' Of Mr. Trump, he said, ''He's done some real damage nationally and in the West to Republicans by using some of the nastiest, angriest rhetoric we've ever had in politics.''

While Mr. Trump is running a racially tinged campaign of restoration, pledging to make America great again, minority voters in the states that increasingly decide presidential elections have been working to harness their newfound political power.

In Nevada, which has the fastest-growing populations of both Hispanics and Asian-Americans in the West, the new **immigrant** blocs have become political powerhouses. Early voting data shows Democrats with such a clear lead in the state that the race may be decided there well before Election Day.

''People are organized that have never been organized before,'' said Senator Harry Reid, the Democratic leader whose career in Congress began when Nevada was awarded a second House seat in 1982.

Many leading Republicans, alarmed by Mr. Trump's candidacy and intimately familiar with the demographic shifts underway, believe the party must immediately change course after this election.

''You've got to stop **alienating** large swaths of the electorate,'' said Senator Cory Gardner, Republican of Colorado, who has withdrawn his support for Mr. Trump. ''And I don't just mean in the Hispanic community -- I mean Hispanics, Asians, communities of color and women.''

The Upper South

Mr. Trump, as the face of the Republican Party, has acted as a kind of political accelerant in the South and West, helping Democrats mobilize in the demographically diverse suburbs around cities like Atlanta and Phoenix.

Stacey Abrams, the Democratic leader in the Georgia House of Representatives, said the presidential race had been a ''godsend election,'' opening the eyes of national Democrats to unimagined opportunities in her state. Priorities USA Action, a ''super PAC'' supporting Mrs. Clinton, is spending more than $2 million in Georgia.

Shaking hands last week in a lunchtime crowd at a mall in south DeKalb County, Ms. Abrams said the electoral calculus in Georgia had changed sharply. The booming Atlanta suburbs, she said, had opened a path to victory without winning over white conservatives -- but only if Democrats were able to turn out black voters and other minorities effectively.

''Trump was helpful, because it allowed people to move past the prejudice that said you should never even think about a Deep South state being in play,'' Ms. Abrams said. The dictum that elections in the South are decided by white voters, she added, ''is no longer true in the Deep South.''

Democrats say Georgia is unlikely to put Mrs. Clinton over the top in the presidential race, and would tip her way only in the event of a sizable win nationally. But for Democrats to even compete there is a sign of how far into the South they have ventured.

Anthony Foxx, the federal transportation secretary and a former mayor of Charlotte, N.C., said it was almost ''unavoidable'' that states from Virginia to Georgia would turn blue, absent a major overhaul of the Republican Party.

''What people are seeing now is that the demographic trends in North Carolina and several other Southern states are moving in an unchangeable direction toward more progressive politics,'' Mr. Foxx, a Democrat, said.

Bolstered by carefully drawn legislative maps and the results of nonpresidential elections, in which minority turnout usually dips, Republicans have maintained an iron grip on state government in places like Georgia and North Carolina, as well as some Western states.

But Republican leaders acknowledged that a moment of reckoning was ahead, perhaps sooner than expected because of this year's presidential contest. State Representative B. J. Pak of Georgia, a Republican of Korean descent, said that he doubted that Mrs. Clinton would win the state but that his party's leaders were acutely aware of the fast-changing terrain.

Mr. Pak, who represents Gwinnett County, a suburban area near Atlanta where minorities now outnumber whites, said it had been hard this year to recruit a diverse slate of candidates, or to win over women and minorities.

''Donald Trump has really made it extremely difficult,'' said Mr. Pak, who has not endorsed Mr. Trump. ''They feel that the party's not welcoming, and that's a tremendous challenge when you're trying to get people to give the party a chance.''

Bob McDonnell, the former governor of Virginia, whose 2009 election marked the last major Republican victory in a once-reliably red state, said his party must embrace ''the new Americans, the **immigrants** that are really kind of remaking America, like how the Irish did in the mid-1800s.'' He noted that he had learned phrases in Korean and Mandarin to campaign in Northern Virginia.

''We get accused, as conservatives, of writing off certain groups of people because they don't fit a certain political stereotype. You can't do that as a Republican,'' Mr. McDonnell said. ''It's a recipe for certain minority status.''

The Interior West

Senator Jeff Flake, Republican of Arizona, feels just as strongly about the need for the party to expand its reach to members of minority groups -- and argues that a crucial ingredient in doing so is to pass a comprehensive **immigration** overhaul.

''You can't win statewide here if you take completely unreasonable positions on **immigration**,'' said Mr. Flake, one of the country's most outspoken anti-Trump Republicans.

Arizona's tumultuous internal politics have made it especially inviting for Mrs. Clinton, and most likely an easier pickup in the last week of the race than Georgia.

For the past decade, the question of what to do about the estimated 12 million **immigrants** in the country illegally has cleaved the Republican Party. Perhaps nowhere has it proved more divisive than in Arizona, where most schoolchildren from kindergarten to eighth grade are Hispanic.

While Mr. Flake and his Republican colleague, Senator John McCain, have led the charge for what critics call an amnesty, Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Maricopa County attained national prominence with his harsh treatment of Hispanic migrants. Mr. Arpaio's re-election bid and Mr. Trump's campaign have galvanized the state's Latino residents, whose presence on the voter rolls has lagged their representation in the population over all.

Seizing on this energy, Mrs. Clinton's campaign has redeployed staff to Arizona and has dispatched top-shelf surrogates, including Michelle Obama and Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, to campaign there.

Janet Napolitano, a former Democratic governor of the state, said that Mrs. Clinton could win Arizona, but that a victory was by no means ''in the bag.'' Yet Ms. Napolitano said that, win or lose, there was no going back.

''Arizona is now going to be a battleground state,'' she said.

Western Democrats cautioned that the national party should not interpret victory in 2016 as approval of a strongly ideological agenda, as much as rejection of Mr. Trump by a changing region.

''When either party wins a decisive election, they feel that it's a validation of the most extreme parts of the party,'' said Gov. John Hickenlooper of Colorado, a Democrat. ''But that isn't always what people are voting for.''

Until Republicans recalibrate their approach and project a more inclusive message, Democrats believe their future is limitless.

As he and his wife left the Casa Grande Democratic offices for their daily round of canvassing, Lee Seabolt, 70, said the Republican quandary was a matter of simple arithmetic.

''There are a whole lot more old white men like me who are going to be dying over the next four years,'' he said, ''and there are a lot of Hispanics who are going to be turning 18 who are going to start voting.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDAs this ghoulish, absurd spectacle of an election sputters to the finish line, we can confidently say there is one winner: American Muslims.

We are asserting our rights with swagger and demanding to be treated with fairness instead of being used as political props, the ''eyes and ears'' you can plug in to be a front-line defense against the Islamic State. We're not Mr. Potato Head counterterrorism experts. We are Americans, and **alienating** us could prove to be politically costly.

Rampant Islamophobia has inspired Muslims to get more politically engaged. We're not a huge group of voters; we make up about 1 percent of the population. But many of us live in states such as Michigan, Ohio, Virginia and Florida, where swing voters -- and voters who might be turned off by a candidate who pledges ''extreme vetting'' of Muslims -- can make a difference. One Muslim advocacy group reports an increase of more than 30 percent in Muslim voter registration since 2012.

Two weeks ago, Hillary Clinton began running a powerful ad featuring Khizr Khan, the Pakistani Muslim father of an Army captain killed in Iraq who beat down Donald J. Trump at the Democratic National Convention with his worn-out copy of the Constitution.

I spoke to Mr. Khan, the very unlikely star of this election season, shortly after the ad featuring him was released. He is affectionately known as ''Khizr Uncle'' to many of us South Asians who are not related to him but still proudly claim kinship due to shared **immigrant** roots. I asked if he'd considered stepping back from the campaign because of the spotlight on his family and the nasty trolling. ''Those are my words and I have spoken them a million times,'' he said. ''That criticism is worth it. We will do this a million times over and over again.''

Mr. Khan, who refers to Mr. Trump as ''the bogus candidate,'' says that after his convention speech and being criticized by Mr. Trump, he has received encouragement from people all over the country, who tell his wife and him that they are ''testaments to the goodness of America.''

In 2008, it is unlikely that Mr. Khan would have been the star of a campaign ad or a symbol of American goodness. That year, two Muslim women in headscarves were barred from sitting behind the podium by volunteers for the Obama campaign. That shameful act was done to protect Barack Obama from the ''Muslim'' rumor he's had to endure for years, one that was fanned enthusiastically by the current Republican presidential nominee.

Linda Sarsour, the executive director of the Arab American Association of New York, says for some Muslim voters this year, ''fear is a motivator,'' but for others ''Islamophobia fuels us to demonstrate our political power in the face of the opposition.'' In a poll, Muslims cited civil rights as the key election issue for them, next to education, the economy and a concern about harassment of Muslim students.

Khurrum Wahid, a Florida lawyer who helped found Emerge USA, a nonprofit group that encourages Muslim political engagement, explained the uptick in registration as a response to both outrage at the Republican nominee and Muslims being embraced by the Democrats.

Thanks to Mr. Trump, however, Democrats don't need to work too hard to convince Muslim women. By suggesting that Ghazala Khan, Mr. Khan's wife, may not have been ''allowed'' to speak at the Democratic convention because of her religion, Mr. Trump unintentionally prompted the creation of the American Muslim Women PAC, the first of its kind.

''Most Muslim women didn't realize they were being viewed like that,'' said Shailee Seddiq, communications director for the PAC. ''They didn't know people thought we weren't allowed to speak.''

Seeme Gull Khan Hasan, a co-founder of the group Muslims for America, also helped found the group Muslims for Bush in 2003 and raised a significant amount of money for the 2008 McCain-Palin campaign. This year, she's with Mrs. Clinton -- ''by default.''

''Muslims are almost like leprosy for Republicans, who do not want to come near us,'' she said. ''Even if we promise them voters. Because their base does not want them to talk to us.''

There are Muslims who support Mr. Trump too, loyal to the very candidate who demands loyalty oaths. A Virginia businessman, Sajid Tarar, started something he called American Muslims for Trump and gave the closing prayer at the Republican convention. He was booed.

Although one poll shows that Mrs. Clinton is likely to get about 70 percent of the Muslim vote, some believe she isn't so much better than Mr. Trump, and would stand in the way of the radical change needed to improve the lives of average Juans and Muhammads. That's why some Muslim voters I talked to are considering third-party candidates.

Tauhid Mahmud, a graduate student in New York, said he was planning to vote for the Green Party candidate, Jill Stein, as a way of saying: ''No, I'm not going to vote for you just because you're not Trump. You need to earn it. ''

Mr. Wahid understands this impulse. But he wants Muslim voters to understand that lasting change has proved to be evolutionary, not revolutionary. ''It takes sustained engagement and the building of pressure to move the giant cruise ship known as American policy,'' he said. ''Do not give up so quickly.''

It is affirming to see that eight years after America elected its first ''Muslim, socialist, Kenyan'' president, some people are openly embracing Muslims, rejecting bigotry and inviting us to their dinner tables to taste this strange phenomenon known as meat loaf. However, I'm not content with table scraps, pity invitations and opportunistic photo-ops. We're speaking out, voting and throwing down. To echo Khizr Uncle, we'll keep doing it -- a million times over and over again.

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Correction: November 4, 2016, Friday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An Op-Ed article on Wednesday about voting by Muslims misspelled the surname of the communications director for the American Muslim Women PAC. She is Shailee Seddiq, not Siddique.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Adam Crapser was adopted from South Korea nearly four decades ago, but today he languishes in an **immigration** detention center in Washington State awaiting deportation because his American parents never filed citizenship paperwork for him.

Mr. Crapser, 41, built a life in Oregon, got married and raised children but will soon be forced to leave the country in which he has lived since he was 3 for South Korea, where he plans to eventually reunite with his biological mother in a small town three hours outside of Seoul, the capital. His family will remain in the United States temporarily, and they hope to reunite in South Korea.

''At this point I'm ready to just go back and try to make my life over there,'' Mr. Crapser said on Monday night in a telephone interview from Tacoma Northwest Detention Center, a week after a judge denied his final request to stay in the United States. ''There's been some good things that came out of all this, surprisingly.''

Mr. Crapser's sanguine attitude toward the wrenching dislocation that looms ahead is thanks in part to the media attention his case has attracted in both the United States and South Korea, he said. A South Korean documentary on his plight and the lives of other Korean adoptees led to his birth mother coming forward.

''I do have a Korean family back in Korea,'' Mr. Crapser said. ''They've been informed that I am returning. It's good, and it's bad. It's kind of bittersweet.''

That promising development is far from a universal experience, however. His lawyer, Lori Walls, said on Monday that Mr. Crapser's case illustrates how easy it is for permanent residents to be placed in deportation proceedings, even when they entered the country lawfully as adoptees but were not naturalized by their adoptive parents.

According to the Adoptee Rights Campaign, an advocacy group, there are about 35,000 people in the United States who were adopted by American couples as children but who do not have citizenship.

Mr. Crapser had been living legally in the United States under IR-4 documents given to adopted children, Ms. Walls said. In 2001, the Child Citizenship Act automatically made IR-4 holders citizens, but the law was not retroactive -- it did not benefit adoptees who were already legal adults. ''Adam was over 18 and so missed the cutoff date,'' Ms. Walls said.

Mr. Crapser said he first spoke to his family in Korea during a series of FaceTime conversations last winter. He communicated with his birth mother through an interpreter because he does not speak Korean. (He said he planned to bring a tourist phrase book with him when he is deported ''so I can read signs and stuff.'')

His American family plans to join him in Korea next year after his wife, a Vietnamese **immigrant**, becomes a United States citizen. His stepfather in Korea owns a construction company where he hopes to work so he and his family can start a new life, he said.

''That's hopefully the plan, but it's not written in stone yet,'' he said. ''We're hoping that will end up working out.''

Mr. Crapser's positive attitude belies the Kafkaesque nature of his life in the United States. The decision to deport him was just the latest trying experience in a span that has been, by any measure, exceptionally difficult.

Mr. Crapser was adopted along with his sister by an American family that physically abused both children, he told The New York Times Magazine for an article that was published in April 2015.

After six years, that family put both children up for adoption again. They were separated, and Mr. Crapser was adopted by new parents, Thomas and Dolly Crapser, who also abused him. They had several other foster and adopted children whom they also treated brutally. In 1992, they were both convicted of criminal mistreatment and assault, and Thomas Crapser was convicted of sexual abuse.

Adam Crapser was kicked out of the Crapser home at 16 and later broke back in to retrieve his personal belongings. He pleaded guilty to burglary and served 25 months in prison.

More brushes with the law followed. After his release, he was convicted of unlawful possession of a firearm. A couple of misdemeanors followed, and he was later convicted of assault after a fight, The Times magazine reported.

''Because of the chaotic nature of his upbringing, he was not able to document his status,'' Lori Walls, his lawyer, said.

Mr. Crapser said he did not realize there was a difference between being a permanent resident and a citizen until he was reunited with his sister, a naturalized citizen, in 2012.

Deportation proceedings began that year, shortly after he applied for residency documents and the authorities learned about his criminal record. The final decision was made on Oct. 24 at an **immigration** court in Tacoma, Ms. Walls said. Mr. Crapser said Monday that he expected to be deported within the next 30 days.

Mr. Crapser had never held down a steady job for more than 90 days because he could never prove his legal status, he said, something he always chalked up to a chaotic childhood. ''I pretty much had to work under the table for most of my life,'' he said.

He hoped his fortunes might finally turn around in South Korea.

''I guess in a sense the good thing is that I am a citizen of Korea so when I go back I will already be a citizen of some country,'' he said. ''I guess that's where I belong.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As South Sudanese troops entered the Terrain Hotel and began attacking the civilians -- many of them Western aid workers -- who had sought **refuge** inside, frantic pleas for help to United Nations peacekeepers stationed less than a mile away went unanswered.

That was one of the sharply critical conclusions of a report, issued on Tuesday, into the performance of the peacekeeping mission in South Sudan, where in July government soldiers went on a killing, raping and looting spree in the capital, Juba.

That mayhem worsened South Sudan's three-year-old civil war, overshadowed the fifth anniversary of independence and caused foreign aid groups to rethink their commitments there.

The peacekeeping mission's disorganized response also laid bare the unwillingness, or inability, of its troops to protect civilians in South Sudan, further eroding the already tarnished credibility of United Nations peacekeeping.

A panel of outside investigators, appointed by Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, said in its report that ''a lack of leadership on the part of key senior Mission personnel culminated in a chaotic and ineffective response to the violence.'' Mr. Ban said in a statement that he was ''deeply distressed by these findings,'' and reiterated his ''outrage over the acts of violence committed in Juba in July and the continuing betrayal of the people of South Sudan by too many of its leaders.''

His spokesman, Stéphane Dujarric, told reporters at a daily news briefing that Mr. Ban had ''asked for the immediate replacement of the force commander.''

That commander, Lt. Gen. Johnson Mogoa Kimani Ondieki of Kenya, was appointed less than six months ago and was described in an official announcement at the time as a highly accomplished international military officer with 34 years of experience.

In days of fighting that convulsed Juba, the inquiry said, two Chinese peacekeepers were killed and several wounded, and 182 buildings in the United Nations compound were struck by bullets, mortar shells and rocket-propelled grenades as thousands of civilians sought **refuge** there.

The investigation found that the peacekeeping force, composed of troops from China, Ethiopia, Nepal and India, did not operate under a unified command. It received conflicting orders, and in at least two instances the Chinese contingent abandoned its posts. The investigation also found that Nepali members of the force failed to stop looting and to control crowds inside the compound.

The report's findings suggest a pattern of lax responses by peacekeepers in protecting South Sudanese civilians. This year, panels appointed by the United Nations concluded that some peacekeepers had retreated rather than stop an attack in February, when South Sudanese soldiers overran a United Nations camp in Malakal, in the eastern part of the country.

One of the mission's most serious lapses was its failure on July 11 to respond to the attacks in the Terrain Hotel, which included sexual violence by armed South Sudanese soldiers against civilians. Among the victims were five United Nations staff members and more than a dozen other humanitarian relief workers.

Despite frantic phone calls for help to the mission's headquarters, the investigation found, rescuers never came. Many victims were rescued by a private security company the next morning.

''During the attack, civilians were subjected to and witnessed gross human rights violations, including murder, intimidation, sexual violence and acts amounting to torture perpetrated by armed government soldiers,'' the investigation said in describing the Terrain Hotel violence.

Earlier accounts of what happened at the hotel have quoted witnesses as saying the South Sudanese soldiers spent hours looting the hotel grounds, then shot their way into a bathroom where female aid workers were hiding, pulled them into an adjacent room and raped them one by one.

They also fatally shot a South Sudanese journalist who was working on a United States Agency for International Development project.

The investigators said they could not confirm other instances in which peacekeepers in South Sudan were accused of failing to respond to sexual violence that they might have witnessed on July 17 and 18.

The investigation, led by Patrick Cammaert, a retired major general from the Netherlands, spent much of September gathering information. The inquiry included 67 interviews with victims, witnesses, and ministers and officials from South Sudan.

The United Nations peacekeeping operations have been troubled in recent years by allegations that its soldiers have sexually abused civilians in the Central African Republic. And peacekeepers have been implicated in causing a cholera epidemic in Haiti after the 2010 earthquake there.

A month after the attacks in Juba, the United Nations Security Council ordered thousands of additional troops, mostly from neighboring nations, to bolster the South Sudan peacekeeping mission's 12,000-member force.

South Sudan has been ravaged by an on-again, off-again civil war since 2013, centered on a power struggle between President Salva Kiir and the opposition leader, Riek Machar. Thousands of people have been killed and hundreds of thousands displaced.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Roman Catholic Church's teaching that women cannot be ordained as priests is likely to last forever, Pope Francis said on Tuesday as he flew back to Rome from Sweden.

Francis had traveled to Sweden for a historic ceremony commemorating the year leading up to the 500th anniversary of the Protestant Reformation. He was embraced at an ecumenical church service by the primate of the Church of Sweden, Archbishop Antje Jackelen, who is a woman.

Francis has said before that the Catholic Church's ban on ordaining women as priests is a closed matter. But questions arose about his intentions after he established a commission to study whether women could be ordained as deacons. (Members of the commission were named in August.)

In a news conference aboard the pope's plane, a Swedish journalist referred to Archbishop Jackelen and asked whether it was realistic to think that there might be female priests in the next few decades.

According to reporters who were on the plane, Francis responded, ''On the ordination of women in the Catholic Church, the last word is clear.''

He cited the apostolic letter, Ordinatio Sacerdotalis, written in 1994 by Pope John Paul II, who has since been canonized. The letter said that ordaining women was not possible because Jesus chose only men as his apostles.

''It was given by St. John Paul II, and this remains,'' Francis said.

''Really?'' the Swedish journalist asked. ''Never?''

''If we read carefully the declaration made by St. John Paul II, it goes in this direction,'' Francis replied. ''But women can do many other things better than men,'' he added, noting that Mary, the mother of Jesus, is of great importance in the church's theology and spirituality.

Francis's remarks are likely to cheer Catholic traditionalists, who are increasingly prone to accusing the pope of confusing the flock on doctrinal matters. But the same remarks will probably dismay other Catholics who have said they would like to see women eventually serve as priests. About six in 10 American Catholics are in favor of allowing women to be priests, according to a Pew Research Center poll in 2015.

Many Protestant denominations have ordained women as priests and bishops for decades. Among them is the Church of Sweden, a Lutheran denomination, which decided to ordain women in 1958.

In his remarks to journalists on the plane, the pope also praised Sweden for integrating so many migrants and **refugees** into its culture, and said that other countries should not be afraid to welcome **immigrants**.

''It's not human to close doors! It's not human to close the heart,'' Francis said.

Asked whether he planned to travel to Germany to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the Reformation next year, Francis said that his schedule was still in flux but he is very likely to travel to India and Bangladesh.

In Malmo, Sweden, on Tuesday, Francis celebrated an outdoor Mass for the country's small Catholic community, and in his homily offered a new take on the Beatitudes, the blessings offered by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount.

In addition to Jesus' eight blessings for the meek, the poor and the hungry, Francis proposed six more for modern times. Among them, he said, ''Blessed are those who protect and care for our common home,'' a reference to the environment, a phrase he used in his encyclical Laudato Si.

He concluded with: ''Blessed are those who pray and work for full communion between Christians.''

It was a note of praise for those Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox and evangelical Christians who have stepped up efforts to bridge longstanding schisms. Francis's trip to Sweden to commemorate the Reformation -- begun 499 years ago when Martin Luther posted his 95 Theses to a church door in Germany -- was a dramatic gesture intended to highlight the process of reconciliation.

Some conservative Catholics on social media responded with ridicule to headlines saying that Francis had proposed six new Beatitudes. The traditionalist blog Rorate Caeli posted several more suggestions on Twitter, like: ''Beatitude #92: ''Blessed is the Martini. Nothing to add.''

Terrence Tilley, the Avery Cardinal Dulles professor of Catholic theology at Fordham University, said such a response was ''uncalled-for.'' The pope, he pointed out, was preaching on All Saints Day, when the gospel reading in the Catholic Church is the Beatitudes.

''So what the pope is doing in his sermon is making an application of the Beatitudes for today's world. He's riffing. These are variations on a theme, an ancient theme for modern times. An old creed in a new world,'' Professor Tilley said. ''It's a classic sermon technique.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Call it the crisis of whiteness.

White anxiety has fueled this year's political tumult in the West: Britain's surprising vote to exit the European Union, Donald J. Trump's unexpected capture of the Republican presidential nomination in the United States, the rise of right-wing nationalism in Norway, Hungary, Austria and Greece.

Whiteness, in this context, is more than just skin color. You could define it as membership in the ''ethno-national majority,'' but that's a mouthful. What it really means is the privilege of not being defined as ''other.''

Whiteness means being part of the group whose appearance, traditions, religion and even food are the default norm. It's being a person who, by unspoken rules, was long entitled as part of ''us'' instead of ''them.''

But national and racial identity were often conflated for the white majority. That identity felt to many white people like one of the most important pillars holding up their world -- and now it seems under threat.

There are, of course, complicated contours to 2016's unusual politics. In Britain, **immigrants** from South Asia voted heavily to leave the European Union, citing hopes that curtailing European migration might open space for more people from Asia. In the United States, frustration with and **alienation** from status quo politics have helped drive Mr. Trump's rise.

There has also always been a certain fluidity to this concept of whiteness. Irish and Italian **immigrants** to the United States, and Jews in Britain, were once seen as separate from the white national majority, and are now generally considered part of it, benefiting from racial privilege. At the same time, Jews' white skin did not protect them from being cast as outsiders by some of Mr. Trump's supporters who have circulated anti-Semitic memes on social media.

Still, experts see a crisis of white identity underlying much of the West's current turmoil.

''It's fundamentally about 'who are we?''' said Eric Kaufmann, a professor of politics at Birkbeck College, University of London. ''What does it mean to be part of this nation? Is it not 'our' nation anymore, 'our' meaning the ethnic majority?

''These kinds of questions are really front and center, even though they're not necessarily verbalized.''

The questions can seem like a sudden reversal after decades of rising multiculturalism, through the civil rights movement in the United States and the European Union's opening up of borders.

In fact, academic research suggests that other economic and social transformations unfolding at the same time have led many people to anchor themselves more fully in their whiteness -- even as whiteness itself has lost currency.

''When I look at the data, I keep coming back to this issue that it's really about identity politics,'' said Elisabeth Ivarsflaten, a professor at Norway's University of Bergen who studies Europe's far-right parties. ''This is the most powerful predictor of support for the populists.''

Gains and losses in a changing world

Identity, as academics define it, falls into two broad categories: ''achieved'' identity derived from personal effort, and ''ascribed'' identity based on innate characteristics.

Everyone has both, but people tend to be most attached to their ''best'' identity -- the one that offers the most social status or privileges. Successful professionals, for example, often define their identities primarily through their careers.

For generations, working-class whites were doubly blessed: They enjoyed privileged status based on race, as well as the fruits of broad economic growth.

White people's officially privileged status waned over the latter half of the 20th century with the demise of discriminatory practices in, say, university admissions. But rising wages, an expanding social safety net and new educational opportunities helped offset that. Most white adults were wealthier and more successful than their parents, and confident that their children would do better still.

That feeling of success may have provided a sort of identity in itself.

But as Western manufacturing and industry have declined, taking many working-class towns with them, parents and grandparents have found that the opportunities they once had are unavailable to the next generation.

That creates an identity vacuum to be filled.

''For someone who is lower income or lower class,'' Professor Kaufmann explained, ''you're going to get more self-esteem out of a communal identity such as ethnicity or the nation than you would out of any sort of achieved identity.''

Focusing on lost identities rather than lost livelihoods helps answer one of the most puzzling questions about the link between economic stress and the rise of nationalist politics: why it is flowing from the middle and working classes, and not the very poor.

While globalization and free trade have widened economic inequality and deeply wounded many working-class communities, data suggests that this year's political turmoil is not merely a backlash to that real pain.

In Britain's referendum on membership in the European Union, low education was a much stronger predictor of people voting ''leave'' than low income, according to an analysis by Zsolt Darvas, a senior fellow at the Bruegel research group.

A recent Gallup study found that Mr. Trump's supporters tend to earn above-average incomes for their communities, but also tend to live in majority-white areas where children are likely to be worse off than their parents.

Arlie Russell Hochschild, the author of ''Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right,'' describes a feeling of lost opportunity as the ''deep story'' of the rural Louisiana communities she spent four years studying.

Her subjects felt like they were waiting in a long line to reach the top of a hill where the American dream was waiting for them. But the line's uphill progress had slowed, even stopped. And **immigrants**, black people and other ''outsiders'' seemed to be cutting the line.

For many Western whites, opportunities for achieved identity -- the top of the hill -- seem unattainable. So their ascribed identity -- their whiteness -- feels more important than ever.

Whiteness is becoming less valuable

Michael Ignatieff, a historian and former Liberal Party leader in Canada, said that in much of the West, ''what defined the political community'' for many years ''was the unstated premise that it was white.''

The formal rejection of racial discrimination in those societies has, by extension, constructed a new, broader national identity. The United States has a black president; London has a Muslim mayor of Pakistani descent.

But that broadening can, to some, feel like a painful loss, articulated in the demand voiced over and over at Trump rallies, pro-Brexit events and gatherings for populist parties throughout Europe: ''I want my country back.''

The mantra is not all about bigotry. Rather, being part of a culture designed around people's own community and customs is a constant background hum of reassurance, of belonging.

The loss of that comforting hum has accelerated a phenomenon that Robin DiAngelo, a lecturer and author, calls ''white fragility'' -- the stress white people feel when they confront the knowledge that they are neither special nor the default; that whiteness is just a race like any other.

Fragility leads to feelings of insecurity, defensiveness, even threat. And it can trigger a backlash against those who are perceived as outsiders.

Even some conservative analysts who support a multiethnic ''melting pot'' national identity, such as the editor of National Review, Reihan Salam, worry that unassimilated **immigrants** could threaten core national values and cultural cohesion.

The effect of rapid change

Social scientists, after crunching data from both sides of the Atlantic, have discovered something surprising: It's not the amount of racial or ethnic diversity in a community that predicts white resentment and support of anti-**immigrant** policies, but the pace of change.

Denmark, for instance, is 88 percent white Danish today -- hardly a majority in jeopardy. But a generation ago, in 1980, it was 97 percent white. The anti-**immigrant** Danish People's Party is now the second-largest party in the Danish Parliament. In Germany, where the foreign-born population shot up by approximately 75 percent between 2011 and 2015, the anti-**immigrant**, populist Alternative for Germany party is now drawing record support.

Britain saw a 66 percent increase in its foreign-born population between 2004 and 2014. Voters who chose ''leave'' in the recent referendum overwhelmingly cited **immigration** as their main concern.

Professor Kaufmann and a colleague, Gareth Harris, found that white Britons who lived in areas that are rapidly diversifying became more likely to vote for the right-wing British National Party. Daniel Hopkins, a professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania, found a similar pattern of ethnic change leading to anti-**immigrant** politics in the United States.

**Immigrant** populations in Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee have more than tripled since 1990, noted Lee Drutman, a senior fellow at the New America Foundation, in an analysis for Vox. Anxiety over those changes may explain why the Republican Party became so much more focused on limiting **immigration**over that period -- and why white voters in those states overwhelmingly support Mr. Trump.

The whiteness taboo

For decades, the language of white identity has only existed in the context of white supremacy. When that became taboo, it left white identity politics without a vocabulary.

If you are a working-class white person and you fear that the new, cosmopolitan world will destroy or diminish an identity you cherish, you have no culturally acceptable way to articulate what you perceive as a crisis.

Some of these people have instead reached for issues that feel close to their concerns: trade, crime, the war on drugs, controlling the borders, fear of Islamist terrorism. All are significant in their own right, and create very real fears for many people, but they have also become a means to have a public conversation about what society's changes mean for white majorities.

Professor Ivarsflaten cited the U.K. Independence Party, whose official platform focused on Brexit but whose pitch to voters emphasized **immigrants**' effects on the economy and culture, as an example of an effective hybrid populist pitch.

The approach has in some cases moved from the political fringes into the mainstream. Some leaders from Britain's center-right, governing Conservative Party, for example, helped push a British exit, and since the referendum the new Conservative prime minister, Theresa May, has signaled sympathy with white identity politics.

Mrs. May's government proposed a rule that would publicly shame employers who hired foreign workers. And her first major speech was full of barbs directed against multiculturalism, including a jab against people who claimed to be ''citizens of the world,'' whom she called ''citizens of nowhere.''

But the struggle for white identity is not just a political problem; it is about the ''deep story'' of feeling stuck while others move forward.

There will not likely be a return to the whiteness of social dominance and exclusive national identity. **Immigration** cannot be halted without damaging Western nations' economies; **immigrants** who have already arrived cannot be expelled en masse without causing social and moral damage. And the other groups who seem to be ''cutting in line'' are in fact getting a chance at progress that was long denied them.

Western whites have a place within their nations' new, broader national identities. But unless they accept it, the crisis of whiteness seems likely to continue.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- Things finally seemed to be going better for Noor Salman and her husband, Omar Mateen. He had been accepted into a police training program and had showered her with jewelry to celebrate. He had given her permission to visit her family in California and handed her spending money for the trip. And he had stopped hitting her.

So when Mr. Mateen told her that he would not be home for dinner the afternoon of June 11, she asked him not to go. It was Saturday -- and she hoped it would be a family night. But he told her that he had to see a friend, kissing her and hugging their 3-year-old son as he left.

Mr. Mateen never returned home. Instead, he drove two hours from the family's home in Fort Pierce, Fla., to a nightclub in Orlando, where he killed 49 people and wounded dozens more before the police fatally shot him, ending one of the worst terrorist attacks in the United States since 2001.

Ms. Salman, whose parents **immigrated** to the United States from the West Bank in 1985, was immediately a person of interest. F.B.I. agents questioned her for hours, eliciting from her that she had been with her husband when he bought ammunition and scouted the club. Some agents came to believe that she was not being truthful.

But in an interview, the first she has given, Ms. Salman denied any involvement in the attack or any knowledge of what her husband was going to do. She described him as someone who angered easily, beat her often and lived his life in secret.

''I was unaware of everything,'' she said. ''I don't condone what he has done. I am very sorry for what has happened. He has hurt a lot of people.''

Her husband's crime, Ms. Salman said, has left her shattered and afraid. She lives in fear of turning on the television and hearing Mr. Mateen's name. She often can't get out of bed and depends on members of her family to take care of her son. She has moved three times since the attack, hoping to avoid the news media, and asked that her current location not be disclosed.

And she lives in legal limbo, with prosecutors weighing charges that could include lying to the F.B.I. Her lawyers, Linda Moreno and Charles Swift, say their client did nothing wrong. They declined to let Ms. Salman, 30, talk about her discussions with the F.B.I., but Mr. Swift said she had told investigators ''everything she knew to the best of her ability.''

In the interview, Ms. Salman said she had a reason for talking publicly now: ''I just want people to know that I am human. I am a mother.''

She first met Mr. Mateen in 2011 on an internet dating site called Arab Lounge. She was smitten almost immediately. While he was religious and she was not, it was not an issue. ''I thought he was the whole package,'' she recalled.

She also thought she was getting a second shot at happiness.

Ms. Salman grew up in Rodeo, Calif., one of four daughters of a small-business man. She was a poor student in high school but earned an associate degree in medical administration at a local college. Her dream was to fall in love, but the arranged marriage in 2006 with a man she had met on a trip to her father's hometown did not work out.

Mr. Mateen, the son of Afghan **immigrants**, had also been married before. He never told Ms. Salman that his first wife left him after he began beating her.

They were engaged shortly after meeting online and married soon afterward. Wedding photographs show a happy couple, eating cake and holding hands. In one photograph, Mr. Mateen is dancing awkwardly. Another depicts them covered with a shawl and looking into a mirror as a married couple for the first time, an Afghan tradition.

After they married, the couple moved to Fort Pierce and into a two-bedroom condominium that Mr. Mateen's mother owned. Ms. Salman quickly became pregnant. Her husband worked nights as a security guard, and she cooked and did the laundry.

''He was a gentle spirit,'' she said.

But Mr. Mateen's behavior changed abruptly about six months into the marriage. Once, after the couple went shopping for baby clothes while she was pregnant, Mr. Mateen flew into a rage and punched his wife's shoulder hard enough that it bruised, she said. Afterward, they drove to his parents' house, and before they went inside, he warned her: ''Wipe your eyes. This stays between us, or it's going to get worse.''

When he became angry, he would start biting his lips and clenching his fists. In public, he also had a code word he used if she was doing something he didn't like. He would call her ''shar.'' That was short for sharmuta -- slut or whore in Arabic.

He would also pull her hair, something she has since learned he also did to his first wife. He choked her and threatened to kill her. He never said he was sorry. ''He had no remorse,'' she said.

But Ms. Salman said she was afraid to end the marriage. If she left, Mr. Mateen taunted her, he would get custody of their son. ''You have no proof I hit you,'' he said. ''No job.''

Warning signs of radicalization can seem obvious in hindsight. Ms. Salman knew her husband watched jihadist videos, but she did not think much of it because the F.B.I. seemed to have cleared him, she said.

Agents had investigated Mr. Mateen in 2013 after he told work colleagues he was a member of Hezbollah, had family ties to Al Qaeda and wanted to die as a martyr. Ten months later, the F.B.I. closed the case. That same year, the agency questioned him again in connection with another terrorism investigation. So when Mr. Mateen told his wife to mind her own business about the videos, she did.

''The F.B.I. let him go,'' she said.

Jacquelyn Campbell, a nurse and professor at Johns Hopkins University who has received funding from the Justice Department for research on domestic violence, evaluated Ms. Salman's case at the request of her lawyers. Ms. Salman, she said, was in extreme danger from her husband. ''She would be totally oblivious to clues that he is getting radicalized or planning anything,'' Ms. Campbell said.

Ms. Salman was too busy trying to survive.

Mia Bloom, a professor at Georgia State University who has studied the role of women and children in terrorist groups, is more skeptical. She said there had been instances in which terrorists like Mr. Mateen had managed to keep quiet about their plans. But she pointed to a recent study of 119 lone-actor terrorists in Europe and the United States. Researchers found that in about 64 percent of the cases, relatives and friends had been aware of the individual's intent to commit terrorism.

''It's possible she didn't know because he was not confiding in her, but she does have every incentive in the world to retell this story as a different kind of victim,'' Ms. Bloom said. ''I am not trying to minimize the experience she had in a domestic abusive relationship, but it doesn't give her a free pass as a bystander to not come forward.''

Suspicions about what Ms. Salman might have known focus on several trips she took with her husband.

In April 2015, Mr. Mateen took his wife and son to Disney World. Law enforcement officials suspect that Mr. Mateen went there to see if it would be a good target and hinted at his intentions to conduct an attack. Ms. Salman's lawyer would not let her discuss what Mr. Mateen said at the amusement park.

Ms. Salman also went with her husband to buy ammunition at Walmart. She did not think this was suspicious, she said. Her husband was a security guard and regularly visited the shooting range. Ammunition was cheaper at Walmart than at the range, she said.

Similarly, when she and her son accompanied him to Orlando in the months before the shooting, she said, she had no idea he was checking out Pulse, the nightclub he eventually attacked. He told her, ''Let's go to Orlando for a drive,'' she recalled.

The F.B.I. is still sorting out these accounts.

In the last weeks of Mr. Mateen's life, Ms. Salman said, her husband started being kind again. She believed she was being rewarded for her silence.

On the day of the attack, Mr. Mateen came home from work around 3 p.m. He told Ms. Salman about the trip to California to visit her mother for the first time in years. He gave her $500 for the trip, and drove her and their son to McDonald's. They stopped at a bank, where Mr. Mateen withdrew another $500 for his wife. Then he left.

At home that night, Ms. Salman filled out a Father's Day card she had bought for her husband and went to bed. At about 4 a.m., Mr. Mateen's mother called, worried and looking for him. Ms. Salman tried calling him on his cellphone but got no answer.

Finally he sent her a text message: Did you see what happened? She texted back that she had not.

''I love you babe,'' he responded, the last she heard from him.

Later that morning, she learned from the F.B.I. that her husband had died in a shootout after carrying out a mass murder. Months later, recalling that day, she began to cry.

''How can someone be capable of that?'' she said.

Follow Adam Goldman on Twitter @adamgoldmanNYT .

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BRUSSELS -- A bereavement. A horrific accident. An emotional spasm. For once, the language coming from the glass and concrete buildings in Brussels is laden not with the dull acronyms of European Union jargon, but with angst.

For many of the Britons who spent years, even decades, working to integrate their nation within Europe, June's referendum vote to quit the bloc was traumatic.

Like battlefield survivors, marooned on what feels increasingly like enemy territory, they are coming to terms with a new reality: As British influence recedes here, so, too, do their careers.

They tell tales of colleagues going for coffee when they speak at meetings, or being cut out of email chains. One official said he was treated like a bereaved family member -- people avoid you, he said, because they don't know what to say.

No one will be thrown out immediately; Britain will almost certainly stay in the bloc until 2019. And many will be able to hang on for years. But there are hundreds of Britons, many of whom have brought families to Brussels, who face a choice of whether to stay, with good earnings but limited prospects, or pack their bags.

Some are already leaving, including Richard Howitt, who recently resigned as a Labour member of the European Parliament to head up a nongovernmental organization.

''People in Brussels really do care about the European idea,'' he said. ''I'm a pro-European. I'm not naïve about it. But I do feel it in my heart, and at that level it does feel like a bereavement.''

Some days earlier, he visited Parliament's 13th floor to sign a piece of paper, ending his 22 years in the body. ''I left the room, called the lift and just put my head against the wall,'' he said. ''It was an extremely difficult human moment.''

Mr. Howitt, 55, will run an organization dealing with financial transparency. ''Thousands of Britons here are suffering the same sense of grief, and also deep worry about what's going to happen next,'' Mr. Howitt added.

To make matters worse, there is little sympathy in Britain for so-called Eurocrats, whose high pay and generous allowances have long attracted envy. (Its image as a gravy train is one of the European Union's weaknesses.)

There are 73 British lawmakers in the bloc's Parliament, but most of the Britons here work as officials in European Union institutions and are not free to speak openly.

None of them are going to starve. And it seems as though many will be able to stay on. After the referendum, the president of the bloc's executive, the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, wrote to his 1,000 or so British staff members promising to do everything possible for them.

''You left your national 'hats' at the door when you joined this institution, and that door is not closing on you now,'' he said.

But having a job is not the same as having prospects, and officials believe they face a new glass ceiling, which they identify as the moderately powerful position of ''head of unit.''

Senior appointments in the European institutions are fought over. Nations battle to get their people the top jobs, and Britain's voice will no longer count. And there is a growing fear that those who stay will be sidelined as British policy influence disappears.

Robert Madelin, who took early retirement as one of the most senior British officials in the European Commission to work on new projects, believes that it is ''too early to tell'' whether British influence in Brussels is evaporating. He said he took comfort that even after Britain's departure, ''440 million European Union citizens will continue to benefit from the work one has done.''

By contrast, Paul Adamson, founder of E!Sharp, an online magazine on European issues, argues that Britain should be fighting to keep what it has for as long as possible. He regrets that Jonathan Hill resigned after the referendum as Britain's European commissioner responsible for financial services and that London relinquished its presidency of the European Union, planned for next year. ''We are writing ourselves out of the plot,'' he said.

For British members of the European Parliament, there is no confusion. They expect that British withdrawal, or Brexit, will happen before the next European elections in 2019, after which there will be no Britons.

Claude Moraes, a Labour Party lawmaker, said that politicians were used to uncertainty but that the referendum result was ''a real emotional spasm.''

An **immigrant** who arrived in Britain from India at age 6, he said the campaign had brought back uncomfortable memories.

''I grew up in the 1970s,'' he said. ''One of the things people used to say was, 'They never gave us the chance to vote on you people coming here.' ''

He grew up ''with that ringing in my ears,'' he said. ''That vote has now taken place, and it came in the form of an E.U. referendum which was about **immigration**.''

Meanwhile, Alyn Smith, a lawmaker for the Scottish National Party, which urged Scots to vote to remain, is fighting Brexit. ''They say there are seven stages of grief,'' he said. ''I went straight to anger, and I am still there. I am still fighting this.''

Not all Britons in Brussels are unhappy, however; the U.K. Independence Party, with 21 lawmakers, campaigned for withdrawal.

Vicky Ford, a Conservative Party lawmaker, is the chairwoman of Parliament's internal market committee. She has ''never had so much interest'' in what she is doing, she said, because her committee's subject matter will be at the heart of the talks.

Two other Britons, including Mr. Moraes, also head committees in the European Parliament, but these positions are up for renewal at the end of the year -- another test of British influence.

Yet another is whether Britons gain positions in Parliament as lead legislators (rapporteurs in the European jargon) on new legislation.

Some ambitious younger staff members in the European Commission are applying for other European Union passports. Many are eligible for Irish citizenship, or Belgian, by residence, although that would mean losing generous allowances.

Yet no adoptive nation is likely to support their promotion prospects when there are native-born officials to think about.

But, for many, the choice of returning home, where there may be Brexit work for European experts, may not appeal to them. It would mean ''going back to London on half the salary to work on feta cheese tariffs,'' said one of the officials not authorized to speak publicly.

But English will still be needed, and for officials in lower administrative grades, the situation may not change much. They can take heart from the story of Ann-Karin Kind, a secretary in the European Commission, who says she has had a ''fantastic career'' of 37 years -- and one that shows that for some Britons, there may be a long life after Brexit.

Ms. Kind joined the agriculture directorate when her country, Norway, was due to join the bloc. But Norwegians then voted in a 1972 referendum against membership.

''It's a bit lonely sometimes, but I understand some Danish and Swedish,'' she said, adding that she left Brussels for a few years but missed it and returned. ''My career has gone as well as that of my colleagues.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**GLENDALE, Ariz. -- When Ofelia Cañez's relatives see her coming, they do almost anything they can to avoid her and her incessant reminders to vote. They dart out of the room. They pretend to be busy. ''They close the door,'' Ms. Cañez, a 65-year-old Arizona Democratic Party field organizer, said here recently, wearing a satisfied smile and a Hillary Clinton button the size of a tea saucer.

Grandmothers like Ms. Cañez -- abuelas, as they are known in Spanish -- are at the front lines of the Democratic Party's effort to overcome a stubborn paradox: Hispanics have been voting in record numbers but have also stayed home in record numbers, as their voter participation continues to lag their population growth.

And one way to help drive more of them to the polls, Democrats believe, is by courting the ''abuela vote,'' and leveraging the unique influence and respect that older women command among Hispanics.

Armies of abuelas are out by the hundreds in states like Arizona, Nevada and Colorado, an initiative rooted in experience and research showing that the best mobilizers are often not popular politicians or celebrities, but the people a target audience knows very well.

''We've been studying and trying to understand who the most effective influencers are to turn out the vote,'' said Lorella Praeli, director of the Clinton campaign's Latino outreach program. The answer, she said, was staring them in the face: ''You don't question what Grandmother has to say.''

Abuelas may not quite be a new kind of political boss, but with expansive and interconnected social and family networks, the ones working on Mrs. Clinton's behalf are persuasive messengers. They are matriarchs of families that often have multiple generations living under one roof. Outside, many are leaders of church groups or organizers of social and civic gatherings of women.

That Mrs. Clinton could become the first female president, several said in interviews, makes their activism feel especially urgent.

Ms. Cañez's son and daughter are conservative, she said, but she has forced Clinton campaign literature on them and wears her Hillary buttons whenever she sees them. ''I'm here every day and will be here every day,'' she said during an afternoon shift at a state Democratic Party office in Glendale, a Phoenix suburb. ''This is a very personal campaign for me. For all of us.''

Here in Arizona -- a state with a large Hispanic population that is already voting -- the Clinton campaign and the state Democratic Party have used abuelas, and more conventional tactics, to turn a deep-red state into one where Mrs. Clinton has pulled close to Donald J. Trump in polls.

Close to half of the Arizonans expected to vote have already cast ballots; registered Democrats in early voting are within a few percentage points of Republicans, who have carried the state in all but one presidential election since 1952. Women have constituted 54 percent of all early voters. Mrs. Clinton will make her first campaign appearance in the state, on Wednesday in Tempe.

Nationally, the Democratic abuela outreach is a more formal, centralized version of what has happened on the local level for some time.

In Nevada, Natalie Montelongo and Vanessa Valdivia, two young volunteers, recognized the power that Hispanic mothers and grandmothers wielded in driving turnout last year when they were organizing Democrats for the presidential caucuses.

After watching how women came into their office asking to register their children, grandchildren, nieces and nephews, the two developed an approach that combined grass-roots politics with Mary Kay-style marketing: Each Hispanic woman who signed up pledged to recruit five friends, who would each recruit five more.

Ms. Montelongo and Ms. Valdivia were so successful that the Clinton campaign hired them both. And they are now working in Colorado, trying to replicate their efforts in the heavily Hispanic neighborhoods in and around Denver.

''This opens a door that wasn't open to us before,'' Ms. Montelongo said. It does not hurt, she added, that the abuelas are seldom wallflowers.

''They're not afraid to be direct,'' she said. ''They have the harder conversations that we can't always have with people who we want to be supporters.''

She offered a bit of advice gleaned from personal experience: ''Don't mess with them.''

Turnout among Latinas, and among minority women more broadly, is one of the more overlooked aspects of a presidential campaign that has focused so much on swaying white, college-educated women. But minority women were a critical factor in President Obama's 2012 re-election. Black women turned out at a rate of 70 percent -- higher than any other group. Latina turnout was 50 percent, exceeding Hispanic male turnout by four percentage points.

Three-quarters of women newly eligible to vote since 2000 have been minorities, according to an analysis of census data published by the Center for American Progress, and Latinas made up the biggest chunk. There are now at least 5.9 million more of them who can vote than there were when George W. Bush was first elected -- an 83 percent increase. At the same time, population growth among white women has plateaued.

The trend is especially pronounced in Arizona, where the Latina voting-age population has grown by almost 70 percent since 2000. In a sign of their nascent political power and high level of engagement, Latinas here have made up a larger share of the electorate in midterm elections, when far fewer people vote on the whole, than they have in presidential years, the Center for American Progress said.

''There's a saying that I never forget,'' said Barbara Valencia, 64, a retired college administrator who lives in Tempe. ''You educate a man, you educate a person. You educate a woman, you educate a family.'' Ms. Valencia, like Ms. Cañez, is part of a group of Hispanic women in their 50s, 60s and 70s who are working with the state Democratic Party to bolster turnout in their communities.

It has not been easy, for a variety of reasons. Indifference about voting can be pervasive and hard to crack, these women said. In families that are first-generation American, which can sometimes include undocumented **immigrants**, there is often a sense of unease about interacting with the government. And the 27.3 million Hispanics of voting age are, by and large, younger than their black, white and Asian-American counterparts. Some 44 percent of Hispanics eligible to vote this year are millennials, according to projections from the Pew Research Center.

In fact, much of the growth in the Hispanic voting-eligible population is coming from people who are turning 18, making the pool of available voters not just unreliable but also often unregistered.

Mary Rose Wilcox, 66, who in 1982 became the first Latina elected to the Phoenix City Council, said she fights apathy every day.

She recalled how, early in Mr. Trump's campaign, she grew so offended by his remarks about Mexican **immigrants** that she emailed her five sisters and told them that they could not sit this election out.

''I told them, 'It's time, ladies,''' she said. ''We've got to make sure all our kids are registered, all their friends are registered, and we've got to get them out.''

But the Trump fear factor actually might not be as potent as Democrats hoped. In a survey published in September, Univision asked voters in Arizona, Colorado, Florida and Nevada whether they believed Mr. Trump would deport all undocumented **immigrants**. Only about a third of voters replied that they did.

Which leaves it to abuelas like Ms. Wilcox to use their powers of persuasion.

Those powers are especially important in bridging the generational divide in families that are not new to the country, because second-and third-generation children are often far removed from the struggles of their **immigrant** elders.

''You have to bring them back down to reality,'' Ms. Wilcox said of her grandchildren, some of whom work for her in the small chain of Mexican restaurants she owns with her husband.

''I said, 'If you don't vote for Hillary, you're out,''' she said, laughing.

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the First Draft newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**SYDNEY, Australia -- Australia's prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull , faced increasing criticism on Monday over a law he proposed that would stop asylum seekers who try to arrive by boat from ever setting foot in Australia.

The legislation, which he said would be presented to Parliament when it resumes its session next week, would block migrants and **refugees** who have been sent to Australia's offshore processing centers on Manus Island and Nauru. The lifetime ban would apply to adults who attempt to come to Australia by boat, regardless of where they settle and are eventually granted citizenship.

''It is a critically important strong message to send to people smugglers,'' Mr. Turnbull said at a news conference in Sydney on Sunday. ''They must know that the door to Australia is closed to those who seek to come here by boat with a people smuggler. It is closed.''

A draft of the proposed legislation has not yet been released, and it must pass the Senate, where the government lacks a majority, before it can become law. But it has already drawn strong criticism from **refugee** advocates and some opposition lawmakers.

''**Refugees** go on to be world leaders, chief executives of major companies, doctors, scientists, lawyers,'' said Madeline Gleeson, a lawyer at the Kaldor Center for International **Refugee** Law at the University of New South Wales . ''Those people can never come here. Not as a tourist, not to attend a medical conference.''

The government needs the support of the opposition Labor Party or independent lawmakers in the Senate to pass the legislation. The government holds a one-seat majority in the House of Representatives. Independent lawmakers, including Senator Pauline Hanson, leader of the right-wing One Nation party, gained greater support from voters in a national election in July. Ms. Hanson has welcomed the proposed changes to the Migration Act.

But the leader of the left-leaning Australian Greens, Senator Richard Di Natale, described the proposed law as ''barbaric.'' He said a number of **refugees** on Manus Island and Nauru already had family members in Australia whom they would never see again if the legislation were passed. He accused the government of pandering to a hard right-wing agenda and said he would call on independent lawmakers to block the proposal.

''They will be prevented from seeing their parents and from seeing brothers and sisters under this policy,'' Mr. Di Natale said. ''It is barbaric. It's cruel. It's shameful. It's cynical politics.''

The leader of the opposition Labor Party, Bill Shorten, did not immediately rule out supporting the legislation but said in a statement that his party would need to examine it after it was released. ''It seems ridiculous to me that a genuine **refugee** who settles in the U.S. or Canada and becomes a U.S. or Canadian citizen is banned from visiting Australia as a tourist, businessman or businesswoman 40 years down track,'' he said. One Labor lawmaker, Senator Lisa Singh, described the proposed changes as cruel.

Hugh de Kretser, a lawyer from the Human Rights Law Center in Melbourne, said the changes would mean a lifetime ban from visiting Australia for any migrant who had been sent to Manus Island or Nauru. He added that under the legislation, a **refugee** who was resettled in a third country could never come to Australia to visit family, or even as a tourist, despite gaining citizenship elsewhere.

The changes would affect all adults who arrived at the offshore processing centers after July 19, 2013. The date was selected because that was when former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd announced that ''as of today, asylum seekers who come here by boat without a visa will never be settled in Australia,'' Mr. Turnbull said on Sunday.

Peter Dutton , the **immigration** minister, said people who were under 18 when they were sent to either Manus or Nauru would be exempt from the law.

Mr. de Kretser said the legislation, if passed, would permanently separate families. He said one **refugee**'s wife and children arrived in Australia before July 2013 and were now applying for visas while living in the country. The husband, however, arrived later, after a change to Australia's **refugee** policy, and was taken to Manus.

''He will never see his children,'' Mr. de Kretser said.

Mr. Dutton said the government was working to find third countries that would accept those living on Manus Island and Nauru. Mr. de Krester said that around 1,200 men, women and children were being held in Nauru and 900 men on Manus Island. New Zealand had offered to take in **refugees**, but the Australian government declined that offer, believing that lenient migration laws between the countries would allow **refugees** to eventually resettle in Australia.

The Australian government has a harsh policy of turning boats laden with asylum seekers back at sea, towing them into international waters. Mr. Turnbull said that in 800 days, no asylum seeker had successfully arrived by boat, and there had been no deaths at sea.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDBy many measures, Chobani embodies the classic American **immigrant** success story.

Its founder, Hamdi Ulukaya, is a Turkish **immigrant** of Kurdish descent. He bought a defunct yogurt factory in upstate New York, added a facility in Twin Falls, Idaho, and now employs about 2,000 people making Greek yogurt.

But in this contentious election season, the extreme right has a problem with Chobani: In its view, too many of those employees are **refugees**.

As Mr. Ulukaya has stepped up his advocacy -- employing more than 300 **refugees** in his factories, starting a foundation to help migrants, and traveling to the Greek island of Lesbos to witness the crisis firsthand -- he and his company have been targeted with racist attacks on social media and conspiratorial articles on websites including Breitbart News.

Now there are calls to boycott Chobani. Mr. Ulukaya and the company have been taunted with racist epithets on Twitter and Facebook. Fringe websites have published false stories claiming Mr. Ulukaya wants ''to drown the United States in Muslims.'' And the mayor of Twin Falls has received death threats, partly as a result of his support for Chobani.

Online hate speech is on the rise, reflecting the rising nationalism displayed by some supporters of Donald J. Trump, who has opposed resettling **refugees** in the United States.

''What's happening with Chobani is one more flash point in this battle between the voices of xenophobia and the voices advocating a rational **immigration** policy,'' said Cecillia Wang, director of the **Immigrants**' Rights Project at the American Civil Liberties Union.

Chobani and Mr. Ulukaya declined to comment for this article. The Trump campaign did not reply to a request for comment.

Mr. Ulukaya arrived in upstate New York in the 1990s to attend school. By 2002, he was making and selling feta cheese inspired by a family recipe. A few years later, he learned that a local yogurt and cheese factory that had closed was for sale. He received a loan of $800,000 from the Small Business Administration to purchase the factory, and started selling Chobani yogurt in 2007.

As the business grew, Mr. Ulukaya needed more help. When he learned there was a **refugee** resettlement center in a nearby town, he asked if any of the newcomers wanted jobs at Chobani. Mr. Ulukaya provided transportation for the new hires, and he brought in translators to assist them. He paid the **refugee**workers salaries above the minimum wage, as he did other workers at the factory.

When Chobani opened its factory in Twin Falls, Mr. Ulukaya once again turned to a local resettlement center. The company now employs resettled **refugees** from Iraq, Afghanistan and Turkey, among other countries.

''The minute a **refugee** has a job, that's the minute they stop being a **refugee**,'' Mr. Ulukaya said in a talk he gave this year.

Today, Chobani has annual yogurt sales of around $1.5 billion. Last year, Mr. Ulukaya signed the Giving Pledge, promising to give away a majority of his fortune to assist **refugees**.

Chobani and the other companies working with **refugees** are not exploiting them, said Jennifer Patterson, project director for the Partnership for **Refugees**, a federal program.

''It's the exact opposite,'' Ms. Patterson said. ''These companies are looking to provide resettled **refuges** with the ability to live happy and productive lives.''

Chobani's work with **refugees** went largely unnoticed until this January, when Mr. Ulukaya spoke at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. His message -- that corporations needed to do more to assist **refugees** -- broke through the high-minded rhetoric.

''He was quite a sensation there,'' said Kenneth Roth, executive director of Human Rights Watch, who attended the event. ''Here was someone who went beyond the well-meaning chatter of Davos and was walking the walk.''

Cisco, IBM, Salesforce and more joined others in pledging assistance to **refugees**. Those companies and others began working with the Tent Foundation, which Mr. Ulukaya founded last year. Chobani has pledged to help other companies learn how to effectively integrate **refugees** into a work force.

But while an alliance of well-known companies was now working together on the issue, the online critics zeroed in on Chobani. Shortly after Mr. Ulukaya spoke in Davos, the far-right website WND published a story originally titled ''American Yogurt Tycoon Vows to Choke U.S. With Muslims.''

Then this summer, Breitbart, the conservative news website whose former executive chairman, Stephen K. Bannon, is now running the Trump campaign, began publishing a series of misleading articles about Chobani.

One drew a connection between Chobani's hiring of **refugees** and a spike in tuberculosis cases in Idaho. Another linked Chobani to a ''Twin Falls Crisis Imposed by Clinton-Era Pro-**Refugee** Advocates.'' A third conflated Chobani's hiring practices with a sexual assault case in Twin Falls involving minors.

As Breitbart began publishing its articles, the online attacks grew more intense. On Twitter and Facebook, users called for a boycott of Chobani. An image was widely shared on social media that claimed Mr. Ulukaya was ''going to drown the United States in Muslims and is importing them to Idaho 300 at a time to work in his factory.'' And bloggers fabricated stories claiming that Chobani was pressuring local officials ''to facilitate their multitude of Muslim friendly/Islamification requests.''

Soon the mayor of Twin Falls, Shawn Barigar, found himself at the center of a conspiracy theory.

''It got woven into a narrative that it's all a cover-up, that we're all trying to keep the **refugees** safe so that Chobani has its work force, that I personally am getting money from the Obama administration to help Chobani hire whoever they want, that it's part of this Islamification of the United States,'' he said. ''It's crazy.''

As the online comments escalated this summer, Mr. Barigar and his wife received death threats.

Breitbart said it was simply covering the news.

''Breitbart has been a leader in delivering important and breaking news on **refugee** crises throughout the Western world, which pose both national security and financial risks,'' Alex Marlow, editor in chief, said in a statement. ''Mr. Ulukaya hasn't merely involved himself in this issue, he's been one of the leaders in expanding **refugee** resettlement in the United States. Breitbart's explosive growth is due in large measure to the mainstream media's refusal to cover vital topics like this one.''

But civil rights advocates said they believed it was no mystery why Mr. Ulukaya was targeted while other chief executives had been spared. ''It's because he's an **immigrant** himself,'' Ms. Wang of the A.C.L.U. said.

Mr. Roth of Human Rights Watch attributed some of the xenophobia directed at Chobani to the election season.

''Some people are feeling left behind, and some people are concerned about terrorists,'' he said. ''But Trump has given a voice to these sentiments.''

Mr. Barigar, a Democrat, concurred. ''Donald Trump really fueled a sentiment about **immigration** that is shared by a very small part of our community,'' he said. ''We are an agricultural center. We've depended on **immigrants** for a half-century or more.''

Mr. Ulukaya appears undeterred. In September, he participated in a round-table discussion with President Obama and business leaders on how corporations could do more to help **refugees**.

And his work with **refugees** is part of a broader suite of initiatives. He recently gave 10 percent of Chobani shares to his employees, and he is offering paid parental leave to all employees.

''He's the xenophobe's nightmare,'' Mr. Roth said. ''Here's an **immigrant** who isn't competing for jobs, but is creating jobs big time. It runs completely counter to the far-right narrative.''

Correction: November 4, 2016, Friday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An article on Tuesday about criticism of Hamdi Ulukaya, founder of the yogurt maker Chobani, because of his hiring of **refugees** misstated the timing of a round-table discussion Mr. Ulukaya participated in with President Obama and business leaders. It was in September, not ''last month.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ESCALANTE, Utah -- With the jury acquittals last week of Ammon and Ryan Bundy and their accomplices in the 41-day armed takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge** in Oregon last winter, the lives of federal land managers in the American West got a whole lot more difficult.

This was more than just a court victory.

The Bundys landed a blow against a culture of public service embodied by the federal employees responsible for maintaining law and order and protecting our wildest Western landscapes. And while we don't know the reason for the acquittals in what seemed like an open-and-shut case of guilt, it comes against a backdrop of deep antipathy in parts of the West toward the environmental regulation of the hundreds of millions of acres of rangeland, forests and national parks managed by the federal government on behalf of all Americans.

This hostility is particularly strong in the high desert of southeastern Oregon that is home to the **refuge**, described by the environmental historian Nancy Langston in an Op-Ed article earlier this year as ''a place of bitterly contested human histories that remain potent today.''

The federal land managers I've spoken to -- rangers, biologists and law enforcement officers, almost all of them so fearful they won't go on the record -- worry that extremist copycats who seek to undermine the federal public lands system will be emboldened by the verdict.

And why shouldn't they be afraid? This isn't the first time the Bundy family has struck in their crusade against the federal government. The Nevada rancher Cliven Bundy, the father of the two men acquitted in the Oregon case last week, led an armed standoff in 2014 against federal agents who had sought to seize his cattle, which had been grazing illegally on federal land for more than two decades, and continue to do so.

''The message of the Malheur verdicts is that the federal land management agencies stand alone,'' Dennis McLane, the retired deputy chief of law enforcement for the Bureau of Land Management, told me.

In an email to employees, Daniel M. Ashe, the director of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, which runs the **refuge**, described a traumatized staff at Malheur, whose work to protect wildlife and habitat there was put on hold during the occupation. ''The lives and careers of many employees and family members will never be quite the same,'' he wrote. ''Even now, though many employees have returned, they continue to bear the scars of this traumatic experience.''

Interior Secretary Sally Jewell wrote in a message to employees that she was ''profoundly disappointed in this outcome,'' and was ''concerned about its potential implications for our employees and for the effective management of public lands.''

To get a sense of the implications, I talked with federal employees closest to where I live, here in Escalante, Utah, the northern headquarters of the 1.9-million-acre Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. This is one of the crown jewels overseen by the B.L.M., the agency that has come to symbolize for the Bundy militia movement the overreach of federal regulation of the public domain.

Carolyn Shelton, recently retired after 15 years in a high-level management position at the Grand Staircase, told me that ''since this Bundy thing started'' with the 2014 standoff, ''we have been embattled, in a constant state of turmoil.''

B.L.M. employees who had worked for her ''are angry, they are fearful, they are confused,'' she said, and added, ''Dealing with this toxic environment of animosity is a huge distraction from what we should be doing in public service, which is taking care of the land.''

Assaults and threats of violence against federal employees on public lands in the West were up last year, following Cliven Bundy's standoff but before the takeover of the Oregon **refuge** by his sons, according to figures compiled by the group Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility.

Threats and assaults against B.L.M. employees rose to 28 from 15, and to 155 from 97 against employees of the United States Forest Service.

Before Ms. Shelton retired last August, security was significantly expanded at monument facilities to guard against attacks on employees and buildings, including installing panic buttons, dual-authentication door locks and, in some buildings, bulletproof glass.

She told me the Utah office of the B.L.M. went so far as to hire a former military terrorism expert, who advised that in the event of ''security threats'' -- which are constant -- B.L.M. employees should not go out in the field, wear B.L.M. uniforms or drive B.L.M.-marked vehicles.

''It's gotten to the point that we do active shooter drills,'' Ms. Shelton said. ''It's insane trying to do your job in this environment. It's all money and time spent not protecting the resources. All we want is to do the job the American public has entrusted us with.''

The government may yet have its day. Cliven Bundy and his sons remain in custody and still face federal charges for their armed confrontation with government agents in 2014. A trial date has been set for February.

But at this point, from this vantage, the Malheur militants, triumphant in court, have also triumphed over the American people, who all share ownership of the land the Bundys covet.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LUND, Sweden -- Almost 500 years after Martin Luther nailed his 95 theses to a church door, setting off more than a century of religious warfare and forever changing the practice of Christianity worldwide, Pope Francis on Monday urged atonement and Christian reconciliation.

Visiting the cities of Lund and Malmo in southern Sweden for a joint Catholic-Lutheran commemoration of the Reformation, the pope observed the 499th anniversary of Luther's protest of the sale of indulgences by noting the beneficial impact it had on Catholicism.

''With gratitude we acknowledge that the Reformation helped give greater centrality to sacred Scripture in the church's life,'' the pope said in a joint declaration at Lund Cathedral with Bishop Munib A. Younan, the head of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Jordan and the Holy Land and the president of the Lutheran World Federation.

The trip, which kicked off a year of events leading up to the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, was announced in January, but it was no less striking for those who listened to the pope. Sweden played a pivotal and troubling role in Protestant and Catholic history. From the 16th century, Catholics were persecuted and even put to death in Sweden. As recently as 1951, Catholics were barred from becoming doctors, teachers and nurses, and Catholic convents were banned until the 1970s.

Some Catholics and Lutherans, especially those whose families are intermingled, hoped that the event would produce a concrete step toward the two churches' allowing their members to take communion in each other's worship services. In their joint declaration, Pope Francis and Bishop Younan acknowledged the divide, but said only that they were working toward a resolution through dialogue.

''We experience the pain of those who share their whole lives, but cannot share God's redeeming presence at the Eucharistic table,'' the declaration said. ''We long for this wound in the body of Christ to be healed. This is the goal of our ecumenical endeavors, which we wish to advance, also by renewing our commitment to theological dialogue.''

The Lutheran World Federation was founded in Lund in 1947, in an effort to unite churches after World War II. One of the main obstacles to relations between Lutherans and Roman Catholics was bridged in 1999, when the Vatican and the federation signed a joint declaration on the doctrine of justification, a core belief about God's forgiveness of sins.

Francis was the first pope to visit Sweden in 27 years, and only the second pope to visit the Scandinavian country. In Lund, he met with King Carl XVI Gustaf, Queen Silvia and Prime Minister Stefan Lofven.

''We, too, must look with love and honesty at our past, recognizing error and seeking forgiveness,'' Francis said.

The prayer service in Lund was watched by about 10,000 people who packed Malmo Arena, about 14 miles away, where Caritas and the Lutheran World Service, humanitarian arms of the two churches, pledged to work together for peace and justice.

Teresa Jodar, 58, who lives in Stockholm but is a native of Valencia, Spain, said she had taken the train from Stockholm to Malmo in the morning to bear witness.

''This is a historic event,'' she said. ''I am a Catholic. We are not celebrating the Reformation. That was a sad separation. But we are celebrating taking a step closer. It is wonderful that we can work together instead of thinking about all of the differences that separate us.''

Ms. Jodar said she planned to stay for an All Saints' Day Mass that the pope will celebrate on Tuesday in Malmo for an estimated 19,000 people.

Her friend Luisa Hugosson, 67, a native of Colombia, chimed in. ''The pope's visit is good for Lutherans and Catholics,'' Ms. Hugosson said. ''We are living in a new time, and we must be open and show respect.''

Carmen Godawszky, 71, sat with three friends on a train from Stockholm to Malmo, and they reflected on the pope's message urging countries in Europe to open their doors to migrants.

''Of course, we can't be against that,'' Mrs. Godawszky said. ''My husband came to Sweden as a **refugee** from Hungary in 1956. Everyone has been a **refugee** at one point or another. Just think of all the Swedes who moved to the U.S.A. because they didn't have food or money.''

Although Sweden is predominantly Lutheran, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Stockholm counts 113,000 members in 44 parishes throughout the country.

Anders Arborelius, who converted to Catholicism when he was 20, is the country's first Catholic bishop of Swedish origin since the Reformation.

''We are leaving the past behind us and focusing on what we have in common, that we can together go out and help people,'' he said in a telephone interview on Sunday.

Although the ecumenical service on Monday marked a reconciliation, there are still major doctrinal differences between the churches, on subjects like the role of women in the church and the Eucharist.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BEIRUT, Lebanon -- Michel Aoun, a charismatic retired general, polarizing Christian politician and ally to Hezbollah, was chosen president of Lebanon on Monday morning, ending a two-and-a-half-year vacuum that had tested the country's ability to function without political leadership.

Mr. Aoun, 81, has developed a fervent political base of supporters who consider him a last hope for the country's dwindling Maronite Christian community. But his detractors are just as passionate, blaming him for allying with his onetime enemies, the Syrian government, and with the militant group Hezbollah, which is backed by Iran and Syria and listed as a terrorist group by the United States.

The Lebanese Parliament met in a ceremonial session in Beirut on Monday to formally anoint Mr. Aoun, who secured the requisite number of ballots after four rounds of voting. Gunfire and honking broke out in East Beirut after Mr. Aoun passed the voting threshold in Parliament, and the proceedings were broadcast on every major TV network.

The voting itself made clear the condition of a legislature that failed on 45 previous occasions to even muster a quorum for a presidential ballot. On Monday, the speaker of Parliament had to cancel two rounds of voting simply because someone had slipped an extra ballot into the transparent box. The whole process took two hours and included votes cast for the pop star Myriam Klink and Zorba the Greek.

For all that, Mr. Aoun's ascendancy was assured last week, when the main Lebanese political parties finally brokered a deal that would put Mr. Aoun, Hezbollah's favored candidate, in the presidential palace. That agreement gave the prime minister's post to Saad Hariri, a Sunni Muslim and former prime minister who is preferred by Saudi Arabia. Top positions in Lebanon are allocated by religious sect in a delicate balancing act.

The resolution of Lebanon's painfully drawn-out leadership battle marks a small victory for Iran on the score card of its regional struggle against Saudi Arabia, which had indirectly pushed for a different presidential candidate, Suleiman Frangieh.

The choice kicks down the road any decisive action to revamp the dysfunctional consensus model for Lebanon's political system, which enables any of the country's sectarian warlords to veto government decisions. As a result, Lebanon has been unable to effectively address any of its recurring crises, including questions as diverse as how to manage millions of **refugees** or how to pick up the garbage.

''I believe that for the time being and for the foreseeable future, nothing is going to change,'' said Ramez Dagher, an analyst who runs a blog about Lebanese politics called Moulahazat. Unless there are other secret agreements, Mr. Dagher said, Mr. Aoun comes into office unusually free from constraints, other than choosing Mr. Hariri as prime minister.

''He is in a better position to maneuver,'' Mr. Dagher said. ''But that might also mean that the deadlock might be transferred from the presidential elections to the government formation and everything else that comes afterward.''

In a combative inaugural address to Parliament, Mr. Aoun vowed to defend Lebanon from terrorism, strengthen the military and take measures to push Syrian **refugees** to return home.

''Lebanon is walking through a minefield but is still at a safe distance from the flames in the region,'' he said. ''One of our priorities is to prevent igniting a spark and to adopt an independent foreign policy.''

Known to his followers as ''the General,'' Mr. Aoun has pursued the presidency for decades. In the 1980s, during Lebanon's civil war, he served as chief of staff of the army and led one of two rival Lebanese governments. During the last two years of that war, from 1989 to 1991, Mr. Aoun's forces clashed with rival Christian militia groups and with the Syrian military -- a round of fighting that did nothing to alter the final outcome of the conflict but was one of its most destructive and violent chapters. Mr. Aoun boycotted the peace talks that ended the war.

Mr. Aoun won much of his popular support because of his reputation for independence. He has railed against Lebanese corruption and the tradition of warlords' handing political parties from father to son. The political party that Mr. Aoun founded in 2005 upon return from a 15-year exile in France, the Free Patriotic Movement, immediately emerged as the dominant Christian party.

Soon after, Mr. Aoun rocked Lebanon's political landscape by making peace with Syria, his longtime enemy, during a visit to Damascus. In 2006, he formed an alliance with Hezbollah.

As his party garnered greater power, however, Mr. Aoun's maverick reputation took a beating. His son-in-law, Gebran Bassil, has been accused of graft and corruption. But that did not stop Mr. Aoun from handing over the party's leadership to Mr. Bassil in 2015, in an opaque transition that many party activists decried as antithetical to the party's stated democratic principles.

Lebanon has reeled under the strain of the civil war next door in Syria, which at times has spilled over the border. At least 1.5 million displaced Syrians have fled to Lebanon, meaning that one in three residents of Lebanon is a **refugee**. And the country's main political factions support opposing sides in Syria.

The previous president, Michel Suleiman -- also a former army chief of staff -- finished his term in May 2014. Since then, Lebanon has navigated a series of political crises with a caretaker cabinet but with no president.

The major political parties in the country had been deadlocked in the search for a consensus president. They failed to negotiate a new election law, which had been another major sticking point, but finally reached a deal on Mr. Aoun and Mr. Hariri, while leaving the rest of Lebanon's affairs in limbo. The parties reached the agreement after years of discussions, in close consultation with representatives from foreign powers including Iran, Saudi Arabia and the United States.

Traditionally, Lebanese politics has reflected regional and international power struggles, most notably the competition between Iran and Saudi Arabia for influence across the Arab world. But, some analysts say, those two regional powers largely lost interest in Lebanon as their power struggle intensified in Syria. The Saudis grew disenchanted with Mr. Hariri and his political vehicle, the Future Movement, which steadily lost influence over its Sunni constituents after the assassination of Mr. Hariri's father, Rafik, in 2005.

''As the theater of conflict between the stakeholders in the Middle East has shifted to places like Syria and Yemen, Lebanon has become less significant,'' said Elias Muhanna, a historian at Brown University and an expert on Lebanese politics. ''The reins have slackened between Lebanon's political parties and their regional backers, and the country has drifted aimlessly for the past five years.''

Iran and its local ally, Hezbollah, have had the upper hand in Lebanon since Saad Hariri was forced to resign as prime minister in January 2011.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It's only a mild spoiler to reveal that the main characters of the new TBS comedy ''People of Earth'' -- members of an Alcoholics Anonymous-like support group for **alien** abductees -- are actual **alien** abductees. They've seen the bright lights overhead and been sucked up into the hovering ship. And they all agree on one peculiar aspect of their experience: Before sending their captives back to Earth, the **aliens** took the trouble to tell them ''You. Are. Special.''

And they are. The slight but appealing ''People of Earth,'' which begins on Monday, is a contemporary anti-comedy or semi-comedy with a traditional sitcom core. The misfits who meet at a church to share their abduction stories are special in the same way as the drivers and mechanics of ''Taxi'' or the barflies of ''Cheers'' or the superannuated students of ''Community.'' They're especially, comically delicate.

David Jenkins, who created the show and wrote the pilot (Greg Daniels of ''Parks and Recreation'' is an executive producer), has fleshed out a premise with multiple nodes for humor. There's the support group, StarCrossed, which is as defensive as you'd imagine and prone to internecine sniping. It also provides the opportunity for abduction flashbacks for each member. There are the **aliens**, a squabbling group who scorn humans but don't seem to be making much progress in their mission to dominate the planet.

And then there's the protagonist, Ozzie Graham (Wyatt Cenac), a reporter who comes to do an exposé of StarCrossed and finds himself joining the group. It turns out that his frequent conversations with talking deer may be a sign of a past abduction.

The overall result is pleasant, even beguiling, but it feels a little inconsequential in a season that has brought us new comedies like ''Atlanta,'' ''Insecure'' and ''Fleabag.'' Mr. Jenkins gets good mileage out of the Stooge-like threesome of **aliens** -- one of each major variety, reptilian, gray and white -- in their antiseptic ship. And he has fun with the insecurities of the support group, whose members insist on being called ''experiencers'' rather than abductees, because it gives them more ''agency.''

Through the first four episodes, though, the human characters don't really come into their own in comic terms, except for Brian Huskey (''Veep'') as Richard, who's the most conspiracy-minded of the group. His abduction broke up his marriage, and now he sees **aliens** everywhere -- when he waves a document that he says is a clever communication from the ''reptilian council,'' the rest of the group has to point out that it's a divorce summons. (Amy Landecker of ''Transparent'' pops up as his long-suffering wife.) Mr. Cenac, with his sleepy rhythms and general air of disbelief, is a good fit for Ozzie, but he doesn't get to do a lot besides react to the eccentricities of everyone around him.

''People of Earth'' provides a funny line or detail just often enough to keep you watching, however, like the Segway-mounted desk of Ozzie's digital-honcho editor or the fact that the **aliens**' headquarters on Earth is in the back room of a doughnut shop. Bjorn Gustafsson, who gives the show's most distinctive performance as an overly emotional **alien**, also has one of its best, if simplest lines: Having been dragged into bed by a libidinous abductee, he looks down at her and says of the unfamiliar human activity, ''Man, this is really hard work.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Bracero Program, which drew hundreds of thousands of Mexican laborers to toil in American fields from 1942 to 1964, left a searing memory of injustice. The program has been blamed for depressing farm wages and abusing **immigrant** workers.

So I wasn't surprised that some critics took a dim view of the proposal I wrote about in last week's column, which suggests that an improved version of the Bracero Program might help manage **immigration** by low-skilled workers into the United States and curtail illegal **immigration**.

Critics argue that the Bracero Program did not stop illegal **immigration**. And they cite some evidence that farm wages rose after it ended. Other studies, however, suggest otherwise. There is no historical census of illegal **immigrants**, so the numbers will remain in dispute.

Today, undocumented **immigrants** make up about half the agricultural labor force; guest workers under the H-2A visa program make up a much smaller share. Wages are hardly great. As more Mexican **immigrants** leave the United States than arrive, wages for field laborers average less than $12 an hour. That's about one-third less than the average pay in the notoriously low-wage retail sector.

With Washington expected to return next year to the issue of illegal **immigration**, the debate deserves even greater attention. David Bacon, a journalist and author, and Philip Martin, an expert on **immigration** an the University of California, Davis, offer critical views of the proposal for a new guest worker program. Michael Clemens of the Center for Global Development -- the main author of the new blueprint to regulate migration from Mexico -- and Edward Alden of the Council on Foreign Relations, another author, respond. Their letters were lightly edited.

''Spread California's laws giving farm workers a legal process for forming unions.''

From David Bacon

The column by Eduardo Porter proposing a new Bracero Program contains significant misstatements of fact. They dramatize the reasons civil rights leaders of the 1960s, including Ernesto Galarza, Cesar Chavez, Bert Corona and Larry Itliong, opposed the old Bracero Program and persuaded Congress to end it in 1964.

Porter says apprehensions of people crossing the border dropped to zero during the 1950s. In fact, over a million people were deported in the notorious Operation Wetback operation in 1954. Anti-**immigrant** enforcement increases during periods of large guest worker programs, because those workers are needed to force migration into those channels.

Porter says farmworker wages hardly soared after the Bracero Program ended. In fact, the period in which farmworker wages rose the fastest was during the two decades afterward. Itliong and Filipino workers, whose strikes were broken by growers bringing in braceros, struck in 1965, the year after the program was abolished. When Mexican workers under Chavez joined that strike, the United Farm Workers union was born. The contracts achieved at the union's height in the 1970s and early '80s gave farmworkers the highest wages, taking inflation into account, that they have ever had.

Porter suggests that a bracero program could be made palatable if employers were ''encouraged'' to hire workers in the United States first and had to apply for certification, and if workers were protected by United States labor law. Those requirements already exist for current guest worker programs. They have failed completely to protect workers' rights, as documented by the Southern Poverty Law Center report ''Close to Slavery.''

Porter proposes that part of workers' wages be withheld and paid only after the harvest and their return to Mexico. Withholding wages like this is illegal for workers in this country. To this day, growers, banks in Mexico and the United States, and the Mexican government all blame each other for millions of dollars of withheld wages that have ''disappeared,'' and braceros are still fighting to reclaim them.

If the purpose of Porter's proposal is not to provide labor at low wages, then I have a counterproposal. Spread California's laws giving farm workers a legal process for forming unions and requiring growers to negotiate union contracts when they do to every other state. When workers have unions, higher wages and more protections, growers will find it easier to attract people to fill those jobs.

David Bacon is the author of ''Communities Without Borders: Images and Voices from the World of Migration'' (Cornell University/ILR Press, 2006), ''Illegal People: How Globalization Creates Migration and Criminalizes **Immigrants**'' (Beacon Press, 2008), and ''The Right to Stay Home: How U.S. Policy Drives Mexican Migration'' (Beacon Press, 2013).

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''The era of border enforcement has cost taxpayers tens of billions of dollars.''

From Edward Alden

In the summer of 2005, I visited then Representative, now Senator Jeff Flake on his parents' ranch in Snowflake, Ariz. When he was a kid, the ranch hired dozens of Mexicans each year to tend crops that would feed the cattle when the winter snows came. Nearly all were unauthorized migrants; they simply followed the work and better wages, as their fathers had done before them.

The Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico were long part of a single labor market, with a line drawn by their governments in between. If the governments wanted to regulate what Douglas Massey of Princeton called this ''circular migration,'' there were only two choices -- legalize the flow or criminalize it and impose harsh consequences.

The United States has tried both. In the 1940s, it worked with Mexico to create the badly flawed Bracero Program, which nonetheless helped reduce illegal migration to a trickle. The data are clear -- as bracero quotas expanded, reaching 400,000 annually in 1954, illegal migration fell sharply. With the elimination of the program in 1964, accompanied by new quotas in 1965 that for the first time restricted legal Mexican migration to the United States, illegal migration soared.

For the last two decades, the United States has tried the opposite approach -- a fierce border clampdown. The number of Border Patrol agents grew from a few thousand in the early 1990s to more than 21,000 today, nearly 700 miles of fences were built, and drones and other sensors now drape the border. Illegal migration from Mexico has fallen to its lowest level since the early 1970s.

Each of these approaches, however, has been very costly. Under Bracero, poorly designed rules and lax enforcement led to abuses of workers' rights and unfair wage competition for United States workers. The era of illegal migration that followed was no better for Mexican or United States workers, and it led to the collapse of the American public's confidence in the **immigration** system. The era of border enforcement has cost taxpayers tens of billions of dollars, enriched coyote smugglers and led to hundreds of migrants dying each year in dangerous desert crossings.

Our report ''Shared Border, Shared Future'' argues that the two countries can do better. A well-designed bilateral labor agreement would require employers to pay a significant premium for Mexican workers; allow workers to switch employers freely; apply all United States labor laws to migrants and permit unions to organize; and give migrants the choice of returning home or seeking permanent residence.

These requirements go far beyond the current H-2 programs and would address head-on the legitimate criticisms of many past temporary worker plans. And sustained enforcement would be needed to ensure that illegal paths do not again become more attractive than the legal ones for migrants and for employers.

Much has been learned since the Bracero Program was ended more the 50 years ago. It is time to apply those lessons and regulate Mexico-United States migration to better serve the interests of Mexican workers, American workers and employers.

Edward Alden is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and an author of the study Managing Illegal **Immigration** to the United States: How Effective is Enforcement?

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''The farm labor market today is responding to rising wages as economics predicts.''

From Philip Martin

Rather than substituting for illegal migration, the Bracero Program set the stage for large scale illegal Mexico-United States migration via two major channels. First, the availability of braceros combined with water projects and the Interstate System of highways allowed labor-intensive agriculture to expand far away from consumers, so that California replaced New Jersey as the nation's garden state. Second, Mexican workers and United States farmers gained experience working with one another, a mutual dependence they were reluctant to end.

Nevertheless, there was not an immediate upsurge in illegal migration after the Bracero Program ended. Instead, farm wages jumped 40 percent, from $1.25 to $1.75 an hour in the United Farm Worker grape contracts of 1966. The lack of braceros prompted a wave of labor-saving mechanization, including forklifts in the fields to move 1,000-pound bins of produce, and the mechanization of the tomato harvest. Modern personnel management, such as scheduling work carefully and identifying and retaining the best workers, permitted fewer workers to do the work.

There are three important lessons from developments in the farm labor market after the Bracero Program. First, economic principles worked, as a reduced supply of labor led to higher wages that primarily reduced the demand for farm workers. Second, farm employers began to treat more expensive workers better, adding benefits such as health insurance and pensions to retain experienced workers. Third, farmers anticipating ever-higher wages sponsored research on labor-saving mechanization, so that one major study predicted there would soon be no hand-labor jobs on farms.

Rising unauthorized migration in the 1970s reversed these trends. One example tells the story. In the late 1960s, the citrus industry supported 70-odd projects aimed at harvesting oranges mechanically; by 1980, this industry support ended. Increases in unauthorized migration stabilized labor costs and reversed grower incentives to treat farm labor as an ever-rising cost.

Today we are at another farm labor inflection point, and farm employers are responding with the four strategies expected by rising labor costs: satisfy current workers to retain them on the farm work longer, stretch their productivity with mechanical aids that raise productivity, substitute machines for workers where possible and supplement the aging work force with younger H-2A guest workers. Just as in the mid-1960s, the farm labor market today is responding to rising wages as economics predicts, making it hard to understand the call for new and untested guest worker programs.

Philip Martin is chairman of the Comparative **Immigration** and Integration Program at the University of California, Davis, and editor of the newsletters Migration News and Rural Migration News.

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''It is time to move past the failed policies and fossilized positions of the previous generation.''

From Michael Clemens

I write to correct several statements by David Bacon and Phil Martin regarding Eduardo Porter's discussion of a proposed United States-Mexico labor migration agreement by the ''Shared Border, Shared Future'' working group.

Bracero visas obviously substituted for illegal migration. Immediately after the United States vastly raised the number of visas to an adequate 400,000 in 1954, illegal migration collapsed to near zero for the duration of the program. This outcome required both the adequate legal pathway and stronger enforcement, as Kelly Lytle Hernandez documents in her groundbreaking book, ''Migra! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol.''

Substantial illegal migration occurred exclusively in the early years of the program, when the number of visas -- around 100,000 a year -- was insufficient. But the end of this legal channel in 1965 was followed by unprecedented illegal migration in the 1970s and '80s.

Mr. Bacon and Professor Martin misrepresent the labor-market effects of excluding bracero workers. They are right that farm wages rose in the states that excluded braceros in the late 1960s. They do not mention that farm wages rose by the same amount, in the same years, in states that did not exclude any braceros (because they never had any). Farmers' response to bracero exclusion was to quickly adopt labor-saving technologies -- particularly in cotton, tomatoes and sugar beets -- in perfect accordance with ''economic principles.'' That actually harmed United States farm workers by eliminating many of their own jobs.

Mr. Bacon mentions the unacceptable abuses of workers under the existing seasonal work visa. That is why this new proposal departs sharply from that tainted model. The proposal prevents workers from being tied to a single employer, and it eliminates unscrupulous recruiters the only way it can be done: bilaterally. He also mentions that many braceros' wages were stolen. No one knows that better than this group, which includes Alejandro Poiré, a former director of the Mexican government's program to restitute those losses. Thus the group insists on a 21st century system to transfer any withheld wages from the United States government securely and directly to individual workers.

Professor Martin suggests that the Mexican migration of the 1970s to 1990s was somehow created by the bracero agreements in the 1950s. But Mexican migration networks are far older; the Mexican-born fraction of the labor force in Texas, Arizona and New Mexico was higher in 1920 than 1990.

The policy decision of 1965 was to outlaw those longstanding, generational traditions of temporary mobility across the border. The dark consequence of that decision is today's giant black market in labor that has immeasurably harmed United States and Mexican workers. It is time to move past the failed policies and fossilized positions of the previous generation, and the ''Shared Border, Shared Future'' report offers a specific vision of how to do that.

Michael Clemens is a senior fellow at the Center for Global Development. He was the lead author of ''Shared Border, Shared Future: A Blueprint to Regulate U.S.-Mexico Labor Mobility.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Wangs vs. the World

By Jade Chang

354 pages. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. $26.

A riches-to-rags story, an **immigrant** story and a quixotic road trip are bundled into Jade Chang's sharply funny first novel. Charles Wang, a self-made millionaire, loses his Bel-Air estate and everything else in the 2008 economic collapse. Until then, Charles, a cosmetics mogul, was accustomed to getting his way -- whether cheating in business or on his second wife: ''Money made everything easy to indulge.'' Now, unable to pay his children's tuitions, he pulls his teenage daughter, Grace, out of private school, and his son, Andrew, from college. Then he demands that the family join him on what proves to be a hellish cross-country journey in an old powder-blue Mercedes station wagon. They'll seek **refuge** at the Catskills farmhouse of his elder daughter, Saina, a Conceptual artist with plenty of her own problems. Charles is already planning his grand comeback scheme, reclaiming valuable ancestral land in China. He's disillusioned and angry, dismissing America as ''a great deceptor,'' because ''all it could do was destroy -- fortunes, families, lives.'' This novel is overstuffed with subplots and detours, but Charles -- with an ego larger than his homeland and a relentless determination to ''wrestle America to the ground and take her milk money'' -- makes the ride worthwhile, as does the author's savage takedown of the American dream.

The Comet Seekers

By Helen Sedgwick

290 pages. Harper. $25.99.

At a research station on earth's remotest continent, Roisin and François find love. Both are haunted by trauma. She is an Irish astronomer studying comets in Antarctica, having fled a messy, intense (and sexual) relationship with her cousin Liam: ''This is what she needs. Somewhere wild and inhospitable and brutal where she can try to understand what has happened.'' François, a French chef working at the base, has reluctantly abandoned his troubled mother, Severine, who raised him alone in Bayeux and never left. As a child, François used to stargaze and watch comets with Severine as she told stories of magic and ghosts. He never understood his mother's refusal to travel, but more inexplicable was her habit of talking with a rotating cast of family ghosts -- quarreling with them, confiding in them, consoling them. What was a necessary attachment for Severine became a shameful secret for her son. ''Do you think it's strange to love something you don't understand?'' François asks Roisin as he's falling for her. It's one of the great questions of this exquisitely layered, thrilling novel, which leaps across centuries and continents to delve into the role of destiny and the elusiveness of perception and memory. These characters are as awe-struck by the intimate moments of everyday life (''the taste of his skin where she once licked fresh water from the crease inside his elbow'') as they are by the vast night sky. A less gifted writer might have made this material too whimsical or sentimental. Ms. Sedgwick wisely takes a laconic approach to the supernatural and a romantic approach to the scientific.

The Invisibility Cloak

By Ge Fei, translated from the Chinese by Canaan Morse

126 pages. New York Review Books. $14.

The avant-garde writer Ge Fei (the pen name of Liu Yong) is one of China's most celebrated authors, yet until now his fiction had never been translated into English. In this enigmatic 2012 novel, the middle-aged Mr. Cui lives in Beijing with his sister and her husband, who want him out. He has nowhere to go. His wife divorced him, promptly married her boss and became pregnant. He has one friend, whom he has known since childhood, but their interactions tend to leave him humiliated. He spends his days in solitude, building and installing custom amplifiers for a rarefied, dwindling group of hi-fi enthusiasts. ''It's probably the most insignificant industry in China today,'' he says. An obsessive oddball, he occupies ''the same rung of the social ladder as beggars.'' Yet he's also a snob who despises his clients' middlebrow musical tastes and mocks their banal and pretentious conversations: ''He liked to use the phrase 'in point of fact' a lot,'' Cui says of one client. ''I couldn't say why.'' Cui is indifferent to love, family and ambition, but his grim life becomes decidedly more intriguing when, through bizarre circumstances, he encounters a woman whose **alienation** matches his own.

The Mothers

By Brit Bennett

278 pages. Riverhead Books. $26.

Suicide, abortion, grief, religion, female friendship and first love are bold themes to tackle in a debut novel, but 26-year-old Brit Bennett seems admirably repelled by caution. In a Southern California town, the Upper Room Chapel is the center of a close-knit African-American community. Nadia Turner, a high school senior, is the congregation's first member to earn a university scholarship, and she's headed to Michigan in the fall. But she's grief-struck, recovering from the death of her mother, who shot herself in the head, and dealing with a genial but distant father. Nadia has also lost her virginity to Luke Sheppard, the pastor's son, and decided to have an abortion: ''She couldn't let this baby nail her life in place when she'd just been given a chance to escape.'' (The devastating scene in which she undergoes the procedure occurs in the first chapter.) Nadia finds the aftermath lonely: ''She'd had a mother and now she didn't, and she'd been pregnant but now she wasn't.'' Her promising future (she hopes to become a civil rights lawyer) might be in jeopardy, as well as her close friendship with Aubrey Evans, another motherless girl and, unlike Nadia, a devout Christian. Luke's future may be threatened, too. As his stern mother notes, ''Black boys couldn't afford to be reckless.'' Told partly in first-person plural by a group of judgmental busybodies known as the Mothers (''church folk can gossip''), the story follows the ways in which these three teenagers are drawn together and wrenched apart. Ms. Bennett allows her characters to follow their worst impulses, and she handles provocative issues with intelligence, empathy and dark humor. Her risk-taking pays off.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDHistory offers strange consolation: No matter how alarming current events (or a presidential election) may be, historians can usually point to analogous episodes we survived in the past.

So who better to consult about our imminent election than the Pulitzer-winning presidential historian and biographer Doris Kearns Goodwin and the MSNBC host and political commentator Rachel Maddow?

Ms. Goodwin, 73, has written five critically acclaimed and best-selling presidential biographies, including ''Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln,'' the basis, in part, for Steven Spielberg's film ''Lincoln''; ''No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II''; and ''Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream,'' which grew out of Ms. Goodwin's tenure as a White House fellow at age 24. She worked directly with President Johnson in his last year in office and later assisted him with his memoirs. Ms. Goodwin received her Ph.D. in government from Harvard.

Ms. Maddow, 43, has hosted ''The Rachel Maddow Show'' weeknights on MSNBC since 2008. It is currently the network's highest-rated program. Like other shows on MSNBC, it leans liberal. But Ms. Maddow has been praised by many for the civility with which she treats all guests, prioritizing information and context over the hysteria so often evident on cable news.

She is the author of the best-selling book ''Drift: The Unmooring of American Military Power.'' Ms. Maddow earned a doctorate in politics from Oxford University, where she was a Rhodes scholar.

Over an early lunch of eggs and toast at the Gotham Lounge in the Peninsula Hotel in Midtown Manhattan, a few days before the final presidential debate this month, the pair discussed the coming election in historical terms: the temperamental forebears of Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump among our presidential ranks, the ambitions of candidates and their skills for the job.

Philip Galanes: So, in terms of crazy, does this election have an historical peer?

Rachel Maddow: For sure. It's not like we've never had a figure like Donald Trump in public life before.

PG: Really?

RM: There's some Huey Long there, and some P. T. Barnum. Some George Wallace.

Doris Kearns Goodwin: We've had plenty of populist figures in our past, but they had a different degree of substance than Mr. Trump. William Jennings Bryan [the Democratic nominee for president in 1896, 1900 and 1908] came out of a period like today. The industrial revolution was like our tech revolution and globalization. The pace of life had sped up and made people anxious. Telegrams and telephones were fast. **Immigration** was huge. And Bryan's supporters, like Trump's, were fearful about the way the country was changing.

RM: I'm more interested in whether there are parallels for political parties falling apart. As Doris wrote in ''The Bully Pulpit,'' our democracy unofficially depends on two major parties that can carry their own weight.

DKG: This is where history can give us solace. When parties split up, as the Whigs did in the 1850s, over slavery, we got the Republican Party and Abraham Lincoln, our greatest leader.

PG: I feel better already.

DKG: But then you have 1912, when Teddy Roosevelt decided to run against Taft. He knew that Taft had the Republican delegates, so he created the primary system: ''Let the people rule!'' It was democratic, no doubt about it. But the race was so vitriolic, it sounds like today. Taft calls Teddy a dictator; Teddy calls Taft a pinhead. And The New York Times says, ''If this is the first attempt at the primary system, we sincerely hope it's the last.''

PG: Has the temperament of a candidate ever been so center stage before?

RM: In 1964, for sure. The bead on [Barry] Goldwater was that he was a nut. L.B.J. successfully characterized him as someone who couldn't be trusted with the nuclear codes.

DKG: But it's come to the surface more today.

RM: Maybe because we get more access to the president as a human being than we used to. With the White House photographer posting all those moments on Instagram. And so much attention on his family.

DKG: Good point. Before, the candidates were leaders of one party or the other. The parties had platforms, and you were voting on what they promised you. You didn't really know them as human beings.

PG: And is temperament just code for hotheaded?

DKG: No, temperament is your basic orientation toward life. The Elizabethans boiled it down to four types: You were choleric or sanguine or melancholy or aggressive. You can be a good leader from any of them. Lincoln was melancholy, but what a president! It's more to do with how you grow, how you learn from your mistakes.

PG: How do you feel about Hillary's guarded temperament?

RM: I think it's a form of emotional maturity. It takes intellectual stamina to stay open, as a leader and a mind, to absorb information and adversity.

DKG: And criticism. That's what Eleanor Roosevelt decided. When people were against her, it meant they were against her ideas, not against her personally. True or not, it gave her enormous leeway not to take criticism personally.

RM: That's a form of strength.

DKG: Where Trump goes wrong is when he says, ''I have the best temperament of anyone who's ever run for president -- a winning temperament.'' That's completely a-historical. Our best presidents have all gone through adversity. Whether it's Lincoln's suicidal depression, or Teddy Roosevelt losing his wife and his mother on the same day in the same house, or F.D.R. getting polio, they all went through trials by fire and emerged stronger for it. Nobody wins all the time.

RM: It's also too on the nose. You can never say, ''I am humble.'' You have disproved the assertion by saying it. Same with ''best temperament ever.''

PG: Which president does Hillary most remind you of?

RM: Fascinating! It's so hard not to factor gender. Which dude is she most like?

DKG: It would have to be someone who had a lot of experience in different forms. Teddy Roosevelt probably came to the presidency with most experience: police commissioner, Civil Service commissioner, state legislator, governor, vice president, president. Bush Sr. also had a lot of title positions and brought an array of experiences.

RM: But there's often an **alienation** factor when people -- like Hillary or Bush Sr. -- come to you with all those experiences. They're no longer seen as a person to have a beer with. It makes it harder for people to empathize with them. I think George H. W. Bush suffered from that enormously.

DKG: They become personages rather than people.

PG: Have you met the candidates?

RM: I met Hillary in a professional capacity. I interviewed her. But what happened off-camera was almost more interesting. I don't think of her as an extrovert, but when we were done, she met every single person on set, my entire staff, the whole floor, including the cleaning crew. Shook hands, took pictures. She was being kind to people who had an interest in her. But to see her do that, willingly, at the end of her 11th event of the day, that surprised me.

PG: And Trump?

RM: I've only spoken to Trump on the phone. He was warm and charming. I enjoyed talking to him. But a funny thing happened when I was negotiating with his staff. They insisted that the conversation was off the record. I could never even refer to the fact that it had happened. But at the end of it, Mr. Trump said: ''Well, this has been a good conversation. You can run it.'' I said: ''I'm not taping it. Your people said I couldn't even refer to it.'' And he said, ''This wasn't on TV?''

PG: I bet you're a go-to person for candidates, Doris, with your presidential patina?

DKG: I was on the radio when my Roosevelt book came out, talking about how most of the action takes place on the second floor of the White House. Roosevelt invited all these people to live with them during World War II: His foreign policy adviser moved in and never left; Lorena Hickok, who had a crush on Eleanor; Princess Martha from Norway. Winston Churchill would stay for weeks at a time. So, I said, ''I'm obsessed with all the great conversations they must have had in their bathrobes.''

It turned out that Hillary was listening. She was in the White House then. And she called me up at the radio station and said: ''Come stay overnight at the White House, and we can figure out where everyone slept.'' And she followed up on her promise. So, the president and Mrs. Clinton and my husband and I go through every room on the second floor with my map, and we figure it out. Bill and Hillary were sleeping where F.D.R. was. And my husband and I are in Winston Churchill's room. No way could I sleep -- with Churchill in the corner, drinking his brandy and smoking his cigar.

RM: Have you stayed in touch with Hillary over the years?

DKG: Not for a while. I went to see her after they won the race in 1996. Chelsea was going off to school, and my kids had gone to college. We talked about missing them. And she told a funny story about Jackie Kennedy telling her which designers to wear. Hillary said, ''Clearly, I'm never figuring that out.'' She was very open.

RM: Does she seem different to you now?

DKG: Oh, I don't know. Maybe a little more defensive. But my guess is that if she's able to win, knowing: ''I'm the first female president of this country,'' that is such a huge thing. It's been totally overshadowed in this election. That would give her the confidence to say, ''I'm going to be like F.D.R. and meet the press twice a week.'' She could get out of that insular world.

PG: Let's stick with that: ambition and evolution. Most of us can track our ambitions in life to some childhood hurt: chilly parents, poverty. We work to overcome it. But when I talked with Jimmy Carter for this series, he spoke about a transformational moment -- a political defeat and deep depression -- that galvanized his desire to help all Americans. Does that happen with the great presidents?

RM: You mean, they stop thinking about themselves and start thinking of the world?

DKG: Without question. Lincoln was rare. He had it from the beginning. When he's 23 years old, he's already talking about leaving the world a better place for having lived in it. Franklin Roosevelt may have been president without polio. But once polio happened, he identified more with people whom fate had dealt an unkind hand. He was more empathetic than he would have been. Even L.B.J., who always had this strain of caring about ordinary people. He went for power after he lost the first senate race. Then he has an almost fatal heart attack in '55 and comes all the way back to his New Deal ambitions. He was more ready than we knew to be the liberal president.

PG: How about your ambitions?

DKG: My parents died when I was young -- my mother of a heart attack when I was 15, my father when I was in my 20s. I think it made me want to tell stories of people who were dead to somehow bring them back to life. I didn't think about it at the time. But it is stories that keep people alive. That's where my ambition for history came from.

RM: My ambitions were scattershot. I've never been a planner. I find myself with an opportunity and decide if I want to take it. Then I dig in. I just want to be good at it. And I'm more motivated by fear of failure than ambition to succeed.

PG: But that makes sense for someone who started as an AIDS activist.

RM: I grew up in the Bay Area, which was the epicenter of the AIDS epidemic. And when I came out, it was a community that was fighting for survival. People my age and immediately older were dying. There aren't many circumstances in life, unless you're in the military, when you know a lot of people in your marching order who die before you're 25. That's humbling in terms of ambition.

DKG: It does what Teddy Roosevelt did: It makes you want to do well whatever you're doing at that moment.

RM: Because you don't know if there's going to be another.

PG: It's the empathic crisis that Jimmy Carter talked about. Do you see that in Hillary or Trump?

DKG: I see it in her. There's a doubleness of purpose there. That's what you're looking for in a good politician. Of course they want power. But you also hope that they want to do something with it. That's what L.B.J. said when he first got in: ''I'm not just going to strut to 'Hail to the Chief.' I want to do something for poor people, for black people.'' And when you look at what Hillary's done through her career, it's been there, too. She needs to communicate that: not just what she did for children, but what she wants to do for all of us.

PG: For a long time, I put irrational hatred of Hillary down to sexism.

RM: There's some of that.

PG: But hasn't it gotten worse? ''Lock her up! Lock her up!''

DKG: Hatred of ''the other'' has grown exponentially. It started with the Clinton impeachment, then the hatred of Bush, then the hatred of Obama. I agree, it's of a different level when you say, ''Put her in jail.'' But once I was on ''Meet the Press,'' and they put up this demographic map that showed that people don't even want to live near people who think differently than they do.

RM: That's a profound way to look at it. But there's a simpler way: We saw the partisan hatred directed towards Bill and also Hillary Clinton when he was president. Now she's getting Round 2. Nobody else gets Round 2.

PG: At the beginning of the Trump phenomenon, I thought he was going to play it very ''Morning in America'': ''I've got a zillion dollars and a million friends with a thousand ideas to make things better.'' But it didn't go that way.

DKG: Because he's so vulnerable underneath.

RM: And it's turned very dark now that he's talking about Hillary Clinton and the cabal of global elites. I heard that speech before. It was translated.

PG: And now the election rigging ----

RM: But let's imagine Trump wins. Anything can happen. Is there anything about him that could be a good building block for a leader?

DKG: You just have to hope. The worrisome thing is that we keep imagining that he's going to become presidential at some point, that he'll put behind him all the things he says about people, that he won't react so personally. Then he keeps doing it.

RM: One thing that's underappreciated about Trump is his sense of humor.

DKG: Where do you see this?

RM: When he talks about how great he is, sometimes I think he's doing it in a self-deprecating way. And that makes me worry less about what seem to be his toxic insecurities.

DKG: Well, he has been a master at breaking news.

RM: Which is a kind of political genius, orchestrating coverage the way he has, if you don't care about seeming offensive or hurting your party.

PG: Really?

RM: Look, I'm not persuading you. I'm just trying to imagine him as president and prepare for it as a country.

DKG: There's something about the office. In 2000, there was a fear that George W. Bush would never be a legitimate president. But he was, despite that incredible election and how it looked like it would shadow him. Something happens when they get in the presidency.

RM: And the worry with George W. was not just legitimacy. It was whether he was mature enough and intelligent enough to do the job. Then he got in there and did it.

DKG: He was a fuller person, we now know. Whether or not we agree with the decisions he made, he did fill the presidency. I guess that's what you have to hope if Trump wins.

PG: But look at how everyone is gripping the table.

Continue following our fashion and lifestyle coverage on Facebook (Styles and Modern Love), Twitter (Styles, Fashion and Weddings) and Instagram.

Correction: November 6, 2016, Sunday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: The Table for Three interview last Sunday featuring Doris Kearns Goodwin and Rachel Maddow misstated the surname of the Democratic nominee for president in 1896, 1900 and 1908. He is William Jennings Bryan, not Bryant.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In one of the most emotionally wrenching presidential races in living memory, Donald J. Trump's support is as level as a pond. In polls, it is holding steady around 41 percent, right where it was after the first debate in late September. This plateau has persisted through the second and third debates with his opponent, Hillary Clinton, and the revelation of his recorded boasts of sexual assault. Even the stunning public rebuke of Mr. Trump by the parents of the Iraq war hero Capt. Humayun Khan in late July was followed by a swing of just a few percentage points, quite small by historical standards. Why has Mr. Trump's support not collapsed further in the face of some fairly damning revelations?

Such high stability in polls is not new. It started several decades ago. One measure of the stasis of modern campaigns is how much each party's support in polls changes over the course of a campaign. From 1952 to 1992, the average range -- the difference between maximum and minimum levels of support -- was 17 percentage points. Since 1996, the range has dropped to 8 points. Mr. Trump's range is 4 points, from 39 to 43 percent.

At his lowest point, Mr. Trump still had more support than George McGovern, who got the smallest percentage of the popular vote by a major party candidate in the postwar era in 1972, with 38 percent. Mrs. Clinton's average margin over Mr. Trump of five points has been enough to make her the first candidate to maintain a durable lead in an open presidential race since Dwight D. Eisenhower defeated Adlai Stevenson in 1952. So the bigger question is not about Mr. Trump, but why the last six presidential campaigns became so stable.

The answer is polarization. The same forces that propel a radical candidate to a party's nomination also provide a floor through which he is unlikely to fall. Mr. Trump's ascent is the culmination of trends that began in the 1990s, when Newt Gingrich introduced the Contract With America, and adopted tactics like government shutdowns and impeachment. More than any national figure since Sarah Palin, Mr. Trump embodies these attitudes.

The founders thought that a physically far-flung Republic would avoid such ''mischiefs of faction.'' In The Federalist No. 10, James Madison suggested that the slowness of communication between distant states would prevent the formation of organized factions inflamed ''with mutual animosity.'' But modern communication has rendered Madison's point of view obsolete. At the same time that voting patterns stabilized in the 1990s, instant long-distance communication allowed the coordination of message and ideology across long distances -- and Republicans are more likely to be found in sparsely populated areas.

Madison thought that even if a faction shared common motives, physical distance would make it difficult ''to discover their own strength, and to act in unison with each other.'' Partisan media is not new, of course -- in the 1800s, the chief funding for newspapers came from political parties -- but talk radio, Fox News and Breitbart can reach like-minded voters with tremendous speed. Social media intensifies the segregation of voters by providing channels of communication tailored to specific preferences. When cable news organizations often seem unwilling to call out falsehoods, wrong information can cause tremendous damage. Technology has made Madison's vast republic virtually small.

Communication goes two ways, and Mr. Trump takes this to an extreme. A reality TV star and a leader in the birther movement, he quickly became the first choice of a plurality of Republican voters from the start of his candidacy in 2015. He is adept at using Twitter to send messages to his nearly 13 million followers. Mr. Trump's success with Republican voters at odds with the party establishment can be explained by the fact that he is one of them, raised up to be their nominee. They will not abandon him, any more than they would abandon themselves.

Voter entrenchment is maintained in part by negative feelings about the opposition. Such warfare takes a toll. The approval ratings of both major nominees have declined steadily over the last 20 years, and Mr. Trump is the most negatively viewed nominee that Gallup has ever recorded. Democratic-leaning voters and many college-educated Republicans find it unthinkable to support Mr. Trump given his appeals to racial and anti-**immigrant** resentment. In 2012, Mitt Romney came with the baggage of his party; in 2016, Mr. Trump is baggage personified.

For this reason, Mrs. Clinton's support is unlikely to flag even as her email has again attracted the attention of the F.B.I. Likewise, for committed Republicans, support for Mrs. Clinton is out of the question. In a Florida survey, 84 percent of Trump voters said that Mrs. Clinton should be in prison, and 40 percent said she was a demon.

With polarization, many voters' preferences have become predictable from their social and cultural characteristics. Even so-called undecided voters are more decided than they realize. It has been suggested that the Republican Party is motivated today not by political conservatism, but a reaction against contemporary life. Trump voters resemble Romney and McCain voters. They are whites who are more likely to be evangelicals who did not graduate from college. Tensions between these groups and elites and minorities limits the range of support that either side's candidate will receive.

Partisan geography has become more fixed, too. In terms of patterns of relative strength and weakness, the electoral map is more stable than it has been in 50 years. For this reason, talk of Mrs. Clinton's winning Texas is overblown. If that happens, I promise to eat a bug.

Mr. Trump's candidacy has revolved almost entirely around emotionally powerful issues like race, **immigration** and anti-Muslim sentiment. The more you feel a decision in your gut, the less likely it is that you will change your mind. White nationalists think white nationalism is great, but others are repelled. And in a Raycom/Mason-Dixon poll of the Louisiana Senate race, supporters of the white supremacist David Duke favored Mr. Trump over Mrs. Clinton by a margin of 81 percent to 6 percent.

Voter polarization translates easily to extreme legislative bodies. In any district dominated by one party, representatives are determined mainly in primary elections, when turnout is low and the most likely voters are motivated partisans, fulfilling Madison's fear that ''a common passion or interest will, in almost every case, be felt by a majority.'' By numerical measures of ideological intensity, from the 1970s to the 1990s, centrism steadily disappeared from the House Republican caucus. Single-party domination has expanded since 2012 because of increased partisan gerrymandering, which eliminated dozens of competitive districts. These trends suggest that partisan gridlock will continue long after Election Day.

Although technology has contributed to polarization, it may also help rescue us. For example, Facebook has automated story selection for its custom news feed; for political news this tends to foster an echo-chamber effect. However, Facebook data scientists have found a better source of diversity: almost 30 percent of hard-news reports originating from friends reflect opposing views. Even better, individuals are likelier to engage with information like this when it is presented in a social context.

For now, we are stuck with an intensely emotional campaign that has been a significant source of stress for more than half of adults. The American Psychological Association has, for the first time, issued tips on dealing with election-related stress. Strong emotional experience reduces mental flexibility, suggesting that when tempers run high, as they have for many voters this season, entrenched support for a party or candidate is more likely. So if you wonder whether there is anyone left to persuade, the answer is probably no. We're too freaked out.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**THE GUSTAV SONATA

By Rose Tremain

240 pp. W.W. Norton & Company. $26.95.

Two boys meet cute in kindergarten: Gustav, the son of a ruined police chief, is told to look after Anton, the son of a Jewish banker who has been sent to the sticks after a breakdown. The teacher just wants to cope with a tearful newcomer, but her order will hand Gustav the plan for the rest of his life. At the age of 5, he finds a durable kind of friendship. He can love someone who won't love him back, someone just like his mother. He can be swept off his feet by the most disruptive of human passions, even less manageable than love: the need to look after another person.

The place is small-town Switzerland in the years after World War II, when there was hunger even in the land of chocolate and rösti. Nothing can be mentioned, but everything has consequences. Survival is an issue. Gustav's dead father, for example, is a man who lost his job for doing the right thing: trying to save Jewish **refugees** from the Nazis even after the Swiss had closed their borders. He is not an official kind of hero.

Go forward some 50 years and Anton will compose a piano piece called ''The Gustav Sonata''; so it says on the last page of Rose Tremain's remarkably interesting novel. But the true ''Gustav Sonata'' is something different: It is the book itself.

Tremain's answer to the complexity, the variations, the unknowable elements in her story is to build the narrative like music: a sonata in three parts, set in different times. She lays out themes, she develops them, she repeats them until they sing a rather different song. A sonata is usually allegro, so for all the density of detail there's a cracking sense of pace, and the themes themselves are as haunting and sharply contrasted as they should be -- love and lovelessness, heroism and banality, vision and narrowness.

This isn't a bookish game. Anyone who's ever tried to make fiction around facts as terrible as the Shoah or characters as morally muddled as the wartime Swiss will understand it very well. You need a strategy to maneuver between absolute duty to historical fact and the way the mind needs to interpret and invent. You need a way to tell a story and also interpret it.

This kind of story comes with ghosts, some of them literary, and they have to be acknowledged. You can't have a chapter called ''Magic Mountain'' and set a scene in a Davos sanitarium without raising the ghost of Thomas Mann. In Mann's time, Davos was still an alpine sick bay for the tubercular, an isolated world where people had all too much time to think. Tremain's is very different; it's the one fantasy she lets the two boys share, and remember.

Above the forest they find a huge ruin, glass broken and roof off, but with one room full of light and 20 or 30 iron beds. They imagine patients for this sanitarium, and they decide which ones will live and which will die. If they choose death, they have to do something with the imaginary bodies; they resolve to burn them in ''an enormous oven, still choked with ash.'' They even cut up bamboo chairs so they will have convincing bones.

The image is horribly alive, and the thinking comes later; it's a reminder of all those fine and alarming things Tremain can do in her short stories. The boys are allowed this once to find the power that lovers fancy we have by being together -- even the power of life and death. They manage to kiss, and on the lips.

But the sense of sharing and the passion soon die down, as though Tremain was interrupting her own argument with a dead writer. She shows the wreckage of Mann's humanist mountaintop, starts echoes of the death camps that helped ruin it, the ovens and the bones. Then she returns to her music, which is inevitably more abstract.

Gustav fancies himself as a minor-key Aschenbach, the genius whose orderly intellectual being is shattered by a lovely boy in Mann's ''Death in Venice''; he thinks he has the same kind of stifled passion for Anton and it will inevitably end in death. Yet he ''refused to see himself as Aschenbach,'' we're told soon afterward, and how could he?

He isn't a lover so much as a carer, the one who brings soup to the sick, who is required to stop bad things from happening. He does get to share a room with ''the person I love most in the world'' and even receives a bit of ''rough urgency,'' but only after a half-century of waiting. In the meantime, he hardly has an emotional or a sensual life. Tremain is so good on passion -- Gustav's mother insists that he learn to ''master'' himself, but she is deliriously lost when she first meets his wrestler father -- that this is puzzling. Men who love men, it seems, are meant to wait.

Tremain is one of those few writers you trust completely when she goes to any unfamiliar territory, historical or emotional. She can make you feel how much Gustav doesn't want his mother to die before she has learned to love him and how much he tries to understand her. Tremain knows how to show all the terrible bleak things that can happen between mothers and sons. But her sense of Gustav's passion for Anton is curiously muffled, as though she is evading the very theme of her sonata.

This muffling affects the way she uses historical facts, although reality does sometimes need to be toned down before anyone can believe it. Gustav's policeman father is invented, but he has a real-life analogue: Paul Grueninger, police commander of the Swiss border canton of St. Gallen in 1938, the time of Kristallnacht and the Nazi Anschluss into Austria. When the Swiss closed their borders, the Jewish **refugees** kept coming. Grueninger chose to help 3,600 of them by falsifying papers to make them seem like legal arrivals. He ruined his own career -- and his life -- on principle.

Gustav's father is a reduced version of Grueninger. He helps only a few and only for a short while, and mostly out of compassion for one desperate father; nothing systematic. He is caught, and we're asked to wonder who betrayed him. In the real world, dutiful German bureaucrats told dutiful Swiss bureaucrats about problems in the paperwork, and that was enough: The machine ruined Grueninger.

Even his sufferings are toned down. Gustav's father dies of a heart attack on his way to a reunion with his lover, cleared away early so he won't take over the book. Grueninger waited two years for a trial, survived long years in poverty, and died only in 1972. It was 1995 before the Swiss could bring themselves to undo his conviction.

Tremain must know all this, so it's no accident she raises such haunting doubts. How can you take away a whole political context from a personal story when the weight of that story depends on the political context? This most unconventional book offers no easy answer, which makes it as disturbing and electric as any high-wire act.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Nearly a quarter-century into his career as a late-night host, Conan O'Brien isn't about to set his cruise control and coast. ''In some ways, I'm much more active than I was 10 years ago,'' the 53-year-old Mr. O'Brien said. ''I'm very fortunate that I can still be discovering things and feeling like a kid again.''

His latest gig: an executive producer of ''People of Earth,'' debuting at 9 p.m. on Monday, Oct. 31, on TBS and starring Wyatt Cenac, formerly of ''The Daily Show,'' as a New York reporter who checks out an upstate support group for **alien** abductees -- only to discover that he may be one himself. That same night, at 11, Mr. O'Brien will bring ''Conan'' and guests including Louis C. K., Ryan Reynolds and Tracy Morgan to the Apollo Theater in Harlem for four episodes. And at 10 p.m. on Dec. 7, he'll explore Berlin subcultures with help from a dominatrix in his latest travel special.

In a phone interview from Northern California, where he was vacationing with his wife, Liza Powel O'Brien, the cheeky Mr. O'Brien mused about extraterrestrial life and why he doesn't mind being the butt of a joke. These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

So you're on a romantic getaway.

Yeah, we have a 13-year-old daughter and a boy who's going to be 11 in a couple of weeks, and this is the first time that we've left them for more than two nights in a row. It's a huge milestone event, so let's make the story about that. It's going to get a lot of clicks, I'm telling you.

How did you come to ''People of Earth''?

I've had a production company, Conaco, for a number of years for projects that I really am passionate about -- kind of a TV equivalent of Trump University. It's a tax dodge, and we're really bilking the public. A lot of times we read a script, and it feels like homework. But this was an absolute delight. The other key piece of the puzzle, aside from TBS, was Greg Daniels [an executive producer of ''The Office''], who has a genius for very subtle comedy that's based on personality.

Do you believe in **aliens**?

I do think **alien** life exists. But I think when we do encounter life on other planets it's going to be extremely disappointing. I just don't think it's going to be the spaceship and these creatures with giant heads and huge eyes. It's going to be some sort of three-celled organism that grows on a rock and is really into pornography.

What's it like to work with Wyatt Cenac?

He's brilliant, and has incredible integrity. A fantastic added delight is getting to know Wyatt, who I'd admired from afar, and I mean that in a creepy way.

Why ''Conan'' at the Apollo?

This is a bucket-list thing. Just stepping up on that stage and walking around, a chill goes up your spine. I was there a week ago, shooting pieces in Harlem and going on adventures. When 30 women pull you into their salon and say, ''We're going to weave your hair,'' you say yes.

Is there anything left in this presidential campaign to mine for humor?

There's been a lot of good comedy about Trump, but he also presents a real challenge. He's a very hard person to satirize, because he's so outrageous to begin with. Myself, I'm eager for this election to be over. It got to a certain point where sadness started to creep in.

After travel specials in Cuba and South Korea, you're going to Berlin.

I've always loved being a fish out of water and having the locals laugh at me. I play in an avant-garde club with a band that's in crazy makeup and dresses. Probably my favorite part is when we went to Tempelhof Airport, where **refugees** are living until they can be given more permanent residence. It's almost comedy as diplomacy.

I'll let you get back to your wife now.

Please -- she grows weary of me very quickly. You're probably going to get a bunch of flowers that say, ''Thank you for taking care of my husband for half an hour so I can go and enjoy myself.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Earlier this month, the United States hit a new benchmark in an already historic presidential campaign: For the first time in the country's history, 200 million Americans are registered to vote. Over the past eight years, more than 50 million people have registered. That could mean that more Americans are voting for the first time this year than ever before.

Your first time voting -- waiting in line, taking a possibly illegal selfie with your ballot, getting an ''I Voted'' sticker -- is as American a fall pastime as watching grown men run at each other headfirst for hours at a time. And voting is habit-forming: Research shows that your first election can have a strong impact on how you think about politics for the rest of your life.

This has been a weird election for everyone, but especially for people who are voting for the first time. In conversations I had with more than 50 first-time voters, the same word came up again and again when I asked what they thought about their options this year: ''Disappointing.'' While a large share of voters I talked to said they would be voting for Hillary Clinton, many saw their vote as more of a bulwark against a President Trump than anything else.

One of the most striking stories to come out of this election may be the number of **immigrants** Donald J. Trump inspired to earn their United States citizenship so they could vote against him. Idania Barousse, 36, is a pastoral associate at a Catholic church in San Jose, Calif., that serves a congregation of Hispanic **immigrants**. She **immigrated** to the United States from Nicaragua when she was 14 and obtained her green card shortly after. Despite living in the United States for more than two decades, she has never voted.

''I feel like I wasted 20 years plus, and now I feel like my eyes opened up,'' she said.

In July, Ms. Barousse started the process of becoming a United States citizen and officially became one in September. She said she would be voting for Mrs. Clinton.

''My spiritual life is connected to my neighbor, and I have to act by my actions,'' she told me. ''I cannot just cross my arms and pretend nothing's happening. I have to defend my neighbor.''

Anya Mironets, 31, is a clinical pharmacist in Fort Collins, Colo. She became a United States citizen after emigrating from Ukraine more than 10 years ago, but hasn't exercised her right to vote. Ms. Mironets said she worried that if Mr. Trump became president, the United States would start to resemble the former Soviet Union, where she grew up.

''My mother, brother and other relatives still live in Ukraine. I worry about their safety every day, and Trump's praise of Putin and ignorance about Ukraine frightens me,'' she wrote in an email.

She added that she regretted not voting sooner, but said that when she was growing up overseas few people bothered to vote because rampant corruption made it unclear whether your vote would be counted.

''It took me a decade of living in the United States to leave that mind-set behind,'' she said.

Abhi Singh, a 39-year-old filmmaker in San Francisco, became a citizen in 2015 and will be voting for Mrs. Clinton. Despite his reservations about Mrs. Clinton's foreign policy and her private email server, he sees voting against Mr. Trump as a civic duty this year.

''To say that you are not voting because you are disappointed with the candidates is an arrogant display of privilege,'' he said. ''I've seen grandmas in India wait in line for hours to cast their vote, and I can safely tell you that the candidates and prospects were not any better than what we are faced with today.''

Paola Anez-Kikendall, a 47-year-old mother of three in North Carolina, moved to the United States from Venezuela as a child, but ''felt an urgency'' to become a citizen only this year. She identifies as a Republican, but said she could not stomach the party's nominee.

''As a woman, as a Hispanic woman, as a mother of a grown child who happens to also be gay,'' she said, ''I just cannot do it.'' She voted early for Gary Johnson, the Libertarian Party candidate.

Mr. Trump's candidacy has politically mobilized the Hispanic community in ways that no other modern candidate appears to have done. This fall, Enrico Trevisani, 19, a junior at the University of Arizona, started a chapter of Voto Latino on campus to register fellow Hispanic voters. He recalled registering an older woman to vote at a taco stand in Tucson -- a symbolic location, he said, since a Trump supporter had warned of ''taco trucks on every corner.''

''You could tell there was something different about this election to her,'' Mr. Trevisani said, referring to the woman. ''You could tell it was personal.''

The young Muslim voters I talked to have also taken Mr. Trump's candidacy personally. Aisha Bhoori is a junior at Harvard, and while she feels safe on campus, she worries about her parents when they attend Friday Prayer at their mosque in New Jersey.

''If Trump wins, it's not a stretch to say that my entire religion will be under attack and Islamophobic incidents will increase,'' she said.

Ms. Bhoori supported Senator Bernie Sanders in the Democratic primary and said she has come to accept Mrs. Clinton ''with the same measured enthusiasm that I do 'Hamilton,' the musical: She has her flaws, and I don't wholeheartedly agree with all of her policies, but she's cracked the glass ceiling, goddamn it, and done so in a competent and confident and composed way that makes me proud.''

Imani Khan, a freshman at St. Louis University, said she hoped American Muslims like herself would exercise their right to vote. Many see voting as a morally impure act, she said, especially if the politician they elect ends up contributing to more Muslim suffering overseas.

''It's about time we start joining a conversation that includes us,'' she said.

Ms. Khan plans to vote for Jill Stein, the Green Party candidate. Her reasoning: Missouri is not a swing state, and if the Green Party wins 5 percent of the popular vote this year, it will qualify for federal election funding in 2020.

''Two parties do not cover the wide spectrum of Americans' political views,'' she said. ''Other countries have three, four, five, six parties. Why are we still stuck at two?''

Mr. Trump and his supporters often say they represent the silent majority -- voters forgotten by the American political elite who aren't telling pollsters they support Mr. Trump, but will turn out in droves. That idea has not held up under scrutiny. (Instead of the silent majority, Mr. Trump's supporters might be called the ''vocal plurality.'')

Mr. Trump's supporters don't see their vote as a vote for a hateful agenda; quite the opposite. Tyler Rice, 20, a plumber in Kentucky, said he was ''extremely excited'' to cast his first ballot for Mr. Trump.

''He is representing a class of people who have been long forgotten by the federal government,'' he wrote in an email. ''Soaked in dirty politics and pay to play scenarios. I'm voting for Donald Trump because he will strengthen America back into what she has always been, The Best.''

Other young Republicans are more reticent in their support for Mr. Trump. Charlie Kolean, a senior at Michigan State University, said Mr. Trump had ''obvious flaws,'' but ''understands what drives the economy and will do what it takes to get the economy going.''

Laura Schmitt, a junior at the University of Wisconsin, identifies as a conservative but will be voting for Mrs. Clinton.

''I wish I were more optimistic about this election like lots of young people were when Obama took office,'' she said. ''I am unable to support Donald Trump because he does not represent my values or what I believe the Republican Party truly represents.''

That excitement gap is something Edgeri Hudlin, a senior at Duke University, tried to close. He worked with Rock the Vote on a rap video to encourage millennials to vote. ''Even through the apathy, we have to understand that our vote -- even if you think it doesn't make a big change -- it does something.'' he said.

Young female voters, especially young white ones, said their reaction to the prospect of the first female president surprised even them. Kiley Delaney, a junior at Macalester College in Minnesota, said she was excited to cast her first vote for Mrs. Clinton. When Mrs. Clinton accepted the Democratic nomination in July, Ms. Delaney -- to her own surprise -- started crying.

''I know it's not cool to be excited to vote for Hillary, and that we're supposed to preface every positive remark about her with, 'Well, she's certainly not perfect, but ...,' but I would be excited to vote for her even if Donald Trump wasn't her opponent,'' she said. ''I hope that I will cry again at her inauguration.''

Ellie Herman, a junior at the University of Wisconsin, persuaded her 87-year-old grandmother -- a staunch Republican who despises the Clintons -- to mail in her ballot for Mrs. Clinton.

''The more I time I spend with my grandma, the more I think my liberal vibes are rubbing off on her,'' Ms. Herman said. ''Thankfully, her hatred of Trump and availability to vote from home were enough reasons for her to vote for Hillary.''

American voters -- students, teachers, farmers, nurses, hedge fund managers, mechanics, bus drivers, government pencil pushers, working moms, stay-at-home dads, tech titans and the baristas that serve them -- all have a chance to make their voices heard on Nov. 8. Many have already exercised their voice in the political process. I am thinking of the heavily tattooed man in Cleveland who prayed over me for my safety at the Republican National Convention, or the young man at a Trump rally in Harrisburg, Pa. who gave me the finger, unprovoked.

Now there's just one more thing for them to do.

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook and Twitter (@NYTopinion), and sign up for the Opinion Today newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It was a gray and drizzly afternoon when Yoko Tawada and I crossed under a green-and-gold paifang to meet with mammals much larger than ourselves. Tawada had brought me to the Berlin Zoo because she had visited its famous polar bear, Knut, regularly while working on her 2014 novel, ''Memoirs of a Polar Bear,'' which will be published in English in November. The tale of the real-life Knut is at once moving and outlandish: His mother, Tosca, a retired performer from the German Democratic Republic circus, rejected Knut at birth, so he was raised instead by a male zookeeper ''mother.'' When an animal rights activist commented in a German newspaper that the zoo's ethical responsibility was to let Knut die, children protested and the world fell in love with the poor animal. He became a celebrity, photographed by Annie Leibovitz for a cover of Vanity Fair, and lines to visit Knut formed daily for his scheduled appearances.

''But by the time I knew him,'' Tawada said, ''it was later in his life, when people complained that he was less cute.''

''Memoirs'' is actually three memoirs: the first narrated by Knut's circus-performing Russian grandmother, the second by Knut's mother and the final by Knut. Tawada wrote ''Memoirs'' in Japanese, then translated it into German on her own. The novel's matriarch polar bear also begins her book in a language other then German. When the bear tells her publisher that she wants to begin writing in German herself, rather than having it translated from Russian, she is told that part of the appeal of her work is that it's written in ''her mother tongue.'' She doesn't like that. ''I've never spoken with my mother,'' she protests. Her publisher counters that a mother is a mother, even if you never speak with her. ''I don't think my mother spoke Russian,'' the polar bear says. The publisher is unpersuaded; she is discouraged. When, in another scene, a stranger presses the polar bear similarly about her language and origins, the stranger finally concludes: ''Oh, I see, you're a member of an ethnic minority, is that it? ... Minorities are fabulous!''

There were no polar bears out when we arrived at their enclosure. Instead there was just a sign noting that one of them didn't like noise. ''They used to say it was unfair that Knut had to live with three old ladies,'' Tawada said. ''They said the ladies bullied him.'' The last time Tawada saw Knut was two days before he died unexpectedly, of an undiagnosed encephalitis. ''One thing that interested me was that Knut's mother had been a performer, but Knut didn't have to perform -- and yet he still performed. He really played to the crowds.''

I asked her if maybe that was the origin of her idea to write something from Knut's perspective. She said: ''I had memories of myself as a child, of how much I loved to use words to make not only my parents but also other adults smile. I don't think of that as performing though. But it's also the case that I wondered, as a child, and still: Was it also different for the animals, under communism and under capitalism?'' She laughed. ''I really did!''

As we walked the grounds, Tawada said, ''You see most of these animals were born here in the zoo, even though their labels still describe other countries.'' We came upon a large dark bird with a yellow face labeled ''Schmutzgeier,'' or ''Dirty Vulture.'' ''Poor guy!'' Tawada said with a giggle. ''They didn't give him a very nice name.'' We wandered past a sun bear, who in the book teases Knut for referring to himself in the third person, although this day the sun bear was sleeping. Farther along, we passed Rüppell's glossy starlings and Luzon bleeding-hearts. In the hazy light, the birds seemed touchingly overdressed. Nearby was the enclosure of the magnificent polar wolves, two dead birds visible within. In ''Memoirs,'' one of the wolves harasses Knut for not having a proper family. ''I do not like these wolves,'' Tawada said. ''I do not like them at all.'' Somehow these relatively mild words sounded like swearing.

''How can you not like wolves?'' I asked.

''They're beautiful, I know. But they're fascists. Only the best woman is allowed to make children -- no one else.''

Tawada and I looked together at the informational sign, which described the loyalty and family values of the wolves. In the novel, Knut notes: ''The wolf was proud of the fact that the members of his family looked as alike as photocopies. But I revere Matthias [his human mother] for having suckled and cared for a creature like me who was not at all similar to him.''

It struck me that you can be offended by an animal only if you take it seriously, as you would a human. Tawada has written most often about foreigners and outsiders, but also about people who metamorphose into animals (''The Bath'') or have intimate relations with people suspected to be animals (''The Bridegroom Was a Dog''). An elementary-school teacher who tells her students to wipe with used Kleenex feels, in Tawada's portrayal of her, as familiar and **alien** as a household pet. In ''Memoirs,'' when a polar bear walks into a bookstore or a grocery store, there are no troubles stemming from a lack of opposable thumbs. As with Kafka's animal characters, we are freed to dislike them in the special way we usually reserve only for ourselves.

''All **immigrants** are artists,'' Edwidge Danticat has said. Under pressure to make themselves legible, **immigrants** have no choice but to invent new ways of speaking. And in their reading of the world around them, **immigrants** uncover the **alien** that always abides in what seems, for the natives, most familiar. But some people are foreign regardless of geography; they are naturally nonnative, **immigrant** or not. Tawada is one of these. ''Sometimes I think maybe I'm a little bit Jewish,'' she joked, after telling me that the writers that mean the most to her are Walter Benjamin for his essays, Kafka for his fiction and Paul Celan for his poetry. This kindred feeling makes sense. Benjamin, Kafka and Celan all worked, like Tawada, in a German language that was in some ways hostile to them -- and this hostility is an essential aspect of their thought.

The varied characters in Tawada's work -- from different countries, of different sexes and species -- are united by the quality that Benjamin describes as ''crepuscular'': ''None has a firm place in the world, or firm, inalienable outlines. There is not one that is not either rising or falling, none that is not trading its qualities with its enemy or neighbor; none that has not completed its period of time and yet is unripe.''

One of Tawada's earliest pieces, ''The Talisman,'' published in the early 1990s, begins:

In this city there are a great many women who wear bits of metal on their ears. They have holes put in their earlobes especially for this purpose. Almost as soon as I got here, I wanted to ask what these bits of metal on people's ears meant. But I didn't know if I could speak of this openly. My guidebook, for instance, says that in Europe you should never ask people you don't yet know very well anything related to their bodies or religion.

Another of her short pieces, ''Canned Foreign,'' also among her earliest stories, opens with: ''In any city one finds a surprisingly large number of people who cannot read. Some of them are still too young, others simply refuse to learn the letters of the alphabet.''

Each opening is an accurate description that is nevertheless unsettling. In ''Memoirs,'' Tawada plays with this same effect through the simple drama of having her polar-bear narrator attending a conference -- ''how uninteresting the conference had been yet again'' -- and finding herself tripped into thoughts of her childhood by the topic of the day's discussion: The Significance of Bicycles in the National Economy. (Tawada is very often very funny.) Here as elsewhere, Tawada is reminiscent of Nikolai Gogol, for whom the natural situation for a ghost story was a minor government employee saving up to buy a fancy coat, the natural destiny of a nose to haunt its owner as an overbearing nobleman.

Tawada's biography most likely amplifies her estrangements. Born in Tokyo in 1960, she moved to Hamburg in 1982 and has lived in Germany ever since. Her father worked as a translator of nonfiction books and eventually opened a bookstore specializing in academic books from abroad. Even today, she writes drafts sometimes in German, sometimes in Japanese and sometimes in alternating languages within the same novel. She reads in at least five languages. She has a different relationship than most of the rest of us do to words, to nations and even to taxonomy. One of her translators, Susan Bernofsky, remembers that Tawada asked her American press, New Directions, to work from the German version of ''Memoirs,'' not the Japanese one, ''because she said she'd already translated it into a Western language.''

Tawada has been awarded the most prestigious literary prizes in Germany and Japan, including the Goethe Medal and the Kleist and Akutagawa Prizes. In those countries, she's heralded. In the United States, she has been a visiting writer at prestigious universities, as well as the subject of several dissertations, but she is notably less well known, even though New Directions has been steadily publishing her fiction since 2007. ''Memoirs'' is in certain ways distinct from Tawada's work to date in English: It is longer, and much more eventful. Circus managers are vetted by the secret police; Soviet polar bears go on strike over working conditions in a circus; a mother polar bear gives up her child to be raised by another animal; the Berlin Wall falls. But as in all of Tawada's work, language is itself a character. When the matriarch polar bear finds herself aboard a train to leave East Germany, she thinks: ''A fly bumped against my forehead, or wait, not a fly, a sentence: 'I am going into exile.' '' So even as ''Memoirs'' reads like a goofy comedy, it also reads as a profound meditation on alterity, labor conditions, language and love. Which is to say: It reads like classic Tawada.

You could argue that it's always a historical moment of hating (and not seeing) the ''other,'' but the sentiment seems now at a particularly precarious crescendo. ''Memoirs'' offers its own version of ''seeing the other.'' It does this not so much by compelling us to see the humanity in polar bears; polar bears are easy to love. But Knut's mother, Tosca, devotes most of her memoir to imagining the inner life of her animal trainer, Barbara. The empathic ask there is to look with love and understanding at humans -- even as they are implicated in the structures of brutality and dominance, moved most by their own small-minded fears and dreams and, of course, are hastening the melting of the poles. Even we deserve understanding and love.

Tawada and I walked to Berlin's Museum für Naturkunde, a predecessor of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. After the unexpected death of Knut in 2011, a sculpture of him was made, and it is now housed at the Berlin museum. When ''Memoirs'' came out in Germany, Tawada gave a reading in front of the glass-cased Knut. (''It was a little spooky,'' she told me.) We were the only adults unaccompanied by children. We made our way past dinosaur bones, past gemstones. We stopped at an oversize Araneus diadematus specimen from 1951. Nearby, a catalog was open to the section for ordering glass mammal eyes. ''I love these,'' she said, calling my attention to the pages.

Then, abruptly, there was the famous Knut. He stood in the glass case next to a gorilla named Bobby. Bobby was also famous in his day; he died in the Berlin Zoo of appendicitis in 1935. Bobby and Knut, side by side, seemed like a stage duo playing for contrast. ''Somehow it's easier to imagine what Knut is thinking than to imagine what Bobby is thinking,'' Tawada said. ''Bobby looks too much like us.''

''I didn't know Knut would look so skinny.''

''He was just an adolescent,'' Tawada said. ''I know, it's very sad to see him. But it's just a sculpture of his body, modeled by hand, and then with his real fur on it. It was important to people that Knut not be taxidermied. It's a modern version of a stuffed animal.''

The first time I met Tawada was at a very crowded reading she gave at the Deutsches Haus of New York University. She read from fragments of prose-poetry written on a white glove she wore on her hand; she then took off the glove, turned it inside out and read what was written on the other side of the fingers. Barbara Epler, the publisher of New Directions, told me a story about seeing Tawada perform at the Goethe-Institut in New York with the avant-garde jazz pianist Aki Takase; Tawada's role involved grating stale bread and throwing Ping-Pong balls onto the piano strings.

But the Tawada I spent the day with in Berlin was quite shy, and too gently considerate to be at all strange. Her performance self seems constructed to prevent her from having to pretend to be at ease -- a way of exaggerating the unnaturalness of a performance, so as to avoid the lie of ''naturalness.''

Tawada never particularly intended to move to Germany. ''I was in university,'' she said. ''I loved the work of Dostoyevsky, of Bulgakov, also of Bruno Schulz, and so I wanted to go and study in the Soviet Union, or maybe Poland. But it was 1982 and not an easy time to go there.'' With her father's help, she found an internship in Hamburg with a business that was an intermediary between publishers and booksellers. Tawada already had some familiarity with German because she had studied it, along with English, in school. ''Because of the 1968 student movement, there had been pressure on schools to offer more than just English,'' she said. ''The idea was, for example, if you wanted to learn about nuclear power and you were only reading in English, you were going to learn something very different than if you were reading in German.''

In Hamburg at the time, it was common for students to attend classes at the university without officially enrolling. ''Living in Germany in the '80s and '90s was so, so cheap,'' she said. ''Some of us studied 10 or 20 years! Just working part-time jobs as typists or assistants.'' She enrolled officially in the mid-1980s and met her German publisher, Konkursbuch, a small, brainy press that is otherwise known for publishing thrillers and high-end lesbian erotica. Konkursbuch published her first work, in a bilingual edition, in 1987, and she has stayed with that press ever since. Her first publication in Japan wasn't until four years later.

Finally moving past the sad sculpture of Knut, Tawada and I made it over to a hippopotamus whose mouth was wide open; at the hippo's side was a much smaller hippopotamus. Tawada said there was a famous German hippo, but she couldn't remember if it was one of these: ''The children know her from a book. She was saved from the zoo during the war.'' Only 91 of at least 3,700 Berlin Zoo animals were rescued. ''It's very upsetting for children to learn that the wild animals, freed from the zoo, were shot,'' she said. ''We have a book in Japan about the Tokyo Zoo during the war. Maybe in a story about humans, it will always seem like the humans are at least somewhat guilty. But for the animals, the children can feel pure sadness.''

Like all animals, we eventually grew hungry. Tawada suggested that we eat at the cafe associated with the LiteraturHaus, in Wintergarten. As we headed there, we passed statues of two white bears. Then a blue bear. Then a multicolored bear. ''They are the symbol of the city,'' she said. ''It's funny, because they became popular again as a symbol at a time when there were no more bears in Germany. Just like the teddy bears became popular as real bear populations were falling,'' she said, her voice trailing off. ''But some wild animals have come back to Germany! After the Berlin Wall fell, some wolves started coming in from the formerly communist states. As if they understood what a border was. Though they didn't need visas.''

Is it possible for a great work of literature to be strongly reminiscent of Don Freeman's ''Corduroy,'' that old children's story of the bear in a department store, searching for a button? Corduroy sees the escalator as a mountain, the furniture floor as a palace. ''Memoirs'' makes as much use of the naïveté of its bears as of their insight. When the matriarch bear arrives in the West -- in our world -- she describes the opaque (to her) phenomenon of window shopping: ''The boredom of the passers-by was apparently considerable, since they scrutinized every product in the shop windows.'' When shopping for smoked salmon in the supermarket, she makes the beautiful and precise observation that it is found ''where the coldest goods were displayed in the brightest light.'' And in another scene, in a department store selling records, she observes: ''A gramophone stood on a pedestal, and right beside it, a life-size, black-spotted white dog made of plastic. You could see his image on each of the phonograph records, which I found pathologically excessive.''

Many books written for children are of no particular interest once you're an adult, but the great works for children have the density of poetry and the depth of parable; very little in ''adult'' literature rivals it. The greatest animal characters come from kids' books, and Kafka. Together they seem to suggest an alternative citizenship, that of the majorly minor, the brutally gentle. In that sense, Tawada's work does seem to me to be fittingly that of and by and for a ''child.''

So maybe I shouldn't have been surprised when Tawada told me that she was in the middle of writing essays on 10 children's books. A publisher in Japan invited her to write them after reading a piece Tawada wrote about a hike she took in Switzerland passing through the village of a famous children's-book author. ''When I was young, I wrote to a writer I loved, a children's writer, K.M. Peyton,'' Tawada told me. ''I remember this well, because this was the first letter I ever wrote in a foreign language, in English.''

''Did she write you back?'' I asked.

''She said she was very happy to get a letter from the end of the world! I thought Japan was the center of the world.''

For her essays, she wrote about Curious George, who sees the city from up above rather than from down below, and she wrote about the Russian fable ''The Snow Daughter,'' in which the main character disappears by jumping over a fire. She wrote about ''The Hundred Dresses,'' which describes a Polish girl in Connecticut being picked on for always wearing the same dress, and about ''Bedtime for Frances,'' a sweet story about a badger who doesn't want to go to sleep. And she also wrote about ''Oley the Sea Monster,'' an almost unbearably sad tale about a harbor seal taken from his mother and mistaken for a monster before a benevolent aquarium keeper disobeys orders to kill Oley and instead returns him to the harbor. Each of the children's books was, in a sense, a story of alternative perspective, and of vulnerability. The happy endings felt heavy with sadness, the sad seemed to promise light.

I wanted to say something to Tawada about how this reminded me of her work, but I felt as though English had turned into a language that was not my native one. Instead I asked Tawada if she had gone to the circus as a child. ''I remember going once,'' she said. Her parents took her to see a traveling Soviet circus when it visited Tokyo. ''I remember there was a bear who rode a tricycle,'' she said. ''And that amazed me. And I knew even then that what was exciting was just that he was doing something normal, something even I could do.''

A few of the children's books Tawada had mentioned I didn't know. When I got home, I ordered the ones I could find in English. ''Jeanne-Marie Counts Her Sheep,'' by Françoise Seignobosc, was a numbers book about a little girl dreaming of how many lambs her sheep, Patapon, will have, and what Jeanne-Marie will be able to buy with the money she makes from the lambs' wool. Jeanne-Marie imagines many lambs and many purchases. But it turns out there is just one lamb. Jeanne-Marie (who in the illustrations is now an old, hunched woman) is able to knit only one pair of socks. ''But Jeanne-Marie tried to look very happy, anyway, for she did not want Patapon to feel sad. Patapon was so pleased with her one little Lamb!''

Was it a sad ending? Or a happy one?

I wrote to Tawada to ask what about the book had held her attention across so many years. She wrote that she loved its use of repetition, because ''as a small child, the world won its shape repeating the same words and similar sentences.'' But she also liked the ending. ''The sheep is happy with only one child, that is not capital for her, but love.''

Rivka Galchen is the author of three books, most recently ''Little Labors.'' She last wrote for the magazine about the transformative power of lullabies.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**At the climax of the Broadway musical ''Hamilton,'' Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton exchange a series of increasingly hostile letters in the song ''Your Obedient Servant.'' Burr enumerates a litany of perceived insults: Hamilton has called him ''amoral'' and ''a dangerous disgrace'' and blocked his political aspirations. ''Burr, your grievance is legitimate,'' Hamilton replies dismissively. ''I stand by what I said, every bit of it/You stand only for yourself/It's what you do/I can't apologize because it's true.'' An outraged Burr feels he has been doubly wronged -- first he is bad-mouthed and then his complaint is answered with a shrug. These irreconcilable differences came to a head on July 11, 1804, in a fatal duel in Weehawken, N.J.

The genius of ''Hamilton,'' which opened in February 2015, four months before Donald Trump announced his presidential campaign, was the way in which it made the stuff of history textbooks feel unexpectedly vivid, even contemporary. A year and a half later, the prospect of two political adversaries drawing pistols at dawn over unforgivable insults is perhaps not nearly so remote as we might wish. Trump is ''unfit, and he proves it every time he talks,'' Hillary Clinton said in the third presidential debate on Oct. 19. ''No, you are the one that's unfit,'' Trump fumed. There was no handshake afterward. When the ''Hamilton'' creator Lin-Manuel Miranda hosted ''Saturday Night Live'' last month, he acknowledged the convergence in his rapped opening monologue: ''And, yes, I'm right in my element/Who knew that 'Hamilton' would be so topically relevant?/The way that these grandstanding candidates be talking/They're just a tweet away from facing off in Weehawken!''

Grievance is the animating theme of this election and the natural state of at least one of the candidates; Trump is a public figure whose ideology, such as it is, essentially amounts to a politics of the personal grudge. It has drawn to him throngs of disaffected citizens all too glad to reclaim the epithet ''deplorable.'' But beyond these aggrieved hordes, it can seem at times as if nearly everyone in the country is nursing wounds, cringing over slights and embarrassments, inveighing against enemies and wishing for retribution. Everyone has someone, or something, to resent -- and often rightfully so.

Americans tend to think of rights and grievances in completely different ways -- one as a near-mystical birthright and the other as an unjustice that demands a response -- but they are each part of our political origin story. In 1774, the First Continental Congress sent a Declaration of Rights and Grievances to King George III, protesting that Americans had ''a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the King; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal'' -- a missive that set the stage for revolt and the Declaration of Independence two years later. A grievance was understood to be a wrong so grave, so serious, that it must be in violation of its twinned opposite, a right. It was the other inalienable principle claimed by the new nation.

Since then our politics, and our evolving constitutional rights, have been shaped by the articulation and settling of grievances writ large. Slavery was listed as one of the ''grievances'' in Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence, but struck from the final version; it would take the 13th Amendment to begin to right that wrong. And half the population didn't appear in the founding documents at all. Abigail Adams, the wife of John Adams and a future first lady, wrote to her friend Mercy Otis Warren in 1776 that she had sent ''a List of Female Grievances'' to her husband in Philadelphia, where he was working with the Continental Congress to draft the laws of the new nation. ''I even threatened fomenting a Rebellion in case we were not considered,'' Adams wrote, ''and assured him we would not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we had neither a voice, nor representation.''

What had been established in those founding documents was a blueprint for how a grievance could be transmuted, through democratic institutions, into a right. In a February 1965 speech in Rochester, Malcolm X reframed the strategy for addressing the persecution and second-class citizenship of black Americans. ''Anyone who classifies his grievances under the label of 'human rights' violations, those grievances can then be brought into the United Nations and be discussed by people all over the world,'' he said. ''For as long as you call it 'civil rights,' your only allies can be the people in the next community, many of whom are responsible for your grievance.'' It was a kind of vision test: Enough people with enough power had to be able to see the problem clearly in order to have it corrected.

But as more rights were secured by some, they were resented by others, who saw these gains as their own dispossession. Over the next decades, grumblings arose over government programs, from welfare to affirmative action, intended to target the effects of earlier wrongs. In 2003, the former Democratic governor of Colorado, Richard Lamm, gave a Swiftian three-minute speech at a dinner given by the anti-**immigration** Federation for American **Immigration** Reform. ''I would like to share with you my plan to destroy America,'' he said. As the clinking of forks grew silent, he recited a checklist that ran from bilingualism to high-school dropout rates. ''I would invest in ethnic identity and victimology. I would get them to think that their lack of success was only the fault of the majority. I would start a grievance industry.''

Lamm's speech went viral in the far-right reaches of the internet, where it lives on today: a dystopian vision in which the sort of redress demanded by Malcolm X is an engine for the destruction of American society, a redistribution of privilege and prosperity from whites to blacks and a rising tide of **immigrants** all permanently changing the ''we'' that once defined the nation -- and those who got to rule it.

Trump likes to tell his roaring crowds that ''we won't have a country anymore'' if he isn't elected. The country he warns against losing is, of course, the very country that Lamm warned against losing; Trump's candidacy takes that complaint to its logical conclusion. The good old days. Populism. Nationalism. Nativism. All of these are more palatable ways of serving up the same dish: ''The issue of white grievance,'' Bill O'Reilly said on his Fox News show in April, discussing Trump's supporters, ''is not going away.''

This us-against-them movement found its willing avatar in Trump, a man whose motivations -- even to run for president -- are personal animus, personal gain, a flouting of the rules of engagement and civility, equal-opportunity insults for all. ''We have a bunch of babies running our country, folks,'' Trump said at a rally in North Carolina on Oct. 21, referring to President Obama and the first lady. ''We have a bunch of losers.'' It's a grudge match with no aim higher than his own standing. ''It's him or me!'' Aaron Burr howls in the song ''The World Was Wide Enough,'' near the end of ''Hamilton,'' in which he narrates the duel and its aftermath. Grievance begets grievance. The personal is political. And history can be hijacked by the consequences.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Over the course of his brief career, the Russian-born producer Val Lewton (1904-1951) pioneered a new sort of horror movie. Shock ran second to atmosphere. The supernatural was a function of the psychological.

Lewton's best-known movie, ''Cat People'' (1942), begins with a quote that glosses Freud's view of religion: ''Even as fog continues to lie in the valleys, so does ancient sin cling to the low places, the depressions in the world consciousness.'' The quote is attributed to the movie's resident psychiatrist, Dr. Louis Judd, the author of a book, ''The Anatomy of Atavism,'' and refers to the protagonist's belief that her aroused passions transform her into a feral cat.

Reissued by Criterion in a digital restoration, ''Cat People'' was the first Lewton production. Impressed by Universal's recent success with ''The Wolf Man'' (1941), his studio, RKO, assigned him a title along with a modest budget. The result, directed by Jacques Tourneur, was smart, literate and economical, establishing the gold standard for a particular kind of B-movie. It was also a hit with audiences.

The cheerful, staid Oliver Reed (Kent Smith) picks up the strange, enchanting Irena Dubrovna (Simone Simon), a recent **refugee** from Serbia whom he finds sketching a panther at the Central Park Zoo. They date, and, despite her superstitious belief that she harbors ''something evil,'' they eventually wed.

When Irena's fears prevent them from consummating their marriage, Oliver turns first for advice to the psychiatrist Dr. Judd (Tom Conway) and then, for emotional comfort, to his work buddy Alice (Jane Randolph), an all-American type, as normal as he. Shamed and abandoned, Irena begins to disintegrate -- or, to put it another way, to experience her inner feline predator.

While gripped with sexual repression, Irena carries another burden: She is obsessed with the history of her nation, imagined as a primeval curse. (Earlier versions of DeWitt Bodeen's screenplay included scenes of Nazi occupation.) Irena cannot escape her past, and she contaminates the optimistic Americans with whom she comes in contact. In the buildup to their agonizing breakup, Oliver blames her for teaching him ''unhappiness.'' Alice, the healthy homewrecker, is mortally afraid of Irena; the rational, overconfident Dr. Judd should be.

Despite their lurid titles (''I Walked With a Zombie,'' ''Bedlam'') and advertisements, Lewton productions were subtle. Horror was predicated on the power of suggestion. A scene in which Irena plays with a caged bird and inadvertently causes it to die of fright, or one where, dining with Oliver and his friends at a cheery boîte called the Belgrade, she is spooked by a feline older woman who addresses her in Serbian as ''sister,'' are more unsettling than the movie's conventional scares.

Lewton's major special effect was cutting. He inherited two editors, Mark Robson (who worked on ''Cat People'') and Robert Wise, who had worked at RKO with Orson Welles, and eventually converted them into directors. Kent Jones's 2008 documentary feature, ''Val Lewton: The Man in the Shadows,'' included as an extra, notes that the most intense moments in Lewton-produced films are only a few seconds in length. Well edited itself, Mr. Jones's intelligent, affecting documentary uses clips to suggest an affinity between Lewton's films and those of Jean Cocteau; the deployment of empty space in Lewton productions is similarly akin to Surrealist paintings in the projection of an uncanny imminence.

Unlike his films, the appreciation of Lewton's artistry requires no suspension of disbelief. (Earlier iterations of ''Cat People'' are available for streaming on Amazon Video.)

The six-film, three-DVD set ''Hollywood Legends of Horror'' (Warner Archive, repackaging movies previously available as twofers) gives some idea of routine pre-Lewton horror: star-driven, intermittently humorous and often hokey, if not without a certain poetry.

''Doctor X'' (1932), directed by Michael Curtiz, is notable for its muted two-strip Technicolor and Lee Tracy's comic performance as a persistent reporter. ''The Return of Doctor X'' (1939), directed by Vincent Sherman, is more of a curiosity, featuring Humphrey Bogart as a scientist with a corpselike affect and white streak in his hair.

Those are the only Warner Bros. features; the rest are from MGM, two directed by Tod Browning. ''Mark of the Vampire'' (1935), a remake of Browning's 1927 silent ''London After Midnight,'' is distinguished by its lush gothic mise-en-scène. (James Wong Howe was the cinematographer.) More entertaining, ''The Devil-Doll'' (1936) stars Lionel Barrymore, frequently in drag, as a banker escaped from Devil's Island to wreak vengeance on his former partners with the help of some cunningly miniaturized assassins.

Closest to a classic is Karl Freund's ''Mad Love'' (1935), based on a story previously filmed by Robert Wiene in Austria in 1924. Peter Lorre makes his Hollywood debut playing an insane surgeon obsessed with an actress he has discovered at the Grand Guignol. (The movie flopped but left its mark. Under its Spanish title, it figures in the Malcolm Lowry novel ''Under the Volcano''; the critic Pauline Kael saw it as an influence on ''Citizen Kane.'')

Lorre's mad doctor notwithstanding, the most frightening film is ''The Mask of Fu Manchu'' (1932). Rivaling D. W. Griffith's ''The Birth of a Nation'' in the pathology of its racially driven sexual paranoia, the movie was produced by William Randolph Hearst, whose newspapers often warned of ''the yellow peril.'' Given the campy gusto with which Boris Karloff plays the titular monster of depravity, it would be pleasant to think that he and his Liverpool-born director, Charles Brabin, were satirizing, rather than dramatizing, the xenophobic mythology of British imperialism.

NEWLY RELEASED

BLOOD BATH Shot in Yugoslavia with English-speaking stars, this mid-1960s vampire film, made under the auspices of Roger Corman, has one of the most convoluted production stories in movie history -- recut multiple times by a number of directors. All four versions are included on two Blu-rays, along with interviews, a visual essay and a 38-page booklet. (Arrow)

BODY SNATCHERS Abel Ferrara directed the second remake of Don Siegel's 1956 classic, integrating elements of the first remake, directed by Phil Kaufman in 1978. Released in 1993 and new on Blu-ray, Mr. Ferrara's version adds a new layer of paranoia but sets the familiar tale of **alien** mind control on a military base. (Warner Archive)

GHOSTBUSTERS Melissa McCarthy, Kristen Wiig, Kate McKinnon and Leslie Jones replace Bill Murray, Dan Aykroyd, Harold Ramis and Ernie Hudson in the 2016 update of the 1984 original. In her review for The New York Times in July, Manohla Dargis called it ''that rarest of big-studio offerings -- a movie that is a lot of enjoyable, disposable fun.'' Available on Blu-ray, DVD and Amazon Video. (Columbia Pictures)

HAUNTED HONEYMOON Gene Wilder directed -- and plays an extravagantly neurotic actor opposite his wife at the time, Gilda Radner -- in this 1986 farce. ''Humor and horror make an uneasy combination,'' the New York Times critic Walter Goodman wrote. On Blu-ray and DVD. (Kino Lorber)

RAISING CAIN Brian De Palma parodied himself to splendid effect in his baroque psychological thriller from 1992. Reviewing it for The Times, Janet Maslin called the movie ''a delirious thriller'' and wrote of Mr. De Palma that ''working with an exhilarating sense of freedom, he seems to care not in the least what any of it really means.'' On Blu-ray, DVD and Amazon Video. (Scream)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Oh, Canada. Not our home and native land; but: so close. But also: so not.

Cross the northern border and things look and sound pretty much the same: the mountains, the trees, the rivers, the houses, the roads, the big-box buildings, the clothes, the faces, the accents, the billboards and slogans, the chirp of the walk/don't walk monitors. And yet: The gas is more expensive, and priced in liters; the traffic lights act oddly (what, exactly, is one supposed to do at a flashing green?).

Canadians have different fast-food franchises, different chain stores, different potato chip flavors (ketchup; poutine; Montreal smoked meat). They spell ''harbor'' and ''theater'' differently; pronounce ''been'' as ''bean'' and ''process'' as ''proe-cess'' and ''out'' in a way that's impossible to render on the page; call America ''the States,'' refer to bathrooms as ''washrooms'' and profanity as ''coarse language''; have beavers and loons and children playing hockey on their currency.

Canada is like an isotope of the United States: just enough dissimilarities, in unpredictable places, that you feel you can't really take anything for granted. It's almost like America in a dream.

If you're wondering how Canada got that way -- well, that's very American of you. Don't feel bad, though; you're not alone. And if you're looking for answers, a very good place to start is Saint John, New Brunswick.

Saint John -- indeed, all of New Brunswick -- is, let us say, low profile, even by Canadian standards. A native once told me of a rather unflattering nickname that the rest of the country has bestowed upon the province; many people have confirmed the story since then. Most recently it was a very chipper woman at the tourism bureau in downtown Saint John, in the back of Barbour's General Store, a 19th-century edifice towed there by barge from a small town up north a half-century ago.

''It is, indeed, the 'drive-through province,' '' she told me readily and with a big smile. ''Most of the people who come in here are on their way to Nova Scotia or P.E.I. [Prince Edward Island] from Ontario or the States, and they stop here to spend the night.'' No one seems to mind, though; they're Canadian. Just about everything is fine with them.

If you wanted to describe Saint John in just one word, I would suggest: pleasant. The city starts at Market Square, down by the harbo(u)r, which has been restored and repurposed à la South Street Seaport in New York or Baltimore's Inner Harbor, and extends up a hill, the spine of which is King Street.

The side streets are lined with pretty Victorian buildings, all in brick, and have their share -- but not too many, thankfully -- of charming pubs and quirky shops, and as you weave through them, you will find yourself thinking: This is very pleasant. You will have this thought several times before you arrive at King's Square, at the summit, about as pleasant a little city park as you can imagine. It's green, it's clean, there are wooden benches and metal tables and chairs, and a beautiful two-story bandstand in its center, intricate wrought-iron with a bell-shaped roof above and a fountain below.

It draws a lot of people -- but again, not too many. The last time I was there, an Alice in Wonderland tea party was taking place on a particularly verdant stretch of lawn. Across one street is the City Market, also brick and Victorian and very large besides; opened in 1876, it is the country's oldest indoor market, loud, lively, colorful and favored by locals every bit as much as tourists. Across another is the Imperial Theater, a 1913 vaudeville house where Harry Houdini once performed, and which has been restored to its former movie-palace splendor. It is said to be haunted.

Nearby, back in the park, stands a tall marker honoring Charles I. Gorman, a local speed-skater who might well have medaled in the 1924 and 1928 Olympics, rather than finish, as he did, in seventh place, had he not taken shrapnel in one of his legs during World War I. Much taller still (it even has a cupola) is a stone-and marble memorial to John Frederick Young, who was just 19 when, on Oct. 30, 1890, he drowned while trying -- unsuccessfully -- to save a younger boy from drowning in a nearby bay. Gorman's marker features an engraving of the man skating along, blithely unaware of whether he's winning or losing. Young's features one of the teenager cradling the body of his dead friend and seemingly wondering how he's going to stay afloat. Two monuments to men who tried and failed, but went down nobly.

I've never seen even one in America.

Two dates are of paramount importance in the history of Saint John. The second is June 20, 1877. A spark ignited some hay in one of the warehouses of what is now Market Square. That warehouse was wooden. They all were; the whole city was. One of the province's big industries was timber. So little thought was given to wood that when ships docked in Saint John, they typically just tossed the solid mahogany they used for ballast out onto the docks, there for anyone who wanted to carry it off.

But no one took wood for granted on that day. The fire started around 2:30 in the afternoon, and though firefighters responded quickly, the flames moved even more quickly. In short order it consumed more than 1,600 structures -- churches and hotels, banks and docked ships, and a lot of houses. Some 13,000 people were left homeless. Many slept in King's Square and other parks (and even a skating rink) thereafter; others left Saint John, and even Canada. The city, though, was determined to rebuild quickly, and in brick. And it did. If you walk those side streets, you will note the date 1878 above many of the doors.

Not every last thing burned, though. The City Market, for instance, was spared because, for reasons lost to time, it was built the year before, at great expense, in brick. And on the north side of King Street, up Chipman Hill, you'll find an early 19th-century mansion that was saved, according to legend, by its resident servants, who, seeing the flames approaching, hurriedly soaked in water every sheet, towel and curtain in the place and hung them all out the windows. It's known as the Loyalist House.

Loyalist: There's a term you don't hear in America. That's what they call Americans who, after the American Revolution, chose to remain British subjects, going so far as to flee to Canada, which at that point remained in British hands. I was taught in my American elementary school that they were called Tories. Drop that bit of knowledge on a Canadian, though, and you will get nothing in return but a puzzled look. ''But they were Loyalists,'' one man told me, and I knew further discussion would be pointless.

Loyalist is a term that carries a lot of significance in parts of Canada, but Saint John actually calls itself the Loyalist City, and with good reason: It was founded by, and for, American **refugees**.

The first batch -- more than 2,000 of them -- started stepping ashore on the first important date in Saint John's history: May 18, 1783, a few months before the Treaty of Paris officially ended the war. More came the following month, and throughout the summer. They built defenses, a series of forts, to ward off the enemy, the Americans. A few of them still exist in some form.

It wasn't paranoia. The United States invaded Canada just a generation later, during the War of 1812. There were naval engagements in the nearby Bay of Fundy, known for its dramatic tides that twice daily force the Saint John River to reverse course in spots, a phenomenon that draws a lot of sightseers.

The war interrupted construction of the Loyalist House, which had begun in 1810; it wasn't finished until 1817. Its first owner, David Daniel Merritt, was a successful businessman with a large family. The Merritts had come up in 1783 from Rye, N.Y., near the present-day terminus of the Merritt Parkway, and brought their servants with them. They worshiped at the Trinity Anglican Church, which was built of wood, and which burned in 1877; it was rebuilt in stone and is filled with plaques memorializing parishioners, including one to Jonathan Sewall, who had been the Massachusetts attorney general from 1767 to 1775. The Loyalist House is now a museum, filled with mahogany furniture carved from the ships' ballast discarded on the docks.

There are a number of museums in the city, including the large New Brunswick Museum down in Market Square, which has historical, natural and artistic exhibits; and a fine little museum that documents the city's Jewish community, one of the lesser known in the country, even though it produced Louis B. Mayer. The Saint John Jewish Historical Museum is housed in what was once a splendid turn-of-the-century stone mansion, up the hill beyond King's Square, on the other side of another park. A rather unusual one.

It's a cemetery, the original city cemetery, laid out by those first Loyalist settlers. Between 1783 and 1848, this is where they buried their dead, a green square larger than the one that abuts it, with steep slopes and flat bottomland and, everywhere, stones. It had fallen into disrepair by the end of the 20th century and was restored by the Irving family, founders of the Irving Oil company and Saint John's greatest benefactors. Today it's a park, as popular as King's Square; people come to sit on its benches and stroll its paths, hang out by the fountain with the sculpture of beavers frolicking in the middle.

Some of them, I'm sure, don't even look at the old stones, everywhere lurching this way or that, covered in lichens, inscriptions faded, sometimes to the point of illegibility. But walk through and you will read of the lives that founded this city, merchants and seamen and soldiers. Some prospered; some did not. And some, it seems, never really acclimated to their new home. Many died young, a startling number by drowning. Some took care to list their places of birth: Peekskill, N.Y.; Norwalk, Conn.; Middletown Point, N.J. A plaque on a rock reads:

Within these Burial Grounds lie the remains of **immigrants**, rich and poor, who left their homes and arrived on our shores filled with courage and determination to establish for themselves and their children a way of life free from persecution and hostilities.

Persecution and hostilities, they mean, at the hands of their (erstwhile) fellow Americans. If you want to know why Canada is different from the United States of America: It was founded, and settled, for exactly that purpose. America has long since forgotten 1783 and 1812. Canada has not.

And yet, there are all those similarities, too; some of them uncomfortable. The Merritts' servants, some of whom are said to haunt the Loyalist House to this day, were slaves -- slaves in Rye, slaves in Saint John. Tour guides will readily tell you as much. But you have to ask.

And if you should take locals' advice and drive the 45 minutes east to St. Martins, a picturesque town on the Bay of Fundy that has a lighthouse, two covered bridges and a series of dramatic caves that are revealed by the outgoing tide, you will pass, at some point along the way, a large cross and a sign:

Black Settlement Burial Ground 1831-1941

There were black Loyalists, too, escaped slaves who, in return for helping the British in 1776 and 1812, were relocated to Canada after those wars ended. There are no markers in the cemetery, just a little shed. But if you peek through its windows at the informational panels inside, you can read all about how, like their white counterparts, they were given plots of land; only theirs were much smaller, and rockier, and not granted until decades later, after many, discouraged, had emigrated to Africa.

WHERE TO STAY

Hilton Saint John, 1 Market Square; www3.hilton.com. Rooms from 139 Canadian dollars, or about $105.

Earle of Leinster, 96 Leinster Street; earleofleinster.com. A historic (built circa 1878) bed-and-breakfast in the Victorian uptown neighborhood. Rooms from $79 in the winter season, $99 in summer (breakfast included).

WHERE TO EAT

Taste of Egypt, 87 King Street; tasteofegyptrestaurant.com. Middle Eastern and North African dishes. Dinner entrees from $19 (falafel and beef burgers, $14).

Urban Deli, 68 King Street; urbandeli.ca. Excellent Montreal-style smoked meat sandwiches ($11) on the lunch menu.

Pubs serving good food are plentiful in the vicinity of Market Square and King Street.

WHAT TO SEE

Loyalist House, 120 Union Street; loyalisthouse.com.

City Market, 47 Charlotte Street; sjcitymarket.ca.

Imperial Theater, 12 King Square South. imperialtheatre.nb.ca.

Haunted Saint John Tour is entertaining and informative; hauntedsaintjohntours.com.

Trinity Anglican Church, 115 Charlotte Street; trinitysj.com.

New Brunswick Museum, Market Square; nbm-mnb.ca.

Saint John Jewish Historical Museum, 91 Leinster Street; jewishmuseumsj.com.

Black Settlement Burial Ground, Route 111, Willow Grove, northeast of St. John.

Where in Canada should Richard Rubin visit next? For an occasional series about the country, he invites readers to suggest destinations that are both emblematic and unconventional. If you have one, email him at travelmail@nytimes.com.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Within a few decades of founding New Amsterdam, the Dutch built a wall, first to keep out the Indians, then the British. But because the Dutch came to the New World to make money -- rather than to proselytize or escape religious persecution -- they let in just about everybody else.

Call it tolerance or indifference, that reception distinguished New York. Coupled with the wall, though, it also symbolized the city's enduring ambivalence about **immigration**.

Tyler Anbinder's ''City of Dreams: The 400-Year Epic History of **Immigrant** New York'' (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, $35) reviews this legacy and the continuing tale of the city's unique demographic upheaval. It's a welcome addition in a campaign season when, it seems, many Americans need reminding of how most of us got here.

The author admittedly gives short shrift to some earlier **immigrant** groups (Greeks and Indians) and to newcomers (as a historian he prizes the perspective of hindsight). But while Dr. Anbinder, who teaches history at George Washington University, offers no sweeping revelations or revolutionary doctrine, his exhaustive narrative provides a timely overview richly flecked with fascinating nuggets and enlightening profiles.

''City of Dreams'' opens in 1892 when an Irish teenager, Annie Moore, and her brothers became the first arrivals on Ellis Island. (The first- and second-class passengers went directly to Pier 38 at West Houston Street.) He fleshes out a familiar story with enriching factoids.

Annie was ferried past the new Statue of Liberty, which, despite its later symbolism as an **immigrant** beacon, actually began as a celebration of Civil War emancipation. (It was all the more ironic since Emma Lazarus was commissioned to write the poem that would define the statue's mission by a fellow author, Constance Cary Harrison, an unrepentant Confederate who was married to Jefferson Davis's secretary and who, with her sisters, sewed the first Stars and Bars battle flag.)

Rather than migrating to Texas and dying in a railroad accident as had long been assumed, Annie married the son of a Manhattan baker who patented a peanut-and-fig-filled macaroon and lived and died on the Lower East Side (where the most crowded precincts were more densely populated than the most congested neighborhoods in Mumbai today).

Annie and her brothers ''truly became prototypical New Yorkers, with lives and families inextricably linked to the New York **immigrant** experience,'' Dr. Anbinder writes. ''Today, the descendants of Annie and her brothers include representatives from all the other leading New York City **immigrant** groups -- Italians, Eastern European Jews, Chinese, Dominicans.''

By World War I, 17 million foreigners had followed in her footsteps in ''a movement of people without precedent in human history.''

The city's share of foreign-born is nearing its 20th century peak of about 40 percent, but far below the 55 percent in 1855, not long after Samuel F. B. Morse ran for mayor on the Native American ticket (warning that Catholic **immigrants** were organizing sleeper cells to strike a blow for Rome when the time was ripe).

**Immigrants** still come for the same reasons they did four centuries ago. Today, about nine in 10 of the city's cabdrivers, garment workers, dishwashers and tile setters are foreign-born. On Sept. 11, 2001, none of the 19 terrorists were **immigrants**; about one in five of the victims were.

New York, a 1909 edition of Life magazine concluded, was ''a pocket edition of Babel, a digest of the United States, with fewer Americans and more Americanism than any spot between Calais, Me., and the Kingdom of Heaven.''

Dr. Anbinder writes, ''The story of **immigrant** New York changes constantly on its surface yet not at all at its heart.'' This is still a city of dreams that foreigners, depending on the political climate, hope to fulfill. The epic history of their struggle was captured by U2 on the soundtrack to the film ''Gangs of New York'':

Of all of the promises

Is this one we can keep?

Of all of the dreams

Is this one still out of reach?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**This election's most dire priority is averting a national and planetary calamity (two words: President Trump). But Nov. 8 is also about good government at all levels. Here are some congressional and state races in New York and New Jersey where voters can make a difference.

THE SENATE, FROM NEW YORK

New Yorkers should re-elect Chuck Schumer, a three-term Democrat being challenged by Wendy Long, a Republican lawyer from Manhattan. Mr. Schumer, who could become majority leader if the Senate goes Democratic this year, has a long list of accomplishments for New York. He championed a $60 billion disaster relief package that included billions for Hurricane Sandy victims. He helped set up the corporation to fund and manage the crucial Gateway rail tunnel between New York and New Jersey and pushed to restore $600 million in antiterrorism funds critical for the New York area. Ms. Long says she was inspired to run by Mr. Trump; enough said.

THE HOUSE, FROM NEW YORK

In New York's First District, in eastern Long Island, Anna Throne-Holst, a Democrat who was Southampton town supervisor, is challenging the incumbent Republican, Lee Zeldin.

Mr. Zeldin has zealously pursued a narrow right-wing agenda poorly suited to his diverse district. He wants to defund Planned Parenthood and repeal the Affordable Care Act, among other terrible ideas. But his worst recent behavior has been in staunchly defending his party's unseemly presidential nominee, at one point suggesting that if Mr. Trump is racist, then President Obama is, too.

Ms. Throne-Holst avoids such divisiveness. She has worked well with Republicans locally and has promised to fight for gun control, climate-change legislation and vocational training for high-school graduates. She would be a thoughtful member of Congress, something this district now lacks.

Tom Suozzi, a Democrat, is running to succeed Representative Steve Israel in the Third District that cuts across Queens, Nassau and Suffolk Counties.

Mr. Suozzi, as county executive, saved Nassau from near bankruptcy. He has an impressive record fighting corruption, and he ran a lonely but principled campaign against Eliot Spitzer in 2006 for the gubernatorial nomination. He has been a national leader in the battle to limit urban sprawl and revitalize aging suburbs. He would be a strong, articulate advocate for his district and party.

Mr. Suozzi's opponent is a three-term Republican state senator, Jack Martins, a loyal party member in Albany who says he wants to promote Mr. Trump's issues. That's bad news.

In the sprawling 19th District, in the Hudson Valley and Catskills, Zephyr Teachout, a Democrat, is running against John Faso, a Republican who was the Assembly minority leader. Ms. Teachout, a Fordham law professor and author, is an expert on political corruption and the corrosive influence of money in politics. She gained national attention as a political novice for her surprisingly potent bid to unseat Gov. Andrew Cuomo in the 2014 Democratic primary. Her campaign is focused on fighting corporate monopolies and dirty money, protecting the environment and cutting red tape for small businesses and farms. Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, a kindred spirit, has endorsed her.

Mr. Faso, well known and respected in this district, has a lifetime ''A'' rating from the National Rifle Association. He wants to support the local economy by speeding up environmental reviews of big projects and cutting corporate taxes. Mr. Faso says he disagrees with Mr. Trump on several issues but refuses to say whether or not he will vote for him. Ms. Teachout is the better candidate for this era of gridlock and disillusionment. She promises to be the strong voice for change in Washington that so many angry voters are demanding.

The race in the 24th District, in Syracuse and surrounding areas, pits a one-term Republican, John Katko, against Colleen Deacon, a Democrat and former aide to Senator Kirsten Gillibrand. Ms. Deacon has strong endorsements, including from President Obama and Emily's List. But Mr. Katko deserves re-election. He is a rare breed of Republican, an independent thinker who has bucked his party in crucial ways. He opposed its efforts to undo President Obama's administrative actions protecting young **immigrants** from deportation and its reckless campaign to destroy the Affordable Care Act. He acknowledges that climate change is real and caused by humans. Congressional Quarterly recently called him the eighth most independent House Republican.

He's wrong on some issues -- he tried to stall the funding of Planned Parenthood, stopped short of offering unauthorized **immigrants** a path to citizenship and opposed the nuclear deal with Iran. But -- and this is important -- he passes the Trump test; that is, he finds Mr. Trump's remarks about women ''offensive, disgusting and inexcusable'' and says he won't vote for him. Asked by the Syracuse.com editorial board how he felt about being on the same ballot line as Mr. Trump and Ms. Long, Mr. Katko said, ''That's why God made Scotch.'' Washington needs more Republicans like him.

THE HOUSE, FROM NEW JERSEY

New Jersey's Fifth District, covering parts of Bergen, Passaic, Sussex and Warren Counties, has had the misfortune of being represented for nearly 14 years by a founding member of the ultraconservative, antigovernment Freedom Caucus, Scott Garrett. He voted recently against helping 9/11 first responders. He infuriated fellow Republicans by refusing to contribute to the National Republican Congressional Committee because it backed gay candidates. He opposes abortion rights and same-sex marriage.

His Democratic opponent, Josh Gottheimer, was a Microsoft executive and a speechwriter for President Bill Clinton. He says he wants to work for more civility and productivity in Congress, for comprehensive tax reform, for better constituent services and for government investment in the district, something his opponent often rejects on ideological grounds. Mr. Gottheimer would serve the district far better than Mr. Garrett.

NEW YORK STATE SENATE

The Ninth District, in Nassau County, was dominated for years by Dean Skelos, the former Senate leader, and now a convicted felon and living symbol of all that is rotten in Albany. Todd Kaminsky, a Democratic member of the Assembly and a former prosecutor, won the seat in a special election this spring, narrowly beating a Republican lawyer, Chris McGrath. Mr. McGrath, who is running again, said he would oppose limits on outside income for legislators, a practice that too easily creates conflicts between public and private interests. We recommended Mr. Kaminsky in the special election and believe he should remain in that seat.

The Seventh District, also in Nassau County, is an open seat. Adam Haber, a school board member and businessman (real estate and restaurants), is the Democrat running against Elaine Phillips, the Republican mayor of the tiny village of Flower Hill. Both are worthy candidates, but Ms. Phillips gets extra credit for her environmental efforts, working after Hurricane Sandy to combat erosion and groundwater pollution and to protect the area from flooding. The League of Conservation Voters has endorsed Ms. Phillips, and so do we.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It looked like an open-and-shut case.

Everybody knew that armed militia members led by Ammon Bundy and his brother, Ryan, had occupied a federal wildlife **refuge** in eastern Oregon starting on a bitterly cold day in January. The Bundys and their five co-defendants in Federal District Court in Portland never argued that they had taken over the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge** buildings out of some mistake or accident. They knew full well, the defendants and their lawyers said, that the **refuge** was government property and that the government did not want them there.

But the jury, in a verdict on Thursday that surprised almost everyone, including the defendants and their lawyers, rejected the government's case entirely, voting unanimously to acquit all seven defendants.

''I've done more federal trials than I can count and I've never won like this,'' said Matthew A. Schindler, a lawyer representing the defendant Kenneth Medenbach.

Though the exact reasoning of the jurors, who came from across Oregon and were never identified by name in court, remains unknown, most onlookers blamed prosecutorial overreach -- that the government stretched its case too far to fit the events at the **refuge** -- or stumbles in the presentation of evidence.

In an attempt to end the 41-day standoff, the government sent paid informants into the **refuge**, about 225 miles southeast of Portland. But the prosecution only grudgingly admitted as much during the trial, and the protester's lawyers used that fact to suggest that the government had something to hide, or had perhaps even induced occupiers into committing criminal acts.

The conspiracy charges leveled against the occupiers did not help either. Though often used for criminal enterprises -- like a plot to steal money or to sell illegal drugs -- conspiracy appeared to be a cloudier explanation for the occupation, which drew an array of people with grievances against Washington.

In an election year fraught with allegations that the system is rigged against everyday people, many antigovernment activists interpreted the verdict as a potent sign that they still have some voice and power.

''Vindicated. World news. Let's take back the narrative America,'' was the message posted Friday morning on the Bundy Ranch Facebook page.

But people angry about the acquittals were also energized and speaking out -- with some saying that race had clouded the case. (All the occupiers were white.) And people involved in the case said the divisions would not be healed anyway.

Mr. Schindler, the lawyer, said in a telephone interview on Friday morning that he had just gotten off the phone with a caller who had threatened him. '''We're coming with guns to take adverse possession of your office,''' he quoted the caller as saying.

Mr. Schindler laughed it off, but he said he had no doubt that the repercussions of Thursday's verdicts were far from over.

During the occupation, the Bundys were cheered on -- both in person and online -- by members of the so-called Patriot Movement, a loose network of militia-type groups, who are deeply skeptical of federal power and sometimes attend protests armed with semiautomatic rifles. The government, militia group members say, is all powerful and out to take away rights and guns.

The paradox of Thursday's court verdict is that it delivered the exact opposite message. Supposed federal omnipotence and overreach became flat-footed haplessness in one brief, powerful court session, as the 12 jurors were polled about their conclusions, rejecting everything about the government's case.

The United States attorney for Oregon, Billy J. Williams, said in a statement on Thursday that prosecutors were disappointed with the outcome, but did not second guess the decision to bring the case to trial.

''We strongly believe that this case needed to be brought before a court, publicly tried and decided by a jury,'' he said. A spokesman for Mr. Williams said on Friday that there would be no further comment or interviews.

Some people outraged by the verdict contrasted the acquittal to the way law enforcement officials and the courts have treated black people, and to Thursday's arrests of 141 people in North Dakota, many of them from the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, who had been blocking a pipeline project.

''Apparently it's legal in America for heavily armed white terrorists to invade Oregon,'' Montel Williams, a former talk show host, wrote on Twitter. ''Imagine if some black folk did this.''

Something is wrong when an armed #oregonstandoff faces no consequences & #NoDAPL protestors are attacked for protecting water. Unacceptable. -- Dr. Jill Stein (@DrJillStein) October 28, 2016

watch whiteness work #oregonstandoff https://t.co/ENAts71Kpr[https://t.co/ENAts71Kpr] -- deray mckesson (@deray) October 28, 2016

The acquittals drew cheers that were less widespread, but no less passionate, than the criticisms.

''It gives some hope and some light to the people who are saying the country is lost,'' said B.J. Soper, 40, a leader of the Pacific Patriots Network, who spent about 36 days on the fringes of the occupation, saying that he was providing security for the occupiers. The verdict was a sign, he added, that government officials needed to listen to everyday people, unless they want to be put ''in harm's way.''

On Friday afternoon in Portland, several dozen Black Lives Matter protesters marched through downtown and blocked a street where some of the freed defendants had gathered near the courthouse for a celebratory hot-dog cookout with supporters.

As about 10 Portland police officers watched, some of the Black Lives Matters protesters burned an American flag, barely a quarter of a block from where the Malheur supporters had gathered with a half-dozen flags of their own on display. One man helping to burn the flag yelled, ''This is not a terrorist threat!'' A Malhuer supporter yelled back, ''I fought for that flag!''

Some passing motorists honked their horns, though it was unclear which side they were cheering.

The occupiers took control of the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge** for 41 days starting just after New Year's Day, opposing both federal ownership of vast tracts of the West, and supporting a local ranching family, the Hammonds, who the occupiers said had been unfairly prosecuted. One occupation leader, LaVoy Finicum, was shot and killed -- and Ryan Bundy wounded -- in late January at a police roadblock during an arrest operation. The remaining occupiers held out for nearly three more weeks.

Whether Thursday's verdict might lead to more clashes, protests or occupations is unknown, but R. McGreggor Cawley, a political-science professor at the University of Wyoming who has studied and written widely about land protests in the West, said he doubted that it would. He noted that during the standoff, few people responded to Ammon Bundy's calls to join him and that the Bundy brothers and their father, Cliven, still face charges in a 2014 confrontation over the use of federal land in Nevada, where Cliven Bundy has a ranch.

''We have a long tradition in this country of people resorting to protest politics, and all protest politics is the result of folks feeling that they are not getting a fair hearing from established institutions,'' Professor Cawley said. ''This is just the latest of a whole series of land disputes going back to the 'Sagebrush Rebellion' of the late '70s, early '80s.''

We the people have spoken against corruption in America it's time for democracy to rein! #Oregonstandoff https://t.co/NKabEwFqyR[https://t.co/NKabEwFqyR] -- Vets4Trump (@Vets\_4\_Trump) October 28, 2016

How Thursday's verdicts might affect a second trial of Malheur occupiers, scheduled for February, is another uncertainty. Some defense lawyers representing Malheur occupiers said they believed the government might abandon that case, in which seven defendants are charged.

''How can you have the leaders acquitted and still go forward?'' said Marcus R. Mumford, Ammon Bundy's lawyer, who was surrounded by federal marshals and arrested in the courtroom after Thursday's verdict. That came after Mr. Mumford vehemently protested that both Bundy brothers would continue to be held in federal custody while awaiting trial in Nevada next year. Mr. Mumford said he was cited for failure to comply with the lawful direction of a police office and impeding a federal officer.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The volunteers worked busily in a campaign office for Donald J. Trump in Manhattan decorated with Trump posters and other campaign materials. One worker was reading Mr. Trump's book ''The Art of the Deal.''

Over the next two hours, the candidate could heard bragging about his ''remarkably successful'' business career, complaining that his unpolished orations ''are held against me'' and that ''the press treats me like dirt.''

This was not a real Trump campaign office, but a church basement, and the campaign volunteers were actors in Lyra Theater's production of a 1941 play written in German with no script modifications but infused with modern touches culled from Mr. Trump's campaign.

As the action unfolded onstage, there were audio clips of Mr. Trump, and other campaign coverage, playing in the background, and some actors wore red baseball caps resembling Mr. Trump's ''Make America Great Again'' hats.

The play, ''The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui,'' was the playwright Bertolt Brecht's cautionary tale about the rise of Hitler.

It was not Brecht's best known play, but it has gained sudden popularity this election season with not just one but three downtown theater companies independently staging productions, all within a few blocks of one another in the East Village.

The companies see the Arturo Ui character -- a mobster and populist demagogue in Prohibition-era Chicago -- as strikingly similar to Mr. Trump and call their productions warnings against the prospect of a Trump presidency.

In fact, the Trump campaign has become a cultural muse of sorts, inspiring a flurry of work from New York's performing arts community, a sector of the city that traditionally votes Democratic.

Musical offerings around town playing off Mr. Trump's candidacy include a Wagnerian opera, a violin concerto and another opera that echoes Hillary Clinton's bitter battle with Mr. Trump.

The Lyra ensemble decided to stage the play early on during Mr. Trump's bid for the presidency, said Noam Shapiro, one of Lyra's artistic directors.

''We all had same impulse: This is a play for our time,'' he said of the production, which runs through Nov. 5, at St. George's Episcopal Church on East 16th Street.

Mr. Shapiro said the parallels between Mr. Trump and the Arturo Ui character, a charismatic but dishonest outsider, were uncanny.

''We didn't change a single word of text from the play,'' Mr. Shapiro said. ''We didn't have to.''

Arturo Ui is a gangster seeking control of the cauliflower market by killing competitors. He commandeers a political party and wins over the public as he rises to power and pits himself as the savior of Chicago who has cleaned up crime.

''Arturo brags about his incredible success in business, or his love of the police, or how he hates **immigrants**,'' Mr. Shapiro said.

The theater companies have not conferred with one another, he said, but, ''in a way, all three productions are a team.''

''We aren't working together,'' he continued, ''but we all share the same goal: speaking out against hate speech.''

The Trump campaign declined to discuss its role as creative inspiration.

A few blocks away on St. Marks Place, the Cave Theatre Company recently ended a two-week run of the play. Between scenes producers showed video clips of Mr. Trump and afterward played the Queen anthem ''We Are the Champions,'' which has been a staple at Trump rallies.

The Cave company used campaign-style promotional posters depicting a man in a Trump-like suit with a cauliflower in his lapel. One of their social media hashtags was #makecauliflowergreatagain.

Farther downtown, at the Wild Project, a theater on East Third Street, the Phoenix Theater Ensemble's version of the Brecht play runs through Nov. 13. A nearby Two Boots pizza franchise named a cauliflower-topped pizza after Arturo Ui and, as it happens, Sebastian Brecht, 53, a grandson of the playwright, is opening a handmade chocolate shop nearby.

In a vacated space in an office building on East 46th Street in Manhattan, a short satirical opera, ''The Drumf and the Rhinegold,'' is scheduled for Sunday and Monday, as part of an immersive installation that includes an inflatable pool.

The piece, a parody of Wagner's Ring Cycle, tells the story of Drumf, a sinister overlord who has stolen a magic ring granting world domination, but who runs into resistance from the Rhinemaidens -- Ivana, Marla and Melania -- who reclaim the gold ring hidden in his hair, which itself is a singing character.

The performance is a production of the Floating Tower theater company, and the opera's composer, Matti Kovler, said Mr. Trump ''has such a dramatic persona that is perfect for opera.''

On election night, ''Trump -- a Theatrical Concerto'' will be performed at Le Poisson Rouge on Bleecker Street.

The violin concerto is ''a 45-minute exploration into the mind of the Republican nominee,'' and will feature recorded snippets from Trump speeches played alongside a live chamber ensemble, said the piece's composer, Gene Pritsker.

Mr. Pritsker said his desire to write a piece about Mr. Trump grew as the candidate gained momentum, an ascent he called ''bad for people but good for my idea.''

Another musical production, a 2001 opera called ''Mrs. President,'' reflects the race between Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump.

The opera, scenes of which were scheduled to be performed on Friday night at the National Opera Center in Manhattan, is based on the story of Victoria Woodhull, the first woman to run for president, in 1872. She was fiercely criticized by a Brooklyn minister, Henry Ward Beecher.

''He was kind of a Trump-like person, a bit of a bully who said all the right things,'' the composer, Victoria Bond, said.

Mr. Beecher labeled Ms. Woodhull as Satan and claimed she belonged in jail, while she criticized him over his infidelities. The vitriol is ''almost replaying itself'' in the current presidential race, said Ms. Bond, who added that the two candidates in the performance were made to look like their real-life counterparts.

Brecht, who fled Germany in 1933, shortly after Hitler became chancellor, wrote ''Arturo Ui'' in Finland before moving to the United States. The play has been performed twice on Broadway, including a production that opened in 1963 with Christopher Plummer. It was produced Off Broadway in 1991 with John Turturro playing Ui and in 2002 with Al Pacino in the lead role.

Mr. Shapiro, of Lyra Theater, said Brecht would be both ''horrified and delighted'' by the play's sudden resurgence.

''He would be pleased that 'Arturo Ui' was getting produced, but saddened that the dangers he wrote about are so present in the United States today,'' he said.

The Cave company decided not to force the parallels. ''We didn't want to spoon-feed it to them, in that way,'' said James Masciovecchio, the production's director, especially because in the play, ''certain lines were almost scarily similar'' to Mr. Trump's campaign rhetoric, including hard-line positions on **immigration** and law and order.

''Instead of having our Ui be Trump, we let him be this crazy ridiculous character, and let the audience get it on their own,'' he said.

There are no direct references to Mr. Trump in the Phoenix production of the Brecht play. His estate, in granting performance rights, forbids amending the script, said Craig Smith, who plays Arturo Ui.

''We didn't need to change a thing,'' Mr. Smith said. ''It's astonishingly relevant to 2016 without doing a thing to it.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**At least one of my siblings, and some of my friends from high school, will be among the 50 million or so Americans waking up on Nov. 9 after giving their vote to a man who thinks very little of them, and even less of the country he wants to lead.

Allow me one last attempt to help you avoid a hangover that will stay with you the rest of your life.

If you ignored every blast of hatred from Donald Trump, every attempt to defraud people or stiff those who worked for him, every bellow from the bully, consider his low view of humanity in general. ''For the most part you can't respect people,'' he has said, ''because most people aren't worthy of respect.''

This is the credo of a loveless man in a friendless world. He also says he has no heroes -- not a Lincoln or Mandela, a Jackie Robinson or a Capt. Chesley Sullenberger.

If you're an evangelical Christian, you're about to cast your lot with someone who goes against nearly everything you believe. I have a sister in this category. Her preacher told her that electing Trump is ''part of God's plan.'' I'm not sure if the plan is apocalyptic, but that sounds like a deity who's given up on all of us.

I would tell my sister and all like-minded souls to look at whether Trump has tried to live by the Ten Commandments. He's consistently violated at least eight of them, from worshiping the God of Mammon to running up the biggest ''pants on fire'' liar score of any presidential candidate in history. As for adultery and coveting others, he's bragged about cheating on the mother of his children in one interview, and outlined his methods for hitting on married women in another.

True, he hasn't committed murder, but he did say he could shoot someone in the middle of Fifth Avenue, ''and I wouldn't lose any supporters.'' If that's who you want your children looking up to, those kids will be, like Trump, bereft of heroes.

If you're a member of the white working class, ''the poorly educated'' that Trump once professed to love, your sense of dislocation is real. The economic gap between the wealthiest cities and the rest of the country has widened. So has the divide between college-educated workers and those who never went beyond high school. More than 20 percent of American men under age 65 had no paid work last year.

But a trade war, which Trump proposes, and his tax and **immigration** policies would bring widespread pain, and do nothing to help the most economically troubled of his supporters. Trump likes to remind people that he took business classes at the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania. Well then, let's listen to a report from his alma mater: It predicts that Trump's policies could cost the United States four million lost jobs.

His tax plan, a giveaway to the rich and a budget buster, would likely lead to another recession. His overall economic proposals could cost the United States economy $1 trillion over the next five years, according to a report from Oxford Economics, a forecasting firm.

Building a wall, of concrete on the southern border, or though tariffs coming from Washington is not going to bring steel mills back to Pennsylvania, or thousands of coal jobs to West Virginia. Even from a blunt, xenophobic perspective, the wall makes no sense. For over the last 10 years, more people have **immigrated** from the United States to Mexico than vice versa. Trump never mentions that.

I should add that 15 million new jobs have been added under President Obama's watch, and that incomes grew across the board last year, especially at the bottom. Trump never mentions that, either.

Vice President Joe Biden has made it one of his final missions to ensure that Democrats don't forget those living in places like his hometown, Scranton, Pa. One solution is to put people to work on roads, bridges, airports and other ''big stuff.'' Hillary Clinton has at least put forth a $275 billion infrastructure jobs plan. Trump promises nothing more than a slogan on a silly hat and a pipe dream of a plan with no way to pay for it.

Finally, if you're a true deplorable, I have nothing to say to you by way of persuasion. You should follow the endorsements of neo-Nazis, and current and former members of the Ku Klux Klan who say Trump is the embodiment of their beliefs. A vote for anyone but Trump, as the former Klansman David Duke says, is ''treason'' to your heritage. He's talking about a lineage that goes directly back to slavery.

For the rest of the Trump supporters, remember that resentment is not a political philosophy and hatred is not a sustainable force for governing. Remember, also, the words of a global citizen -- Bono. ''America is like the best idea the world ever came up with,'' he said, ''but Donald Trump is potentially the worst idea that ever happened to America.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The struggles and dangers that **refugees** from Syria endure before reaching safe havens are now well known. For the second part of their insightful and often moving long-term look at Syrian **refugees** in Canada, Jodi Kantor and Catrin Einhorn were in Toronto, where they found an additional stress factor that newcomers faced after they arrived at their new homes.

As they sorted out and rebuilt their lives in Canada, many **refugees** were also receiving desperate pleas from family members who were still in Syria and Lebanon.

''Previous generations of **refugees** often ached for any information about relatives, but now messages zipped back and forth around the world on free apps,'' Ms. Kantor and Ms. Einhorn wrote. ''The joy of such regular communication came at a steep cost: constant updates on the misery of relatives left behind, intensifying worry and impeding progress for those trying to carve out a new life.''

Those pleas also challenge Canadian **refugee** sponsors to consider the limits of their generosity.

If you missed it, be sure to read the first installment of the series as well. Ms. Kantor and Ms. Einhorn are now working on their third chapter.

New hope in a new arena. After a long, miserable hockey dry spell, there's a new buzz in Edmonton, Alberta, as the N.H.L. season gets underway -- and it's not just because of the sometimes contentious new home of the Oilers.

Connor McDavid will lead the team this season, making him, at 19, the youngest team captain in N.H.L. history.

After spending time in Edmonton, Ben Shpigel, The New York Times's hockey reporter, found that he ''conjures the greatest Oiler of them all, Wayne Gretzky.''

Shocking reversal. Families in Woodstock and London, Ontario, learned this week that relatives who they believed had died in nursing homes from disease or old age may have been murdered.

The police have charged a former nurse with eight counts of first-degree, or premeditated, murder over a period of seven years when she worked at two nursing homes.

Woodstock is a small city where farming and industry mix. At one entrance to town, motorists are greeted by a life-size statue of Springbank Snow Countess, a cow that died in 1936 while holding the title of world champion lifetime butterfat producer. To the east is an immense white Toyota factory where RAV4 sport utility vehicles are assembled.

While I was in Woodstock this week, I found that the shock and grief in the community over the news of the nursing-home killings was compounded by bafflement. Conflicting theories about the possible motive behind the killings abound. But no one other than the killer, and perhaps the police, really knows why they happened.

Belgian turmoil. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was supposed to be in Brussels this week, signing a free-trade deal between Canada and the European Union. But those plans were upset when the regional parliament of Wallonia, the mainly French-speaking part of Belgium, seemed to have killed the pact.

It had been negotiated by the former Conservative government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper, and the national government of Belgium had agreed to it along with all the other members of the European Union. But the approval of Belgium's regional assemblies was also required, and when Wallonia objected last week, Canada's international trade minister, Chrystia Freeland, walked out of the talks in Brussels with some undiplomatic, emotional language.

This week, European Union leaders found a way to mollify the Walloons that was also acceptable to Canada. The Wallonian assembly voted Friday morning to approve the agreement, and by the end of the day it was announced that the pact's near-death experience had passed and Mr. Trudeau would travel to Belgium for a signing ceremony on Sunday.

Of course, something could still go wrong before the deal is signed, sealed and delivered. But if everything does work out and Mr. Trudeau is able to make his European trip after all, an analysis by Aaron Wherry of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation suggests that Ms. Freeland's dramatic walkout may have played an important role in forcing Europe to work things out. Mr. Wherry noted that it echoed a similar episode in the 1980s, when Canada was hashing out a trade agreement with the United States.

Here are some articles from The Times, not necessarily related to Canada, that I found interesting this week:

Lucia Perillo, a poet who used ''humor and piercing emotion'' to write about her life with multiple sclerosis, died at 58.

The American military has put artificial intelligence at the center of a multibillion-dollar program to create weapons that, like the Terminator, can think and kill on their own.

Britain is moving to pardon men who were criminalized for being gay. That's not sitting well with George Montague, a World War ll veteran, father, grandfather and entrepreneur. Forty-two years after he was convicted of gross indecency, he's also seeking an apology.

A native of Windsor, Ontario, Ian Austen was educated in Toronto, lives in Ottawa and has reported about Canada for The New York Times for over a decade. Follow him on Twitter at @ianrausten.

Tell us what you think at CanadaToday@nytimes.com. And, using the link above, please subscribe to the email newsletter version.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PORTLAND, Ore. -- Armed antigovernment protesters led by Ammon and Ryan Bundy were acquitted Thursday of federal conspiracy and weapons charges stemming from the takeover of a federally owned wildlife sanctuary in Oregon last winter.

The surprise acquittals of all seven defendants in Federal District Court was a blow to government prosecutors, who had argued that the Bundys and five of their followers used force and threats of violence to occupy the reserve. But the jury appeared swayed by the defendants' contention that they were protesting government overreach and posed no threat to the public.

In a sign of the tension that ran through the trial, Ammon Bundy's lawyer, Marcus R. Mumford, frustrated that the Bundys were not being released, was restrained by four United States marshals after an outburst.

''I knew that what my husband was doing was right, but I was nervous because the judge was controlling the narrative,'' said Ryan Bundy's wife, Angela Bundy, 39, in a telephone interview from the family ranch in Bunkerville, Nev. ''But they saw the truth. I am just so grateful they saw it.''

It was not immediately clear how the not-guilty verdicts would affect the government's strategy in another case stemming from the Oregon occupation, or a trial in Nevada that the Bundy brothers and their father, Cliven Bundy, face for an armed standoff there.

The Oregon occupation, at a remote and frigid reserve in the southeastern part of the state, was rooted in antigovernment fervor and captured the nation's attention. It had a Wild West quality, with armed men in cowboy hats taking on federal agents in a tussle over public lands and putting out a call for aid, only to see their insurrection fizzle.

In a monthlong trial here, the defendants never denied that they had occupied and held the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge** headquarters for nearly six weeks, demanding that the federal government surrender the 188,000-acre property to local control. But their lawyers argued that prosecutors did not prove that the group had engaged in an illegal conspiracy that kept federal workers -- employees of the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Bureau of Land Management -- from doing their jobs.

Eleven people had already pleaded guilty. One participant, LaVoy Finicum, was killed by the authorities during the standoff.

Ethan D. Knight, an assistant United States attorney, argued that the case was simple: Ammon Bundy had been selective in deciding which laws applied to him and had led an armed seizure of property that did not belong to him.

Mr. Mumford said acquitting Mr. Bundy would be a victory for all Americans. ''They're deceiving you,'' Mr. Mumford said, gesturing to the prosecutors. ''It's the government that picks and chooses the rules it's going to comply with.''

Ammon Bundy, 41, a business owner, testified for three days in his defense. He argued that the takeover was spontaneous and informed by religious belief. But prosecutors, through witnesses and their final arguments, said the group had used the threat of force and violence, crystallized by Mr. Bundy's call for followers across the nation to come to the **refuge** with guns.

All seven defendants in the case were charged with conspiracy to impede federal employees from discharging their duties, and they also faced federal weapons charges and could have been given long prison sentences. The unanimous acquittals covered all the charges but one, a theft of government property charge against Ryan Bundy for removing cameras mounted at the **refuge**, with no verdict rendered on it.

In a statement, Oregon's governor, Kate Brown, said she was disappointed.

''The occupation of the Malheur Reserve did not reflect the Oregon way of respectfully working together to resolve differences,'' the governor said.

After asking each of the defendants to rise, Judge Anna J. Brown read off the string of not-guilty verdicts. ''It has been a long road,'' she told the jury afterward.

Ammon Bundy's lawyer, Mr. Mumford, then requested that the Bundy brothers be immediately released. Judge Brown denied the request and said that because of pending charges in Nevada, the brothers would remain in federal custody.

Mr. Mumford became agitated. ''He is going to be released,'' he said in a raised voice.

Judge Brown rebuked him. ''Mr. Mumford, you really need to not yell at me, now or ever again,'' she said.

As Mr. Mumford continued his protest, four court officers surrounded him, and in the ensuing scuffle, documents and other items on the defense table were knocked to the floor and Judge Brown ordered the courtroom cleared.

Shawna Cox, the only woman among the defendants, expressed fury at the treatment of Mr. Mumford. ''I am happy to be free,'' she added.

Outside the courthouse, 75 to 100 people gathered after the verdict. One woman handed out American flags. Supporters of the protesters chanted: ''Praise God. Praise God.''

One of the defendants, Neil Wampler, was congratulated by supporters. ''On to the next one,'' he said, alluding to the charges still pending against his fellow defendants.

Ammon Bundy, of Emmett, Idaho, and his brother Ryan, 43, of Cedar City, Utah, and their father were the poster images of the anger over federal control of vast stretches of Western lands. And the armed protesters -- later co-defendants -- who joined the brothers in their occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge**all had similar longstanding distrust of the government.

Mr. Wampler, of Los Osos, Calif., described himself as a 68-year-old hippie, and Kenneth Mendehbach, of Crescent, Ore., a woodworker by profession, boasted of spending at least two decades protesting federal power. Jeff Banta of Yerington, Nev., was one of the last holdouts at the **refuge**. At 27, David Lee Fry left a job at his parents' dental practice in Blanchester, Ohio, to join the protest. Ms. Cox has a history of protesting federal involvement on Western lands and is a friend of the Bundys.

In closing arguments last week, the defense lawyers in the case and Ryan Bundy, who represented himself, passionately argued that the government had not made its case. They argued that the presence of paid government informants at the **refuge** during the occupation muddied the waters and created reasonable doubt about how the decisions of the defendants were made.

''The government was not here to find the truth,'' Robert L. Salisbury, Mr. Banta's lawyer, told the jury before deliberations began. ''This case is about people wanting to be heard, and they're just frustrated with our government.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**IF such events can be said to have an upside, the Inquisition had one for Spanish and Portuguese Jews: It propelled them to the Americas, where they largely found the tolerance and opportunities denied them in Europe.

The story of the havens Jews established in the New World is the focus of an exhibition opening on Friday at the New-York Historical Society. With rare manuscripts, Bibles, prayer books, paintings, maps and ritual objects, ''The First Jewish Americans: Freedom and Culture in the New World,'' chronicles how Jews, expelled from Spain and Portugal after being driven out in earlier centuries from England and France, established thriving communities in New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Newport and, even earlier, on Caribbean islands and in South America.

In the United States, they, like their fellow Americans, were tossed about in history's currents, finding themselves on both sides during the American Revolution, the movement to abolish slavery and the Civil War. And their welcome was sometimes short-lived or illusory.

The exhibition's most arresting artifact is a threadbare 4-inch-by-3-inch, 180-page memoir and prayer book handwritten by Luis de Carvajal the Younger in colonial Mexico in 1595, where the Inquisition had extended its sinister reach of torture and execution.

De Carvajal was a converso, forced to adopt Catholicism but suspected of clandestinely practicing Jewish rituals. At trial, he was pressured to denounce 120 Jews who secretly followed their faith, including his relatives. Then he was burned at the stake.

''They broke him down,'' said Debra Schmidt Bach, a curator of the show.

The de Carvajal book mysteriously disappeared from Mexico's national archives in the 1930s. Not long ago, however, Leonard L. Milberg, an American businessman with a major Judaica collection, learned that the document was for sale at Swann Auction Galleries in Manhattan, and he arranged to have it returned to Mexico. It is on loan for the show.

The exhibition features documents chronicling the vagaries of early Jewish settlements: an edict expelling Jews from France's American colonies; a rabbinical paper certifying as kosher food shipped to Barbados; an 18th-century service for the biblically mandated circumcision of slaves and a list of circumcisers in Curaçao and Suriname; and a Christian missionary's treatise speculating that Native Americans were the Lost Tribes of Israel. There are two nostalgic paintings of Caribbean scenes by Camille Pissarro, the French Impressionist who was born on St. Thomas to a Jewish mother. Seventy-two of the 170 items in the show are from Mr. Milberg's collection.

Though the Dutch colony in New Amsterdam, now New York, became a significant haven, its embrace of Jews was stinting. The outpost's flinty governor, Peter Stuyvesant, recoiled when 23 **refugees** from Portuguese-ruled Brazil arrived in 1654. But the Dutch West Indies Company told Stuyvesant that business was business and Jews should remain as long as they could contribute to the outpost's commercial well-being.

Those Jews established the first North American congregation, Shearith Israel -- Remnant of Israel -- and built a synagogue in 1730 on what is now South William Street in Lower Manhattan. The congregation endures on Central Park West, where it moved in 1897.

Shearith Israel lent the exhibition a charred Torah scroll rescued from a fire set by British soldiers in 1776 and a pair of exquisitely crafted silver rimonim -- belled ornaments for a Torah scroll -- fashioned by the esteemed silversmith Myer Myers. There is also a ketubah -- a marriage contract -- illustrated with a bride and groom under a chuppah.

Abigaill Levy Franks, a prominent woman of old New York, is saluted with a portrait. Her letters, the exhibition text informs visitors, confided her upset at her daughter's marriage to a Christian, Oliver Delancey. Interestingly, he was a scion of the family for whom Delancey Street was named; the street later became the spine of the Lower East Side's Jewish quarter.

Like other colonists, Jews were conflicted about ending British rule. Haym Salomon, a Polish **immigrant**, helped finance the Revolution. But Abraham Gomez and 15 other Jews were among 932 signers of allegiance to King George III.

Other documents chronicle the tug of war over slavery. Account books record the purchase of five slaves by Matthias Lopez in 1787, while Jacob Levy Jr. is mentioned in an abolitionist society's papers as having freed four slaves in 1817.

There are also sections of the exhibition devoted to the communities in Philadelphia; New Orleans; Charleston, S.C.; and Newport, R.I. The show does not have George Washington's famous letter to the Newport congregation expressing the hope that everyone ''shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig-tree.'' But it has letters from congregations in Newport and Savannah, Ga., thanking the new president for being so welcoming.

Alexander Hamilton, the lionized founding father of today's Broadway, makes an appearance too. The show tells us that his mother had been married to a Jew and that he was fluent in Hebrew and maintained close professional ties with Jews.

Several documents establish that it was at Congregation Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim in Charleston where the American version of Reform Judaism took root in 1824 through young mavericks who ''wanted to modernize Judaism so it wouldn't die,'' said Dale Rosengarten, director of the Center for Southern Jewish Culture at the College of Charleston. Ms. Rosengarten was a curator of a similar exhibition at Princeton.

''It didn't spring out of whole cloth but sprang out of our native soil,'' she said.

Jews made important contributions to 19th-century science and culture, along with other fields, but as the exhibition says, ''despite the nation's ostensible commitment to religious tolerance, stereotypes of Jews persisted on the American stage.'' One gallery has a portrait and the sword and scabbard of Commodore Uriah Phillips Levy, a naval hero of the War of 1812, and paintings by Solomon Nunes Carvalho, who accompanied John C. Frémont, the explorer, on a cross-country expedition.

Inevitably, said Louise Mirrer, the New-York Historical Society's president, the story of the New World's Jews has resonance for **immigrants**, **refugees** and religious minorities today. ''Seeds had been planted early on for a place where you could practice your religion,'' Ms. Mirrer said, because the New World had drawn Europeans like the Puritans seeking religious freedom.

But at times, she added, there were anomalies: ''In the exhibit, we see the kind of religious fervor that promotes a kind of violence against certain groups.''

''The First Jewish Americans'' runs through Feb. 26 at the New-York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, at 77th Street; 212-873-3400, nyhistory.org.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**HONG KONG -- In the aftermath of violence this month in western Myanmar that has left scores of people dead, the authorities are facing mounting pressure to lift a weekslong military lockdown that advocacy groups say has trapped Muslims in their communities and largely prevented aid workers from helping them.

People in the northern part of Rakhine State have watched the Myanmar Army and the border police loot shops, rape women, burn homes and Qurans, and shoot unarmed people in the days and weeks since an attack this month on a guard post near the Bangladeshi border killed nine police officers, rights activists say. The United Nations, in a statement on Monday, urged the government to address ''growing reports of human rights violations'' in the area.

The violence this month has largely affected members of the Rohingya ethnic group, a stateless Muslim minority with roughly one million members in Rakhine State. The Rohingya have been unable to obtain Myanmar citizenship, even though many of their families have lived in the country for generations.

Much of northern Rakhine remained inaccessible to international relief agencies because of the military operations and travel restrictions, activists and aid workers said this week. They added that thousands of Rohingya people had not been permitted to leave their villages -- even as some members of the Rakhine group, a Buddhist ethnic minority in Myanmar that has occasionally clashed with both the Rohingya and the government in recent years, have fled south to Sittwe, the provincial capital.

International nonprofit groups have been unable to reach those displaced by the violence and to offer humanitarian programs like basic health services, Marta Kaszubska, the coordinator of the INGO Forum Myanmar, a consortium of international nonprofits in the country, said in an emailed statement on Wednesday.

''The longer this situation continues, the more vulnerable people will get, as food supplies dwindle and life-threatening health problems are left untreated,'' she added.

But U Tin Maung Swe, the spokesman for the Rakhine government, disputed accounts of human rights violations. Reports of soldiers and border police officers killing and terrorizing villagers were untrue, he said in a brief telephone interview on Thursday, and the area had never been under lockdown. ''If you want to go, I will arrange access,'' he said.

Reports of human rights violations in northern Rakhine could not be independently verified. Mr. Tin Maung Swe declined to say why he believed they were untrue.

The European Commission reported last week that 10,000 internally displaced Rohingya people were confined in coastal Maungdaw Township, where much of the violence has taken place this month, and that 1,000 Rakhine people had been relocated from northern Rakhine State to a new **refugee** camp on a soccer field in Sittwe. It said that 2,000 other Rakhine people were sheltering in monasteries, temples and schools in Maungdaw and neighboring Buthidaung Township.

A spasm of violence between Rohingya and Rakhine people in the Sittwe area in 2012 that killed dozens displaced more than 100,000 people. The vast majority of those are Rohingya, but some are Rakhine. They now live separately in **refugee** camps along Sittwe's rural fringes.

Naing Min, a Rohingya villager in northern Rakhine, said he had witnessed border police officers and Myanmar Army soldiers driving people out of War Pate, a village in Maungdaw Township, in recent days.

''Then they're burning the houses,'' Mr. Naing Min said by telephone on Thursday. ''I've seen this from a half-mile away.''

Abdul Rasheed, a Rohingya activist in Yangon, Myanmar's cultural and business capital, said his contacts in northern Rakhine had documented 119 rapes and the burning or demolition of 700 to 800 homes since the attack this month on the border post. More than 200 people there had also been killed by the authorities or disappeared, he added, and many others were wounded by gunfire but unable to find medical treatment. He said he based his assessment on telephone conversations with more than 20 people in the area.

Mr. Rasheed said he worried that the military's response to the initial attack may only aggravate the grievances that many Rohingya have harbored against the Myanmar government for years, driving them to further violence.

''Many people may resist against this lawless action,'' he said in a WhatsApp message on Thursday. ''Could be harmful for our people.''

Videos have circulated online this month that appear to show groups of heavily armed Rohingya men calling for jihad against the authorities. Activists and government officials say the videos appear to be authentic. But Fortify Rights, an advocacy group in Southeast Asia, has said the videos are unusual and should not be taken as signs of widespread militancy among Muslims in the area.

Chris Lewa, a Rohingya rights advocate in Thailand, said that shootings and house burnings had appeared to taper off in northern Rakhine but that the authorities were now arresting community and religious leaders, many of whom had not yet been released.

''What exactly happens to them once they get arrested?'' Ms. Lewa asked. ''We're of course concerned they would be tortured.''

Myanmar's de facto leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, has called for investigations into the violence in northern Rakhine and cautioned against making accusations without evidence. Other officials have denied any wrongdoing.

''We haven't done anything lawless,'' U Zaw Htay, a spokesman for Myanmar's president, U Htin Kyaw, said in response to the statement by the United Nations, according to the Irrawaddy, a website that covers Myanmar.

The United Nations World Food Program, which provides food assistance for tens of thousands in Rakhine, said that it had begun distributing cash assistance on Wednesday to 20,000 people from vulnerable households in Buthidaung Township and that several schools in Buthidaung and Maungdaw had reopened after being closed this month.

But an official at the agency, Arsen Sahakyan, said that the planned distribution of food supplements to 17,000 pregnant women, nursing mothers and malnourished children in areas only accessible by river was delayed and that the agency would resume giving food to 50,000 people in Maungdaw once the area became accessible. It was also ''assessing the feasibility,'' he added, of resuming a program that normally feeds 65,000 students.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Senate race in New Hampshire is the only one this year in which both incumbent and challenger are women (the first such race was in 1960, next door in Maine). Senator Kelly Ayotte, a Republican, is struggling to close a widening gap with Maggie Hassan, the state's popular Democratic governor. The seat is a beachhead in the battle for the Senate, with Democrats, Republicans and special-interest groups pouring upward of $102 million into the race, or about $114 for each registered voter.

Earlier this month, Ms. Hassan stood beside Michelle Obama as the first lady said that the 2005 tape in which Donald Trump boasted about sexual assault ''has shaken me to my core.'' Just days before the tape emerged, Ms. Ayotte issued the most damaging of her many strangled testimonials to Mr. Trump, suggesting that he could serve as a role model, before taking that back.

Ms. Ayotte, who is 48, has contorted herself to accommodate her party's presidential nominee, saying she was ''supporting'' but wouldn't endorse him, a position that impressed no one, including Mr. Trump; he called it ''weak.'' Ms. Ayotte, sinking in most polls, now says she made ''a mistake.'' But her come-lately rejection has combined with her record to **alienate** independents and conservatives.

Ms. Hassan, 58, entered politics in 1999 to fight for affordable education for disabled people like her son, Ben, who has cerebral palsy. She was elected governor in 2012 and re-elected in 2014, when Democrats were shellacked across the nation. She would have been tough competition even without the Trump millstone around her rival's neck.

Ms. Ayotte glided into office in 2010 as a tough-minded former state attorney general, billed as one of her party's rising Young Turks. In the Senate she made impressive independent stands in favor of **immigration** reform, limits on power-plant emissions and other efforts to combat climate change, and extending expiring unemployment benefits.

But many of her other positions are less appealing. While she stood up to Senator Ted Cruz's efforts to shut down the government in the battle over Obamacare, she voted repeatedly to repeal the law. She voted to defund Planned Parenthood and ban abortions after 20 weeks. She opposes increasing the federal minimum wage. She joined in the recklessly partisan move to block consideration of Merrick Garland for the Supreme Court. In 2013, in the aftermath of the Sandy Hook shooting, she voted against strengthening background checks for gun buyers.

Ms. Hassan says she's running to protect the gains New Hampshire has made during her governorship. In a state with no personal income tax or sales tax, she helped to lower the cost of community college and contain state university tuition, expand Medicaid, cut business taxes and achieve a 3 percent jobless rate. She takes a far harder line on **immigration** than liberals in her party. She would have supported **immigration** reform legislation, as Ms. Ayotte did, and like Ms. Ayotte, she opposes President Obama's plan to close the prison at Guantánamo Bay. She stands with her party in supporting Obamacare, abortion rights and efforts to mitigate climate change. On gun safety, she says strengthening background checks and preventing people on the government no-fly list from buying guns ''is the very least we should be doing.''

Campaigning at a breakfast forum in her hometown, Nashua, last Sunday, Ms. Ayotte described her Senate record as ''finding common ground.'' Some in the crowd called it a betrayal. ''It seems like every day a child is killed by guns, and yet she hasn't taken a stand against them,'' one woman said. ''How do you vote for someone who breaks your heart?''

One answer: You don't. In Ms. Hassan, Granite State voters have the chance to elect a pragmatist who is more attuned to their needs than to party politics.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- Federal prosecutors brought charges on Thursday against dozens of people accused of taking part in a giant international crime ring that relied on Indian telephone call centers to bilk thousands of Americans out of more than $300 million.

While service calls routed to phone banks in India have become a frequent annoyance for American consumers -- as well as comic inspiration for late-night television hosts -- the Justice Department revealed a darker side to the operations in an 81-page indictment unsealed in federal court in Houston.

The operators of the scheme at five call centers in India would pose as tax collectors from the Internal Revenue Service, or as American customs agents, loan officers, police officers or other authority figures in calling ''targets,'' officials said. The victims were then threatened with arrest or deportation if bogus debts were not paid, according to the charges.

Nearly two dozen accomplices arrested inside the United States on Thursday were accused of working as ''runners,'' or managers to collect and then launder the money by using prepaid debit cards, Western Union transfers and informal money exchanges to funnel money back to India.

In one case, an 85-year-old woman in San Diego turned over $12,300 after she was threatened with arrest over a supposed unpaid tax bill, officials said, and in another case a California resident paid over $136,00 through prepaid debit cards after a caller contacted him repeatedly over the course of three weeks about a tax bill.

Some 15,000 victims in all were bilked, the officials said; while many of the people targeted were **immigrants** from India or across South Asia, large numbers were not.

''This case is massive,'' said John Roth, the inspector general of the Department of Homeland Security, and ''the investigation touched every part of the United States.''

Although most of the people charged Thursday reside in India, Justice Department officials said they would seek to have the authorities there extradite defendants to the United States to stand trial on fraud, money laundering and other charges.

Earlier this month, the Indian authorities arrested 70 people there who were also accused of taking part in call-center schemes to defraud Americans by posing as I.R.S. agents.

But American officials said on Thursday that the investigation here was unconnected to the one in India and involved a separate ring of call centers.

Taken together, the separate investigations 7,500 miles apart indicated the wide scope of the problem, and the American authorities warned people to be on guard for scam callers.

''If you get one of these calls, it is not the U.S. government calling you,'' Leslie R. Caldwell, the head of the criminal division at the Justice Department, said in announcing the charges at a news conference in Washington.

''Even if your caller ID says, as it did in many of these instances, 'U.S. government,' 'I.R.S.' or some other government agency, it is not the U.S. government; it is a scam,'' she said. ''Don't pay any money, and instead report the call to law enforcement.''

The callers used personal information about their targets culled from social media postings and other sources of data to make their demands seem genuine.

They were brazen, persistent and ''ruthless'' -- and ''willing to go to frightening lengths'' to extort money, said Bruce Foucart, an assistant director at the United States **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement agency.

He cited a case this year in Colorado Springs, in which a man faced repeated demands from callers to pay fours years of supposed back taxes.

After the man refused, one of the suspects called 911 posing as the man to say he was armed and wanted to ''kill cops,'' Mr. Foucart said. More than a dozen police officers arrived at the home, where the man's daughter was home alone. ''Fortunately, no one was hurt,'' he said.

Ms. Caldwell said it might be very difficult for the victims to get back much, if any, of the money they lost in an international case like this one.

''The sad thing about these scams is, often, once the money's paid, it's gone,'' she said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**At least one of my siblings, and some of my friends from high school, will be among the 50 million or so Americans waking up on Nov. 9 after giving their vote to a man who thinks very little of them, and even less of the country he wants to lead.

Allow me one last attempt to help you avoid a hangover that will stay with you the rest of your life.

If you ignored every blast of hatred from Donald Trump, every attempt to defraud people or stiff those who worked for him, every bellow from the bully, consider his low view of humanity in general. ''For the most part you can't respect people,'' he has said, ''because most people aren't worthy of respect.''

This is the credo of a loveless man in a friendless world. He also says he has no heroes -- not a Lincoln or Mandela, a Jackie Robinson or a Capt. Chesley Sullenberger.

If you're an evangelical Christian, you're about to cast your lot with someone who goes against nearly everything you believe. I have a sister in this category. Her preacher told her that electing Trump is ''part of God's plan.'' I'm not sure if the plan is apocalyptic, but that sounds like a deity who's given up on all of us.

I would tell my sister and all like-minded souls to look at whether Trump has tried to live by the Ten Commandments. He's consistently violated at least eight of them, from worshiping the God of Mammon to running up the biggest ''pants on fire'' liar score of any presidential candidate in history. As for adultery and coveting others, he's bragged about cheating on the mother of his children in one interview, and outlined his methods for hitting on married women in another.

True, he hasn't committed murder, but he did say he could shoot someone in the middle of Fifth Avenue, ''and I wouldn't lose any supporters.'' If that's who you want your children looking up to, those kids will be, like Trump, bereft of heroes.

If you're a member of the white working class, ''the poorly educated'' that Trump once professed to love, your sense of dislocation is real. The economic gap between the wealthiest cities and the rest of the country has widened. So has the divide between college-educated workers and those who never went beyond high school. More than 20 percent of American men under age 65 had no paid work last year.

But a trade war, which Trump proposes, and his tax and **immigration** policies would bring widespread pain, and do nothing to help the most economically troubled of his supporters. Trump likes to remind people that he took business classes at the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania. Well then, let's listen to a report from his alma mater: It predicts that Trump's policies could cost the United States four million lost jobs.

His tax plan, a giveaway to the rich and a budget buster, would likely lead to another recession. His overall economic proposals could cost the United States economy $1 trillion over the next five years, according to a report from Oxford Economics, a forecasting firm.

Building a wall, of concrete on the southern border, or though tariffs coming from Washington is not going to bring steel mills back to Pennsylvania, or thousands of coal jobs to West Virginia. Even from a blunt, xenophobic perspective, the wall makes no sense. For over the last 10 years, more people have **immigrated** from the United States to Mexico than vice versa. Trump never mentions that.

I should add that 15 million new jobs have been added under President Obama's watch, and that incomes grew across the board last year, especially at the bottom. Trump never mentions that, either.

Vice President Joe Biden has made it one of his final missions to ensure that Democrats don't forget those living in places like his hometown, Scranton, Pa. One solution is to put people to work on roads, bridges, airports and other ''big stuff.'' Hillary Clinton has at least put forth a $275 billion infrastructure jobs plan. Trump promises nothing more than a slogan on a silly hat and a pipe dream of a plan with no way to pay for it.

Finally, if you're a true deplorable, I have nothing to say to you by way of persuasion. You should follow the endorsements of neo-Nazis, and current and former members of the Ku Klux Klan who say Trump is the embodiment of their beliefs. A vote for anyone but Trump, as the former Klansman David Duke says, is ''treason'' to your heritage. He's talking about a lineage that goes directly back to slavery.

For the rest of the Trump supporters, remember that resentment is not a political philosophy and hatred is not a sustainable force for governing. Remember, also, the words of a global citizen -- Bono. ''America is like the best idea the world ever came up with,'' he said, ''but Donald Trump is potentially the worst idea that ever happened to America.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Jungle, a sprawling migrant camp in northern France that had come to symbolize Europe's dismal failure to cope with the waves of desperate people fleeing violence and hunger in the Middle East and Africa, is finally gone, cleared in a three-day French operation that will disperse the migrants and **refugees** among centers across France. But the greater problem that brought them there in the first place is far from cleared.

Razing the tawdry, unsafe and unhealthy camp in Calais was overdue and necessary, and the thousands of people -- including hundreds of unaccompanied youths -- who had somehow reached the entrance to the Channel Tunnel in the largely false hope of reaching Britain, the promised land for so many **refugees**, will now have a chance at least to live in a degree of safety while they try to get permission to stay in France.

But the Somalis, Ethiopians, Eritreans, Afghans, Iraqis, Syrians and others who have risked everything to flee their hellish lands are still arriving in a continent that still has no unified, humane policy to deal with them. That the Jungle existed in the first place testifies not only to their desperate resourcefulness, but to Europe's fecklessness. The **refugees** had to navigate war zones, cross a sea, sneak ashore and travel for hundreds of miles to get there. Europe did a poor job of processing them, on arrival and an even worse job of distributing them fairly.

Britain, the most prized destination for many of the **refugees**, closed its doors the tightest. Protected by geography and outside the passport-free Schengen zone, it accepted only a handful of asylum seekers, opted out of most E.U. asylum policies and effectively left it to France to hold back the **refugees** who reached the Chunnel. Even then, purportedly ''uncontrolled'' **immigration** was one of the biggest reasons Britons voted to opt out of the European Union.

Britain has now taken a commendable step under a measure known as the Dubs amendment, named after a peer who was himself a child **refugee**, to let in unaccompanied **refugee** youths, of whom there were about 1,300 in Calais. Britain should go further and demonstrate that even if it is leaving the E.U., it still recognizes its obligations to **refugees** and to its neighbors. How the French handle the thousands of **refugees** who are being dispersed among scores of French communities will also be watched carefully.

However competently it was done, clearing Calais only a temporary measure.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**An Afghan woman whose photograph as a young **refugee** with piercing green eyes was published on the cover of National Geographic in 1985, becoming a symbol of the turmoil of war in Afghanistan, was arrested on Wednesday in Pakistan on charges of fraudulently obtaining national identity cards.

The woman, Sharbat Gula, was arrested at her residence in the northwestern city of Peshawar after more than a year of investigation, said Shahid Ilyas, the assistant director of the Federal Investigation Authority.

''We raided the house and picked her up,'' he said. ''It took us a while to collect all the evidence against her, and the officials involved in helping her and her two sons get Pakistani national identity cards.''

He added, ''We have the evidence now, and we are going to go for prosecution.''

The arrest came as the Pakistani authorities were cracking down on Afghans with illegal national identity cards. The authorities said Ms. Gula had illegally obtained a Pakistani identity card in 1988 and a computerized identity card in 2014, while retaining her Afghan passport, which she used in 2014 to travel to Saudi Arabia for the hajj.

She faces up to 14 years in prison and a fine of $3,000 to $5,000 if she is convicted, according to the Dawn news agency.

Her arrest goes to the heart of an ordeal confronting many Afghan **refugees** who fled across the border into Pakistan because of decades of war. The Pakistani crackdown on Afghans appears to have intensified since May, when the former Taliban leader Mullah Akhtar Muhammad Mansour was killed in a drone strike in Baluchistan Province.

He had been traveling with forged Pakistani documents, officials said.

Gerry Simpson, a senior researcher and advocate for the **Refugee** Rights Program at Human Rights Watch, wrote online that 1.5 million Afghans in Pakistan have received ''proof of registration'' cards, which protected them from deportation. About one million more who did not get the paperwork resorted to using false identity cards. Mr. Simpson wrote that Pakistan was now on a mission to repatriate all Afghans.

The Pakistani authorities have revoked or blocked thousands of national identity cards illegally obtained by foreigners. Ms. Gula, who is believed to be in her 40s, was caught up in that dragnet when she was arrested. A court said on Wednesday that she could be kept in custody for two days while the authorities investigated.

Ms. Gula was known as ''the Afghan girl'' when Steve McCurry's photograph of her wearing a red scarf and staring directly at the camera became world famous in the '80s. After the United States invaded Afghanistan, the photographer searched in 2002 for the schoolgirl he had photographed in a Pakistani **refugee** camp.

He found her in the mountains of Afghanistan and put a name to the face.

Mr. McCurry said in a statement on Wednesday that he had been informed of the arrest through a friend and was trying to find out more. ''I am committed to doing anything and everything possible to provide legal and financial support for her and her family,'' he said.

''We object to this action by the authorities in the strongest possible terms,'' he said. ''She has suffered throughout her entire life, and we believe that her arrest is an egregious violation of her human rights.''

According to the 2002 National Geographic article about Mr. McCurry's journey to find Ms. Gula, her exact age in the **refugee** camp had been unknown at the time because there were no records, but she was believed to have been 12.

When he went back to look for her, she had returned to the mountains of Tora Bora in Afghanistan. He discovered that she belonged to the Pashtun ethnic group, and that she had returned to her village in Afghanistan during a lull in the fighting.

She agreed to be photographed again because her husband told her it would be proper, he said.

The magazine article described the adult Ms. Gula: ''Time and hardship had erased her youth. Her skin looks like leather. The geometry of her jaw has softened. The eyes still glare; that has not softened.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MANILA -- President Rodrigo Duterte of the Philippines, who nurses a longtime grudge against the United States, has declared he wants ''a separation'' and on Wednesday added that he wants American troops out of his country in two years.

Speaking in Tokyo, Mr. Duterte said he was willing to revoke the 2014 agreement letting the Pentagon use five Philippine military bases, a critical component of the Obama administration's plan to bolster American influence in Asia.

''I want them out,'' he said of the American troops in his country.

While his threats have tapped a deep strain of resentment among Filipinos who feel as if they are treated like a second-class ally, the country's deep cultural, economic and military ties to the United States make it unlikely that they will follow him on the path to divorce.

Especially not, as Mr. Duterte suggested in Beijing last week, all the way to China.

''Practically every family here has a relative in the U.S.,'' said Roilo Golez, who served as national security adviser to former President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. ''They don't dream of going to China and living there.''

The close relationship between the Philippines and the United States, while complicated and at times acrimonious, has existed for more than a century, and the Philippines has been the closest American ally in the region for 70 years.

Mr. Duterte's vow to upend that kinship has frustrated even some of his supporters.

''I voted for him, but I'm not sure what he is doing right now,'' said Jess Custodio, 56, a bank executive in Manila. ''It is baffling to me. It would tear out the heart of many Filipinos to separate.''

The bonds with the United States run wide and deep. About four million Filipinos and Filipino-Americans live in the United States, and the money they send home to relatives is a mainstay of the Philippine economy.

Another major sector of the economy -- call centers, largely serving American companies -- employs more than one million Filipinos. Partly because of the high level of English spoken in the Philippines, the industry is one of the fastest-growing segments.

American movies, music, fashion and consumer goods are popular here. In an earlier era, Filipinos working in the United States would send ''balikbayan boxes'' filled with hard-to-get American food and gifts. Now, shopping malls are packed with American-brand clothes, cosmetics, appliances, foods and other products.

More Filipinos hold a favorable view of the United States than even Americans do, 92 percent compared with 82 percent, according to a 2015 survey by the Pew Research Center.

Whenever the Philippines has been included by Pew in surveys dating back to 1999, more Filipinos have had a favorable view of the United States than people in any other country.

That support extends to the military, where there is considerable backing for the partnership with the United States, especially the assistance that American forces have provided in combating extremists in the southern Philippines. Many Filipino military officers were trained in the United States, and the two nations have staged joint military exercises for decades.

''President Duterte risks creating a lethal combination of adversaries if he moves to truncate the alliance with the United States,'' said Ernest Z. Bower, the president of the consulting firm BowerGroupAsia. ''He would **alienate** his military, which wants the help of the U.S.''

The military has at times played a major role in political affairs and has twice sided with civilian protesters in ousting presidents.

The talk of separation has also caused anxiety among some foreign businesses, which may become more cautious in investing or expanding operations here, analysts said.

Mr. Duterte seems aware of the risks. Perhaps out of concern for the need for military support, he has made numerous speeches at military bases around the country since taking office in June.

And after he returned from Beijing last week, he sought to soften his call for separation. He did not mean cutting diplomatic relations, he explained, which would not be feasible.

''Why?'' he asked. ''Because the Filipinos in the United States will kill me.''

The Obama administration did not respond directly to Mr. Duterte's latest threat, but the White House repeated its concerns about what it called his unhelpful rhetoric. The administration has sought to play down the prospect of a rupture in the alliance, in part because officials are not yet certain whether Mr. Duterte's comments will translate into lasting policy changes.

The White House press secretary, Josh Earnest, said on Wednesday that the threats ''contribute to some uncertainty, and that uncertainty is inconsistent with what has for the last seven decades been a rock-solid alliance that's benefited people and governments in both countries.''

To Mr. Duterte, those seven decades are largely about abuse and exploitation. His foreign minister, Perfecto Yasay Jr., recently said the Philippines must shake off the ''invisible chains'' of being the Americans' ''little brown brothers.''

The United States took the Philippines from Spain in 1898, inheriting Spain's war against Muslim rebels who were seeking independence. Fighting continued for decades in the southern Philippines, where Islamic rebels still operate today.

In 1906, American troops massacred about 600 people -- including rebels, women and children -- who had taken **refuge** in the Bud Dajo volcanic crater on the island of Jolo.

Mr. Duterte, responding recently to American criticism of his deadly antidrug campaign, complained that the United States had never apologized for the slaughter.

When Japan occupied the Philippines during World War II, Gen. Douglas MacArthur famously returned to drive out the Japanese forces. Many Filipinos still see him as a hero.

The United States granted the Philippines independence after the war. Since then, the countries have maintained close economic ties and a strong military alliance, including a mutual defense treaty that dates from 1951.

Another low point in the relationship resulted from Washington's support for the dictator Ferdinand Marcos. After his ouster in 1986, the Philippines adopted a new constitution banning foreign military bases, which led to the eviction of American forces from Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base.

Relations later recovered, and the 2014 agreement allowed the United States to maintain a small force on five Philippine military bases. It was that agreement that Mr. Duterte threatened to cancel on Wednesday.

His policy shift has put Japan, another important ally of the United States in Asia and the Philippines' largest trading partner, in the delicate position of trying to retain a balance in an increasingly tense region where Japan fears any further tilt toward China.

In a meeting on Wednesday, Mr. Duterte and Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan discussed the importance of both the alliance between Japan and the United States and the alliance between the Philippines and the United States.

If the Philippines is the most American-friendly country in the world, the anti-American view has a strong constituency as well. Even among the military, there are complaints that the United States often provides outdated hardware, second-rate hand-me-downs.

''Duterte has indeed tapped into a deep and atavistic frustration of many Filipinos that the U.S. approach to their country has been paternalistic,'' Mr. Bower said. ''These feelings are real, and sharpened by the coexisting affinity for U.S. culture, brands and people.''

The resentment focuses not just on historical slights. Mr. Duterte has said he was motivated in part by his lingering anger over the 2002 case of Michael Terrence Meiring, an American who was seriously injured when a bomb exploded in his hotel room in Davao City, where Mr. Duterte was then mayor. Soon after, Mr. Meiring vanished from his hospital room.

Mr. Duterte has long said he believed Mr. Meiring was a terrorist spirited away illegally by American operatives to avoid a trial on criminal charges.

Only recently have American officials begun speaking publicly about the case. Ambassador Philip Goldberg said in a television interview on Tuesday that he understood the president's concern but that he believed that no laws were broken.

''He was transported by international air ambulance with no stop order, no arrest order, for further treatment because his family wanted to make sure his life was saved and wanted advanced medical care,'' Mr. Goldberg said.

For all Mr. Duterte's talk, the United States has not received any request to curtail programs, reduce cooperation, cut aid or sever ties, the embassy here said. But if Mr. Duterte's goal was to receive more attention from Washington, he has succeeded.

Assistant Secretary of State Daniel R. Russel, a top State Department official, visited Manila this week and met with Mr. Yasay.

Afterward, Mr. Russel told reporters that the United States fully supported the Philippines' having an independent foreign policy and welcomed a reduction in tensions between Manila and Beijing. But he also cautioned that confusion created by Mr. Duterte's comments was ''bad for business.''

''The succession of controversial comments, and a real climate of uncertainty about the Philippines' intentions, has created consternation in many countries, not only in mine, and not only among governments,'' he said. ''There is growing concern in other communities and the expat Filipino community, in corporate board rooms as well. That's not a positive trend.''

Mr. Duterte responded true to form on Tuesday, lashing out at the American business community before leaving for Japan.

''Go ahead, pack your bags,'' he said. ''We will sacrifice. We will recover, I assure you.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**I pass this spot every day. It's a nexus between two lives, shuttling people to family, businesses and dreams on the other side of the border.

DENVER -- The $65 bus to Mexico rolled into a parking lot here recently, belching exhaust into the Colorado night as a river of people -- crying, kissing -- thrust belongings into the belly of the vehicle and climbed aboard.

Frank Torres, 64, a driver in black slacks, descended from his perch above it all.

''This is true drama,'' he said, surveying the scene. A boy wailed to his left. Travelers burdened by packages passed on his right. Mr. Torres, snacking on a coconut Popsicle, took a meaty bite. ''Separation. You see a lot of that. The mother leaving her child. The child leaving the mother. This is how it goes.''

Nearly every night I pass this lot off a main thoroughfare in the heart of Denver. From here, Autobuses los Paisanos -- ''the buses of the people'' -- ferry Colorado's **immigrants** to dreams and dramas on the other side of the border. They are mothers off to visit deported children, single men in cowboy hats bound for weddings and funerals, grandparents moving home after years of work in factories and fields in the United States.

Sometimes I stop to chat. And I've come to see this place as a window into a deeply American feature: The **immigrant**'s split soul.

''Part of my heart stays here,'' said Paty Ruelas, 50, who lives in Torreón, Mexico, and had come here last month for the birth of a granddaughter, Bella. Now, she was headed back to a restaurant she owns some 1,190 miles away. ''I have a business there,'' she said. ''I have to go back. I have no choice.''

Across the lot, Alicia Perez, 70, stood in a sea of suitcases, boxes and carefully bundled consumer electronics. Her travel partner was her consuegra, her daughter's mother-in-law, who also happened to be named Alicia Perez.

They live here. They were off to visit children on the other side.

The first Ms. Perez said she came to the United States 38 years ago. ''I worked in the fields. Onions, vegetables, potatoes. I worked so many years that I can barely walk or hold a thing,'' she laughed, hobbling forward with a cane. ''But I am happy now, because my children are fulfilled, my grandchildren are on the right path.''

Five of her children live in Colorado, she said. Two live in Mexico. And so twice a year she makes the 36-hour bus journey to her home city of Durango, risking bus robberies or worse for a chance to see her family.

''Hellos and goodbyes, sorrows and joys, much has passed through this place,'' she said. ''Children here, children there. All of us are broken into pieces.''

Ms. Perez climbed into her seat with the help of two daughters and a granddaughter. A once teeming parking lot had turned quiet.

With the beep of a horn, the white vehicle dipped into the Denver night. And Ms. Perez, her eyes locked on her family, peered out the window, making the sign of the cross, over and over.

The bus would pass brightly lit cities, carpets of sagebrush and abandoned farms, before hitting El Paso, where passengers would cross the border.

From there, each would find a new bus to his or her destination.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**GARDEN CITY, Kan. -- The newest pioneers in western Kansas arrive from Somalia and Myanmar, Mexico and Sudan: thousands of **immigrants** and **refugees**chasing work in the cattle yards and packing plants where pay starts at $16 an hour and little English is needed to saw through meat and bone.

Even as Donald J. Trump and other politicians talk about deporting **immigrants**, blocking **refugees** and building border walls, many in this conservative corner of Kansas have come to embrace their growing diversity. Pho is a lunchtime staple downtown. The old Kwik Shop on Spruce Street became a Buddhist prayer space. Students in the local schools speak 35 languages.

But then came a plot to attack all of that.

This month, federal prosecutors announced that three white members of a militia from western Kansas had been accused of planning to bomb the apartments and makeshift mosque where Somali residents of Garden City live and pray. The three men called themselves ''the Crusaders,'' prosecutors said. They called their targets ''cockroaches.''

''I don't know why these people hate,'' Abdulkadir Mohamed, 68, a community leader in Garden City, said one recent afternoon. ''We are not terrorists.''

''We are not ISIS,'' he added, referring to the Islamic State. ''We come here for a better life.''

Prosecutors say the three men held ''antigovernment, anti-Muslim and anti-**immigrant** extremist beliefs,'' and researchers say their arrest came as the number of anti-Muslim crimes in the United States is soaring.

Hate crimes in the United States against Muslims and people perceived as Arab have reached the highest level since just after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, new data shows. Researchers say the increase is a backlash against terrorist attacks in places like Paris and San Bernardino, Calif., and the result of anti-**immigrant**and anti-Muslim language by politicians.

The arrests have unnerved the Somalis of Garden City, leaving many worried about their safety. People in this city of about 28,000 have held rallies and vigils in a show of unity, and the police have held meetings with Somali leaders. But not everyone feels comforted.

''I don't know why they hate us,'' said Abdirisaq Hassan, 36, who works at a meatpacking plant.

Like many Republican-controlled legislatures, officials in Kansas have resisted efforts to resettle Syrian **refugees** in the state. Gov. Sam Brownback, a Republican, cited ''unacceptable'' safety risks in an executive order last year forbidding state agencies to aid in relocating Syrian **refugees**.

In April, the governor withdrew Kansas entirely from the federal government's **refugee** resettlement program.

After the arrests of the three men were announced on Oct. 14, Mr. Brownback said that ''hate and violence'' had no place in the state.

In Garden City, Mr. Mohamed said his instinct after he learned of the plot was to pack up and leave. Like many others here, he had fled unrest and extremist militants in Somalia. Mr. Mohamed's brother had been killed by the extremist group the Shabab, and his wife and children moved to Uganda. Many Somali **refugees** were resettled in Kansas in the mid-2000s.

Mr. Mohamed said he had been one of the first Somalis to settle in Garden City, about seven years ago, crossing the plains in a caravan of minivans with other Somalis after their old meatpacking plant in Nebraska shut down.

Somali residents spend Thanksgivings and Halloweens in the houses of lifelong Garden City families, and they welcome their non-Somali neighbors over for Muslim holidays.

To Mr. Mohamed, this is home. But now, he says, he feels unsettled.

''Like a walking dead,'' he said, as he sipped a cup of sweet Kenyan tea at the African Shop, one of two Somali-run businesses in Garden City.

The growth of the Somali community has further changed the face of a region that was already increasingly less white. Here in Finney County, white residents made up 70 percent of the population in 1990. Now, they represent 43 percent, according to census figures. In schools, 79 percent of children are nonwhite, and notices to parents are sent home in English, Spanish, Vietnamese and Burmese.

The federal investigation into the militia from western Kansas began in February and relied heavily on an undercover F.B.I. agent who met with at least one of the defendants, and on a paid informant who went to Crusaders meetings and sometimes recorded what was discussed there, investigators wrote in an affidavit.

The three men charged in the case -- Patrick Stein, Curtis Allen and Gavin Wright -- were longtime Kansans who lived and worked about an hour's drive from Garden City. All are being held without bond. Lawyers for the men declined to comment on the case or did not return telephone messages.

A brief statement from Mr. Stein's mother, Hattie, said, ''We do not support discrimination of any sort and have never advocated or condoned violence.''

According to prosecutors, the men met at Mr. Wright's mobile-home business to discuss possible targets, dropping virtual pins on a Google Map of the area. They planned to pack four vehicles with explosives, leave them at the one-story apartments where many Somali and Burmese families live, and detonate them using a cellphone.

After the men were arrested, the authorities said they found guns, nearly a metric ton of ammunition, possible bomb-making components and a copy of ''The Anarchist Cookbook,'' which includes instructions on making explosives.

''We're going to talk about killing people and going to prison for life,'' Mr. Allen said during one meeting, according to the federal authorities. ''Less than 60 days, maybe 40 days until something major happens.''

Later, Mr. Stein added, ''When we go on operations, there's no leaving anyone behind, even if it's a 1-year-old; I'm serious.''

As laid out in the criminal complaint, the brown-brick apartments on Mary Street were a hated target to the three defendants, ''full of goddamn cockroaches.'' But to the **immigrant** families living there, they are the ground floor in an American journey.

Somali and Burmese children play soccer together in the parking lots. Donated beds are delivered to new families, though some are so accustomed to sleeping on the thin mats of a **refugee** camp that they forgo the box springs and bed frames.

The mosque is little more than a small apartment where Somali men slip off their shoes to pray before or after eight-hour shifts at the beef plant. For the past two weeks, since he arrived in Garden City, Abdishakur Mohamed Noor, 55, has been sleeping there under a borrowed blanket because he does not have the paperwork required to get a job at the plant.

People here have tried to show unity since the news of the plot broke, holding vigils and standing together -- white residents next to Somali women in colorful abayas -- on the sidewalks with posters that praise their town and the local police.

''It's like an attack against the whole of who we are,'' said Sister Janice Thome, a Roman Catholic nun who spends many of her days fielding phone calls from **immigrant** families looking for help paying the utilities or a dentist bill, or for a ride to the doctor's office in Kansas City, Mo., 370 miles away.

But for some Somali residents, the arrests raised a chance to discuss the smaller ways they can feel unwelcome in their adoptive home. They say they feel curious stares at Walmart. The African Shop, with its shelves stocked with goat's milk ghee, black currant syrup and Ethiopian chile powder, has been looking for a new location. But Halima Farah, 26, who works there, said that every time she goes to speak with a landlord about a vacant property, it mysteriously seems to be unavailable.

But mostly, she said, Garden City is welcoming and safe.

''We live in a small town,'' Ms. Farah said, where nobody ever expected to be discussing explosives and domestic terrorism. ''We were like, 'Of all places, Garden City?' ''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PORTLAND, Ore. -- A federal judge on Wednesday dismissed one juror accused by another of bias in the criminal trial of antigovernment activists who took over a federally owned wildlife **refuge** in January. The move brought deliberations in the case, which were in their fourth day, to a temporary halt.

The decision came under what Judge Anna J. Brown called ''extraordinary circumstances'' after a juror complained in a note to the judge that another member of the panel, known as Juror 11, who had worked many years ago as a firefighter for federal agencies involved in the case, had admitted to being ''very biased.''

Judge Brown told the 12-member jury in Federal District Court here that an alternate juror had been summoned, and that the panel would have to start deliberations over.

''I have determined that the issue that was raised simply cannot be resolved in a way that allows Juror 11 to continue deliberating,'' Judge Brown told the court. ''You have to set aside the conclusions you have drawn and start over.''

Judge Brown questioned Juror 11 privately in her chambers on Tuesday night and initially concluded that the man, whose name was not released, could remain. But on Wednesday morning, she announced that she had changed her mind.

The seven defendants are charged with multiple felony counts, including weapons charges and conspiracy to impede federal workers from doing their jobs, stemming from their armed takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge** headquarters in eastern Oregon from early January to mid-February. The defendants argued during the five-week trial that they had protested in good faith, demanding that the federal government surrender the 188,000-acre reserve to local control. Prosecutors asserted that the group had used intimidation and threats of violence to take over the **refuge**, interfering with federal workers.

On Tuesday, the jury said in a note to the judge that they had agreed on verdicts for three of the defendants, but that they were unable to reach a consensus on the others. Whatever those preliminary verdicts were, however, is now irrelevant. Judge Brown told the jurors on Wednesday that as a first step in preparing to welcome their new member, they should return to the jury room and destroy everything about their previous discussions of the evidence.

''It's a new jury, a new day, a new start,'' she said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**NORFOLK, Va. -- With the polish of a seasoned politician, Khizr Khan strode through the door of a seafood restaurant to the serenade of clicking cameras, clasped hands with cheering Democratic lawmakers and, as he has become famous for doing, unflinchingly argued that Donald J. Trump must not be president.

To the naked eye, Mr. Khan, whose son was an American soldier killed in Iraq and who skewered Mr. Trump at the Democratic National Convention, could have been mistaken for someone running for office. But as he made his first appearance on the campaign trail for Hillary Clinton on Wednesday, he said his mission was greater than politics.

''Donald Trump as a candidate has proven himself to be temperamentally unfit to be the commander in chief of this great nation,'' Mr. Khan said, his voice shaking. ''There are no second chances.''

Mr. Khan emerged as one of the Clinton campaign's most effective weapons after he made an impassioned plea for tolerance at the convention in July and accused Mr. Trump of not understanding the Constitution or personal sacrifice. When Mr. Trump responded by insinuating that Mr. Khan's wife, Ghazala, had not spoken at the convention because she was muzzled by her Muslim faith, he faced intense backlash for attacking the grieving mother of a fallen soldier.

In the final weeks of the race, the Clinton campaign is deploying Mr. Khan as part of a closing argument that Mr. Trump would usher in a new era of intolerance. In an emotional ad released last week, Mr. Khan spoke about the death of his son, Capt. Humayun Khan, and tearfully asked Mr. Trump, ''Would my son have a place in your America?''

Although Mrs. Clinton is already polling well in Virginia, the campaign sent Mr. Khan here because of his strong appeal to veterans.

Virginians who came out to see him on Wednesday said he embodied an authenticity that had been lacking in a campaign marked by caustic personal attacks. With Islamophobia on the rise, attendees said Mr. Khan was a beacon of hope that a time for healing was ahead.

For Khayriyya Azeez, whose son was just chosen to be the chaplain at the local naval base, the way Mr. Khan publicly stood up to Mr. Trump made him a hero in his own right.

''He's a revolutionary, fighting for the cause,'' she said.

Some wondered how they should feel about Mr. Trump, and they listened when Mr. Khan said it was time to move on in spite of Mr. Trump's initial proposal to bar Muslim **immigrants** from entering the United States.

''Our great religion forgives Mr. Trump for his acts, even though he doesn't apologize to us,'' said Mourad Amer, of Yorktown, who came to pray with Mr. Khan at Masjid William Salaam, a mosque in Norfolk.

But not everyone who came to meet Mr. Khan was Muslim, showing that his calls for inclusiveness have broad appeal. Terrance Afer-Anderson, a Christian, said he had been captivated by Mr. Khan's raw emotions at the convention and wanted to see him in person.

''He has a genuine voice because he speaks with great clarity and passion,'' Mr. Afer-Anderson said.

Gaylene Kanoyton, the first vice chairwoman of the Democratic Party of Virginia, said that Mr. Khan took her back to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, comparing his message to that of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

''There was a deep divide then, and African-Americans were trying to get their civil rights and be equal,'' she said.

American Muslims have intensified their political activism in response to Mr. Trump's candidacy. His proposals to increase surveillance of mosques and ban Muslim **immigration** have stirred fear within the community and motivated many to help register new voters who support Mrs. Clinton. Mr. Khan has become a prominent messenger for that cause because many voters view him as being above politics.

''Khan's message is also largely nonpolitical in the sense that he is not attacking Trump over partisan issues,'' said Kyle Kondik of the University of Virginia Center for Politics. ''Rather, he's attacking Trump over matters of decency.''

Still, as Mr. Khan made the rounds at the Croaker's Spot restaurant, it appeared that he had quickly become comfortable with the basics of political gamesmanship. He made close eye contact with the residents who turned out to see him, effortlessly squeezing elbows. At one point, he stepped away to listen to himself in an interview he had recorded earlier with CNN's Jake Tapper. And he masterfully turned away queries about his own political future, pivoting to attacks on Mr. Trump.

''This has nothing to do with celebrity,'' Mr. Khan said, dressed in a black pinstriped suit and wearing a Gold Star family lapel pin. ''The fundamental values of pluralism are under attack.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**For positive proof that in certain realms of theater, we have moved firmly beyond political correctness, see ''Vietgone,'' a raucous comedy by Qui Nguyen that strafes just about every subject it tackles and every character it presents. Sure, sometimes it wobbles uncertainly between satire and sentiment, but Mr. Nguyen's fresh and impish voice rarely lets up as he thumbs his nose at our expectations.

As the character of the playwright (Paco Tolson) explains at the top of the show, the principals are Vietnamese who become **refugees** in America. The show is set in 1975, but these characters, he says, won't sound the way you might expect them to. Scanning the audience at City Center, where the play opened on Tuesday in a Manhattan Theater Club production, Tong (Jennifer Ikeda), a 30-year-old Vietnamese woman, observes, ''Damn, there's a lotta white people up in here.''

This voice, the playwright reminds us, is more or less the opposite of the Asian one of stereotype, as in: ''Herro! Prease to meeting you! I so Asian!'' The Americans in the play, he adds, will speak like this: ''Yee-haw! Get 'er done! Cheeseburger, waffle fries, cholesterol!'' They do indeed.

Mr. Nguyen nails, rather smartly, the dissonance of **immigration**, which runs both ways -- the Americans and the Vietnamese in the play are almost always misunderstanding one another -- as well as the hegemony of the majority over the minority, as both are represented in the dominant culture.

Yo, as Tong might say, that sounds fancy! More plainly put: In life, it's the minorities who are subjected to stereotyping; Mr. Nguyen gleefully reverses that here.

He also freely indulges in anachronism. Quang (Raymond Lee), for instance, also a 30-year-old Vietnamese **refugee**, whose relationship with Tong is at the core of the play, frequently breaks into explosions of rap, bursting with the usual vulgarity. Never mind that rap was virtually nonexistent back then, let alone a staple of his culture. (Naturally, you think of the similarly audacious use of rap in ''Hamilton.'')

Mr. Nguyen, a co-founder of the downtown theater troupe Vampire Cowboys, is clearly a playwright with an inventive mind, and while ''Vietgone'' has many pleasures -- including jazzy comic performances from an excellent cast, several in multiple roles, under May Adrales's direction -- it suffers from a lack of discipline. Scenes drag on longer than they need to -- reams of dialogue could be cut with no loss -- so that its strengths are sometimes blurred.

Some of the early passages take place in South Vietnam, which is about to fall to the North Vietnamese. In one, Tong receives with impatience a weepy marriage proposal from Giai (Mr. Tolson), eventually cutting him off by suggesting, ''Hey, do you maybe just wanna do it?'' (Meaning have sex, not marry.)

Quang, meanwhile, a pilot fighting for the South, is arguing with his best friend, Nhan (Jon Hoche), about whether they should hire hookers, until Quang's wife, Thu (Samantha Quan), shows up. He's miffed that she has not brought their two children, since he hasn't seen them in months. But both Quang and his family, and Tong and Giai, are separated when Saigon falls.

Much of the rest of the play takes place in various places in America, where the Vietnamese **refugees** have settled or been parked. As Tong puts it, in her own bitter rap:

Ironically we're the ones they call the lucky ones

But can we make a new life now that our old lives are done?

America tries to help us start all over

By putting us in camps in the middle of nowhere

Her mother, Huong (Ms. Quan), is none too impressed, either. ''I thought everything would be super-nice here in America,'' she complains, noting the spare barracks they live in. ''That's sorta what they advertise,'' she cracks.

Eventually, Tong and Quang strike up a romance, although Quang's determination to return to his family in Vietnam inspires him to hit the road with Nhan on a motorcycle, in a quixotic effort to reach California and hitch a ride on a ship. On the way, Quang offers Nhan an American civics lesson, having observed the way blacks are treated by whites: ''North and South Vietnam may be at war, but at least we're not fighting each other over something as stupid as the way we look.''

''Vietgone'' contains a sprinkling of such preachiness. It also tends to sprawl, with the chronology becoming confusing. But the vibrancy of the performances, and the stylish production -- the set by Tim Mackabee pops with color and life --generally keep the more obvious or repetitive passages from becoming draggy.

Ms. Ikeda's aggressive Tong is a particular pleasure, bluntly propositioning Quang soon after they meet. Mr. Lee brings biting force to Quang's angry raps about his desire to return home. Other cast members play multiple roles persuasively, with Ms. Quan having fun with Huong, cranky but not above making her own lascivious moves on Quang (before he's met her daughter).

Broadly speaking, ''Vietgone'' examines the consequences of the choices the characters made or the fates that were forced upon them. But even these sobering issues are mostly treated in Mr. Nguyen's elbow-in-the-ribs style. (I wasn't surprised to read in his bio that he currently writes for Marvel Studios.) There's no rule, of course, that serious subjects cannot be approached in a subversively comic manner, but with the harsh experience of **refugees** a topic of obvious momentousness today, the flippant tone of ''Vietgone'' does sometimes pall.

Still, proving he is not straitjacketed into his style, Mr. Nguyen also includes darker moments, as in a nightmare sequence when Tong envisions the carnage left behind in Vietnam. And the play ends with an immensely moving scene between the playwright character and his father.

Lifting his foot from the pedal of irreverence, Mr. Nguyen depicts them as they try to reconcile the perceptions of the war that divided families and generations, both in America and in Vietnam. The laughter subsides; the play's flaws recede; and we are left with a resonantly ambiguous picture of the manner in which wars, and the tides of **refugees** they often result in, have an indelible impact on individual lives.

Vietgone

By Qui Nguyen; directed by May Adrales; music and sound by Shane Rettig; sets by Tim Mackabee; costumes by Anthony Tran; lighting by Justin Townsend; projections by Jared Mezzocchi; production stage manager, Charles M. Turner III; general managers, Florie Seery and Lindsey Sag; director of production, Joshua Helman; associate artistic producer, Stephen M. Kaus; line producer, Nicki Hunter. Presented by Manhattan Theater Club, Lynne Meadow, artistic director; Barry Grove, executive producer; in association with South Coast Repertory. Through Dec. 4 at City Center, 131 West 55th Street, Manhattan; 212-581-1212, nycitycenter.org. Running time: 2 hours 20 minutes.

WITH: Jon Hoche (Asian Guy/American Guy/Nhan/Khue), Jennifer Ikeda (Tong), Raymond Lee (Quang), Samantha Quan (Asian Girl/American Girl/Thu/Huong/Translator/Flower Girl) and Paco Tolson (Playwright/Giai/Bobby/Captain Chambers/Redneck Biker/Hippie Dude).

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Can anything be done about illegal **immigration**?

Donald J. Trump's proposal to end illegal **immigration** -- to build a supposedly impregnable wall -- is a fake solution. For all intents and purposes, the wall is already there: a fence across large stretches of the southwestern border complemented by drones, sensors and a small army of agents.

It has already failed. The federal government spent more than $200 billion in the last 20 years on **immigration** enforcement. And the population of unauthorized **immigrants** swelled to 11 million over the period.

Maybe the answer, instead, lies in another direction. Rather than building a bigger wall, it consists of opening a door in the wall we have. The best way to stop illegal **immigration** may be for Mexico and the United States to create a legal path for low-skill Mexicans seeking work in the United States.

''When I hear 'Secure the border,' I think that's great, but it's not the solution,'' said Carlos Gutierrez, who was commerce secretary under President George W. Bush. ''We need laws that enable us to get the **immigrant** workers we need for the economy to work and do it in a legal way that doesn't require employers to resort to a black market.''

This might sound like a giveaway to employers seeking to undercut American workers with cheap foreign labor. Neither major party presidential nominee, Hillary Clinton or Mr. Trump, is very likely to embrace the approach in the homestretch of the presidential campaign. And yet it deserves a hearing. In more than half a century, it is the only strategy that has worked.

The idea has been tested before, from the 1940s to the 1960s, under what came to be known as the Bracero Program, named for a Spanish term for laborer who works with his arms. At its peak in the late 1950s, it provided more than 400,000 temporary work visas a year to people from Mexico, most of them employed on farms. Not coincidentally, from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s, apprehensions of Mexicans crossing the border unlawfully -- a rough measure of rises and falls in illegal **immigration** -- plummeted to near zero.

Now a group of scholars and policy makers that includes Mr. Gutierrez; Ernesto Zedillo, a former president of Mexico; Eliseo Medina, a Mexican union leader; Silvestre Reyes, a former congressman from Texas and Border Patrol chief; and Doris Meissner, a former commissioner of the **Immigration** and Naturalization Service, have come together to pitch a similar framework as the only viable strategy to end illegal **immigration** for good.

Their essential point is laid out in ''A Blueprint to Regulate U.S.-Mexico Labor Mobility,'' just published by the Center for Global Development. Flows of Mexican migrants to the United States have been driven since our grandparents' day, they note, by the supply and demand for work on either side of the border, regardless of walls and other obstacles thrown in their way.

History suggests that the United States cannot eliminate **immigration** of low-skilled workers. But the nation can choose what kind of low-skilled **immigration** it will have, legal or illegal. The former seems undoubtedly better. Legal flows can be managed to the maximum advantage of the economies and workers of Mexico and the United States. Unauthorized flows cannot.

Consider what happened in 1964, when the Labor Department ended the Bracero Program over concern that **immigrant** farmworkers were depressing agricultural wages. Farm wages hardly soared. Unauthorized **immigration** did.

Then came the next big **immigration** law change, during the Reagan administration in 1986. Some 28 million **immigrants** had arrived illegally in the United States since the end of the Bracero Program, and 23.5 million had left, leaving a net undocumented population of some 4.5 million.

After legalizing three million of them, the **Immigration** Control and Reform Act also tried to close the border to future flows by threatening to fine employers who hired unauthorized workers. But by 1990, more unauthorized **immigrants** were in the United States than had been before the change in 1986.

Critics of guest workers have a point. The Bracero Program was deeply flawed. Abuses by employers who routinely violated agreements on wages, safety, housing and the like were widespread. Workers were helpless, bound to a single employer. Though theoretically they could complain of mistreatment, in practice the procedure was useless.

Today, workers on H-2A and H-2B temporary visas, which are granted to somewhat more than 100,000 seasonal workers every year, still report many abuses.

As the ''Blueprint'' points out, though, these problems can be fixed, especially in a bilateral program managed jointly by Mexico and the United States. It proposes a long list of provisions: Employers in the United States and labor recruitment companies in Mexico would have to apply for certification from their respective governments. **Immigrant** workers would be protected by American labor law, free to change employers within broad sectors of the economy. Jobs and workers would be matched transparently in a public database managed by American **immigration** authorities.

Employers would have to pay a fee to recruit Mexican migrants, which would encourage them to hire American workers first. Part of workers' pay would be withheld in a saving account to be drawn from after they returned to Mexico. And the visa quota for migrant workers would vary annually to fit changing labor market conditions.

These ideas do not amount to comprehensive **immigration** reform. The authors say nothing of what to do about 11 million undocumented **immigrants** living in the United States. Nor do they deal with illegal **immigrants** from other countries.

But they suggest that, as the number of Mexican migrants seeking work in the United States has decreased from its peak, this could be an auspicious time to bundle their proposal into a broader reform effort.

Proposing a large new program for guest workers might sound crazy in the current political environment. Just hear the roar of approval that greets Mr. Trump's proposal for a ''big and beautiful wall.'' Many labor unions remain highly skeptical that the United States needs any guest workers at all. Temporary migrant workers, they argue, are devices used by employers to undercut wages.

This criticism seems off the mark, though. Opponents judge the effects of visa programs for migrant workers by comparing them with an alternative reality with no migration, rather than by comparing them with large-scale unlawful migration. ''History since has given reason to question that perspective,'' the ''Blueprint'' states.

''It is a difficult political lift, but we've tried other ways for half a century,'' said Michael Clemens of the Center for Global Development, the chief writer of the ''Blueprint.'' Barring legal **immigrant** workers will not protect American workers. But it will ensure that illegal **immigration** persists.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PORTLAND, Ore. -- A federal jury indicated on Tuesday that it had reached a partial verdict in the trial of Ammon and Ryan Bundy and five of their followers, who face felony charges stemming from the armed takeover of a federal wildlife sanctuary in Oregon in January.

But two separate notes, sent to the judge from the jury room in Federal District Court here, also suggested that the panel was having trouble reaching consensus on all of the defendants -- apparently agreeing on three of the seven -- and that one juror, a former government employee, may have expressed bias to at least one other juror.

Judge Anna J. Brown questioned Juror 11, who had worked for two federal agencies as a firefighter about 20 years ago, and who had told the court that fact during jury selection and was seated anyway. Judge Brown said she was satisfied with his answers and demeanor and sent him back to the jury to resume deliberations Wednesday morning. She said she was also sending a note to the panel, telling them that the charges and defendants were all to be considered separately, so a finding on three defendants would not affect their verdicts or deliberations on the rest.

But the new complications, which came on the third day of deliberations, added another layer of uncertainty to a case that gripped the nation earlier this year with its public debate about government powers, public lands and constitutional rights. Ammon Bundy's lawyer, Marcus R. Mumford, told the court he believed more inquiry was needed into whether the jury was affected by potential bias. Judge Brown said that she was satisfied for the moment, but that she would allow further argument on Wednesday morning, out of the jury's presence.

The jurors did not indicate in their notes which defendants or charges they had agreed upon, or give any suggestion about their findings. They could also change their minds when deliberations resume.

In a monthlong trial, the defendants never denied that they occupied and held the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge** headquarters for nearly six weeks, demanding that the federal government surrender the 188,000-acre property to local control. But their lawyers argued that prosecutors did not prove that the group had engaged in an illegal conspiracy that kept federal workers -- employees of the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Bureau of Land Management -- from doing their jobs.

In final arguments to the jury last week, prosecutors and defense lawyers presented starkly different stories that the 12-member panel might consider in reaching a verdict.

Ethan D. Knight, an assistant United States attorney, argued that the case was simple: Mr. Bundy had been selective in deciding which laws applied to him and had led an armed seizure of property that did not belong to him, interfering with federal workers.

Mr. Mumford said the issues raised by the trial were as big as the West and the United States Constitution. Acquitting Mr. Bundy, he argued, would be a victory for all Americans. ''They're deceiving you,'' Mr. Mumford said, gesturing to the prosecutors. ''It's the government that picks and chooses the rules it's going to comply with.''

Ammon Bundy, 41, a business owner and son of Cliven Bundy, a rancher in Nevada known for leading anti-government protests, testified for three days in his own defense. He asserted that the takeover was spontaneous and informed by religious belief. But prosecutors, through witnesses and their final arguments, said the group used the threat of force and violence, crystallized by Mr. Bundy's call for followers across the nation to come to the **refuge** with guns.

The seven defendants are charged with multiple felony counts, including weapons charges, and could face long prison sentences. Both Bundy brothers, along with others who were at the **refuge**, are also charged in a criminal case in Nevada over a standoff in 2014 at the Bundy ranch south of Las Vegas. In that episode, an armed group tried to prevent federal officials from seizing cattle owned by Cliven Bundy, who had refused for years to pay the government grazing fees. That trial is scheduled to begin in February.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**GENEVA -- The harrowing journey across the Mediterranean from North Africa to Europe has become increasingly deadly for asylum seekers desperate to find a better life.

Nearly as many migrants have died at sea this year as all of last year, even though far fewer have attempted the perilous crossing, the United Nations **refugee**agency said on Tuesday.

''This is by far the worst we have ever seen,'' William Spindler, a spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees**, said on Tuesday.

Here are some of the reasons the Mediterranean crossing has become increasingly dangerous.

More Dangerous Methods

The sharp rise in fatalities -- 3,740 people died through this week -- can be attributed in part to the changing tactics used by smugglers. They are loading thousands of people at a time and using less seaworthy boats, including inflatable rubber rafts that do not last the crossing.

''Smuggling has become big business: It's being done on an almost industrial scale,'' Mr. Spindler told reporters.

The smugglers are trying to raise profits and reduce the risk of detection, he said.

Trying Over and Over

So far this year, 327,800 people have crossed the Mediterranean, about half the number who crossed in the same period last year.

Most migrants are heading to Italy, desperate to flee conflict or hardship in Nigeria, Eritrea and other African countries. They expect to be turned back and make several tries to get across the Mediterranean, said Joel Millman, a spokesman for the International Organization for Migration.

Rescuers' Resources Strained

The smugglers are straining the capacity of rescue services to cope. The Italian Navy and Coast Guard rescued more than 6,000 migrants in a single day early this month and on Monday pulled 2,200 more to safety in the course of 21 rescue operations.

Among the latest casualties were four migrants said to have drowned after a speedboat identified as belonging to the Libyan Coast Guard attacked a rubber dinghy packed with around 150 people on Friday. The dinghy's inflated tubes collapsed and most of the passengers fell into the sea.

The Libyan Coast Guard has denied any involvement in the incident, but Sea-Watch, a rescue organization that retrieved four bodies and rescued around 120 people in the incident, says the speedboat was labeled Libyan Coast Guard.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It's taken me a while to put my finger on exactly what political label best describes Donald Trump as his presidential campaign snarls and spits to a finish. I think I've finally got it: Donald Trump is a ''legal **alien**.''

That's right, the man who has spent the last year railing against those dastardly ''illegal **aliens**'' supposedly wreaking havoc on our country turns out to be a legal **alien** -- someone born in America but whose values are completely **alien** to all that has made this country great.

Who do you know who has denigrated **immigrants**, the handicapped, Muslims and Mexicans; trashed all our recent trade agreements; mounted a fraudulent campaign claiming our president was not born in this country; insulted the whole presidential selection process by running for the highest office without doing a shred of homework; boasted of grabbing women by their genitals; disparaged our NATO allies; praised the dictatorial president of Russia and encouraged him to hack Democratic Party emails; vowed to prosecute his campaign rival if he got elected; threatened to curb the freedom of the press; suggested that gun rights advocates might take the law into their own hands if Hillary Clinton won; insulted the parents of a slain Iraq war hero; been accused by 11 women of sexual assault or other unwelcome physical advances; sought to undermine America's electoral system by claiming, without a shred of evidence, that it is so ''rigged'' he can't promise to concede if he loses; and been cited for lying about more things more times in more ways on more days than any presidential aspirant in history?

This cocktail of toxic behaviors and attitudes is utterly **alien** to anyone who has ever run for president -- and for good reason. But that is who Trump is. The big question now is, who are the rest of us?

1) The American people. Who are we? Hopefully, an overwhelming majority will crush Trump at the polls and send the message that he is the one who needs to be morally deported, with a pathway back to the American mainstream only if he changes his ways.

If Trump loses and decides to start a media company -- a kind of ''Trump Ink'' -- to keep injecting his conspiratorial venom into the veins of U.S. politics and terrorize moderate Republicans, he will pay dearly. Trump Ink will blacken Trump Inc.

Already there are myriad reports of people avoiding Trump hotels and golf courses, because of his poisonous behavior. The PGA Tour recently moved its longstanding tournament from Trump's Doral course in Miami to a course in ... Mexico!

2) The Republican Party. Whose party is this? Almost all of the G.O.P.'s leaders have chosen to stand with Trump because they love their jobs (and the party that sustains them) more than their country. If Trump loses, will the G.O.P. leadership try to chase that big chunk of its base that went with Trump and become an alt-right party, or will this G.O.P. fracture and the decent conservatives go off and form a new, healthy Republican Party?

The country desperately needs a healthy center-right party that embraces the full rainbow of American society, promotes market-based solutions for climate change, celebrates risk-taking over redistribution, pushes for smaller government, expands trade that benefits the many but takes care of those hurt by it, invests in infrastructure, offers tax and entitlement reforms -- and liberates itself from right-wing thought police like Fox News, Rush Limbaugh and Grover Norquist, who have prevented the G.O.P. from compromising and being a governing party.

3) The Democratic Party. Whose party is this? In truth, Bernie Sanders's movement fractured the Democratic Party almost as much as Trump did the G.O.P., but that fissure has been temporarily plastered over by the overriding need to defeat Trump.

If Clinton wins, that fissure will quickly reopen and some basic questions will have to be answered: Do Democrats support any trade expansion? Do Democrats believe in the principled use of force? Do they believe that America's risk-takers who create jobs are a profit engine to be unleashed or a menace only to be regulated and taxed? Do they believe we need to expand safety nets to catch those being left behind by this age of accelerating change but also control entitlements so they will be sustainable?

How does the Democratic Party process the fact that while Trump is a legal **alien**, his supporters are not. They are our neighbors. They need to be heard, and where possible they need to be helped. But they also need to be challenged to learn faster and make good choices, because the world is not slowing down for them.

Bottom line: We're in the middle of a massive technological shift. It's changing every job, workplace and community. Government can help, but there is no quick fix, and a lot more will depend on what Reid Hoffman, a co-founder of LinkedIn, calls ''the start-up of you.'' You need a plan to succeed today.

To the extent that the center-left and the center-right can come together on programs to help every American get the most out of this world and cushion the worst, we'll all be better off. But the more we get tribally divided, the more the American dream will become an **alien** concept to us all.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN -- Germany has received nearly three dozen applications for political asylum from Turkish diplomats and their families, amid widespread purges of assumed opponents of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, following the failed attempt to overthrow his government, an official said Monday.

Relations between Germany and Turkey were strained even before the failed military coup on July 15, and have only improved slightly in recent weeks. Granting asylum to 35 Turkish citizens holding diplomatic passports could further threaten the uneasy calm between the countries, at a time when Germany remains dependent on Turkey to uphold its end of an agreement that has prevented thousands of **refugees** and migrants from reaching Europe.

It was not immediately clear how many of the 35 applications were submitted by diplomats, and how many were family members, Johannes Dimroth, a spokesman for Germany's Interior Ministry, told reporters, citing privacy laws. He indicated it was possible there could be even more applicants.

''I would like to point out that there are, of course, no statistics that take into account these characteristics in any form, so that this is not a final and complete number,'' Mr. Dimroth said.

There was also no information on whether the 35 included diplomats who had been serving elsewhere in the world and had come to Germany seeking asylum, or were limited to those based in Germany. Roughly three million Turkish citizens and their descendants call Germany home, holdovers from the efforts in the 1960s to fill postwar factories with workers.

German news media reported this month that members of Turkey's diplomatic corps in the country were seeking political asylum, as tens of thousands of people were purged from the judiciary, military, Civil Service and other influential professions in Turkey.

Under the deal reached in March, the European Union pledged more than $6 billion to help care for the more than three million Syrians in Turkey in exchange for Turkish help in halting the smugglers who earned a fortune sending **refugees** to Greece in flimsy, overcrowded boats.

Chancellor Angela Merkel had been a key proponent behind the deal, after a backlash against her decision to allow nearly one million migrants and **refugees** who reached Germany's border on foot to remain in the country and apply for asylum.

Weeks after the deal was signed, a German comedian offended the Turkish president with a crude, satirical poem. It sparked a diplomatic uproar and several lawsuits by Mr. Erdogan seeking to silence the comedian, Jan Böhmermann, on his home territory. Charges in one of the suits were dropped this month, but another case, seeking an injunction against the offending poem, goes to trial next month.

In June, Germany's Parliament passed a resolution declaring the mass deportations and massacres of hundreds of thousands of Armenians and Assyrians in the closing days of the Ottoman Empire a genocide. Turkey responded by recalling its ambassador to Berlin and refusing to allow German lawmakers to visit members of the German military serving in a NATO-led mission at the Incirlik Air Base in Turkey. Only after Ms. Merkel's spokesman formally announced that the parliamentary resolution was not legally binding, were they granted the right to visit.

Attempts to reach the Turkish Embassy in Berlin were unsuccessful.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MIAOMIAO LAKE VILLAGE, China -- Ankle-deep sand blocked the door of their new home. Pushing bicycles through the yard was like wading in a bog. The ''lake'' part of Miaomiao Lake Village turned out to be nothing but a tiny oasis more than a mile from the cookie-cutter rows of small concrete-block houses.

Ma Shiliang, a village doctor whose family was among some 7,000 Hui Muslims whom the Chinese government had brought to this place from their water-scarce lands in the country's northwest, said officials promised ''we would get rich.'' Instead, these people who once herded sheep and goats over expansive hills now feel like penned-in animals, listless and uncertain of their future.

''If we had known what it was like, we wouldn't have moved here,'' said Dr. Ma, 41, who, three years on, has been unable to get a job practicing medicine in Miaomiao Lake Village or to find other reliable work.

China calls them ''ecological migrants'': 329,000 people whom the government had relocated from lands distressed by climate change, industrialization, poor policies and human activity to 161 hastily built villages. They were the fifth wave in an environmental and poverty alleviation program that has resettled 1.14 million residents of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, a territory of dunes and mosques and camels along the ancient Silk Road.

Han Jinlong, the deputy director of migration under Ningxia's Poverty Alleviation and Development Office, said that although the earlier waves were not explicitly labeled ecological migrants, they had also been moved because of the growing harshness of the desert. It is the world's largest environmental migration project.

What China is doing in Ningxia and a few other provinces hit hard by drought and other natural and man-made disasters is a harbinger of actions that governments around the globe, including the United States, could take as they grapple with climate change, which is expected to displace millions of people in the coming decades.

China has been battered by relentless degradation of the land and worsening weather patterns, including the northern drought. But mass resettlement has brought its own profound problems, embodied in the struggles of the Ma family and their neighbors.

Dr. Ma told me over tea in his living room that each household had to pay a $2,100 ''resettlement fee'' and was promised a plot of land to farm as the families left behind plentiful fields and animals. But those who received plots ended up having to lease them to an agriculture company, and were left with tiny front yards, where the Mas grow a few chili plants.

The 11-member family was expected to squeeze into a 580-square-foot, two-bedroom home; like many of the migrants, Dr. Ma erected an extra room with white plastic siding in the yard for his parents.

And the officials designing the new homes put toilets in the same room as showers, an affront to the Hui Muslims. Dr. Ma dug a pit toilet outside, where the front yard meets the road.

Dr. Ma has not only been unable to get officials to appoint him as a village doctor here, but since November has also failed to find construction work -- unstable and low-paying, but the most common job for the village men. The family must live mainly off the $12 per day his wife, Wang Mei, earns in an industrial farm field.

Together with Dr. Ma, three of Dr. Ma's brothers and a nephew brought a total of 38 family members as part of the resettlement. But another brother, Ma Shixiong, was one of a handful who stayed behind in Yejiahe village, a five-hour drive south, defying the government's orders. Officials tore down the homes of the families who left -- and punished those who remained by refusing to renovate their houses or build them animal pens, and denying them water pipelines and subsidies for raising sheep and cattle.

Wang Lin, who is also unemployed and was one of eight men I spoke to one afternoon following prayers at Miaomiao Lake's Ji'an Mosque, said he and eight family members planned to return to Yejiahe next year if he did not find a job.

''No one has moved back yet, but people are talking about it,'' said Mr. Wang, 48.''We can farm the land there. Our homes are no longer there, but we can dig into the earth and build a cave home.''

'It is all the responsibility of the government.'

As in much of northern China, most of Ningxia's 26,000 square miles are desert, including the areas chosen for resettlement. Government officials say places like Miaomiao Lake are still an improvement over Xihaigu -- the vast region of southern and central Ningxia where the Mas and the other migrants came from -- because they are closer to highways; to Yinchuan, Ningxia's capital; and to the Yellow River, a major water source that helped give birth to Chinese civilization.

When Prime Minister Li Keqiang visited Ningxia in February, he told villagers that ''relocating impoverished people from bad natural conditions is an important way to alleviate poverty,'' according to the website of the State Council, China's cabinet.

A third of Ningxia's population -- and most of the people who have been resettled -- are Hui Muslim. Some Western scholars say that Chinese resettlement policies are at least partly aimed at controlling ethnic minority populations, and that officials may cite environmental reasons as a cover.

Though remote, the parched Xihaigu area has been on the radar of the central government since at least the 1980s, when officials began producing a series of grim reports on the viability of the land. A recent estimate by researchers from the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of Land and Resources said the region could sustain only 1.3 million people; the population in 2014 was about 2.3 million.

''The government decided to move people out because the land couldn't feed them,'' Zhang Jizhong, the deputy director of the Ningxia Poverty Alleviation and Development Office, told me when I met with him and his colleague Mr. Han in their Yinchuan office in August. ''The factors are rooted in history, nature and society.''

Rainfall was increasingly rare. Villagers had cut down many trees for firewood and to build homes, he said. And the government never built enough reservoirs.

Across Ningxia, the average temperature has risen by 2.1 degrees Celsius, or 3.8 degrees Fahrenheit, in the last 50 years, more than half of that increase occurring from 2001 to 2010, according to a book by Ma Zhongyu, a former senior official, citing data from an international study. Annual precipitation has dropped about 5.7 millimeters, or about a quarter inch, every decade since the 1960s.

Mr. Zhang said a main goal of moving people from Xihaigu was to turn the hills green, with a parallel planting program. More than two million acres have been converted to forest and pasture land, he said, citing the Guyuan area, where forest coverage was 22 percent last year, up from 4 percent in the 1980s.

''There are more wild animals and vegetables there now,'' Mr. Zhang said of Xihaigu. ''When we go there, we can sometimes eat wild chicken.''

When the resettlement program was begun in 1983, migrants were given land in the north and told to move and build new homes on their own. These days, the government builds them homes, albeit small ones; of the $3 billion spent on the five waves of relocation, Mr. Zhang said, half was used on the most recent one.

''Houses need to be built well, roads need to be built well, schools need to be built well,'' he said. ''It is all the responsibility of the government.''

The relocation process begins with the government asking geological experts to look for sufficient arable land elsewhere in Ningxia, Mr. Zhang said, then gauging whether enough water can be transferred to those places.

The size of each family's yard plot is about 150 square meters, or 1,600 square feet, with the house taking up a third of that. Many complain about the cramped quarters and the additional one mu of farmland -- a sixth of an acre -- that each person is allotted in most cases, far less than they had in their home villages.

''Land and water are indeed becoming more scarce in the north,'' Mr. Zhang acknowledged. In the last wave of relocations, a quarter of the families did not get any land, he said, adding that the government had labeled them ''labor migrants'' and was negotiating with companies to give them city jobs, including as cleaners and security guards.

But officials know that even those who get farmland face a struggle.

''That is far from enough to get you out of poverty,'' Mr. Zhang said. ''It can maybe feed you. The government has been making lots of efforts to get people to be able to work in other sectors, so you don't rely on land itself for a living.''

'I never worked like this before.'

The largest of Ningxia's new migrant villages, Binhe Homeland, has more than 16,000 residents. The smallest have just a few hundred each. Miaomiao Lake is in the middle, with 7,000.

The 1,400 homes there look bland and anonymous, separated by low concrete walls, with only numbers to distinguish them: Dr. Ma's is House 35 in District 5. Most villages have an elementary school, a market area and mosques, but seem more like **refugee** camps than organic communities.

One afternoon during one of my three recent visits to the region, Ms. Wang, Dr. Ma's wife, came home from the farm to nap during her lunch break. She had been up since dawn spreading fertilizer over a field of watermelons.

After a half-hour's sleep, it was time to return to the desert sun.

She said goodbye to Dr. Ma and their younger children, clad in red-and-white school uniforms. Then she drove an electric cart to a highway, where dozens of other women in electric carts were gathering. Most wore pink head scarves, a shock of color against the sand that stretched to the horizon.

The women clambered onto the flatbeds of two John Deere tractors, which drove off to the watermelon field.

''The work is so exhausting, and I'm dead tired,'' said Ms. Wang, 39. ''I never worked like this before, when we were living in the south. I farmed our own land there, and we lived our days according to our own schedule.''

Before the move, Ms. Wang imagined that the family would grow food on its own patch of farmland, to eat and sell, as it had done in Yejiahe. But officials decided that the villagers would be better off leasing the plots -- a total of 3,300 acres -- to a large company, Huatainong Agriculture, and other enterprises because the desert land was hard to farm.

''New **immigrants** don't really know how to plant crops on the land,'' explained Wang Zhigang, the director of the Pingluo County poverty alleviation office, adding that migrant families had tried and failed.

Each family member is supposed to receive 195 renminbi per year, or $29, for leasing their land. Mr. Wang said the money is deposited annually in a family bank account, but Dr. Ma said his household had not received the payment after the first year.

So the family's only steady income is the $12 a day Ms. Wang is paid by Huatainong -- less than the $15 per day that China says is the average for migrant workers.

Like many in Miaomiao Lake, Dr. Ma has taken out government loans to help meet the family's living expenses.

'You can't just make me a coal-mine worker now.'

Dr. Ma learned how to give shots years ago, after watching an older brother whose son got sick frequently. When the village of Yejiahe needed a doctor, that gave him a leg up. His formal education had stopped before high school, but he studied medical techniques on his own. He received his medical license in 2011. He mostly administered vaccines and treated colds and other minor illnesses.

But Dr. Ma said he could not get a job as a doctor in Miaomiao Lake because the government had created only one such post there, which he considered absurd for a village of 7,000. He said that he had repeatedly asked the county health department to add a position for him, but that an official had told him the decision could be made only at a higher level. (A county health official said in an interview that there were plans to add two doctors to Miaomiao Lake.)

Still, friends sometimes ask Dr. Ma to administer a shot. In return, he sometimes asks for the equivalent of $1.50.

One afternoon, a fellow worshiper from Ji'an Mosque came to Dr. Ma's home for an intravenous drip of calcium gluconate, a mineral supplement. The man lay on a bed by the front window and held out his right arm. The doctor worked with precision -- and without charge.

It is difficult to get a handle on employment in Miaomiao Lake. Mr. Wang, the Pingluo County official, said of the 2,000 ecological migrants in the village who had ''the ability to work,'' 93 percent had jobs. A senior executive at Huatainong said the company employed 400 to 500 women for half the year, and about 100 at other times. Dr. Ma and many others disputed the official employment figures, saying that most men could not find regular work on construction projects in the new villages or nearby cities.

Once each year, residents said, government officials have offered training sessions of one to two hours to teach villagers how to become welders or bricklayers. ''Useless,'' Dr. Ma said. ''There aren't many jobs available.''

City-level officials visited the village for a day in May; Dr. Ma said one offered him a job in a coal-washing factory in a city, but he ''didn't want to go because the lifestyle there is different than ours,'' with few Hui Muslims and many ethnic Han.

There was also the matter of pride. ''I've been a village doctor,'' he said. ''You can't just make me a coal-mine worker now. It's not appropriate.''

Unable or unwilling to do manual or farm work, some of the migrants run restaurants, pharmacies or other small businesses. Near the front archway of the village is a plaza lined with storefronts, but most were shuttered the morning I visited. No one was renting them.

I found Ma Nüwa in the only open shop along one row. She had been selling blankets there for more than two years, and said she made about $75 per month.

''Business is bad; there are no people here,'' she said. ''I have three boys. My husband has to go outside to find manual labor.''

Some out-of-work men retreat to the mosques, where five daily prayers give life some structure. Sometimes before going to pray, Dr. Ma showers, puts on a crisp white shirt and fixes his skullcap just right, adjusting it in the mirror.

At his home, there are always children around. The parents took the youngest daughter, Shuyun, out of preschool because they could not afford the $150 fee each semester. The oldest, 16-year-old Xiaofang, had been enrolled in a boarding school, but stopped after a year and a half.

''I don't like school, and I don't want to go back,'' she told me one day as she cooked noodles for the family for lunch. ''I plan to go to Yinchuan after Ramadan to find work.''

But Dr. Ma said: ''My oldest daughter isn't going to Yinchuan. She's too young.''

'It's not a very civil lifestyle.'

The road to the Mas' old village, Yejiahe, winds uphill past a reservoir, past hills covered with soft yellow silt, past horses and haystacks in people's yards. The landscape is wide and rolling and green, nothing like Miaomiao Lake.

We parked atop a ridge overlooking a valley. Dr. Ma's brother Ma Shixiong greeted me at the side of the road, dressed in a blue tunic and skullcap. His face had as many creases as the hills.

He was the man who stayed behind, even as his extended clan, including his elderly parents, had migrated northward. His wife, three of his sons and four grandchildren also remained in Yejiahe; two other sons worked at a restaurant in Beijing. About 300 villagers remained from a population of about 1,400 in the late 1990s.

He handed me a cup of tea in a front room with a brick floor and mud walls that, even in the summer heat, stayed cool.

''We didn't have any plans to move out there,'' Mr. Ma, 50, said of Miaomiao Lake. ''We knew we would only be given one house.''

He told me many Yejiahe families had a long history of being relocated at the whims of government officials. His ancestors lived in south-central Ningxia, near the Yellow River, ''a very easy place to live,'' he said. More than 100 years ago, officials under the Qing court ordered the family to move to Yejiahe.

Decades ago, Communist officials divided the village into five teams. The Mas were in one called Xiahe. A few years ago, officials told the Xiahe families they had to relocate to the north. Fifty households moved; nine refused.

Why some chose to stay, even at the cost of fracturing extended families, became clear once Mr. Ma walked me through his home.

Compared with his brother's place in Miaomiao Lake, it might as well have been an imperial palace. Two rows of rooms face a large courtyard. The families of two of his sons, each with two children, have their own quarters. The total area is 300 square meters -- 3,229 square feet, twice the size of the housing plots in the new village.

Mr. Ma said he had visited his family a half-dozen times in Miaomiao Lake, before their ailing father died in February 2015.

''When I first saw that place -- that little yard and the little house and the little bathroom in front of the door...'' he said, trailing off. ''The hygiene is not good. It's not a very civil lifestyle.''

''You don't have land, and you need to go out to find jobs,'' he added. ''How can you make a living?''

In Yejiahe, Mr. Ma had up to eight acres of land to farm, though occasional floods had destroyed some fields. Behind his home was a large field of corn and oats. The family sold those crops as well as potatoes and millet. In front of the house, a donkey stood in a pen.

The family drew water from a well in the back, as villagers had done for generations. The people who moved to Miaomiao Lake had been relieved to finally get running water. Then they heard that soon after they moved, pipelines for tap water had been installed for much of their former village.

But not for the Xiahe team members who defied the government relocation order. It was as if they were phantom households, Mr. Ma said, wiped from existence.

As we talked, neighbors began crowding into the front room. They had heard that a reporter from Beijing was in town. Each wanted to voice a complaint about local corruption. ''It's a primitive society here because no one cares about us,'' Mr. Ma said.

The day was fading, and Mr. Ma led me outside to see his brothers' old homes. We climbed up a hill, and the wide valley stretched out in front of us. Mr. Ma and his neighbors said the area had been drying up for years; there was less rain than a decade ago.

But I could see patches of vegetation on the hills. Since the Xiahe team left, trees and shrubs had begun to reappear, Mr. Ma said. Fewer people meant less stress on the land.

We reached a rise above the valley. In front of me was what remained of the mud-wall home where Dr. Ma and Ms. Wang had begun raising seven children. Officials had it knocked down, leaving blocks of earth and crumbling walls in the dirt.

For Ma Shixiong, the memory of his four brothers' departure in November 2013 was as clear as the sky overhead. The families had loaded their furniture onto trucks. They had boarded a bus the next morning.

''We all cried,'' Mr. Ma said. ''They cried, I cried. We were a family, and now we're separated. I hope they will move back, but it's impossible.''

We walked back down the ridge. The afternoon shadows were lengthening, and the homes on the hill stood silent in their ruin.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN -- The warning came to the German security authorities in early September from ''our best partners,'' as they euphemistically refer to the American intelligence agencies: A terrorist assault might be in the works.

In the weeks that followed, the Germans identified a suspect, a **refugee** from Syria. They unearthed evidence that he had been casing a Berlin airport for an attack, and they recovered powerful explosives from his apartment, only to see him slip through their fingers. When they eventually captured him, the suspect promptly hanged himself in his jail cell.

The case was notable for its dramatic turns. But it also underscored two central challenges facing the Continent: getting a handle on the security risk related to the arrival of more than a million migrants last year, and addressing the continued reliance of European governments on intelligence from the United States to avert attacks.

Both issues have been plaguing Europe since the high-profile attacks in France and Belgium over the past two years. Governments have scrambled to counter the threat even as migrants, many with little or no documentation of their identity or country of origin, came over their borders in previously unheard-of numbers. The challenge has become more pressing in Germany in recent months after a spate of arrests and attacks, some linked to migrants.

''In a way, we have outsourced our counterterrorism to the United States,'' said Guido Steinberg, a terrorism expert at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs. ''The Germans are not ready to build up their intelligence capabilities for political reasons, so this will continue.''

The recognition of how reliant Germany remains on the United States for its safety stands in contrast to Germany's hostile reaction in 2013, when Edward J. Snowden revealed the extent of United States surveillance programs, including one that extended to Chancellor Angela Merkel's cellphone.

In the case of the potential airport plot, the Germans succeeded within weeks of the American tip in identifying a suspect, Jaber al-Bakr, 22, who arrived in Germany from Syria as a **refugee** in February 2015 and was later granted asylum. Armed with that identity, the security services realized that he had been caught on video at Berlin Tegel Airport in late September, apparently casing it for an attack.

Earlier in the year, or perhaps even last year, he had traveled to Turkey, his return registered at Leipzig/Halle Airport in late August. According to his brother, he had also spent time in Syria.

By Oct. 6, his apartment in Chemnitz, south of Leipzig, was under round-the-clock surveillance. When the authorities raided the apartment on Oct. 8, they found three pounds of TATP, the same explosive used in the Paris and Brussels attacks.

But that was also when things went awry. Mr. Bakr evaded capture, slipping through a police cordon. He hid out with Syrians he contacted on social media. They later turned him over to the authorities -- but after being taken into custody, he hanged himself from his cell bars by his T-shirt.

The case raised any number of questions about the performance of the security services, in particular how vulnerable the Germans are without the assistance of the United States.

And while the number of attacks by migrants remains relatively small, a series of them in Germany, France and elsewhere has exposed the lack of knowledge about the backgrounds of many, if not most, of the newcomers and the potential for them to be radicals or to be radicalized after arriving in Europe.

On both fronts, the situation is creating a particular political tension in Germany. The National Security Agency's activities are under fierce scrutiny in Germany by a seemingly never-ending special parliamentary committee.

''American agencies are Europe's best counterterrorists,'' said Peter Neumann, a terrorism expert at King's College London. ''That is the big secret that no one wants to talk about.''

On Friday, the German Parliament passed a disputed bill aimed at updating the oversight and abilities of the country's secret service, in response to the 2013 revelations. The measure introduces restrictions aimed at protecting the rights of European Union citizens and barring economic spying, but it also expands the service's right to spy abroad and to carry out domestic surveillance.

At the same time, Ms. Merkel's decision to admit hundreds of thousands of migrants has put her in a potentially precarious spot heading toward her re-election battle next year, with her stance stoking opposition from populist and far-right voters and scrambling the political center as well. Links between migrants and violence or terrorist plots have made the politics of the issue more combustible.

Mr. Steinberg said the authorities knew of at least seven people who had deliberately infiltrated Western Europe with the **refugee** wave. Two took part in the Paris attacks, two are in custody in Salzburg, Austria, and three were identified as part of a cell broken up before it could carry out an attack on the center of Düsseldorf, Germany, he said.

The degree of German dependence on American intelligence is evident in the difference between how the German authorities dealt with the Bakr case with American help and how they dealt with an earlier one concerning a domestic threat that involved assistance from the United States, Mr. Steinberg said. In the 2000s, he said, German intelligence services completely missed the threat from a domestic far-right group, the Nationalist Socialist Underground, that killed nine people from **immigrant** backgrounds. The trial of the only surviving leader being detained has dragged on for more than three years, with evidence of botched policing still emerging.

Some politicians are now calling for improvements -- even for breaking Germany's post-Nazi taboo against centralized power by giving federal agencies some policing and other functions now carried out by the 16 states.

''We must really intensively uncover our strategic deficits and remove them as soon as possible,'' said Stephan Mayer, a conservative parliamentary deputy from Bavaria, identifying the police and the judiciary as two areas where improvement is needed.

Mr. Neumann suggested that the Germans might overcome their qualms about surveillance after Mr. Bakr's case, which was seen as the closest Germany has come to suffering a major attack from Islamic terrorists.

''People now understand better that the security services are intercepting data not only because they want to read your grandmother's emails, but that in most cases there is a purpose to this,'' Mr. Neumann said.

In the case of Mr. Bakr, much remains unclear. He was granted asylum in June 2015, and soon afterward got an apartment in the Saxon town of Eilenburg, northeast of Leipzig, said Torsten Pötzsch, a social worker there. But after that ''great euphoria,'' Mr. Bakr disappeared by September 2015, Mr. Pötzsch said.

Residents of Chemnitz told TAG24, the online news service of the Dresden newspaper Morgenpost, that Mr. Bakr was one of six Arabs living until a month ago in a rundown ground-floor apartment less than a mile from the apartment where the police later found the potentially lethal TATP chemicals.

Mr. Steinberg said that Mr. Bakr's skill with the chemicals and agility in eluding capture suggested jihadist training, and that he was deliberately infiltrated by Islamic State into the wave of **refugees** heading for Europe. ''He was highly motivated, very single-minded in pursuing his goal,'' he said.

That determination did not end with his capture: Mr. Bakr, judged by a jail psychologist not to be a suicide risk, was on a hunger strike and had ripped a ceiling lamp from its socket in his cell and fiddled with a plug 24 hours before he killed himself.

Mr. Steinberg said he did not believe in rapid radicalization: ''That doesn't happen within weeks,'' he said. But both he and Mr. Neumann said the 17-year-old ax-wielding **refugee** who injured five people near Würzburg in July before being shot dead by police was in close touch with Islamic State handlers as he moved in to attack. Mr. Neumann said the teenager was seeking guidance and ''getting instructions in real time.''

About 70 percent of people from war-torn countries arriving in Germany last year lacked documents when being registered or applying for asylum, according to security officials. It may take years to know who they are, and whether they eventually embrace jihad, Mr. Neumann said.

Mr. Steinberg said it was not known what kind of long-term pull jihadist ideology would exert. For now, he said, it seems like Islamic State has not found Germans who return from Middle East battlefields who are willing to mount attacks. ''They don't have the German personnel,'' he said, ''and I think that is not entirely bad news.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Silicon Valley believes in the future. It invents it, it invests in it. Just not so much when the future is a few weeks away.

As David Streitfeld writes, that is starting to change. Most of the world capital of technology has in the last few weeks started paying some lip service to the presidential election. Donations have been picking up, but, relative to the vast wealth in the Valley, remain modest.

Much of what action there has been has favored Hillary Clinton -- or at least, been against Donald Trump. Not universally, however: As Mr. Streitfeld wrote, Peter Thiel, a co-founder of both PayPal and Palantir and early investor in Facebook, is giving Mr. Trump's campaign $1.25 million.

Mr. Thiel, a gay, self-made billionaire **immigrant** libertarian, also spoke at the Republican convention in July. While much of this would seem at odds with Mr. Trump's usual supporters, Mr. Thiel has also said his secret to success is believing something very few people believe is true.

In this case, he would be doubly at odds with the Valley, where some are backing Mrs. Clinton and most are markedly silent. It is notable that the vocal minority are, like Mr. Thiel, wealthy investors and venture capitalists. Tech corporations seem remarkably wary of offending somebody by having a political opinion, even compared with other American companies.

Part of that may be a general **alienation** of tech from government. Tech ignores the reality that Silicon Valley was largely built on military contracts, and favors a future where government plays an ever-smaller role.

The difficulty may be one of orientation. Tech is aimed largely at people and companies of means, who are interested in gaining more power and autonomy. Many of government's obligations are to the poor, the elderly and children. In other words, people with little power.

President Obama, speaking Thursday at a White House Technology conference in Pittsburgh, identified the problem. One part of his speech, starting at the 1:09:20 mark in the video, is worth quoting at length.

''Government will never run the way Silicon Valley runs because, by definition, democracy is messy,'' he said. ''Part of government's job, by the way, is dealing with problems that nobody else wants to deal with.

''So sometimes I talk to C.E.O.s, they come in and start telling me about leadership, and here's how we do things. And I say, well, if all I was doing was making a widget or producing an app, and I didn't have to worry about whether poor people could afford the widget, or I didn't have to worry about whether the app had some unintended consequences -- setting aside my Syria and Yemen portfolio -- then I think those suggestions are terrific.''

That's not the way people think about things in Silicon Valley, where an investment is supposed to remake the world, returning the money ten- or a hundredfold. It's not about maybe getting a few more votes, with an uncertain return.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It sure does get exhausting working for the global corporate media conspiracy.

The hours are horrible (my kingdom for a weekend off). You never know what the puppet masters are going to order up next. (I wish that guy from Mexico, What's-His-Face Slim, would get off my back.) And there's no extra combat pay when, at this point, there clearly should be.

I probably shouldn't joke (and yes, Twitter, that's what I'm doing). The anger being directed at the news media has become dangerous enough that some news organizations are providing security for staff members covering Trump rallies. ''Someone's going to get hurt'' has become a common refrain in American newsrooms.

On Thursday, Jim Acosta of CNN held up a sign left in the press section of Donald J. Trump's rally in West Palm Beach that featured a swastika next to the word ''Media.'' Later, in Cincinnati, the crowd met reporters with sustained boos, curses and chants of, ''Tell the truth, tell the truth.''

It was as tense as anyone had seen it since the candidacy of George Wallace, and yet it was almost understandable given what Mr. Trump had been telling them: The news media was trying to ''poison the minds'' of voters with ''lies, lies, lies.'' All of it, he said, is part of a ''conspiracy against you, the American people'' that also includes ''global financial interests.''

The idea that the press is part of some grand conspiracy against the people, presented in such incendiary terms, goes well beyond the longstanding Republican complaints about liberal bias. You'd more expect to hear it from Lenin or the pages of the anti-Semitic publication American Free Press than from the standard-bearer of the Republican Party.

But it is resonating with a large portion of the American electorate. There are many reasons, some of which should cause the news media to make good on its promises to examine its own disconnect from the cross section of Americans whose support for Mr. Trump it never saw coming.

We can debate whether the ''corporate'' news media is as left-leaning as critics claim. The answer, as I see it, is more than they'll admit to themselves and less than conservatives claim.

But there is little question that it is out of step with Mr. Trump's die-hards on the issues upon which Mr. Trump won them over, especially **immigration** and trade. And this tracks across the ideological divide in the mainstream media.

For all their many differences, the right-leaning editorial board of The Wall Street Journal and the left-leaning editorial boards of The New York Times and The Washington Post share the beliefs that global free trade is generally beneficial and that the United States needs to create ways to legalize the undocumented **immigrant** work force.

The newsrooms of The Times, The Journal and The Post operate independently from their editorial pages. But their coverage certainly does not start from the premise that an **immigration** overhaul would unduly reward the original sin of illegal border crossing or that free trade deals threaten our national sovereignty.

Then there are big attitudinal differences that come from the fact that the biggest American newsrooms are in major cities.

''One of the reasons the national media initially missed the rise of Trump was because so much of it is based on the coasts,'' said Joanne Lipman, editor in chief of the USA Today Network, which Gannett formed in December, in part, to combine the sensibilities of the 110 newspapers it owns throughout red-state and blue-state America.

There also tends to be a shared sense of noble mission across the news media that can preclude journalists from questioning their own potential biases.

''The people who run American journalism, and who staff the newsrooms, think of themselves as sophisticated, cosmopolitan, and, culturally speaking, on the right side of history,'' Rod Dreher, a senior editor at The American Conservative, told me. ''They don't know what they don't know and they don't care to know it.''

Mr. Dreher lives in Louisiana and has worked at five major city newspapers across the country. He does not support Mr. Trump but says he understands why his supporters are so frustrated. As far as he's concerned, mainstream journalists are ''interested in every kind of diversity, except the kind that would challenge their own prejudices.'' Those include, ''bigotry against conservative religion, bigotry against rural folks and bigotry against working-class and poor white people.''

It's a pretty sweeping generalization. But a considerable percentage of the country believes it. An even larger percentage of Mr. Trump's voters do.

No matter what happens on Nov. 8, the notion isn't going away. American newsrooms will be making a big mistake -- and missing a huge continuing story -- if they fail to adjust their coverage to better illuminate the concerns of Mr. Trump's supporters well beyond Election Day.

Doing so might begin to build up trust in the news media, which the Gallup Organization reported as hitting a new low in September.

But there is something else that will help: a far more assertive defense from the news media, of what it does well and honestly, and against the sustained attempts to impugn its motives through the many false and misleading political-style attacks that too often are mixed in with the valid criticism.

Just look at this past week, starting with the trove of Clinton campaign emails released by WikiLeaks -- possibly aided by Russian-sponsored hackers, according to United States intelligence officials. Mr. Trump seized upon them as proof of media bias favoring Hillary Clinton.

Citing their provenance -- purloined from the personal account of Mrs. Clinton's adviser John Podesta -- campaign officials have refused to verify them publicly. But they have not disputed emails that lay bare the back-channel communication between reporters and political operatives.

An email chain that purported to show the Democratic Party official Donna Brazile sharing with the Clinton campaign a question from a coming primary season town hall was particularly disturbing. (CNN has denied sharing any questions with Ms. Brazile, who denied having access to them.)

But most of the emails show reporters, including some at The Times, trying to: Get permission to use quotations from an off-the-record interview; run details in a coming story past political aides to make sure they are correct (called fact-checking), or alert Mr. Podesta that his name was to come up in a critical article (the opposite of which is to ambush). That's standard interplay between reporters and political aides.

It isn't always pretty. Reporters can make mistakes, become overly chummy with sources and fall into traps that give the campaigns too much power over their reporting. Much as they should resist it, that happens on a bipartisan basis. It is not evidence that the news media, including The New York Times, is working in tandem with ''globalists'' and Mrs. Clinton's campaign to deliver her the presidency.

In the case of The Times, Mr. Trump has made its largest individual shareholder, Carlos Slim, of Mexico, part of the conspiracy. The Times's publisher, Arthur O. Sulzberger Jr. -- whose family controls the company's voting shares -- said in a statement that Mr. Slim ''has never sought to influence what we report.'' The Times's executive editor, Dean Baquet, recently told me that he had never even met Mr. Slim.

Mr. Trump apparently had no problems doing media business with Mr. Slim -- ''a good guy,'' he had called him on David Letterman's show -- before the election. It was just 2015 when a production company Mr. Slim controls, Ora TV, announced it was canceling a television project it said it had in the works with Mr. Trump, citing his comments about Mexicans.

Previously, I had mostly noticed suggestions of a Slim-Times conspiracy on sites like Breitbart and alt-right Twitter accounts.

In giving those allegations prominence, the standard-bearer of the Republican Party is adding a sinister, false twist to his press criticism that arguably puts the reporters covering his rallies in danger. In effect, he is painting them as traitors.

Now, who's poisoning the minds of the electorate?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ERBIL, Iraq -- Mosul's residents are hoarding food and furtively scrawling resistance slogans on walls, while the city's Islamic State rulers have feverishly expanded their underground tunnel network and tried to dodge American drones.

After months of maneuvering, the Iraqi government's battle to reclaim Mosul, the sprawling city whose million-plus population lent the most credence to the Islamic State's claim to rule a fledgling nation, has finally begun. In the early hours Monday, an announcement by Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi of the campaign's opening was accompanied by artillery barrages and a rush of armored vehicles toward the front a few miles from the city's limits.

Those forces will fight to enter a city where for weeks the harsh authoritarian rule of the Islamic State, also known as ISIS, ISIL or Daesh, has sought to crack down on a population eager to either escape or rebel, according to interviews with roughly three dozen people from Mosul. Among them were **refugees** who managed to sneak out in recent weeks and residents reached by contraband cellphones in the city.

Just getting out of Mosul had become difficult and dangerous: Those who were caught faced million-dinar fines, unless they were former members of the Iraqi Army or police, in which case the punishment was beheading.

While the civilians described stockpiling food in basement hiding places, the jihadists were said to be frantically making military preparations within Mosul, temporarily fleeing the streets -- most likely to an extensive tunnel network below -- at the first signs of an airstrike, according to the new accounts.

Some of Mosul's remaining one million or more residents had grown bolder in showing resistance to the Islamic State force ruling the city -- numbering 3,000 to 4,500 fighters, the United States military estimated. Graffiti and other displays of dissidence against the Islamic State were more common in recent weeks, as were executions when the vandals were caught.

Early this month, 58 people were executed for their role in a plot to overturn the Islamic State that was led by an aide of the group's leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, Reuters reported.

When fewer than 1,000 Islamic State fighters forced about 60,000 Iraqi Army and police defenders to abandon Mosul in June 2014, many among its Sunni population cheered their arrival. They saw the militants as fellow Sunnis who would end corruption and abuse at the hands of the Shiite-dominated Iraqi government and security services.

But much of that local good will dissipated after more than two years of harsh rule by the militants, a mix of Iraqis and Syrians with a grab bag of foreign fighters.

Mosul residents chafed under social codes banning smoking and calling for splashing acid on body tattoos, summary executions of perceived opponents, whippings of those who missed prayers or trimmed their beards, and destroying ''un-Islamic'' historical monuments.

''Anyone who has accepted Daesh before? They've changed their minds now,'' said Azhar Mahmoud, a former Education Ministry official who recently fled his home village near Mosul, and who initially accepted rule by the Islamic State.

In addition, there were recent reports of at least some underground resistance within the city, if mostly symbolic. Photos and oral accounts abounded of the Arabic letter M scrawled on walls -- standing for moqawama, or resistance. The Islamic State beheaded two men in front of one such slogan, and posted a video of the killings.

Another execution video identified the victims, punished for internet use, as members of the resistance group Suraya Rimah, according to the group's leader, Omar Fadil al-Alaf, who is based in the Kurdish regional capital of Erbil, about 50 miles east of Mosul.

''People are just waiting for liberation so they can fulfill their promises to take revenge on Daesh and kill them,'' Mr. Alaf said.

Compounding the militants' problems with the population was a growing economic crisis, according to American officials. In recent months, the Islamic State lost control of oil fields near Raqqa in Syria and Qaiyara in Iraq, and trade with ISIS-held parts of Syria was choked off because of the group's military reversals.

Electricity, once plentiful before Kurdish forces took back the Mosul Dam from militant control, has been typically available for only a couple of hours a day, residents say. Some areas lack running water, with residents forced to use personal generators to pump water from wells.

Schools had not opened at all this year, absent funding and teachers willing to work for nothing.

The local economic crisis hit the militants as well, with reports that they cut the pay for their fighters to less than $100 a month, from $400 in 2014, said Abu Bakr Kanan, a former leader of the Sunni religious affairs office in Mosul, who said he was in regular touch with residents there.

Many of the residents contacted described the militants as conducting a high-profile recruiting drive among 14- to 40-year-old males, depicting enlistment as a religious duty, but with apparently decreasing success.

A car mechanic who left the city just over two weeks ago, and asked not to be identified because he still had relatives there, said that on his final Friday in Mosul he attended prayers at which a prominent Islamic State imam harangued the worshipers about volunteering, but seemingly won no one over.

The militants' security preparations have been directed not only at the city's borders -- particularly toward the south and east where Iraqi forces, allied militias and Kurdish pesh merga fighters are arrayed -- but also internally. Traffic on secondary roads in the city was banned, and house-to-house searches -- for weapons and any signs of organized resistance -- were carried out in many neighborhoods.

Last month, a YouTube video surfaced of Suraya Rimah fighters appealing to residents of Mosul to kill their Islamic State rulers when the offensive began.

Resistance groups in the city -- at least five claimed to have a presence -- say they concentrated on assassinating individuals, said Abdullah Abu Ahmed, who described himself as a leader of an anti-ISIS brigade in Mosul called The Resistance. He was reached by telephone through intermediaries.

''All Mosul people, whenever they have the chance to fight and kill ISIS terrorists, they do so,'' he said. He cited a recent attack on a jewelry market in which two members of the Islamic State were killed.

Over the past few weeks, coalition airstrikes began more intensively targeting the suspected homes of senior Islamic State figures in Mosul. Residents said those senior militants, many of whom had relatively high public profiles in the city, became conspicuous by their absence on the streets.

There have also been a notable number of desertions from the Islamic State. Kurdish officials said they had found 300 suspected deserters, or potential infiltrators, in recent months. Most were caught among the **refugees** escaping from ISIS-held territory who arrived at the Kurdish-run Dibaga Camp, the main site for **refugees**, south of Erbil, said Ardalan Mohiadin, who is in charge of the camp's reception center.

Dibaga Camp now has 43,000 **refugees** from Mosul and other Islamic State strongholds, with about 11,000 arriving in September alone, Mr. Mohiadin said.

Despite months of preparation for a much larger wave of **refugees** from the city, aid officials warned that it was unlikely to be nearly enough once the fighting intensified.

''The United Nations is deeply concerned that in a worst-case scenario, the operation in Mosul could be the most complex and largest in the world in 2016, and we fear as many as one million civilians may be forced to flee their homes,'' said Lise Grande, the United Nations' humanitarian coordinator for Iraq.

Airstrikes on the militants in Mosul led many of them to move in among civilian residents, the locals said.

A woman who arrived at Dibaga Camp recently said her family had been forced to take in a Chechen ISIS fighter, and shortly afterward an airstrike hit the home, killing the militant but also two members of the family. The woman's 9-year-old daughter was trapped under a collapsed wall.

The girl survived and is with her mother in the camp now.

Nearly all of the Mosul residents contacted spoke on condition of anonymity for fear of Islamic State retaliation. Even most **refugees** did not want to be identified because they still had relatives in Mosul.

''We are suffering from so many problems, we feel like the living dead,'' said a woman who identified herself only by the initials S. A.

In addition to American air support, President Obama this month approved 615 more American troops to aid the Mosul offensive by providing intelligence and logistical assistance. That brings the American forces in Iraq to more than 5,000.

Some in Mosul described how militants had begun going house to house to collect used tires that could be set on fire to generate smoke screens.

''We expect everything,'' said Sabah al-Numan, the spokesman for the Iraqi Counterterrorism Force. ''We know this is the last station for ISIS -- there is nowhere else for them to go. We have to prepare for a very tough fight.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**I'm a baby boomer, which means that I'm old enough to remember conservatives yelling ''America -- love it or leave it!'' at people on the left who criticized racism and inequality. But that was a long time ago. These days, disdain for America -- the America that actually exists, not an imaginary ''real America'' in which minorities and women know their place -- is concentrated on the right.

To be sure, progressives still see a lot wrong with the state of our society, and seek change. But they also celebrate the progress we have made, and for the most part the change they seek is incremental: It involves building on existing institutions, not burning everything down and starting over.

On the right, however, you increasingly find prominent figures describing our society as a nightmarish dystopia.

This is obviously true for Donald Trump, who views the world through blood-colored glasses. In his vision of America -- clearly derived largely from white supremacist and neo-Nazi sources -- crime is running wild, inner cities are war zones, and hordes of violent **immigrants** are pouring across our open border. In reality, murder is at a historic low, we're seeing a major urban revival and net **immigration** from Mexico is negative. But I'm only saying that because I'm part of the conspiracy.

Meanwhile, you find almost equally dark visions, just as much at odds with reality, among establishment Republicans, people like Paul Ryan, speaker of the House.

Mr. Ryan is, of course, a media darling. He doesn't really command strong support from his own party's base; his prominence comes, instead, from a press corps that decided years ago that he was the archetype of serious, honest conservatism, and clings to that story no matter how many times the obvious fraudulence and cruelty of his proposals are pointed out. If the past is any indication, he will quickly be forgiven for his moral spinelessness in this election, his unwillingness to break with Mr. Trump -- even to condemn him for questioning the legitimacy of the vote -- no matter how grotesque the G.O.P. nominee's behavior becomes.

But for what it's worth, consider the portrait of America Mr. Ryan painted last week, in a speech to the College Republicans. For it was, in its own way, as out of touch with reality as the ranting of Donald Trump (whom Mr. Ryan never mentioned).

Now, to be fair, Mr. Ryan claimed to be describing the future -- what will happen if Hillary Clinton wins -- rather than the present. But Mrs. Clinton is essentially proposing a center-left agenda, an extension of the policies President Obama was able to implement in his first two years, and it's pretty clear that Mr. Ryan's remarks were intended as a picture of what all such policies do.

According to him, it's very grim. There will, he said, be ''a gloom and grayness to things,'' ruled by a ''cold and unfeeling bureaucracy.'' We will become a place ''where passion -- the very stuff of life itself -- is extinguished.'' And this is the kind of America Mrs. Clinton ''will stop at nothing to have.''

Does today's America look anything like that? No. We have many problems, but we're hardly living in a miasma of despair. Leave government statistics (which almost half of Trump supporters completely distrust) on one side; Gallup finds that 80 percent of Americans are satisfied with their standard of living, up from 73 percent in 2008, and that 55 percent consider themselves to be ''thriving,'' up from 49 percent in 2008. And there are good reasons for those good feelings: recovery from the financial crisis was slower than it should have been, but unemployment is low, incomes surged last year, and thanks to Obamacare more Americans have health insurance than ever before.

So Mr. Ryan's vision of America looks nothing like reality. It is, however, completely familiar to anyone who read Ayn Rand's ''Atlas Shrugged'' as a teenager. Nowadays the speaker denies being a Rand devotee, but while you can at least pretend to take the boy out of the cult, you can't take the cult out of the boy. Like Ms. Rand -- who was basically writing about America in the Eisenhower years! -- he sees the horrible world progressive policies were supposed to produce, not the flawed but hopeful nation we actually live in.

So why does the modern right hate America? There's not much overlap in substance between Mr. Trump's fear-mongering and Mr. Ryan's, but there's a clear alignment of interests. The people Mr. Trump represents want to suppress and disenfranchise you-know-who; the big-money interests that support Ryan-style conservatism want to privatize and generally dismantle the social safety net, and they're willing to do whatever it takes to get there.

The big question is whether trash-talking America can actually be a winning political strategy. We'll soon find out.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**When Jen Hatmaker speaks to stadiums full of Christian women, she regales them with stories about her five children and her garden back in Austin, Tex. -- and stays away from politics. But recently she took to Facebook and Instagram to blast Donald J. Trump as a ''national disgrace,'' and remind her legions of followers that there are other names on the ballot in November.

''Trump has consistently normalized violence, sexual deviance, bigotry and hate speech,'' she said in an email interview. ''I wouldn't accept this from my seventh-grade son, much less from a potential leader of the free world.''

In the nearly four decades since Jerry Falwell Sr. founded a group called the Moral Majority, evangelical Christians have been the Republican Party's most unified and reliable voting bloc in November presidential elections. The leaders of what came to be known as the religious right were kingmakers and household names, like Pat Robertson, James C. Dobson, Ralph Reed.

But this year, Ms. Hatmaker's outraged post was one small sign of the splintering of the evangelical bloc and a possible portent of the changes ahead. While most of the religious right's aging old guard has chosen to stand by Mr. Trump, its judgment and authority are being challenged by an increasingly assertive crop of younger leaders, minorities and women such as Ms. Hatmaker.

''Those men have never spoken for me or, frankly, anyone I know,'' said Ms. Hatmaker, the author of popular inspirational Christian books. ''The fracture within our own Christian family may be irreparable.''

The fault lines among evangelicals that the election of 2016 has exposed -- among generations, ethnic groups and sexes -- are likely to reshape national politics for years to come, conservative Christian leaders and analysts said last week in interviews. Arguments that were once private are now public, and agendas are no longer clear.

''The idea of a monolithic evangelical voting constituency is no longer applicable in the American electorate,'' said Samuel Rodriguez Jr., the president of the National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference, who represents about 40,000 congregations and declined to join his friends and allies on Mr. Trump's evangelical advisory board.

The big names who sit atop organizations that function largely as lobbying groups and mobilization squads for the Republican Party have stuck with Mr. Trump despite the lewd comments he made in a 2005 recording, even though he was never their preferred candidate. He wooed them and convinced them that he would appoint Supreme Court justices in the mold of Antonin Scalia, the conservative who died in February. To these pragmatic players, the election boiled down to only two issues, both that could be solved with Supreme Court appointments: stopping abortion and ensuring legal protections for religious conservatives who object to same-sex marriage.

But the evangelicals now challenging the old guard tend to have a broader agenda. They see it as a Christian imperative to care for **immigrants** and **refugees**, the poor, the environment and victims of sex trafficking and sexual abuse. Many support criminal justice reform and the aims of the Black Lives Matter movement. While ardently opposed to abortion, some are inclined to be more accepting of same-sex marriage.

''The next generation of evangelicals craves a less partisan, less divisive and more racially inclusive expression of political engagement that addresses concern on a range of issues, not just abortion and gay marriage,'' said Jonathan Merritt, a young evangelical who writes on politics and culture.

The religious right's machinery is still primed to turn out evangelical voters for Mr. Trump, said Johnnie Moore, a publicist for many Christian leaders and groups, who serves on Mr. Trump's advisory board. But he doubts that the machinery will produce as it has in the past.

''I do not think there's any way to get evangelical women in any force to show up for Donald Trump at this point,'' Mr. Moore said.

Several polls show that Mr. Trump is underperforming among evangelicals compared with previous Republican nominees, who commanded about 80 percent of the white evangelical vote. Mr. Trump received 65 percent to 70 percent of white evangelical support, recent polls show. A new poll from LifeWay Research, which specializes in surveys of churches and Christians, found that nonwhite evangelicals overwhelmingly supported Hillary Clinton over Mr. Trump, 62 percent to 15 percent.

Significant opposition to Mr. Trump has also come from evangelical leaders who are white and baby boomers or older. Many younger evangelicals said they took note when Russell Moore of the Southern Baptist Convention and Erick Erickson, a conservative writer and radio host, rejected Mr. Trump early in the campaign. Last week, both Christianity Today and World magazine ran editorials rejecting Mr. Trump.

Kate Shellnutt, 30, the online editor of Christianity Today and editor of the CT Women section, said she had observed that ''the millennial generation has a lot less patience for Trump.'' Of the 33 influential millennial evangelicals she profiled for a cover story two years ago, she says she can now find only one, Lila Rose, who is pro-Trump, and even she has been publicly critical of him. Several have been using the hashtag #NeverTrump, Ms. Shellnutt said.

Students at Liberty University in Virginia, which was founded by Mr. Falwell, started a petition on Wednesday criticizing the university's president, Jerry Falwell Jr. (the founder's son), for endorsing a candidate who is ''actively promoting the very things that we as Christians ought to oppose,'' and tarnishing the school in the process, the petition said.

''Liberty University is not Trump University,'' said Dustin Wahl, a junior majoring in politics and policy, who wrote the petition. ''We don't stand with our president on Donald Trump. It's embarrassing because most people here realize that Trump is a joke.''

Mr. Wahl said that more than 2,500 people had signed the petition in two days, including more than 1,100 who used email addresses affiliated with Liberty University. There are about 15,000 resident students at Liberty, and an additional 90,000 online.

Mr. Falwell, Mr. Reed and Tony Perkins, the president of the Family Research Council, who have all stood by Mr. Trump, did not respond to interview requests. However, Mr. Falwell issued a response to the students' petition, saying that it represented the views of only a ''few students,'' and that he had endorsed Mr. Trump as an individual, not on behalf of the university.

The student body president, Jack Heaphy, as well as some students interviewed on campus, defended Mr. Falwell and Mr. Trump.

''I believe the vast majority of students on campus will be voting for Mr. Trump on Nov. 8 -- not because he's the perfect candidate, but because his policies align most with the viewpoints of students,'' Mr. Heaphy said.

While evangelicals on both sides are alarmed at the vitriol and division, not everyone agrees that it signifies a long-term split. Some maintain that the dissenters will return to the Republican Party post-Trump, and those who supported him will be forgiven.

''I don't think it is permanent,'' said Mr. Moore, the publicist who sits on Mr. Trump's advisory board.

But the petition is one sign that the traditional reverence among evangelicals for authority figures has fallen by the wayside. On social media, there are calls for Mr. Perkins to step down for continuing to back Mr. Trump.

''It's inconceivable that someone could run an organization named the Family Research Council and support a man like Donald Trump for president,'' said Matthew Lee Anderson, 34, the author of several books and the blog Mere Orthodoxy.

Four years ago, he spoke on a young leaders' panel at the Values Voter Summit, which is sponsored by Mr. Perkins's organization. Now, he said, ''I don't have any trust in his judgment any longer. And that's the sort of loss of trust that lots of younger evangelicals are experiencing toward people like Tony Perkins, and it will not be rebuilt quickly.''

Follow Laurie Goodstein @lauriegnyt on Twitter. For breaking news and in-depth reporting, follow @NYTNational.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Britain and the European Union may be getting over the initial shock of the British demand for a divorce. Now comes the bitter fight. Already, both sides have staked out very different positions on **immigration**, an issue that promises to be the most contentious in the separation proceedings.

Germany, France and other union members have argued that Britain must maintain open borders if it is to enjoy favorable access to Europe's single market. Many British voters who chose to leave the bloc in June would like to see those borders more tightly regulated by the British government. However this issue is resolved, both sides have an obligation to find ways to minimize the economic damage to Britain and the rest of the union that a new relationship could bring. Formal negotiations are expected to start by the end of March.

The British prime minister, Theresa May, wants unfettered access to the European market, the world's largest. Under her vision, Britain's manufacturers would be able to sell products to customers in the bloc without paying duties, and bankers in London could serve businesses and investors anywhere in the union. But she and her colleagues insist on restricting **immigration** from other European Union countries.

Those demands are unacceptable to leaders like Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany and President François Hollande of France who insist that the union can accept the free movement of goods, services and capital only with countries that also accept the free movement of people. ''There will be no compromises in this regard,'' Donald Tusk, the president of the European Council said on Thursday. The union's agreements with three nonmember countries -- Iceland, Lichtenstein and Norway -- include all four freedoms. Those countries also abide by the union's regulations and contribute to its budget.

A common market cannot function properly if people are not allowed to move without having to obtain visas. Imagine how much more difficult it would be to do business in the United States if companies could not easily relocate employees to different states or if people could not freely move to take advantage of job opportunities.

The indivisibility of the four freedoms is also necessary to send a clear message to politicians and voters in France, Italy and other countries in the bloc who argue that their countries should also leave the union. Allowing Britain to cherry-pick its membership rules would encourage these separatists, greatly undermining the European project and making the region less stable, less prosperous and less tolerant. It would also set a dangerous example for other, non-European countries, the United States included, where politicians have demonized **immigrants** at a time when many people have seen incomes stagnate and are increasingly fearful of terrorism.

Interestingly, polls show that many Britons would accept a deal that kept the country's borders open to other Europeans. In July, after the referendum, two-thirds of respondents said access to the European market should be a priority in negotiations while only 31 percent said the same about restricting free movement. There are 2.9 million people from other European Union countries living in Britain, making up 4.6 percent of the country's population. About 1.2 million Britons live elsewhere in the union.

Even if it refuses to budge on **immigration**, Britain might still be able to negotiate a trade agreement with the union that gives it some modest economic benefits, like duty-free access for certain products. But the union is highly unlikely to give British banks and companies ''passporting rights'' to operate throughout the bloc. Losing these privileges would be a big blow to the economy, which is one reason the pound has fallen nearly 18 percent against the dollar since the referendum. That should be reason enough for Mrs. May to compromise on **immigration**.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- He didn't see it coming.

Speaker Paul D. Ryan was in a hotel room in Cincinnati last May when he learned that Donald J. Trump -- a man he barely knew, with no institutional ties to his party and a mouth that had already clacked his nerves -- had secured the Republican nomination for president.

Mr. Trump had recently lost the Wisconsin primary, which Mr. Ryan and other Republicans in the state thought would presage the reality television star's demise. Senator Ted Cruz of Texas had made strides, and Mr. Ryan thought the campaign would snake into the summer.

But he badly miscalculated. The ensuing path, from Mr. Trump's securing the nomination to Mr. Ryan's decision not to have the nominee appear with him at a rally in Wisconsin a month before Election Day, has been jagged and treacherous, marked by brief moments of hope that Mr. Trump could be controlled, followed by the sinking realization that he could not.

Mr. Ryan heard the persistent -- at times desperate -- appeals of Reince Priebus, chairman of the Republican National Committee and a fellow Wisconsinite, and the angry calls from his rank and file, and neither could move him closer to Mr. Trump.

Now, Mr. Ryan finds himself in a singular abyss, desperate to maintain the voter enthusiasm needed to preserve Republican control of Congress, yet unable to defend his party's presidential nominee.

If Mr. Trump is defeated on Nov. 8 -- as Mr. Ryan has all but conceded -- but Republicans maintain their House majority, it will fall largely to Mr. Ryan to piece the rubble of his party back together.

There is, of course, the question of whether House members would let him do so. The Republicans' crisis would have an early reckoning with the House decision on whether the speaker should be Mr. Ryan -- whose beliefs in free trade, tolerance toward **immigration**, changes to entitlement programs and conservative governance have long been Republican orthodoxy -- or a new brand of leader who embodies Trumpism.

Democrats have moved quickly to paint Mr. Ryan as spineless and calculating for not outright rescinding his endorsement of Mr. Trump, while the right flank in his own party has taken a polar opposite view, saying Mr. Ryan should not publicly criticize the nominee.

On Saturday, Mr. Ryan's office added to that criticism of Mr. Trump, if indirectly, trying to tamp down the nominee's talk of a ''rigged'' election. ''Our democracy relies on confidence in election results, and the speaker is fully confident the states will carry out this election with integrity,'' said AshLee Strong, a spokeswoman for Mr. Ryan.

For his part, Mr. Trump has been unsparing in his disparagement of Mr. Ryan. Last week, in a series of Twitter posts, he called Mr. Ryan ''our very weak and ineffective leader,'' who was lending ''zero support'' and ''should spend more time on balancing the budget, jobs and illegal **immigration** and not waste his time on fighting Republican nominee.''

For now, the speaker spends his days treating Mr. Trump like a disgruntled former employee bent on Twitter revenge, essentially ignoring him. Instead, he gives speeches about the earned-income tax credit and the evils of Hillary Clinton, while furiously raising money for suddenly endangered House Republicans.

''Right now his objective is crystal clear,'' said Representative Tom Cole, Republican of Oklahoma, ''to retain the Republican majority in the House. In that effort he has helped members of the Freedom Caucus as well as those in the Tuesday Group and everyone in between,'' he said, referring to the most conservative and most moderate members. ''We will worry about our internal differences after the election. Right now we are in a bar fight and every Republican is worth saving.''

That Mr. Ryan and Mr. Trump were never natural allies is understandable. They had met only once before the business tycoon decided to run for the White House, an encounter at a fund-raiser in New York during the 2012 campaign. Mr. Ryan was Mitt Romney's running mate.

Their paths would not cross again. ''Trump really wasn't on Paul's radar screen,'' said A. Mark Neuman, a Ryan friend for two decades. ''Before this presidential race, there was almost no intersection in their lives,'' he said, noting that Mr. Trump did not share Mr. Ryan's passions for the Green Bay Packers, hunting, church, intense workouts and Midwest life with children.

The relationship showed strains from the start, with Mr. Ryan alarmed by Mr. Trump's anti-Muslim rhetoric and nationalistic appeals. The speaker decided to offer a policy agenda with no connection to Mr. Trump for other Republicans to embrace, a move almost unheard-of during a presidential campaign.

''If we try to play our own version of identity politics and try to fuel ourselves based on darker emotions, that's not productive,'' he said. He made calls to several of the Republican presidential candidates to outline the agenda; Mr. Trump feigned mild interest but they did not speak again. (The Trump campaign did not return emails with questions for this article. Mr. Ryan also declined to be interviewed.) Mr. Ryan had hoped that Mr. Trump would eventually embrace his plan.

When Mr. Trump clinched the nomination in May, Mr. Ryan was rattled, said several people who talked to him that day.

''The conventional wisdom among the people we talked to here was, 'Don't worry, this will end,''' said Charlie Sykes, a former conservative talk radio host in Milwaukee and a friend of Mr. Ryan's. ''So it was a huge shock. I think a lot of us here believed we were going be the firewall in Wisconsin, that there would be an outbreak of rationality.''

With campaign rhetoric getting increasingly contentious, Mr. Ryan made the unusual choice of announcing that he was not ready to endorse Mr. Trump. None of this pleased Mr. Priebus, who prided himself on building the modern Republican Party in Wisconsin and longed for unity going into the race against Mrs. Clinton.

In text messages and phone calls, Mr. Priebus tried to persuade Mr. Ryan -- who was relishing his independence -- to accept Mr. Trump, said numerous officials with knowledge of the exchanges who requested anonymity to discuss internal party matters. Mr. Trump would yell at Mr. Priebus and in turn Mr. Priebus would needle Mr. Ryan.

When that did not work, Mr. Trump claimed Mr. Ryan had agreed to endorse him before a visit to Capitol Hill to try to woo fellow Republicans, a claim Mr. Ryan viewed as a serious breach. ''That was the first realization that Trump wasn't just a public persona,'' said a Republican involved in planning the meeting, who insisted on anonymity so as not to **alienate** Mr. Trump, ''but that his staff does not deal in good faith.''

In June, after a period of relative silence on Mr. Trump's part, Mr. Ryan finally felt comfortable enough to endorse him. Staff members of both men began to coordinate for the Republican National Convention. But days later Mr. Ryan aggressively criticized Mr. Trump for his remarks about a Hispanic judge.

Another outburst, and another brick on the wall was laid. ''He was genuinely just outraged after all those comments,'' Mr. Sykes said.

A bright spot came in July, when Mr. Trump chose Indiana's governor, Mike Pence, who has long been close to Mr. Ryan, as his running mate. Privately, Mr. Pence tried to assure skeptical Republicans that he would impose Mr. Ryan's policy agenda if he and Mr. Trump captured the White House. Then in August, Mr. Trump toyed with endorsing Mr. Ryan's opponent in a primary.

Mr. Ryan, for his part, went on with his summer, serving as the chairman at the convention, where his role was unusually diminished. He watched Mr. Trump's acceptance speech from a sky box.

Mr. Trump called Mr. Ryan a handful of times after the convention, once to tell him about his choice of Mr. Pence, and to seek debate advice, which Mr. Ryan said focused on preparation. (Not heeded.)

By the fall, Mr. Ryan had basically stopped speaking Mr. Trump's name. The nominee made a request through the R.N.C. to campaign with Mr. Ryan, whose team agreed to invite Mr. Trump and Mr. Pence to an event this month in Wisconsin.

Then came the tape of Mr. Trump making vulgar and lewd comments about women in 2005.

Mr. Sykes let Mr. Priebus know via text that Mr. Trump was no longer welcome in Wisconsin. Mr. Sykes said Mr. Priebus responded: ''I am the guy trying to fix this! I am in tears over this.''' (A spokeswoman for Mr. Priebus acknowledged that he was upset, but denied any tears.)

Mr. Ryan agonized over his options. Ultimately, he chose not to withdraw his endorsement to keep Republicans motivated to vote, which still angered some of his conference. ''I think they ask far too much of the speaker,'' said Representative Jason Chaffetz, Republican of Utah, who has renounced Mr. Trump. ''His job is to help House Republicans. Period.''

Mr. Ryan will soon find out if those members of his party who support Mr. Trump might come after him in the next speaker election. ''We knew they had extreme views and you kind of rolled your eyes and said they were on our team,'' Mr. Sykes said. ''How much damage could they do?''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**AUBERVILLIERS, France -- A Chinese tailor, Zhang Chaolin, emigrated to France with his wife and two sons in 2006 in search of a better life. They settled in Aubervilliers, a working-class suburb of Paris, where a decade of striving finally put that life within reach.

His sons, now in their 20s, work and have their own families. Last year, the younger son had his first child, making Mr. Zhang a grandfather.

But those dreams of stability came to an abrupt end this year under a pleasant August sun. A group of young men, barely old enough to drive, assaulted Mr. Zhang, who was 49, as he walked in Aubervilliers with two friends he had known since childhood.

Shouting racist slurs, the youths took a small bag from one of the men, and savagely beat them, leaving Mr. Zhang and his friends crumpled and bloodied on the sidewalk. The bag contained only candy and cigarettes. Mr. Zhang died five days later.

The death was the culmination of months, even years, of racial tensions in Paris and its suburbs that intensified this summer, fueled by long-held stereotypes of the Chinese as weak yet unusually successful residents of economically disadvantaged, **immigrant**-heavy suburbs. Often the tensions stem from rivalries between **immigrant** groups themselves.

While the death surprised few Franco-Asians, it did reveal a volatile racial landscape in France that is far more complex than the country's French majority and large Muslim minority, whose struggle for integration has received the most attention.

In early September, 60,000 demonstrators of Chinese or other Asian origin marched in Paris to denounce violence and discrimination and to press the government for more vigorous action to ensure the safety of all French citizens, no matter their race. They waved French flags, wore T-shirts emblazoned with the tricolor, and sang ''La Marseillaise.''

Racial discrimination and violence, many in the community lament, is a problem that has long defied remedy. Six years ago, people of Chinese origin similarly protested racial violence aimed at them in Paris's Belleville neighborhood, in the 10th Arrondisement, an area with a large Chinese community.

''In 2010, there were lots of thefts and beatings,'' said Frédéric Zhou, Mr. Zhang's former landlord, who recounted his own instances of verbal abuse and physical threats. ''We protested, and the authorities said they would try to stop these attacks. But in six years, it's gotten worse, and now there's a death.

''One death isn't nothing,'' he added. ''We're not dogs.''

While conditions in Belleville did improve, violence against people of Asian descent in some other areas appears to have increased. Mr. Zhang's death followed a steady uptick of violence in Aubervilliers, residents say.

Joelle Huy, the president of the owners' cooperative of La Résidence du Parc, a majority Chinese housing complex in La Courneuve, a suburb adjacent to Aubervilliers, described an attack on the night of July 13.

''A group of about 10 kids started shooting fireworks at our cars,'' she recalled. Residents of the housing complex chased the youths away and called the police. ''When the police arrived,'' Ms. Huy said, ''we told them that this couldn't go on, and they told us it was nothing.''

A few minutes after the police left, the youths emerged from the darkness with pistols. ''They were firing in all directions,'' Ms. Huy said, still clearly shocked. ''Four people were wounded by bullets.''

During the first seven months of 2016, the police recorded 105 violent thefts targeting Aubervilliers's residents of Chinese origin, who number 3,000 in a town of more than 77,000 inhabitants. The reported assaults were probably only a fraction of the actual total, because many in the community feel it is useless to go to the police.

''To file a complaint, it takes three hours, the police say they don't understand the Chinese people, or they say they're not taking complaints,'' said Ms. Huy, who blames government indifference as much as the perpetrators for the violence. ''What's the point? You try to file a complaint, you are rejected.''

The attack at La Courneuve prompted such concern that Chinese in France wrote to the Interior Ministry warning that the situation was growing dire.

''In the letter, they said, 'What will it take for the government to react?''' recounted Tamara Lui, the president of the Chinese of France-French of China Association. '''Does someone need to die?'''

A few weeks later, Mr. Zhang did.

The threat has grown so bad, and the lack of government response so enraging, that some Chinese have taken their security into their own hands.

''They organize groups that can accompany people when they leave their homes,'' said Sun Lay Tan, a municipal councilor in Mitry-Mory, a suburb of Paris, and the author of a Change.org petition denouncing anti-Asian violence that garnered more than 15,000 signatures. ''It's going to continue because when they call the police, they don't come.''

Sabrina Goldman, the vice president of the International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism, said the lack of response had engendered ''a sense of fatalism'' among Chinese. But she also noted that since Mr. Zhang's death, the problem of anti-Asian violence had gained more recognition. ''Racism against the Chinese and Asian communities has long been ignored, and now society is waking up to its existence,'' she said.

In September, a court in Bobigny, another Paris suburb, sentenced three young men implicated in the violent mugging of a Chinese family and, for the first time, recognized the crime's racially motivated character as an ''aggravating circumstance.''

The same month, former Prime Minister Alain Juppé, a candidate in the 2017 presidential election, visited Aubervilliers and urged Franco-Chinese associations to keep hope for the possibility of ''harmony between communities.''

Bernard Cazeneuve, the minister of the interior, has promised to send police reinforcements to Aubervilliers, and Meriem Derkaoui, the mayor of Aubervilliers, pledged to expand video surveillance.

A few months before Mr. Zhang was killed, the Aubervilliers Police Department hired a part-time translator to assist with the filing of complaints on a biweekly basis in an effort to improve relations with residents of Chinese origin. Still, some, including the CGT Police Ile-de-France -- the Paris region's branch of the national police union -- say more police officers cannot solve the problem.

''We need a police force that is closer to the local population, one that can anticipate problems in the community,'' Axel Ronde, the group's general secretary, said. ''We've abandoned this kind of work over the years, so it's not going to change overnight.''

Others say the solution lies in building better understanding between citizens themselves. ''I think we need to create opportunities for mediation and intercommunity exchanges,'' said Mr. Sun, the municipal councilor. ''I don't expect much from the state.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**THE WANGS VS. THE WORLD

By Jade Chang

354 pp. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. $26.

The best moment of ''The Wangs vs. the World'' comes when young Andrew Wang attempts his first stand-up open mike. He talks honestly about his family, privilege and Chinese-American identity, but it's only when he does an impression of his father's broken English that he finally gets ''a single shout of laughter.'' The entire scene is hilariously cringeworthy, especially when Andrew becomes ashamed mid-act for imitating his father. ''You know what white people really, really, really love?'' he asks the audience. ''When Asian comedians make fun of their parents. Yep, because you guys just want an excuse to laugh at Asian accents.'' The crowd is uncomfortable; as a reader, I was overjoyed. ''The Wangs vs. the World'' is not a book where you laugh at Asian accents -- you laugh at the people who would laugh at Asian accents.

Jade Chang is unendingly clever in her generous debut novel about the comedy of racial identity. If there is a stereotype that Asian-Americans kids are quiet, unpopular and studious, that their parents are strict disciplinarians (think Tiger Mom), then Chang has conjured up the Wangs to prove otherwise. All the Wang kids are creative and popular: There's Andrew, the sensitive jock and wannabe comedian who is beloved by women but wants to save his virginity for his future first love; the older sister, Saina, a conceptual artist who is humiliatingly dumped by her artist boyfriend; and the younger sister, Grace, a precocious teenager and fashion blogger. At the center of it all is the patriarch Charles, the owner of an extremely lucrative cosmetics business. His embrace of American ideals extends to his parenting: He's not a dad who wants his kids to master the violin or study for the SATs; he instead urges them to ''play the guitar and get laid,'' a parody of what he believes America stands for.

That is until a combination of his own hubris and bad timing (the 2008 financial crisis) causes the Wangs to lose everything -- from rags to riches to rags again. Having lost their Bel-Air estate and newly disillusioned by the American dream, Charles decides to pull his kids out of school and drive them to Saina's home in upstate New York. As much as ''The Wangs vs. the World'' is about Asian-American identity, it is also a sprawling family adventure compressed into a road trip novel. The result is a manic, consistently funny book of alternating perspectives as the Wangs make various cross-country stopovers in their '80s station wagon. The teasing-but-loving dynamic of all three kids on the phone together illustrates Chang's aptitude for writing dialogue and characters; as in the stand-up scene, she is at her finest when playing with the different expectations of an Asian audience and a white one.

It's just too bad the end of the novel is such a mess. Unsatisfying resolutions for all of the Wang children feel forced when they are sent to the other end of the earth. The one plotline that is convincingly finished is Charles's, as he tackles the book's strongest idea: ''Every **immigrant** is the person he might have been and the person he is, and his homeland is at once the place it would have been to him from the inside and the place it must be to him from the outside.'' It's in this moment that we understand the novel's title more clearly: Even as the Wangs have defied the traditional arc of the **immigrant** story, there is no one place for them in the world. To be a first- or second-generation **immigrant** means wrestling with the reality that no place is ever truly home. In Chang's compassionate and bright-eyed novel, she proves that struggling with that identity can at least be funny and strange, especially when you struggle together with family.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Three days after Larycia Hawkins agreed to step down from her job at Wheaton College, an evangelical school in Wheaton, Ill., she joined her former colleagues and students for what was billed as a private service of reconciliation. It was a frigid Tuesday evening last February, and attendance was optional, but Wheaton's largest chapel was nearly full by the time the event began. A large cross had been placed on the stage, surrounded by tea lights that snaked across the blond floorboards in glowing trails.

''We break, we hurt, we wound, we lament,'' the school's chaplain began. He led a prayer from the Book of Psalms, and the crowd sang a somber hymn to the tune of ''Amazing Grace'':

God raised me from a miry pit,

from mud and sinking sand,

and set my feet upon a rock

where I can firmly stand.

Philip Ryken, the college's president of six years, spoke next. His father had been an English professor at Wheaton for 44 years, and he grew up in town, receiving his undergraduate degree from the college. ''I believe in our fundamental unity in Jesus Christ, even in a time of profound difficulty that is dividing us and threatening to destroy us,'' he told the crowd. ''These recent weeks have been, I think, the saddest days of my life.'' It was the night before the first day of Lent, the 40-day season of repentance in the Christian calendar.

Wheaton had spent the previous two months embroiled in what was arguably the most public and contentious trial of its 156-year history. In December, Hawkins wrote a theologically complex Facebook post announcing her intention to wear a hijab during Advent, in solidarity with Muslims; the college placed her on leave within days and soon moved to fire her. Jesse Jackson had compared Hawkins with Rosa Parks, while Franklin Graham, an evangelist and Billy Graham's son, declared, ''Shame on her!'' Students protested, fasted and tweeted. Donors, parents and alumni were in an uproar. On this winter evening, the first black female professor to achieve tenure at the country's most prominent evangelical college was now unemployed and preparing to address the community to which she had devoted the past nine years of her life. As a Wheaton anthropology professor, Brian Howell, wrote in January, the episode had become ''something of a Rorschach test for those wondering about the state of Wheaton College, evangelicalism and even U.S. Christianity.''

As Hawkins climbed the stairs to the stage that night, a few dozen students stood up in the front rows. They were wearing all black and had planned this quiet bit of theater as a show of solidarity. For a long beat, they stood together between Hawkins and the seated crowd. Then, one by one, others in the audience began to rise. The silence held for a full minute, as a majority of the room stood.

Then Hawkins began to speak. She told the hushed crowd that they should see Jesus in the oppressed, that Christianity is inherently political and that ''bubbles are made to burst.'' And she read the first chapter of the book of Isaiah, a blistering prophecy for the rebellious nation of Israel spoken in the voice of an angry God. ''When you spread out your hands in prayer, I will hide my eyes from you,'' she read, her voice growing steadier with every line. ''Yes, even though you multiply prayers, I will not listen. Your hands are covered with blood. ... The strong man will become tinder, his work also a spark. Thus they shall both burn together.''

When Hawkins began teaching politics at Wheaton College in 2007, she wanted to be known as a professor who challenged her students' preconceptions. Her classes included ''Race and the Politics of Welfare'' and ''Race and the Obama Presidency.'' She talked about how Obama had to appear to ''transcend'' race in order to get elected, about why he spoke differently to black and white audiences, about how polling data suggested that he would have won by an even larger margin were he white. At the end of her upper-level classes, she would cook a big meal at her apartment, and students presented their final research over dessert. She found her students to be smart and engaged, and she was pleasantly surprised by their open-mindedness and the diversity of their views. ''It was like any other amazing liberal-arts institution,'' she said. ''It just happened to be an evangelical Christian context.''

I grew up in the town of Wheaton, with the white cupola of the college's Billy Graham Center visible from my bedroom window. I entered the college as a freshman in 1998, following my parents and my grandfather, an Orthodox Presbyterian minister who graduated in 1928. Students at Wheaton attend mandatory chapel services three mornings a week, drinking is mostly forbidden, many dorms are sex-segregated and many class sessions open with prayer. Every year, faculty, staff and trustees affirm the college's Statement of Faith, a list of 12 theological commitments that aim to capture the essence of evangelical faith. It opens with a declaration of belief in a trinitarian God -- ''We believe in one sovereign God, eternally existing in three persons'' -- and proceeds to cover concepts including original sin, the existence of Satan and the resurrection of Jesus. ''Theological checkups,'' as one politics professor described them, are not unheard-of. Leah Anderson, Hawkins's last department chairwoman, told me that she has been interrogated twice after parents complained about her. Once, a straightforward discussion of family policy in an Introduction to Comparative Politics class led to an accusation that Anderson was ''anti-family.''

But unlike, say, Bob Jones University or Liberty University, Wheaton is not a de facto training ground for the Christian Right. My professors included feminists, libertarians and Sanders-style socialists, and they conducted scholarly work on seemingly anything they were interested in. No Wheaton professors I spoke with, including sharp critics and those who have left the school, said they were ever afraid to do their own research. Indeed, from its founding in 1860, Wheaton defined itself as much by its intellectualism as by its Christian character. Wheaton is both ''pervasively Christ-centered'' and ''academically rigorous,'' Ryken, the school's president, told me. ''We are very serious about our academic mission.''

Like Hawkins, I was both a dutiful evangelical teenager and a stubborn skeptic. Wheaton, with its unusual combination of high academic standards and devout culture, seemed like a good place to learn how to think. Its graduates include politicians, chief executives, influential scholars and spiritual leaders like Billy Graham, an anthropology major in the class of '43. (Our families are not related.) It places alumni at top graduate schools and draws faculty from other elite institutions.

Though the school never uses the phrase itself, students and alumni often archly refer to Wheaton as ''the Harvard of Christian schools.'' The phrase is self-deprecating, because in today's academic culture, there is an obvious tension in the idea of a Christian Harvard. It wasn't always so. In the first decades of Wheaton's history, almost every other American institution of higher learning paid at least nominal deference to Christianity. Yale was the scene of several revivals led by the evangelist Dwight L. Moody in the late 19th century; Wellesley was among those that mandated considerable Bible study. At the turn of the 20th century, many state universities required students to attend church on Sunday in addition to campus chapel services, and about half of all American undergraduates attended a church-related school.

Over the course of the 20th century, the academy sloughed off the cultural trappings of Christianity, not to mention the theological commitments. But at distinctly Christian schools like Wheaton, parents expect their children's religious faith to be stretched but not broken, and they take an active role in the college's direction. Alumni are unusually devoted, too, not just with the typical fits of nostalgic school spirit but with an abiding interest in the institution's ideological and spiritual mission. George Marsden, a historian whose books include ''The Outrageous Idea of Christian Scholarship,'' told me that Wheaton is something like a church denomination, in that its constituents ''are invested in it not just as their alma mater but as part of a much larger cause that they are participating in.''

During my four years at Wheaton, I drifted away from evangelicalism. But I never contemplated transferring to another school. I was reading Foucault and Judith Butler (Shakespeare and Milton too); my professors were brilliant and kind and I found plenty of kindred spirits. When the religion scholar Alan Wolfe visited Wheaton for a cover article about evangelical intellectualism in The Atlantic in 2000, halfway through my time there, he found a campus whose earnestness was both endearing and impressive: ''In its own way, campus life at Wheaton College resembles that of the 1960s, when students and a few professors, convinced that they had embarked on a mission of eternal importance, debated ideas as if life really depended on the answers they came up with.'' At a suburban dive bar on the edge of a marsh, we drank illicit Pabst on Saturday night and talked about politics, music and philosophy like undergraduates anywhere. Then we got up on Sunday morning and went to church.

As Hawkins settled in at Wheaton, she struggled. Though she loved her students, the heavy teaching load was stressful, especially for a self-described perfectionist. As a black woman in a predominantly white community, she was asked to serve on many committees and participate frequently in public events like panel discussions. Those commitments left little time for research and writing, though she still received tenure on schedule in 2013. Her health and social life suffered. She rarely had time for exercise or her book club anymore, dating was difficult, and she battled chronic sinus infections, migraines and high blood pressure, which she attributed to stress.

Much of that stress seemed to derive from her almost bodily awareness of the world's problems. In one of our half-dozen conversations over eight months, she described seeing people look happy and knowing she was different because she felt so weighed down by the injustices she saw and read about. She quotes Old Testament prophets from memory; several people described her to me as prophetic herself. As we spoke, her concerns veered from the Syrian **refugee** crisis to Rwandan genocide to gun violence to income inequality. Those worries are a burden she bears as a political scientist and as a Christian, she told me.

A year or two after arriving on campus, she developed a distaste for performances of patriotism and decided to stop saluting the flag and singing the national anthem. ''I feel very strongly that my first allegiance is to a different kingdom than an earthly kingdom,'' she told me. ''It's to a heavenly kingdom, and it's to the principles of that kingdom.'' Evangelicals tend to emphasize righteousness on an individual scale, but Hawkins was becoming attracted to theological traditions that emphasize systemic sin and repentance.

In particular, she was reading a lot of black liberation theology, a strain of thinking that emerged from the Black Power movement of the 1960s. Jesus' central mission was to liberate the oppressed, the philosophy argues, but mainstream American Christianity is beholden to irredeemably corrupt ''white theology.'' The tone of black liberation is often angry -- think of Jeremiah Wright's infamous ''God damn America'' sermon -- and conservative evangelicals are wary of it because of its theological pessimism and its politically radical roots. But Hawkins was beginning to view many of the Bible's commands through a lens of race and class. ''Theology is always contextual,'' she told me, a core idea of black liberation theology. She said that evangelicals have trouble confronting ''an ontological blackness of Christ.'' Responding to Wheaton's charge for professors to ''integrate faith and learning,'' she took these ideas into the classroom.

She also began to work out an idea she calls ''embodied solidarity.'' The concept starts with inspiration from Catholic social teaching, the labor movement, the Eucharist (in which Christians consume bread as ''the body of Christ'') and the imago Dei -- the idea that humans are created in the image of God. But she wanted to take ''solidarity'' past its popular use by do-gooders. Tweeting and check-writing are cheap gestures; short-term aid vacations to developing countries are ''poverty porn.''

For Christians, a central fact about Jesus Christ is that, unlike God the Father or the Holy Spirit, he had a body, which experienced physical suffering and pleasure; his first miracle was transforming water into wine to keep a wedding party going. He cried out in pain while being crucified -- the ultimate act of ''embodied solidarity.'' But Western Christianity also has a long tradition of treating the physical realm (sex, food, beauty) with suspicion (lust, gluttony, vanity). So Hawkins's idea of ''embodied solidarity'' can read as a rebuke to American Protestantism, particularly the white intellectual strain that Wheaton represents. ''I was taught to think of those who emphasize the body as secular or carnal or somehow off the mark,'' she said, explaining that she now sees that perspective as a ''defunct view of the body.''

True solidarity, Hawkins was coming to believe, involves physical risk and sustained labor. It also involves recognizing that structural inequality is a kind of violence, with physical effects on its victims. She referred to a passage in the book of Luke in which Jesus' followers fail to recognize him after his resurrection. ''My question is who do we not have the eyes to see?'' Hawkins said. ''That's the question that plagues my soul: Who am I not seeing in their suffering? What entire groups of people, humans, do I not see suffering?''

Hawkins's grandfather was the founder and pastor of the family's church in Oklahoma City, which belonged to a historically African-American denomination that arose during a wave of Southern black institution-building in the wake of the Civil War. Growing up she was taught that the Bible was a direct guidebook that any Christian could interpret on her own with the help of the Holy Spirit.

She remembers sitting in front of the family's house in Oklahoma City at around age 6, looking up at the sky and thinking, There must be a God. For a while, she carried around a small green Gideon Bible in a little purse everywhere she went. But she also pushed back against Sunday-school simplicity. She was the kind of child who asked a vacation Bible schoolteacher one summer, ''If Adam and Eve sinned, why did we get punished?'' It's a question that suggests both theological acuity and a touch of self-righteousness. The teacher, flummoxed, told her to ask her grandfather.

He died suddenly when she was 11, two days after baptizing her at the front of the church sanctuary on a Sunday evening. Soon afterward, the Hawkins family began attending a Southern Baptist church in nearby Shawnee, a small city with a much smaller black population. Their new church was overwhelmingly white, but Hawkins felt comfortable there, and her faith deepened. At home, she was such a dutiful daughter that when she went out with her friends, she could joke about planning to get drunk, and her parents would tease her back, ''Have fun!''

When she arrived at Rice University, a prestigious liberal-arts school in Houston, she joined a local chapter of Campus Crusade for Christ, an evangelical ministry founded for college students (and now rebranded as ''Cru''). In class, she read Catholic thinkers for the first time and reformers like Martin Luther and Huldrych Zwingli. Majoring in history and sociology, she began to see religion as a force not just in her own heart but also in human history.

In graduate school at the University of Oklahoma, Hawkins studied under Allen Hertzke, a political scientist whose work has made a case for the value of religious freedom. He helped her shape a dissertation on the George W. Bush administration's faith-based initiative and the disjuncture between the Congressional Black Caucus, which largely opposed it on partisan grounds, and the black population as a whole, which overwhelmingly supported it. Though academics and activists typically hail legislators that reflect the demographics of their constituencies, she wrote, this was a case ''where black faces fail to represent black interests.''

She was recruited by Wheaton before she completed her dissertation. It's easy to imagine what Wheaton thought they were getting by hiring her: A political scientist who was sympathetic to faith-friendly public policy and also willing to pick at the seams of liberal orthodoxy and contemporary racial politics. It's very likely that the school also valued the fact that she would help bolster the diversity of its faculty. Wheaton admitted an African-American college student in 1866, believed to be the first in the state. Today about a fifth or so of the undergraduate population are minorities, along with about 25 of 200 full-time faculty members. (Wheaton's minority student population is comparable to other elite Midwestern liberal-arts colleges, including Oberlin and Kenyon.) The goals of its current $175 million capital campaign include deepening racial and ethnic diversity on campus, and the school has reason for optimism. As Ryken pointed out to me, black and Latino Christians are arguably more theologically conservative as a group than white American Christians, and evangelicalism is booming in the global South.

But Hawkins was also interested in progressive ideas of justice, entering a department that housed a public-policy center named for, until his recent sex-abuse scandal, Dennis Hastert, the conservative former speaker of the House of Representatives. She imagined herself ''pushing back against the broader current of evangelicalism'' in a town that has been called the evangelical Vatican. She was a single woman in a religious culture that reveres the nuclear family. And she was black, on a historically white campus that has made sincere but spotty recent efforts to address racial issues. As she told me in January, ''For whatever reason, since I came to Wheaton, I've been a lightning rod.''

Hawkins's relationship with Wheaton's administration, particularly the provost, Stanton Jones, began to fray within just a few years. Her experiences as a black woman on campus were never hostile, but she was occasionally uncomfortable. Early on, a ''hip-hop chapel,'' meant to celebrate black styles of worship, read to her more like a minstrel show, an offensive attempt to ''check off the diversity box.'' She complained and was rebuffed. She felt ''spiritually dry,'' a term Christians use to describe the feeling of being far from God. ''It's quite a paradox that being in this thoroughly Christian place has been a very difficult time for me faith-wise,'' she told me in February. ''At Wheaton, unity always trumps diversity.''

Like all tenure-track faculty members at Wheaton, Hawkins was required to participate in a two-year program on the integration of ''faith and learning,'' culminating in the production of a 30-to-50-page paper that lays out how each faculty member relates his or her faith to academic work. Hawkins described the program as an ''assimilation project.'' (Another black former faculty member described it to me as ''oppressive'' and an ''indoctrination.'') Jones asked her to defend her paper in writing, because it described black liberation theology without making clear that she did not endorse it. The paper included an apparently insufficiently critical analysis of a father of the movement, James Cone, who has argued in books like ''God of the Oppressed'' that ''any interpretation of God that ignores black oppression cannot be Christian theology.'' According to Hawkins, Jones said her paper seemed to promote Marxism. (Jones, whom I knew as a child because he attended my family's church, and other administrators at Wheaton declined to discuss Hawkins, as did a Wheaton College spokeswoman.)

Over the years, according to Hawkins, Jones called her into his office several more times to affirm her commitment to the college's theological and behavioral strictures. At one point, when she attended a party in Chicago on the same day as the city's pride parade, she was asked to answer for a photo that ended up on Facebook. The tension escalated in the spring of 2015, when Hawkins pushed the college to expand its language around diversity to include L.G.B.T.Q. students, a fraught mission on a campus where gay students are forbidden to date. Again, Jones asked her to confirm the Statement of Faith. (He is a psychologist by training, and a key theme of his own academic work centers on the idea that homosexuality is mutable.)

That same spring, Hawkins was asked to deliver a ''Tower Talk,'' the college's version of TED Talks. She wrote a speech that used zombies as an extended metaphor for the way black men have been dehumanized in American political culture. (The talk she later gave at the reconciliation service after she left Wheaton would draw from this text.) The prepared speech praised the Black Lives Matter movement and condemned the ''tepid response'' of evangelical elites to Ferguson, Mo. And she made a sweeping case that Christian justice requires recognizing the different bodily experiences of various identity groups and demanding that economic and political institutions start ''prioritizing the vulnerable and the least'':

A politics of difference requires, in short, a radical shift in the body politic -- and in the body of Christ. It requires a body politic that sees bodies, gendered bodies, colored bodies, disabled bodies, L.G.B.T.Q. bodies, and declares that bodies matter. Black lives matter should not be a controversial statement where there is recognition that bodies and groups of bodies have received disparate treatment in our past and in our present. Black bodies matter. And because those bodies matter, a politics of difference is paramount.

After seeing the full text, Jones asked her to revise it; she said he was particularly concerned with her reference to ''L.G.B.T.Q. bodies.'' When she declined, he canceled the talk. Then he reversed his decision after an episode in which several Wheaton football players jokingly dressed in K.K.K. robes for a skit in a variety show, prompting a campus uproar and unflattering news coverage. Hawkins said no, telling him that she didn't have confidence he would defend her if the talk proved controversial.

On Dec. 10, 2015, Hawkins wrote a Facebook post that would set in motion the end of her employment at Wheaton. The post was 11 paragraphs, and it announced her intention to wear a hijab throughout the season of Advent, as a show of ''embodied solidarity'' with Muslims. Donald Trump had recently called for a total ban on Muslims entering the United States, and the Liberty University president, Jerry Falwell Jr., had mused publicly about how looser concealed-carry laws could help ''end those Muslims.'' ''I stand in religious solidarity with Muslims because they, like me, a Christian, are people of the book,'' Hawkins wrote in response. ''And as Pope Francis stated last week, we worship the same God.'' The post ended with the words ''Shalom friends.''

Almost immediately, administrators began to hear from concerned alumni, donors and parents of students and prospective students. One home-schooling mother of seven left an indignant message for Anderson, Hawkins's department chairwoman, saying the family made great sacrifices to send their daughter to Wheaton, and they expected her to receive a Christian worldview there. December is a month in which many donors make significant end-of-year gifts and when high-school seniors are making their final decisions about where to apply to college. Jones would later describe the response from prospective students' parents as a ''tidal wave''; at the time the post appeared, he characterized the financial threat as one that would imperil 15 to 20 faculty jobs. Five days after her post appeared, Jones called Hawkins into a meeting, asked her to respond in writing to several ''Areas of Significant Concern'' and placed her on paid administrative leave.

It seemed odd to outsiders that Hawkins's apparently straightforward and empathetic post could cause such turmoil in an intellectual environment, even a religious one. But conservative Wheaton alumni and parents found a litany of troubling political, cultural and theological implications in her post. There were Hawkins's references to ''primordial clay'' and the ''cradle of humankind'' in South Africa -- subtle nods to evolutionary theory. There was the implication that the pope is a definitive theological authority as well as her deference to the judgment of the Council on American Islamic Relations, whose advice and blessing Hawkins sought before donning the hijab. And then there were the photos themselves, showing Hawkins in a patterned purple head scarf, which may have been the most incendiary aspect of all.

On Dec. 17, Hawkins submitted a four-page theological statement to Jones. Her document begins by affirming her faith in the triune God and the divinity of Jesus and goes on to cite respected evangelical theologians, including Timothy George. It explores various interpretations of the Eucharist, human origins and the concept of imago Dei. It delves into the question of whether Muslims and Christians worship the same God, which emerged as the most contentious point in public. Hawkins's defenders pointed out that Jones and Wheaton's previous president had signed an interfaith statement in 2007 implying that same thing. Each later removed his signature, but the president said at the time that no one had pressured him to do so -- a fact that suggests the ''same God'' language might not bother Wheaton's constituents when it comes from the college's white male leaders.

Wheaton does not require all its professors to be trained theologians, but it considers them to be ''ministers'' of a kind and requires a certain level of theological sophistication from them. Even so, Hawkins's statement is a remarkable document for a political scientist to be asked to produce within 48 hours. Christians understand God as ''a tri-Personal, perichoretic unity,'' she wrote. ''My statement is not a statement on soteriology or trinitarian theology, but one of embodied piety.'' Her reference to Muslims as her ''brothers and sisters'' -- another point of contention -- was in part ''a reflection of my African-American cultural heritage.''

As Christmas break began, Jones and Hawkins met again, this time off campus. According to a person with intimate knowledge of the meeting, Jones described staying at Wheaton as a path that would be ''very, very difficult.'' Hawkins would be required to suspend her tenure, undergo a two-year review process and submit to ''ongoing conversation'' about theology with administrators and members of the board. Her four-page statement was not enough, in other words; she was so radioactive that she would require indefinite oversight. At the end of the meeting, he advised her to retain a lawyer.

After that meeting, Hawkins declined to further justify the theology behind her Facebook post to the administration. Later, some white Wheaton alumni and parents couldn't understand why Hawkins stopped talking with administrators. But several black current and former faculty members were sympathetic. ''I use the example of being pulled over,'' said Shawn Okpebholo, a composer and professor in Wheaton's conservatory. ''You keep getting challenged over and over to explain yourself and then forced to explain yourself more. You say, 'No, I can't do this anymore.' What they may see as insubordination is something we in the black community think is about integrity.''

On Jan. 4, Jones formally recommended to the president that Hawkins be fired, on the grounds of Hawkins's ''failure to accept and model the Statement of Faith of the College and/or the Community Covenant.'' His memo to Ryken emphasized that he was concerned with both Hawkins's individual statements and the ''overall narrative'' they suggested. ''Mere passive affirmation of the Statement of Faith is not enough,'' he wrote. ''One's actions in the classroom and beyond -- such as statements in academic publications and more general public statements -- should manifest the faculty member's full identification with the Statement of Faith.'' In other words, Hawkins violated the spirit of the Statement of Faith without contradicting any of its explicit claims.

Through my conversations with more than 20 current and former faculty members before and after Jones recommended Hawkins be fired, the portrait that emerged was of a campus splitting along just about every internal seam and along its outer borders, too. In January, some faculty members wore their academic regalia to class as a show of solidarity with Hawkins, while others quietly circulated a statement that was critical of her theology. A planned prayer meeting for Wheaton parents who supported the administration grew so large that it had to be moved from a local home to a spare lecture hall on campus. In early February, 78 faculty members signed a statement urging Jones to reinstate Hawkins. The press had descended on campus and were covering every meeting and memo. Various private Facebook groups, which alumni on all sides of the issue had used to spread news and rumors for months, were devolving into self-reinforcing pools of sanctimony and even rage. (Ryken's sisters were active participants on a page set up to support the administration.)

This is how an evangelical academic community expresses outrage: sternly worded statements, meetings and prayer. There were also flashes of real ugliness on campus. One student wearing a hijab in solidarity with Hawkins said that a classmate slammed a door in her face so hard that she was left with cuts and bruises. And the F.B.I. looked into a vicious satirical website smearing a local Islamic center where several faculty members had made friendly overtures; some of its barbs were so specific that many assumed it had to have come from within the college community.

On Feb. 6, a Saturday evening, Jones seemed to have a change of heart. He emailed the entire faculty telling them that he had apologized to Hawkins earlier that week and revoked his recommendation that she be fired. Two hours later, though, the college issued a news release announcing that the two parties ''found a mutual place of resolution and reconciliation,'' and that Hawkins would be leaving the school. Hawkins's lawyer, Robert Bloch, and Wheaton's legal teams had been in communication since December; Hawkins also had the strategic support of an interfaith labor organization based in Chicago. ''A lot of healing would have to happen'' in order for her to stay, she told me warily in January. Instead, she agreed to leave, appearing alongside college officials upon her departure after accepting terms that are subject to a confidentiality agreement. Bloch confirmed that the settlement included financial compensation.

The ensuing silence opened up even more room for speculation. Over the years, Wheaton has taken great pains to maintain its institutional identity -- to avoid following broader academic winds to the left, or the lure of fundamentalism on the right. ''There are always people who think that Wheaton has become this really draconian, oppressive, fundamentalist place, and there are always people who think that it's just given up on its evangelical moorings and its Christianity,'' said Timothy Larsen, a Wheaton professor of Christian thought. The Hawkins episode, he said, was ''a controversy where whatever people fear is what they are really convinced is happening.''

Many of Hawkins's supporters dismiss the idea that the confidential settlement was true reconciliation. It was an especially painful outcome for those on campus who see Wheaton's progress on racial issues as promising, if complex. ''We looked like something we're not, a white fundamentalist college,'' Okpebholo said. ''That's what we looked like to the outside.'' The reconciliation service on campus, which began with prayer and ended with communion, was also galling to some who backed her. The communion service in particular ''felt like spiritual manipulation,'' said Ezer Kang, a psychology professor who left Wheaton for Howard University this year. ''It wasn't reconciliation.'' He walked out before the breaking of the bread.

Wheaton is still feeling the reverberations from Hawkins's departure. Jones retired as provost this spring, though he remains a faculty member at the college. The board of trustees appointed a review panel of primarily trustees and faculty to undertake a thorough post-mortem, examining issues like how race and gender influenced what happened and how the Statement of Faith might affect academic freedom. A public statement related to the report is expected later this year.

In August, six months after Hawkins left Wheaton, she met with me in her office at the University of Virginia, where she had accepted a research fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture. The week before, she loaded up her car and drove to Charlottesville from her home just outside Chicago. Two tall shelves in her new office were filling up with books and knickknacks: a Hello Kitty lunchbox, a shadow box with old campaign buttons, a small replica of a church window. A painting by a former student depicted Jesus as a black man with a gold halo, in the style of a Catholic icon. Hawkins said he reminded her of Tupac Shakur.

Since her controversial leave-taking from Wheaton, she had become something of a celebrity in the small world of interfaith media and nonprofits. In the spring, she began taking speaking engagements, and she traveled to accept awards from religious organizations in Michigan, New York and Washington. In June, she flew to Turkey with a Chicago-based Islamic nonprofit organization to meet with Syrian **refugees**. Strangers have recognized her on airplanes and on the street; she is wary of dating online, for fear she'll be recognized there too. She recently worked out a deal with HarperOne to write a book about ''embodied solidarity,'' a concept she returned to over and over throughout the preceding months.

As a Wheaton alumnus, it was hard for me not to mourn the way things had turned out. I have always been sympathetic to Wheaton's attempts to maintain its unusual institutional character, even when those attempts are clumsy or publicly embarrassing. The balance between orthodoxy and intellectualism is poignantly fragile. And the Hawkins episode was a painful reminder of why. That Wheaton couldn't make room for a scholar like Hawkins raises questions about what real diversity might look like in a setting where a certain uniformity of belief is essential. And that so many of its constituents interpreted her actions so uncharitably, so swiftly, reflects poorly on evangelicalism as a whole. The difference between theological purity and cultural exclusion is not always as tidy as believers would like to think.

In her new office, we talked about Wheaton and about Jesus, about her evolving faith and about Donald Trump. Hawkins's voice is both gentle and totally assured, and she speaks in long elliptical paragraphs that tend to eddy into generalities. If conservatives in Wheaton's constituency were disturbed by her Facebook post, they would most likely not have been comforted by our conversation. The kind of politics and the kind of faith she wants to be a part of is the kind that's about ''liberating people's bodies, not just their souls,'' she said. ''Jesus came to save bodies. ... Theology only matters to the extent that bodies matter.'' She told me that she's not going to church regularly right now, but she still values institutional religion as a keeper of rituals and milestones.

In Charlottesville, Hawkins planned to restart a few research projects she hadn't had time to finish at Wheaton, and she was applying for permanent jobs too. Still skittish in white evangelical settings -- she received mixed reactions at a summer conference in Colorado called Simply Jesus -- she is reluctant to apply within the 13-member consortium of evangelical colleges to which Wheaton belongs. She has been seeing a psychotherapist and acupuncturist, but she still has nightmares that seem connected to her experience at Wheaton. She sometimes feels tired and sad, she said, but she is not a victim. ''We're all on a spiritual journey,'' she told me earlier that year, ''and mine points to Jesus.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Two weeks after Hillary Clinton accepted the Democratic nomination for president, I flew to Little Rock, Ark., to visit a woman named Gay White. White is the widow of Frank White, a conservative Little Rock banker who in the spring, summer and fall of 1980 toured all 75 counties in Arkansas in a quixotic attempt to unseat the incumbent governor, Bill Clinton. Frank had no previous experience campaigning, but he proved to be an enthusiastic retail politician. Gay, then 32, accompanied him on his statewide tour of cattle auctions, courthouse squares, Walmart parking lots and chicken-processing plants. ''Hi, I'm Gay White,'' she would tell the people they met. ''My husband's running for governor, and I'd sure appreciate your vote.''

Though that entire year was a momentous one for the Whites, one detail had stuck with White 36 years later. ''I cannot tell you the number of times they would say to me, 'If your husband wins, are you going to keep his last name?' '' she told me. ''I heard it over and over and over.''

It had not occurred to the Whites or their campaign advisers that attitudes toward the governor's wife, Hillary Rodham, might be what Gay White would later term an ''undercurrent'' in the 1980 election. They knew, of course, that Arkansas had seen no first lady like Rodham, a Wellesley graduate who wore bookworm spectacles and a hairdo that was not blown out in the Southern manner. At 32, she was a full partner at one of the nation's oldest law firms. She had never changed her name, and Rodham was how her clients knew her.

While Gay White dutifully barnstormed alongside her husband, Clinton's wife had her own pursuits, as well as an infant daughter whom she was determined not to use as a political prop. ''Frank and I went to every festival in Arkansas,'' White told me. ''I had lots of people say, 'Hillary's never been here -- and she's the first lady.' I think the fact that she did not go to these little county fairs and that she was seen as not embracing that role caused people to resent her, right or wrong.''

The White campaign focused on Bill Clinton's tax hikes, his willingness to accept Cuban **refugees** and -- as White's former campaign chairman, Curtis Finch Jr., told me -- ''the perception among people older than he was that he was just young and arrogant and brought in all these people who had beards and long hair.'' If Hillary Rodham's feminism was part of this picture, Frank White didn't feel the need to campaign on it overtly. Still, the Republican candidate knew that voters would get the joke when, after criticizing Clinton for allowing married couples to hold state-government positions, he could not resist adding: ''How many husband-and-wife teams has he hired? It's hard to find out, because they don't have the same last names.''

Six weeks before the election, Clinton enjoyed a 41-point lead over the challenger, who entered the race with only 2 percent of the public knowing who he was. But on Nov. 4, Frank White beat Bill Clinton, 52 percent to 48 percent. At an election post-mortem a few weeks later in Little Rock, Rodham spoke on behalf of her husband, who was still devastated by the stunning upset and did not attend. Explaining the election results, the governor's wife observed somberly, ''It's more easy to enthuse people if they think there's going to be a change, instead of more of the same.''

Rodham may not have been on the ballot, but Gay White remains convinced that ''how they perceived her was very much a factor.'' Two years later, when Clinton ran again against White, he ran a television ad apologizing for his mistakes. And, Gay remembers, Rodham ''changed everything: her whole appearance, her wardrobe. She started wearing makeup. She took Bill's last name. They did the things they needed to do.''

Bill Clinton won the rematch in a landslide. The Clintons returned to the Governor's Mansion in 1983. Neither of them has lost a general election since.

''I get that some people just don't know what to make of me,'' Hillary Clinton said in her speech accepting the nomination at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia in July. It was a rare acknowledgment by the candidate herself of what has been the defining paradox of her career: She has been a presence in American public life for more than a third of a century, and yet for all her ubiquity she remains a curiously unknown quantity to many voters.

It's possible to glimpse the origins of this paradox in the time between Bill Clinton's 1980 loss and his 1982 victory. Upon facing the electoral judgment of her persona for the first time, Hillary Rodham Clinton began what has gradually evolved into a precarious shadow game with the American public -- a ritualized series of reveals, retreats and resets, each iteration seemingly more freighted with recrimination and self-doubt than the one preceding it. It was the moment when Hillary became ''Hillary'' -- a collaborative creation by herself and her political enemies, both a reflection and a source of the uncertainty and mistrust with which the public has so often regarded her.

In the early months of his 1992 presidential campaign, Bill Clinton confidently told voters that they would be getting ''two for the price of one'' with Hillary in the White House. Still, George Bush's campaign operation, like White's, did not give much thought to attacking her. Although the race was seen by many on both sides as a sort of generational referendum, the Bush campaign did not disseminate the photos it had gathered of her dressed in hippie attire or details of her 1971 clerkship for the left-wing lawyer Robert Treuhaft. In part, this simply reflected a political era that still observed certain unspoken rules. ''In those days, you didn't go after a candidate's family,'' says David Tell, who ran Bush's opposition-research team. But it also reflected the feeling that, as the Bush campaign strategist Charlie Black recalls: ''We didn't need to talk about it. There already were certain people, especially older voters, who didn't like the idea of a co-presidency and a ball-busting first lady.''

Arkansans had struggled with the same notion throughout Bill Clinton's tenure as governor. Hillary briefly gave thought to running for governor herself in 1990, but her polling showed that the public was disinclined to vote for her. (''She didn't receive it well,'' said the Democratic consultant Raymond Strother, who delivered the results to the Clintons.) Still, Hillary's national debut in the 1992 election suggested the Clintons believed that things would be different outside Arkansas. The Hillary that America came to know in the first months of the campaign was the woman who, confronted with Bill's affair with Gennifer Flowers, was not ''some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette,'' who later said she ''could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas'' but became a high-powered lawyer instead.

Immediately after the second comment, however, angry calls flooded into the Clinton campaign's offices in Little Rock and Washington, along with packages of home-baked cookies. Alarmed, the Clinton brain trust directed the pollster Celinda Lake to conduct focus groups on the candidate's wife. A follow-up memorandum prepared by top campaign officials warned: ''In the focus groups, people think of her as being in the race 'for herself' and as 'going for the power.' She is not seen as particularly 'family oriented.' More than Nancy Reagan, she is seen as 'running the show.' ''

The campaign responded by relegating her to campuses and libraries and smaller markets. The Clintons' showbiz friends Harry and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason assigned her three fashion consultants -- one each for her makeup, hair and wardrobe -- and her headbands were consigned to the dustbin of history.

At that summer's Republican National Convention, Patrick Buchanan derided Clinton's ''radical feminism.'' Marilyn Quayle -- a lawyer who gave up her career to support her husband's -- presented herself and Dan Quayle as an alternative vision of the husband-wife partnership. ''Most women do not want to be liberated from their essential natures as women,'' she said. But the convention drew poor reviews; The New York Times's conservative columnist William Safire complained that ''the party displayed the basest of its base.'' From then on, the Bush campaign team confined its direct attacks to Bill Clinton.

In 1992, as in 1980, the Clintons forced Americans to confront an unsettled landscape of shifting cultural boundaries; voters might have rejected Marilyn Quayle's worldview, but they had not yet fully embraced Hillary's. It fell to Hillary to resolve a conflict that Americans had not yet really resolved for themselves, and her response was what we now recognize as the quintessential Clintonian defense: to offer up a cosmetically reassuring version of ''Hillary'' while resolving thereafter to reveal as little of Hillary as possible. A pattern had also emerged that would carry on throughout Clinton's public life: Her protectors would overprotect; her attackers would overattack. And the American public would emerge from the episode with a welling distaste for all parties involved.

Clinton's decision in 1999 to seek office herself -- motivated, the longtime Clinton friend Paul Begala says, by ''a real desire for the legitimacy that comes from earning votes'' -- meant that the first lady was now a legitimate target. Once again, however, the Republicans overplayed their hand. Rick Lazio, her opponent in the 2000 Senate race after Rudy Giuliani dropped out, pursued a campaign strategy that was foremost about driving up her negatives -- in particular, the ghosts of Clinton controversies past. He devoted a speech to Whitewater and mocked the Clintons' failed health-care initiative -- which was criticized for the secrecy Hillary imposed on policy discussions -- as ''an unmitigated disaster.'' He released an ad attacking her untrustworthiness. ''At the heart of this campaign,'' Lazio said during their first debate, ''are two words: character and trust.''

It backfired. ''In the polling data, it was clear people still remembered Hillarycare, and plenty of them didn't like her,'' recalls Lazio's campaign manager, Bill Dal Col. ''But the biggest thing was the sympathy factor. The Lewinsky scandal clearly gave her another breath of life. Trustworthiness was the back end of the chain at that point. It was, 'Look at what this woman's been through.' ''

But in the Senate, Clinton found that once again, the act of making herself into the person voters seemed to want her to be made her an object of suspicion. She embraced the grind of the job, distancing herself from the accusations of dilettantism and entitlement that had been leveled in the 2000 race. In so doing, however, she acquired a new stigma: that of Washington insider. And the first rivals to exploit it were her fellow Democrats.

In late 2006, Barack Obama commissioned the pollster Larry Grisolano to conduct a series of focus groups in Iowa and New Hampshire to test themes that might support an insurgent candidacy by the first-term senator. ''What that research showed,'' Grisolano recalls, ''was that there was a market for a fresh truth-teller like Obama. And it worked well in contrast to somebody who was eagerly grabbing the mantle of the establishment.'' But Clinton's senior strategist, Mark Penn, argued that she should emphasize her gravitas over the history-making prospect of a female president. ''We opted for qualified and experienced over relatable,'' says her former campaign manager, Patti Solis Doyle, ''which I think was a mistake.''

Clinton didn't need much convincing. She was proud of her hard-earned experience in Washington and affronted by Obama's lack of it, and she campaigned accordingly. ''The one thing everybody in America knew about her,'' says her former speechwriter Lissa Muscatine, ''was that she was tough and strong. What they didn't know was her 40 years of advocacy, the background she came from, how her faith motivated her. All of this history got swept away. Her campaign should have been a movement campaign like Obama's. And it never was.''

At the Democratic National Convention in July, the retelling of Clinton's story fell chiefly to her husband, who labored over his speech for days, showing it to no one until a couple of hours before he delivered it on Tuesday night. (He did proudly share the opening line -- ''In the spring of 1971, I met a girl'' -- to at least one close adviser on the phone the night before.) When it was the nominee's own turn to speak, she devoted a scant three minutes to her drape-making father, her orphaned mother and her early work with the Children's Defense Fund. Then she beat a retreat into the working-class stories of others she met on her long road to becoming the most famous unknowable person on the planet.

Even 20 years ago, Clinton was clearly exhausted by the project of untangling ''Hillary'' and Hillary. ''I don't think you can ever know anybody else,'' she told The Washington Post in 1995. ''And I certainly don't think you can know anybody else through the crude instruments available to us of exposing bits and pieces of somebody's life.''

Gay White watched Clinton's convention speech and her first debate against Donald Trump from her home in Little Rock. Being roughly the same age as Clinton, she was offended to hear Trump attack his opponent's physical capabilities. ''I've been in a little statewide campaign where we went to 75 counties,'' White said. ''I've not been through a national campaign. Anyone who can do that has got to have stamina.''

For the first time in her adult life, White does not know for whom she will vote. She has found little to admire in Trump, but she is a lifelong conservative, and her husband ran quite literally against Clintonian liberalism. There is disapproval in her voice when she speaks of the Democratic nominee, if also a trace of respect, and she strains to recognize the independent young woman whose decision not to change her last name so **alienated** rural Arkansans back in 1980. What she sees instead, she says, is ''layer after layer of armor.''

Still, White believes she knows the woman underneath it, and understands the choices Clinton made to recover from defeat 36 years ago. ''She really hasn't been able to be an authentic person, you know,'' she told me. ''And so she hasn't been. Not for some time.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**You have a somewhat different approach than your predecessors at the Southern Baptist Convention. Your tenure has been marked by your advocacy for working with others with whom you can find common cause, particularly in regard to racial reconciliation, which you worked with Obama on. What influenced you to break the tradition? Growing up in Mississippi shaped my life in all sorts of ways, including seeing a Bible Belt, cultural Christianity that was often very tolerant of racism and bigotry. Much of the New Testament has to do with breaking down divisions. As time has gone on, the more I see my identity within the global church and the global body of Christ, so what hurts my African-American brother or sister hurts me.

Do you endorse the concept that black lives matter? Yes. I don't necessarily endorse everything that any institution or organization by that name might endorse, but I certainly endorse the concept that black lives matter.

Have you had much luck, professionally and personally, changing your coreligionists' minds on this kind of thing? Yes, actually. The Bible speaks so directly to these issues that, really, in order to avoid questions of racial unity, one has to evade the Bible itself. One of the problems we have on the race issue is that so few churches talk about it at all. Increasingly, I hear congregations starting to ask, ''How do we change so that our churches actually reflect the kingdom of God?''

You've been an advocate for the church to be involved in issues that have some crossover across party lines: criminal-justice reform, racial reconciliation, **immigration**. That, combined with #NeverTrump, has created bipartisan collaboration in a way I haven't seen before. Do you think that will continue after the election? I hope so. One of the places of common ground that I've found between people on the right and the left is a common commiserating about how bad both of these candidates are. If we can move past the sense that our identity is bound up in our political party or our political ideology, that will be a step forward.

Very early in the campaign season, you said that evangelicals shouldn't support Trump for president. At first, it seemed as if he might not win them over, but now they seem to have come on board. Do you have an explanation for that? Part of the explanation is the recent alliance between the Republican Party and American evangelicalism. I think many evangelicals believe that they face a binary choice and they have no option but to support one of the two. When I talk to pro-Trump evangelicals, the Supreme Court is the primary concern for them.

Do you find their arguments personally persuasive? No, but I understand why people across the religious and political spectrum would conclude that they have to wrestle with their consciences and vote for one of these candidates. I'm pro-life, pro-family, pro-racial reconciliation, pro-**immigrant** and pro-character in office, so no matter what happens in November, I lose.

Between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, which one do you think you might find more common cause with if he or she were elected? I don't know. I think that it would vary from issue to issue. It's been a fairly contentless election or at least a shifting kaleidoscope of content, and so I have no way to predict.

I could pretty safely predict to you that Hillary Clinton is going to be working on criminal-justice reform and sentence reform, sex trafficking, racial reconciliation. We could go down a menu of issues you might potentially be invited to the White House to talk about with her. Name something you could find common cause on with Donald Trump. I don't know where the points of commonality would be because I don't actually know where he would stand in office. But I agree with him on Mike Pence and La Guardia Airport, for sure.

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Interview has been condensed and edited.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The destruction is so complete that it obliterates even a sense of time. At a glance, the video shot from a drone could show Berlin in 1945 or Grozny, 2000. Mass death erases all distinctions.

The place is Aleppo, Syria, the Mashhad district, or what remains of it after recent attacks by Syrian government forces and their Russian allies. Toppled rooftop satellite dishes, choked by plaster dust, resemble wilted flowers. Figures move through the pulverized rubble but are hard to make out.

''Would you really feel any pity if one of those dots stopped moving forever?'' Harry Lime asked on the Ferris wheel in ''The Third Man,'' the classic noir film set in postwar Vienna. This is drone footage, after all, shot from the same detached, superior perspective of the bombers who committed this atrocity in the name of fighting non-jihadist rebels. The video was made to document the devastation and bear witness, but it inevitably reduces people on the streets to Lime's dots.

After the Second World War, Auschwitz survivors helped organize a display to memorialize the camp and came up with the archetypal piles of shoes and hair, prostheses and suitcases. The hope was to convey the scale of killing at a time when much of the world still didn't know, or didn't want to know, how many people the Nazis had murdered. Survivors declined to focus on stories of individual victims. They reckoned that nearly everyone in Europe had witnessed death up close and had their own stories to tell, whereas the industrial nature of murder was something else, something new, unfathomable and essential to record.

Today we are assaulted online, on television and in newspapers with big, senseless numbers: At least 140 killed in the Saudi-led bombing of a funeral in Yemen; hundreds slain by car bombs in Baghdad; thousands upon thousands slaughtered in Aleppo. The tallies blur together even while it can be nearly unbearable to glance at the photograph of Alan Kurdi, the dead 2-year-old **refugee** on the Turkish beach, or the video of Omran Daqneesh, the stunned little boy from Aleppo, pulled from the ashes, sitting in the ambulance, wiping blood from his face.

Once seen, these images become impossible to forget. More than the specter of endless shelters and the staggering numbers of displaced people, what comes to mind whenever I read about the war are the dusty, hopeful faces of six small, barefoot siblings I photographed with my phone while standing outside their windblown tent in Zaatari, a Syrian **refugee** camp, just across the border in Jordan. I wonder how they are doing.

There are now some 65 million displaced people around the world, equivalent in number to the entire population of the United Kingdom or France. **Refugees**spend 17 years on average in camps. The children at that Syrian camp fled their home just ahead of the guns and rockets.

I wonder what ''home'' will ever mean to them.

To those more fortunate, it promises safety, family. The ruined landscape in the drone video, reminiscent of that earlier Russian military campaign in Grozny, had been a community of shops, noisy streets -- and homes. Now so hard to decipher, these crumbling apartment houses were, until lately, particular to the people who filled them with children and mementos. With raised voices and the whispered exchanges of love and heartbreak. With music, prayers, friends, the smells of food cooking on the stove. With dreams of a better life.

This used to be a neighborhood, in other words. A neighborhood is more than an assortment of buildings and streets. It is life, shared and rooted in place, passed down through generations -- nowhere more so than in an ancient city like Aleppo, where some years ago I was taken to the home of a man who lived on a street that bore his family name.

''How long has your family lived here?'' I asked him.

''On the street or in Aleppo?'' he replied.

Before I could answer, he told me: ''On the street, 800 years. In Aleppo, 1,200.''

Communities incubate hope. Extinguishing this is the goal of mass murderers and tyrants.

That is what the drone video shows.

The video was taken by The Aleppo Media Center, a group of antigovernment activists and citizen journalists who work to document the conflict through video, photography and social media.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Three militia members plotted to detonate a bomb at a housing complex in western Kansas where Somali **immigrants** lived and worshiped, federal investigators said Friday.

The men, who were arrested Friday morning on domestic terrorism charges, scouted out the apartments in Garden City, Kan., stockpiled guns and composed a manifesto about their anti-Muslim motives, prosecutors said.

''Their rhetoric and their speech have revealed a hatred for Muslims, Somalis and **immigrants**,'' an F.B.I. agent wrote in affidavit related to the case.

The plotters planned to carry out their attack on Nov. 9, the day after the presidential election, the authorities said.

The three men are Curtis Allen and Gavin Wright, both 49 and from Liberal, Kan., about 65 miles from Garden City, and Patrick Stein, 47, of Wright, Kan.

According to the F.B.I. agent's affidavit, the men referred to Muslims as ''cockroaches'' and met frequently to discuss the plot.

Officials said that the apartment complex they targeted housed about 120 people, including many Somalis who work at a nearby meatpacking plant, and that one of the units was used as a mosque.

Eric Jackson, the special agent in charge of the F.B.I's Kansas City office, said that agents infiltrated the militia months ago, and that the men planned to wait until the presidential campaign was over before carrying out the plot.

He did not specify which candidate the militia members were supporting.

Prosecutors said Mr. Stein became worried this week that the plan could be foiled after Mr. Allen was arrested on domestic violence charges.

''These individuals had desire, the means and the capability, and were committed to carrying out this act of domestic terrorism,'' Mr. Jackson said.

The Council on American-Islamic Relations called Friday for state and federal law enforcement agencies to increase protection of mosques across the country.

The council's Kansas board chairman, Moussa Elbayoumy, said Garden City counted several hundred Muslims among its roughly 27,000 residents.

Mr. Elbayoumy said there was one mosque in the city, which served a mixture of long-established American Muslims and recent **immigrants**.

''I am personally not aware of any tensions between the Muslim community and the surrounding community,'' said Mr. Elbayoumy, who lives in another part of Kansas. ''Most of them are getting along very well, and there have been contacts with interfaith groups.''

Investigators said the plotters were part of a group called the Crusaders that had militia and so-called sovereign citizen ties.

The authorities learned of the attack from a paid informant, the affidavit said.

In the affidavit, the F.B.I. agent wrote, ''They chose the target location based on their hatred of these groups, their perception that the people represent a threat to American society, a desire to inspire other militia groups, and a desire to 'wake people up.' ''

Mayor Chris Law of Garden City said in a statement that he was ''shocked, but at the same time extremely proud of and grateful for the efforts of local, state, and federal law enforcement.''

The Garden City police chief, Michael Utz, said his department had been aware of the investigation and was assured that all suspects were in custody.

Mr. Jackson, the F.B.I. official, said he was confident the plot was fully foiled.

It would have had a significant impact not only on the state of Kansas, this community, but also this nation,'' Mr. Jackson said. ''This would have been picked up not only nationally, but internationally.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MAAN, Jordan -- When Jordan's school year began last month, educators began noticing tweaks in the curriculum.

Along with the images of women wearing head scarves were a few who went without them. Cleanshaven men appeared alongside drawings of devout, bearded ones. And references to Islam, once sprinkled liberally throughout textbooks and other class materials, were scaled back.

The 70 or so tweaks to Jordan's textbooks for first through 12th grades are small. The books are still laden with Islamic references: The 10th-grade science text, for example, encourages students to marvel over God's creation as it discusses evolution.

But they are one of the Middle East's first noticeable efforts to moderate the school curriculum in hopes of preventing youths from drifting to extreme ideologies.

''It could be a test case for the region,'' said Musa Shteiwi, a sociologist who sat on an Education Ministry committee for six months last year to change the textbooks. ''All of us in the Arab world have the same problems. We are all entering this battle.''

So far, this modest effort has not gone well. Islamists see it as a threat to their traditional domination of the education system. And among Jordan's mostly conservative Muslim population, many view the changes as a declaration of war on Islamic values.

''Obama and Clinton's schools are not for us!'' shouted Mahmoud Abu Rakhiya, an Islamist in Maan, a desert town in southern Jordan, at a rally on a recent Friday in late September. In the capital, Amman, around the same time, teachers set a pile of textbooks on fire. A woman in a white face veil shouted: ''We don't need these textbooks anyway! We will teach them what we want!''

Even those who support changes to the curriculum say the government bungled the effort. Jumana Ghunaimat, the editor in chief of Al Ghad, a liberal newspaper that campaigned for a new curriculum, said the changes, introduced without public debate, had antagonized conservative Jordanians.

''I fear that this will not bring positive change,'' Ms. Ghunaimat said.

She added, ''And today we are in a hard place,'' referring to growing fears of extremist violence in Jordan.

The curriculum changes are part of the balancing act that Jordan's monarchy has long attempted to appease its conservative citizens; the United States, a loyal ally that provides crucial aid; its noisy secular elite; and its influential Christian minority. (Even as the government issued the new textbooks, it arrested a Jordanian writer, Nahed Hattar, for sharing a cartoon on Facebook that many saw as mocking God. Mr. Hattar, 56, a prominent writer from a Christian family, was fatally shot when he showed up at a courthouse on Sept. 25 to face criminal charges of insulting Islam.)

The problem with the previous Jordanian curriculum, advocates for change said, was that Islam dominated every subject, without teaching children about the shared humanity of non-Muslims, including other Jordanian citizens. For instance, Jordanians are taught, ''You are a Muslim, and therefore you are moral,'' said Oraib al-Rantawi, director general of Al Quds Center for Political Studies, which argued for revisions. ''So the question is, what of others? Non-Muslims? Are they moral?''

Pressure to change the curriculum came in 2015, after a Jordanian Air Force fighter pilot, First Lt. Moaz al-Kasasbeh, was burned alive in a cage by ISIS militants. Some leading Jordanians hesitated to condemn his killing, appearing to sympathize with the militants. At the time, hundreds of Jordanians were already in neighboring Syria fighting for militant groups.

Government officials began to question how the education curriculum was influencing Jordanians, said Mr. Shteiwi, the sociologist. ''We began feeling that what we are doing in our schools was an important factor,'' he said.

Mr. Shteiwi, along with other academics and religious figures, was summoned by the Education Ministry in the spring. As they worked on the curriculum, a sense of urgency grew. In June, three intelligence officers and two government employees were killed at a Palestinian **refugee** camp. In November, a police officer fatally shot five security officials, including two American trainers, a South African and two fellow Jordanians, at a compound in Amman, bringing fears of infiltration by Islamist militants into one of the Arab world's safest cities.

The curriculum changes were meant to give students a better chance ''to enter the labor market, and to make them more immune to extremist ideas circulating against them,'' said Mohammad Momani, a government spokesman.

It is unclear how effective the new curriculum will be in a country with around 1.7 million students and 30,000 teachers working in 4,000 schools, many of them overcrowded.

Because of the protests, the Education Ministry has set up another committee to review the changes. The teachers' union, for its part, has urged educators to ignore the new textbooks.

Atef al-Numat, a union member in Maan, called the changes a ''disaster for our children and our values.'' He particularly objected to an image of a man vacuuming a house, a crucifix hanging on the wall behind him. Jordanian men do not sweep their homes, he said, and the cross is a ''clear message'' that ''conversion is possible.''

''Why did they change the curriculum?'' Mr. Numat asked. ''There is no house in Jordan that isn't angry.''

Some teachers appear to be heeding the call to boycott the new textbooks. At a girls' school in a working-class neighborhood of Amman, the principal said teachers were using the new curriculum. But her secretary interjected, ''What the teachers' syndicate is saying, we are doing.''

Hasan Abu Hanieh, a researcher on militant Islam, described the curriculum changes as ''a disastrous experiment,'' because Jordanian Muslims already believe that ''there is an attack coming from the outside on Islam, and the government is kneeling to that pressure.''

Mr. Momani, the government spokesman, described those claims as ''an extreme version of a conspiracy theory.''

But it is something many Jordanians believe. In one Amman neighborhood, Leila Hassan, a 40-year-old mother of six, said the government had changed the curriculum because ''they don't want us to follow the prophet.''

Ms. Hassan's neighbor interjected, saying Israel dictated the curriculum changes to weaken belief among Muslims. ''They want these changes so that people don't think of Jerusalem,'' said the woman, who gave her name as Umm Ahmad.

Ms. Hassan said that since the new curriculum was introduced at her children's school, teachers had insisted on communal Muslim prayers, to make sure the children did not forget their faith. Some teachers are also giving extra religious lessons, she said.

''It's not the result they wanted,'' Ms. Hassan said, grinning. ''It's the opposite.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Speaker Paul D. Ryan on Monday told Republican House members seeking re-election to focus on their races and not on Donald J. Trump. Here some close contests to watch.

By EMMARIE HUETTEMAN

NEW JERSEY FIFTH DISTRICT

Controversy put Republican in the race of his career

Representative Scott Garrett, a Republican, rankled colleagues last year when he said he would not donate to his party's campaign committee because it recruits and backs gay candidates. Democrats have happily reminded donors about those comments, attracting ample cash to benefit his challenger, Josh Gottheimer, a former Clinton speechwriter. Combined with Mr. Garrett's tendency to vote against the Republican leadership, analysts say the incumbent is facing the toughest race of his career.

ARIZONA FIRST DISTRICT

Chance of rare Republican pickup in Arizona

Representative Ann Kirkpatrick, a Democrat, left her seat to challenge Senator John McCain of Arizona this fall, opening up a competitive race in this relatively conservative district. The contest has pitted Tom O'Halleran, who is running as a Democrat despite having served as a Republican in the State Legislature, against Paul Babeu, a county sheriff. Mr. Babeu made headlines during the 2012 presidential race when he was forced to resign as a co-chairman on Mitt Romney's campaign amid allegations that he threatened to have a former boyfriend deported.

FLORIDA SEVENTH DISTRICT

A formidable challenge for

a comfortable Republican

Representative John L. Mica, a Republican whose district is just north of Orlando, has comfortably held his seat for more than 20 years. Or he did, until the last-minute introduction of Stephanie Murphy, a business professor and former national security specialist whose family **immigrated** to the United States from a Vietnamese **refugee** camp when she was an infant. Less than a month before Election Day, House Majority PAC, a ''super PAC'' working to help Democrats retake the House, has already put at least $962,000 into this race.

VIRGINIA 10TH DISTRICT

A Republican and her ties

to the top of the ticket

Representative Barbara Comstock, a first-term Republican, has abandoned Mr. Trump after the release of his vulgar comments about women. Her Democratic opponent, LuAnn Bennett, a real estate developer, has done everything she can to tie Ms. Comstock to Mr. Trump anyway.

NEVADA THIRD DISTRICT

A race fueled by big

money and big names

Nevada has been a hub for campaign spending this year, and the contest to fill the seat Representative Joe Heck, a Republican, who left to run for the Senate, is no exception. With a few weeks to go, both parties and outside groups have already spent more than $6.8 million. Jacky Rosen, a Democrat who is a computer programmer and consultant, is running with the powerful backing of retiring Senator Harry Reid, the minority leader. The other candidate is Danny Tarkanian, a businessman whose father, Jerry, was a legendary college basketball coach.

NEW YORK 24TH DISTRICT

Symptoms of the

down-ballot effect

Representative John Katko, a first-term Republican, is defending his seat against Colleen Deacon, a Democrat and former regional director for Senator Kirsten E. Gillibrand of New York. While analysts have given Mr. Katko the edge heading into the final month of the election, this district, which includes Syracuse, is relatively Democratic, and opposition to Mr. Trump could help sweep Ms. Deacon to victory.

COLORADO SIXTH DISTRICT

A race that could hinge

on the Latino turnout

Representative Mike Coffman, a Republican who once co-sponsored a bill to make English the nation's official language, has weathered a round of redistricting that left him with the most diverse district in Colorado. But this year he faces his most difficult race yet, contending with a talented opponent -- Morgan Carroll, a Democrat who served as president of the State Senate. With a sizable **immigrant** population in the district, this tossup contest could hinge on turnout among Latinos.

IOWA FIRST DISTRICT

An easy pickup for the Democrats? Not so fast.

Representative Rod Blum, a Republican who is a member of the hard-right House Freedom Caucus, has run most of this race without much help from his party. His district, which includes Dubuque and Cedar Rapids, voted for President Obama twice, and Democrats have pinned their hopes on Monica Vernon, a member of the Cedar Rapids City Council. But this district, once thought to be a relatively simple pickup for Democrats, is proving not so easily won.

MINNESOTA THIRD DISTRICT

In Minneapolis suburbs,

a resilient incumbent

This contest seems to be trending in favor of Representative Erik Paulsen, signaling that perhaps Democrats are not having as much luck tying vulnerable Republicans to Mr. Trump in suburban areas like those in this district near Minneapolis. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and House Majority PAC have devoted more than $1.8 million to defeating Mr. Paulsen in the hopes of replacing him with Terri Bonoff, a state senator.

FLORIDA 26TH DISTRICT

When running from Trump may not be enough

Representative Carlos Curbelo has been outspoken in his opposition to Mr. Trump, and it may not be enough. The first-term Republican is locked in a tight battle for his South Florida seat, facing Joe Garcia, a former congressman, in a rematch from 2014. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee has spent nearly $2.2 million on this race, signaling some confidence in the ability to reclaim this seat.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In a packed federal courtroom in Brooklyn on Friday, it was one-stop shopping for 262 New Yorkers: They became American citizens and registered to vote -- all from their seats and just before the deadline.

''Today is the last day you can register to vote in New York,'' Magistrate Judge Vera M. Scanlon told the new citizens from 55 countries immediately after they recited the Naturalization Oath of Allegiance to the United States. ''That is one of the special privileges you have that you didn't have three minutes ago.''

Voter registration forms were distributed inside the courtroom, and Judge Scanlon promptly directed the people to mail them at the post office next door. But Fryda Guedes, a staff member from the advocacy group Hispanic Federation, made it even easier. Ms. Guedes went through the aisles and collected the forms, saying she would hand-deliver them to the Board of Elections.

That made Beverly Greig's day. A native of Guyana and a 30-year Queens resident, Ms. Greig, 67, wondered for weeks whether she would have enough time to register.

''I was asking everybody: 'Can I vote, can I vote? I have to vote,' Ms. Greig said. Thrilled, she handed her form to Ms. Guedes.

In three ceremonies in New York City on Friday, 685 people became American citizens, the latest in a national wave preceding the presidential election.

For many, the campaign of Donald J. Trump, the Republican presidential candidate, was motivation. Humera Qayyum, 25, a medical assistant from Coney Island by way of Pakistan, said she had experienced discrimination as a Muslim wearing a hijab, and was displeased with Mr. Trump's call to bar Muslims from the United States.

''I want to vote Democratic because they have respect for all religions, respect for everything,'' Ms. Qayyum said. She added: ''I have been here for five years. I worked really hard to be in this country and I don't want to get kicked out.''

A Muslim student from Bangladesh, Nazmus Sakib Choudhury, 25, said he was afraid of a Trump presidency and intended to vote Democratic. ''We don't have an option,'' he said.

Not everybody agreed. An older man from Canada, who did not want to give his name, said he wanted to use his citizenship to vote for Mr. Trump.

Maria Ester Lopez, 34, a Bronx resident from Mexico, said she felt both lucky and blessed to get her citizenship on the last day to register to vote by mail.

''It's kind of a miracle,'' she said. ''Just in time.''

But not everybody made it.

In line with a national trend, applications for citizenship rose over the last 12 months in the area that includes New York City and Long Island, with 110,895 people trying to become citizens, compared with 88,627 over the previous 12-month period, according to the federal Citizenship and **Immigration** Services. And applicants faced significant waits. As of June 30, 72,595 applications were pending. (By comparison, 52,953 applications were pending at the same point the previous year.)

The federal Citizenship and **Immigration** Services, which processes the applications, denied that those numbers represented delays. ''We are monitoring the situation and managing resources to address disparities in processing times,'' Katie Tichacek, a spokeswoman for the agency, said.

But the Northern Manhattan Coalition for **Immigrant** Rights, which helped prepare 600 applications for citizenship over the last year, has noticed a substantial lag time in processing in 2016, which has resulted in some people not being naturalized in time to vote, Angela Fernandez, the group's executive director, said. It took only three months to process applications in New York at this time last year, but now took longer than five months, she said.

''My understanding was that because of the election, things would be moving more quickly,'' said Sergia Ramos, 68, a client of the coalition who came to the office on Thursday to plead for intervention. She had been waiting five months just to get an interview, she said.

Ms. Fernandez said it was too late for this election, and referred Ms. Ramos to her local elected officials.

For applicants who have naturalization ceremonies in New York scheduled up until Oct. 28, there is one last, little known resort: New York State allows them to bring their application in person to a Board of Elections office.

Raymundo Nelio Read Pinedo, a boiler mechanic who lives in the Bronx, was among those who became a citizen with the Northern Manhattan Coalition's help. At the federal court in Manhattan on Friday, he was dressed for the occasion, wearing a red velvet blazer and bright red loafers. On his briefcase he displayed a small American flag, a gift from his 12-year-old daughter.

Mr. Read, 55, moved to the United States from the Dominican Republic in 1988, he said, but had always been so busy with work that he had not made time to apply for citizenship until this year.

He said he planned to celebrate on Friday night by having dinner with his 82-year-old mother, who has been a United States citizen for 15 years.

''It means a lot to her,'' Mr. Read said. ''For the first time, a woman has the opportunity to govern this country.''

In Manhattan, workers for Dominicanos USA and the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund were handing out registration forms in the federal courthouse hallways and outside the building on Friday.

Inside the courtroom, District Judge Richard J. Sullivan encouraged the 167 new citizens to vote, but spent more time talking to them on a personal level about his children, his Irish ancestry and the significance of the moment.

''I know I'm going to celebrate today,'' he said. ''I'm going to have an ice cream cone on your behalf. I'll raise it up like the Statue of Liberty and I'll think of you.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Your typical Trump rally this was not.

First there was the ritual Hindu fire, a yagna, which burned in his honor. Then there were the posters, standard Donald J. Trump head shots except for a touch of artistic interpretation: a tilak, the red dot symbolic of the spiritual third eye in Hindu culture, smudged on his forehead.

This celebration of Mr. Trump in New Delhi in May, and others like it in India this year, are the work of a small, devoted and increasingly visible faction of Hindu nationalists in India and the United States who see Mr. Trump as the embodiment of the cocksure, politically incorrect, strongman brand of politics they admire.

That some of Mr. Trump's most passionate followers are Indian may seem, at first, somewhat strange, given how fond he is of scorning Asian countries where cheap labor saps demand for American workers. A poll on Asian-Americans' political leanings conducted in August and September found that just 7 percent of Indian-Americans said they would vote for Mr. Trump.

But in one of the more peculiar pairings of this most peculiar political season, Mr. Trump has unwittingly fashioned a niche constituency in the overlap between the Indian right and the American right, which share a lot of the same anxieties about terrorism, **immigration** and the loss of prestige that they believe their leaders have been too slow to reverse.

''There's a lot of parallels there,'' said Shalabh Kumar, the founding chairman of the Republican Hindu Coalition. ''Mr. Trump is all about development, development, development; prosperity, prosperity, prosperity; tremendous job growth. And at the same time, he recognizes the need to control the borders.''

As one of Mr. Trump's biggest Hindu financial backers, Mr. Kumar, who runs an electronics manufacturing company in Illinois and grew up in the state of Punjab along the Pakistani border, has helped organize a speech by the Republican nominee in Edison, N.J., at a Bollywood-themed charity concert on Saturday. The proceeds will benefit terrorism victims.

''It will be an incredible evening,'' Mr. Trump said in a video promoting it, one of the few ethnic events he has agreed to do during this campaign.

Mr. Trump may be largely indifferent to the reasons behind his Hindu loyalists' fervor, but his most senior advisers are not. The campaign's chief executive, Stephen K. Bannon, is a student of nationalist movements. Mr. Bannon is close to Nigel Farage, a central figure in Britain's movement to leave the European Union, and he is an admirer of India's prime minister, Narendra Modi, a Hindu nationalist Mr. Bannon has called ''the Reagan of India.''

It may be pure coincidence that some of Mr. Trump's words channel the nationalistic and, some argue, anti-Muslim sentiments that Mr. Modi stoked as he rose to power. But it is certainly not coincidental that many of Mr. Trump's biggest Hindu supporters are also some of Mr. Modi's most ardent backers.

At times, the similarity of Mr. Trump's and Mr. Modi's political vocabulary is striking. Mr. Modi fed the perception that India's feckless leaders had failed to allow the country to reach its full potential. And he campaigned as the only one capable of fixing that.

''I will make such a wonderful India that all Americans will stand in line to get a visa for India,'' he said once. A centerpiece of his agenda is the ''Make in India'' program, which is aimed at stimulating economic growth by encouraging more manufacturing in the country.

''It's all about India first, or 'Make India Great,' '' said Sujeeth Draksharam, a civil engineer from Houston who supports Mr. Trump and planned to attend Saturday's event. ''Look at Donald Trump. It's the same thing. 'Make America Great Again' -- strong again.''

Another similarly powerful sentiment that both leaders have harnessed is grievance. Mr. Trump has seized on how the working class feels out of place and left behind in a country that is changing demographically and economically.

Even if Mr. Modi's appeals were never as crass as Mr. Trump's, his followers say he always understood that many Hindus felt their concerns were ignored by India's secular and, in their minds, deeply corrupt government, which Mr. Modi vowed to clean up.

''One of the things that Modi very subtly articulated, but was very clear about, was something which nobody wanted to say,'' said Subramanian Swamy, a longtime Indian politician and Hindu nationalist who is often a thorn in the side of the country's political elite. ''And that is that Hindus, despite being 80 percent of the population, feel like they got a raw deal.''

There are important differences: Mr. Modi has maintained good relations with President Obama and is a proponent of free trade. Still, Mr. Swamy said, when nationalist-minded Hindus hear Mr. Trump, ''they think that this guy talks the same language.''

And Mr. Trump's Hindu admirers accept him, controversies and all. How can he be anti-**immigrant** when two of his three wives have been **immigrants**, as one recently told India Abroad. Why should he be punished for singling out Muslim terrorism when, as Mr. Draksharam said, ''you've got to call a spade a spade.''

Manu Bhagavan, who teaches South Asian history at Hunter College, said the Hindu nationalist movement in India and its devotees in the United States shared a belief that what was once pure and virtuous about Indian life has been tainted.

''They locate this in a grand Hindu past,'' he said. ''If you go before Muslims entered India, before all these foreigners came in and messed things up, Hindus could do this, Hindus could do that.''

The response, Mr. Bhagavan said -- whether in India, the United States, Britain or any of the countries experiencing a convulsion of antiglobalism right now -- is ''let's barricade ourselves in.''

''These problems are all stemming from these **immigrants**, these different people, so let's get rid of them,'' he said, describing the views of many nationalists. ''And it's easy answers to not such easy problems.''

But perhaps the strongest link between Mr. Trump's speech and the Hindu nationalists who find his politics so comforting is the issue of terrorism and how bluntly Mr. Trump is willing to confront Muslim communities about it. Terrorism committed by Islamic extremists is a scourge that has rattled India as well, from the 2008 attacks in Mumbai that left 172 dead to the ambush killings of 20 Indian soldiers last month at an army base near the border with Pakistan.

Mr. Trump's brand of tough talk, scholars said, gives some Indians a sense that he would be much harder on the country's longtime adversary, Pakistan.

''What Donald Trump articulates has given them some food for thought,'' said Harsh V. Pant, a professor of international relations at King's College London. ''If there is a Trump presidency, then there might be a stronger Washington policy vis-à-vis Pakistan.''

When Mr. Trump arrives at the Hindu charity gala in New Jersey on Saturday, the estimated 10,000 guests will be taking in a performance with Bollywood stars, a Hindu art temple and exhibitions honoring the contribution of Hindus to math and science.

Mr. Kumar, the Republican Hindu Coalition founder, said neither he nor Mr. Trump was naïve about the fact that most Indian-Americans vote for Democrats. But there could be a few, he said, who hear Mr. Trump on Saturday and discover his message is not all that unfamiliar.

What Mr. Trump should probably not expect is the kind of fawning reception he has gotten from his small bands of followers in New Delhi. There was the time in June when a right-wing group known as the Hindu Sena decided to celebrate his 70th birthday. Absent Mr. Trump, who was in North Carolina that day, they improvised and fed a life-size Trump cutout a piece of cake.

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the First Draft newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald J. Trump has lashed out at fellow Republicans, calling them ''disloyal'' and ''far more difficult'' than Hillary Clinton.

He has griped openly about a ''rigged'' political system, saying Wednesday that he has ''no respect'' for the nonpartisan Commission on Presidential Debates, and previously complaining about a ''defective'' microphone in the first debate.

And on Monday, at a rally in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., he worried that the election could be ''stolen'' from him and singled out Philadelphia, a city with a large African-American population, warning, ''We have to make sure we're protected.''

Mr. Trump's ominous claims of a ''stolen election'' -- which he often links to black, urban neighborhoods -- are not entirely new. But in recent days, he has been pressing the theme with a fresh intensity, citing everything from the potential for Election Day fraud to news media bias favoring Mrs. Clinton to rigged debates.

The assertions -- which coincide with Mr. Trump's decline in the polls after a shaky performance in the first debate and accusations that he forced himself on women -- highlight concerns that he may not accept a Clinton victory, breaking from the traditional decorum of defeated presidential candidates and undermining the legitimacy of the election result.

At rallies in recent days, Mr. Trump has become a candidate full of excuses, perhaps the clearest manifestation of his frustration with his current standing in the polls and the growing alarm in his campaign that a White House victory is slipping away.

On Monday, on a trip through Pennsylvania, Mr. Trump began the day urging the almost entirely white crowd outside Pittsburgh to show up to vote, warning about ''other communities'' that could hijack his victory.

''So important that you watch other communities, because we don't want this election stolen from us,'' he said. ''We do not want this election stolen.''

Later, at the evening rally in Wilkes-Barre, Mr. Trump raised more concerns about voting fraud. ''I just hear such reports about Philadelphia,'' he said. ''I hear these horror shows, and we have to make sure that this election is not stolen from us and is not taken away from us.''

He added for emphasis: ''Everybody knows what I'm talking about.''

The crowd chanted an anti-CNN epithet as Mr. Trump attacked the ''crooked media.''

At a rally in West Palm Beach, Fla., on Thursday, Mr. Trump said that, ''This election will determine whether we remain a free nation or only the illusion of democracy,'' suggesting that the system was ''in fact controlled by a small handful of global special interests, rigging the system.'' He continued, ''And our system is rigged.''

The country has not had a presidential candidate from one of the two major parties try to cast doubt on the entire democratic process and system of government since the brink of the Civil War, said Douglas Brinkley, a presidential historian at Rice University.

''I haven't seen it since 1860, this threat of delegitimizing the federal government, and Trump is trying to say our entire government is corrupt and the whole system is rigged,'' Mr. Brinkley said. ''And that's a secessionist, revolutionary motif. That's someone trying to topple the apple cart entirely.''

Roger J. Stone Jr., a close confidant and informal adviser to Mr. Trump, has also highlighted fears of election rigging. In an August column in The Hill, he wrote of voting machine manipulation. And during a panel Saturday at this year's New Yorker Festival, as he discussed the possibility of such tampering, Mr. Stone hedged when asked whether he would advise Mr. Trump -- should he lose in November -- to concede the election and accept its legitimacy.

''As long as there is no irrefutable evidence of fraud, yes,'' he told his questioner. ''He should -- unless there is any refutable evidence to the contrary.''

Mr. Stone is one of the people behind Stop The Steal, a movement of 500 volunteers who plan to stand outside what they believe could be ''suspect precincts'' on Election Day and conduct their own exit polls to compare against voting machine results.

''In an election in which Donald Trump has made it pretty clear that the Clintons are going to prison, I think they would do anything to make sure they win it, even steal it,'' Mr. Stone said. But, he added, ''Trump cannot just lose and say, 'They stole it.' He has to have some tangible evidence -- and that's exactly what we're trying to collect.''

Democrats fear that Mr. Trump's accusations, in the short term, will lead to voter suppression -- and, in the long term, could encourage huge swaths of Americans to view Mrs. Clinton as an illegitimate president if she is elected.

''He's using phrases like 'rigged election' to incite his followers to rig the election by using tactics like voter intimidation, and I don't think it's particularly subtle, and I don't think he cares about the integrity of our elections,'' said Stacey Abrams, the Democratic minority leader of the Georgia House of Representatives.

Ms. Abrams, who is African-American and has worked on voting-rights issues, is also the founder of the New Georgia Project, a voter registration and engagement effort in the state. She said Mr. Trump was employing a ''voter intimidation model.''

''Just scare them away from the polling place,'' she said. ''That's his crude form of voter suppression -- not particularly artful, but effective.''

The Clinton campaign is stressing to supporters that they expect voter participation to be higher and easier than in previous elections -- but it has also begun recruiting election lawyers to help with voter protection efforts.

''We are prepared for anything in terms of how he chooses to conduct himself in the closing weeks of this campaign, and that includes what is increasingly looking like a scorched-earth approach,'' said Brian Fallon, a spokesman for the Clinton campaign. ''He is clearly trying to lay a foundation for challenging the legitimacy of the potential next president, just as he sought to do with the nation's first African-American president.''

With less than a month until the election, Mr. Trump's grievances has come fast and furious as he has begun to slip again in the polls.

On Thursday, Mr. Trump also asserted, without offering evidence, that the Obama administration was allowing illegal **immigrants** to enter the country to vote in November, another example of how he claimed the election was being rigged. ''They're letting people pour into the country so they can go and vote,'' Mr. Trump said at a meeting in New York with the National Border Patrol Council, the union of border patrol agents.

There has been no evidence that the administration is delaying deportations of -- or intentionally letting in -- **immigrants** so they can vote. (Illegal **immigrants** are barred from voting in federal elections.)

Mr. Trump's claims seem to be resonating among his supporters. At a campaign stop in Iowa on Tuesday, a woman stood up and, her voice quavering, said she feared ''voter fraud'' before offering a stark call to action to Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana, Mr. Trump's running mate.

''If Hillary Clinton gets in, I myself, I'm ready for a revolution because we can't have her in,'' the woman said.

Mr. Pence has emerged as Mr. Trump's most loyal defender. But the call to revolt was a step too far for him. ''Yeah, don't say that,'' he said, shaking his right hand as if to try to brush away her comment.

He then tried for a more positive spin: ''There's a revolution coming on November the 8th,'' he said. ''I promise you.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UNITED NATIONS -- Kenya was seething. In the spring of 2015, its leaders complained that a wave of terrorist attacks had been planned in a **refugee** camp for Somalis. Shut it down, Kenya demanded of the United Nations **refugee** agency -- or we will shut it down for you and send the Somalis packing.

The man in charge of protecting the world's **refugees** at the time, António Guterres, shuttled from his headquarters in Geneva to Mogadishu to meet with the Somali president, to Nairobi to meet with the Kenyan president, and on to the **refugee** camp, Dadaab.

His diplomacy led to a deal to keep the camp open, send home only those Somalis who wanted to return, and rally more international aid for Somalia and Kenya.

It was not a perfect deal, said Bill Frelick, the **refugees** expert at Human Rights Watch, but Mr. Guterres contained a potentially explosive situation -- at least for a while.

''He was managing a very politicized situation with a lot of raw nerves,'' he said.

Many raw-nerve reckonings are sure to confront Mr. Guterres when he takes over as the United Nations secretary general in January for a five-year term. The 15-member Security Council picked him last week, and the General Assembly unanimously approved the choice on Thursday.

Mr. Guterres's predecessor, Ban Ki-moon, who spoke to the General Assembly after the vote, called him ''perhaps best known where it counts most: on the front lines of armed conflict and humanitarian suffering.''

Speaking to the General Assembly, Mr. Guterres acknowledged the challenges that he will face in bringing world powers together on the most pressing war and peace issues, starting with Syria.

''Whatever divisions might exist, now it's more important to unite,'' he said.

Mr. Guterres will take over at a time when the credibility of the United Nations is under intense scrutiny, and when the chasm between Russia and the West raises the specter of what Mr. Ban calls ''Cold War ghosts.''

An engineer by training and a Catholic by conviction, Mr. Guterres, 67, of Portugal, has described himself as ''an honest broker.'' He has said that as secretary general, he will embody ''those truly universal values that are enshrined in the U.N. charter.'' But he also repeatedly cites the need for what he calls ''discreet diplomacy.''

Those who have worked closely with him often cite his political savvy. As prime minister of Portugal in the late 1990s, he pushed through spending cuts necessary for the country to adopt the common European currency. He negotiated the transfer of Macau, which had been a Portuguese colony, to Chinese control. As the chief of the perennially cash-short **refugee** agency from 2005 to 2015, he traveled constantly, cultivating the trust of leaders in both countries that host **refugees**and those that pay for them.

Critics say Mr. Guterres's penchant for deal-making has constrained him, especially when trying to persuade powerful countries he depended upon for financial support.

Shortly after Mr. Guterres returned from Dadaab in 2015, Doctors Without Borders accused the **refugee** agency and European governments of an ''overwhelming failure'' to aid and protect the hundreds of thousands of **refugees** who were pouring into Europe.

At the time, Mr. Guterres's agency neither stepped up its operations to manage the dirty, chaotic tent cities that had mushroomed in Greece, nor could it protect **refugees** as they made their way across the Continent, braving razor fences and water cannons.

Arjan Hehenkamp, the head of the Dutch branch of Doctors Without Borders, said Mr. Guterres could have pushed the world's richest and most powerful countries, including the United States, to respond more robustly and take in many more people fleeing the world's deadliest battlefields.

''I felt he was doing mainly what was feasible, trying hard to strike bilateral deals with specific countries to keep their borders open,'' Mr. Hehenkamp said. ''He should have, in my opinion, demanded the world to do what was necessary instead.''

The **refugee** agency spokeswoman, Melissa Fleming, who worked with Mr. Guterres for seven years, said he was reluctant to spend the agency's limited resources to help wealthy nations manage **refugees** on their territory. ''This is Europe,'' she recalled him saying. ''We work in countries that don't have the means.''

Born in 1949, Mr. Guterres studied engineering and taught briefly while he was in graduate school.

He found his calling, though, when he began volunteering in a Lisbon slum. He joined the protests that led to the overthrow of the authoritarian government in 1974. He helped found his country's Socialist Party and became its leader. He added a red rose to the party's clenched-fist logo, in a bid to recast it as less militant.

Mr. Guterres extols the gender quotas his party adopted in the early 1990s to promote women in the party. He does this to underscore what he calls his commitment to women's rights, and he has promised gender parity in senior United Nations appointments.

As prime minister between 1995 and 2001, he earned a reputation as ''a skilled negotiator,'' according to a former minister in his government, Joao Cravinho, who credited him for reaching agreements with the right and left at a time when his own party did not have a parliamentary majority.

One of his signature measures was to decriminalize drug use, in response to a surge in heroin addiction in Portugal. Less successful was his party's effort to loosen curbs on abortion. A majority of the Socialist Party favored the move, though Mr. Guterres said that, as a Catholic, he opposed it. The law was abandoned after an unsuccessful referendum.

In 2005, he was named the United Nations high commissioner for **refugees**.

His mathematical thinking never quite left him. Once, during a visit with **refugee** children in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, he started teaching a math class, his former spokeswoman, Ms. Fleming, recalled.

T. Alex Aleinikoff, an American law professor who served as his deputy, only half-jokingly referred to Mr. Guterres as the guy with the accountant's green eye shade, poring over agency budgets. Usually, he found a mistake.

During Mr. Guterres's tenure, the **refugee** agency's budget grew sharply, though still short of what it needed to assist the record numbers of displaced people worldwide. In a nod to donors, Mr. Guterres moved agency staff members around, slashing the head count at its headquarters in Geneva and adding more personnel in field offices.

''He understands things politically as much as operationally,'' Mr. Aleinikoff said.

Raw nerves are often hard to overcome in diplomacy. In recent months, Kenya has sought to send **refugees** back to Somalia, and again revived its demands to close the Dadaab camp. And the European Union earlier this year entered into a widely criticized deal with Turkey, promising billions in aid in exchange for keeping **refugees** from crossing the Mediterranean.

Mr. Guterres inherits challenges that will test his ability to balance the demands of the world's most powerful countries with the needs of the world's most vulnerable people -- starting, no doubt, with the wars in Syria and Yemen.

He once referred to a lesson learned from his late first wife, a psychoanalyst. When two people meet, she told him, there are at least six perceptions to manage: how they perceive themselves, how they think the other perceives them, and how the two perceive each other.

Mr. Guterres said that the lesson applied to countries, too, and that his role was helping them see through the thicket.

''I don't see myself as a threat,'' he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The authorities in the eastern German state of Saxony struggled to explain on Thursday how a Syrian **refugee** suspected of planning an imminent terrorist attack had been able to kill himself in his jail cell, saying ''we did everything possible to prevent it.''

The suspect, Jaber al-Bakr, 22, apparently hanged himself with his T-shirt. His death is almost certain to add to pressure on the state and federal authorities to improve coordination among the patchwork of agencies responsible for law enforcement.

Mr. Bakr, who was taken into custody by the police early Monday after he was turned in by other Syrian **refugees**, averted a first attempt by the security services to capture him on Friday. He committed suicide Wednesday night in his Leipzig jail cell, a spokesman for the Justice Ministry in Saxony said.

''This should not have happened,'' said Sebastian Gemkow, the justice minister for Saxony. ''But it unfortunately did.''

The authorities suspected that Mr. Bakr had been in contact with the Islamic State and that he had been plotting to attack a major transportation hub in northern Germany. His death removed one possible avenue for investigators to learn more about how the extremist group is operating in the country, which has so far managed to avert a large-scale attack with mass casualties, as carried out by Islamist terrorists in neighboring France and Belgium.

Rolf Jacob, the director of the Leipzig jail where Mr. Bakr was admitted Monday afternoon, said that prison officials had held several discussions with the suspect and his lawyer. According to a senior intelligence official, who insisted on anonymity to discuss a delicate national security case, Mr. Bakr had been refusing to cooperate with investigators.

The special police who failed to arrest Mr. Bakr last week came in for criticism after he eluded capture despite heavy surveillance and a raid on his apartment in Chemnitz, about 50 miles south of Leipzig.

A prison psychologist had assessed Mr. Bakr and concluded that he was calm and that there was no particular danger of suicide, Mr. Jacob said at a news conference that was broadcast live in Germany.

Initially, prison authorities had decided that they should check on the prisoner every 15 minutes, he said. That interval was extended on Wednesday to every 30 minutes, he added. Confining a prisoner to a cell with constant monitoring requires a special procedure that officials did not detail.

Nonetheless, Mr. Jacob said, a guard decided 15 minutes after a regular check at 7:30 p.m. to check again. She saw that Mr. Bakr had hanged himself, apparently using his shirt on bars that separated his cell from the door.

Medical help and other guards were immediately summoned, and they tried to revive Mr. Bakr before he was declared dead at 8:15 p.m.

The police had found more than three pounds of the explosive TATP, or triacetone triperoxide -- the explosive used in terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels -- in his apartment, and officials say they believe that he had been in a very advanced stage of a plot to carry out an attack.

Mr. Bakr sought **refuge** over the weekend with other Syrians in Leipzig, although his relationship to those fellow **refugees** was not immediately clear.

One of the Syrians, who would give his name only as Mohammed A. because of the fear that his family in Syria could be targeted if he was identified, told the German news channel N-TV that the suspect had called him out of the blue on Saturday asking for a place to stay.

The next day, Mohammed A. said, when the police released a version of the search warrant translated into Arabic, he realized who he was sheltering in his home. He added that he had called a couple of friends and had asked them to go to his home and tie up Mr. Bakr to prevent him from leaving.

He tried calling the police, he said, but, unable to speak enough German, he instead took a picture of the suspect with his cellphone and then went to the nearest police station.

After waiting for an hour, he said he had been able to show officers the photograph of the suspect, his feet bound with electrical extension cords. Officers then took immediate action.

Nearly a million asylum seekers, a majority from Syria, entered Germany without prior background screening in 2015, raising fears that some members of the Islamic State had been able to sneak in by hiding among the **refugees** who had made their way to the country.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Republican nominee for United States senator from New York refers to America by feminine pronouns, as in ''her borders'' and ''her values.''

She once apologized when using a vulgar word to describe her opponent's economic policies, and paused demurely when searching for a family-friendly synonym for one's rear end, settling finally, with a smile, on ''derrière.''

When the Pledge of Allegiance was recited at a recent event, she pressed her hand to her heart -- and, seconds after everyone else had moved on, kept it there.

That, at first glance, is Wendy E. Long, a former Supreme Court clerk and corporate litigator turned home-schooling mother and reluctant politician. Once an unsuccessful challenger to Senator Kirsten E. Gillibrand, she will soon be, in all likelihood, an unsuccessful challenger to another Democrat, Senator Charles Schumer.

Then comes the second glance, and the third.

After the recent bombings in Manhattan and New Jersey, she said of Mr. Schumer in a statement: ''When will Chuck Schumer wake up -- when they start beheading people in Central Park?''

Warning of the dangers of allowing anyone who ''practices or supports Shariah'' to enter the country, Ms. Long said in another news release: ''The time to fight back is now. We must stop blaming America and defend America and civilization itself.''

And at a time when many Republicans across the country are quarantining themselves from Donald J. Trump, their nominee for president, amid a scandal over sexually predatory comments he made about women, Ms. Long is set to travel to suburban Albany on Wednesday to headline a rally for him. Its name: Women for Trump.

As a group, women for Trump would seem to be an increasingly endangered species. Yet Ms. Long, a mother of two, says she has supported Mr. Trump since before he announced his candidacy, and still does, despite finding his recorded comments from 2005 ''repulsive.'' Intelligent women, she said, would see that an 11-year-old tape had little bearing on today's urgent issues.

''I do think it's just words,'' she said in a recent interview, adding that she had found Mr. Trump's apologies sincere. ''I don't believe he's ever raped anyone, which I do believe Bill Clinton has done, and Hillary Clinton has enabled that.''

Ms. Long, who grew up in a middle-class family in rural New Hampshire and entered Dartmouth College only a few years after it began admitting women, is evidently more than comfortable being what she wryly calls ''a political orphan.''

This is a quality she also admires in Mr. Trump, whom she praised for what she called his unpolished, uncalculated style -- ''He's not your typical mealy-mouthed politician'' -- and his gusto for pulping elite orthodoxies. But even if Ms. Long says Mr. Trump's candidacy spurred her moonshot bid for the Senate and shaped much of her current thinking about **immigration** (build a wall), Muslim **refugees** (the country needs ''extreme vetting'') and trade (keep American jobs American), her politics are no dalliance.

''I've never really fit in,'' she said, whether at a big law firm or on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, where she lives. ''I'm kind of a small-town girl.''

When her children tell her they are politically isolated at school, she assures them, ''There are a lot of people on this tiny island,'' she said, ''but it's a big world out there.''

Unlike her party's standard-bearer, Ms. Long comes across as warmly conciliatory, cocooning her sophistication and a formidable single-mindedness in an easy relatability. She operates with a staff made up mostly of a few political rookies because, she said, the campaign should be about ''everyday people,'' and she takes public transportation to her events. Like many New Yorkers, she is tormented regularly by stranded subways, children's colds and far too many voice mail messages.

Hitching her campaign to Mr. Trump's has appeared -- to adapt a phrase from the presidential nominee -- to unshackle Ms. Long from the mainstream Republican principles she said she once embraced, ''mealy-mouthed'' rhetoric and all.

Still, said Michael R. Long, chairman of the New York Conservative Party, which has endorsed her, she is not merely parroting Mr. Trump, but rather ''speaking on her own behalf.'' (Mr. Long is no relation.)

In August, Ms. Long ignited controversy during a visit to Syracuse by using Twitter to suggest that a mosque that had replaced a local church was somehow linked to a rise in crime. That prompted Representative John Katko, a Republican who represents the area, to condemn her postings as ''ill informed, disgraceful and stupid.'' (Ms. Long insisted she was simply criticizing Democratic policies for hastening urban decay.)

Mr. Schumer, she told the New York chapter of the Oath Keepers, a far-right group, was ''one of the greatest enemies of the Constitution.'' Last month she told members of the Bronx Republican Party that he was a crony of big media and big banks, ''a little weaselly clone of Hillary Clinton'' who had ''never worked a day in his life.''

In contrast, she plans, if elected, to limit herself to two terms in Congress, and has proposed taking a government salary no higher than the median American household income -- about $53,000.

In a 10-point platform, she pledges to ''support English as the only official language of the United States,'' endorses building a wall along the Mexican border and promises to work to restore ''Judeo-Christian culture'' to the country.

Ms. Long, who regularly wears a pin with an Arabic letter used by the Islamic State to mark the homes of Christians in the territory it controls, said she was puzzled as to why the powers that be -- including the media and the Obama administration -- were ignoring what she described as the genocide of Christians in the Middle East.

Since the federal government cannot guarantee that all of the Muslim **refugees** it admits into the United States have no terrorist sympathies, she said, Christian **refugees** should take priority, while Muslim **refugees** should be sent to ''safe spaces'' elsewhere in the Middle East.

Ms. Long also said she had applied for a concealed carry permit, so that if and when terrorists do attack New York again, she could be ''part of the solution.''

Such convictions date to her time at Dartmouth, beginning in 1978, where she started to explore Catholicism and served as an editor on The Dartmouth Review, a conservative publication known then for challenging liberal totems with incendiary articles about affirmative action, race, sexual orientation and feminism. (Friends from The Review include Dinesh D'Souza, the conservative author and filmmaker, and Laura Ingraham, the radio talk-show host who first introduced Ms. Long to Mr. Trump.)

Her résumé braids elite credentials with conservative fervor. After working for two Republican senators in Washington, she clerked for Justice Clarence Thomas -- ''the greatest living American,'' in her words -- and married a fellow clerk, Arthur Long, who is now a partner at the firm Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher.

When the couple moved to New York, where Mr. Long grew up, she worked as a litigator at Kirkland & Ellis before helping to found the Judicial Confirmation Network, now known as the Judicial Crisis Network, which pushed for the confirmations of right-leaning Supreme Court nominees.

Her latest endeavor involved home-schooling her two children, a daughter and a son, in part because she did not think her daughter's private school, Sacred Heart, was ''Catholic enough,'' and because her son was expelled from his private school, St. Bernard's, after admitting to using racially charged lyrics from a rap song to mock a black student on a school trip. (Ms. Long, who asked that the details of the episode be published, said that other students had been involved, but that only her son and a second boy confessed to their roles. Her son was the only one to be expelled, she said, making him a ''scapegoat.'') Her children are now enrolled in new schools.

Ms. Long's only other political campaign was against Senator Gillibrand in 2012, a race she lost by more than 40 points. After the uphill slog of running with Mitt Romney at the top of the ticket, she said, only someone like Mr. Trump, who she believed would fight to carry New York, could inspire her to try again.

''It's a sacrifice for me.'' she said. ''It's not really something I want to do. I don't love the idea of being a U.S. senator; I love the idea of being a mother. But nobody else is willing to do it, and this country is on the edge.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN -- A 22-year-old Syrian who the authorities said planned an imminent terrorist attack in Germany but was detained by fellow **refugees** committed suicide in a jail cell on Wednesday evening.

The suspect, Jaber al-Bakr, took his own life at the jail in Leipzig, where he had been taken after being detained early Monday, according to Jörg Herold, the spokesman for the Justice Ministry in Saxony, the German state where the events unfolded.

Mr. Herold said he could not confirm news media accounts, which cited unnamed justice sources, as saying the Syrian had hanged himself.

A senior intelligence official, who insisted on anonymity to discuss a sensitive national security case, said hours before the suicide became known that Mr. Bakr had been refusing to cooperate with investigators, who suspected that he was in contact with the Islamic State.

The Syrian, who came to Germany as a **refugee** in February 2015 and was granted asylum five months later, escaped capture when a heavily armed special police unit raided his apartment in Chemnitz, about an hour's drive south of Leipzig, late Friday night.

The raid followed round-the-clock surveillance imposed by Germany's domestic intelligence service last Thursday. When Mr. Bakr went to buy glue on Friday, the authorities moved to detain him, fearing he was about to build a bomb and mount an attack, Hans-Georg Maassen, the head of domestic intelligence, said on Tuesday.

The police found more than three pounds of the explosive TATP, or triacetone triperoxide, in the Chemnitz apartment, but Mr. Bakr escaped.

Contradictory German news media accounts, which have not been confirmed by the authorities, said Mr. Bakr turned to other Syrians in Leipzig for shelter on Saturday. According to a member of that group, identified only as a 36-year-old man named Mohammed A., the compatriots recognized Mr. Bakr as the man sought in a nationwide manhunt.

They eventually went to the Leipzig police on Sunday with a photo of the fugitive on a cellphone, and the authorities in Saxony announced early Monday that they had their man.

Since then, some Germans and Syrians among the 890,000 migrants who arrived in Germany last year have called for the Syrians to be recognized as heroes.

Thomas de Maizière, the German interior minister, has been criticized for not joining in the praise for the Syrians, apparently because details of their story were not clear or consistent.

The special police who failed to capture Mr. Bakr in Chemnitz have also been scrutinized in a case that is sure to spark calls for better coordination among the various authorities responsible for police and justice work in Germany's 16 states and at the national level.

Mr. de Maizière said on Wednesday that Mr. Bakr's data had been checked against those held by security services, ''but there was no hit.''

Mr. Maassen, in an interview with the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung that was published late Wednesday, said that signs had pointed to an attack to be carried out as early as this week. So far, security services have said nothing about accomplices. Recent terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels using TATP, the explosive found in Mr. Bakr's apartment, involved several people.

So far, the only other person detained in the case is a man identified as Khalil A., who rented the apartment in Chemnitz.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**HAZLETON, Pa. -- Thousands of Dominicans have poured into this little city in eastern Pennsylvania since 2001 to work in the food plants and warehouses on the edge of town, where the highway to New York meets the highway to Philadelphia.

Hazleton's population is growing for the first time in more than half a century. Landlords, doctors and shopkeepers are learning to love their new customers.

But the city's economic evolution has left behind its previous, non-Hispanic working class, and the presidential election has crystallized its frustrations. Many of those losing ground economically, including lifelong Democrats, say they plan to vote for Donald J. Trump, the Republican nominee. Many of those who are prospering, including lifelong Republicans, say they will vote for the Democrat, Hillary Clinton.

For both sides, how to deal with **immigration** has become a defining political issue, one that is likely to transcend the contretemps over Mr. Trump's treatment of women that has cost him so much support among elected Republicans. This city was built by European **immigrants** who flocked here a century ago to work in the coal mines. Their children found better jobs in the factories. Now their grandchildren are struggling against economic decline and cultural displacement.

''I don't care for this town no more because of the Hispanics,'' said Lewis Beishline, 70, as he sat drinking at 11 a.m. on a Friday at Cusat's Cafe, a bar owned by the mayor of Hazleton, who lives upstairs. Mr. Beishline, a retired welder, said he moved from Hazleton to a nearby town last year because he no longer felt safe.

He plans to vote for Mr. Trump, he said, ''because of the **immigration**.''

The Hispanic community, meanwhile, is eager to establish its own political power in the face of what many describe as persistent and painful discrimination. Community leaders in this city of 25,000 say they have registered more than 800 Hispanic voters in recent months, expanding the voting rolls by almost 10 percent.

''I tell my kids, if someone asks where you are from, you say 'Hazleton,''' said Guillermo Lara, 49, who moved here from Mexico in the early 1990s and whose two daughters were born here. ''We're here, and we don't go nowhere. We want more.''

That sharp divide is mirrored by the candidates seeking the Oval Office. Beyond his promised wall and deportations, Mr. Trump has denigrated **immigrants**repeatedly, at times without distinguishing between legal and illegal **immigration**.

''Donald Trump's position on illegal **immigration** plays a big role in his support not only in Hazleton but in northeast Pennsylvania,'' said Lou Barletta, a Republican who represents the region in Congress and has stood by his nominee as other Republicans in Congress have fled. In 2006, as Hazleton's mayor, Mr. Barletta championed a first-in-the-nation ordinance penalizing employers and landlords for dealing with illegal **immigrants**. The courts blocked it from taking effect, but Mr. Barletta said Mr. Trump's popularity reflected the continued demand for stronger government action. ''He's going to win here, and win big,'' Mr. Barletta said.

Mr. Barletta introduced Mr. Trump at a rally in nearby Wilkes-Barre on Monday night, declaring that voters in northeastern Pennsylvania would propel Mr. Trump to the White House.

Mrs. Clinton, by contrast, has celebrated **immigrants**, both legal and illegal, as important contributors to American society. Her campaign describes her plan to create a pathway to citizenship for undocumented **immigrants** as one of her most important ideas for increasing economic growth.

''Comprehensive **immigration** reform will grow our economy and keep families together -- and it's the right thing to do,'' Mrs. Clinton said in accepting the party's presidential nomination in Philadelphia, about 100 miles southeast of Hazleton.

The Hispanic population grew faster in Luzerne County, which includes Hazleton, than almost any other county between 2000 and 2011, according to the Pew Research Center. While **immigration** has slowed since the 2008 recession, Hispanics continue to move here from larger cities like New York and Paterson, N.J.

In the 2000 census, just 4.9 percent of Hazleton's population identified as Hispanic. A decade later, that figure was 37 percent. By 2014, the most recent data available, 46 percent of the population said it was Hispanic. In all likelihood, Hazleton is now a majority-Hispanic city, just like the nearby cities of Reading and Allentown.

The Hispanic ascendence emerged from seismic economic shifts, said Jamie Longazel, a professor of sociology at the University of Dayton who grew up just outside Hazleton and wrote a book, ''Undocumented Fears,'' about the city's struggles with **immigration**.

When the local coal mines began to close in the 1950s, Hazleton residents raised money to build an industrial park that attracted factories to the region. When the factories began to leave in the 1990s, the city mobilized again. Local officials won state permission to create one of Pennsylvania's largest tax-free Keystone Opportunity Zones. A Cargill meat processing and distribution plant arrived in 2001. Other distribution businesses have followed, including an Amazon.comwarehouse.

Many residents claim that city officials advertised for low-cost **immigrant** labor on billboards in New York or New Jersey, but Mr. Longazel said there was no evidence that ever happened. The truth is that the **immigration** was unanticipated but most likely inevitable.

''The new jobs don't pay as much as the old jobs did, and the reality is that native-born folks were just not interested,'' Mr. Longazel said.

The city also was also aging. Almost a quarter of the population was over 65 in 2000, roughly twice the national average.

And nature abhors a vacuum -- especially in a work force.

Many of the new arrivals trace their roots to one Dominican city, San José de Ocoa. Hazleton's old shopping streets, nearly abandoned in the 1990s, are now lined with Dominican bakeries, barbershops, travel agencies and Mexican restaurants. The Italian restaurants are now run by Mexican families. The city has two Spanish radio stations and a television station that broadcasts six hours of local programming a day.

Stephen M. Schleicher, a dermatologist, said Hispanic residents now made up a third of his patients. He has hired a bilingual receptionist and is looking for a bilingual nurse. He has started placing ads in the local Spanish-language newspaper.

Dr. Schleicher, a lifelong Republican, said that Mr. Trump's views on **immigration** had persuaded him, albeit reluctantly, to vote for Mrs. Clinton. ''We're seeing a total revitalization despite the government trying to keep the **immigrants** out,'' he said. ''It would have been a ghost town of older white people.''

Yet it is easy to overstate Hazleton's recovery. Many of the new jobs pay poorly. Almost 29 percent of the population lived in poverty in 2014, almost twice the national average.

And Hazleton's evolution has inspired deep resentment. Many residents complain bitterly about the new arrivals not speaking English, about loud music late at night, about people walking in the street and driving without regard for traffic rules.

Wana Bostic, 45, scrapes by on $11.50 an hour as a home health aide. She said that she was not paid nearly enough, but that employers can squeeze workers because of the ready availability of **immigrant** labor.

''No one talks about white Americans and what we really need,'' she said.

Crime has increased, as has drug use. The police force, meanwhile, has shrunk with declining tax revenue. Many residents are convinced that illegal **immigration**is to blame.

''If you come into the country breaking the law, that's not a good way to get your foot in the door,'' said Nick Zapotocky, 31, who now has three deadbolt locks on the door of his home. ''That says you're willing to break the law again.''

He voted for President Obama in 2008. In 2012, he did not vote. And this year, he said he will vote for Mr. Trump.

Francisco Torres-Aranda said people were blinded by their fear of change, unable to see the benefits that **immigration** is bringing to Hazleton. Mr. Torres-Aranda, whose father was Mexican, runs a company that makes caps for old wells. He employs 30 people in the summer, only a few of them Hispanic. And he noted that some of the largest employers in the area are now Mexican companies, including Bimbo Bakeries, which has a plant nearby that makes millions of Thomas' English Muffins.

Mr. Torres-Aranda said he had always voted Republican, loyal to his pocketbook. But he plans to vote for Mrs. Clinton, he said.

''They fear they're losing what they remember,'' he said. ''But what can you do? The United States is in evolution. Apple pie came after the Germans arrived. Maybe it will now be 'As American as salsa.' So what?''

Hazleton still has no Hispanic elected officials. The city just added its first Hispanic police officer. The public school system, which has very few Hispanic teachers, was ordered by the federal Department of Education in 2014 to improve efforts to teach English to **immigrants**, and to communicate with parents.

But a second generation of Hispanic Americans in Hazleton may force change.

Mr. Lara worked three jobs to pay private school tuition so his daughters could avoid Hazleton's high school. After 12-hour days in a factory, he washed dishes at night and cleaned offices on weekends. Two years ago, his eldest daughter, Amanda, graduated from Ithaca College in upstate New York with a degree in psychology and came home.

She teaches after-school classes for Hispanic children in the building that was once her elementary school. It has become a community center thanks in large part to Joe Maddon, a Hazleton native who manages the Chicago Cubs.

Ms. Lara, who is studying for a master's degree at the University of Scranton, said racial tensions had increased. At the city's annual Funfest, she noticed an empty space between the Hispanic vendors and the Polish and Italian vendors.

''And I hear it from my kids,'' she said of her students. ''They're not dumb. They can tell when they're not liked or they're not welcome.''

But she said she was not sure she wanted to move away. ''People say, 'Why would you want to stay there?''' she said. ''Well, for one thing, this is my hometown.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- Outside, a ribbon of lights swept up Pennsylvania Avenue toward the Capitol, and there was not a protester in sight. Inside the month-old Trump International Hotel, a Romanesque Revival structure just as grand, the second presidential debate had begun.

About 150 people -- Donald Trump supporters mostly -- had come Sunday night to watch the Fox News strain of the event, broadcast on four screens behind Benjamin's Bar & Lounge, which occupies about a third of the vast lobby floor.

It was an odd assemblage of out-of-town tourists and locals out for a lark. But the Pilsner Urquell was ice-cold. A distinctive rosé from Lebanon, resembling a pinot noir, could be had for $15 a glass. To eat, there was the surprisingly good smashed avocado on toast (a happy hour bargain, $5!) the East and West Coast oysters ($38 a dozen) and the four-shrimp cocktail ($24).

All could be enjoyed while nestling in high-back bar stools of navy blue tufted velvet. Channing DeVoueroix came early to claim one, and to sip Trump sparkling wine, approvingly. Ms. DeVoueroix, a retired teacher and interior designer from Virginia, splits her time between Coronado, Calif., and the Kalorama neighborhood of Washington. Like many of the other patrons in the bar, she was not staying at the hotel but thought its bar would be a good place to watch the candidates clash.

Before that schoolyard brawl even started, she had already grown weary of the Trump campaign's latest controversy, she said, generated by the Republican candidate's ''hot mike'' moment on a bus shared with Billy Bush, who was egging him on.

''American women are far too interested in how they're treated, and are too quick to say, 'So and so shouldn't have done or said that to her,''' Ms. DeVoueroix said. ''Women today are always stomping our feet. We should sit back and relax and be in our own bodies and not somebody else's.''

Ms. DeVoueroix, who is divorced and has four children, said she counted Ronald Reagan as a friend, and met Hillary Clinton at a first ladies luncheon, when Bill Clinton occupied the Oval Office. ''I hope Hillary says something different tonight, something specific, about how she's going to deal the national debt, North Korea or the Middle East, not just those empty slogans about the environment and education,'' she said.

Then, Ms. DeVoueroix turned her attention to her oysters.

Those not seated at the bar milled about, bewildered, like spectators at a rock concert in a high school gym: happy to be there, but not quite sure what to expect. Sturdy carts of cheese and charcuterie trundled past, pushed by unsure waiters making infrequent stops.

Already, the place seemed like a tourist attraction, where spectacle could be had, with two kids in tow, for the cost of a David Burke dry-aged burger. As for said burger, a bartender waved off one ordered medium-rare, mindful of out-of-town tastes, and instead it arrived medium, dry and dull.

Working on his second margarita, Steven Brignoli, a bearded former Special Forces officer, thrust his fists into the air and thundered, ''Yes!'' as Mr. Trump declared himself ''a gentleman,'' and, if elected, promised to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate Mrs. Clinton's emails. ''Yes!'' Mr. Brignoli yelled back at the screen.

''O.K., he's not perfect,'' Mr. Brignoli said. ''But I look at this election in terms of playing a game of Russian roulette. Do we play it with a revolver or an automatic rifle? We need separation from the liberal policies we've been dealing with for the past 20 to 30 years. We need to recapture the American dream.''

Mr. Brignoli thumbed open his dark blue sport coat to reveal a custom T-shirt: ''Trump/Brignoli.'' No more Mike Pence. Asked his current occupation, Mr. Brignoli went quiet. Sporting a cashmere cape and four-inch heels that sparkled in the light cast by crystal chandeliers hung overhead, his girlfriend, who works in retail, interjected, ''Just say badass.''

Nearby, Magalie Durot, a young woman originally from Metz, France, who was wearing workout gear, settled in. She said she is the owner of a Chicago-based company that imports natural hair and skin care products and was five weeks away from receiving her American citizenship. Ms. Durot said she came ''more for the entertainment value than to hear any serious policy discussion.''

Her friend Stuart Levine, a real estate developer, had already shrugged off the 11-year-old tape, as Mr. Trump repeated his rare (and somewhat unconvincing, to those in the room) apology. ''That thing happened in 2005, so it's old news,'' Mr. Levine said. ''It won't be a big deal tonight, and Trump will blow right through it.''

Why support Mr. Trump? ''We've never had a businessman as president,'' he said. ''We need one now, and Republicans finally voted against the establishment.''

Mindful of the bizarre appearance before the debate of Mr. Trump and the women who had accused Bill Clinton of sexual assault, Ms. Durot reached for her glass of Medoc and tilted her head toward the television. ''Trump is going very low,'' she said. ''He had to dig far down to find them. Everything he does moves further away from the real purpose of having a presidential debate. Hillary is for the smart people. Trump is for the dumb people.''

Bill McCarthy, a former union executive just in from Boston, was eager to add an Ethiopian perspective. ''Obama deserted the Ethiopian people, according to my taxi driver on the way in from the airport, and Hillary didn't support Ethiopia, either,'' he said. ''So, the guy said, 2,000 D.C. cabdrivers are going to vote for Trump.''

An indefatigable golfer and frequent visitor to Trump golf courses, Mr. McCarthy beamed when asked about their facilities. ''There's always an American flag flying,'' he said. ''Mr. Trump is a true patriot.'' And, on **immigration**: ''Hillary's interpretation of **immigration** policy is too porous,'' he said. ''Trump is the only one who can bring back law and order.''

As has been widely reported, Mr. Trump spent $200 million transforming the building, the Old Post Office Pavilion, the city's main post office until 1914. During the debate, very few guests checked in, and only a handful of people descended the elevators. The hotel's steakhouse, BLT Prime by David Burke, sat virtually empty. With the exception of one man at the bar wearing a football sweatshirt, the only African-Americans were staff members.

Of the big money conversion, one of the patrons, a local publisher who declined to give his name, said, ''It's a magnificent structure, but it was going to be magnificent no matter who got it.''

His partner doesn't mind the rooms. But, he complained, ''the headboard of the bed does wiggle.''

As the debate neared its close, Mrs. Clinton talked renewable energy. ''Bring back coal!'' blurted out a young guy in hipster dress or something as close to that as Washington can muster, to loud applause. A middle-age woman wearing a standard Washington-issue strand of pearls said: ''We're being asked to support a liar or a rogue. Go rogue!'' She drew whoops of endorsement.

''I respect the Second Amendment,'' Mrs. Clinton said.

''You do not!'' two young men in plaid shirts and drinking white wine hollered in unison.

Asked their main reason for supporting Mr. Trump, they demurred: ''We're individuals, and we don't speak to the media. Have a nice night. Go away.''

When Mr. Trump said, ''Hillary is the devil!'' Benjamin's Bar shuddered in agreement, and Mr. Brignoli shot his arms into the air, like a victorious prizefighter, shouting, ''She is!''

Looking glum, Anderson Cooper and Martha Raddatz signed off, as the bartenders in Benjamin's passed around free glasses of Trump sparkling wine, which were quickly drained.

Mr. Levine leaned over to his skeptical friend from France and smiled in triumph. ''Magalie, my dear,'' he said, ''are you still sure you want to become an American citizen?''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**KAGA BANDORO, Central African Republic -- Fighters from a largely Muslim militia in the Central African Republic's remote north on Wednesday attacked people displaced by violence in the country, stabbing or hacking to death 13 people before United Nations peacekeepers repelled them, killing at least 10, officials said.

Several people were also wounded in the attack on Kaga-Bandoro, a town of dirt roads and thatched mud huts. A witness saw militiamen stab two displaced people to death as people were fleeing. When some tried to fight back with clubs, the militiamen began firing guns.

Hundreds of panicked villagers, already **refugees** from earlier violence, then fled in the direction of the peacekeepers' base.

The Central African Republic has been in chaos since early 2013, when a militia known as the Seleka, which draws mostly from the country's minority Muslim population, toppled President François Bozizé.

Militias alligned with the Christian majority responded by attacking Muslims, and a fifth of the population fled their homes to escape the violence, leaving the nation deeply divided along ethnic and religious lines.

''We were in the house when suddenly the Seleka arrived and set it on fire,'' said a witness, Marcelline Kanga, 40. ''They killed my uncle and stabbed my brother to death right there.''

Yongon Samson, 48, described seeing a body with its head sliced off as he ran for cover.

Thousands of people displaced during the latest flare-up of violence gathered around the United Nations peacekeeping base. A Catholic priest took **refuge** inside.

Troops from the United Nations mission opened fire to repel the militias, a witness said.

A United Nations official said the peacekeepers had to open fire to protect the civilian population and confirmed that at least 10 militia fighters had been killed.

The Central African Republic's United Nations peacekeeping mission, which has sought to try to keep the rival factions apart, did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

The country, which holds reserves of uranium, gold and diamonds, is one of the world's most isolated economies, with exports and imports having to travel about 850 miles by road between the capital, Bangui, to the Cameroonian port of Douala.

France said on Friday that it was keeping an eye on the worsening security situation in the Central African Republic, but that it would still withdraw most of its troops by the end of the month.

Eleven people were killed in clashes in Bangui last week, which were set off by the murder of an army officer.

Pope Francis visited the capital at the end of last year to implore Christians and Muslims to end the violence.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDSANTA ANA, Calif. -- Vicente Sarmiento remembers when the local Republican Party here posted uniformed guards at polling stations in a closely fought State Assembly race three decades ago and they hoisted signs in English and Spanish warning that noncitizens were prohibited from voting. The guards were removed after state elections officials threatened legal action.

Such tactics would never take place today in this city 35 miles southeast of Los Angeles, where Mr. Sarmiento is now the mayor pro tem. All seven members of the City Council, including Mr. Sarmiento, are Latino, as are 78 percent of the 343,000 people who live here.

(Leer en español) »

These days, Santa Ana stands as the face of a new California, a state where Latinos have more influence in everyday life -- electorally, culturally and demographically -- than almost anywhere else in the country.

There are limits to the transformation here, both in economics, where Latinos still lag far behind the state as a whole, and in politics, where remarkable gains in Latino power have not yet translated to the most powerful statewide offices. But the Latino progress in this state offers a glimpse of how much of the country will probably look in coming decades.

**Immigrants** living illegally in California are entitled to driver's licenses. Their children can receive state-funded health insurance. Local law enforcement officials generally do not provide information to federal **immigration** authorities, as they do in many other parts of the country. On a smaller, if no less symbolic, level, the first thing the Santa Ana City Council did when it went all-Latino in 2006 was pass a law requiring simultaneous translation of all of its meetings to Spanish.

''There is now -- unlike before -- a comfort level with knowing there's a lot of Latinos living here and Latino leadership here,'' said Mr. Sarmiento, 52, sitting in the law office he keeps in his house.

The signs of demographic and political change are everywhere in a city that is an easy 15-minute drive from Disneyland. The historic downtown is clustered around what the official city map calls ''Fourth Street,'' but everyone here knows as ''Calle Cuatro.''

A twirl of the dial on a car radio reveals a choice of Spanish-language stations. The sidewalks of Calle Cuatro are lined with stands selling churritos and tostilocos.

''There's no attempt to whitewash the city anymore,'' said Aurelia Rivas, 26, a student working at her parents' fruit and snack stand one afternoon. Referring to the annual Day of the Dead celebration, she added, ''It's like everyone knows that Día de los Muertos is going to be just as big and important of a celebration as the Fourth of July.''

The power and presence of Latinos in this community in Orange County -- itself once a bastion of Republicanism -- is echoed up and down the California coast. Latinos now make up just under 40 percent of the state's population, projected to increase to 47 percent by 2050. The leaders of both houses of the Legislature are Latino, as is the secretary of state, the current mayor of Los Angeles and the previous mayor.

More than 25 percent of Latino voters in the nation live in California, said Mark Hugo Lopez, the director of Hispanic research at the Pew Research Center. There are 1,377 Latinos holding state, local and federal office in California, second only to Texas. But Hispanics in Texas are overwhelmingly Democrats in a state dominated by Republicans. In California, the Democrats are solidly in control, and Hispanics are a crucial and growing part of their base and help explain why Hillary Clinton has a huge advantage over Donald J. Trump.

''Over the last 10 years, we have really solidified the power, especially in the Legislature,'' said Lorena Gonzalez, a Democratic member of the State Assembly from San Diego. ''People are more afraid of being seen as not supporting Latinos than supporting them. You see this most clearly with the rhetoric of Republicans here -- they are falling all over themselves to support Latino candidates.''

The limits to the gains can be glaring, too.

The Latino unemployment rate in California was at 6.7 percent in August, compared to 5.5 percent overall. More than 23 percent of Latinos in the state live below the poverty level, significantly higher than the 16 percent overall.

The disparities are shown in education, as well: 8 percent of Latinos 25 years old or older have bachelor's degrees, compared to 20 percent overall. And 42 percent of Latino households own their home, well below the statewide homeownership figure of 54 percent.

''Latino political power is not the panacea nor does it equate to instant gains overall or lifting people out of poverty,'' said Kevin de León, a Democrat and the leader of the State Senate. ''The fact that we have political power, I think, means we've started that journey.''

Prominent Latinos say that even though the climate has changed markedly, they still encounter reminders of lingering prejudice: in the way some feel they are treated by the police or are scrutinized as they travel through wealthier and whiter parts of Orange County.

Anthony Rendon, the Democratic Assembly speaker, said that prejudice can include dismissive stereotypes about Latinos in politics.

''There's a tendency to think that I am only going to focus on certain types of issues, that I am only going to focus on certain types of population,'' Mr. Rendon said. ''It's sometimes a surprise that I am concerned about environmental issues.''

And the political successes have their limits. There have only been two Latinos elected to statewide office in California's modern history, including the current secretary of state, Alex Padilla.

Mr. Padilla said the absence of Latinos in statewide elected posts reflected the challenges of running in a state as large as California, rather than evidence of anti-Latino sentiment.

''We're past that,'' he said. ''California is a big state. It's a populous state. It's difficult and expensive to run in.''

One lingering issue is voting rules. Although Santa Ana has an all-Latino City Council, there are no Latino Council members in neighboring Anaheim, even though the city is almost half Latino. Anaheim, like several other communities, elects its Council at large, rather than by district, which tends to put Latinos, who turn out smaller numbers than the general electorate, at a disadvantage.

Still, job postings across California routinely require applicants to speak Spanish. Mayor Eric Garcetti of Los Angeles, who is fluent in Spanish, said he makes a point at news conferences of setting aside time to speak to Spanish-language media.

''We are well past the tipping point -- everywhere,'' Mr. Garcetti said. ''The shift within 20 years from being the most anti-**immigrant** state to being the most embracing state for the integration of **immigrants** has been pretty breathtaking.''

When Cruz Bustamante, a former lieutenant governor, ran for governor in 2003, he came under fire because he would not renounce ties to a Chicano student group, Mecha, or Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Atzlan. ''That would just not happen now,'' Ms. Gonzalez of the State Assembly said.

In Santa Ana, the change has stirred debate over what Latino lawmakers should do with their power, and the challenges of dealing with a new minority -- non-Hispanics. About 9 percent of residents here are white, 10 percent are Asian and 1 percent are African-American.

''We also have to be sensitive to non-Latino voters,'' said Miguel Pulido, the mayor, whose family **immigrated** from Mexico City in 1961. ''We have a case now when the majority became the minority.''

But Michele Martinez, a Santa Ana councilwoman since 2007, said the City Council has not done enough to promote the city's Latino identity.

''A lot of my friends, my colleagues, they grew up here in a time when they weren't allowed to speak Spanish,'' she said. ''Well, now we're more than allowed, but we don't throw it in your face. We're a little reluctant to be seen as too Latino, and I don't get that.''

She has tried without success to persuade her colleagues to funnel more money to a local Mexican cultural and art center and help fund the center's annual Día de los Muertos celebration.

This year, local activists pressed the Council to end a longstanding contract with federal **immigration** authorities to house **immigrants** who entered the country illegally in the city jail. While the Council voted to phase the contract out over years, Ms. Martinez was the only Council member who voted to end the contract immediately.

Mr. Sarmiento argued that one sign of Latinos' growing power is that elected officials are moving on to broader issues. ''We as an all-Latino City Council are probably no different from an all-Anglo Council in that sense that we both want good things for our communities,'' he said. ''We all want better schools. We all want improved public safety.''

Many date the beginnings of California's political transformation to a 1994 initiative, pressed by the Republican governor at the time, Pete Wilson, to cut off benefits to **immigrants** here illegally. The tone of that campaign -- which many Democrats and Republicans say has been echoed by the appeal of Mr. Trump in this year's presidential race -- had the effect of energizing Latino voters and placing this state decisively in the Democratic column.

''California has come a long way since then,'' Mr. Padilla said. ''Political opinion has come a long way since then. Public policy has come a long way from there. I hope the rest of the country will follow that soon.''

Follow Adam Nagourney @adamnagourney and Jennifer Medina @jennymedina on Twitter. For breaking news and in-depth reporting, follow @NYTNational.

Correction: October 14, 2016, Friday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An article on Wednesday about the influence of Latinos in Santa Ana, Calif., misstated the year in which the family of Miguel Pulido, who is the city's mayor, **immigrated** from Mexico. It was 1961 -- not 1984, which was the year they became citizens.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WILKES-BARRE, Pa. -- The line to see Donald J. Trump snaked back and forth on itself hours before his arrival. There was a carnival atmosphere with people in costumes, including one prison-striped man with a sign, ''Don't let the government-run media elect crooked Hillary.'' A cavalcade of motorcycles roared up, and there were cheers and laughter for a man shouting, ''Donald Trump is going to make America great! He hasn't paid taxes in 20 years!''

A day after Mr. Trump defended himself at the second presidential debate for making vulgar comments about women, amid a wave of polls showing an increasing lead for Hillary Clinton, thousands of Trump supporters turned out with undimmed fervor for the Republican nominee and optimism about his electoral prospects.

They echoed nearly verbatim Mr. Trump's defense that his lewd comments about women on a 2005 recording were merely ''locker room talk,'' calling them harmless words compared with the far-worse actions Mrs. Clinton and her husband had taken to shame women.

They reiterated Mr. Trump's claim that national polls showing him behind by double digits were ''rigged'' and that he was heading to victory in November.

In the campaign's last weeks, at such rallies, Mr. Trump is sealed in a hermetic bubble with his most fervent supporters. They are people passionate enough to wait hours to attend a rally where the candidate and the crowds draw energy and affirmation from each other, while dismissing any discouraging information.

His supporters routinely pointed, as the nominee did, to the huge crowds still flocking to see him as evidence that his campaign remains strong.

''I don't believe anything the media says,'' said Brad Chilson, 47, a truck driver from Bradford County, Pa., who waited hours with his wife outside the 8,000-seat Mohegan Sun Arena in Wilkes-Barre for Mr. Trump. ''Look at the turnout we've got here.''

Mr. Trump was in high spirits on Monday night in northeastern Pennsylvania, in the heart of a largely white, blue-collar region that he has visited regularly, running a campaign sustained by a visceral feel for his audience while ignoring abstractions like data and research.

''I think the state of Pennsylvania, we're going to win so big,'' he said. A New York Times polling average shows Mrs. Clinton 7.2 percentage points ahead in the state.

''Everybody in Pennsylvania wants Trump, you know,'' he said. ''We get crowds like this everywhere.'' He boasted of a rally planned for Florida with an expected 25,000 people.

As he spoke, Katie Packer, a strategist for Mitt Romney in 2012, posted a photograph on Twitter of 30,000 people at an Ohio rally four years ago a week before Mr. Romney's defeat. ''None of the Trump crowds so far in the general election surpass what we regularly had in '12,'' Ms. Packer wrote. ''They are so naïve.''

Yet Mr. Trump whipped the crowd to anger at the news media and its ''crooked'' polls. At one point, he falsely claimed that CNN had turned off its live coverage as he was accusing the network of manipulating a debate-night focus group. The crowd then chanted an anti-CNN epithet.

He also read the results of unscientific, opt-in online surveys.

''Trump 70, Clinton 30,'' Mr. Trump quoted from a reader survey by the Drudge Report on which candidate had won the second debate. ''Oh, listen to this,'' he said, reading from an iPhone. ''Time magazine. You think Time magazine likes me?'' He cited the result: 89 for Trump, 11 for Clinton. ''Oh, here's a good one,'' he added. ''Well, they're slightly conservative -- Breitbart. 93 to 7,'' he read.

Mr. Trump's supporters who were waiting to hear him speak cited alternative sources of information they preferred, dismissing even Fox News in favor of emails from far-right commentators like Allen B. West, a former congressman, and Dennis Lynch, who makes films about illegal **immigration**.

They also repeated conspiracy theories that flourish online. ''A lot of people affiliated with Hillary have died over the years, and nobody says nothing about it,'' said Eric Bulger, a retired police officer with the Port Authority for New York and New Jersey.

There were equal numbers of women and men at the rally, and many dismissed as insignificant Mr. Trump's private comments, caught on the 2005 recording, about being able to grab women by their genitals because he was a ''star.''

''When all this baloney came out about Trump, I understand it's a scandal,'' said Brenda Stchur, 56, a Democrat from Hudson, Pa., who supports Mr. Trump. ''But John F. Kennedy wasn't innocent, either, and everyone loves John F. Kennedy.''

Marilyn Sevigny, a retiree from Lake Ariel, Pa., said that ''as a woman, I don't like what he said, I'm not defending it.'' But she added that there was a double standard at work. ''If a Democrat says it, it's just words. If a Republican says it, it's an assault,'' she said.

Before Sunday's town hall-style debate, David Quinn, an electronics engineer, told his wife that Mr. Trump should drop out, as some senior elected Republicans were calling on the candidate to do. But Mr. Quinn changed his mind, he said, after Mr. Trump's apology for his comments from 11 years ago. ''The only thing that tape shows is he's a healthy heterosexual,'' he said.

Those at the rally agreed that Mr. Trump had won the debate. Many cited as their favorite moment Mr. Trump's retort that Mrs. Clinton would ''be in jail'' if he were president.

They dismissed the F.B.I.'s recommendation that Mrs. Clinton should not be prosecuted over her use of a private email server as secretary of state. They faulted the news media for not highlighting that Mrs. Clinton had deleted thousands of emails after receiving a congressional subpoena, as Mr. Trump charged in the debate.

Mike Pisano, 65, a factory worker, echoed Mr. Trump's contention that Mrs. Clinton had escaped indictment because Bill Clinton had met privately with Attorney General Loretta Lynch.

''He was on the plane with her fixing that,'' Mr. Pisano said.

Still, outside the bubble of such devoted followers, Mr. Trump's prospects in northeastern Pennsylvania are less certain.

On Wilkes-Barre's Public Square, whose sidewalks filled during lunch hour on Monday, several Republicans and Republican-leaning Democrats said they were appalled by Mr. Trump and would skip the election, or vote for a third-party candidate.

''I just think he's a pig,'' said Janice Kontur, 44, a registered Republican, who manages an apartment complex. She said she could not bring herself to vote for Mrs. Clinton and planned to sit out Election Day. ''As a matter of fact, if he's elected, me and my daughter will be moving to a different country,'' she said of Mr. Trump.

Melinda Thompson, a controller for an insurance company, said she would vote for Gary Johnson, the Libertarian candidate. She said of Mr. Trump, ''I think his temperament would backfire on the United States.''

Paul Galante, a lawyer on a smoking break across from a statue of Christopher Columbus, said he was a registered Democrat but had consistently voted for Republican presidential nominees. Not this year. ''All people want is a reason to like the man, and he doesn't give them a reason,'' he said of Mr. Trump.

He called the Republican Party ''a joke'' for nominating Mr. Trump from a field of 17. In the primary, Mr. Galante wrote in a protest candidate, and he is considering voting for Mrs. Clinton in November. ''She's a sneak and a liar,'' he said. ''But so what at this point? He's worse.''

The Trump campaign is counting on doing well in the Wilkes-Barre region, where factories have closed and the presence of Spanish-speaking **immigrants** has caused tensions.

But Mr. Galante, a longtime resident, was deeply skeptical of Mr. Trump's prospects. ''He's going to get slaughtered,'' he said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN -- A major terrorist attack on a transportation hub in Germany was narrowly averted, the head of the country's domestic intelligence agency said on Tuesday, after a 22-year-old Syrian **refugee** was arrested and more than three pounds of dangerous explosives was found at his home.

Hans-Georg Maassen, who heads the federal domestic intelligence service, indicated in television appearances that the likely target was a Berlin airport and that the suspect had ties to the Islamic State.

He provided few further details about either matter, noting that the case was now in the hands of federal prosecutors, who under the German system will report any other developments. But Mr. Maassen said the authorities had received a ''very concrete'' indication about a month ago that an attack was planned on either an airport or a train station in Germany.

''After a month, we succeeded in identifying the person who could be planning this,'' Mr. Maassen told ARD television, and the relevant information was passed on to the police in the eastern state of Saxony.

The suspect, Jaber al-Bakr, one of the 890,000 migrants and **refugees** to enter Germany last year, was able to escape on Friday from his apartment in Chemnitz, about an hour's drive south of Leipzig, despite heavy surveillance and a police raid.

A nationwide search resulted in his capture early Monday after unidentified Syrians in Leipzig recognized the fugitive from police appeals issued in Arabic and German, tied him up at an apartment and alerted the authorities.

The Syrian who gave the police the decisive tip appeared in an interview on Tuesday on the news channel N-TV, but he was not fully identified and was shown only from the back, wearing a hooded garment and with his voice virtually inaudible. He spoke only in Arabic.

He said that Mr. Bakr had first contacted him late on Saturday by phone, seeking shelter. The N-TV account said that it was only on Sunday that the man who provided the tip, identified by the network and the newspaper Bild as Mohammad A., 36, became suspicious that his new acquaintance was Mr. Bakr.

N-TV quoted him as saying that he had tried to call the police but that they did not understand his poor German. He then went to a police station, but he was forced to wait an hour before he could show the pictures of the suspect on his cellphone, N-TV said.

Appearing on Germany's main TV breakfast show on Tuesday, Mr. Maassen brushed aside criticism that the 700-member special police unit deployed in the Chemnitz operation had bungled it and failed to capture Mr. Bakr.

It was ''five minutes before midnight,'' Mr. Maassen said, using a German expression to mean that time is running short, and ''we succeeded shortly before that in preventing a terrorist attack.''

On Monday evening, Mr. Maassen told a different ARD broadcast that his agency had identified the suspect last Thursday and had started round-the-clock observation.

''We found out that he then bought hot glue in a discount shop the following day,'' Mr. Maassen said. ''And then we immediately put all measures into place to start a raid because we assumed this could basically be the last missing chemical for him to build a bomb.''

The authorities said on Monday that the raid on the Chemnitz apartment turned up about three pounds of material believed to be TATP, the highly dangerous explosive used in terrorist attacks in Paris last year.

Mr. Bakr and another Syrian who rented the apartment in Chemnitz are in detention. There has been no information so far on possible accomplices.

Word of the Chemnitz raid and the possible terrorist attack has heightened fears among Germans and the security services, with senior police officials reiterating their calls for more personnel.

Questions have also arisen about the level of cooperation between the federal and state authorities. Under the system adopted in Germany after Nazism, the authorities in Germany's 16 states bear extensive responsibility for security, while the intelligence service operates on the federal level.

Mr. Maassen said the officers who moved on the Chemnitz apartment probably did so warily, in view of the information about explosives inside.

Some conservative politicians have called for the police to have greater access to data on the asylum seekers who entered Germany in the past year. Mr. Maassen seemed to address those calls, saying that ''in this case, information from the asylum authorities would not have been so useful.''

Mr. Bakr is said to have arrived in Germany in February 2015 and been granted asylum five months later. After the arrival of so many asylum seekers, security officials worry that, in the rush, the government has lost control over who is in the country.

The morning news show on ARD said the authorities had about 180 people listed as high security risks. Not all can be watched constantly, because of the personnel demands that such surveillance places on the police and the intelligence service.

''We assign categories to certain people who must be specially watched or, in our view, are less dangerous,'' Mr. Maassen said. ''We think that there are a handful of really dangerous people, and we watch them 24/7.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- The Supreme Court agreed on Tuesday to decide whether high-ranking George W. Bush administration officials -- including John Ashcroft, the former attorney general, and Robert S. Mueller III, the former F.B.I. director -- may be held liable for policies adopted after the Sept. 11 attacks.

The case began as a class action in 2002 filed by **immigrants**, most of them Muslim, over policies and practices that swept hundreds of people into the Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn on **immigration** violations in the weeks after the attacks. The plaintiffs said they had been subjected to beatings, humiliating searches and other abuses.

The roundups drew criticism from the inspector general of the Justice Department, who in 2003 issued reports saying that the government had made little or no effort to distinguish between genuine suspects and Muslim **immigrants** with minor visa violations.

A divided three-judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, in New York, let the case proceed last year.

''The suffering endured by those who were imprisoned merely because they were caught up in the hysteria of the days immediately following 9/11 is not without a remedy,'' Judges Rosemary S. Pooler and Richard C. Wesley wrote in a joint opinion.

''Holding individuals in solitary confinement 23 hours a day with regular strip searches because their perceived faith or race placed them in the group targeted for recruitment by Al Qaeda violated the detainees' constitutional rights,'' the judges said.

In dissent, Judge Reena Raggi said the majority had erred in allowing a lawsuit against ''the nation's two highest-ranking law enforcement officials'' for ''policies propounded to safeguard the nation in the immediate aftermath of the infamous Al Qaeda terrorist attacks.''

''It is difficult to imagine,'' she wrote, ''a public good more demanding of decisiveness or more tolerant of reasonable, even if mistaken, judgments than the protection of this nation and its people from further terrorist attacks.''

The full Second Circuit divided, 6 to 6, over the government's request to rehear the case.

In its petition seeking Supreme Court review, the Obama administration urged the justices to put an end to the litigation.

''The Court of Appeals concluded,'' the petition said, ''that the nation's highest ranking law enforcement officers -- a former attorney general of the United States and former director of the F.B.I. -- may be subjected to the demands of litigation and potential liability for compensatory and even punitive damages in their individual capacities because they could conceivably have learned about and condoned the allegedly improper ways in which their undisputedly constitutional policies were being implemented by lower-level officials during an unprecedented national security crisis.''

Rachel Meeropol, a lawyer with the Center for Constitutional Rights, which represents the plaintiffs, said the cases, Ashcroft v. Turkmen, No. 15-1359 and two others, involved fundamental principles.

''No one is above the law,'' she said. ''To suggest that the most powerful people in our nation should escape liability when they violate clearly established law defies the most fundamental principle of our legal system.''

''At a time when racial and religious profiling are put forward as serious policy proposals for dealing with everything from **immigration** to terrorism, it is more important than ever that the high court affirm that government officials, especially those at the highest levels, can be held accountable when they break the law,'' she said.

Unless the Senate confirms a new justice in time for arguments, the cases will be heard by just six justices, as Justices Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan have recused themselves. They did not say why, but Justice Sotomayor used to be a judge on the Second Circuit and Justice Kagan was formerly United States solicitor general. They had presumably been involved in the cases in those capacities.

Follow Adam Liptak on Twitter @adamliptak.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PHOENIX -- Prosecutors said Tuesday that they would charge Sheriff Joe Arpaio with criminal contempt of court for defying a judge's orders to end his signature **immigration** patrols in Arizona, raising the possibility of jail time.

The announcement in federal court sets in motion criminal proceedings against the sheriff, of Maricopa County, less than a month before Election Day as he seeks a seventh term.

A judge previously recommended criminal contempt charges against Sheriff Arpaio but left it up to federal prosecutors to bring the case. The prosecutor, John Keller, said in court that the government would bring charges, with the next step being a court filing akin to a criminal complaint, possibly in the next day.

Sheriff Arpaio, 84, could face up to six months in jail if convicted of misdemeanor contempt.

His lawyer, Mel McDonald, said that the sheriff would plead not guilty by a court filing and that he hoped to prevail before a jury.

''We believe the sheriff, being an elected official, should be judged by his peers,'' Mr. McDonald said.

The move is yet another setback for the sheriff, who became a national political figure over the last decade by aggressively carrying out **immigration** patrols and attention-getting endeavors, including making prisoners wear pink underwear.

After complaints by Latino drivers about racial profiling, a judge demanded that Sheriff Arpaio stop the enforcement efforts. He was later found to have violated the order.

Sheriff Arpaio has acknowledged violating the order to stop the **immigration** patrols, but insists that his disobedience was not intentional.

Maricopa County taxpayers have paid $48 million so far in the case, and the costs are expected to reach $72 million by next summer.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Watching Republican leaders and talking heads spin themselves dizzy over the second presidential debate would be entertaining if the situation was not so tragic.

Here's what we are supposed to believe happened: Donald Trump won the debate because he's not dropping out or getting forced out by his own party, because his running mate, Mike Pence, did not quit the race and because the speaker of the House, Paul Ryan, did not withdraw his endorsement.

Yes, a growing number of Republican officials are now denouncing Trump. And Ryan told his fellow Republican lawmakers in a conference call on Monday that he wasn't going to campaign for Trump -- as if Trump cares. But all of that is too little, too late.

The Republicans who say they changed their minds about Trump because of the 2005 video in which he brags about sexually assaulting women are particularly galling. The video was disgusting, but it showed us nothing new about Trump. He's been insulting women all year, along with Mexican **immigrants**, Muslims, gay Americans and people with disabilities.

On Sunday, Trump showed once again that this race is and has always been about his ego, and about sexism, racism, isolationism, fear and anger. It is about hating President Obama, mostly because he is African-American. It is about the hard right trying to seize control of Washington so it can roll back half a century of economic, racial and social progress.

I've never believed that the Republican leadership really disagreed with Trump's fringe views. They just didn't like the way he expressed them, because it exposed some powerful and disturbing currents in their party. Even Ryan's rather tepid denunciation of Trump provoked howls of outrage from some of the more extreme Republicans in Congress.

So it was not in the least surprising that Pence was back to praising Trump after the debate, or that right-wing commentators were trying to help the nominee repair whatever damage that 2005 video may have caused.

Guy Benson, political editor of the conservative website Townhall, said: ''He improved, exceeded expectations, decisively won several exchanges.''

When expectations are somewhere below rock bottom, it's not hard to exceed them. And to think Trump ''won'' his exchanges with Clinton, you'd have to give him points for getting the audience to hoot derisively when he said he wanted to put her in jail.

Pence said Trump ''was able to move beyond that controversy'' over the 2005 tape. ''He expressed genuine contrition for the words he used on the video that became public,'' Pence said on Fox News on Monday.

Maybe Pence should be excused for living in an alternate reality. After all, he agreed to run with Trump. But Trump did not show contrition, genuine or not. He tossed off his comments about groping women as locker-room banter (a sadly familiar excuse for men's bad behavior). And he doubled down on attacking Hillary Clinton over Bill Clinton's sordid behavior, holding a photo op ] right before the debate with three of Bill's accusers, and then trying to get them seated in his family box at the debate.

(By the way, if Hillary Clinton is supposed to be ashamed for standing by her man and believing the best of him, what are we supposed to think about Melania Trump, who did the same thing? And if we are supposed to excuse Trump's comments 11 years ago, why are we still talking about Bill Clinton's decades ago?)

Trump showed last night that he knows next to nothing about foreign policy, claiming that Russia was beating the United States because Obama had done nothing to modernize the American nuclear forces. In the real world, Obama has supported a plan to spend about $1 trillion over the next three decades on modernizing nuclear weapons.

He never backed off his proposal to ban all Muslim **immigration**. He just called it ''extreme vetting,'' sort of like President George W. Bush called torture ''enhanced interrogation.'' Then he went on to lecture Muslim-Americans about informing on their neighbors.

And Trump said that if he is elected, he will appoint a special prosecutor to indict Clinton over her emails. In fact, Trump said, if he were president, she ''would be in jail'' now. Apparently Trump would have overruled the Federal Bureau of Investigation's finding that no crime was committed and tossed Clinton behind bars (a power the president, thankfully, does not have).

Trump was mean and angry, hovering behind Clinton when she talked to make her look small, interrupting her constantly and berating the debate moderator Martha Raddatz when she tried to get him to stop filibustering and answer a question.

Clinton said too often that viewers could find all the facts on her website, but she showed admirable restraint in dealing with someone who will tell you the sun is shining when it's midnight.

I don't think last night's debate changed many minds. Melania Trump said the man in the 2005 video is not the man she knows. But he is the man the rest of us know. To vote for him, you have to pretend you don't know who he really is -- or choose not to care.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The arsonists appear to operate with little deference to class, equally at ease scorching a shiny new BMW or Mercedes as they are setting a battered old van ablaze.

And they almost always follow a pattern -- smashing a window and dousing the interior of the vehicle with gasoline before setting it on fire.

At least 185 cars have been set ablaze in Copenhagen, the Danish capital, so far this year, the police say, with a sudden and mysterious increase over the past two months or so, when about 80 automobiles were burned.

Car burning has long been a potent and extreme example of urban revolt in some countries -- France in 2005, in particular. But it is particularly jarring for Danes, who have long taken pride in their country's social harmony and in being ranked among the happiest people on the planet.

''It is a mystery why this is happening, and there has been a big increase over the last few months and that is worrying,'' said Jens Moller Jensen, a detective inspector with the Copenhagen police, charged with investigating the attacks. He said that he had expected a roughly 40 percent increase in car burnings this year compared with the previous year, and that the police had created a special unit to investigate them and had ratcheted up patrols. ''I am working on several hypotheses,'' he added.

The cars are always empty, so no one has been hurt or killed. In late September, the police arrested a 17-year-old male, but provided no further details.

As the motives and identities of the attackers remain a mystery, speculation is growing. Violent nihilism or rage? **Immigrant** angst? Simple boredom or, perhaps, large-scale insurance fraud?

One theory is that cars in Denmark are being burned by individuals from an angry underclass in a country where far-right groups have organized bitter protests against **immigration**, calling it a threat to the nation's identity. The government has recently clamped down on migration, introducing a law requiring recently arrived asylum seekers to hand over valuables, like jewelry or gold, to help pay for their stay in the country.

''It is a bit like an infection that has spread,'' said Frank Hvilsom, a crime reporter for Politiken, a leading Danish newspaper. ''At a time when we have a toxic debate about **immigration** in this country and **immigrants** are being told, 'You are not Danish,' this could be the work of attention seekers who are trying to disturb society and are saying, 'Let us show you what we can do.' ''

Even after the Danish police arrested a 21-year-old man in August in relation to the arson, cars continued to burn. Mr. Moller Jensen said that both of the men who were arrested came from a working-class neighborhood in Amager, a Danish island. Playing down the idea that the burnings could be related to **immigration**, he said that one suspect was an ethnic Dane, while the other was not.

Mr. Moller Jensen said the car burning may have spread from neighboring Sweden, where more than 70 cars have been burned in the city of Malmo since early July. Dozens of cars have also been set on fire in Stockholm, and Goteborg, on the west coast of the country. Car burning has become such a scourge there that the Swedish authorities have turned to drones to try to catch the arsonists.

He said that he had his theories of what was behind the car fires, but that he did not want to undermine his investigation by divulging too much. ''I'd be a bad cop if I put money on one of them,'' he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Paula Barche Rupnik, a Republican from Scottsdale, Ariz., was planning to vote for Senator John McCain in his re-election campaign this year. But she changed her mind this weekend, after he rescinded his support for Donald J. Trump.

Instead, she plans to split her ticket, voting for Mr. Trump, the Republican presidential nominee, but for Mr. McCain's Democratic challenger, Representative Ann Kirkpatrick.

She has never voted for a Democrat before.

''I want to send a message to John McCain,'' said Ms. Rupnik, 58, a consultant for an essential oils company. ''If he doesn't get elected, the American people that support Trump are going to blame it on those Republicans who didn't support him.''

Ms. Rupnik's punitive impulse captures the dilemma confronting Republican leaders as they head into the final four weeks of the campaign.

Sticking by Mr. Trump after the surfacing of a 2005 recording in which he could be heard speaking about women in vulgar terms and bragging about being able to get away with sexual assault would subject Republican candidates to devastating and, quite possibly, career-ending attack.

But disavowing Mr. Trump, whose supporters make up the largest share of the Republican base, risks **alienating** those voters, potentially a no less lethal choice for Senate candidates in key races. And if Mr. Trump loses to Hillary Clinton, as polls now indicate is likely, the loss of those Senate contests could be crushing for a party that was already teetering and counting on a chance to rebuild after the election. An NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll conducted just before the debate showed Mr. Trump's support cratering, with Mrs. Clinton assuming an 11-point lead nationally.

Still, Mr. Trump has die-hard supporters who have shown they will stay with him through every controversy he has sparked or endured. His populist, outsider message may be at odds with his background and even with some of his policy proposals, but it has taken hold with many voters, particularly working-class Republicans who are disenchanted with the party's elite and deeply unhappy with President Obama's stands on health care and **immigration**.

''The establishment is trying to hold on to their power, and McCain is one of them,'' Ms. Rupnik said.

That was a common theme in interviews with Trump supporters on Sunday in Arizona and New Hampshire, two states with close Senate contests. Many spoke witheringly of incumbent Republican lawmakers who have renounced their support for the party's presidential nominee.

Stephen Cotta, 61, a Navy veteran who owns a cannabis testing lab in Tempe, described Mr. McCain as a ''traitor'' and echoed Mr. Trump's view that he was ''not a hero.'' Mr. Cotta said he, too, would vote for Ms. Kirkpatrick.

''If you can see McCain and Hillary aren't that far apart on their philosophies, O.K., that's why they can stand up so adamantly to Trump,'' Mr. Cotta said.

Vera Anderson, 75, of Phoenix, said she had voted for Mr. McCain before, but made up her mind to oppose him when she learned of his rejection of Mr. Trump.

''I was really on the fence of voting for McCain,'' she said. ''I don't want to, didn't want to, but this made up my mind: I will not vote for him in the general election.''

She was dismissive of the outrage over the 2005 recording that surfaced on Friday.

''Nobody likes to hear anything like that, but to me that's not the important issue, so I absolutely, just -- I'm not paying attention to it,'' Ms. Anderson said. ''You know, to me, that is men's locker-room talk. And I'm sure that if anybody wants to criticize that, let them look at themselves first.''

There was similar disgust among Mr. Trump's supporters in New Hampshire, where Senator Kelly Ayotte -- locked in a tight re-election battle against Gov. Maggie Hassan, a Democrat -- became the first senator to disavow Mr. Trump after the recording's publication.

''I think the Republican Party is out for itself,'' said Buddy Greene, a 48-year-old stonemason from Center Harbor, N.H., who said he supported Mr. Trump in the Republican primary in February. ''They are not looking at issues of regular folk in the country.''

As he watched the New England Patriots play on television at the Frog Rock Tavern in Meredith, N.H., Mr. Greene said Ms. Ayotte had lost his support. But he said he had already come to see her as overly politically motivated.

''It does not surprise me with her,'' Mr. Greene said. He said he planned to leave his ballot blank for the Senate contest.

As Mr. Trump becomes more isolated from the Republican Party, elected officials risk being isolated from their own voters.

Mr. Greene said he admired Mr. Trump's speaking style and trusted that there would be ''checks and balances'' to prevent him from doing anything rash as president.

''I don't believe any president has absolute control,'' he said. ''It's not his fingers on the bomb.''

When a young boy listening pointed out that Mrs. Clinton had more political experience, Mr. Greene smiled. ''That's why I like Trump,'' he said. ''Because he has no experience. I want change.''

For Mr. McCain, the decision to break with Mr. Trump is cushioned by the knowledge that he is on course to win re-election. Ms. Ayotte is in a tight race with Ms. Hassan, and her choice was fraught with more peril.

Some Trump supporters in New Hampshire said they still planned to vote for Ms. Ayotte, but grudgingly, and more out of dislike for Ms. Hassan.

One of them was Eric Granfors, a 44-year-old truck driver from Nashua, who had harsh words for Ms. Ayotte and her reasoning.

''To see Kelly Ayotte coming out and saying that she doesn't endorse him now? I think she's a sellout,'' Mr. Granfors said. ''You know he's said a lot of bad things along the way. And now with another sound bite, she says this is the one where she isn't going to endorse him?''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN -- The German police arrested a Syrian man early Monday who was suspected of plotting a bombing, bringing an end to a weekend manhunt that renewed fears about a threat posed by extremists among the nearly one million **refugees** and migrants who arrived in Germany last year.

Federal prosecutors said the suspect, Jaber al-Bakr, 22, was believed to be planning '' an Islamic-motivated explosive attack in Germany.'' Security officials in the eastern state of Saxony said they had found about three pounds of explosive materials in Mr. Bakr's apartment, including the same substances as those used in Islamic State attacks in Europe.

Jörg Michaelis, head of the state police in Saxony, said that Mr. Bakr had been arrested in Leipzig, in the apartment of other Syrians who had recognized the man from photographs circulated by the authorities over the weekend.

The Syrians tied up the suspect and took a photograph of him with a cellphone, which one of them took to a nearby police station, before urging officers to come and arrest him immediately.

''Our colleagues with the Leipzig police were able to seize him because his fellow Syrians had already bound and detained him,'' Mr. Michaelis said. He declined to provide additional details about the Syrian who led them to Mr. Bakr, citing concerns about his safety.

Mr. Bakr, who arrived in Germany in February 2015 and was granted **refugee** status five months later, had been under surveillance by German security officials for months. A commando unit stormed an apartment on Friday in Chemnitz, about an hour south of Leipzig, where he had been living.

In addition, the police found materials that they believe to be TAPT, the same explosive used in terrorist attacks by Islamic State militants in Brussels and Paris last year, Mr. Michaelis said.

Thomas de Maizière, Germany's interior minister, praised the police for arresting the suspect but reminded Germans that the case was further evidence that their country remained in the sights of Islamist terrorists.

''The investigation shows that actions as we have seen in France and Belgium cannot be ruled out in Germany,'' Mr. de Maizière said.

There was no indication of a specific target for the attack, but the authorities searched for two days to find Mr. Bakr, who had slipped away from the state police and special antiterrorism units that raided his apartment after receiving information from the federal authorities.

''We are exhausted, but elated: terror suspect Albakr was arrested overnight in Leipzig,'' the Saxony police said on Twitter in announcing the arrest.

A second suspect, identified by federal prosecutors only as Khalil A., 33, was arrested Sunday and ordered by a judge to be held on suspicion of accessory to plotting an attack. He is suspected of renting the Chemnitz apartment where Mr. Bakr was living and ordering materials for him online.

Mr. Bakr was to be brought before a judge on Monday, Mr. Michaelis said.

The developments will heighten concern about the extent to which Islamist extremists have exploited Chancellor Angela Merkel's decision last year to allow asylum seekers to enter the country without more thorough screening. Ms. Merkel, who was traveling in Africa, thanked the Syrians who had detained Mr. Bakr and handed him over to police, her spokeswoman, Ulrike Demmer, said.

In July, two men who had arrived as **refugees** carried out attacks in the southern state of Bavaria, one with an ax and the other with a bomb in a backpack. Those attacks, which wounded 17 people and left the two perpetrators dead, contributed to a growing pushback in Germany toward the **refugees**, who had arrived to a warm welcome.

As the authorities searched for Mr. Bakr over the weekend, they made public a picture of him wearing a black hooded sweatshirt and urged anyone with information on his whereabouts to come forward. The police in Saxony made the appeal in Arabic and English.

The authorities were already on heightened alert over the possible threat posed by extremists who may have entered Germany among the 890,000 people -- most from Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria -- who came in 2015 in the hopes of getting asylum.

Saxony is home to the anti-**immigrant** movement known as Pegida -- the German acronym for Patriotic Europeans Against Islamization of the West -- and has been the site of some of the most virulent attacks on **refugees**.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Following is a transcript of the second presidential debate, on Sunday, as transcribed by CQ Transcriptswire.

RADDATZ: Ladies and gentlemen the Republican nominee for president, Donald J. Trump, and the Democratic nominee for president, Hillary Clinton.

(APPLAUSE)

COOPER: Thank you very much for being here. We're going to begin with a question from one of the members in our town hall. Each of you will have two minutes to respond to this question. Secretary Clinton, you won the coin toss, so you'll go first. Our first question comes from Patrice Brock. Patrice?

QUESTION: Thank you, and good evening. The last debate could have been rated as MA, mature audiences, per TV parental guidelines. Knowing that educators assign viewing the presidential debates as students' homework, do you feel you're modeling appropriate and positive behavior for today's youth?

CLINTON: Well, thank you. Are you a teacher? Yes, I think that that's a very good question, because I've heard from lots of teachers and parents about some of their concerns about some of the things that are being said and done in this campaign.

And I think it is very important for us to make clear to our children that our country really is great because we're good. And we are going to respect one another, lift each other up. We are going to be looking for ways to celebrate our diversity, and we are going to try to reach out to every boy and girl, as well as every adult, to bring them in to working on behalf of our country.

I have a very positive and optimistic view about what we can do together. That's why the slogan of my campaign is ''Stronger Together,'' because I think if we work together, if we overcome the divisiveness that sometimes sets Americans against one another, and instead we make some big goals -- and I've set forth some big goals, getting the economy to work for everyone, not just those at the top, making sure that we have the best education system from preschool through college and making it affordable, and so much else.

If we set those goals and we go together to try to achieve them, there's nothing in my opinion that America can't do. So that's why I hope that we will come together in this campaign. Obviously, I'm hoping to earn your vote, I'm hoping to be elected in November, and I can promise you, I will work with every American.

I want to be the president for all Americans, regardless of your political beliefs, where you come from, what you look like, your religion. I want us to heal our country and bring it together because that's, I think, the best way for us to get the future that our children and our grandchildren deserve.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, thank you. Mr. Trump, you have two minutes.

TRUMP: Well, I actually agree with that. I agree with everything she said. I began this campaign because I was so tired of seeing such foolish things happen to our country. This is a great country. This is a great land. I've gotten to know the people of the country over the last year-and-a-half that I've been doing this as a politician. I cannot believe I'm saying that about myself, but I guess I have been a politician.

TRUMP: And my whole concept was to make America great again. When I watch the deals being made, when I watch what's happening with some horrible things like Obamacare, where your health insurance and health care is going up by numbers that are astronomical, 68 percent, 59 percent, 71 percent, when I look at the Iran deal and how bad a deal it is for us, it's a one-sided transaction where we're giving back $150 billion to a terrorist state, really, the number one terror state, we've made them a strong country from really a very weak country just three years ago.

When I look at all of the things that I see and all of the potential that our country has, we have such tremendous potential, whether it's in business and trade, where we're doing so badly. Last year, we had almost $800 billion trade deficit. In other words, trading with other countries. We had an $800 billion deficit. It's hard to believe. Inconceivable.

You say who's making these deals? We're going the make great deals. We're going to have a strong border. We're going to bring back law and order. Just today, policemen was shot, two killed. And this is happening on a weekly basis. We have to bring back respect to law enforcement. At the same time, we have to take care of people on all sides. We need justice.

But I want to do things that haven't been done, including fixing and making our inner cities better for the African-American citizens that are so great, and for the Latinos, Hispanics, and I look forward to doing it. It's called make America great again.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump. The question from Patrice was about are you both modeling positive and appropriate behavior for today's youth? We received a lot of questions online, Mr. Trump, about the tape that was released on Friday, as you can imagine. You called what you said locker room banter. You described kissing women without consent, grabbing their genitals. That is sexual assault. You bragged that you have sexually assaulted women. Do you understand that?

TRUMP: No, I didn't say that at all. I don't think you understood what was -- this was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I apologize to my family. I apologize to the American people. Certainly I'm not proud of it. But this is locker room talk.

You know, when we have a world where you have ISIS chopping off heads, where you have -- and, frankly, drowning people in steel cages, where you have wars and horrible, horrible sights all over, where you have so many bad things happening, this is like medieval times. We haven't seen anything like this, the carnage all over the world.

And they look and they see. Can you imagine the people that are, frankly, doing so well against us with ISIS? And they look at our country and they see what's going on.

Yes, I'm very embarrassed by it. I hate it. But it's locker room talk, and it's one of those things. I will knock the hell out of ISIS. We're going to defeat ISIS. ISIS happened a number of years ago in a vacuum that was left because of bad judgment. And I will tell you, I will take care of ISIS.

COOPER: So, Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: And we should get on to much more important things and much bigger things.

COOPER: Just for the record, though, are you saying that what you said on that bus 11 years ago that you did not actually kiss women without consent or grope women without consent?

TRUMP: I have great respect for women. Nobody has more respect for women than I do.

COOPER: So, for the record, you're saying you never did that?

TRUMP: I've said things that, frankly, you hear these things I said. And I was embarrassed by it. But I have tremendous respect for women.

COOPER: Have you ever done those things?

TRUMP: And women have respect for me. And I will tell you: No, I have not. And I will tell you that I'm going to make our country safe. We're going to have borders in our country, which we don't have now. People are pouring into our country, and they're coming in from the Middle East and other places.

We're going to make America safe again. We're going to make America great again, but we're going to make America safe again. And we're going to make America wealthy again, because if you don't do that, it just -- it sounds harsh to say, but we have to build up the wealth of our nation.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Right now, other nations are taking our jobs and they're taking our wealth.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: And that's what I want to talk about.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, do you want to respond?

CLINTON: Well, like everyone else, I've spent a lot of time thinking over the last 48 hours about what we heard and saw. You know, with prior Republican nominees for president, I disagreed with them on politics, policies, principles, but I never questioned their fitness to serve.

Donald Trump is different. I said starting back in June that he was not fit to be president and commander-in-chief. And many Republicans and independents have said the same thing. What we all saw and heard on Friday was Donald talking about women, what he thinks about women, what he does to women. And he has said that the video doesn't represent who he is.

But I think it's clear to anyone who heard it that it represents exactly who he is. Because we've seen this throughout the campaign. We have seen him insult women. We've seen him rate women on their appearance, ranking them from one to ten. We've seen him embarrass women on TV and on Twitter. We saw him after the first debate spend nearly a week denigrating a former Miss Universe in the harshest, most personal terms.

So, yes, this is who Donald Trump is. But it's not only women, and it's not only this video that raises questions about his fitness to be our president, because he has also targeted **immigrants**, African- Americans, Latinos, people with disabilities, POWs, Muslims, and so many others.

So this is who Donald Trump is. And the question for us, the question our country must answer is that this is not who we are. That's why -- to go back to your question -- I want to send a message -- we all should -- to every boy and girl and, indeed, to the entire world that America already is great, but we are great because we are good, and we will respect one another, and we will work with one another, and we will celebrate our diversity.

CLINTON: These are very important values to me, because this is the America that I know and love. And I can pledge to you tonight that this is the America that I will serve if I'm so fortunate enough to become your president.

RADDATZ: And we want to get to some questions from online...

TRUMP: Am I allowed to respond to that? I assume I am.

RADDATZ: Yes, you can respond to that.

TRUMP: It's just words, folks. It's just words. Those words, I've been hearing them for many years. I heard them when they were running for the Senate in New York, where Hillary was going to bring back jobs to upstate New York and she failed.

I've heard them where Hillary is constantly talking about the inner cities of our country, which are a disaster education-wise, jobwise, safety-wise, in every way possible. I'm going to help the African-Americans. I'm going to help the Latinos, Hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities.

She's done a terrible job for the African-Americans. She wants their vote, and she does nothing, and then she comes back four years later. We saw that firsthand when she was United States senator. She campaigned where the primary part of her campaign...

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump -- I want to get to audience questions and online questions.

TRUMP: So, she's allowed to do that, but I'm not allowed to respond?

RADDATZ: You're going to have -- you're going to get to respond right now.

TRUMP: Sounds fair.

RADDATZ: This tape is generating intense interest. In just 48 hours, it's become the single most talked about story of the entire 2016 election on Facebook, with millions and millions of people discussing it on the social network. As we said a moment ago, we do want to bring in questions from voters around country via social media, and our first stays on this topic. Jeff from Ohio asks on Facebook, ''Trump says the campaign has changed him. When did that happen?'' So, Mr. Trump, let me add to that. When you walked off that bus at age 59, were you a different man or did that behavior continue until just recently? And you have two minutes for this.

TRUMP: It was locker room talk, as I told you. That was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I am a person who has great respect for people, for my family, for the people of this country. And certainly, I'm not proud of it. But that was something that happened.

If you look at Bill Clinton, far worse. Mine are words, and his was action. His was what he's done to women. There's never been anybody in the history politics in this nation that's been so abusive to women. So you can say any way you want to say it, but Bill Clinton was abusive to women.

Hillary Clinton attacked those same women and attacked them viciously. Four of them here tonight. One of the women, who is a wonderful woman, at 12 years old, was raped at 12. Her client she represented got him off, and she's seen laughing on two separate occasions, laughing at the girl who was raped. Kathy Shelton, that young woman is here with us tonight.

So don't tell me about words. I am absolutely -- I apologize for those words. But it is things that people say. But what President Clinton did, he was impeached, he lost his license to practice law. He had to pay an $850,000 fine to one of the women. Paula Jones, who's also here tonight.

And I will tell you that when Hillary brings up a point like that and she talks about words that I said 11 years ago, I think it's disgraceful, and I think she should be ashamed of herself, if you want to know the truth.

(APPLAUSE)

RADDATZ: Can we please hold the applause? Secretary Clinton, you have two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, first, let me start by saying that so much of what he's just said is not right, but he gets to run his campaign any way he chooses. He gets to decide what he wants to talk about. Instead of answering people's questions, talking about our agenda, laying out the plans that we have that we think can make a better life and a better country, that's his choice.

When I hear something like that, I am reminded of what my friend, Michelle Obama, advised us all: When they go low, you go high.

(APPLAUSE) And, look, if this were just about one video, maybe what he's saying tonight would be understandable, but everyone can draw their own conclusions at this point about whether or not the man in the video or the man on the stage respects women. But he never apologizes for anything to anyone.

CLINTON: He never apologized to Mr. and Mrs. Khan, the Gold Star family whose son, Captain Khan, died in the line of duty in Iraq. And Donald insulted and attacked them for weeks over their religion.

He never apologized to the distinguished federal judge who was born in Indiana, but Donald said he couldn't be trusted to be a judge because his parents were, quote, ''Mexican.''

He never apologized to the reporter that he mimicked and mocked on national television and our children were watching. And he never apologized for the racist lie that President Obama was not born in the United States of America. He owes the president an apology, he owes our country an apology, and he needs to take responsibility for his actions and his words.

TRUMP: Well, you owe the president an apology, because as you know very well, your campaign, Sidney Blumenthal -- he's another real winner that you have -- and he's the one that got this started, along with your campaign manager, and they were on television just two weeks ago, she was, saying exactly that. So you really owe him an apology. You're the one that sent the pictures around your campaign, sent the pictures around with President Obama in a certain garb. That was long before I was ever involved, so you actually owe an apology.

Number two, Michelle Obama. I've gotten to see the commercials that they did on you. And I've gotten to see some of the most vicious commercials I've ever seen of Michelle Obama talking about you, Hillary.

So, you talk about friend? Go back and take a look at those commercials, a race where you lost fair and square, unlike the Bernie Sanders race, where you won, but not fair and square, in my opinion. And all you have to do is take a look at WikiLeaks and just see what they say about Bernie Sanders and see what Deborah Wasserman Schultz had in mind, because Bernie Sanders, between super-delegates and Deborah Wasserman Schultz, he never had a chance. And I was so surprised to see him sign on with the devil.

But when you talk about apology, I think the one that you should really be apologizing for and the thing that you should be apologizing for are the 33,000 e-mails that you deleted, and that you acid washed, and then the two boxes of e-mails and other things last week that were taken from an office and are now missing.

And I'll tell you what. I didn't think I'd say this, but I'm going to say it, and I hate to say it. But if I win, I am going to instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation, because there has never been so many lies, so much deception. There has never been anything like it, and we're going to have a special prosecutor.

When I speak, I go out and speak, the people of this country are furious. In my opinion, the people that have been long-term workers at the FBI are furious. There has never been anything like this, where e-mails -- and you get a subpoena, you get a subpoena, and after getting the subpoena, you delete 33,000 e-mails, and then you acid wash them or bleach them, as you would say, very expensive process.

So we're going to get a special prosecutor, and we're going to look into it, because you know what? People have been -- their lives have been destroyed for doing one-fifth of what you've done. And it's a disgrace. And honestly, you ought to be ashamed of yourself.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, I want to follow up on that.

(CROSSTALK)

RADDATZ: I'm going to let you talk about e-mails.

CLINTON: ... because everything he just said is absolutely false, but I'm not surprised.

TRUMP: Oh, really?

CLINTON: In the first debate...

(LAUGHTER)

RADDATZ: And really, the audience needs to calm down here.

CLINTON: ... I told people that it would be impossible to be fact-checking Donald all the time. I'd never get to talk about anything I want to do and how we're going to really make lives better for people.

So, once again, go to HillaryClinton.com. We have literally Trump -- you can fact check him in real time. Last time at the first debate, we had millions of people fact checking, so I expect we'll have millions more fact checking, because, you know, it is -- it's just awfully good that someone with the temperament of Donald Trump is not in charge of the law in our country.

TRUMP: Because you'd be in jail.

(APPLAUSE)

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton...

COOPER: We want to remind the audience to please not talk out loud. Please do not applaud. You're just wasting time.

RADDATZ: And, Secretary Clinton, I do want to follow up on e- mails. You've said your handing of your e-mails was a mistake. You disagreed with FBI Director James Comey, calling your handling of classified information, quote, ''extremely careless.'' The FBI said that there were 110 classified e-mails that were exchanged, eight of which were top secret, and that it was possible hostile actors did gain access to those e-mails. You don't call that extremely careless? CLINTON: Well, Martha, first, let me say -- and I've said before, but I'll repeat it, because I want everyone to hear it -- that was a mistake, and I take responsibility for using a personal e-mail account. Obviously, if I were to do it over again, I would not. I'm not making any excuses. It was a mistake. And I am very sorry about that.

But I think it's also important to point out where there are some misleading accusations from critics and others. After a year-long investigation, there is no evidence that anyone hacked the server I was using and there is no evidence that anyone can point to at all -- anyone who says otherwise has no basis -- that any classified material ended up in the wrong hands.

I take classified materials very seriously and always have. When I was on the Senate Armed Services Committee, I was privy to a lot of classified material. Obviously, as secretary of state, I had some of the most important secrets that we possess, such as going after bin Laden. So I am very committed to taking classified information seriously. And as I said, there is no evidence that any classified information ended up in the wrong hands.

RADDATZ: OK, we're going to move on.

TRUMP: And yet she didn't know the word -- the letter C on a document. Right? She didn't even know what that word -- what that letter meant.

You know, it's amazing. I'm watching Hillary go over facts. And she's going after fact after fact, and she's lying again, because she said she -- you know, what she did with the e-mail was fine. You think it was fine to delete 33,000 e-mails? I don't think so.

She said the 33,000 e-mails had to do with her daughter's wedding, number one, and a yoga class. Well, maybe we'll give three or three or four or five or something. 33,000 e-mails deleted, and now she's saying there wasn't anything wrong.

And more importantly, that was after getting a subpoena. That wasn't before. That was after. She got it from the United States Congress. And I'll be honest, I am so disappointed in congressmen, including Republicans, for allowing this to happen.

Our Justice Department, where our husband goes on to the back of a airplane for 39 minutes, talks to the attorney general days before a ruling is going to be made on her case. But for you to say that there was nothing wrong with you deleting 39,000 e-mails, again, you should be ashamed of yourself. What you did -- and this is after getting a subpoena from the United States Congress.

COOPER: We have to move on.

TRUMP: You did that. Wait a minute. One second.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, you can respond, and then we got to move on.

RADDATZ: We want to give the audience a chance.

TRUMP: If you did that in the private sector, you'd be put in jail, let alone after getting a subpoena from the United States Congress.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, you can respond. Then we have to move on to an audience question.

CLINTON: Look, it's just not true. And so please, go to...

TRUMP: Oh, you didn't delete them?

COOPER: Allow her to respond, please.

CLINTON: It was personal e-mails, not official.

TRUMP: Oh, 33,000? Yeah.

CLINTON: Not -- well, we turned over 35,000, so...

TRUMP: Oh, yeah. What about the other 15,000?

COOPER: Please allow her to respond. She didn't talk while you talked.

CLINTON: Yes, that's true, I didn't.

TRUMP: Because you have nothing to say.

CLINTON: I didn't in the first debate, and I'm going to try not to in this debate, because I'd like to get to the questions that the people have brought here tonight to talk to us about.

TRUMP: Get off this question.

CLINTON: OK, Donald. I know you're into big diversion tonight, anything to avoid talking about your campaign and the way it's exploding and the way Republicans are leaving you. But let's at least focus...

TRUMP: Let's see what happens...

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: Allow her to respond.

CLINTON: ... on some of the issues that people care about tonight. Let's get to their questions.

COOPER: We have a question here from Ken Karpowicz. He has a question about health care. Ken?

TRUMP: I'd like to know, Anderson, why aren't you bringing up the e-mails? I'd like to know. Why aren't you bringing...

COOPER: We brought up the e-mails.

TRUMP: No, it hasn't. It hasn't. And it hasn't been finished at all.

COOPER: Ken Karpowicz has a question.

TRUMP: It's nice to -- one on three.

QUESTION: Thank you. Affordable Care Act, known as Obamacare, it is not affordable. Premiums have gone up. Deductibles have gone up. Copays have gone up. Prescriptions have gone up. And the coverage has gone down. What will you do to bring the cost down and make coverage better?

COOPER: That first one goes to Secretary Clinton, because you started out the last one to the audience.

CLINTON: If he wants to start, he can start. No, go ahead, Donald.

TRUMP: No, I'm a gentlemen, Hillary. Go ahead.

(LAUGHTER)

COOPER: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I think Donald was about to say he's going to solve it by repealing it and getting rid of the Affordable Care Act. And I'm going to fix it, because I agree with you. Premiums have gotten too high. Copays, deductibles, prescription drug costs, and I've laid out a series of actions that we can take to try to get those costs down.

But here's what I don't want people to forget when we're talking about reining in the costs, which has to be the highest priority of the next president, when the Affordable Care Act passed, it wasn't just that 20 million got insurance who didn't have it before. But that in and of itself was a good thing. I meet these people all the time, and they tell me what a difference having that insurance meant to them and their families.

But everybody else, the 170 million of us who get health insurance through our employees got big benefits. Number one, insurance companies can't deny you coverage because of a pre-existing condition. Number two, no lifetime limits, which is a big deal if you have serious health problems.

Number three, women can't be charged more than men for our health insurance, which is the way it used to be before the Affordable Care Act. Number four, if you're under 26, and your parents have a policy, you can be on that policy until the age of 26, something that didn't happen before.

So I want very much to save what works and is good about the Affordable Care Act. But we've got to get costs down. We've got to provide additional help to small businesses so that they can afford to provide health insurance. But if we repeal it, as Donald has proposed, and start over again, all of those benefits I just mentioned are lost to everybody, not just people who get their health insurance on the exchange. And then we would have to start all over again.

Right now, we are at 90 percent health insurance coverage. That's the highest we've ever been in our country. COOPER: Secretary Clinton, your time is up.

CLINTON: So I want us to get to 100 percent, but get costs down and keep quality up.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, you have two minutes.

TRUMP: It is such a great question and it's maybe the question I get almost more than anything else, outside of defense. Obamacare is a disaster. You know it. We all know it. It's going up at numbers that nobody's ever seen worldwide. Nobody's ever seen numbers like this for health care.

It's only getting worse. In '17, it implodes by itself. Their method of fixing it is to go back and ask Congress for more money, more and more money. We have right now almost $20 trillion in debt.

Obamacare will never work. It's very bad, very bad health insurance. Far too expensive. And not only expensive for the person that has it, unbelievably expensive for our country. It's going to be one of the biggest line items very shortly.

We have to repeal it and replace it with something absolutely much less expensive and something that works, where your plan can actually be tailored. We have to get rid of the lines around the state, artificial lines, where we stop insurance companies from coming in and competing, because they want -- and President Obama and whoever was working on it -- they want to leave those lines, because that gives the insurance companies essentially monopolies. We want competition.

You will have the finest health care plan there is. She wants to go to a single-payer plan, which would be a disaster, somewhat similar to Canada. And if you haven't noticed the Canadians, when they need a big operation, when something happens, they come into the United States in many cases because their system is so slow. It's catastrophic in certain ways.

But she wants to go to single payer, which means the government basically rules everything. Hillary Clinton has been after this for years. Obamacare was the first step. Obamacare is a total disaster. And not only are your rates going up by numbers that nobody's ever believed, but your deductibles are going up, so that unless you get hit by a truck, you're never going to be able to use it.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, your time...

TRUMP: It is a disastrous plan, and it has to be repealed and replaced.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, let me follow up with you. Your husband called Obamacare, quote, ''the craziest thing in the world,'' saying that small-business owners are getting killed as premiums double, coverage is cut in half. Was he mistaken or was the mistake simply telling the truth?

CLINTON: No, I mean, he clarified what he meant. And it's very clear. Look, we are in a situation in our country where if we were to start all over again, we might come up with a different system. But we have an employer-based system. That's where the vast majority of people get their health care.

And the Affordable Care Act was meant to try to fill the gap between people who were too poor and couldn't put together any resources to afford health care, namely people on Medicaid. Obviously, Medicare, which is a single-payer system, which takes care of our elderly and does a great job doing it, by the way, and then all of the people who were employed, but people who were working but didn't have the money to afford insurance and didn't have anybody, an employer or anybody else, to help them.

That was the slot that the Obamacare approach was to take. And like I say, 20 million people now have health insurance. So if we just rip it up and throw it away, what Donald's not telling you is we just turn it back to the insurance companies the way it used to be, and that means the insurance companies...

COOPER: Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: ... get to do pretty much whatever they want, including saying, look, I'm sorry, you've got diabetes, you had cancer, your child has asthma...

COOPER: Your time is up.

CLINTON: ... you may not be able to have insurance because you can't afford it. So let's fix what's broken about it, but let's not throw it away and give it all back to the insurance companies and the drug companies. That's not going to work.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, let me follow up on this. TRUMP: Well, I just want -- just one thing. First of all, Hillary, everything's broken about it. Everything. Number two, Bernie Sanders said that Hillary Clinton has very bad judgment. This is a perfect example of it, trying to save Obamacare, which is a disaster.

COOPER: You've said you want to end Obamacare...

TRUMP: By the way...

COOPER: You've said you want to end Obamacare. You've also said you want to make coverage accessible for people with pre-existing conditions. How do you force insurance companies to do that if you're no longer mandating that every American get insurance?

TRUMP: We're going to be able to. You're going to have plans...

COOPER: What does that mean?

TRUMP: Well, I'll tell you what it means. You're going to have plans that are so good, because we're going to have so much competition in the insurance industry. Once we break out -- once we break out the lines and allow the competition to come...

COOPER: Are you going -- are you going to have a mandate that Americans have to have health insurance?

TRUMP: President Obama -- Anderson, excuse me. President Obama, by keeping those lines, the boundary lines around each state, it was almost gone until just very toward the end of the passage of Obamacare, which, by the way, was a fraud. You know that, because Jonathan Gruber, the architect of Obamacare, was said -- he said it was a great lie, it was a big lie. President Obama said you keep your doctor, you keep your plan. The whole thing was a fraud, and it doesn't work.

But when we get rid of those lines, you will have competition, and we will be able to keep pre-existing, we'll also be able to help people that can't get -- don't have money because we are going to have people protected.

And Republicans feel this way, believe it or not, and strongly this way. We're going to block grant into the states. We're going to block grant into Medicaid into the states...

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: ... so that we will be able to take care of people without the necessary funds to take care of themselves.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

RADDATZ: We now go to Gorbah Hamed with a question for both candidates.

QUESTION: Hi. There are 3.3 million Muslims in the United States, and I'm one of them. You've mentioned working with Muslim nations, but with Islamophobia on the rise, how will you help people like me deal with the consequences of being labeled as a threat to the country after the election is over?

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, you're first.

TRUMP: Well, you're right about Islamophobia, and that's a shame. But one thing we have to do is we have to make sure that -- because there is a problem. I mean, whether we like it or not, and we could be very politically correct, but whether we like it or not, there is a problem. And we have to be sure that Muslims come in and report when they see something going on. When they see hatred going on, they have to report it.

As an example, in San Bernardino, many people saw the bombs all over the apartment of the two people that killed 14 and wounded many, many people. Horribly wounded. They'll never be the same. Muslims have to report the problems when they see them.

And, you know, there's always a reason for everything. If they don't do that, it's a very difficult situation for our country, because you look at Orlando and you look at San Bernardino and you look at the World Trade Center. Go outside. Look at Paris. Look at that horrible -- these are radical Islamic terrorists.

And she won't even mention the word and nor will President Obama. He won't use the term ''radical Islamic terrorism.'' Now, to solve a problem, you have to be able to state what the problem is or at least say the name. She won't say the name and President Obama won't say the name. But the name is there. It's radical Islamic terror. And before you solve it, you have to say the name.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton? CLINTON: Well, thank you for asking your question. And I've heard this question from a lot of Muslim-Americans across our country, because, unfortunately, there's been a lot of very divisive, dark things said about Muslims. And even someone like Captain Khan, the young man who sacrificed himself defending our country in the United States Army, has been subject to attack by Donald.

I want to say just a couple of things. First, we've had Muslims in America since George Washington. And we've had many successful Muslims. We just lost a particular well-known one with Muhammad Ali.

CLINTON: My vision of America is an America where everyone has a place, if you're willing to work hard, you do your part, you contribute to the community. That's what America is. That's what we want America to be for our children and our grandchildren.

It's also very short-sighted and even dangerous to be engaging in the kind of demagogic rhetoric that Donald has about Muslims. We need American Muslims to be part of our eyes and ears on our front lines. I've worked with a lot of different Muslim groups around America. I've met with a lot of them, and I've heard how important it is for them to feel that they are wanted and included and part of our country, part of our homeland security, and that's what I want to see.

It's also important I intend to defeat ISIS, to do so in a coalition with majority Muslim nations. Right now, a lot of those nations are hearing what Donald says and wondering, why should we cooperate with the Americans? And this is a gift to ISIS and the terrorists, violent jihadist terrorists.

We are not at war with Islam. And it is a mistake and it plays into the hands of the terrorists to act as though we are. So I want a country where citizens like you and your family are just as welcome as anyone else.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Secretary Clinton.

Mr. Trump, in December, you said this. ''Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on. We have no choice. We have no choice.'' Your running mate said this week that the Muslim ban is no longer your position. Is that correct? And if it is, was it a mistake to have a religious test?

TRUMP: First of all, Captain Khan is an American hero, and if I were president at that time, he would be alive today, because unlike her, who voted for the war without knowing what she was doing, I would not have had our people in Iraq. Iraq was disaster. So he would have been alive today.

The Muslim ban is something that in some form has morphed into a extreme vetting from certain areas of the world. Hillary Clinton wants to allow hundreds of thousands -- excuse me. Excuse me..

RADDATZ: And why did it morph into that? No, did you -- no, answer the question. Do you still believe... TRUMP: Why don't you interrupt her? You interrupt me all the time.

RADDATZ: I do.

TRUMP: Why don't you interrupt her?

RADDATZ: Would you please explain whether or not the Muslim ban still stands?

TRUMP: It's called extreme vetting. We are going to areas like Syria where they're coming in by the tens of thousands because of Barack Obama. And Hillary Clinton wants to allow a 550 percent increase over Obama. People are coming into our country like we have no idea who they are, where they are from, what their feelings about our country is, and she wants 550 percent more. This is going to be the great Trojan horse of all time.

We have enough problems in this country. I believe in building safe zones. I believe in having other people pay for them, as an example, the Gulf states, who are not carrying their weight, but they have nothing but money, and take care of people. But I don't want to have, with all the problems this country has and all of the problems that you see going on, hundreds of thousands of people coming in from Syria when we know nothing about them. We know nothing about their values and we know nothing about their love for our country.

RADDATZ: And, Secretary Clinton, let me ask you about that, because you have asked for an increase from 10,000 to 65,000 Syrian **refugees**. We know you want tougher vetting. That's not a perfect system. So why take the risk of having those **refugees** come into the country?

CLINTON: Well, first of all, I will not let anyone into our country that I think poses a risk to us. But there are a lot of **refugees**, women and children -- think of that picture we all saw of that 4-year-old boy with the blood on his forehead because he'd been bombed by the Russian and Syrian air forces.

There are children suffering in this catastrophic war, largely, I believe, because of Russian aggression. And we need to do our part. We by no means are carrying anywhere near the load that Europe and others are. But we will have vetting that is as tough as it needs to be from our professionals, our intelligence experts and others.

But it is important for us as a policy, you know, not to say, as Donald has said, we're going to ban people based on a religion. How do you do that? We are a country founded on religious freedom and liberty. How do we do what he has advocated without causing great distress within our own county? Are we going to have religious tests when people fly into our country? And how do we expect to be able to implement those?

So I thought that what he said was extremely unwise and even dangerous. And indeed, you can look at the propaganda on a lot of the terrorists sites, and what Donald Trump says about Muslims is used to recruit fighters, because they want to create a war between us.

And the final thing I would say, this is the 10th or 12th time that he's denied being for the war in Iraq. We have it on tape. The entire press corps has looked at it. It's been debunked, but it never stops him from saying whatever he wants to say.

TRUMP: That's not been debunked.

CLINTON: So, please...

TRUMP: That has not been debunked.

CLINTON: ... go to HillaryClinton.com and you can see it.

TRUMP: I was against -- I was against the war in Iraq. Has not been debunked. And you voted for it. And you shouldn't have. Well, I just want to say...

RADDATZ: There's been lots of fact-checking on that. I'd like to move on to an online question...

TRUMP: Excuse me. She just went about 25 seconds over her time.

RADDATZ: She did not.

TRUMP: Could I just respond to this, please?

RADDATZ: Very quickly, please.

TRUMP: Hillary Clinton, in terms of having people come into our country, we have many criminal illegal **aliens**. When we want to send them back to their country, their country says we don't want them. In some cases, they're murderers, drug lords, drug problems. And they don't want them.

And Hillary Clinton, when she was secretary of state, said that's OK, we can't force it into their country. Let me tell you, I'm going to force them right back into their country. They're murderers and some very bad people.

And I will tell you very strongly, when Bernie Sanders said she had bad judgment, she has really bad judgment, because we are letting people into this country that are going to cause problems and crime like you've never seen. We're also letting drugs pour through our southern border at a record clip. At a record clip. And it shouldn't be allowed to happen.

ICE just endorsed me. They've never endorsed a presidential candidate. The Border Patrol agents, 16,500, just recently endorsed me, and they endorsed me because I understand the border. She doesn't. She wants amnesty for everybody. Come right in. Come right over. It's a horrible thing she's doing. She's got bad judgment, and honestly, so bad that she should never be president of the United States. That I can tell you.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Mr. Trump. I want to move on. This next question from the public through the Bipartisan Open Debate Coalition's online forum, where Americans submitted questions that generated millions of votes. This question involves WikiLeaks release of purported excerpts of Secretary Clinton's paid speeches, which she has refused to release, and one line in particular, in which you, Secretary Clinton, purportedly say you need both a public and private position on certain issues. So, Tu (ph), from Virginia asks, is it OK for politicians to be two-faced? Is it acceptable for a politician to have a private stance on issues? Secretary Clinton, your two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, right. As I recall, that was something I said about Abraham Lincoln after having seen the wonderful Steven Spielberg movie called ''Lincoln.'' It was a master class watching President Lincoln get the Congress to approve the 13th Amendment. It was principled, and it was strategic.

And I was making the point that it is hard sometimes to get the Congress to do what you want to do and you have to keep working at it. And, yes, President Lincoln was trying to convince some people, he used some arguments, convincing other people, he used other arguments. That was a great -- I thought a great display of presidential leadership.

But, you know, let's talk about what's really going on here, Martha, because our intelligence community just came out and said in the last few days that the Kremlin, meaning Putin and the Russian government, are directing the attacks, the hacking on American accounts to influence our election. And WikiLeaks is part of that, as are other sites where the Russians hack information, we don't even know if it's accurate information, and then they put it out.

We have never in the history of our country been in a situation where an adversary, a foreign power, is working so hard to influence the outcome of the election. And believe me, they're not doing it to get me elected. They're doing it to try to influence the election for Donald Trump.

CLINTON: Now, maybe because he has praised Putin, maybe because he says he agrees with a lot of what Putin wants to do, maybe because he wants to do business in Moscow, I don't know the reasons. But we deserve answers. And we should demand that Donald release all of his tax returns so that people can see what are the entanglements and the financial relationships that he has...

RADDATZ: We're going to get to that later. Secretary Clinton, you're out of time.

CLINTON: ... with the Russians and other foreign powers.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Well, I think I should respond, because -- so ridiculous. Look, now she's blaming -- she got caught in a total lie. Her papers went out to all her friends at the banks, Goldman Sachs and everybody else, and she said things -- WikiLeaks that just came out. And she lied. Now she's blaming the lie on the late, great Abraham Lincoln. That's one that I haven't...

(LAUGHTER)

OK, Honest Abe, Honest Abe never lied. That's the good thing. That's the big difference between Abraham Lincoln and you. That's a big, big difference. We're talking about some difference.

But as far as other elements of what she was saying, I don't know Putin. I think it would be great if we got along with Russia because we could fight ISIS together, as an example. But I don't know Putin.

But I notice, anytime anything wrong happens, they like to say the Russians are -- she doesn't know if it's the Russians doing the hacking. Maybe there is no hacking. But they always blame Russia. And the reason they blame Russia because they think they're trying to tarnish me with Russia. I know nothing about Russia. I know -- I know about Russia, but I know nothing about the inner workings of Russia. I don't deal there. I have no businesses there. I have no loans from Russia.

I have a very, very great balance sheet, so great that when I did the Old Post Office on Pennsylvania Avenue, the United States government, because of my balance sheet, which they actually know very well, chose me to do the Old Post Office, between the White House and Congress, chose me to do the Old Post Office. One of the primary area things, in fact, perhaps the primary thing was balance sheet. But I have no loans with Russia. You could go to the United States government, and they would probably tell you that, because they know my sheet very well in order to get that development I had to have.

Now, the taxes are a very simple thing. As soon as I have -- first of all, I pay hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes. Many of her friends took bigger deductions. Warren Buffett took a massive deduction. Soros, who's a friend of hers, took a massive deduction. Many of the people that are giving her all this money that she can do many more commercials than me gave her -- took massive deductions.

I pay hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes. But -- but as soon as my routine audit is finished, I'll release my returns. I'll be very proud to. They're actually quite great.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

COOPER: We want to turn, actually, to the topic of taxes. We have a question from Spencer Maass. Spencer?

QUESTION: Good evening. My question is, what specific tax provisions will you change to ensure the wealthiest Americans pay their fair share in taxes?

COOPER: Mr. Trump, you have two minutes.

TRUMP: Well, one thing I'd do is get rid of carried interest. One of the greatest provisions for people like me, to be honest with you, I give up a lot when I run, because I knock out the tax code. And she could have done this years ago, by the way. She's a United States -- she was a United States senator.

She complains that Donald Trump took advantage of the tax code. Well, why didn't she change it? Why didn't you change it when you were a senator? The reason you didn't is that all your friends take the same advantage that I do. And I do. You have provisions in the tax code that, frankly, we could change. But you wouldn't change it, because all of these people gave you the money so you can take negative ads on Donald Trump.

But -- and I say that about a lot of things. You know, I've heard Hillary complaining about so many different things over the years. ''I wish you would have done this.'' But she's been there for 30 years she's been doing this stuff. She never changed. And she never will change. She never will change.

We're getting rid of carried interest provisions. I'm lowering taxes actually, because I think it's so important for corporations, because we have corporations leaving -- massive corporations and little ones, little ones can't form. We're getting rid of regulations which goes hand in hand with the lowering of the taxes.

But we're bringing the tax rate down from 35 percent to 15 percent. We're cutting taxes for the middle class. And I will tell you, we are cutting them big league for the middle class.

And I will tell you, Hillary Clinton is raising your taxes, folks. You can look at me. She's raising your taxes really high. And what that's going to do is a disaster for the country. But she is raising your taxes and I'm lowering your taxes. That in itself is a big difference. We are going to be thriving again. We have no growth in this country. There's no growth. If China has a GDP of 7 percent, it's like a national catastrophe. We're down at 1 percent. And that's, like, no growth. And we're going lower, in my opinion. And a lot of it has to do with the fact that our taxes are so high, just about the highest in the world. And I'm bringing them down to one of the lower in the world. And I think it's so important -- one of the most important things we can do. But she is raising everybody's taxes massively.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, you have two minutes. The question was, what specific tax provisions will you change to ensure the wealthiest Americans pay their fair share of taxes?

CLINTON: Well, everything you've heard just now from Donald is not true. I'm sorry I have to keep saying this, but he lives in an alternative reality. And it is sort of amusing to hear somebody who hasn't paid federal income taxes in maybe 20 years talking about what he's going to do.

But I'll tell you what he's going to do. His plan will give the wealthy and corporations the biggest tax cuts they've ever had, more than the Bush tax cuts by at least a factor of two. Donald always takes care of Donald and people like Donald, and this would be a massive gift. And, indeed, the way that he talks about his tax cuts would end up raising taxes on middle-class families, millions of middle-class families.

Now, here's what I want to do. I have said nobody who makes less than $250,000 a year -- and that's the vast majority of Americans as you know -- will have their taxes raised, because I think we've got to go where the money is. And the money is with people who have taken advantage of every single break in the tax code.

And, yes, when I was a senator, I did vote to close corporate loopholes. I voted to close, I think, one of the loopholes he took advantage of when he claimed a billion-dollar loss that enabled him to avoid paying taxes.

I want to have a tax on people who are making a million dollars. It's called the Buffett rule. Yes, Warren Buffett is the one who's gone out and said somebody like him should not be paying a lower tax rate than his secretary. I want to have a surcharge on incomes above $5 million.

We have to make up for lost times, because I want to invest in you. I want to invest in hard-working families. And I think it's been unfortunate, but it's happened, that since the Great Recession, the gains have all gone to the top. And we need to reverse that.

People like Donald, who paid zero in taxes, zero for our vets, zero for our military, zero for health and education, that is wrong.

COOPER: Thank you, Secretary.

CLINTON: And we're going to make sure that nobody, no corporation, and no individual can get away without paying his fair share to support our country.

COOPER: Thank you. I want to give you -- Mr. Trump, I want to give you the chance to respond. I just wanted to tell our viewers what she's referring to. In the last month, taxes were the number-one issue on Facebook for the first time in the campaign. The New York Times published three pages of your 1995 tax returns. They show you claimed a $916 million loss, which means you could have avoided paying personal federal income taxes for years. You've said you pay state taxes, employee taxes, real estate taxes, property taxes. You have not answered, though, a simple question. Did you use that $916 million loss to avoid paying personal federal income taxes for years?

TRUMP: Of course I do. Of course I do. And so do all of her donors, or most of her donors. I know many of her donors. Her donors took massive tax write-offs.

COOPER: So have you (inaudible) personal federal income tax?

TRUMP: A lot of my -- excuse me, Anderson -- a lot of my write- off was depreciation and other things that Hillary as a senator allowed. And she'll always allow it, because the people that give her all this money, they want it. That's why.

See, I understand the tax code better than anybody that's ever run for president. Hillary Clinton -- and it's extremely complex -- Hillary Clinton has friends that want all of these provisions, including they want the carried interest provision, which is very important to Wall Street people. But they really want the carried interest provision, which I believe Hillary's leaving. Very interesting why she's leaving carried interest.

But I will tell you that, number one, I pay tremendous numbers of taxes. I absolutely used it. And so did Warren Buffett and so did George Soros and so did many of the other people that Hillary is getting money from. Now, I won't mention their names, because they're rich, but they're not famous. So we won't make them famous.

COOPER: So can you -- can you say how many years you have avoided paying personal federal income taxes?

TRUMP: No, but I pay tax, and I pay federal tax, too. But I have a write-off, a lot of it's depreciation, which is a wonderful charge. I love depreciation. You know, she's given it to us.

Hey, if she had a problem -- for 30 years she's been doing this, Anderson. I say it all the time. She talks about health care. Why didn't she do something about it? She talks about taxes. Why didn't she do something about it? She doesn't do anything about anything other than talk. With her, it's all talk and no action.

COOPER: In the past...

TRUMP: And, again, Bernie Sanders, it's really bad judgment. She has made bad judgment not only on taxes. She's made bad judgments on Libya, on Syria, on Iraq. I mean, her and Obama, whether you like it or not, the way they got out of Iraq, the vacuum they've left, that's why ISIS formed in the first place. They started from that little area, and now they're in 32 different nations, Hillary. Congratulations. Great job.

COOPER: Secretary -- I want you to be able to respond, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Well, here we go again. I've been in favor of getting rid of carried interest for years, starting when I was a senator from New York. But that's not the point here.

TRUMP: Why didn't you do it? Why didn't you do it?

COOPER: Allow her to respond.

CLINTON: Because I was a senator with a Republican president.

TRUMP: Oh, really?

CLINTON: I will be the president and we will get it done. That's exactly right.

TRUMP: You could have done it, if you were an effective -- if you were an effective senator, you could have done it. If you were an effective senator, you could have done it. But you were not an effective senator.

COOPER: Please allow her to respond. She didn't interrupt you.

CLINTON: You know, under our Constitution, presidents have something called veto power. Look, he has now said repeatedly, ''30 years this and 30 years that.'' So let me talk about my 30 years in public service. I'm very glad to do so.

Eight million kids every year have health insurance, because when I was first lady I worked with Democrats and Republicans to create the Children's Health Insurance Program. Hundreds of thousands of kids now have a chance to be adopted because I worked to change our adoption and foster care system. After 9/11, I went to work with Republican mayor, governor and president to rebuild New York and to get health care for our first responders who were suffering because they had run toward danger and gotten sickened by it. Hundreds of thousands of National Guard and Reserve members have health care because of work that I did, and children have safer medicines because I was able to pass a law that required the dosing to be more carefully done.

When I was secretary of state, I went around the world advocating for our country, but also advocating for women's rights, to make sure that women had a decent chance to have a better life and negotiated a treaty with Russia to lower nuclear weapons. Four hundred pieces of legislation have my name on it as a sponsor or cosponsor when I was a senator for eight years.

I worked very hard and was very proud to be re-elected in New York by an even bigger margin than I had been elected the first time. And as president, I will take that work, that bipartisan work, that finding common ground, because you have to be able to get along with people to get things done in Washington.

COOPER: Thank you, secretary.

CLINTON: I've proven that I can, and for 30 years, I've produced results for people.

COOPER: Thank you, secretary.

RADDATZ: We're going to move on to Syria. Both of you have mentioned that.

TRUMP: She said a lot of things that were false. I mean, I think we should be allowed to maybe...

RADDATZ: No, we can -- no, Mr. Trump, we're going to go on. This is about the audience.

TRUMP: Excuse me. Because she has been a disaster as a senator. A disaster.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, we're going to move on. The heart-breaking video of a 5-year-old Syrian boy named Omran sitting in an ambulance after being pulled from the rubble after an air strike in Aleppo focused the world's attention on the horrors of the war in Syria, with 136 million views on Facebook alone.

But there are much worse images coming out of Aleppo every day now, where in the past few weeks alone, 400 people have been killed, at least 100 of them children. Just days ago, the State Department called for a war crimes investigation of the Syrian regime of Bashar al-Assad and its ally, Russia, for their bombardment of Aleppo.

So this next question comes through social media through Facebook. Diane from Pennsylvania asks, if you were president, what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo? Isn't it a lot like the Holocaust when the U.S. waited too long before we helped? Secretary Clinton, we will begin with your two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, the situation in Syria is catastrophic. And every day that goes by, we see the results of the regime by Assad in partnership with the Iranians on the ground, the Russians in the air, bombarding places, in particular Aleppo, where there are hundreds of thousands of people, probably about 250,000 still left. And there is a determined effort by the Russian air force to destroy Aleppo in order to eliminate the last of the Syrian rebels who are really holding out against the Assad regime.

Russia hasn't paid any attention to ISIS. They're interested in keeping Assad in power. So I, when I was secretary of state, advocated and I advocate today a no-fly zone and safe zones. We need some leverage with the Russians, because they are not going to come to the negotiating table for a diplomatic resolution, unless there is some leverage over them. And we have to work more closely with our partners and allies on the ground.

But I want to emphasize that what is at stake here is the ambitions and the aggressiveness of Russia. Russia has decided that it's all in, in Syria. And they've also decided who they want to see become president of the United States, too, and it's not me. I've stood up to Russia. I've taken on Putin and others, and I would do that as president.

I think wherever we can cooperate with Russia, that's fine. And I did as secretary of state. That's how we got a treaty reducing nuclear weapons. It's how we got the sanctions on Iran that put a lid on the Iranian nuclear program without firing a single shot. So I would go to the negotiating table with more leverage than we have now. But I do support the effort to investigate for crimes, war crimes committed by the Syrians and the Russians and try to hold them accountable.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Secretary Clinton. Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: First of all, she was there as secretary of state with the so-called line in the sand, which...

CLINTON: No, I wasn't. I was gone. I hate to interrupt you, but at some point...

TRUMP: OK. But you were in contact -- excuse me. You were...

CLINTON: At some point, we need to do some fact-checking here.

TRUMP: You were in total contact with the White House, and perhaps, sadly, Obama probably still listened to you. I don't think he would be listening to you very much anymore.

Obama draws the line in the sand. It was laughed at all over the world what happened.

Now, with that being said, she talks tough against Russia. But our nuclear program has fallen way behind, and they've gone wild with their nuclear program. Not good. Our government shouldn't have allowed that to happen. Russia is new in terms of nuclear. We are old. We're tired. We're exhausted in terms of nuclear. A very bad thing.

Now, she talks tough, she talks really tough against Putin and against Assad. She talks in favor of the rebels. She doesn't even know who the rebels are. You know, every time we take rebels, whether it's in Iraq or anywhere else, we're arming people. And you know what happens? They end up being worse than the people.

Look at what she did in Libya with Gadhafi. Gadhafi's out. It's a mess. And, by the way, ISIS has a good chunk of their oil. I'm sure you probably have heard that. It was a disaster. Because the fact is, almost everything she's done in foreign policy has been a mistake and it's been a disaster.

But if you look at Russia, just take a look at Russia, and look at what they did this week, where I agree, she wasn't there, but possibly she's consulted. We sign a peace treaty. Everyone's all excited. Well, what Russia did with Assad and, by the way, with Iran, who you made very powerful with the dumbest deal perhaps I've ever seen in the history of deal-making, the Iran deal, with the $150 billion, with the $1.7 billion in cash, which is enough to fill up this room.

But look at that deal. Iran now and Russia are now against us. So she wants to fight. She wants to fight for rebels. There's only one problem. You don't even know who the rebels are. So what's the purpose?

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump, your two minutes is up.

TRUMP: And one thing I have to say.

RADDATZ: Your two minutes is up.

TRUMP: I don't like Assad at all, but Assad is killing ISIS. Russia is killing ISIS. And Iran is killing ISIS. And those three have now lined up because of our weak foreign policy.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, let me repeat the question. If you were president...

(LAUGHTER)

... what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo? And I want to remind you what your running mate said. He said provocations by Russia need to be met with American strength and that if Russia continues to be involved in air strikes along with the Syrian government forces of Assad, the United States of America should be prepared to use military force to strike the military targets of the Assad regime.

TRUMP: OK. He and I haven't spoken, and I disagree. I disagree.

RADDATZ: You disagree with your running mate?

TRUMP: I think you have to knock out ISIS. Right now, Syria is fighting ISIS. We have people that want to fight both at the same time. But Syria is no longer Syria. Syria is Russia and it's Iran, who she made strong and Kerry and Obama made into a very powerful nation and a very rich nation, very, very quickly, very, very quickly.

I believe we have to get ISIS. We have to worry about ISIS before we can get too much more involved. She had a chance to do something with Syria. They had a chance. And that was the line. And she didn't.

RADDATZ: What do you think will happen if Aleppo falls?

TRUMP: I think Aleppo is a disaster, humanitarian-wise.

RADDATZ: What do you think will happen if it falls?

TRUMP: I think that it basically has fallen. OK? It basically has fallen. Let me tell you something. You take a look at Mosul. The biggest problem I have with the stupidity of our foreign policy, we have Mosul. They think a lot of the ISIS leaders are in Mosul. So we have announcements coming out of Washington and coming out of Iraq, we will be attacking Mosul in three weeks or four weeks.

Well, all of these bad leaders from ISIS are leaving Mosul. Why can't they do it quietly? Why can't they do the attack, make it a sneak attack, and after the attack is made, inform the American public that we've knocked out the leaders, we've had a tremendous success? People leave. Why do they have to say we're going to be attacking Mosul within the next four to six weeks, which is what they're saying? How stupid is our country? RADDATZ: There are sometimes reasons the military does that. Psychological warfare.

TRUMP: I can't think of any. I can't think of any. And I'm pretty good at it.

RADDATZ: It might be to help get civilians out.

TRUMP: And we have General Flynn. And we have -- look, I have 200 generals and admirals who endorsed me. I have 21 Congressional Medal of Honor recipients who endorsed me. We talk about it all the time. They understand, why can't they do something secretively, where they go in and they knock out the leadership? How -- why would these people stay there? I've been reading now...

RADDATZ: Tell me what your strategy is.

TRUMP: ... for weeks -- I've been reading now for weeks about Mosul, that it's the harbor of where -- you know, between Raqqa and Mosul, this is where they think the ISIS leaders are. Why would they be saying -- they're not staying there anymore. They're gone. Because everybody's talking about how Iraq, which is us with our leadership, goes in to fight Mosul.

Now, with these 200 admirals and generals, they can't believe it. All I say is this. General George Patton, General Douglas MacArthur are spinning in their grave at the stupidity of what we're doing in the Middle East.

RADDATZ: I'm going to go to Secretary Clinton. Secretary Clinton, you want Assad to go. You advocated arming rebels, but it looks like that may be too late for Aleppo. You talk about diplomatic efforts. Those have failed. Cease-fires have failed. Would you introduce the threat of U.S. military force beyond a no-fly zone against the Assad regime to back up diplomacy?

CLINTON: I would not use American ground forces in Syria. I think that would be a very serious mistake. I don't think American troops should be holding territory, which is what they would have to do as an occupying force. I don't think that is a smart strategy.

I do think the use of special forces, which we're using, the use of enablers and trainers in Iraq, which has had some positive effects, are very much in our interests, and so I do support what is happening, but let me just...

RADDATZ: But what would you do differently than President Obama is doing?

CLINTON: Well, Martha, I hope that by the time I -- if I'm fortunate...

TRUMP: Everything.

CLINTON: I hope by the time I am president that we will have pushed ISIS out of Iraq. I do think that there is a good chance that we can take Mosul. And, you know, Donald says he knows more about ISIS than the generals. No, he doesn't.

There are a lot of very important planning going on, and some of it is to signal to the Sunnis in the area, as well as Kurdish Peshmerga fighters, that we all need to be in this. And that takes a lot of planning and preparation.

I would go after Baghdadi. I would specifically target Baghdadi, because I think our targeting of Al Qaida leaders -- and I was involved in a lot of those operations, highly classified ones -- made a difference. So I think that could help.

I would also consider arming the Kurds. The Kurds have been our best partners in Syria, as well as Iraq. And I know there's a lot of concern about that in some circles, but I think they should have the equipment they need so that Kurdish and Arab fighters on the ground are the principal way that we take Raqqa after pushing ISIS out of Iraq.

RADDATZ: Thank you very much. We're going to move on...

TRUMP: You know what's funny? She went over a minute over, and you don't stop her. When I go one second over, it's like a big deal.

RADDATZ: You had many answers.

TRUMP: It's really -- it's really very interesting.

COOPER: We've got a question over here from James Carter. Mr. Carter?

QUESTION: My question is, do you believe you can be a devoted president to all the people in the United States?

COOPER: That question begins for Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Absolutely. I mean, she calls our people deplorable, a large group, and irredeemable. I will be a president for all of our people. And I'll be a president that will turn our inner cities around and will give strength to people and will give economics to people and will bring jobs back.

Because NAFTA, signed by her husband, is perhaps the greatest disaster trade deal in the history of the world. Not in this country. It stripped us of manufacturing jobs. We lost our jobs. We lost our money. We lost our plants. It is a disaster. And now she wants to sign TPP, even though she says now she's for it. She called it the gold standard. And by the way, at the last debate, she lied, because it turned out that she did say the gold standard and she said she didn't say it. They actually said that she lied. OK? And she lied. But she's lied about a lot of things.

TRUMP: I would be a president for all of the people, African- Americans, the inner cities. Devastating what's happening to our inner cities. She's been talking about it for years. As usual, she talks about it, nothing happens. She doesn't get it done.

Same with the Latino Americans, the Hispanic Americans. The same exact thing. They talk, they don't get it done. You go into the inner cities and -- you see it's 45 percent poverty. African- Americans now 45 percent poverty in the inner cities. The education is a disaster. Jobs are essentially nonexistent.

I mean, it's -- you know, and I've been saying at big speeches where I have 20,000 and 30,000 people, what do you have to lose? It can't get any worse. And she's been talking about the inner cities for 25 years. Nothing's going to ever happen.

Let me tell you, if she's president of the United States, nothing's going to happen. It's just going to be talk. And all of her friends, the taxes we were talking about, and I would just get it by osmosis. She's not doing any me favors. But by doing all the others' favors, she's doing me favors.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, thank you.

TRUMP: But I will tell you, she's all talk. It doesn't get done. All you have to do is take a look at her Senate run. Take a look at upstate New York.

COOPER: Your two minutes is up. Secretary Clinton, two minutes?

TRUMP: It turned out to be a disaster.

COOPER: You have two minutes, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Well, 67 percent of the people voted to re-elect me when I ran for my second term, and I was very proud and very humbled by that.

Mr. Carter, I have tried my entire life to do what I can to support children and families. You know, right out of law school, I went to work for the Children's Defense Fund. And Donald talks a lot about, you know, the 30 years I've been in public service. I'm proud of that. You know, I started off as a young lawyer working against discrimination against African-American children in schools and in the criminal justice system. I worked to make sure that kids with disabilities could get a public education, something that I care very much about. I have worked with Latinos -- one of my first jobs in politics was down in south Texas registering Latino citizens to be able to vote. So I have a deep devotion, to use your absolutely correct word, to making sure that an every American feels like he or she has a place in our country.

And I think when you look at the letters that I get, a lot of people are worried that maybe they wouldn't have a place in Donald Trump's America. They write me, and one woman wrote me about her son, Felix. She adopted him from Ethiopia when he was a toddler. He's 10 years old now. This is the only one country he's ever known. And he listens to Donald on TV and he said to his mother one day, will he send me back to Ethiopia if he gets elected?

You know, children listen to what is being said. To go back to the very, very first question. And there's a lot of fear -- in fact, teachers and parents are calling it the Trump effect. Bullying is up. A lot of people are feeling, you know, uneasy. A lot of kids are expressing their concerns.

So, first and foremost, I will do everything I can to reach out to everybody.

COOPER: Your time, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Democrats, Republicans, independents, people across our country. If you don't vote for me, I still want to be your president.

COOPER: Your two minutes is up.

CLINTON: I want to be the best president I can be for every American.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, your two minutes is up. I want to follow up on something that Donald Trump actually said to you, a comment you made last month. You said that half of Donald Trump's supporters are, quote, ''deplorables, racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic.'' You later said you regretted saying half. You didn't express regret for using the term ''deplorables.'' To Mr. Carter's question, how can you unite a country if you've written off tens of millions of Americans?

CLINTON: Well, within hours I said that I was sorry about the way I talked about that, because my argument is not with his supporters. It's with him and with the hateful and divisive campaign that he has run, and the inciting of violence at his rallies, and the very brutal kinds of comments about not just women, but all Americans, all kinds of Americans.

And what he has said about African-Americans and Latinos, about Muslims, about POWs, about **immigrants**, about people with disabilities, he's never apologized for. And so I do think that a lot of the tone and tenor that he has said -- I'm proud of the campaign that Bernie Sanders and I ran. We ran a campaign based on issues, not insults. And he is supporting me 100 percent.

COOPER: Thank you.

CLINTON: Because we talked about what we wanted to do. We might have had some differences, and we had a lot of debates...

COOPER: Thank you, Secretary.

TRUMP: ... but we believed that we could make the country better. And I was proud of that.

COOPER: I want to give you a minute to respond.

TRUMP: We have a divided nation. We have a very divided nation. You look at Charlotte. You look at Baltimore. You look at the violence that's taking place in the inner cities, Chicago, you take a look at Washington, D.C.

We have an increase in murder within our cities, the biggest in 45 years. We have a divided nation, because people like her -- and believe me, she has tremendous hate in her heart. And when she said deplorables, she meant it. And when she said irredeemable, they're irredeemable, you didn't mention that, but when she said they're irredeemable, to me that might have been even worse.

COOPER: She said some of them are irredeemable.

TRUMP: She's got tremendous -- she's got tremendous hatred. And this country cannot take another four years of Barack Obama, and that's what you're getting with her.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, let me follow up with you. In 2008, you wrote in one of your books that the most important characteristic of a good leader is discipline. You said, if a leader doesn't have it, quote, ''he or she won't be one for very long.'' In the days after the first debate, you sent out a series of tweets from 3 a.m. to 5 a.m., including one that told people to check out a sex tape. Is that the discipline of a good leader?

TRUMP: No, there wasn't check out a sex tape. It was just take a look at the person that she built up to be this wonderful Girl Scout who was no Girl Scout.

COOPER: You mentioned sex tape.

TRUMP: By the way, just so you understand, when she said 3 o'clock in the morning, take a look at Benghazi. She said who is going to answer the call at 3 o'clock in the morning? Guess what? She didn't answer it, because when Ambassador Stevens...

COOPER: The question is, is that the discipline of a good leader?

TRUMP: ... 600 -- wait a minute, Anderson, 600 times. Well, she said she was awake at 3 o'clock in the morning, and she also sent a tweet out at 3 o'clock in the morning, but I won't even mention that. But she said she'll be awake. Who's going -- the famous thing, we're going to answer our call at 3 o'clock in the morning. Guess what happened? Ambassador Stevens -- Ambassador Stevens sent 600 requests for help. And the only one she talked to was Sidney Blumenthal, who's her friend and not a good guy, by the way. So, you know, she shouldn't be talking about that.

Now, tweeting happens to be a modern day form of communication. I mean, you can like it or not like it. I have, between Facebook and Twitter, I have almost 25 million people. It's a very effective way of communication. So you can put it down, but it is a very effective form of communication. I'm not un-proud of it, to be honest with you.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, does Mr. Trump have the discipline to be a good leader?

CLINTON: No.

TRUMP: I'm shocked to hear that.

(LAUGHTER)

CLINTON: Well, it's not only my opinion. It's the opinion of many others, national security experts, Republicans, former Republican members of Congress. But it's in part because those of us who have had the great privilege of seeing this job up close and know how difficult it is, and it's not just because I watched my husband take a $300 billion deficit and turn it into a $200 billion surplus, and 23 million new jobs were created, and incomes went up for everybody. Everybody. African-American incomes went up 33 percent.

And it's not just because I worked with George W. Bush after 9/11, and I was very proud that when I told him what the city needed, what we needed to recover, he said you've got it, and he never wavered. He stuck with me.

And I have worked and I admire President Obama. He inherited the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. That was a terrible time for our country.

COOPER: We have to move along.

CLINTON: Nine million people lost their jobs.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, we have to...

CLINTON: Five million homes were lost.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, we're moving.

CLINTON: And $13 trillion in family wealth was wiped out. We are back on the right track. He would send us back into recession with his tax plans that benefit the wealthiest of Americans.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, we are moving to an audience question. We're almost out of time. We have another... TRUMP: We have the slowest growth since 1929.

RADDATZ: We're moving to an audience question.

TRUMP: It is -- our country has the slowest growth and jobs are a disaster.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Secretary Clinton, we want to get to the audience. Thank you very much both of you.

(LAUGHTER)

We have another audience question. Beth Miller has a question for both candidates.

QUESTION: Good evening. Perhaps the most important aspect of this election is the Supreme Court justice. What would you prioritize as the most important aspect of selecting a Supreme Court justice?

RADDATZ: We begin with your two minutes, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Thank you. Well, you're right. This is one of the most important issues in this election. I want to appoint Supreme Court justices who understand the way the world really works, who have real-life experience, who have not just been in a big law firm and maybe clerked for a judge and then gotten on the bench, but, you know, maybe they tried some more cases, they actually understand what people are up against.

Because I think the current court has gone in the wrong direction. And so I would want to see the Supreme Court reverse Citizens United and get dark, unaccountable money out of our politics. Donald doesn't agree with that.

I would like the Supreme Court to understand that voting rights are still a big problem in many parts of our country, that we don't always do everything we can to make it possible for people of color and older people and young people to be able to exercise their franchise. I want a Supreme Court that will stick with Roe v. Wade and a woman's right to choose, and I want a Supreme Court that will stick with marriage equality.

Now, Donald has put forth the names of some people that he would consider. And among the ones that he has suggested are people who would reverse Roe v. Wade and reverse marriage equality. I think that would be a terrible mistake and would take us backwards.

I want a Supreme Court that doesn't always side with corporate interests. I want a Supreme Court that understands because you're wealthy and you can give more money to something doesn't mean you have any more rights or should have any more rights than anybody else.

So I have very clear views about what I want to see to kind of change the balance on the Supreme Court. And I regret deeply that the Senate has not done its job and they have not permitted a vote on the person that President Obama, a highly qualified person, they've not given him a vote to be able to be have the full complement of nine Supreme Court justices. I think that was a dereliction of duty.

I hope that they will see their way to doing it, but if I am so fortunate enough as to be president, I will immediately move to make sure that we fill that, we have nine justices that get to work on behalf of our people.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Secretary Clinton. Thank you. You're out of time. Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Justice Scalia, great judge, died recently. And we have a vacancy. I am looking to appoint judges very much in the mold of Justice Scalia. I'm looking for judges -- and I've actually picked 20 of them so that people would see, highly respected, highly thought of, and actually very beautifully reviewed by just about everybody.

But people that will respect the Constitution of the United States. And I think that this is so important. Also, the Second Amendment, which is totally under siege by people like Hillary Clinton. They'll respect the Second Amendment and what it stands for, what it represents. So important to me.

Now, Hillary mentioned something about contributions just so you understand. So I will have in my race more than $100 million put in -- of my money, meaning I'm not taking all of this big money from all of these different corporations like she's doing. What I ask is this.

So I'm putting in more than -- by the time it's finished, I'll have more than $100 million invested. Pretty much self-funding money. We're raising money for the Republican Party, and we're doing tremendously on the small donations, $61 average or so.

I ask Hillary, why doesn't -- she made $250 million by being in office. She used the power of her office to make a lot of money. Why isn't she funding, not for $100 million, but why don't you put $10 million or $20 million or $25 million or $30 million into your own campaign?

It's $30 million less for special interests that will tell you exactly what to do and it would really, I think, be a nice sign to the American public. Why aren't you putting some money in? You have a lot of it. You've made a lot of it because of the fact that you've been in office. Made a lot of it while you were secretary of state, actually. So why aren't you putting money into your own campaign? I'm just curious.

CLINTON: Well...

(CROSSTALK)

RADDATZ: Thank you very much. We're going to get on to one more question.

CLINTON: The question was about the Supreme Court. And I just want to quickly say, I respect the Second Amendment. But I believe there should be comprehensive background checks, and we should close the gun show loophole, and close the online loophole. COOPER: Thank you.

RADDATZ: We have -- we have one more question, Mrs. Clinton.

CLINTON: We have to save as many lives as we possibly can.

COOPER: We have one more question from Ken Bone about energy policy. Ken?

QUESTION: What steps will your energy policy take to meet our energy needs, while at the same time remaining environmentally friendly and minimizing job loss for fossil power plant workers?

COOPER: Mr. Trump, two minutes?

TRUMP: Absolutely. I think it's such a great question, because energy is under siege by the Obama administration. Under absolutely siege. The EPA, Environmental Protection Agency, is killing these energy companies. And foreign companies are now coming in buying our -- buying so many of our different plants and then re-jiggering the plant so that they can take care of their oil.

We are killing -- absolutely killing our energy business in this country. Now, I'm all for alternative forms of energy, including wind, including solar, et cetera. But we need much more than wind and solar.

And you look at our miners. Hillary Clinton wants to put all the miners out of business. There is a thing called clean coal. Coal will last for 1,000 years in this country. Now we have natural gas and so many other things because of technology. We have unbelievable -- we have found over the last seven years, we have found tremendous wealth right under our feet. So good. Especially when you have $20 trillion in debt.

I will bring our energy companies back. They'll be able to compete. They'll make money. They'll pay off our national debt. They'll pay off our tremendous budget deficits, which are tremendous. But we are putting our energy companies out of business. We have to bring back our workers.

You take a look at what's happening to steel and the cost of steel and China dumping vast amounts of steel all over the United States, which essentially is killing our steelworkers and our steel companies. We have to guard our energy companies. We have to make it possible.

The EPA is so restrictive that they are putting our energy companies out of business. And all you have to do is go to a great place like West Virginia or places like Ohio, which is phenomenal, or places like Pennsylvania and you see what they're doing to the people, miners and others in the energy business. It's a disgrace.

COOPER: Your time is up. Thank you.

TRUMP: It's an absolute disgrace. COOPER: Secretary Clinton, two minutes.

CLINTON: And actually -- well, that was very interesting. First of all, China is illegally dumping steel in the United States and Donald Trump is buying it to build his buildings, putting steelworkers and American steel plants out of business. That's something that I fought against as a senator and that I would have a trade prosecutor to make sure that we don't get taken advantage of by China on steel or anything else.

You know, because it sounds like you're in the business or you're aware of people in the business -- you know that we are now for the first time ever energy-independent. We are not dependent upon the Middle East. But the Middle East still controls a lot of the prices. So the price of oil has been way down. And that has had a damaging effect on a lot of the oil companies, right? We are, however, producing a lot of natural gas, which serves as a bridge to more renewable fuels. And I think that's an important transition.

We've got to remain energy-independent. It gives us much more power and freedom than to be worried about what goes on in the Middle East. We have enough worries over there without having to worry about that.

So I have a comprehensive energy policy, but it really does include fighting climate change, because I think that is a serious problem. And I support moving toward more clean, renewable energy as quickly as we can, because I think we can be the 21st century clean energy superpower and create millions of new jobs and businesses.

But I also want to be sure that we don't leave people behind. That's why I'm the only candidate from the very beginning of this campaign who had a plan to help us revitalize coal country, because those coal miners and their fathers and their grandfathers, they dug that coal out. A lot of them lost their lives. They were injured, but they turned the lights on and they powered their factories. I don't want to walk away from them. So we've got to do something for them.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: But the price of coal is down worldwide. So we have to look at this comprehensively.

COOPER: Your time is up.

CLINTON: And that's exactly what I have proposed. I hope you will go to HillaryClinton.com and look at my entire policy.

COOPER: Time is up. We have time for one more...

RADDATZ: We have...

COOPER: One more audience question.

RADDATZ: We've sneaked in one more question, and it comes from Karl Becker.

QUESTION: Good evening. My question to both of you is, regardless of the current rhetoric, would either of you name one positive thing that you respect in one another?

(APPLAUSE)

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, would you like to go first?

CLINTON: Well, I certainly will, because I think that's a very fair and important question. Look, I respect his children. His children are incredibly able and devoted, and I think that says a lot about Donald. I don't agree with nearly anything else he says or does, but I do respect that. And I think that is something that as a mother and a grandmother is very important to me.

So I believe that this election has become in part so -- so conflict-oriented, so intense because there's a lot at stake. This is not an ordinary time, and this is not an ordinary election. We are going to be choosing a president who will set policy for not just four or eight years, but because of some of the important decisions we have to make here at home and around the world, from the Supreme Court to energy and so much else, and so there is a lot at stake. It's one of the most consequential elections that we've had.

And that's why I've tried to put forth specific policies and plans, trying to get it off of the personal and put it on to what it is I want to do as president. And that's why I hope people will check on that for themselves so that they can see that, yes, I've spent 30 years, actually maybe a little more, working to help kids and families. And I want to take all that experience to the White House and do that every single day.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Well, I consider her statement about my children to be a very nice compliment. I don't know if it was meant to be a compliment, but it is a great -- I'm very proud of my children. And they've done a wonderful job, and they've been wonderful, wonderful kids. So I consider that a compliment.

I will say this about Hillary. She doesn't quit. She doesn't give up. I respect that. I tell it like it is. She's a fighter. I disagree with much of what she's fighting for. I do disagree with her judgment in many cases. But she does fight hard, and she doesn't quit, and she doesn't give up. And I consider that to be a very good trait.

RADDATZ: Thanks to both of you.

COOPER: We want to thank both the candidates. We want to thank the university here. This concludes the town hall meeting. Our thanks to the candidates, the commission, Washington University, and to everybody who watched.

RADDATZ: Please tune in on October 19th for the final presidential debate that will take place at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Good night, everyone.

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the First Draft newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**EUGENE, Ore. -- It's a cliché about the classroom that your students teach you as much, if not more, than you teach them.

''Where I come from, the girls have only three choices,'' one of my students, in her early 20s, told me of her hometown in Eastern Oregon. ''You get married, you go to beauty school, or you join the Army.'' She was herself a veteran of Afghanistan.

Compared with other places I've lived (Los Angeles, Mexico City), Oregon is very ''white.'' (It's a term so loaded, I feel I should use quotation marks at least once.) Listening to my journalism students at the University of Oregon and reading their assignments have given me many insights into the hurt, confusion and fortitude of people who could be called ''white.''

I thought I knew about white people already. In the 1960s and '70s, I grew up as a Latino (a term we didn't use then) in the multiethnic Hollywood neighborhood of Los Angeles. My grade-school friends included an Armenian kid, an Eastern European émigré and a guy from Arkansas, all of whom were white. In class and on TV, I was fed a steady diet of stories featuring people with skin paler than mine: the Pilgrims, Abraham Lincoln, ''The Great Gatsby,'' ''The Grapes of Wrath,'' ''The Godfather,'' ''Patton'' and so forth.

Since then, the study of white identity has become an intellectual vogue resulting in some important work. The book ''White Trash: The 400-Year Untold Story of Class in America'' is a New York Times best seller. As was the 2010 book by the African-American historian Nell Irvin Painter, ''The History of White People.''

Now, with the presidential election just weeks away, every other news report tells me it's ''white people'' and their anger that will determine the outcome between two candidates of Anglo-Saxon and German heritage.

Eugene is 82 percent ''white alone, not Hispanic or Latino,'' as the Census Bureau puts it. I commute to Eugene by bus from neighboring Springfield, a blue-collar town sometimes disparagingly referred to as ''Springtucky.'' It's a nickname tinged with racism toward the ''rednecks'' who supposedly live there.

As relatively affluent students get off at the university stops, I look at the people who stay on, almost all of them white, and I think, ''There's not much 'white privilege' left on this bus now.'' A white author friend with whom I shared this observation disagreed.

''It's the right to carry a gun in your car and not get shot,'' he said. ''And you can screw up your life more often as a white person.''

I tell my students that stereotypes and generalizations are the enemy of good writing. And mostly, their tales of central Oregon are nuanced and complex. They report about old lumber towns, county fairs, homeless people, students grappling with rising tuition costs, and irascible old hippies determined to hold on to their independence.

Running through this reporting, there is often an unspoken theme. The notion of class struggle lost currency in America decades ago. Every once in a while, though, I feel compelled to name this taboo subject -- perhaps because class underpins my sense of Latino identity. When I say, ''I am the son of Latino **immigrants**,'' it's a shorthand for the experience of people who have fought their way out of poverty and who remained linked, through ties of blood and cultural affinity, to others who still live with deprivation.

''This is a story that's really about social class,'' I'll say. But that sense of community seems no longer available to my white students. As one explained in response: ''You're supposed to be able to make yourself rich, and if you can't, it's your own fault.''

These days, economic forces are conspiring to make the stories of many of my white Oregon students more similar to those of my Latino students. Both tell tales of small towns and overworked parents, about feeling like outsiders and battling class discrimination. I've found the same themes in other student writing from Central California, upstate New York and rural Wisconsin.

If social mobility isn't what it used to be, it may be a reality that Latino people have adapted to more readily. In my humble, nonwhite opinion, white America has not yet found a constructive language to talk about this shared experience of the 21st century. I find hope, however, in the young people in my classes who roundly reject the idea that nonwhite people are to blame for their struggles.

With these students, I share the ideas that have kept me centered as an American-born son of Latino **immigrants**: Be proud of your roots, understand the history that has shaped your community and respect the history of others. Do these things, I tell them, and you will be better writers -- and good citizens, too.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**As the backlash increases over a recording of Donald J. Trump speaking of women in vulgar sexual terms, some have said the fury may be particularly intense because Mr. Trump, who has previously offended a number of minorities, is now being perceived as demeaning a target historically more valued in American society: white women.

Mr. Trump has been accused of belittling women before. He has battled the Fox News anchor Megyn Kelly and publicly feuded with Rosie O'Donnell. But in the recording released on Friday, Mr. Trump says he can have access to any woman's body because of his fame and moments later is shown arm in arm with a white actress, Arianne Zucker. That seemed to resonate powerfully with Republican leaders, who perhaps could imagine Ms. Zucker as one of their own family members.

Many of the Republicans who withdrew their support from Mr. Trump or increased their criticism released statements citing their daughters, wives and mothers in explaining why the comments were so objectionable.

''As the grandfather of two precious girls, I find that no apology can excuse away Donald Trump's reprehensible comments degrading women,'' Jeb Bush said on Twitter.

Senator Dan Sullivan of Alaska said he was ''inspired by my three wonderful teenage daughters, and my wise and gracious wife'' as he called on Mr. Trump to ''step aside.''

Representative Jason Chaffetz of Utah withdrew support from Mr. Trump by telling a local television station, ''My wife and I, we have a 15-year-old daughter, and if I can't look her in the eye and tell her these things, I can't endorse this person.''

But some activists, experts and party strategists say that display of empathy illustrates that the lives of minorities are not as valued as those of white women.

Hours after the release of the video, Symone Sanders, the former national press secretary for the presidential campaign of Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, took to Twitter: ''You apparently can say whatever you want about Mexicans, Hispanics & Black people, but the Republican Party draws the line on white women,'' she said on Friday night.

In an interview on Saturday, Ms. Sanders said many Republicans asking for Mr. Trump to withdraw from the race and referring to their families were illustrating that they could not empathize when others were targeted.

''We are still measuring folks by standards of whiteness, and it took for Donald Trump to essentially speak poorly about white women in this country en masse -- it took Donald Trump to do something and say something where white people could put themselves in that position to say, 'Whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa. You've gone too far, buddy. This is too much,''' she said.

Many of the Republicans calling on Mr. Trump to step aside or withdrawing their support are in tight races of their own, and the political motivations for the outcry are clear, with many leaders focused on saving down-ballot races and on pushing back against recordings that condone sexual harassment.

But some say the political reasons for the reaction do not explain why previous comments from Mr. Trump were not met with the same response. Mr. Trump has faced criticism in varying degrees throughout his campaign from Republicans over his comments that some Mexican **immigrants** are rapists and criminals, for his initial proposal to bar Muslims from entering the United States and for his attacks on a former Miss Universe, Alicia Machado, for gaining weight. But those incidents did not prompt the same kind of widespread and intense condemnation.

Alida Garcia, the coalitions and policy director at FWD.us, an **immigration** overhaul group, said she was as angry the day Mr. Trump began his campaign by describing undocumented Mexican **immigrants** as criminals as she was about the recording on Friday.

''As a Mexican-American woman, the very first day of Donald Trump's campaign crossed a line, and it did not feel like the broader political community took that seriously,'' Ms. Garcia said. ''I do feel that this country still looks at Mexicans and Latinos as an invisible work force in the United States that is not deserving of the same humanization as white people.''

Johnetta Elzie, 27, a Black Lives Matter activist based in St. Louis, echoed the sentiment.

''It's like everything is to save and protect white women. And it's like, what about everyone else?'' Ms. Elzie said.

''It makes me wonder: Do you not have any Muslim friends? Do you not know any black people? Do you not know any Mexicans? Why is it this thing where you can look inside your household, like why do you have to make that kind of connection to have empathy for someone?''

For Angela Rye, chief executive of Impact Strategies, a political advocacy firm in Washington, the responses come down to implicit bias, the idea that everyone filters situations and events through their own experiences, race and gender.

''Sometimes you don't realize how bad something is until it hits you really close to home,'' she said. ''And this time it hit them in their homes instead of next door to their homes because he is literally talking about groping a white woman and then goes up and gives her a hug on the video.''

Whatever the prime motivation for the outcry from Republican officials, Ms. Sanders said she thought it was about more than their wives and daughters.

''White women are part of a strategic base in the Republican Party, and folks, I don't think they felt this offended just because they have daughters and mothers,'' Ms. Sanders said. ''I have to believe, as a strategist, that folks thought this is absolutely bad for the party and we can't win down-ballot races if he's out here speaking like this and there are more tapes that surface. We have to distance ourselves to save what's left of our party.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Pope Francis on Sunday named 17 new cardinals, including three Americans, adding prelates from developing countries to give them a greater voice in selecting the next pope. Francis' American appointments elevate moderates in the church hierarchy, bypassing doctrinal conservatives from large archdioceses.

The three Americans, the most Francis named from any one country, are Archbishops Blase J. Cupich of Chicago and Joseph Tobin of Indianapolis and a former Dallas bishop, Kevin Farrell, whom Francis recently reassigned to the Vatican to lead a new department for family, laity and life. Francis had skipped over the United States in two previous rounds of appointments.

The pope announced the new cardinals from the steps of St. Peter's Basilica at the end of a special Mass on Sunday, saying their diversity represents ''the universality of the church'' and ''the mercy of God in every corner of the world.'' He said he will elevate the cardinals on Nov. 19.

The group includes men from five countries that had never before had a cardinal: Bangladesh, the Central African Republic, Lesotho, Malaysia and Papua New Guinea. Francis also named as cardinal the Vatican envoy to Syria, a signal of the church's concern for that war-ravaged country. Other appointees are from Venezuela, Brazil, Spain, Belgium, Mauritius, Mexico, Italy and Albania.

Thirteen of the new cardinals, including the Americans, are younger than 80 and therefore eligible to vote in a conclave to elect the next pope. Francis has now selected about 40 percent of the 120 cardinals who are currently eligible to choose his successor.

American electoral politics is never a determining factor in the selection of cardinals. But all three American picks have been outspoken opponents of Republican Party positions at a time when the United States church hierarchy is often seen as an ally of the party because of mutual opposition to abortion and same-sex marriage.

Archbishop Tobin insisted that his archdiocese would continue to resettle Syrian **refugees** in Indiana, despite attempts to bar them by Gov. Mike Pence, Donald J. Trump's running mate on the Republican ticket.

Bishop Farrell is among the few prelates in the United States to issue emphatic pleas for gun control, a surprising move for a bishop based in the open-carry state of Texas. And Archbishop Cupich, in an archdiocese populated with **immigrants** from many countries, has become a prominent advocate of overhauling **immigration** law, a position held by the United States bishops' conference.

On internal church matters, all three American appointees have indicated they support Francis' efforts to set a tone that is more pastoral than judgmental toward women, gays and Catholics who have divorced and remarried.

Alejandro Bermúdez, a journalist from Peru who is the executive director of the Catholic News Agency, a conservative-leaning outlet, said, ''The pope is making sure that his successor follows his line of thought.''

Mr. Bermúdez said the pope was promoting prelates from many smaller dioceses -- not only in the United States, but also in Venezuela and Mexico -- who are ''the classic Pope Francis-type of bishops.''

''They aren't so interested in leading cultural battles, but more in doing pastoral work,'' Mr. Bermúdez said. ''The pope is convinced that the cultural wars are not going to bring anything but further misunderstanding and defeats for the Catholic Church,'' especially since even many practicing Catholics do not share the church's positions on abortion and same-sex marriage.

Archbishop Tobin, who previously served in the Vatican, became known there as a supporter of American nuns who were being investigated by other Vatican officials on claims of deviating from church doctrine -- an inquiry some American bishops had encouraged. At a Catholic women's conference in Indiana this weekend, Archbishop Tobin said he was ''hopeful'' that women could become deacons, a possibility now being studied by a Vatican committee appointed by the pope.

The selection of Archbishop Tobin surprised church observers, and apparently the bishop himself. In a Twitter message posted on Sunday, Archbishop Tobin said: ''I'm shocked beyond words by the decision of the Holy Father. Please pray for me.''

Francis bypassed archdioceses accustomed to having cardinals eligible to vote in a conclave, including Venice, Philadelphia and Los Angeles.

With Cardinal Roger Mahony, the retired archbishop of Los Angeles, having turned 80 in February, many had expected Francis to elevate Archbishop José Gomez of Los Angeles, an **immigrant** from Mexico who is a strong advocate for **immigrants**. He would have been the only Latino cardinal in the United States church, where the Latino presence is growing.

Philadelphia had hosted a festive and successful visit for Francis last year. But its archbishop, Charles J. Chaput, has been an uninhibited critic of Francis on doctrinal matters, expressing concern that his leadership has confused the church by leaving open the prospect that priests may give communion to divorced and remarried Catholics.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In his 26 years, Martin Batalla Vidal has been many things: a Mexican citizen, a New York City resident, a high school graduate, a nursing student, a caterer, a health club janitor and an undocumented **immigrant**.

Recently, however, he took on another role: a plaintiff suing the federal government.

In August, Mr. Batalla Vidal filed a lawsuit in Brooklyn claiming that officials of the United States Citizenship and **Immigration** Services had illegally revoked his work permit by adhering to a 2015 ruling by a federal judge in Texas that halted an expansion of President Obama's signature **immigration** plan called Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals known as DACA. Mr. Batalla Vidal was the first -- and so far only -- person in the country to challenge the decision, which was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in June. And he has embarked on his battle with the fighting spirit of his adopted hometown, arguing that a ruling by a Texas judge simply has no bearing on people in New York.

''Texas has their own laws,'' Mr. Batalla Vidal, who lives in Ridgewood, Queens, said recently. ''But other states, like New York and California, we're different. I just thought it wasn't fair for myself and millions of other people that a judge somewhere else could affect our lives.''

A bit of background: In November 2014, Mr. Obama used his executive powers to expand the DACA program, increasing the length of work permits for eligible children of undocumented **immigrants** to three years from two years. At the same time, he established a corollary program known as DAPA, or Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents, which allowed as many as five million unauthorized **immigrants** who were the parents of citizens or of lawful permanent residents to obtain work permits and avoid deportation.

A month after the executive orders were signed, Texas, among other states, sought a court order to the stop the programs. In February 2015, a federal judge in Texas, Andrew S. Hanen, ruled in their favor. Judge Hanen's decision was upheld this summer by a deadlocked Supreme Court, which was evenly split on the case, leaving the ruling intact. Last Monday, the Supreme Court declined to reconsider the case.

Mr. Batalla Vidal found himself caught up in this contentious litigation. With the help of Make the Road New York, an **immigrant** advocacy group in Brooklyn, he received his three-year work permit from the government in February 2015 -- one day after Judge Hanen issued his injunction. Three months later, however, **immigration** officials demanded the return of the permit, saying that because of the ruling he could work in the country for only two years.

''When I first got the letter, I didn't understand what was going on,'' Mr. Batalla Vidal said. ''I had just received my permit, so how were they going to revoke it?''

Mr. Batalla Vidal came to New York from Mexico at 7, settling with his parents and three younger brothers in Jackson Heights, Queens. When the family moved to Bushwick, Brooklyn, Mr. Batalla Vidal attended the Bushwick Leaders' High School for Academic Excellence. ''Mr. Batalla Vidal considers New York his home,'' his lawsuit says, ''as it is the only place he has lived as an adult.''

When Mr. Batalla Vidal's work status was altered by the government, he was working two jobs: at a catering company and as a desk clerk and housekeeper at a New York Sports Club. He eventually enrolled in ASA College in Brooklyn, pursuing a medical assistant degree. Although he received a scholarship specifically designed for DACA students, the revocation of his three-year permit has jeopardized his ability to support himself and to pay the remainder of his tuition.

And so over the summer, with the help of his lawyer, Vanessa Dell, he got in touch with Michael J. Wishnie, a professor at Yale Law School. On Aug. 25, Mr. Wishnie filed a lawsuit on behalf of Mr. Batalla Vidal in Federal District Court in Brooklyn, asking a judge to declare that the Texas injunction ''does not apply to New York residents.''

''I think the potential impact here could affect millions of people,'' Mr. Wishnie said. He estimated that about 2,600 DACA recipients nationwide had their three-year work permits revoked because of the Texas ruling. But if Mr. Batalla Vidal's lawsuit spares New Yorkers from the ruling, hundreds of thousands of people in the state could be eligible again not only for the expanded DACA privileges, but also for those that were available under DAPA. That number, Mr. Wishine said, could increase even more if plaintiffs in other states like California and Illinois also sue and win.

Though a decision in the case is months away, Judge Nicholas G. Garaufis, who is considering the suit, seemed to look upon it favorably at a hearing in Brooklyn last month. Adam Kirschner, a lawyer for the federal government, told Judge Garaufis that the Obama administration had strenuously fought the Texas ruling, but that, because it had been upheld, **immigration** officials were now in the ''untenable position'' of having to enforce it in New York.

Judge Garaufis said he sympathized with the government's position, but he refused to be ''hamstrung,'' as **immigration** officials were, ''in dealing with an issue involving individual rights.''

''I don't know what's going on out there in Texas on the border, but I know what's going on in New York,'' he continued. ''And I'm very concerned about it, and I have absolutely no intention of simply marching behind in the parade that's going on out there in Texas, if this person has rights here.''

The next hearing is scheduled for January.

Mr. Batalla Vidal, who said he had been afraid to sue the government at first, now feels optimistic. ''It just felt great to hear the judge,'' he said. ''At the end of the day, I'm not really fighting for myself -- I'm fighting for my community.''

Though he said he harbored no animosity toward Texas, he was clearly happy to live in New York.

''I've never been to Texas,'' Mr. Batalla Vidal said, ''and honestly, I'm not interested in going.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDTHE POPULIST EXPLOSION

How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics

By John B. Judis

182 pp. Columbia Global Reports. Paper, $12.99.

In November, the fate of the Republic will turn on one question: How popular is the populism of Donald Trump? If aggrieved and motivated Trumpists turn out heavily, we could yet have our own Brexit moment. But before knowing whether a big white wave will break over the electorate, it helps to understand what ''populism'' means, where it comes from and why it is advancing on both sides of the Atlantic.

These are the questions John B. Judis ­tackles in ''The Populist Explosion,'' his cogent and exceptionally clarifying guide to a political phenomenon that is at once elusive and, yes, explosive. Judis is personally sympathetic to left-wing populism, but he keeps his analysis free of ax-grinding.

In ''The Populist Persuasion,'' published in 1995, the historian Michael Kazin described populism as ''a language'' that ordinary people -- and the often-wealthy politicians who claim to speak for them -- use to organize themselves against elites they see as ''self-serving and undemocratic.'' The fevered logic of this worldview frequently transcends the usual categories of left, right and center, as the sociologist Donald I. Warren argued in his 1976 study, ''The Radical Center: Middle Americans and the Politics of **Alienation**,'' an obscure but important examination of George Wallace voters, many of whom went on to be known as Reagan Democrats.

Judis extends this unified theory of populism to the present day, when stagnant wages, corporate desertions and widespread fear of being cast adrift in the global economy have brought Bernie Sanders and Trump together in their contempt for trade deals. But he is eager to distinguish the left-wing economic populism of Sanders and the anti-elite Podemos Party in Spain, which champion ''the people'' against the 1 percent, from the right-wing cultural populism of Trump and the ­anti-Muslim Danish People's Party. The difference is that right-wing populists accuse the elite of coddling an ever-shifting third group -- **immigrants**, blacks, terrorists, welfare recipients or all of the above. This demagoguing of the scapegoat du jour is what gives right-wing populism its current potency, especially in Europe, which is facing more severe economic, **immigration** and terrorism problems than the United States.

Populism, Judis explains, is an American creation, with roots in the American Revolution and Andrew Jackson's fight against the Bank of the United States in the 1830s. The name dates back to the early 1890s, when Farmers Alliances across the West and South linked up with the Knights of Labor to form the short-lived People's Party. The goal was radical democratic reform, not class revolution. In 1896, the Democrats nominated the fiery William Jennings Bryan on a ''free silver'' platform in opposition to Wall Street, the beginning of a long tradition of major parties co-opting populist ideas. With the help of middle-class progressives in both parties, much of the People's Party platform (monetization of silver, a graduated income tax, regulation of railroads, direct election of senators) became law. Similarly, the threat posed to Franklin Roose­velt's re-election by Huey Long and his ''Share Our Wealth'' movement may have ended in 1935 with Long's assassination, but Roosevelt had already moved left in response to populist fervor by ramming through Social Security and other legislation. Long's base, like Trump's, was not the poor, but middle-class voters who feared slipping lower amid economic dislocation.

When Barack Obama took office in 2009, many expected he would forge a new and enduring Democratic majority out of the wreckage left by an irresponsible financial elite. But instead of being pushed from the left, as Roosevelt was, Obama looked behind him and saw no one there. Even the auto bailouts, which the White House hoped would be popular with working people, were resented. Instead, within days of taking office, Obama felt pressure from a new populist movement on the right -- soon to be called the Tea Party -- that drew strength from voters who had once flocked to Ross Perot and Pat Buchanan in the 1990s.

In his abbreviated account, Judis underplays how often left-wing economic populism has curdled into right-wing racist populism. Though he mentions Tom Watson, he ignores C. Vann Woodward's ''Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel'' (1938), which chronicles how the brilliant Georgia reformer -- the foremost turn-of-the-century populist -- became a bitter bigot. And while citing Alan Brinkley's ''Voices of Protest'' (1982) in his discussion of Father Charles Coughlin, the anti-Semitic ''Radio Priest,'' he ignores the fact that Coughlin was at first a strong supporter of the New Deal. Judis does better with Wallace, who railed against integration and ''pointy-headed intellectuals'' when he was governor of Alabama but was far less strident and racist in his presidential campaigns. Many of Trump's non-college-­educated white supporters are the direct political descendants of Wallace voters (just as Sanders's voters are connected to George McGovern's). In 1968, Wallace, running as a third-party candidate, seemed to threaten the Democratic nominee, Hubert Humphrey, polling 21 percent to Humphrey's 28 percent at one point in September, an impressive performance for a populist candidate that far into the campaign season.

After Richard Nixon won, he absorbed the Wallace base into the Republican Party by moving right on ''law and order,'' busing and other issues Wallace had stressed.

Parliamentary systems offer a different role for populists. Judis offers a fresh survey of the 10 European countries where, after the Great Recession, populist candidates have either won elections or become part of governing coalitions. Northern tier nations, besieged by **immigrants** who are allowed freedom of movement by the E.U., have shifted right. The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) led Britain's exit from Europe with an older, less educated constituency that looks a lot like Trump's. But southern European nations like Spain, Italy and Greece, with economies mired in depressions every bit as bad as the one the United States experienced during the 1930s, went left, which nowadays means resistance to E.U. elites, not socialism.

One quibble: Judis echoes left-wing political scientists who have twisted the word ''neoliberal.'' In the United States, it refers to Clintonian Democrats who believe in the old goals of liberalism but question some of the means of achieving them. In Europe, neoliberals are free-­market capitalists who impose rigid and -- judging by the sluggish European economy -- unsuccessful austerity measures on debtor nations. Using the word almost interchangeably is confusing, not to mention unfair to American neoliberals, who may have gone overboard on financial deregulation in the 1990s but have staunchly opposed Republican austerity measures.

In the end, Judis has a surprisingly benign attitude toward even right-wing populism. He thinks Trump and the European right-wing populists are nasty nationalists, but not fascists, insisting that even those with authoritarian streaks believe in working within the democratic system and lack the territorial ambitions that were central to German and Italian fascism. Instead, Judis writes, Trump resembles the former Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi, the buffoonish media baron.

While careful not to make predictions, Judis suggests that Brexit might be contagious on the Continent. And his description of how the presentable Marine Le Pen has sidelined the haters in the National Front (including the founder of the party, her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, who described the gas chambers of the Holocaust as a ''detail'') indicates that she may be elected the first populist president of France next year.

At home, Sanders's success showed that some left-wing populist ideas -- incubated in the failed but symbolically important Occupy Wall Street movement -- are in ascendancy inside the Democratic Party. That means a President Hillary Clinton -- like Roosevelt and Nixon -- would most likely try to co-opt a few of them. But neither Clinton nor Trump wants to nationalize banks or greatly redistribute wealth (unless one includes Trump's plan to slash taxes again for the wealthy, further enriching the top 1 percent). So we won't see much classic economic populism in the White House next year, even as trans-­Atlantic populist scapegoating continues apace.

Correction: October 23, 2016, Sunday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: A review on Oct. 9 about ''The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics,'' by John B. Judis, overstated George Wallace 's performance in presidential polls when he was a third-party candidate in 1968. He drew close to the Democratic nominee, Hubert H. Humphrey, in late September (21 percent to Humphrey's 28 percent, according to the Gallup Organization), but he did not lead Humphrey in the polls '' until October'' (or at any time).

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDNAIROBI, Kenya -- The eyes of the private equity investor lit up as he strode across the empty floor of a recently built hospital here. There was not much to see: a stretch of unfinished concrete, and steel bars pushed into a corner.

But Khawar Mann of the Abraaj Group, an investment firm based in Dubai that specializes in developing markets, saw something else.

Room for more patients -- and a nice return on his investment.

''You could squeeze another 50 beds in here, easy,'' he said. ''That will really improve profits.''

Abraaj is trying to do something that hasn't been tried before: build a global network of hospitals across cultures and in some of the poorest parts of the world -- including India, Pakistan, Ethiopia and here in Kenya. Mr. Mann's new fund has just bought a fast-growing hospital in India and is now trying to export its business model to Africa.

Even in rich countries with sophisticated medical markets, it can be tricky, given vastly different regulatory regimes and national quirks, for a hospital to go global. Few have done it. Abraaj, however, is betting that Indians, Nigerians and Pakistanis, who in many cases have annual incomes of no more than $1,000, will dip into their savings to pay for an angioplasty or some other necessary, but not necessarily cheap, procedure.

The process is further complicated by cultural differences. The Abraaj-owned hospital chain in Hyderabad, India, for instance, is run by a doctor so revered locally that he approaches ''guru'' status. Some patients refer to him as a god.

As a business model, that might not scale.

Still, India, Kenya and other less-developed economies share crucial similarities. Government-run hospitals offer cheap or even free care, but they can be extremely overcrowded and grim. With personal incomes rising, Abraaj thinks an emerging middle class of teachers, small-business owners, call-center workers and others will be eager to pay private doctors for better care.

Metropolitan Hospital, located in the rough eastern section of Kenya's capital, is no Mt. Sinai. The operating theaters are rudimentary. Some rooms, while clean, lack curtains for windows and patients alike. Outside, children play barefoot soccer on a stony field in a suburban sprawl that not long ago displaced the big game that once grazed here.

But in a country where the main afflictions are malaria, meningitis and road accidents, the 150-bed hospital has become a destination for people willing to pay for decent medical attention. And then there is the rapid rise of unfamiliar ailments in poorer countries -- diabetes, heart disease and obesity. They, too, are a byproduct of booming economies and rising wages, which enable unhealthier diets.

''Nairobi is a sweet spot for us,'' Mr. Mann said. ''There is a big population that is growing. You have emerging middle incomes. And there is a massive need for health care.''

He was in town to -- he hopes -- clinch a deal to buy Metropolitan for the $1 billion health care fund that Abraaj started this year. Mr. Mann is not the only one with this idea: Eight other private equity investors have visited recently, according to Metropolitan's chief executive.

Abraaj's fund includes money from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the medical parts companies Philips Healthcare and Medtronic, as well as other big institutional investors. ''There will be some heavy lifting ahead -- $1 billion is a lot of money to deploy in these types of markets,'' said Maria Kozloski, who oversees private equity investments at the International Finance Corporation, the finance arm of the World Bank, which has also invested in the fund. ''The opportunity is compelling, but it's going to take some time.''

The fund's size also reflects investors' appetite for new ways to invest in emerging markets -- an asset class that represents one-half of the global economy -- after four years of so-so returns in publicly traded markets.

Abraaj is not well known in the usual private equity circles of New York and London. But with $10 billion under management, among the most any private equity firm has invested in these markets, its name is well traveled in the Middle East, South Asia and Africa. For years now, its founder, Arif Naqvi, has been pushing the notion that the best way for long-term investors to benefit from core emerging market themes -- growing urbanization and consumption -- is through long-term private equity investments that target specific business sectors, as opposed to volatile stock and bond market bets.

The health care fund, which Mr. Naqvi conceived, is a prime example.

Most emerging market investors tend to get their exposure via public stock and bond markets, for instance, by buying shares in Brazilian oil companies or Russian government bonds. But these investments tend to be extremely volatile, shooting up and down in tune with ever shifting risk perceptions in a given country.

Abraaj, by contrast, tries to spot investment ideas less likely to be whipsawed by the headlines. In an interview, Mr. Naqvi cited a recent investment in a Turkish dairy company -- made at a time when Turks were protesting against their president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

''Turks will drink milk irrespective of who governs them,'' Mr. Naqvi said.

Selling beer to thirsty Ethiopians or dairy products to Turks is a fairly simple proposition. And it gets at the core thesis of investing in these markets, which is to take advantage of young and growing populations in rapidly developing economies.

The trick, of course, is to pick the right companies -- because there is no quick and easy way to dump a stake in a private company, as you can with a stock on a public exchange.

On the Hunt for Hospitals

It is this fundamental challenge -- finding the right company, with the right management team -- that has kept emerging-market private equity funds from growing like their larger peers in more developed markets. After all, it can be hard to get a true reading of your business partner in Jakarta, Indonesia, if you are sitting in New York, London or Hong Kong, as is the case with most private equity shops.

Abraaj tries to solve that by being based in Dubai and maintaining 20 regional offices, in places like Cairo and Karachi, Pakistan. Its principals also hail from these markets. In addition to Mr. Naqvi, who is from Pakistan, the firm's senior partners are citizens of Egypt, Ghana, India, Mexico and Turkey.

The 48-year-old Mr. Mann is typical in this respect. Born in the dicier precincts of Birmingham, England, to parents who had recently **immigrated** from Pakistan, Mr. Mann went to Cambridge, won a scholarship to the Wharton School and dropped his plan to become a doctor, switching to law and finance.

Today he lives in Dubai and spends at least three weeks a month searching for hospitals and health clinics to buy in places like Ethiopia, Nigeria and Pakistan. He wears the tightfitting suits of a money-center banker, carries a fancy handbag and converses fluently in Urdu and Hindi.

Mr. Mann, who works with a large team of bankers and health professionals in managing the fund, cuts a striking figure in Nairobi, pacing the halls of the two hospitals he's scouting out -- Metropolitan and Nairobi Women's Hospital. Nairobi Women's is one of the city's largest private hospitals, originally founded by an ambitious entrepreneur, Dr. Sam Thenya, to provide care to women experiencing domestic abuse.

With his slick suit and practiced smile, Dr. Thenya seems more a deal maker than a doctor. Both he and Mr. Mann caused a bit of a stir, rushing up and down the hospital's spartan hallways and bursting into crowded patient rooms.

Mr. Mann brimmed with questions about how to get doctors to see more patients and provide them with more profitable services. In a laboratory where blood samples from patients are analyzed, Mr. Mann asked how long each test took.

Between 15 to 30 minutes, he is told.

''That's good,'' he replied. ''You want to get the tests back as quickly as possible.''

Then Mr. Mann poked his head into the room housing the hospital's single CT scan machine. The room was empty but for a bored-looking attendant hunched over a computer. These machines are a rarity in Kenya, and for hospitals looking to maximize profits, they are crucial pieces of equipment.

Mr. Mann asked the doctor how many scans he performed in a day.

About seven, came the reply.

He shook his head. ''You could be making a lot more money out of that machine,'' Mr. Mann said. ''You could be doing as many as 15 to 20 patients a day. A machine like this can really drive profitability.''

'Not Mother Teresa Stuff'

Mr. Naqvi, in marketing Abraaj's health fund, has insisted that its emphasis will be to have a positive social impact first and make money second. He refers to this mix of capitalism and social good -- a bit majestically -- as ''partnership capital.'' Nevertheless, both he and Mr. Mann know that any vision of a benevolent health conglomerate will not materialize unless they can find hospitals that are financially sound.

Perhaps the greatest tension for Abraaj to resolve is pricing. Few patients in India or Africa have health insurance. In Kenya, 67 percent of health expenditures are paid out of pocket. And in India -- the fund's central focus -- that number is 60 percent.

This makes for extremely price-sensitive patients.

For example, the Hyderabad hospital chain that Abraaj recently bought, Care, has a business model that relies on patients paying $3,000 for a heart bypass operation, even though average income per capita in India is half that amount. (In the United States, similar treatment might cost $40,000, although insurance would help.)

''Look, this is not Mother Teresa stuff -- we have a responsibility to our investors,'' Mr. Mann said. ''But in this case, I really think that you can do good and make money.''

That has been a driving philosophy behind Care Hospitals, India's fifth-largest private hospital group. Founded by a team of Hyderabad cardiologists in the 1990s, Care has been a darling of private equity investors for the better part of 10 years. Last year, when Care again hit the market, Abraaj had to beat out a scrum of competing institutions.

The Guru Will See You Now

When Mr. Naqvi hired Mr. Mann to head the new fund in 2014, their first challenge was to find a country, and a hospital, that would serve as the driving force for the project. Because of India's 200-million-person middle class and its wealth of doctors and surgeons trained to world standards, it was a logical place to start.

Mr. Mann had long been aware of the niche that Care had carved out for itself, with its 16 hospitals serving a wide area in and around Hyderabad and other parts of central India. Mr. Mann knew, too, that to make the dream work across countries and continents, it would not be enough to swoop into Nigeria, buy the best hospital he could find and hope for the best.

Training Nigerians and Kenyans how to use a CT scan or conduct a routine heart operation would be critical. If he could tap into the programs for professional advancement that Care had already built, he theorized, perhaps he could train his new doctors at a fraction of the cost it would take to send them to Europe or the United States.

These doctors would then return to their home countries grasping not only the latest medical techniques but how to get people to pay for them -- a sensitive dynamic that has been at the root of Care's success.

Leading Care, spiritually as well as medically, is its popular chairman, Dr. B. Soma Raju, a 69-year-old cardiologist. He made his name developing an affordable coronary stent many years back when they cost too much to import to India.

A quiet, stooped man, Dr. Soma Raju mumbles, making it hard for his fellow doctors and patients to hear him. But they hang on his every word, and he has been known to treat as many as 100 patients in a day.

For a number of years now, the vast majority of those who come to see him have illnesses related to diabetes. Close to 70 million people in India -- second only to China -- have been found to have the disease as a growing number of Indians lead more sedentary lives and eat more processed foods.

The result has been a sharp increase in what medical experts call truncal obesity, where fat is stored mainly around the waist. That can lead directly to heart problems, kidney disease and loss of sleep.

One day this month, Dr. Soma Raju saw a patient who fit the pattern perfectly. The owner of a village rice mill, the 61-year-old man had traveled far to be seen by the doctor.

Days without sleep had inflamed his eyes. In a ragged voice, he described what ailed him. And then there was his weight: 262 pounds, far too heavy for a man standing 5 feet 5 inches tall, the nation's average.

''He has serious sleep apnea, blood sugar is increasing, and blood pressure is up,'' Dr. Soma Raju explained. He advised the patient to exercise more, but his condition was so grave that the doctor also felt that weight-reduction surgery was needed.

In the large waiting room outside his examination chamber, every chair was filled. And as was the case with the owner of the rice mill, many patients had traveled more than 400 miles to see the doctor -- not only from tiny rural villages but also metropolises like Mumbai.

India is a country where a doctor's counsel is often viewed as sacred. One patient, a 77-year-old retired farmer who also had diabetes, said that he ''believed in Dr. Soma Raju like a god.'' Upon leaving the office, he bowed deeply before him.

All of which is good for business at Care. The hospital's dialysis wards are filled to capacity, and many of the doctor's patients -- like the rice mill owner, for example -- are paying full price for the services they receive, reflecting the growing wealth of India's middle classes and the dearth of government spending on health care.

Dr. Soma Raju is as fluent in the language of finance as that of medicine. And such jargon as Ebitda (earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization -- or, more simply, cash), profit margins and six sigma (a management style popularized by the former General Electric chief executive Jack Welch) rolls easily off his and his fellow doctors' tongues.

When making his rounds in Hyderabad, Mr. Mann often asks that Care doctors take him to surrounding villages, where the hospital is opening small outposts. While Care is based largely in cities, about 70 percent of India's 1.3 billion people live in rural areas.

Recently he traveled to Kandlakoya, a hamlet of about 2,000 people an hour's drive from the city, where cows jostle with cars for right of passage. The bare-bones doctor's office, a single room, was stuffed with a desk, a patient's chair and a hospital bed, and a crowd of elderly men patiently waited their turns.

Presiding was a garrulous, 73-year-old doctor, who briefed Mr. Mann on the day's afflictions: water contamination, anemia and most of all, complications from diabetes.

Are they paying for their visits, Mr. Mann asked?

''Oh, yes, sir,'' replied the doctor, G. S. N. Raju, pointing to his scribbled notations in a battered ledger. ''They come to me and tell me their problems.''

Then, to Mr. Mann's surprise, the doctor grabbed him in a tight embrace. A more buttoned-up deal maker might have stiffened, but Mr. Mann pulled the small man close.

''Profitable, impactful and outreaching,'' he proclaimed, a smile breaking out on his face. ''This is the essence of partnership capital.''

It was good P.R., too -- an Abraaj public relations executive was quick to capture the moment on his camera. He also suggested that the ebullient doctor be flown to Dubai for the firm's next investor conference.

Profit vs. Poverty

While the Abraaj model seems to be working in India, it is not clear yet whether the strategy will immediately transfer to poorer countries in Africa where people may have more trouble paying for their visits.

One way to start to understand why Care has so many willing customers is to visit the alternative -- an Indian government-run hospital. This can require a steely stomach, particularly in urban areas, where the population is outracing already overburdened facilities.

At one children's hospital in Hyderabad, large crowds of parents, having made the trek from distant villages, squatted recently in a concrete lot in the rain. This was essentially the waiting room. As families endured sometimes dayslong waits for their turns with a doctor, their children relieved themselves in the street.

These types of conditions replicate themselves at government hospitals across India. Treatment is more or less free, but the facilities are Dickensian in comparison with the Care hospital -- teeming emergency rooms, with hundreds of parents and children pushing for a single doctor's attention.

The Indian government spends only about 1 percent of its gross domestic product on health care, and it shows. All of this helps explain why people who can afford to do so pay for hospitals like Care.

Similar scenes play out in Kenyan public hospitals. After his meetings at the private health facilities in Nairobi wrapped up, Mr. Mann dropped in at the Mama Lucy Kibaki Hospital.

Named after a former first lady of Kenya and built with help from the Chinese government, it is in a rundown eastern suburb of Nairobi. The emergency ward of its pediatric wing was a swarm of crying infants and sickly children, packed closely together, noses dribbling and wounds open, with few doctors in sight. ''Did you see all those with contagious diseases squeezed into that room?'' Mr. Mann muttered.

He said he tried to stop in at state-run facilities in the countries he visited to get a better sense of how public health care was administered -- to size up the competition.

Like all ambitious private equity figures, Mr. Mann finds the glory of a billion-dollar deal -- and the potential for a financial reward at the end -- an obvious motivation. But a large part of his job, he says, lies in making the moral case for providing high-quality health care to lower- and middle-income patients in these countries. ''How often do you get an opportunity to do something like this -- I mean, to really make a difference?'' he said.

He is also feeling the pressure to make this grand project work. Bill Gates is watching, and so are the World Bank (via its financing arm) and, not least, Mr. Naqvi, the fund's philosophical father, to whom Mr. Mann writes detailed mission notes describing each step taken.

''Of course I am nervous,'' Mr. Mann said. ''I think about this 24/7.''

To some observers, the two ideas he most frequently deploys in explaining the goals of the Abraaj fund -- cash flow and care -- are more contradictory than symbiotic. Among those people was Karivki Ngure, a medical student doing his rotation at Mama Lucy Kibaki Hospital.

''All these things are good on paper,'' he said, after running into Mr. Mann and hearing what Abraaj was doing in Kenya. ''But if you come to this facility here, you will realize that there is a real need at this level,'' he said, referring to the impoverished patients. ''So what do you do about them?''

It was a fair point, and Mr. Mann knew it. He knew, too, that in terms of what Abraaj was hoping to do, without the cash flow there would be no care to give.

''We can't go to that part of the population because the business is just not sustainable,'' he responded.

The delegation from Abraaj finished the day at the office of the hospital's head, Musa Mohammed, a child of **refugees** from the war-torn South Sudan. Mr. Mohammed asked Mr. Mann pointed questions about the prices his privately run Kenyan hospitals were charging patients.

Mr. Mohammed, who was raised in the Nairobi neighborhood of Kibera, considered Africa's largest slum, argued forcefully that the government needed to step in more aggressively to cap health care prices. ''I know the private sector has to make a profit,'' he said, choosing his words carefully. ''But how much profit? But I guess this is why it is called a free-market economy.''

Mr. Mann did not agree that private hospitals in Kenya, not least the ones he was going to buy, were gouging their customers. But he held his tongue: Mr. Mohammed's moral authority was daunting. Mr. Mann would try to win him over instead. So he asked the hospital chief if he could come by for a visit the next time he was in Nairobi.

Correction: October 16, 2016, Sunday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An article last Sunday about efforts by the Abraaj Group to develop private health care systems in Africa rendered incorrectly the name of a medical device company that has invested in the group's $1 billion health care fund. It is Medtronic, not Medtronics.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**On a sunny Southern California day in the spring of 2015, a full house showed up to attend not a play, but a reading of a play: ''Vietgone'' by Qui Nguyen. It was the last day of the Pacific Playwrights Festival, hosted by the local South Coast Repertory theater. ''Vietgone'' was the final presentation, a two-and-a-half-hour piece about a complicated event: the Vietnam War.

''Mamas, don't let your babies grow up to be cowboys...,'' sang two actors, who were playing a Vietnamese father and his son.

End of play.

Immediately, the audience -- a mix of industry professionals, subscribers and members of the Vietnamese community -- stood up in applause. Among them was Elizabeth Rothman, director of play development at Manhattan Theater Club. Right after the reading, she called the theater's artistic director, Lynne Meadow, with the words: ''We must do this play.''

A year and several other productions later (including a current run at Oregon Shakespeare Festival), ''Vietgone'' began performances Oct. 4 at Manhattan Theater Club's 300-seat space Off Broadway at New York City Center.

Even now, Mr. Nguyen, 40, can't believe it. ''They're nutbags,'' he said, jokingly, about the prestigious theaters who have given a prime slot to a writer best known for low-budget, action-packed plays about superheroes and samurai.

He was speaking over a dinner of bacon and pineapple pizza, jet-lagged after having flown into New York at 5 that morning for ''Vietgone'' rehearsal.

After 13 years in Brooklyn, he moved to Los Angeles six months ago, to write for television. His credits include the PBS children's show ''Peg + Cat'' and the coming Syfy series ''Incorporated,'' produced by Ben Affleck and Matt Damon.

His week is largely taken up with his new job: screenwriter for Marvel Studios. In typical Marvel fashion, Mr. Nguyen is quiet about what he's working on, except to say: ''Things seem to be going O.K. for me right now!''

If Mr. Nguyen could be described in only four words, it would be ''not the model minority,'' as he puts it. Talking to him is to be showered with a steady stream of jokes and the occasional expletive -- more like a playful 20-something than the father of two children that he is.

But Mr. Nguyen doesn't consider his new day job different from what he had been doing in New York. He is a co-founder of the Obie-winning downtown theater company Vampire Cowboys, which drew a passionate following thanks to plays with titles like ''Soul Samurai,'' ''Fight Girl Battle World'' and ''Alice in Slasherland.'' His best-known play, ''She Kills Monsters,'' has received almost 300 productions nationwide since 2013.

It was that work that also drew notice from Marvel, which Mr. Nguyen calls ''kind of a dream job.'' He added: ''It's a weird evolution from doing downtown superheroes, creating theater, and suddenly, writing actual superheroes.''

''Vietgone'' may seem to be a drastic departure. The playwright calls it a ''romantic comedy'' about how his parents met at a **refugee** camp in Arkansas in 1975, having **immigrated** right after the Vietnam War. It's a story that Mr. Nguyen grew up hearing and knows well, but it has also been filtered through his pop-culture-filled and irreverent sensibility.

''When my parents told me stories about Vietnam, they told me the real stories, what actually happened,'' he explained. ''But what I imagined was kung fu movies. Because the only things I ever saw [growing up] that had a lot of Asian people in it, were kung fu movies.''

So there is kung fu in ''Vietgone,'' and ninjas. As in Mr. Nguyen's other works, everyone speaks in a modern voice and raps -- and no one speaks with ''an Asian accent,'' part of his fight against minority stereotypes.

''This play is still very much him,'' the director, May Adrales, said by phone during a rehearsal break. ''There's genre-bending, it's bawdy, it's slick and it's humorous.'' (A critic for The Los Angeles Times called it ''a riotous theatrical cartoon [that] won me over with its simple honesty.'')

Mr. Nguyen, the oldest of three sons, said he always knew he would be a storyteller. He was born and raised in El Dorado, Ark. His parents -- Quang Nguyen, a pilot for the South Vietnam Air Force, and Tong Nguyen, who worked at the United States Embassy in Saigon -- had grown accustomed to Arkansas while in the camp and didn't want to move. They were one of only two Asian families in town and lived in a primarily African-American neighborhood.

Along with family stories, Mr. Nguyen consumed comic books (Spider-Man was his favorite superhero), studied martial arts (Bruce Lee was an idol) and participated in freestyle rap battles. He joined the drama club in high school because ''there are cute girls in theater,'' he said with a laugh.

But he stuck with it, eventually majoring in theater at Louisiana Tech University, with an emphasis on acting. It was there that he started writing plays. ''I don't want to play a stereotype,'' he recalled thinking. ''How do I get those roles? I'll just write them.'' He eventually earned a master's degree in playwriting from Ohio University.

Creating substantial roles for minority actors became a touchstone of Vampire Cowboys, which Mr. Nguyen co-founded in 2002 with the director and fellow comic-book lover Robert Ross Parker. The troupe specialized in what became known as ''geek theater,'' a term coined by a producer, Abby Marcus, who eventually became Mr. Nguyen's wife.

The genre proved popular; their shows regularly sold out, and they had their own performance space called the Battle Ranch and a regular booth at New York Comic Con.

''One of the missions of Vampire Cowboys was always to make heroes out of women, people of color, lesbian, gay, transgender characters -- those people who generally don't get to be heroes,'' Mr. Parker said by phone.

Though the company is on hiatus, its essence lives on in Mr. Nguyen. In ''Vietgone,'' he wanted to tell a story he had never seen growing up, a story about people like his parents, South Vietnamese who fought for their country.

Movies like ''Rambo'' and ''Platoon,'' and even the musical ''Miss Saigon,'' provided a narrow view that turned the Vietnamese into supporting characters in their own stories, Mr. Nguyen said.

''It always made me go: 'Oh no, you're the other! You're either the other we're killing or the other we're saving!''' he added. '''You're never going to be the lead character.'''

Not in ''Vietgone.'' In a world where leading roles for Asian-American men and women are still rare and Asian-American characters are sometimes whitewashed, it was important for Mr. Nguyen to create ''strong Asian-American characters,'' he said. ''They're cool, and they're sexy, and they're not exotic. They can be feminist, strong women, and they can be sexy men.''

And Ms. Adrales, whose parents were **immigrants** from the Philippines, thinks the relevance of ''Vietgone'' goes even beyond Asian-Americans, especially when the presence of new generations of **immigrants** is being fiercely debated.

''When he's writing about people that are displaced,'' she said, ''it makes me think of the Hmong and now the Syrians, who have that same story.''

''Vietgone'' is the first in a five-play cycle about Mr. Nguyen's family. Manhattan Theater Club and South Coast Rep have commissioned the second play, which will be about his parents acclimating to life in Arkansas. As for the real Quang and Tong Nguyen, who still live in El Dorado, Mr. Nguyen said that they haven't seen ''Vietgone.'' And they don't plan to.

''A lot of people who come from a tumultuous situation -- whether it's the Holocaust or the Vietnam War or the Syrian crisis -- I think it's hard for them to revisit it,'' he said. But that doesn't mean they're not proud of him.

Though it wasn't the awards the play has won or its productions that made them realize that Mr. Nguyen had written something special. ''What made them think it was a big deal,'' he said with a chuckle, ''was when someone wrote about it in a Vietnamese newspaper.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A small but distinct tendency within the Hollywood New Wave of the late 1960s and early 1970s was the dark, sometimes daringly tasteless comedy featuring urban neurotic protagonists and ethnic themes, often directed by a Jewish comedian.

Mike Nichols's ''The Graduate'' (1967) presaged the trend; ''The Heartbreak Kid'' (1972), by Mr. Nichols's onetime partner Elaine May, capped it. In between came Woody Allen's early features; Mel Brooks's calculated outrage ''The Producers'' (1968); and the no less programmatically offensive ''Where's Poppa?'' (1970), directed by Mr. Brooks's former partner in comedy Carl Reiner.

Adapted from a novel by Robert Klane, ''Where's Poppa?,'' new on Blu-ray from Kino Lorber, is a burlesque of mother-son relations with affinities to the early work of Jewish American writers like Philip Roth, Wallace Markfield and Bruce Jay Friedman. The nostalgic references to 1940s popular culture made in the movie's opening theme are rendered discomfortingly literal when the 30-something protagonist, Gordon Hocheiser (George Segal), awakens in what is his clearly his boyhood room. The slapstick ferocity of Mr. Reiner's family drama is soon apparent when Gordon puts on a Halloween gorilla costume in a feeble attempt at scaring his mother (Ruth Gordon) to death.

Mrs. Hocheiser is barely startled by her son's ploy. She simply wonders, for the first of many times, where her dead husband is and demands her morning breakfast (Pepsi over Lucky Charms). That Mrs. Hocheiser has dementia is the movie's first and greatest blasphemy. With her inimitable line readings and face-scrunching expressions, Ms. Gordon -- who was in her mid-70s when ''Where's Poppa?'' was made -- is one of the most ruthless clowns to ever appear before the camera. Her imperiously addled Mrs. Hocheiser is one of the period's great comic creations, as well as one of the most disturbing.

Gordon, who promised his father he would never put her in a nursing home, is bowed under the weight of his ''ancient, terrible, senile mother,'' as the New York Times critic Vincent Canby described her. With Louise, a nurse in a Florence Nightingale cloak and micro-miniskirt (Trish Van Devere, barely keeping a straight face), Gordon finds an instant, if painfully frustrated, rapport. In a vain attempt to prevent his jealous mother from terrorizing Louise, Gordon recruits his equally neurotic brother, Sidney (Ron Leibman), who suffers his own form of repetition compulsion, running back and forth across Central Park, regularly accosted by the same jovial gang of muggers.

A loosely connected series of set pieces, ''Where's Poppa?'' prompted outrage in its day, Mr. Canby's approval notwithstanding. Variety called it ''an insane movie'' and reported that a stampede of middle-aged theater owners made for the exit during a trade screening. The movie's climactic punch line was repeatedly expurgated and reinstated during previews. (Kino Lorber's disc offers the original ending -- essential to the movie's meaning -- as an extra.)

Nothing if not transgressive, ''Where's Poppa?'' is persistently scatological and casually anti-authoritarian, full of psychosexual hyperbole and rife with racial stereotypes, featuring a rape joke as potentially offensive to gay men and police officers as it is to women. Still, it was the character of Mrs. Hocheiser that critics found most unsettling. In his book ''Hollywood's Image of the Jew,'' published in 1982, the film historian Lester D. Friedman refers to ''Where's Poppa?'' as ''the most unsavory portrait of a Jewish mother in the history of Jewish-American cinema.''

Perhaps -- although why the restriction to Jewish or Jewish American? The movie is as universal as Freud's notion of the Oedipus complex, but it is also a sustained comic nightmare that comes as close to Kafka or to Freud's ''Interpretation of Dreams'' as any Hollywood entertainment ever has. The unconscious, after all, is a realm beyond political correctness.

''Papirosen,'' a family documentary chronicle by the young Argentine director Gastón Solnicki (out on disc from Film Movement), is more circumspect but no less fraught with trauma. Combining old home movies of vacations, weddings and bar mitzvahs with a decade's worth of observational footage, Mr. Solnicki documents the weight of history on four generations of Polish-Argentine Jews.

The filmmaker is largely invisible. The central figures are Mr. Solnicki's grandmother Pola, a Holocaust survivor, and his father, Victor, born in Poland just after World War II. In the late 1940s, the family made its way to Czechoslovakia and then to Buenos Aires (perhaps as not fully documented **immigrants**), where Mr. Solnicki's grandfather committed suicide. Mr. Solnicki's two siblings and a young nephew are supporting players, as is his mother, Mirta, a cheerful woman who at one point tells Victor that he needs ''more psychoanalysis.''

Robust yet fragile, Victor seems the most emotionally complicated member of the family -- obsessed with his own childhood and the father who abandoned him. On a trip to Prague, he searches for toys he might have owned; the movie's title refers to his favorite song, a sentimental Yiddish ballad about a Jewish war orphan who survives by selling individual cigarettes on the street. The title's literal meaning (''papers'') is suggestive of Victor's attempt to give his identity a legal basis, as well as the ephemeral material Mr. Solnicki uses to present his family's story.

''Papirosen'' is not so much a narrative as an immersion. Reviewing the movie in 2014, the New York Times critic Jeannette Catsoulis wrote that sequences ''accumulate without a connecting narration, and daily dramas play out in quarrelsome bursts of un-self-conscious intimacy.'' Further conflict arises from the breakup of the marriage of Mr. Solnicki's sister and his brother's sullen **alienation**.

Ultimately, the histrionics are subsumed by the movie's mysterious structure and fluid chronology. Ranging over decades and continents, ''Papirosen'' offers the dreamlike spectacle of Mr. Solnicki's family aging, de-aging and re-aging before our eyes -- and his.

NEWLY RELEASED

THE ADVENTURE OF SHERLOCK HOLMES' SMARTER BROTHER Gene Wilder directed himself in this 1975 spoof of Victorian detection, newly released on Blu-ray. Less a mystery than a mildly bawdy musical, the movie provides a splendid showcase for Mr. Wilder's co-star Madeline Kahn, who, Vincent Canby wrote in his New York Times review, ''may possibly be the funniest woman in films today.'' (Kino Lorber)

THE IN-LAWS Brought together by their children's marriage, Peter Falk and Alan Arkin make an unlikely pair of adventurers, particularly once the movie, from 1979, now on Blu-ray, relocates from suburban New Jersey to Central America. Arthur Hiller directed from Andrew Bergman's screenplay, which the Times critic Janet Maslin compared to ''The Producers'' and called ''one of those rare comedy scripts that escalate steadily and hilariously, without faltering or even having to strain for an ending.'' (Criterion)

THE MEMBER OF THE WEDDING Julie Harris and Ethel Waters recreated their Broadway roles in Fred Zinnemann's 1952 film version of the play Carson McCullers adapted from her novel, the story of an adolescent girl who longs to be part of her brother's marriage. New on Blu-ray. (Twilight Time)

NO HOME MOVIE Chantal Akerman's last film, a documentary portrait of her relationship with her aged mother, offers a key to her distinguished oeuvre -- and is heart-rending in its own right. ''You need to meet Ms. Akerman on her terms, although even when you do, her work may not completely open itself up to you,'' Manohla Dargis wrote in her March 2016 review for The Times. Available on DVD and Amazon Video. (Icarus Films)

WHO'S AFRAID OF VIRGINIA WOOLF? Mike Nichols inaugurated a brilliant career as a director ofscreen actors in his first feature, from 1966, now on Blu-ray. Adapted from Edward Albee's most celebrated Broadway play, it features Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton as miserably marriedspouses, with George Segal and Sandy Dennis as the younger couple who stray into their web. (Warner Archive)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**THE STORY OF A BRIEF MARRIAGE

By Anuk Arudpragasam

193 pp. Flatiron Books. $24.99.

War is a constant wellspring of literature, and the best of it looks not for the obvious and sensationally violent, but instead searches for the subtle ways that life unfolds regardless. While Sri Lankans writing in Sinhala and Tamil have long borne nuanced witness to the country's three decades of civil war, writing in English has been much slower to respond. And too much of it has taken the easy route, giving a foreign readership what it desires: a voyeuristic, and ultimately unengaged, affirmation of what it believes is true of savage peoples in other countries.

Anuk Arudpragasam's brave debut takes the higher road. In language that is often poetic, he describes a single day and night in the life of a **refugee** fleeing both the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelem and government forces. Dinesh is a young man who finds himself transporting the wounded and helping to bury the dead at a camp in the northern province during the final months of the war. In the middle of this carnage, a girl is proposed to him in marriage by a father facing his own incapacity to care for the remaining member of his family. Over a brief few hours, Dinesh experiences the sudden intimacy of marriage -- the desire to improve oneself, to be more deserving, to be both vulnerable and courageous, to parse both silence and speech. And he feels the loss that might still be sustained even after resigning oneself to having nothing left to lose.

Arudpragasam captures the vernacular while sustaining a startling lyricism. A ''settlement of tents'' gathers around the beleaguered hospital ''like a massive temple that was being erected around a small, golden shrine.'' Insects -- probably last immortalized by Donne -- in this case flies, are exquisitely described as worshipers who ''rub their little hands together silently as if in fervent prayer'' before feasting. A dying priest takes the shortest of breaths in order to avoid the pain of breathing out. And both held and heard breath are brought together in a scene where the author imagines that those experiencing trauma of irreparable magnitude allow their life to escape ''in an otherwise unremarkable exhalation.'' Even silence in the midst of war is rendered with bracing clarity.

The reverence that is paid to the minutiae of **refugee** life, a brilliant choice, is sometimes undermined by too much fixation on detail -- the protagonist repeatedly turns his head to observe too closely his own feces; his wife; the clippings of his filthy hair; the smooth stump of an amputee; a dying bird; a dying gecko, etc. Young Dinesh also has a tendency to ponder all with the flair of an educated philosopher rather than a high school student battered by war. Still, these are forgivable missteps. This is a war that dislocated a nation, irrespective of ethnicity, but the most helpless were the poorest Tamils, caught behind battle lines, prevented by the rebels from leaving, whose choice was ''either be killed in the shelling, or conscripted and then killed in the fighting.''

Arudpragasam gives those innocents a place in history as ordinary citizens, with dreams and belief in salvation, who hold on to privacy, dignity, pride and ritual. He makes it impossible not to stand skin-to-skin with them as they huddle in fragile dugouts, their **refuge** found beneath overturned boats and their scant belongings like paperweights that hold them on earth.

This is a book that makes one kneel before the elegance of the human spirit and the yearning that is at the essence of ­every life.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**AUSTIN, Tex. -- Attorney General Ken Paxton of Texas, who is fighting criminal charges of personally duping wealthy investors before taking office, has won a major court victory after a judge dismissed a nearly identical civil case brought against him by the federal government.

A federal judge on Friday gave the Securities and Exchange Commission two weeks to refile charges against Mr. Paxton, but for now, he has shed one of two cases that have marred his political rise.

Mr. Paxton, a Republican, has spent most of his 20 months on the job under felony indictment. He has pleaded not guilty in the criminal case while trying to preserve a high profile nationally, leading lawsuits against the Obama administration over **immigration**, transgender rights and Syrian **refugees**.

The collapse of the civil case gives Mr. Paxton a long-sought court victory over allegations that he deceived investors in a high-tech start-up called Servergy Inc. by not disclosing that the company was paying him. He has twice failed in his attempts to have the July 2015 criminal indictments against him thrown out and is trying again before the state's highest criminal court.

The federal district judge, Amos L. Mazzant III, who ''conditionally granted'' the dismissal of the civil suit barring a second effort by the S.E.C., said federal regulators lacked enough facts to keep their case moving forward.

Mr. Paxton had been accused of raising $840,000 in 2011 by betraying friends and using high-pressure tactics to secure investors. At the time, he was a state legislator from suburban Dallas, and one investor he was accused of misleading was a fellow Republican lawmaker.

''Paxton did not have a legal obligation to disclose his financial arrangement,'' Judge Mazzant wrote.

Mr. Paxton now hopes for a similar outcome in the state's highest criminal court. The Texas Court of Criminal Appeals, which this year dismissed a felony abuse-of-power case against former Gov. Rick Perry, has not yet decided if it will hear Mr. Paxton's appeal.

Special prosecutors in the criminal case against Mr. Paxton said the federal ruling would have no bearing on their case.

The felony securities fraud charges against Mr. Paxton carry a possible sentence of five to 99 years in prison. He is likely to stand trial in 2017 unless the charges are thrown out.

At the heart of Judge Mazzant's decision was his assertion that the S.E.C. failed to prove that Mr. Paxton had a ''fiduciary relationship'' with the investors he recruited and was obliged to tell them that he was being paid by Servergy in the form of 100,000 shares.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Gloria Steinem started her career as a C.I.A. operative, got her break as a Playboy Bunny, married Christian Bale's father and now produces a show for the cable television channel Viceland, the home of ''Balls Deep'' and ''Action Bronson Watches Ancient **Aliens**.'' Beyond that, there are some gaps in her résumé.

On a recent afternoon in her Upper East Side apartment, she addressed one of those gaps. She was wearing a Toledo Mud Hens T-shirt and moving gingerly because of back pain. The gap concerned Stephen Sondheim, and the time Ms. Steinem asked him to create crossword puzzles for New York magazine.

''How do you know that?'' she asked. ''Nobody knows that.''

It was 1968, as the magazine was just starting. Ms. Steinem knew Mr. Sondheim was a fiend for British-style crossword puzzles. Mr. Sondheim, who is now 86, did end up writing puzzles for the magazine in its first year, until quitting to write the musical ''Company.''

Ms. Steinem, now 82, went on to other pursuits as well.

At an age when many are happy to slow down, Ms. Steinem still keeps a rock star's schedule, promoting her most recent book, ''My Life on the Road,'' stumping for Hillary Clinton, and raising money for causes like Planned Parenthood and a proposed ''Women's Building'' in New York City.

Rolling into breakfast recently, after a weekend in North Carolina promoting her book and the candidacy of Deborah Ross, a Democrat, for the United States Senate, Ms. Steinem said she had been up until 5 a.m. revising a piece for The Boston Globe about her opposition to a proposed oil pipeline on tribal lands in North Dakota.

Next up, she has ''two or three'' books she wants to write, and another season of ''Woman,'' the documentary series she produced for Viceland, which was nominated for an Emmy.

''I can't imagine not working,'' she said. ''It's not even working; well, it's an addiction, really, but I can't imagine not doing it.'' She added, ''It's possible that more people are requesting me to speak because they think I'm going to die, given that I'm 82.''

Ms. Steinem has a disarming laugh that seems to say, ''Can you believe the silly thing Gloria Steinem just said?'' After she has spent so much time in the public eye, I asked how she would write her job description.

''I don't know,'' she said. ''When I have to put down something on a form I say writer, because that came first.'' She hunted around for another word. ''And organizer. I don't know how else to say it.''

Ms. Steinem would also call herself a New Yorker, a fact that sometimes gets lost amid her well-traveled biography. She has lived in the same apartment for nearly 50 years, since she and a friend rented the parlor floor of what is now a duplex for $300 a month. In 1969, when she was writing for New York magazine, she considered running for city comptroller on a ticket with Norman Mailer and Jimmy Breslin, whose platform included building a monorail around Manhattan.

It was, she said, a literary lark.

''Nobody ever imagined being in office,'' she said. ''It was out of love of New York and imagining what it could be. I think somebody asked Jimmy what he would do if he won, and he said, 'Demand a recount.'''

''I couldn't live anywhere else,'' she said.

Like a true New Yorker, she has never learned to drive.

In the living room where she held the first meetings for what would become Ms. magazine in 1971, she recalled the day she fell in love with the city, on a visit from Smith College in the mid-1950s.

''I was walking in the theater district, and I stopped by a delicatessen,'' she said, ''and there were three or four showgirls from some Broadway show, and they were in full regalia and headdresses and makeup, and they were standing there and ordering pastrami sandwiches, and nobody gave it a second thought. And I thought, Oh, I want to live here.''

Later, when she moved here, she made a list of things New Yorkers did that scared her. ''One was that they said things three times that we in the Midwest wouldn't say even once,'' she said. ''One was that they told you terrible things that were wrong with them, but then didn't do anything about it. In the Midwest if you say it, you have to do something about it. One was they didn't eat standing up out of the refrigerator. One was they ate red meat. I had seen pot roast, but not red meat.''

She has outlived or outlasted or out-niced many of her critics, including the newscaster Harry Reasoner, who famously said of Ms. magazine, ''I'll give it six months before they run out of things to say,'' or feminist contemporaries who accused her of hijacking the movement away from its more radical founders.

''I don't know how she does it,'' said Susan Brownmiller, author of the landmark feminist work ''Against Our Will,'' who has traded barbs with Ms. Steinem for four decades. ''And she is still so totally beautiful. When women went to see her, they were just relieved, because she was so calm, and she could be funny. She made a lot of women feel, 'Oh, that's what the women's movement looks like. I can be part of that.'''

Still, Ms. Brownmiller said, there were matters of feminist history to set straight. ''Guys in the media chose Gloria as our leader,'' she said. ''A lot of us, our hope is that eventually history will straighten this all out and say, no, Gloria came in a little later, and her very loyal supporters have backtracked that history.''

In ''My Life on the Road,'' newly out in paperback, Ms. Steinem describes a rootlessness at odds with her steadfast devotion to New York. In one 20-year span, she never went a week without being on an airplane.

In her childhood, her father used to shuttle the family around the country in a trailer, buying and selling antiques along the way to support them. The closest they had to a home base was Clarklake, Mich., where her father ran a summer dance pavilion, until the fall weather chased them south toward Florida or California.

''Living in trailer parks is sobering, let's put it that way,'' Ms. Steinem said. She came to ground only after her parents split up when she was 10, and she became caretaker for her mentally ill mother in East Toledo, Ohio. She did not attend school regularly until about seventh grade.

Her travels took her to Smith and then a two-year fellowship in India. When she arrived in New York for good in 1960, it was to be a journalist, as her mother once was.

For women, New York in the early 1960s was ''very much the way it's depicted in 'Mad Men,''' said Valerie Paley, director of the Center for Women's History at the New-York Historical Society. ''Even educated women were relegated to roles as wives and mothers. But there was also a groundswell for change, radical change.''

Ms. Steinem rode that groundswell, writing about the culture of the then-new birth control pill for Esquire, and going undercover as a Bunny at the then-new Playboy club for Show magazine. ''To this day when people don't like me they introduce me as a former Bunny, as a put-down,'' she said. ''On the other hand, I did improve the working conditions for those women.''

She also became a notable person-about-town. Time magazine, in 1969, called her ''one of the best dates to take to a New York party these days -- or, failing such luck, one of the most arresting names to drop,'' adding that she had ''legs worthy of her miniskirts, and a brain that keeps conversation lively without getting tricky.''

Ms. Steinem recalled those years in a less glamorous light. ''If we spent $10 on a night out, we'd say, 'Where are we going to get $10?''' she said. At parties, if things got too high-hat, she would say she was feeling the effects of her malaria and excuse herself.

There were years of second-acting plays, then staying up with the actors because they were all full of adrenaline, and having breakfast at the Automat.

''I remember that we once stole groceries from a store in the Village, because we were all broke,'' she said. ''Later on I went back to pay the old guy who was running the grocery, and that was my mistake, because it meant that he was admitting that someone could steal from him. I didn't understand that. Dignity is sometimes more important than money.''

As a young freelance writer, she said, ''we didn't even have a word then for sexual harassment. It was just called life. It was just your job to avoid attention without **alienating** the editor. So there was an editor who always gave me a choice as I was leaving. I could either do something like mail his letters or I could go to a hotel room with him in the afternoon. Needless to say I mailed his letters.''

Her introduction to the women's liberation movement came secondhand, through a public television special and a 1969 speakout on abortion organized by Redstockings, a radical feminist group. The movement itself was split into factions like New York Radical Women, New York Radical Feminists and the Feminists, along with Betty Friedan's more mainstream National Organization for Women. Ms. Steinem brought a journalist's ability to navigate different worlds. ''Steinem was brilliant and younger than Friedan, and used her charisma in a different approach, where she was able to work with men,'' Ms. Paley said.

When Ms. Steinem gathered some of the movement's best writers for Ms. magazine, she was accused by Ms. Friedan of ''ripping off the movement for private profit'' and by radical feminists of creating a shadow movement to undermine their own.

''I really feel that she's not a lion of feminism, but a lamb of feminism,'' said Kathie Sarachild, a member of Redstockings who is often associated with coining the phrase ''Sisterhood is powerful.'' In the mid-1970s, as Ms. took off, Redstockings criticized Ms. Steinem for having once worked for a C.I.A.-financed organization that recruited Americans to attend Communist-run youth festivals in Vienna and Helsinki in 1959 and 1962. The group's backing was first exposed in 1967 in Ramparts magazine, then in The Washington Post and The New York Times.

Ms. Steinem paints the chapter as an innocent one, saying that no one in the C.I.A. ever asked her to do or say anything, and that she did not report back to the agency. ''It's so interesting now, because the initials C.I.A. will make people believe anything,'' she said. ''It just wasn't like that. It just was so uncontrolled. As I remember saying at the time, if this was our grandmother's money we'd be doing the same thing.''

The criticism by other feminists was especially wounding. ''They never called to ask me what I did,'' she said. ''That hurt more than anything.'' She added, ''If anybody still cares about what happened so long ago, I'm happy to answer any questions.''

These are lively times to be Gloria Steinem, with the possibility of the first woman elected president and the word ''feminist'' -- seen in bus-size letters on the Beyoncé concert stage -- again finding currency among young women. Her recent friends include some, like Lena Dunham and the playwright and performer Sarah Jones, who were not yet born when she started Ms. In speeches, Ms. Steinem quotes the three women who started the Black Lives Matter movement. ''They are so far ahead of where we were, it's staggering,'' she said of the younger women she meets. ''The only way I've managed to express this is, I just had to wait for some of my friends to be born.''

Her age has made her more strategic and also freer, she said: ''Fifty was hardest for me, because it's the end of the center of life, especially a gendered center of life. But by the time I got to be 60, it was like a new world. Society has given up because it's all about having or raising children, really, and by 60 society doesn't care that much, so you're free. Seventy was certainly about mortality. And 80 even more so.'' She cited a Native American observation that old age is like childhood, a time of wonder, because both are near to the unknown.

She is especially excited about a plan to turn the former Bayview Correctional Facility in Chelsea into a hub for organizations serving women and girls, a dream since the 1970s of the Ms. Foundation and other groups. ''There is nothing I'm prouder of in this city,'' Ms. Steinem said. The building is being redesigned by female architects, for a female real estate developer, and is expected to open around 2020, said Pamela Shifman, executive director of the NoVo Foundation, a partner in the project.

''Gloria has been an advocate and visionary of this for decades,'' Ms. Shifman said. ''One thing about Gloria, quintessential Gloria, is that she sees herself in community with diverse groups of women, including formerly incarcerated women. Her purpose is to ask questions and listen.''

On a beautiful fall morning, Ms. Steinem seemed to lose interest in sitting still and answering questions. ''Want to see my bench?'' she said. For her 80th birthday, friends had presented her with a log bench in Central Park, near the Metropolitan Museum of Art. On the short walk over, a young woman stopped Ms. Steinem to thank her for being an inspiration. A man in a taxi yelled, ''Love you, Gloria,'' and flashed a ''V'' sign. Ms. Steinem gave him a thumbs up and strode purposefully across Park Avenue.

As Ms. Steinem climbed the hill toward her bench, the man sitting there appeared to know who she was.

''Go away, crackers,'' he said. Ms. Steinem continued to smile, assuring him she did not want him to move. He cursed at her and said, ''That Steinem died a long time ago.''

Down the hill, she seemed visibly shaken, but unwilling to criticize the man, who was black. ''When you're treated as a group, you treat others as a group,'' she said. ''So I'm 'cracker.'''

She had things to do. There was a Yazidi woman, Nadia Murad Basee Taha, who was trafficked by the Islamic State, to interview for Viceland, and a promo for a Ms. Foundation fund-raiser to tape. She had to prepare for a talk at the United Jewish Appeal and a local news segment about the Women's Media Center. She continued on her way.

A few days later, she emailed to say that the encounter with the man on the bench was ''part of the reason I'm not about to leave New York. At least we see each other and have a chance to talk and absorb what someone else is experiencing. We're not isolated in a tin can of a car or behind highways and gates.'' There was also the novelty of being called a cracker; a first, she wrote.

In a lifetime of activism, that may be her signature. Any encounter, even hostile, could be an opportunity. It was a philosophy to live by, and perhaps, eventually, to die by. Why dwell on conflict or loss?

''My funeral,'' she said, ''will be a fund-raiser.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PORTLAND, Ore. -- The beard and cowboy hat that defined Ammon Bundy's image to Americans on those cold mornings in January are gone. He is cleanshaven now and dressed in ill-fitting jailhouse blue. The federal wildlife **refuge** that he and other armed militia members occupied for six weeks in Oregon's high eastern desert has returned to normal.

But he is still talking. And talking.

Through three days of testimony this week here in Federal District Court, Mr. Bundy, 41, the owner of a truck maintenance company, defended the takeover of the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge**.

''I still believe very strongly that what we did was the right thing, and that it was legal,'' he told the court.

A kind of inkblot study of Mr. Bundy in psychological profile has become a central thread of the criminal case against him, his brother Ryan and five of their followers on felony conspiracy charges in connection with the armed takeover of the **refuge**. For the 12-member jury, that river of words -- in the testimony and in the videos and news interviews during and before the occupation -- is the means through which it is coming to know him.

What the jurors make of him -- and whether his steadfast beliefs come across as arrogance or sincerity -- could decide his fate when they start deliberating this month.

At one point during his testimony, Mr. Bundy compared himself to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who also had to take a ''hard stand,'' Mr. Bundy said, for what he believed.

And he said his Mormon faith had informed and fueled his determination to defend ''the people'' against incursion and overreach by the federal government in Western land policies.

He dismissed the idea -- central to the main criminal charges against him -- that the takeover had kept federal workers from doing their jobs. Being armed throughout the occupation of the **refuge**, he added, was a tool to get people's attention and was never meant to harm anyone.

''This has nothing to do with **refuge** employees or their duties,'' he said under questioning by his lawyer, Marcus R. Mumford. The Constitution, Mr. Bundy said, at one point grabbing the copy that jutted prominently from his front shirt pocket, is the sole reason he acted.

''This was bigger than any of us,'' he said.

In his brief cross-examination, Ethan D. Knight, an assistant United States attorney, suggested that Mr. Bundy had benefited from a federal program and might not be the philosophical purist of strictly limited government that he seemed. Was it not true, Mr. Knight asked, that Mr. Bundy's business had been financed by a $530,000 loan from the Small Business Administration? Mr. Bundy said that he had sought no such loan and that the small bank he had gone to had arranged it.

Was it not true, Mr. Knight said, that having people armed during the **refuge** takeover was all about keeping the government from trying to take it back?

No, Mr. Bundy said, the armed people ''protected us from being attacked,'' though he conceded that without the weaponry, the occupation would have quickly ended.

The basic facts of the case are not in dispute. On Jan. 2, a small number of militia group members using the name Citizens for Constitutional Freedom -- the number grew as the occupation wore on -- seized control of administration buildings at the Malheur **refuge**, about 30 miles southeast of Burns, in Harney County, a sparsely populated area about a five-hour drive from Portland.

On Jan. 26, en route to a meeting off the **refuge**, where they hoped to persuade ranchers to join their cause, Mr. Bundy and seven others were arrested during a traffic stop. The arrests spiraled into bloodshed when a member of the group, LaVoy Finicum, 54, raced his truck toward a police roadblock. After his vehicle went off the road, Mr. Finicum got out and was shot and killed by Oregon State Police officers as he appeared to reach for a weapon.

The last four holdouts at the **refuge** surrendered peacefully two weeks later. In all, 26 people have been indicted; a second trial is scheduled for early next year.

In the current case, which began here in September, Judge Anna J. Brown, in her rulings and instructions to the jury, has further sharpened the trial's focus on the interior lives of the defendants -- their state of mind, as she has put it. The most serious count in the indictment -- a conspiracy to impede federal employers from completing their duties, punishable by up to six years in prison -- also centers on questions of planning and intent in the decisions to take over the **refuge** and then hold it.

But the judge has also strictly told the defendants and their lawyers that they cannot assert those beliefs to the jurors as truth about federal government land policies, the Constitution or anything else. Out of the jury's presence, she has flatly said that some of those beliefs are wrong -- notably that two members of a ranching family who live near the **refuge** were charged as ''terrorists'' by the government in an arson case.

The two ranchers, Dwight and Steven Hammond -- a father and son -- were convicted of arson and sentenced, Judge Brown said, under a statute that included an antiterrorism provision but was not aimed purely at prosecuting terrorists; she read a legal instruction to the jurors reflecting that distinction as the Hammond case came up in witness testimony.

The terrorism claim about the Hammonds was a major rallying cry of the protesters at the Malheur **refuge**, underscoring, as many of them said at the time, the idea that federal authority was clamping down on dissent and that ranchers in particular were being targeted.

In a comment in open court but out of the jury's presence, Ryan Bundy, who is representing himself in the case, said he thought Judge Brown's instruction on the terrorism language was ''intended to make us look stupid.''

''The truth will come out,'' he added.

Ammon Bundy, in his testimony, repeatedly talked about prayer and about how God had led him to take action in defense of liberty.

''I asked the Lord if he would clear my mind,'' he said at one point, describing a long night of study and contemplation before resolving to go to Oregon. And then it was all clear, he said. ''I did exactly what the Lord asked me to do,'' he said.

Followers then had to ask themselves a related question, he said, not unlike the one faced by the jury. Everyone who heard a call to come to Oregon, he said, had to ''make a decision right now whether this is a righteous cause or not, whether I am a crazy person.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PARIS -- For a film that makes use of long silences, Gianfranco Rosi's documentary ''Fire at Sea,'' about the tiny Italian island of Lampedusa -- for years the European point of arrival for boatloads of North African migrants -- has made some noise.

Paolo Sorrentino, the Oscar-winning director, stirred controversy recently when he said it was ''useless and masochistic'' for Italy to have chosen a documentary, and not a feature film, as its submission for the foreign-language-film Academy Award, however much he admired the work.

But his was a rare note of dissent. The film -- in which Lampedusa becomes a metaphor for how Italy and the rest of Europe are handling the influx of migrants -- has struck a nerve this year. After it won the top prize at the Berlin Film Festival in February, at a moment when the arrival of Syrian **refugees** had been reshaping Germany, institutions began to take notice.

Prime Minister Matteo Renzi of Italy gave DVDs to 27 of his European counterparts, a reminder of how Italy, whose Coast Guard routinely rescues rickety boats of migrants, could use more help from other countries. And it was screened for Pope Francis and for the European Parliament.

''When I go to different screenings, people come up to me very moved, and they hug me, and they say, 'What can I do?' '' Mr. Rosi said in a recent interview in Paris, where the film was released last month. ''It's hard to answer that.''

The film presents Lampedusa as a clash of two worlds: that of the 6,000 islanders, who have lived off fishing for millenniums, and that of the hundreds of thousands of migrants, most from sub-Saharan Africa, who reach the island before being sent to other holding centers in Italy.

Lampedusa is ''a metaphor for Europe, for these two worlds which do not encounter each other,'' Mr. Rosi said.

The film is anchored by two figures: a boy, Samuele Pucillo, now 14, who clambers around the island with his homemade slingshot; and Dr. Pietro Bartolo, who for years was the only doctor on Lampedusa and had to examine the bodies of every migrant who died at sea.

''There was a need for me to change the point of view, because every time Lampedusa was narrated from the media, from the TV, it was always linked to a tragedy, to death,'' Mr. Rosi said.

Dr. Bartolo is the film's conscience, Mr. Rosi said, and Samuele its unconscious. At the Berlin Film Festival, Dr. Bartolo recalled a shipwreck off Lampedusa in 2013, in which the death toll rose by two, to 368. ''I saw them one by one, and I had to count them,'' Dr. Bartolo said at an emotional news conference. ''Two isn't a number. They're two people.''

The film will be shown at the New York Film Festival on Saturday and opens in the United States on Oct. 21. It has received glowing reviews in France, Germany and Britain, with critics praising its ''aesthetic morality,'' ''political awareness'' and lack of melodrama. (In Europe, the film has done best at the box office in Germany, followed by Britain, where it opened during the heated debate ahead of the Brexit vote. The film did less well in Greece and Turkey.)

The director had rare access to an **immigrant**-holding center on Lampedusa. There, the camera settles on a Nigerian man. ''When I asked one of them, 'What gives you the desire to cross the sea with the risk that maybe you will die?,' he said, 'It's the word ''maybe,''' '' Mr. Rosi recalled. '''Because here we will certainly die. Crossing the sea, maybe we'd die.'''

Born in Eritrea and raised in Italy, Mr. Rosi is drawn to people on the margins. His documentary ''Sacro GRA'' -- about people who live around Rome's ring road, known as the G.R.A. -- won the Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival in 2013. His 2010 film, ''El Sicario, Room 164,'' is about a killer turned informer from a Mexican drug cartel. (The Brooklyn Academy of Music will feature a retrospective of Mr. Rosi's films from Oct. 28 through Nov. 3.)

Mr. Rosi declined to comment on Mr. Sorrentino's criticism, beyond noting that Bernardo Bertolucci had supported the choice. The film was also submitted in the documentary category. (The academy will announce its nonfiction shortlist later this year.)

Mr. Rosi said he liked removing as much as possible in his films, so that only the outlines of the story and the strongest emotions remained.

He sketched some wavy lines in his notebook, showing how Italy had expanded its territorial waters farther south, to allow the Coast Guard to intercept boats of migrants closer to Libya, following a tragic accident in 2015 that left more than 500 people dead.

The film isn't only about Lampedusa, it's also about borders, Mr. Rosi said. ''These people die in the sea by boat, but thousands of people die in the desert, crossing to reach freedom,'' he said of **immigrants** trying to get to the United States. ''In the end these tragedies are universal.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Chicago -- For eight years, I worked as a housecleaner for a millionaire who lived in the Gold Coast neighborhood of Chicago. I took the bus across town three times a week, often to work in an empty house because my employer was frequently away, traveling for business.

That also meant I got paid only when I saw him -- in lump sums, often months apart. At first, I didn't mind this setup, but soon, months would pass. By the end of 2008, my employer owed me $10,000 -- and had stopped returning my calls.

I was frantic. It wasn't just that these were wages for weeks and weeks of work I'd already done, but I had bills to pay and my son's tuition at a special high school.

I went over to my employer's place one day, hoping to confront him, and finally found him home. I asked when I'd get paid what I was owed. He didn't answer, but instead offered a one-off payment of $1,000 to settle the debt. When I refused that, he told me to leave and, obviously assuming I was undocumented, threatened to have me deported. (In fact, I had legal status as a permanent resident on grounds of political asylum.)

It wasn't the first time I'd been treated like this. I'd been a housekeeper for more than a decade, after coming to Chicago from Guatemala in 1989 to escape the civil war. In general, the work wasn't bad, though it was hard on my joints as I got older. I often felt I was learning new things, and I always took pride in maintaining clean and tidy homes for people.

But I soon found out how some employers tried to take advantage of an **immigrant** with the broken English I spoke at the time. One woman wanted to pay me $60 for two full days of work -- after we'd previously agreed on a higher amount. Another employer liked to leave pornographic magazines lying around after I started working for him.

In any regular workplace, this type of behavior wouldn't be tolerated. But for domestic workers like me, who do their jobs in the privacy of people's homes, there isn't much we can do. If we say something, we get fired.

Which is why the Gold Coast millionaire probably thought I would just go away. But he was wrong. I took him to court.

When I filed my wage theft lawsuit, I was shocked to learn how few rights I had under Illinois law. There are about two million domestic workers in the United States -- people like me, who clean homes or care for children and seniors. Many of us are minority or **immigrant** women, and many work for less than minimum wage -- either because domestic work is not covered by the federal labor laws or because domestic workers are also excluded from state protections and benefits.

Fighting my lawsuit gradually turned me into an activist, and I began to speak out about my case. The more I did, the more I met other domestic workers who told me their stories; many had suffered worse mistreatment than I had. Taking inspiration from efforts in other states like California and New York to pass laws that protect the rights of domestic workers, we began campaigning for similar legislation in Illinois.

It took awhile, but we won. In August, Illinois became the seventh state to adopt a law to protect our rights, joining Massachusetts, California, New York, Oregon, Hawaii and Connecticut.

Under the Domestic Workers Bill of Rights, more than 35,000 housecleaners, nannies and home care workers in Illinois are fully covered by labor and human rights laws for the first time in the state's history. Whether you're paid in cash, or are undocumented, as a domestic worker you are now guaranteed a state minimum wage, protection from discrimination and sexual harassment, a meal break in every shift and a day of rest each week.

The day of my final court date, my employer met me outside the courtroom and tried to make a final settlement. He raised his offer to $1,500. I said no, out of dignity for myself and for my work. Fortunately, I was vindicated because, a few minutes later, the judge ruled in my favor. But it had taken five long, grinding years to get justice. No one should have to go through that.

That was why the day that Gov. Bruce Rauner signed the domestic workers bill into law meant so much to me. Housecleaners and care workers will no longer have to live in the shadows, enduring abusive situations, in Illinois.

Employers will know that our work deserves respect, dignity and protection. And workers will know that the law is on our side.

My job now is to see that every state in the country adopts a bill of rights like Illinois'.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Conservatives are deeply split over the rise of Donald J. Trump. Some see it as apocalyptic; others as refreshing. But two pieces of conventional wisdom are largely unchallenged by either side.

First, Mr. Trump's populist takeover of the Republican Party was shocking and unforeseeable. Second, love Trump or hate him, he has revealed important realities about the electorate, and Republicans must move toward more populist positions on issues such as trade and **immigration** or be left behind.

Both of these beliefs are mistaken.

The first false assumption is that Trumpist populism is unprecedented. In truth, what we see today has happened many times before. Indeed, political populism has often followed economic meltdowns like the one America has endured over the past eight years.

Financial crises have occurred throughout history, and they follow predictable patterns. The economists Carmen Reinhart and Kenneth Rogoff, whose 2010 book, ''This Time Is Different,'' offers a comprehensive study of financial crises around the world, find that they often take much longer to resolve than ordinary recessions -- about eight years on average.

In Japan, the financial crisis of 1992 touched off the ''lost decade.'' Smaller crises such as Black Monday in 1987 or the dot-com collapse in 2001 generally rebound in just two or three years.

This is not to say that nobody prospers for a decade after a severe financial crisis. Indeed, after the Great Recession of 2008-9, the wealthy came roaring back quickly. This gave the illusion of widespread prosperity but hid the fact that the recovery was wildly uneven, with a majority of Americans seeing little or any economic improvement.

Census Bureau data show that from 2009 through 2014, only about the top fifth of the population saw any income growth while the bottom 80 percent have averaged no income growth at all.

Some scholars like Robert Barro, my colleague at the American Enterprise Institute, see the malaise not as the inevitable result of the crisis, but as the product of bad public policy. Whichever account you find persuasive, the financial crisis and the long, uneven recovery sowed the seeds for the current populism.

In an article in The European Economic Review, German economists look at the effect of financial crises on politics, reviewing 800 elections over 140 years across 20 advanced economies. They found that, after a financial crisis, nationalistic populist parties and politicians, using language that often attributes blame to minorities and foreigners, typically increase their vote share by about 30 percent. There is no such effect after ordinary recessions.

Consider moderate, tolerant Sweden, where a 1991 parliamentary election came amid a financial crisis. Swedish voters rewarded a brand-new ''New Democracy'' party that focused heavily on law and order issues and proposed stringent restrictions on **immigration**.

With no simple solution for reviving equal opportunity, conventional politicians struggle with increasingly angry voters. Into this gap walk populists who specialize in identifying culprits: rich elites who are ripping you off; **immigrants** who want your job; free trade that's killing our nation's competitiveness. Their proposed solutions usually involve some combination of increased redistribution, protectionism and restrictionism.

Today, some conservative leaders take these populist claims at face value, leading to the second piece of incorrect conventional wisdom: No matter what one thinks of Mr. Trump personally, one must concede that mainstream positions on issues such as trade and **immigration** must be fundamentally rethought. Right?

Wrong. Trade and **immigration** are the lightning rods, but these issues are not the real triggers of our political moment. The illegal **immigrant** population was 8 percent lower in 2014 than in 2007, and our trade deficit was lower in 2015 than before the Great Recession.

The real issue is weak, unevenly shared growth. If we addressed this issue, and if people felt their lives improving, the appetite for invective on secondary issues such as trade and **immigration** would dissipate. So walking away from free enterprise principles on trade and **immigration** is not the solution.

But merely returning to the narrow economic strategies of past decades will not work, either. Conservatives love to emphasize the need for higher economic growth, but have often missed the importance of more widely distributed growth. Leaders should set their focus on a system with more opportunity in the middle and bottom of the economy.

This requires a generational strategy to build an education system based on innovation, school choice and an emphasis on vocational training. It means rewriting tax and regulatory law to stop discouraging domestic investment and squelching job creation, while also attacking the corporate cronyism that gives special treatment to wealthy and entrenched interests. It demands authentic compassion for people on the periphery of society.

These should be the core positions of conservative reformers. Throwing away free enterprise will neither solve our nation's problems nor create enduring political victories. Only strong growth, evenly distributed, will do the trick.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON -- For those blithely inclined toward the view that Britain would somehow find a way to sever its relationship with the European Union free of drama or financial consequences -- like canceling a car rental reservation, with a tad more paperwork -- Friday was a sobering day of reckoning.

As the British pound plunged some 6 percent against the American dollar in the span of two minutes in early trading in Asia, the markets offered a reminder that divorce tends to be messy, expensive and laced with uncertainties. It rarely ends happily.

The selling was so frenzied and swift that those who swap currencies for a living spoke of computerized transactions going haywire, rogue algorithms at work or a data entry error. The drop in the value of the pound appeared excessive, and it soon recovered some losses, though the British currency was down about 17 percent -- around 25 cents -- since June 23, the day Britain voted to abandon Europe.

More than anything, though, the precipitous drop seemed to attest to an increasingly unmistakable reality: Britain's vote to exit the European Union -- Brexit, in common parlance -- has put its commercial relationships with the world on uncertain and potentially perilous ground. That poses risks for the British economy, making its money less attractive to hold.

''The world believes that the U.K. is going to be poorer in the future, and find it more expensive to trade,'' said Paul Johnson, the director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies, an independent research institution in London. ''Essentially, the world is betting against the pound.'' And against the British economy.

The immediate cause of the plunge appeared to be a speech by the French president, François Hollande, on Thursday evening in Paris, in which he endorsed the view that Britain must be forced to swallow unpalatable terms of departure to discourage other European Union members from eyeing the exits.

''The U.K. has decided to do a Brexit, I believe even a hard Brexit,'' Mr. Hollande said. ''Well, then, we must go all the way through the U.K.'s willingness to leave the E.U. We have to have this firmness.

''If not,'' he continued, ''we would jeopardize the fundamental principles of the E.U. Other countries would want to leave the E.U. to get the supposed advantages without the obligations.''

Hard Brexit, Soft Brexit, Brexit Over Easy. No one really knows what these terms mean (and the last one is made up). But, crudely, they divide potential outcomes into the ones in which Britain maintains effective inclusion within Europe's single market -- a realm sprawling from Ireland to Romania, holding some 500 million people -- and the ones in which Britain winds up outside.

Mr. Hollande's line echoed a speech given by Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany earlier that day.

The week began with an admission from Britain's new Conservative prime minister, Theresa May, that access to the European market is likely to be a casualty of Britain's pursuit of a primary aspiration expressed in the Brexit vote: imposing limits on **immigration**.

European leaders have been resolute that free movement of people across the borders of member nations is a nonnegotiable cost of admission in the common market.

But Brexiteers had steadfastly maintained the illusion that Britain could have it both ways -- that it could retain access to the European market while still controlling **immigration**. In destroying that idea, the prime minister's admission badly rattled the markets.

The stakes are considerable. Britain ships nearly half its exports to other European Union members. The giants of global banking have turned London into a financial center rivaling New York, using hubs here to extend their reach across the rest of the European market.

Investment has poured into Britain from around the world, as major manufacturers have set up factories so they can sell their wares across Europe without incurring tariffs.

To one degree or another -- and no one really knows how much -- Brexit puts all of this in play.

Negotiations between Britain and Europe are expected to commence sometime early next year. Whatever settlement results must be ratified by the remaining members of the European Union, meaning that Britain's economic prospects are now tethered to the vagaries of domestic politics in 27 other countries.

None of these risks were unforeseen. During a fractious campaign leading up to the referendum, great reams of paper were released sketching out the potential effects on the British economy should voters opt to leave. Reports varied on details and degree, but they nearly unanimously concluded that Brexit would entail economic pain.

The British Treasury surveyed the trading arrangements the government might strike with Europe after a Brexit vote and concluded it could lop some 6.2 percent off the gross domestic product by 2030. That would leave the average household worse off by about 4,300 pounds a year (at the current, depressed exchange rate, about $5,300).

But those campaigning to leave dismissed such talk as fearmongering. They described a swashbuckling and reinvigorated Britain that would break free from a stagnating Europe -- the land of unemployed children moving in with their parents -- to instead focus on improving trade with faster-growing countries like China, India and the United States.

Since the vote, those who urged leaving Europe have pointed to the facts that the sun still rises and the earth still spins to declare validation.

Even as the pound has fallen against the dollar, consumer spending has generally held up along with employment. Economic growth has yet to be hit. Boutiques and high-end restaurants in London remain packed.

Some have focused on the upsides of a declining pound, which makes British exports cheaper on world markets and renders Britain a more affordable tourist destination.

But this misses the fact that nearly one-third of the goods and services consumed in Britain are imported. In dollar terms, the price of those goods and services is spiking. Eventually, economists assume, this inflation will work its way through the economy, further depressing growth by crimping consumer spending and potentially sowing unemployment.

During the campaign, those in favor of leaving offered assurance that, whatever resulted, Britain would ultimately secure a beneficial trade deal with Europe. Germany sells vast quantities of cars to British consumers, giving it every incentive to keep trade flowing unimpeded by tariffs. As the largest economy in the union, Germany would hold the cards.

But in her speech on Thursday, Ms. Merkel took direct aim at that argument, telling a gathering of industry leaders that any wavering on the principle of free movement of people would pose ''a systemic challenge for the entire European Union.''

The sudden plummeting of the pound appeared to signal that investors were absorbing the intricacies of this dynamic, and seeing through the Brexiteers' claims that Britain could impose limits on **immigration** while also negotiating a settlement with Europe that would maintain access to the common market.

Boris Johnson, the former London mayor who campaigned for leaving the European Union and is now foreign secretary, managed last week to maintain the government line while simultaneously making fun of the charade.

''Our policy is having our cake and eating it,'' he told the British tabloid, The Sun.

But on Sunday, as Prime Minister May addressed a gathering of her governing Conservative Party in Birmingham, she essentially dumped the cake in the bin.

''We have voted to leave the European Union and become a fully independent, sovereign country,'' Mrs. May declared. ''We will do what independent, sovereign countries do. We will decide for ourselves how we control **immigration**.''

In short, a ''hard Brexit'' appeared to be in Britain's future.

''Somehow, a whole combination of people were in denial up until now,'' said Adam S. Posen, a former member of the rate-setting committee at the Bank of England, and now president of the Peterson Institute for International Economics in Washington.

''There were the people who thought Brexit would be reversed,'' he continued. ''There were the people who delusionally thought there would be a soft Brexit, and all the northern Europeans would be nice to them. And there were people who believed that this crew in charge of the British negotiations were somehow going to strike a good deal. All of the delusions have run out of material.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BEIRUT, Lebanon -- The Syrian civil war, and the intense new ground battle in the divided city of Aleppo, is often seen as a contest between a chaotic array of rebel groups and the Russian-backed government of President Bashar al-Assad. But the reality is that Mr. Assad's side is increasingly just as fragmented as its opponents, a panoply of forces aligned partly along sectarian lines but with often-competing approaches and interests.

There are Iraqi Shiite militiamen cheering for clerics who liken the enemy to foes from seventh-century battles. There are Iranian Revolutionary Guards fighting on behalf of a Shiite theocracy. There are Afghan **refugees** hoping to gain citizenship in Iran, and Hezbollah militants whose leaders have long vowed to fight ''wherever needed.''

The Syrians themselves are in a few elite units from an army steeped in a nominally socialist, Arab nationalist ideology, exhausted after five years of war, as well as pro-government militias that pay better salaries. And, yes, overhead there are the Russian pilots who have relentlessly bombed the rebel-held eastern side of Aleppo -- trained to see the battle as supporting a secular government against Islamist extremist terrorists.

''The government's fighting force today consists of a dizzying array of hyper-local militias aligned with various factions, domestic and foreign sponsors, and local warlords,'' said one analyst, Tobias Schneider, in recently summing up the situation.

The battle for eastern Aleppo, where the United Nations says some 275,000 people are besieged, has raised tensions between the United States and Russia to their highest levels in years, but the Cold War rivals do not wield clear control over their nominal proxies. The competing interests on both sides and lack of clear leadership on either one is part of why the fighting has proved so hard to stop: Mr. Assad is desperate to retain power, Moscow is seeking to increase its clout at the global geopolitical table, and Iran is exercising its regional muscle.

While Washington and Moscow say preservation of Syrian state institutions is a priority, a look at the fight for Aleppo, Syria's largest city, shows that those structures are already atrophying.

At least one elite Syrian Army unit has been filmed seizing positions in Aleppo, but the bulk of the pro-government force is made up militiamen trained and financed by Iran, the Shiite theocracy that is the Syrian government's closest ally, according to experts, diplomats, regional officials and fighters battling for and against the government.

''Aleppo is Shiite, and she wants her people,'' goes a song overlaid onto a video posted online of an Iraqi cleric visiting Iraqi Shiite militia fighters on the front lines south of Aleppo. The message ignores the fact that the mainstream Shiite sect that accounts for the bulk of the Iraqi militias makes up less than 1 percent of Syria's population.

The government's Aleppo offensive has moved aggressively in the past week, worsening an epic humanitarian crisis. Syrian or Russian airstrikes have hit seven hospitals and killed hundreds of civilians, in what Moscow and Damascus describe as preparation for a final battle for the city.

The Syrian military has dropped leaflets urging rebels to surrender and civilians to leave, but the United Nations says that pro-government forces have not allowed access to the escape routes, and that residents are afraid of arrest if they head to the government side.

Pro-government ground forces have taken bites out of rebel territory from several directions, but have faced tough resistance in street fighting from insurgents who in many cases are defending their own neighborhoods.

To the north, the Quds Brigade, made up mostly of Palestinians living in Aleppo, seized the Handarat Palestinian **refugee** camp, lost it to rebels, and seized it again. To the south, Iraqi militias and other fighters have battled rebels for crucial territory close to a water pumping center. Syrian Army forces, meanwhile, seized a neighborhood in central Aleppo near the ancient citadel.

As rebel groups called for a general mobilization, residents on their side have stockpiled equipment for digging wells, fuel for generators and seeds to grow food, in preparation for a lengthy siege.

There is no precedent in the Syrian war for ground forces' quickly rolling into an area that rebels have held for years. The disjointed forces, many with no local connections, are not strong enough to take fortified urban rebel positions in a frontal assault.

Rather, airstrikes, artillery and starvation sieges have typically been used to force rebels to surrender in exchange for safe passage -- a process that has taken months or years in places far smaller and less strategically vital than Aleppo. But it could go quicker if pro-government forces managed to take control of the water distribution plant and shut off water to the rebel side, or if thousands of Russian soldiers and veterans now working for private security contractors joined the ground battle.

The Russian opposition-leaning newspaper RBK, citing a security service source, said that private Russian military companies had 1,000 to 2,500 employees in Aleppo and in one other Syrian city, Latakia, under the de facto command of Russian military intelligence officers. Russian special forces are also on the ground in Syria.

The messy mosaic of ground fighters on both sides has challenged Washington's tangled allegiances. The United States is effectively allied with Iraqi Shiite militias to thwart the Islamic State in Iraq, but in Syria, some of those same militias are fighting on the side of the Assad government, which the United States opposes, and against a mix of rebel groups, some of them backed by the Obama administration.

The front lines around Aleppo, as seen on video and described by witnesses, in some ways resemble those around Tikrit and Falluja in Iraq: In both countries, Shiite militia flags fly alongside, or sometimes instead of, those of a shaky national army and government.

In Iraq, militias have often acted as the tip of the spear, the first ground forces to enter after Iraqi government -- and sometimes American -- airstrikes. Similar scenes unfolded in northern Aleppo Province in February: After heavy Russian and Syrian airstrikes drove most people from villages, fighters from the Iraqi militia Harakat al-Nujabaa -- the Noble Ones -- Hezbollah and others fought rebel holdouts. Afterward, Syrian troops planted flags.

The pro-government forces now mobilized around Aleppo include several thousand fighters from Iranian-backed Iraqi Shiite militias known as the Popular Mobilization committees, which formed to fight the Islamic State in Iraq after it swept into large parts of that country in 2014.

South of Aleppo, Iraqi clerics have given rousing speeches to militiamen in fatigues urging them to fight in the name of faith and Islamic law. The Nujabaa fighters and their supporters have circulated an Arabic hashtag on social media, #AleppoOurNextVictoryInSyria.

Also fighting are Iranian troops and recruits from Iran's sizable Afghan **refugee** population. The Iranian government has been increasingly open about the fact that these are not only advisers, as they were long portrayed.

At least 400 Iranians and Afghans from Iran have died ''defending the shrines'' in Iraq and Syria, as the government describes it. In June, at least a dozen members of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps -- some of them high-ranking -- died in battles near Aleppo, and around that time some regular Iranian Army troops headed for Syria.

Around Aleppo, sectarian battle cries can be heard on both sides. Some Sunni insurgents use slurs against the Shiites who lead their archenemy -- Iran -- and against the Alawites, the sect Mr. Assad belongs to. And some foreign Shiite militiamen call their enemies by the names of foes from the seventh-century battle of Karbala that split Sunnis from Shiites.

There is more cultural affinity between Russia and senior Syrian Army officers -- steeped in secular Baathist ideology and often trained in the Soviet Union -- than between Syria's formal military and Iran and Hezbollah. But militarily, they are all interdependent.

Mr. Assad needs the ground forces provided by Iran and Hezbollah, which in turn need Russian air power. At the same time, Iranian and Hezbollah officials have said that their fighters provide intelligence from the ground for targeting airstrikes.

Before the war began in 2011, Syria had one of the largest and most professional armies in the region. But it has been eroded by tens of thousands of casualties, by untold numbers of men fleeing the country to avoid conscription, and by the practice of keeping many soldiers from the nation's Sunni majority away from the front lines amid questions about loyalty.

Some Syrian officers and government officials grumble about Iran and Hezbollah impinging on their sovereignty, complaining that their fighters earn more than the Syrians and blow past road checkpoints with the flash of a badge. Damascus residents complain about the foreign fighters with semiautomatic rifles making stands in neighborhoods once visited by tourists from all over the world, like the shrine of Sayeda Zeinab, and the Christian quarters of the Old City.

In turn, both Russians and the foreign Shiite fighters have complained about a lack of discipline among Syrian conscripts. But while many Syrian soldiers are weary after years of war, the foreign militia ranks seem to have buoyant morale.

The leader of the Iraqi Harakat al-Nujabaa, for example, can be seen in a video the group posted on Facebook telling his men to keep up the battle against extremists backed by the United States, the ''Zionist entity'' and ''arrogant, colonial forces,'' then offering ''the secret of our victory.''

''We are with God,'' he said. ''He won us the big victories.''

On the video's soundtrack, a singer then declared that when they see the militia's fighters, ''The people of Aleppo are happy.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Obama administration is delaying deportation proceedings for recent **immigrants** in cities across the United States, allowing more than 56,000 of those who fled Central America since 2014 to remain in the country legally for several more years.

The shift, described in interviews with **immigration** lawyers, federal officials, and current and former judges, has been occurring without public attention for months. It amounts to an unannounced departure from the administration's widely publicized pronouncements that cases tied to the so-called surge of 2014 would be rushed through the **immigration** courts in an effort to deter more Central Americans from entering the United States illegally.

The delayed cases are those of nearly half of the Central Americans who entered the United States as families since 2014, and close to a quarter of the total number of Central Americans who entered during that period, according to figures from the Justice Department.

The delays are being made as a cost-saving measure, federal officials said, because of a lapse in enforcement that allowed **immigrants** who were supposed to be enrolled in an electronic monitoring program to go free.

Some of those affected had failed to report to government offices to be fitted with GPS ankle bracelets, according to a February memo from the chief **immigration**judge, Print Maggard, in Arlington, Va.

Now that the government will not have to pay the daily fee of $4 to $8 a person to monitor such bracelets, the **immigrants**' cases have been pushed back for years, some until 2023, judges and federal officials said. The cases of those who met their reporting obligations are still being expedited, with some cases moving faster than lawyers and judges had expected.

''The whole thing is docket chaos,'' said Paul Schmidt, who retired in June after a 30-year career working for federal **immigration** agencies, the last 13 years as an **immigration** judge.

It was not clear whether the **immigrants**' failure to report was intentional or the result of unclear instructions. Deportations are carried out by two government agencies: the Department of Homeland Security, which arrests people charged with violating **immigration** laws, and the Executive Office for **Immigration**Review, a branch of the Justice Department that adjudicates deportations. It is common, lawyers and judges said, for **immigrants** who do not realize that the two agencies are distinct to betray their obligations out of confusion.

The Department of Homeland Security began using GPS ankle monitors in 2015 after determining that many recent **immigrants** were not appearing in court as required, said Sarah Rodriguez, a spokeswoman for **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement. Officials at the agency acknowledged that **immigrants** whose cases were being delayed might also fail to appear.

Along with the cases being postponed, other cases are being catapulted forward, sometimes by years, onto the dockets of judges who were recently hired to address the **immigration** system's backlog of cases, which has reached record levels. Yet even this attempt to speed things along, lawyers say, could lead to more delays.

''In all of these cases, I'm going to go into the court date and say, 'I was not given any chance to say whether or not I was available, so you have to adjourn this,''' said Bryan S. Johnson, a private **immigration** lawyer in New York.

Many **immigrants** whose cases will now move faster and who would have sought pro bono counsel may also have to go to court unrepresented.

''We can't take on someone else who is on a waiting list because someone we thought was going to be completed is now still our case for four years,'' said Eleni Wolfe-Roubatis, the **immigration** program director at the Centro Legal de la Raza in Oakland, Calif., a legal services agency for **immigrants**. She said dozens of her cases had been pushed to as late as 2020.

The **immigrants** affected by the delay are primarily families who entered the United States illegally since 2014, when record numbers of Central American migrants crossed the southern border, many seeking asylum status because of gang violence and lawlessness in their home countries.

Deportation proceedings for unaccompanied minors who entered the United States during that time are still being expedited.

But despite these deterrent efforts, the number of Central American families that will come into the country illegally this year is expected to exceed that of 2014, according to data from the Department of Homeland Security.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Mario Chasi stood in the middle of one of the 45 corrugated steel stalls that line the former warehouse in the Hunts Point section of the Bronx where he hopes to re-establish his body shop.

Mr. Chasi, a heavyset auto mechanic, is a **refugee** from Willets Point, Queens, a ramshackle colony of auto repair, muffler, glass and tire shops next to Citi Field. In 2013, he was among a group of business owners and mechanics evicted from the area, with its broken streets and potholes as big as a bathtub, to make way for a planned redevelopment.

While the project has been stalled in court, Mr. Chasi and more than three dozen other former inhabitants of Willets Points have struggled for more than two years to convert the warehouse where he was standing last week into an auto mart of sorts called the Sunrise Cooperative.

But with the construction nearly complete, Sunrise ran out of money, and filed for bankruptcy protection on Sept. 23. The cooperative's last, best chance is that New York City will come to the rescue with additional financing.

''I find it hard to think about what will happen if Sunrise doesn't open,'' said Mr. Chasi, who **immigrated** from Ecuador 15 years ago and started Cuenca Auto Body, with three employees. ''I want to open as fast as possible. I'm ready to work. It's the last hope.''

City officials said that Sunrise, which has already received more than $7 million in relocation funds, had asked for another $3 million to pay old bills, finish construction and cover its initial operating costs. But the officials were noncommital about whether more money would be forthcoming.

''We have worked in good faith for years to help the co-op get onto firm footing,'' said Anthony Hogrebe, a spokesman for the city's Economic Development Corporation. ''We are staying in close contact with them to understand their needs, and the cause of the overruns.''

It would be a shame to let the Sunrise cooperative fail when it is so close to opening, Harvey Epstein said, associate director of the Urban Justice Center, which represents Sunrise.

''We're hopeful that the city'll continue to work with Sunrise to have a worker-owned cooperative in the Bronx,'' he said. ''It will set the model for keeping low wage businesses together, even after their neighborhood has been rezoned.''

In 2007, Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg first announced plans to turn Willets Point, also known as the Iron Triangle, into the ''next great neighborhood'' with 5,500 apartments, a convention center and office space.

City officials regarded the 62-acre auto repair enclave as an eyesore whose dusty streets flooded when it rained, but Willets Point was home to about 225 mostly Latino-owned businesses and 1,700 workers who earned anywhere from $80 to $140 a day.

Those kinds of industrial, blue-collar jobs have not fared well amid the city's rising tide of luxury housing and gentrification over the past 20 years.

''There's no institutional commitment in the city to preserving industry,'' said Tom Angotti, a professor of urban affairs and planning at Hunter College. ''But it's been shown time and again that diverse economies are more resilient.''

In the case of Willets Point, city officials said the shops would have to move. There were protests and sit-ins, but in 2013, the City Council approved a $3 billion Willets Point redevelopment plan, which called for a hotel and a 1 million-square-foot mall next to the stadium. The developers -- the Related Companies and Sterling Equities, whose principals own Citi Field and the Mets -- were required to build 2,500 apartments, 875 for low and moderate-income tenants, beginning in 2025, although they had the option of paying the city $35 million to get out of the obligation.

A lawsuit filed by the City Club of New York, a civic group, and some business and property owners has slowed any progress. The developers so far have lost in court, and have appealed, although the city declined to join the appeal. But under Mayor Bill de Blasio, a Democrat, the city has continued to buy land in Willets Point and to evict businesses in the area. The city has already spent $264 million of a $474 million budget for land, demolition, cleaning up toxic materials and building highway ramps.

The Sunrise Cooperative also sued the city, settling in 2015, after the city agreed to provide the group with $5.8 million to move collectively to the Bronx warehouse.

Marco Neira, president of Sunrise, said the group wanted to replicate the critical mass of auto-related businesses at Willets Point that had attracted customers who knew they could find a good deal by hunting from shop to shop for the best price.

Mr. Neira said he wanted to avoid what happened to printers in Manhattan, many of which failed after being forced to leave the printing district around Canal and Hudson Streets in the 1990s. Some relocated to Long Island City, where they are being forced out by development again.

''All the printers in the buildings around me have been told to get out in the next year,'' said Howard Weinstein, president of Candid Litho Printing, which moved to Long Island City 10 years ago and is moving again, possibly out of the city. ''The number of apartment buildings going up here is out of control.''

Members of the Sunrise Cooperative said that their building in Hunts Point -- and industrial section close to the Interstate 278 that is home to the city's produce and fish markets -- is unlikely to face the same sort of gentrification.

The price of converting the property has soared because of delays and the cost of constructing in accordance with building and fire codes. Sunrise has exhausted its own money as well as $7.6 million in city relocation financing. Sunrise estimates that it needs another $2 million to pay outstanding bills and finish construction and $1 million more for operating costs in the first year.

Former Willets Point business owners like Mr. Chasi and Jorge Molina, who owned the House of Shocks, often set up shop in front of the now-vacant Iron Triangle shops with compressors, tool bags and spare parts piled into the back of pickup trucks or vans.

''I have some customers, maybe 100, waiting for the shop to open,'' said Robert Aguilar, who **immigrated** to New York from Mexico and owned Veterans Auto Repair. ''In a good year, I made $70,000. I had been looking to buy a house. But now: nothing. What money there is goes for food and rent.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Trump campaign appeared to disavow one of its most provocative policy proposals on Thursday, as Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana said explicitly that Donald J. Trump no longer wanted to impose a temporary ban on Muslim **immigration** to the United States.

In a round of television interviews in which he was asked to clarify once and for all where the campaign stands on the proposal, Mr. Pence, who opposed the ban before becoming Mr. Trump's running mate, declared the idea dead. The reversal is a significant one for the Trump campaign, which was accused of promoting a policy that was discriminatory and probably unconstitutional when Mr. Trump unveiled it in the name of national security last year.

Asked on CNN about why he will not condemn the Muslim ban now, Mr. Pence said, ''Because that's not Donald Trump's position now.''

Why isn't Mike Pence condemning Trump's past call for a Muslim ban? "Because it's not Donald Trump's position now" https://t.co/9fAIpGXCd4[https://t.co/9fAIpGXCd4] -- New Day (@NewDay) October 6, 2016

In recent months, Mr. Trump has changed how he has talked about the ban, saying that ''extreme vetting'' of **immigrants** should be focused on people coming from countries that have been compromised by terrorists. But that idea led to more confusion, because it was not clear if it was an expansion of the Muslim ban or a shift away from it.

Mr. Pence appeared to imply in August that he would be open to broadening the ban to other religions, but the emphasis was placed on geography.

''That's what Donald Trump and I are calling for now, is to have a temporary suspension of **immigration** from countries or territories compromised by terrorism, and I believe that's an appropriate action given the horrendous, horrendous violence that we see,'' Mr. Pence told Charlie Sykes, a Wisconsin talk radio host, at the time.

Historians have compared Mr. Trump's Muslim ban to some of the darkest moments in American history, likening it to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the use of internment camps for Japanese-Americans during World War II.

The timing of Mr. Pence's latest remarks may not be a coincidence. Polls have shown a majority of Americans oppose the concept of barring Muslims, while Republicans remain divided about it. The retreat on Thursday was the latest example of the Trump campaign changing a position as the election approaches.

Mr. Trump recently softened his position on **immigration**, forgoing his calls for mass deportation in favor of a focus on ''criminal **aliens**.'' Mr. Pence was also one of the first members of the campaign to publicly acknowledge that President Obama was born in the United States, paving the way for Mr. Trump to finally end his false conspiracy theory about Mr. Obama's birthplace last month.

During the vice-presidential debate this week, Mr. Pence brushed off many of Mr. Trump's startling comments from the campaign, disregarding some as reflecting a lack of political polish and denying that others were ever said.

But critics of Mr. Trump are not letting his campaign off the hook for the Muslim ban so easily.

''Governor Pence's flagrant attempts to mislead voters on his running mate's positions aren't fooling anyone,'' said Zara Rahim, a spokeswoman for the Clinton campaign. ''Not only has Trump proposed an unconstitutional **immigration** ban on an entire religion, but he's suggested creating a database that tracks Muslims in this country.''

She added, ''Pence has not disavowed anything, he's just lied to the American people once again.''

Nihad Awad, the executive director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, said that Mr. Trump could not simply turn the page on the Muslim ban.

''Whatever the Trump campaign claims is the current version of its Muslim ban, the original absolutist language of a 'total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States' -- along with other bigoted statements -- reflect a systematic and toxic use of Islamophobia that has had a tremendously harmful impact on the lives of ordinary American Muslims and on the unity of our nation,'' Mr. Awad said.

Despite efforts to quietly backtrack on the proposal, the Trump campaign has continued to face questions about the ban because the news release from last December announcing the proposal has not been removed from Mr. Trump's website.

''Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what is going on,'' the release said.

But in a separate interview on MSNBC on Thursday, Mr. Pence made clear that the Muslim ban was no longer on the table. Such a proposal, he seemed to suggest, would be absurd.

''So not a ban on all Muslims?'' Joe Scarborough, the host of ''Morning Joe,'' asked Mr. Pence.

''Of course not,'' Mr. Pence replied.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**More than twice as many Asian-Americans now identify as Democrats than as Republicans, and they hold strongly unfavorable views of Donald J. Trump, a new national survey found, emphasizing the Republican Party's continued struggle to appeal to minority groups.

The figures, published on Wednesday by the nonpartisan National Asian-American Survey, suggested that the political allegiances of Asians might be hardening in a way that could harm Republicans with the fastest-growing minority group well beyond 2016.

''Over the past 20 years,'' the report said, ''Asian-American support for Democratic presidential candidates has increased more dramatically than among any other racial group.''

Fifty-seven percent of Asians identify with or lean toward the Democratic Party today, compared with 24 percent who do for the Republican Party, the survey said.

Mr. Trump's numbers are far worse. Mrs. Clinton leads him among all Asian registered voters, 55 percent to 14 percent.

And while the Asian vote has never been monolithic -- it includes a vast array of ethnicities, nationalities and religious affiliations -- the distaste for Mr. Trump extends far and deep into all groups. Seventy-nine percent of Indian-Americans surveyed said they had an unfavorable view of Mr. Trump. So did 84 percent of Koreans, 67 percent of Chinese and 62 percent of Filipinos.

The only bright spot were Vietnamese-Americans, who were split more or less evenly: 43 percent unfavorable, 45 percent favorable for Mr. Trump.

In 1992, George H.W. Bush won Asian-Americans by an overwhelming 24-point margin. Bob Dole, the Republican nominee in 1996, won them as well, but by a smaller margin. The Democratic nominee has won Asians ever since.

Many Republicans have started to raise the alarm that Mr. Trump is only **alienating** Asians further. He has suggested cutting off **immigration** from the Philippines, citing fears that the longtime American ally poses the same national security threat as countries like Afghanistan and Syria. He has pilloried the Chinese repeatedly while campaigning, sometimes doing so in a mocking accent. And his proposals to ban Muslims from **immigrating** to the United States and to deport millions of undocumented **immigrants** have stirred up painful memories of discriminatory policies that have targeted Asians in the past, like the internment of the Japanese during World War II.

The survey asked its participants -- who were interviewed in 10 languages -- whether they supported Mr. Trump's Muslim ban. Sixty-two percent said no, while 20 percent said yes.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDFollowing is a transcript of the vice-presidential debate on Tuesday, as transcribed by the Federal News Service.

QUIJANO: Good evening. From Longwood University in Farmville, Virginia, and welcome to the first, and only, vice presidential debate of 2016, sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates.

QUIJANO: I'm Elaine Quijano, anchor at CBSN, and correspondent for CBS News. It's an honor to moderate this debate between Senator Tim Kaine and Governor Mike Pence. Both are longtime public servants who are also proud fathers of sons serving in the U.S. Marines.

The campaigns have agreed to the rules of this 90-minute debate. There will be nine different segments covering domestic and foreign policy issues. Each segment will begin with a question to both candidates who will each have two minutes to answer. Then I'll ask follow-up questions to facilitate a discussion between the candidates. By coin toss, it's been determined that Senator Kaine will be first to answer the opening question.

QUIJANO: We have an enthusiastic audience tonight. They've agreed to only express that enthusiasm once at the end of the debate and right now as we welcome Governor Mike Pence and Senator Tim Kaine.

(APPLAUSE)

Gentlemen, welcome. It truly is a privilege to be with both of you tonight.

QUIJANO: I'd like to start with the topic of presidential leadership. Twenty-eight years ago tomorrow night, Lloyd Bentsen said the vice presidential debate was not about the qualifications for the vice presidency, but about how if tragedy should occur, the vice president has to step in without any margin for error, without time for preparation, to take over the responsibility for the biggest job in the world.

What about your qualities, your skills, and your temperament equip you to step into that role at a moment's notice? Senator Kaine?

KAINE: Elaine, thank you for being here tonight, and, Governor Pence, welcome. It is so great to be back at Longwood University in Farmville, Virginia.

This is a very special place. Sixty-five years ago, a young, courageous woman, Barbara Johns, led a walkout of her high school, Moton High School. She made history by protesting school segregation. She believed our nation was stronger together. And that walkout led to the Brown v. Board of Education decision that moved us down the path toward equality.

I am so proud to be running with another strong, history-making woman, Hillary Clinton, to be president of the United States. I'm proud because her vision of stronger together, building an economy that works for all, not just those at the top, being safe in the world not only with a strong military, but also strong alliances to battle terrorism and climate change, and also to build a community of respect, just like Barbara Johns tried to do 65 years ago. That's why I'm so proud to be her running mate.

Hillary told me why she asked me to be her running mate. She said the test of a Clinton administration will not be the signing of a bill or the passage of a bill. It'll be whether we can make somebody's life better, whether we can make a classroom better learning environment for schoolkids or teachers, whether we can make a safer -- it's going to be about results.

And she said to me, you've been a missionary and a civil rights lawyer. You've been a city councilman and mayor. You've been a lieutenant governor and governor and now a U.S. senator. I think you will help me figure out how to govern this nation so that we always keep in mind that the success of the administration is the difference we make in people's lives.

And that's what I bring to the ticket, that experience having served at all levels of government. But my primary role is to be Hillary Clinton's right-hand person and strong supporter as she puts together the most historic administration possible. And I relish that role. I'm so proud of her.

KAINE: I'll just say this: We trust Hillary Clinton, my wife and I, and we trust her with the most important thing in our life. We have a son deployed overseas in the Marine Corps right now. We trust Hillary Clinton as president and commander-in-chief, but the thought of Donald Trump as commander-in-chief scares us to death.

QUIJANO: Governor Pence?

PENCE: Well, first off, thank you, Elaine, and thank you to -- thank you to Norwood University for their wonderful hospitality and the Commission on Presidential Debates. It's deeply humbling for me to be here, to be surrounded by my -- my wonderful family.

And, Senator Kaine, it's an honor to be here with you, as well. And I just -- I also want to say -- I want to say thanks to everyone that's looking in tonight, who understands what an enormously important time this is in the life of our nation.

For the last seven-and-a-half years, we've seen America's place in the world weakened. We've seen an economy stifled by more taxes, more regulation, a war on coal, and a failing health care reform come to be known as Obamacare, and the American people know that we need to make a change. And so I want to thank all of you for being -- being with us tonight.

PENCE: I also want to thank Donald Trump for making that call and inviting us to be a part of this ticket. I have to tell you, I'm a -- I'm a small-town boy from a place not too different from Farmville. I grew up with a cornfield in my backyard. My grandfather had **immigrated** to this country when he was about my son's age. My mom and dad built a -- everything that matters in a small town in Southern Indiana. They built a family and -- and a good name and a business. And they raised a family. And I dreamed some day of representing my home town in Washington, D.C., but I -- honestly, Elaine, I never imagined -- never imagined I'd have the opportunity to be governor of the state that I love, let alone be sitting at a table like this in this kind of a position.

So to answer your question, I would say I -- I would hope that if -- if the responsibility ever fell to me in this role, that I would meet it with the way that I'm going to meet the responsibility should I be elected vice president of the United States. And that's to bring a lifetime of experience, a lifetime growing up in a small town, a lifetime where I've served in the Congress of the United States, where -- where I've led a state that works in the great state of Indiana, and whatever other responsibilities might follow from this, I -- I would hope and, frankly, I would pray to be able to meet that moment with that -- that lifetime of experience.

QUIJANO: Senator Kaine, on the campaign trail, you praised Secretary Clinton's character, including her commitment to public service, yet 60 percent of voters don't think she's trustworthy. Why do so many people distrust her? Is it because they have questions about her e-mails and the Clinton Foundation?

KAINE: Elaine, let me tell you why I trust Hillary Clinton. Here's what people should look at as they look at a public servant. Do they have a passion in their life that showed up before they were in public life? And have they held onto that passion throughout their life, regardless of whether they were in office or not, succeeding or failing?

Hillary Clinton has that passion. From a time as a kid in a Methodist youth group in the suburbs of Chicago, she has been focused on serving others with a special focus on empowering families and kids. As a civil rights lawyer in the South, with the Children's Defense Fund, first lady of Arkansas and this country, senator, secretary of state, it's always been about putting others first. And that's a sharp contrast with Donald Trump.

Donald Trump always puts himself first. He built a business career, in the words of one of his own campaign staffers, ''off the backs of the little guy.'' And as a candidate, he started his campaign with a speech where he called Mexicans rapists and criminals, and he has pursued the discredited and really outrageous lie that President Obama wasn't born in the United States.

It is so painful to suggest that we go back to think about these days where an African-American could not be a citizen of the United States. And I can't imagine how Governor Pence can defend the insult- driven selfish ''me first'' style of Donald Trump.

QUIJANO: Governor Pence, let me ask you, you have said Donald Trump is, quote, ''thoughtful, compassionate, and steady.'' Yet 67 percent of voters feel he is a risky choice, and 65 percent feel he does not have the right kind of temperament to be president. Why do so many Americans think Mr. Trump is simply too erratic?

PENCE: Well, let me -- let me say first and foremost that, Senator, you and Hillary Clinton would know a lot about an insult- driven campaign. It really is remarkable. At a time when literally, in the wake of Hillary Clinton's tenure as secretary of state, where she was the architect of the Obama administration's foreign policy, we see entire portions of the world, particularly the wider Middle East, literally spinning out of control. I mean, the situation we're watching hour by hour in Syria today is the result of the failed foreign policy and the weak foreign policy that Hillary Clinton helped lead in this administration and create. The newly emboldened -- the aggression of Russia, whether it was in Ukraine or now they're heavy-handed approach...

KAINE: You guys love Russia. You both have said...

PENCE: ... their heavy-handed approach.

KAINE: You both have said -- you both have said Vladimir Putin is a better leader than the president.

PENCE: Well...

(CROSSTALK)

QUIJANO: Well, we're going to get to Russia in just a moment. But I do want to get back to the question at...

PENCE: But in the midst -- Elaine, thank you. Thank you. Thank you, Senator, I'll...

KAINE: These guys have praised Vladimir Putin as a great leader. How can that...

(CROSSTALK)

QUIJANO: Yes, and we will get to that, Senator. We do have that coming up here. But in the meantime, the questions...

PENCE: Well, Senator, I must have hit a...

(CROSSTALK)

PENCE: I must have hit a nerve here.

QUIJANO: Why the disconnect?

PENCE: Because at a time of great challenge in the life of this nation, where we've weakened America's place in the world, stifled America's economy, the campaign of Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine has been an avalanche of insults.

Look, to get to your question about trustworthiness, Donald Trump has built a business through hard times and through good times. He's brought an extraordinary business acumen. He's employed tens of thousands of people in this country.

KAINE: And paid few taxes and lost a billion a year.

(CROSSTALK)

QUIJANO: And why the disconnect with your running mate?

PENCE: But there's a -- there's a reason why people question the trustworthiness of Hillary Clinton. And that's because they're paying attention. I mean, the reality is, when she was secretary of state, Senator, come on. She had a Clinton Foundation accepting contributions from foreign governments.

KAINE: You are Donald Trump's apprentice. Let me talk about this...

(CROSSTALK)

PENCE: Senator, I think I'm still on my time.

KAINE: Well, I think -- isn't this a discussion?

QUIJANO: This is our open discussion.

KAINE: Yeah, let's talk about the state of...

(CROSSTALK)

PENCE: Well, let me interrupt -- let me interrupt you and finish my sentence, if I can.

KAINE: Finish your sentence.

PENCE: The Clinton Foundation accepted foreign contributions from foreign governments and foreign donors while she was secretary of state.

KAINE: OK, now I can weigh in. Now...

PENCE: She had a private server...

KAINE: Now, I get to weigh in. Now, let me just say this...

PENCE: ... that was discovered...

(CROSSTALK)

QUIJANO: ... Senator, you have an opportunity to respond.

PENCE: ... keep that pay to play process out of the reach of the public.

KAINE: Governor Pence -- Governor Pence doesn't think the world's going so well and he, you know, is going to say it's everybody's fault.

PENCE: Do you?

KAINE: Let me tell you this. When Hillary Clinton became secretary of state, Governor Pence, did you know that Osama bin Laden was alive?

PENCE: Yes.

KAINE: Do you know that we had 175,000 troops deployed in the battlefield in Iraq and Afghanistan? Do you know that Iran was racing toward a nuclear weapon and Russia was expanding its stockpile?

Under Secretary Clinton's leadership, she was part of the national team, public safety team that went after and revived the dormant hunt against bin Laden and wiped him off the face of the Earth. She worked to deal with the Russians to reduce their chemical weapons stockpile. She worked a tough negotiation with nations around the world to eliminate the Iranian nuclear weapons program without firing a shot.

PENCE: Eliminate the Iranian nuclear weapons program?

KAINE: Absolutely, without firing a shot. And instead of 175,000 American troops deployed overseas, we now have 15,000.

PENCE: Right and...

KAINE: These are very, very good things.

PENCE: And Iraq has been overrun by ISIS, because Hillary Clinton failed to renegotiate...

KAINE: Well, if you want to put more American troops in Iraq, you can propose that.

PENCE: Hillary Clinton -- Hillary Clinton -- Hillary Clinton failed to renegotiate a status of forces agreement...

KAINE: No, that is incorrect. That's incorrect.

PENCE: And so we removed -- we removed all of our...

QUIJANO: Gentlemen, we'll get to...

(CROSSTALK)

PENCE: ... troops from Iraq, and ISIS was able to be conjured up in that vacuum.

KAINE: But I'd like to correct...

PENCE: ... and overrun vast areas of Iraq.

KAINE: Governor, President Bush said we would leave Iraq at the end of 2011. And, Elaine, Iraq didn't want our troops to stay, and they wouldn't give us the protection for our troops. And guess what? If a nation where our troops are serving does not want us to stay, we're not going to stay without their protection.

PENCE: It was a failure of the secretary of state...

QUIJANO: We need to move on to the next topic, gentlemen.

KAINE: If Governor Pence wants to put more troops back in Iraq, that's...

QUIJANO: There are a lot of people wondering in this country about the economy. Let's turn to the issue of the economy.

KAINE: OK.

QUIJANO: According to the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, neither of your economic plans will reduce the growing $19 trillion gross national debt. In fact, your plans would add even more to it.

Both of you were governors who balanced state budgets. Are you concerned that adding more to the debt could be disastrous for the country. Governor Pence?

PENCE: I think the fact that -- that under this past administration was of which Hillary Clinton was a part, we've almost doubled the national debt is atrocious. I mean, I'm very proud of the fact that -- I come from a state that works. The state of Indiana has balanced budgets. We cut taxes, we've made record investments in education and in infrastructure, and I still finish my term with $2 billion in the bank.

That's a little bit different than when Senator Kaine was governor here in Virginia. He actually -- he actually tried to raise taxes by about $4 billion. He left his state about $2 billion in the hole. In the state of Indiana, we've cut unemployment in half; unemployment doubled when he was governor.

PENCE: But I think he's a very fitting running mate for Hillary Clinton, because in the wake of a season where American families are struggling in this economy under the weight of higher taxes and Obamacare and the war on coal and the stifling avalanche of regulation coming out of this administration, Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine want more of the same. It really is remarkable that they actually are advocating a trillion dollars in tax increases, which I get that. You tried to raise taxes here in Virginia and were unsuccessful.

But a trillion dollars in tax increases, more regulation, more of the same war on coal, and more of Obamacare that now even former President Bill Clinton calls Obamacare a crazy plan. But Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine want to build on Obamacare. They want to expand it into a single-payer program. And for all the world, Hillary Clinton just thinks Obamacare is a good start.

Look, Donald Trump and I have a plan to get this economy moving again just the way that it worked in the 1980s, just the way it worked in the 1960s, and that is by lowering taxes across the board for working families, small businesses and family farms, ending the war on coal that is hurting jobs and hurting this economy even here in Virginia, repealing Obamacare lock, stock, and barrel, and repealing all of the executive orders that Barack Obama has signed that are stifling economic growth in this economy.

We can get America moving again. Put on top of that the kind of trade deals that'll put the American worker first, and you've got a prescription for real growth. And when you get the economy growing, Elaine, that's when you can deal with the national debt. When we get back to 3.5 percent to 4 percent growth with Donald Trump's plan will do, then we're going to have the resources to meet our nation's needs at home and abroad, and we're going to have the ability to bring down the national debt.

QUIJANO: Senator Kaine?

KAINE: Elaine, on the economy, there's a fundamental choice for the American electorate. Do you want a ''you're hired'' president in Hillary Clinton or do you want a ''you're fired'' president in Donald Trump? I think that's not such a hard choice.

Hillary and I have a plan that's on the table that's a ''you're hired'' plan. Five components. First thing we do is we invest in manufacturing, infrastructure, and research in the clean energy jobs of tomorrow. Second thing is we invest in our workforce, from pre-K education to great teachers to debt-free college and tuition-free college for families that make less than $125,000 a year.

Third, we promote fairness by raising the minimum wage, so you can't work full-time and be under the poverty level, and by paying women equal pay for equal work.

Fourth, we promote small business growth, just as we've done in Virginia, to make it easier to start and grow small businesses. Hillary and I each grew up in small-business families. My dad, who ran an iron working and welding shop, is here tonight.

And, fifth, we have a tax plan that targets tax relief to middle- class individuals and small businesses and asks those at the very top who've benefited as we've come out of recession to pay more.

KAINE: The Trump plan is a different plan. It's a ''you're fired'' plan. And there's two key elements to it. First, Donald Trump said wages are too high. And both Donald Trump and Mike Pence think we ought to eliminate the federal minimum wage.

Mike Pence, when he was in Congress, voted against raising the minimum wage above $5.15. And he has been a one-man bulwark against minimum wage increases in Indiana.

The second component of the plan is massive tax breaks for the very top, trillions of dollars of tax breaks for people just like Donald Trump. The problem with this, Elaine, is that's exactly what we did 10 years ago and it put the economy into the deepest recession -- the deepest recession since the 1930s.

Independent analysts say the Clinton plan would grow the economy by 10.5 million jobs. The Trump plan would cost 3.5 million jobs. And Donald Trump -- why would he do this? Because his tax plan basically helps him. And if he ever met his promise and he gave his tax returns to the American public like he said he would, we would see just how much his economic plan is really a Trump-first plan.

QUIJANO: On that point, Governor Pence, recently the New York Times released part of Mr. Trump's 1995 tax return and reported that he could have avoided paying federal income taxes for years. Yesterday, Mr. Trump said he brilliantly used the laws to pay as little tax as legally possible. Does that seem fair to you?

PENCE: Well, first, let me say, I appreciated the ''you're hired,'' ''you're fired'' thing, Senator. You use that a whole lot. And I think your running mate used a lot of pre-done lines.

Look, what -- what you all just heard out there is more taxes, $2 trillion in more spending, more deficits, more debt, more government. And if you think that's all working, then you look at the other side of the table. I mean, the truth of the matter is, the policies of this administration, which Hillary Clinton and Senator Kaine want to continue, have run this economy into a ditch. We're in the...

KAINE: Fifteen million new jobs?

PENCE: ... slowest economic recovery since the Great Depression.

KAINE: Fifteen million new jobs?

QUIJANO: Governor... (CROSSTALK)

PENCE: There are millions more people living in poverty today than the day that Barack Obama with Hillary Clinton at his side...

KAINE: And the poverty level and the median income...

PENCE: ... stepped into the Oval Office.

KAINE: ... improved dramatically between 2014 and 2015.

PENCE: You -- honestly, Senator, you can roll out the numbers and the sunny side, but I got to tell you, people in Scranton know different. People in Fort Wayne, Indiana, know different. I mean, this economy is struggling. The answer to this economy is not more taxes.

KAINE: But it's not the giveaway tax relief to the folks at the top.

PENCE: It's not more spending...

(CROSSTALK)

KAINE: I am interested to hear whether he'll defend his running mate's not releasing taxes and not paying taxes.

PENCE: Absolutely I will.

QUIJANO: Governor, with all due respect, the question was about whether it seems fair to you that Mr. Trump said he brilliantly used the laws to pay as little tax as legally possible.

PENCE: Well, this is probably the difference between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton and Senator Kaine. And, I mean, Hillary Clinton and Senator Kaine -- God bless you for it, career public servants, that's great -- Donald Trump is a businessman, not a career politician. He actually built a business.

Those tax returns that were -- that came out publicly this week show that he faced some pretty tough times 20 years ago. But like virtually every other business, including the New York Times not too long ago, he used what's called net operating loss. We have a tax code, Senator, that actually is designed to encourage entrepreneurship in this country.

KAINE: But why won't he release his tax returns?

PENCE: Well, we're answering the question about -- about a business thing, is he...

KAINE: I do want to come back to that, but...

PENCE: His tax returns -- his tax returns showed he went through a very difficult time, but he used the tax code just the way it's supposed to be used. And he did it brilliantly. KAINE: How do you know that? You haven't seen his tax returns.

PENCE: He created a runway -- because he's created a business that's worth billions of dollars today.

KAINE: How do you know that?

PENCE: And with regard to paying taxes, this whole riff about not paying taxes and people saying he didn't pay taxes for years, Donald Trump has created tens of thousands of jobs. And he's paid payroll taxes, sales taxes, property taxes...

KAINE: Elaine, let me talk about something.

QUIJANO: Senator, I'm going to give you about 30 seconds to respond, and I have question on Social Security for you.

KAINE: OK.

PENCE: The only issue on taxes -- Hillary Clinton is going to raise taxes, and Donald Trump and I are going to cut them.

KAINE: Donald Trump started this campaign in 2014 and he said, ''If I run for president, I will absolutely release my taxes.'' He's broken his first...

PENCE: And he will.

KAINE: He's broken his first promise. Second, he stood on the stage...

PENCE: He hasn't broken his promise. He said he's...

KAINE: He stood on the stage last week and when Hillary said, you haven't been paying taxes, he said, ''That makes me smart.'' So it's smart not to pay for our military? It's smart not to pay for veterans? It's smart not to pay for teachers? And I guess all of us who do pay for those things, I guess we're stupid. And the last thing I'll say is this...

PENCE: Senator, do you take all the deductions that you're entitled to?

KAINE: The last thing -- the last thing I want to ask Governor Pence is...

PENCE: I do.

KAINE: Governor Pence had to give Donald Trump his tax returns to show he was qualified to be vice president. Donald Trump must give the American public his tax returns to show that he's qualified to be president. And he's breaking his promise.

PENCE: Elaine, I have to respond to this.

QUIJANO: You get very little time, 20 seconds.

PENCE: I'll be -- I'll be very respectful.

QUIJANO: Governor?

PENCE: Look, Donald Trump has filed over 100 pages of financial disclosure, which is what the law requires.

KAINE: But he said he would release his tax returns.

QUIJANO: All right, Gentlemen...

PENCE: The American people can review that. And he's going -- Senator, he's going to release his tax returns when the audit is over...

QUIJANO: ... I need to ask you about Social Security...

KAINE: Richard Nixon released tax returns when he was under audit.

PENCE: They're going to raise your taxes. We're going to cut your taxes.

QUIJANO: Gentlemen...

KAINE: If you can't meet Nixon's standard...

QUIJANO: The people at home cannot understand either one of you when you speak over each other. I would please ask you to wait until it is that the other is finished.

KAINE: All right. We're having fun up here.

QUIJANO: Senator Kaine, on the issue of Social Security, in 18 years, when the Social Security Trust Funds run out of money, you'll be 76. The Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget estimates your benefits could be cut by as much as $7,500 per year. What would your administration do to prevent this cut?

KAINE: First, we're going to protect Social Security, which is one of the greatest programs that the American government has ever done. It happened at a time when you would work your whole life, your whole life, raising your kids, working, being a Little League coach or a Sunday school teacher, and then you would retire into poverty. And Social Security has enabled people to retire with dignity and overwhelmingly not be in poverty.

We have to keep it solvent. And we will keep it solvent. And we'll look for strategies like adjusting the payroll tax cap upward in order to do that.

Here's what Hillary and I will not do. And I want to make this very plain. We will never, ever engage in a risky scheme to privatize Social Security. Donald Trump wrote a book and he said Social Security is a Ponzi scheme and privatization would be good for all of us.

And when Congressman Pence was in Congress, he was the chief cheerleader for the privatization of Social Security. Even after President Bush stopped pushing for it, Congressman Pence kept pushing for it. We're going to stand up against efforts to privatize Social Security. And we'll look for ways to keep it solvent going forward, focusing primarily on the payroll tax cap.

QUIJANO: Governor Pence, I'll give you an opportunity to respond.

PENCE: Well, thanks, Elaine. There they go again. OK...

KAINE: Go read -- go read the book.

PENCE: All Donald Trump -- all Donald Trump and I have said about Social Security is we're going to meet our obligations to our seniors. That's it.

KAINE: Go read the book.

PENCE: We've said we're going to meet the obligations of Medicare. That's what this campaign is really about, Senator. And I get, this is -- this is the old scare tactic that they roll out...

KAINE: But -- but you have a voting record, Governor.

PENCE: And I get all of that. I just, look...

KAINE: I...

PENCE: There's a question that you asked a little bit earlier that I want to go back to.

KAINE: I can't believe that you won't defend your own voting record.

PENCE: I have to go back to.

QUIJANO: We...

PENCE: Well, look, I -- you're running with Hillary Clinton, who wants to raise taxes by $1 trillion, increase spending by $2 trillion, and you say you're going to keep the promises of Social Security. Donald Trump and I are going to cut taxes. We're going to -- we're going to -- we're going to...

KAINE: You're not going to cut taxes. You're going to raise taxes on the middle class.

PENCE: ... reform government programs so we can meet the obligations of Social Security and Medicare.

QUIJANO: All right. PENCE: Stay on the path that your party has us on, we're going to be in a -- in a mountain range of debt. And we're going to face hard choices and...

(CROSSTALK)

QUIJANO: Gentleman, I want to move on now.

KAINE: You did ask this question about debt, and the debt explosion on the Trump plan is much, much bigger than anything on the Clinton side.

QUIJANO: All right. Let me move on now...

PENCE: Three hundred and five (ph) economists said your plan is bad for the economy.

QUIJANO: ... to the issue of law enforcement and race relations. Law enforcement and race relations. After the Dallas police shooting, Police Chief David Brown said, quote, ''We're asking cops to do too much in this country. Every societal failure we put it off on the cops to solve. Not enough mental health funding, not enough drug addiction funding, schools fail, let's give it to the cops.''

Do we ask too much of police officers in this country? And how would you specifically address the chief's concerns? Senator Kaine?

KAINE: Elaine, I think that's a very fair comment. I think we put a lot on police shoulders. And this is something I got a lot of scar tissue and experience on.

I was a city councilman and mayor in Richmond. And when I came in, we had one of the highest homicide rates in the United States. We fought very, very hard over the course of my time in local office with our police department, and we reduced our homicide rate nearly in half.

And then when I was governor of Virginia, we worked hard, too. And we did something we had really wanted to do. For the first time ever, we cracked the top 10, 10 safest states, because we worked together.

Here's what I learned as a mayor and a governor. The way you make communities safer and the way you make police safer is through community policing. You build the bonds between the community and the police force, build bonds of understanding, and then when people feel comfortable in their communities, that gap between the police and the communities they serve narrows. And when that gap narrows, it's safer for the communities and it's safer for the police.

That model still works across our country, but there are some other models that don't work, an overly aggressive, more militarized model. Donald Trump recently said we need to do more stop-and-frisk around the country. That would be a big mistake because it polarizes the relationship between the police and the community.

So here's what we'll do. We'll focus on community policing. We will focus on -- and Hillary Clinton has rolled out a really comprehensive mental health reform package that she worked on with law enforcement professionals, and we will also fight the scourge of gun violence in the United States.

I'm a gun-owner. I'm a strong Second Amendment supporter. But I've got a lot of scar tissue, because when I was governor of Virginia, there was a horrible shooting at Virginia Tech, and we learned that through that painful situation that gaps in the background record check system should have been closed and it could have prevented that crime, and so we're going to work to do things like close background record checks. And if we do, we won't have the tragedies that we did.

One of those killed at Virginia Tech was a guy named Liviu Librescu. He was a 70-plus-year-old Romanian Holocaust survivor. He had survived the Holocaust. Then he survived the Soviet Union takeover of his country. But then he was a visiting professor at Virginia Tech, and he couldn't survive the scourge of gun violence.

We can support the Second Amendment and do things like background record checks and make us safer, and that will make police safer, too.

QUIJANO: Governor Pence?

PENCE: You know, my uncle was a cop, a career cop, on the beat in downtown Chicago. He was my hero when I was growing up. And we'd go up to visit my dad's family in Chicago. My three brothers and I would marvel at my uncle when he would come out in his uniform, sidearm at his side.

Police officers are the best of us. And the men and women, white, African-American, Asian, Latino, Hispanic, they put their lives on the line every single day. And let my say, at the risk of agreeing with you, community policing is a great idea. It's worked in the Hoosier state. And we fully support that.

Donald Trump and I are going to make sure that law enforcement have the resources and the tools to be able to really restore law and order to the cities and communities in this nation. It's probably -- probably why the 330,000 members of the Fraternal Order of Police endorsed Donald Trump as the next president of the United States of America, because they see his commitment to them. They see his commitment to law and order.

But they also -- they also hear the bad mouthing, the bad mouthing that comes from people that seize upon tragedy in the wake of police action shootings as -- as a reason to -- to use a broad brush to accuse law enforcement of -- of implicit bias or institutional racism. And that really has got to stop.

I mean, when an African-American police officer in Charlotte named Brentley Vinson, an all-star football player who went to Liberty University here in the state, came home, followed his dad into law enforcement, joined the force in Charlotte, joined the force in Charlotte in 2014, was involved in a police action shooting that claimed the life of Keith -- Keith Lamont Scott, it was a tragedy. I mean, I -- we -- we mourn with those who mourn. We -- we grieve with those who grieve. And we're saddened at the loss of life.

But Hillary Clinton actually referred to that moment as an example of implicit bias in the police force, where -- where she used -- when she was asked in the debate a week ago whether there was implicit bias in law enforcement, her only answer was that there's implicit bias in everyone in the United States. I just think...

KAINE: Can I -- can I explain...

PENCE: ... I just think what we ought to do is we ought to stop seizing on these moments of tragedy. We ought to assure the public that we'll have a full and complete and transparent investigation whenever there's a loss of life because of police action. But, Senator, please, you know, enough of this seeking every opportunity to demean law enforcement broadly by making the accusation of implicit bias every time tragedy occurs.

KAINE: Elaine -- Elaine, people shouldn't be afraid to bring up issues of bias in law enforcement. And if you're afraid to have...

PENCE: I'm not afraid to bring that up.

KAINE: And if -- if you're afraid to have the discussion, you'll never solve it. And so here's -- here's an example, heartbreaking. We would agree this was a heartbreaking example.

The guy, Philando Castile, who was killed in St. Paul, he was a worker, a valued worker in a local school. And he was killed for no apparent reason in an incident that will be discussed and will be investigated.

But when folks went and explored this situation, what they found is that Philando Castile, who was a -- they called him Mr. Rogers with Dreadlocks in the school that he worked. The kids loved him. But he had been stopped by police 40 or 50 times before that fatal incident. And if you look at sentencing in this country, African-Americans and Latinos get sentenced for the same crimes at very different rates.

PENCE: We need criminal justice reform.

KAINE: Well, we do.

PENCE: Indiana has passed criminal justice reform.

KAINE: But I just want to say, those who say that we should not...

PENCE: But that's not what you're talking about.

KAINE: ... we should not be able to bring up and talk about bias in the system, we'll never solve the problem...

QUIJANO: Governor Pence...

(CROSSTALK)

QUIJANO: Governor Pence...

PENCE: Senator, when African-American police officers involved in a police action shooting involving an African-American, why would Hillary Clinton accuse that African-American police officer of implicit bias?

KAINE: Well, I guess I can't believe you are defending the position that there is no bias and it's a topic we don't even...

(CROSSTALK)

QUIJANO: Governor Pence, I have a question on that point.

PENCE: I did not make that statement. I...

QUIJANO: Your fellow Republican, Governor Pence, Senator Tim Scott, who is African-American, recently spoke on the Senate floor. He said he was stopped seven times by law enforcement in one year.

KAINE: A U.S. senator.

QUIJANO: He said, ''I have felt the anger, the frustration, the sadness, and the humiliation that comes with feeling like you're being targeted for nothing more than being just yourself.'' What would you say to Senator Scott about his experiences?

PENCE: Well, I have the deepest respect for Senator Scott, and he's a close friend. And what I would say is that we -- we need to adopt criminal justice reform nationally. I -- I signed criminal justice reform in the state of Indiana, Senator, and we're very proud of it.

I worked when I was Congress on a second chance act. We have got to do a better job recognizing and correcting the errors in the system that do reflect on institutional bias in criminal justice. But what -- what -- what Donald Trump and I are saying is let's not have the reflex of assuming the worst of men and women in law enforcement. We truly do believe that law enforcement is not a force for racism or division in our country...

KAINE: Elaine, can I...

QUIJANO: So what would you say to Senator Scott, Governor?

PENCE: Law enforcement in this country is a force for good. They are the -- they truly are people that put their lives on the line every single day. But I would -- I would suggest to you, what we need to do is assert a stronger leadership at the national level to support law enforcement. You just heard Senator Kaine reject stop-and-frisk. Well, I would suggest to you that the families that live in our inner cities that are besieged by crime...

KAINE: Elaine, let me -- let me...

QUIJANO: Governor, the question is about Senator Scott. What would -- what would you tell Senator Scott?

KAINE: Elaine, if I could -- if I could jump in. I've heard Senator Scott make that eloquent plea. And look, criminal justice is about respecting the law and being respected by the law. So there is a fundamental respect issue here.

And I just want to talk about the tone that's set from the top. Donald Trump during his campaign has called Mexicans rapists and criminals. He's called women slobs, pigs, dogs, disgusting. I don't like saying that in front of my wife and my mother. He attacked an Indiana-born federal judge and said he was unqualified to hear a federal lawsuit because his parents were Mexican. He went after John McCain, a POW, and said he wasn't hero because he'd been captured. He said African-Americans are living in Hell. And he perpetrated this outrageous and bigoted lie that President Obama is not a U.S. citizen.

If you want to have a society where people are respected and respect laws, you can't have somebody at the top who demeans every group that he talks about. And I just -- again, I cannot believe that Governor Pence will defend the insult-driven campaign that Donald Trump has run.

QUIJANO: All right. I want to turn to our next segment now, **immigration**. Your running mates have both said that undocumented **immigrants** who have committed violent crimes should be deported. What would you tell the millions of undocumented **immigrants** who have not committed violent crimes? Governor Pence?

PENCE: Donald Trump's laid out a plan to end illegal **immigration** once and for all in this country. We've been talking it to death for 20 years. Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine want to continue the policies of open borders, amnesty, catch and release, sanctuary cities, all the things that are driving -- that are driving wages down in this country, Senator, and also too often with criminal **aliens** in the country, it's bringing heartbreak.

But I -- Donald Trump has a plan that he laid out in Arizona, that will deal systemically with illegal **immigration**, beginning with border security, internal enforcement. It's probably why for the first time in the history of **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement their union actually endorsed Donald Trump as the next president of the United States, because they know they need help to enforce the laws of this country.

And Donald Trump has laid out a priority to remove criminal **aliens**, remove people that have overstayed their visas. And -- and once we have accomplished all of that, which will -- which will strengthen our economy, strengthen the rule of law in the country and make our communities safer once the criminal **aliens** are out, then we'll deal with those that remain.

But I have to tell you, I just -- I was listening to the avalanche of insults coming out of Senator Kaine a minute ago. KAINE: These were Donald's -- hold on a second, Governor.

(CROSSTALK)

PENCE: It's my time, Senator.

QUIJANO: It is, in fact, the governor's time.

KAINE: I apologize. It's your two minutes. I apologize.

PENCE: Thanks. I forgive you. He says ours is an insult-driven campaign. Did you all just hear that? Ours is an insult-driven campaign?

I mean, to be honest with you, if Donald Trump had said all of the things that you've said he said in the way you said he said them, he still wouldn't have a fraction of the insults that Hillary Clinton leveled when she said that half of our supporters were a basket of deplorables. It's -- she said they were irredeemable, they were not American.

I mean, it's extraordinary. And then she labeled one after another ''ism'' on millions of Americans who believe that we can have a stronger America at home and abroad, who believe we can get this economy moving again, who believe that we can end illegal **immigration** once and for all. So, Senator, this -- this insult-driven campaign, I mean...

QUIJANO: Governor...

PENCE: That's small potatoes compared to Hillary Clinton...

QUIJANO: Senator Kaine?

PENCE: .... calling half of Donald Trump's supporters a basket of deplorables.

KAINE: Hillary Clinton said something on the campaign trail, and the very next day, she said, you know what, I shouldn't have said that.

PENCE: She said she shouldn't have said half.

QUIJANO: Governor, this is Senator Kaine's two minutes, please.

KAINE: Yeah, that's right, so now we're even.

PENCE: Yeah.

(LAUGHTER)

KAINE: Look for Donald trump apologizing to John McCain for saying he wasn't a hero...

PENCE: Oh...

KAINE: ... to Donald Trump apologizing for calling women slobs, pigs, dogs, disgusting.

PENCE: She apologized for saying ''half.''

QUIJANO: Governor. It is his two minutes, please.

KAINE: Did Donald Trump apologize for taking after somebody in a Twitter war and making fun of her weight? Did he apologize for saying African-Americans are living in Hell? Did he apologize for saying President Obama was not even a citizen of the United States? You will look in vain to see Donald Trump ever taking responsibility for anybody and apologizing.

**Immigration**. There's two plans on the table. Hillary and I believe in comprehensive **immigration** reform. Donald Trump believes in deportation nation. You've got to pick your choice. Hillary and I want a bipartisan reform that will put keeping families together as the top goal, second, that will help focus enforcement efforts on those who are violent, third, that will do more border control, and, fourth, that will provide a path to citizenship for those who work hard, pay taxes, play by the rules, and take criminal background record checks.

That's our proposal. Donald Trump proposes to deport 16 million people, 11 million who are here without documents. And both Donald Trump and Mike Pence want to get rid of birthright citizenship. So if you're born here, but your parents don't have documents, they want to eliminate that. That's another 4.5 million people.

These guys -- and Donald Trump have said it -- deportation force. They want to go house to house, school to school, business to business, and kick out 16 million people. And I cannot believe...

PENCE: That's nonsense. That's nonsense.

KAINE: I cannot believe that Governor Pence would sit here and defend his running mate's claim that we should create a deportation force to -- so that they'll all be gone.

PENCE: Senator, we have a deportation force. It's called **Immigrations** and Customs Enforcement. And the union for **Immigrations** and Customs Enforcement for the first time in their history endorsed Donald Trump to be the next president of the United States of America.

KAINE: So you like the 16 million deportations?

PENCE: Senator, that's -- that's nonsense. Look, what you just heard is they have a plan for open borders, amnesty. That's...

(CROSSTALK)

KAINE: Our plan is like Ronald Reagan's plan from 1986.

PENCE: They call it comprehensive **immigration** reform -- they call it comprehensive **immigration** reform on Capitol Hill. We all know the routine. It's amnesty. And you heard one of the last things he mentioned was border security.

PENCE: That's how Washington always plays it.

KAINE: No, I...

PENCE: They always say we're going to do this, we're going to do that, we'll eventually get the border...

(CROSSTALK)

KAINE: ... border security three years ago, and Governor Pence was against it.

QUIJANO: Governor, Mr. Trump has said...

PENCE: Ronald Reagan said a nation without borders is not a nation. Donald Trump is committed to restoring the borders of this nation and securing our nation, enforcing our laws.

QUIJANO: So, Governor, how would these millions of undocumented **immigrants** leave? Would they be forcibly removed?

PENCE: Well, I think Donald Trump laid out a series of priorities that doesn't ends with border security. It begins with border security. And after we secure the border, not only build a wall, but beneath the ground and in the air, we do internal enforcement.

But he said the focus has to be on criminal **aliens**. We just -- we just had a conversation about law enforcement. We just had a conversation about the -- the violence that's besetting our cities. The reality is that there's heartbreak and tragedy that has struck American families because people that came into this country illegally are now involved in criminal enterprise and activity. And we don't have the resources or the will to deport them systemically.

Donald Trump has said we're going to move those people out, people who've overstayed their visas. We're going to enforce the law of this country. We're going to strengthen **Immigrations** and Customs Enforcements with more resources and more personnel to be able to do that. And then Donald Trump has made it clear, once we've done all of those things, that we're going to reform the **immigration** system that we have...

KAINE: I just have to correct Governor Pence....

PENCE: ... where people can come into this country.

KAINE: I have to...

PENCE: That's the order that you should do it. Border security, removing criminal **aliens**, upholding with law, and then -- but then, Senator, I'll work you when you go back to the Senate, I promise you, we'll work you to reform the **immigration** system.

KAINE: I look forward to working together in whatever capacities we serve in. But I just want to make it very, very clear that he's trying to fuzz up what Donald Trump has said. When Donald Trump spoke in Phoenix, he looked the audience in the eye and he said, no, we're building a wall, and we're deporting everybody. He said, quote, ''They will all be gone.'' ''They will all be gone.'' And this is one of these ones where you can just go to the tape on it and see what Donald Trump has said. And to add...

PENCE: He's talking about criminal **aliens**.

KAINE: And to add to it, and to add to it, and to add to it, we are a nation of **immigrants**. Mike Pence and I both are descended from **immigrant** families. Some things, you know, maybe weren't said so great about the Irish when they came, but we've done well by absorbing **immigrants**, and it's made our nation stronger.

When Donald Trump says Mexicans are rapists and criminals, Mexican **immigrants**, when Donald Trump says about your judge, a Hoosier judge, he said that Judge Curiel was unqualified to hear a case because his parents were Mexican, I can't imagine how you could defend that.

QUIJANO: Gentleman, I'd like to shift now to the threat of terrorism. Do you think the world today is a safer or more dangerous place than it was eight years ago? Has the terrorist threat increased or decreased? Senator Kaine?

KAINE: The terrorist threat has decreased in some ways, because bin Laden is dead. The terrorist threat has decreased in some ways because an Iranian nuclear weapons program has been stopped. The terrorist threat to United States troops has been decreased in some ways because there's not 175,000 in a dangerous part of the world. There's only 15,000.

But there are other parts of the world that are challenging. Let me tell you this: To beat terrorism, there's only one candidate who can do it, and it's Hillary Clinton. Remember, Hillary Clinton was the senator from New York on 9/11. She was there at the World Trade Center when they were still searching for victims and survivors. That's seared onto her, the need to beat terrorism.

And she's got a plan to do it. She was part of the national security team that wiped out bin Laden. Here's her plan to defeat ISIL. First, we've got to keep taking out their leaders on the battlefield. She was part of the team that got bin Laden, and she'll lead the team that will get Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the head of ISIS.

Second, we've got to disrupt financing networks, third, disrupt their ability to recruit on the Internet, in their safe havens. But, fourth, we also have to work with allies to share and surge intelligence. That's the Hillary Clinton plan; she's got the experience to do it.

Donald Trump. Donald Trump can't start a Twitter war with Miss Universe without shooting himself in the foot. Donald Trump doesn't have a plan. He said, ''I have a secret plan,'' and then he said, ''Um, I know more than all the generals about ISIL.'' And then he said, ''I'm going to call the generals to help me figure out a plan.'' And finally he said, ''I'm going to fire all the generals.'' He doesn't have a plan.

But he does have dangerous ideas. Here's four. He trash talks the military. The military is a disaster, John McCain's no hero, the generals need all to be fired, and I know more than them. He wants to tear up alliances. NATO is obsolete, and we'll only work together with Israel if they pay ''big league.''

Third, he loves dictators. He's got kind of a personal Mount Rushmore, Vladimir Putin, Kim Jong-un, Moammar Gadhafi...

PENCE: Oh, please. Come on.

KAINE: ... and Saddam Hussein. And last and most dangerously, Donald Trump believes -- Donald Trump believes that the world will be safer if more nations have nuclear weapons. He's said Saudi Arabia should get them, Japan should get them, Korea should get them. And when he was confronted with this, and told, wait a minute, terrorists could get those, proliferation could lead to nuclear war, here's what Donald Trump said, and I quote: ''Go ahead, folks, enjoy yourselves.''

I'd love to hear Governor Pence tell me what's so enjoyable or comical about nuclear war.

QUIJANO: Governor Pence?

PENCE: Did you work on that one a long time? Because that had a lot of really creative lines in it.

KAINE: Well, I'm going to see if you can defend any of it.

PENCE: Well, look, I can defend -- I -- I -- I can -- I can make very clear to the American people, after traveling millions of miles as our secretary of state, after being the architect of the foreign policy of this administration, America is less safe today than it was the day that Barack Obama became president of the United States. It's absolutely inarguable.

We've weakened America's place in the world. It's been a combination of factors, but mostly it's been a lack of leadership. I mean, I will give you -- and I was in Washington, D.C., on 9/11. I saw the clouds of smoke rise from the Pentagon.

KAINE: I was in Virginia where the Pentagon's...

(CROSSTALK)

PENCE: I know you were. We all lived through that day as a nation. It was heartbreaking. And I want to give this president credit for bringing Osama bin Laden to justice.

But the truth is, Osama bin Laden led Al Qaida. Our primary threat today is ISIS. And because Hillary Clinton failed to renegotiate a status of forces agreement that would have allowed some American combat troops to remain in Iraq and secure the hard fought gains the American soldier had won by 2009, ISIS was able to be literally conjured up out of the desert, and it's overrun vast areas that the American soldier had won in Operation Iraqi Freedom.

My heart breaks for the likes of Lance Cpl. Scott Zubowski. He fell in Fallujah in 2005. He fought hard through some of the most difficult days in Operation Iraqi Freedom, and he paid the ultimate sacrifice to defend our freedom and secure that nation. And that nation was secured in 2009.

But because Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama failed to provide a status of forces agreement and leave sufficient troops in there, we are back at war. The president just ordered more troops on the ground. We are back at war in Iraq. And Scott Zubowski, whose mom would always come to Memorial Day events in Newcastle, Indiana, to see me, and I'd give her a hug and tell her we're never going to forget her son and we never will, Scott Zubowski and the sacrifices the American soldier made were squandered in Iraq because this administration created a vacuum in which ISIS was able to grow.

And a reference to the Iranian deal, the Iranian deal that Hillary Clinton initiated, $150 billion to the radical mullahs in Iran.

KAINE: Stopping a nuclear weapons program without firing a shot?

PENCE: You didn't stop the nuclear weapons program.

KAINE: Yes, we did.

PENCE: You essentially...

KAINE: Even the Israeli military says it stopped.

PENCE: ... guaranteed that Iran will someday become a nuclear power, because there's no limitations once the period of time of the treaty comes off.

QUIJANO: Governor Pence, Mr. Trump has proposed extreme vetting of **immigrants** from parts of the world that export terrorism. But that does not address many of the recent terrorist attacks in the United States, such as the Orlando nightclub massacre and the recent bombings in New York and New Jersey. Those were homegrown, committed by U.S. citizens and legal residents. What specific tools would you use to prevent those kinds of attacks?

PENCE: Well, I think it's -- I think it's a great question, Elaine, but it really does begin with us reforming our **immigration** system and putting the interests, particularly the safety and security of the American people, first.

I mean, Donald Trump has called for extreme vetting for people coming into this country so that we don't bring people into the United States who are hostile to our Bill of Rights freedoms, who are hostile to the American way life.

But also, Donald Trump and I are committed to suspending the Syrian **refugee** program and programs and **immigration** from areas of the world that have been compromised by terrorism. Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine want to increase the Syrian **refugee** program by 500...

(CROSSTALK)

KAINE: Elaine, I want to...

(CROSSTALK)

QUIJANO: Governor, the question was about homegrown.

PENCE: Yeah, and so -- but first, you know, let's make sure we're putting the safety and security of the American people first instead of Hillary Clinton expanding the Syrian **refugee** program...

KAINE: Or instead of you violating the Constitution by blocking people based on their national origin rather than whether they're dangerous.

PENCE: That's not -- that's absolutely false.

KAINE: That's what the Seventh Circuit decided just -- here's the difference, Elaine.

PENCE: The Seventh Circuit...

KAINE: We have different views on -- on **refugee** issues and on **immigration**. Hillary and I want to do enforcement based on, are people dangerous? These guys say all Mexicans are bad.

PENCE: That's absolutely false.

KAINE: And with respect to **refugees**, we want to keep people out if they're dangerous. Donald Trump said keep them out if they're Muslim. Mike Pence...

PENCE: Absolutely...

KAINE: ... put a program in place to keep them out if they're from Syria. And yesterday an appellate court with three Republican judges struck down the Pence plan...

PENCE: Right. Right.

KAINE: ... and said it was discriminatory...

PENCE: And those judges -- those judges said...

KAINE: We should focus upon danger, not upon discrimination.

QUIJANO: Governor?

PENCE: Elaine, to your point, those judges said it was because there wasn't any evidence yet that -- that ISIS had infiltrated the United States. Well, Germany just arrested three Syrian **refugees** that were connected to ISIS.

(CROSSTALK)

KAINE: But they told you there's a right way and a wrong way to do it.

PENCE: But, look, if you're going to be critical of me on that, that's fair game. I will tell you, after two Syrian **refugees** were involved in the attack in Paris that is called Paris' 9/11, as governor of the state of Indiana, I have no higher priority than the safety and security of the people of my state.

KAINE: But, Governor Pence...

PENCE: So you bet I suspended that program.

KAINE: But, Governor Pence, I just...

PENCE: And I stand by that decision. And if I'm vice president of the United States or Donald Trump is president, we're going to put the safety and security of the American people first.

KAINE: Sure. Can we just be clear -- Hillary and I will do **immigration** enforcement and we'll vet **refugees** based on whether they're dangerous or not. We won't do it based on discriminating against you from the country you come from or the religion that you practice.

PENCE: But the problem with that...

KAINE: That is completely antithetical to the Jeffersonian values of...

(CROSSTALK)

PENCE: Elaine, the director of the FBI, our homeland security, said we can't know for certain who these people are coming from Syria.

KAINE: Yes, we can, and when we don't let them know, we don't let them in.

PENCE: So -- the FBI...

KAINE: When we don't know who they are, we don't let them in.

PENCE: The FBI and homeland security said we can't know for certain. You've got to err on the side of the safety and security of the American people, Senator. I understand the...

KAINE: By trashing all Syrians or trashing all Muslims?

PENCE: ... the U.N. wants us to expand the Syrian **refugee** program...

QUIJANO: Senator Kaine, let me ask you this. Secretary Clinton...

PENCE: We're going to put the safety and security of the American people first.

QUIJANO: ... has talked about an intelligence surge.

KAINE: Yes.

QUIJANO: What exactly would an intelligence surge look like? And how would that help identify terrorists with no operational connection to a foreign terrorist organization?

KAINE: Intelligence surge is two-thirds, Elaine. It's two things. It's, first, dramatically expanding our intelligence capacities by hiring great professionals, but also we've got some of the best intel and cyber employees in the world right here in the United States working for many of our private sector companies.

So it involves increasing our own workforce, but striking great partnerships with some of our cyber and intel experts in the private sector so that we can, consistent with constitutional principles, gather more intelligence.

But the second piece of this is really, really important. It also means creating stronger alliances, because you gather intelligence and then you share your intelligence back and forth with allies. And that's how you find out who may be trying to recruit, who may be trying to come to one country or the next. Alliances are critical.

That's why Donald Trump's claim that he wants to -- that NATO is obsolete and that we need to get rid of NATO is so dangerous.

PENCE: That's not his plan. KAINE: Well, he said NATO is obsolete. And, look, if you put aside -- push aside your alliances, who you're going to share intelligence with? Hillary Clinton is the secretary of state who knows how to build alliances. She built the sanctions regime around the word that stopped the Iranian nuclear weapons program. And that's what an intelligence surge means. Better skill and capacity, but also better alliances.

QUIJANO: All right. I'd like to turn now to the tragedy in Syria. Two hundred fifty thousand...

PENCE: Can I speak about the cybersecurity surge at all?

QUIJANO: You can -- you can have 30 seconds, Governor, quickly, please.

PENCE: First, Donald Trump just spoke about this issue this week. We have got to bring together the best resources of this country to understand that cyber warfare is the new warfare of the asymmetrical enemies that we face in this country. And I look forward if I'm privileged to be in this role of working with you in the Senate to make sure that we resource that effort.

KAINE: We will work together in whatever roles we inhabit.

PENCE: We have an intelligence, sir (ph). But I will also tell you that it's important in this moment to remember that Hillary Clinton had a private server in her home that had classified information on it...

QUIJANO: And I don't -- 30 seconds is on up.

PENCE: ... about drone strikes, e-mails from the president of the United States of America were on there.

QUIJANO: Right.

PENCE: Her private server was subject to being hacked by foreign...

(CROSSTALK)

QUIJANO: I'd like to ask you about Syria, Governor.

PENCE: We could put cybersecurity first if we just make sure the next secretary of state doesn't have a private server.

(CROSSTALK)

KAINE: And all investigation concluded that not one reasonable prosecutor would take any additional step. You don't get to decide the rights and wrongs of this. We have a justice system that does that. And a Republican FBI director did an investigation and concluded that...

(CROSSTALK) QUIJANO: All right, we are moving on now. Two hundred fifty thousand people...

PENCE: If your son or my son handled classified information the way Hillary Clinton did...

QUIJANO: ... one hundred thousand of them children -- Governor...

PENCE: ... they'd be court martialed.

KAINE: That is absolutely false and you know that.

PENCE: Absolutely true.

KAINE: And you know that, Governor.

QUIJANO: Governor...

PENCE: It's absolutely true.

QUIJANO: Gentlemen, please.

KAINE: Because the FBI did an investigation.

QUIJANO: Gentlemen.

KAINE: And they concluded that there was no reasonable prosecutor who would take it further. Sorry.

QUIJANO: Senator Kaine, Governor Pence, please.

KAINE: Syria.

QUIJANO: I want to turn now to Syria. Two hundred fifty thousand people, 100,000 of them children, are under siege in Aleppo, Syria. Bunker buster bombs, cluster munitions, and incendiary weapons are being dropped on them by Russian and Syrian militaries. Does the U.S. have a responsibility to protect civilians and prevent mass casualties on this scale, Governor Pence?

PENCE: The United States of America needs to begin to exercise strong leadership to protect the vulnerable citizens and over 100,000 children in Aleppo. Hillary Clinton's top priority when she became secretary of state was the Russian reset, the Russians reset. After the Russian reset, the Russians invaded Ukraine and took over Crimea.

And the small and bullying leader of Russia is now dictating terms to the United States to the point where all the United States of America -- the greatest nation on Earth -- just withdraws from talks about a cease-fire while Vladimir Putin puts a missile defense system in Syria while he marshals the forces and begins -- look, we have got to begin to lean into this with strong, broad-shouldered American leadership.

It begins by rebuilding our military. And the Russians and the Chinese have been making enormous investments in the military. We have the smallest Navy since 1916. We have the lowest number of troops since the end of the Second World War. We've got to work with Congress, and Donald Trump will, to rebuild our military and project American strength in the world.

But about Aleppo and about Syria, I truly do believe that what America ought to do right now is immediately establish safe zones, so that families and vulnerable families with children can move out of those areas, work with our Arab partners, real time, right now, to make that happen.

And secondly, I just have to tell you that the provocations by Russia need to be met with American strength. And if Russia chooses to be involved and continue, I should say, to be involved in this barbaric attack on civilians in Aleppo, the United States of America should be prepared to use military force to strike military targets of the Assad regime to prevent them from this humanitarian crisis that is taking place in Aleppo.

There's a broad range of other things that we ought to do, as well. We ought to deploy a missile defense shield to the Czech Republic and Poland which Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama pulled back on out of not wanting to offend the Russians back in 2009.

QUIJANO: Governor, your two minutes are up.

PENCE: We've just got to have American strength on the world stage. When Donald Trump becomes president of the United States, the Russians and other countries in the world will know they're dealing with a strong American president. QUIJANO: Senator Kaine?

KAINE: Hillary and I also agree that the establishment of humanitarian zones in northern Syria with the provision of international human aid, consistent with the U.N. Security Council resolution that was passed in February 2014, would be a very, very good idea.

And Hillary also has the ability to stand up to Russia in a way that this ticket does not. Donald Trump, again and again, has praised Vladimir Putin. And it's clear that he has business dealings with Russian oligarchs who are very connected to Putin.

The Trump campaign management team had to be fired a month or so ago because of those shadowy connections with pro-Putin forces. Governor Pence made the odd claim, he said inarguably Vladimir Putin is a better leader than President Obama. Vladimir Putin has run his economy into the ground. He persecutes LGBT folks and journalists. If you don't know the difference between dictatorship and leadership, then you got to go back to a fifth-grade civics class.

I'll tell you what offends me...

PENCE: Well, that offended me.

KAINE: Governor Pence just said -- Governor Pence just said that Donald Trump will rebuild the military. No, he won't. Donald Trump is avoiding paying taxes. The New York Times story -- and we need to get this -- but the New York Times suggested that he probably didn't pay taxes for about 18 years starting in 1995. Those years included the years of 9/11.

So get this. On 9/11, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's hometown was attacked by the worst terrorist attack in the history of the United States. Young men and women -- young men and women signed up to serve in the military to fight terrorism. Hillary Clinton went to Washington to get funds to rebuild her city and protect first responders, but Donald Trump was fighting a very different fight. It was a fight to avoid paying taxes so that he wouldn't support the fight against terror.

QUIJANO: The question was about Aleppo, Senator.

KAINE: He wouldn't support troops. He wouldn't -- he wouldn't support -- this is important, Elaine. When a guy running for president will not support the troops, not support veterans, not support teachers, that's really important.

QUIJANO: Right.

KAINE: And I said about Aleppo, we do agree the notion is we have to create a humanitarian zone in northern Syria. It's very important.

QUIJANO: Governor Pence, you had mentioned no-fly zone. Where would you propose setting up a safe zone specifically? How would you keep it safe?

PENCE: Well, first and foremost, Donald Trump supports our troops. Donald Trump supports our veterans.

KAINE: He won't pay taxes.

PENCE: Donald Trump has paid all the taxes that he's -- do you not take deductions? How does that work?

QUIJANO: Gentlemen, this is about Syria. I'd like to...

(CROSSTALK)

PENCE: Honestly, Senator. Honestly, Senator.

KAINE: It is about our troops. It is about our troops.

PENCE: I understand why you want to change -- I understand why you want to change the subject.

KAINE: How can you support the troops if you won't pay taxes?

PENCE: I understand why you want to change the subject. And let me be very clear on this Russian thing. The larger question here...

KAINE: Do you think Donald Trump is smart to not pay taxes?

QUIJANO: Gentlemen, we're going to have time to get to Russia here.

PENCE: What we're dealing with is the -- you know, there's an old proverb that says the Russian bear never dies, it just hibernates. And the truth of the matter is, the weak and feckless foreign policy of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama has awakened an aggression in Russia that first appeared a few years ago with their move in Georgia, now their move into Crimea, now their move into the wider Middle East.

And all the while, all we do is fold our arms and say we're not having talks anymore. To answer your question, we just need American strength. We need to -- we need to marshal the resources of our allies in the region, and in the immediate, we need to act and act now to get people out of harm's way.

QUIJANO: And exactly how would those safe zones work? How would they remain safe?

PENCE: The -- the safe zones would have to be -- as the senator said, there's already a framework for this that's been recognized by the international community. The United States of America needs to be prepared to work with our allies in the region to create a route for safe passage and then to protect people in those areas, including with a no-fly zone.

But, look, this is very tough stuff. I served on the Foreign Affairs Committee for a decade. I traveled in and out of that region for 10 years. I saw what the American soldier won in Operation Iraqi Freedom. And to see the weak and feckless leadership that Hillary Clinton was the architect of and the foreign policy of the Obama administration...

KAINE: Well, let me -- let me come back...

PENCE: ... is deeply troubling to me. That will all change the day Donald Trump becomes president of the United States.

KAINE: ... and talk about -- let me talk about the things that Governor Pence doesn't want to acknowledge, Elaine. He doesn't want to acknowledge that we stopped the Iranian nuclear weapons program. He doesn't want to acknowledge...

PENCE: We didn't.

KAINE: ... that Hillary was part of a team that got bin Laden. He doesn't want to acknowledge...

PENCE: I just did. KAINE: ... that it's a good thing, not a bad thing, that it's a good thing -- not a bad thing -- that we're down from 175,000 troops deployed overseas to 15,000.

But let me tell you what will really make the Middle East dangerous. Donald Trump's idea that more nations should get nuclear weapons, Saudi Arabia, Japan, South Korea. Ronald Reagan said something really interesting about nuclear proliferation back in the 1980s. He said the problem with nuclear proliferation is that some fool or maniac could trigger a catastrophic event. And I think that's who Governor Pence's running mate is, exactly who Governor Reagan warned us about.

PENCE: And come on. Senator. Senator, that was even beneath you and Hillary Clinton. And that -- that's pretty low.

KAINE: But do you -- do you think -- do you think we should have -- more nuclear weapons in the world will make us safer?

PENCE: Senator, the...

KAINE: That's what Donald Trump thinks.

PENCE: Ronald Reagan also said nuclear war should never be fought because it can never be won. And the United States of America needs to make investments in modernizing our nuclear force for both deterrence...

KAINE: But can you defend Donald Trump's claim that more nations should get nuclear weapons?

PENCE: ... and assurance to our allies. But let me go back to this Iran thing. I mean, he keeps saying that they prevented -- that Hillary Clinton started the deal with the Iranians prevented Iran from getting a nuclear weapon.

(CROSSTALK)

KAINE: That's what the Israeli joint chiefs of staff is saying right now.

PENCE: Well, that's not what -- that's not what Israel thinks.

KAINE: Gadi Eizenkot, you can go check it.

PENCE: You wouldn't necessarily know that.

KAINE: Go to the tape.

PENCE: I know you boycotted Prime Minister Netanyahu's speech when he came before the Congress.

KAINE: No, I visited him in his office. I visited him in his office.

PENCE: You boycotted the speech. The point is, what this Iran -- so-called Iran deal did was essentially guarantee -- I mean, when I was in Congress, I fought hard on a bipartisan basis with Republican and Democrat members to move forward the toughest sanctions, it -- literally in the history of the United States, against Iran.

KAINE: And then Hillary used them to get a deal.

PENCE: We were bringing them to heel, but the goal was always that we would only lift the sanctions if Iran permanently renounced their nuclear ambitions.

KAINE: Elaine, let me just mention one thing.

(CROSSTALK)

PENCE: They have not -- Elaine, let me finish a sentence. They have not renounced their nuclear ambitions. And when the deal's period runs out, there's no limitation on them obtaining weapons. That...

(CROSSTALK)

QUIJANO: And very quickly, Senator.

KAINE: Elaine...

PENCE: ... and the fact that they got $1.7 billion in a ransom payment...

QUIJANO: We need to talk about Russia. Very quickly, though, Senator, please.

PENCE: ... is astonishing to the American people.

KAINE: Six times tonight, I have said to Governor Pence I can't imagine how you can defend your running mate's position on one issue after the next. And in all six cases, he's refused to defend his running mate.

PENCE: Well, let's -- no, no, don't put words in my mouth.

QUIJANO: All right.

PENCE: He's going...

(CROSSTALK)

KAINE: And yet he is asking everybody to vote for somebody that he cannot defend. And I just think that should be underlined.

PENCE: No, I'm -- look...

(CROSSTALK)

QUIJANO: All right, gentlemen, let's talk about Russia. This is a topic that has come up.

PENCE: I'm very, very happy to defend Donald Trump. If he wants to take these one at a time, I'll take them one at a time.

QUIJANO: I will give you an opportunity to do that.

KAINE: More nations should get nuclear weapons. Try to defend that.

PENCE: Don't put words in my mouth. Well, he never said that, Senator.

KAINE: He absolutely said it. Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Japan.

PENCE: Most of the stuffy you've said, he's never said.

QUIJANO: Gentlemen, Russia. Russian President Vladimir Putin invaded Ukraine, annexed Crimea, and has provided crucial military support to the Assad regime. What steps, if any, would your administration take to counter these actions? Senator Kaine?

KAINE: You've got to be tough on Russia. So let's start with not praising Vladimir Putin as a great leader. Donald Trump and Mike Pence have said he's a great leader. And Donald Trump has business...

PENCE: No, we haven't.

KAINE: ... has business dealings -- has business dealings with Russia that he refuses to disclose. Hillary Clinton has gone toe-to- toe with Russia. She went toe-to-toe with Russia as secretary of state to do the New START Agreement to reduce Russia's nuclear stockpile. She's had the experience doing it.

She went toe-to-toe with Russia and lodged protests when they went into Georgia. And we've done the same thing about Ukraine, but more than launching protests, we've put punishing economic sanctions on Russia that we need to continue.

Donald Trump, on the other hand, didn't know that Russia had invaded the Crimea.

PENCE: Oh, that's nonsense.

KAINE: He was on a TV show a couple months back, and he said, ''I'll guarantee you this, Russia's not going into the Ukraine.'' And he had to be reminded that they had gone into the Crimea two years before.

PENCE: He knew that.

KAINE: Hillary Clinton has gone toe-to-toe with Russia to work out a deal on New START. She got them engaged on a meaningful way to cap Iran's nuclear weapons program. And yet she stood up to them on issues such as Syria and their invasion of Georgia. You've got to have the ability to do that, and Hillary does.

On the other hand, in Donald Trump, you have somebody who praises Vladimir Putin all the time. America should really wonder about a President Trump, who had a campaign manager with ties to Putin, pro- Putin elements in the Ukraine, who had to be fired for that reason. They should wonder -- when Donald Trump is sitting down with Vladimir Putin, is it going to be America's bottom line or is it going to be Donald Trump's bottom line that he's going to be worried about with all of his business dealings?

Now, this could be solved if Donald Trump would be willing to release his tax returns, as he told the American public that he would do. And I know he's laughing at this, but every president...

PENCE: But what's it got to do with Russia?

KAINE: Every president since Richard Nixon has done it, and Donald Trump has said I'm doing business with Russia. The only way the American public will see whether he has a conflict of interest...

PENCE: No, he hasn't said that.

KAINE: He has, actually.

QUIJANO: Senator, your time is up. Governor?

PENCE: Well, thanks. I'm just trying to keep up with the insult-driven campaign on the other side of the table.

KAINE: You know, I'm just saying facts about your running mate.

PENCE: Yeah.

KAINE: And I know you can't defend.

QUIJANO: Senator, please. This is the governor's two minutes.

PENCE: I'm happy to defend him, Senator. Don't put words in my mouth that I'm not defending him.

KAINE: You're not.

PENCE: I'm happy to defend him. Most of what you said is completely false, and the American people know that.

KAINE: I'll run through the list of things where you won't defend...

PENCE: This isn't the old days where you can just say stuff and people believe it.

QUIJANO: Senator, please. This is Governor Pence's two minutes.

PENCE: Look, this is the alternative universe of Washington, D.C., versus reality. Hillary Clinton said her number-one priority was a reset with Russia. That reset resulted in the invasion of Ukraine, after they'd infiltrated with what are called little green men, Russian soldiers that were dressing up like Ukrainian dissidents, and then they moved all the way into Crimea, took over the Crimean Peninsula. Donald Trump knew that happened. He basically was saying it's not going to happen again. The truth of the matter is that what you have in the rise of aggressive Russia, which has had -- increased its influence in Iran, that's now -- now because of this deal is on a pathway in the future to obtain a nuclear -- the leading state sponsor of terror in the world in Iran now has a closer working relationship with Russia because of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama's foreign policy and $150 billion and sanctions all being lifted.

And then, of course, Syria, I mean, it really is extraordinary that -- Syria is imploding. You just asked a very thoughtful question about the disaster in Aleppo. ISIS is headquartered in Raqqa. It is -- ISIS from Raqqa has overrun vast areas that at great sacrifice the American soldier won in Operation Iraqi Freedom, and yet Senator Kaine still sits here, loyal soldier -- I get all that -- in saying that the foreign policy of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama somehow made the world more secure. I mean, it really is astonishing that on the day...

KAINE: We even wiped out the leader of Al Qaida.

PENCE: ... on the day that Iran released four American hostages...

KAINE: We stopped Iran from getting nuclear weapons.

QUIJANO: Governor...

PENCE: ... we delivered $400 million in cash as a ransom payment for Americans held by the radical mullahs in Tehran.

(CROSSTALK)

QUIJANO: Governor, yesterday, Mr. Trump said...

KAINE: And we stopped a nuclear weapons program without a shot.

QUIJANO: ... quote, ''Putin has no respect for Hillary Clinton and no respect for Obama.'' Why do you think he'll respect a Trump- Pence administration?

PENCE: Strength. Plain and simple.

KAINE: Business dealings.

PENCE: Donald Trump -- that's nonsense. Donald Trump is a strong leader...

KAINE: Donald Trump's son says that the Trump organization...

PENCE: ... who is going to lead with American strength.

QUIJANO: Please, Senator, I'll give you a chance to respond.

PENCE: We're going to rebuild our military. And let me -- let me -- this whole Putin thing. Look, America is stronger than Russia. Our economy is 16 times larger than the Russian economy. America's political system is superior to the crony, corrupt capitalist system in Russia in every way.

When Donald Trump and I observe that, as I've said in Syria, in Iran, in Ukraine, that the small and bullying leader of Russia has been stronger on the world stage than this administration, that's stating painful facts. That's not an endorsement of Vladimir Putin. That's an indictment of the weak and feckless leadership...

QUIJANO: Senator Kaine?

PENCE: ... of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama.

KAINE: Well, this is one where we can just kind of go to the tape on it. But Governor Pence said, inarguably, Vladimir Putin is a better leader than President Obama.

PENCE: That is absolutely inaccurate.

KAINE: And -- and -- and I just think a guy who praises...

PENCE: He said he's stronger -- he's been stronger on the world stage.

KAINE: No, he said leader. And if -- and I'll just say this, Governor.

PENCE: You just said better.

KAINE: If you mistake leadership for dictatorship, and you can't tell the difference, a country that's running its economy into the ground...

PENCE: Yeah, here we go. This is the grade school thing again?

KAINE: ... persecuting journalists...

PENCE: Right, this is grade school.

KAINE: ... if you can't tell the difference, you shouldn't be commander-in-chief.

PENCE: Yeah. KAINE: And with Donald Trump -- Donald Trump's sons say that they have all these business dealings with Russia. Those could be disclosed with tax returns, but they refuse to do them. Americans need to worry about whether Donald Trump will be watching out for America's bottom line or his own bottom line.

QUIJANO: Senator Kaine, what went wrong with the Russia reset?

KAINE: Vladimir Putin. Vladimir Putin is a dictator.

QUIJANO: And what would do you differently?

KAINE: Vladimir Putin is a dictator. He's not a leader. Anybody who thinks otherwise doesn't know Russian history and they don't know Vladimir Putin. Hillary Clinton knows exactly who this guy is. John McCain said, I look in his eyes and I see KGB. And Hillary kind of has that same feeling.

PENCE: Right.

KAINE: So how do deal with him? You've got to -- we do have to deal with Russia in a lot of different ways. There are areas where we can cooperate. So it was Hillary Clinton who worked with Russia on the New START Treaty to reduce their nuclear weapons stockpile. It was Hillary Clinton that worked with Russia to get them engaged in a community of nations to stop the Iranian nuclear weapons without firing a shot.

She's not going around praising Vladimir Putin as a great guy. But she knows how to sit down at a table and negotiate tough deals. This is a very challenging part of the world, and we ought to have a commander-in-chief who is prepared and done it, rather than somebody who goes around praising Vladimir Putin as a great leader.

QUIJANO: All right, I'd like to ask now about North Korea, Iran and the threat of nuclear weapons. North Korea recently conducted its fifth and most powerful nuclear test.

PENCE: Right.

QUIJANO: What specific steps would you take to prevent North Korea from developing a nuclear-armed missile capable of reaching the United States? Governor Pence?

PENCE: Well, first, we need to -- we need to make a commitment to rebuild our military, including modernizing our nuclear forces. And we also need -- we also need an effective American diplomacy that will marshal the resources of nations in the Asian Pacific Rim to put pressure on North Korea, on Kim Jong-un, to abandon his nuclear ambitions. It has to remain the policy of the United States of America the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, plain and simple.

And when Donald Trump is president of the United States, we're -- we're not going to have the -- the kind of posture in the world that has Russia invading Crimea and Ukraine, that has the Chinese building new islands in the South China Sea, that has literally the world, including North Korea, flouting American power. We're going to -- we're going to go back to the days of peace through strength.

But I have to tell you that -- that all this talk about tax returns -- and I get it, you know, you want to keep bringing that up. It must have -- must have...

KAINE: Until he...

(CROSSTALK)

PENCE: ... done well in some focus group. But here -- Hillary Clinton and her husband set up a private foundation called the Clinton Foundation. While she was secretary of state, the Clinton Foundation accepted tens of millions of dollars from foreign governments and foreign donors.

Now, you all need to know out there, this is basic stuff. Foreign donors, and certainly foreign governments, cannot participate in the American political process. They cannot make financial contributions. But the Clintons figured out a way to create a foundation where foreign governments and foreign donors could donate millions of dollars. And then we found, thanks to the good work of the Associated Press, that more than half her private meetings when she was secretary of state were given to major donors of the Clinton Foundation. When you talk about all these -- all these baseless rumors about Russia and the rest, Hillary Clinton -- you asked the trustworthy question at the very beginning -- the reason...

QUIJANO: Governor, your two minutes are up.

PENCE: ... the reason the American people don't trust Hillary Clinton is because they are looking at the pay to play politics that she operated with the Clinton Foundation through a private server...

QUIJANO: Governor, please.

PENCE: ... while she's secretary of state.

QUIJANO: Your two minutes are up, Governor.

PENCE: And they're saying enough is enough.

QUIJANO: Senator Kaine?

KAINE: I'm going to talk about the foundation, and then I'll talk about North Korea. So, on the foundation. I am glad to talk about the foundation. The Clinton Foundation is one of the highest- rated charities in the world. It provides AIDS drugs to about 11.5 million people. It helps Americans deal with opioid overdoses. It gets higher rankings for its charity than the American Red Cross does. The Clinton foundation does an awful lot of good work.

Hillary Clinton as secretary of state took no action to benefit the foundation. The State Department did an investigation, and they concluded that everything Hillary Clinton did as secretary of state was completely in the interest of the United States. So the foundation does good work. And Hillary Clinton as secretary of state acted in the interests of the United States.

But let's compare this now with the Trump organization and the Trump Foundation. The Trump organization is an octopus-like organization with tentacles all over the world whose conflict of interests could only be known if Donald Trump would release his tax returns. He's refused to do it.

His sons have said that the organization has a lot of business dealings in Russia. And remember, the Trump organization is not a non-profit. It's putting money into Donald Trump's pockets and into the pockets of his children, whereas the Clinton Foundation is a non- profit and no Clinton family member draws any salary.

PENCE: The Trump Foundation is non-profit.

KAINE: In addition, Donald Trump has a foundation. The foundation was just fined for illegally contributing foundation dollars to a political campaign of a Florida attorney general. They made an illegal contribution, and then they tried to hide it by disguising it to somebody else. And the person they donated to was somebody whose office was charged with investigating Trump University.

This is the difference between a foundation that does good work and a secretary of state who acted in accordance with American interest and somebody who is conflicted and doing work around the world and won't share with the American public what he's doing and what those conflicts are.

QUIJANO: Governor, I will give you 30 seconds to respond, because I know you want to, but, again, I would remind you both this was about North Korea.

(LAUGHTER)

PENCE: Well, Thank you. Thank you. The Trump Foundation is a private family foundation. They give virtually every cent in the Trump Foundation to charitable causes.

KAINE: Political contributions?

PENCE: Less than ten cents on the dollar in the Clinton Foundation has gone to charitable causes.

KAINE: A $20,000 portrait of Donald Trump? PENCE: Less than 10 cents on the dollar of the Clinton Foundation has gone to charitable causes.

KAINE: Ninety percent.

PENCE: It has been a platform for the Clintons to travel the world, to have staff. But honestly, Senator, we would know a lot more about it if Hillary Clinton would just turn over the 33,000 e-mails...

QUIJANO: All right, let's turn back to North Korea...

PENCE: ... that she refused to turn over in her private server...

QUIJANO: Senator Kaine...

PENCE: ... and we'd have a much better picture of what the Clinton Foundation was about.

QUIJANO: Senator Kaine, if you had intelligence that North Korea was about to launch a missile, a nuclear-armed missile capable of reaching the United States, would you take preemptive action?

KAINE: If we -- look, a president should take action to defend the United States against imminent threat. You have to. A president has to do that. Now exactly what action, you would have to determine what your intelligence was, how certain you were of that intelligence, but you would have to take action.

You asked the question about how do we deal with a North Korea. I'm on the Foreign Relations Committee. We just did an extensive sanctions package against North Korea. And interestingly enough, Elaine, the U.N. followed and did this -- virtually the same package. Often China will use their veto in the Security Council to veto a package like that. They're starting to get worried about North Korea, too. So they actually supported the sanctions package, even though many of the sanctions are against Chinese firms, Chinese financial institutions.

So we're working together with China, and we need to. China's another one of those relationships where it's competitive, it's also challenging, and in times like North Korea, we have to be able to cooperate. Hillary understands that very well. She went once famously to China and stood up at a human rights meeting and looked them in the eye and said, ''Women's rights are human rights.'' They didn't want her to say that, but she did.

But she's also worked on a lot of diplomatic and important diplomatic deals with China. And that's what it's going to take.

The thing I would worry a little bit about is that Donald Trump owes about $650 million to banks, including the Bank of China. I'm not sure he could stand up so tough to the people who have loaned him money.

QUIJANO: All right. I'd like to turn to our next segment now. And in this, I'd like to focus on social issues. You have both been open about the role that faith has played in your lives. Can you discuss in detail a time when you struggled to balance your personal faith and a public policy position? Senator Kaine?

KAINE: Yeah, that's an easy one for me, Elaine. It's an easy one. I'm really fortunate. I grew up in a wonderful household with great Irish Catholic parents. My mom and dad are sitting right here. I was educated by Jesuits at Rockhurst High School in Kansas City. My 40th reunion is in 10 days.

And I worked with Jesuit missionaries in Honduras, now nearly 35 years ago, and they were the heroes of my life. I try to practice my religion in a very devout way and follow the teachings of my church in my own personal life. But I don't believe in this nation, a First Amendment nation, where we don't raise any religion over the other, and we allow people to worship as they please, that the doctrines of any one religion should be mandated for everyone.

For me, the hardest struggle in my faith life was the Catholic Church is against the death penalty and so am I. But I was governor of a state, and the state law said that there was a death penalty for crimes if the jury determined them to be heinous. And so I had to grapple with that.

When I was running for governor, I was attacked pretty strongly because of my position on the death penalty. But I looked the voters of Virginia in the eye and said, look, this is my religion. I'm not going to change my religious practice to get one vote, but I know how to take an oath and uphold the law. And if you elect me, I will uphold the law.

And I was elected, and I did. It was very, very difficult to allow executions to go forward, but in circumstances where I didn't feel like there was a case for clemency, I told Virginia voters I would uphold the law, and I did.

That was a real struggle. But I think it is really, really important that those of us who have deep faith lives don't feel that we could just substitute our own views for everybody else in society, regardless of their views.

QUIJANO: Governor Pence?

PENCE: Well, it's a wonderful question. And my Christian faith is at the very heart of who I am. I was also raised in a wonderful family of faith. It was a church on Sunday morning and grace before dinner.

PENCE: But my Christian faith became real for me when I made a personal decision for Christ when I was a freshman in college. And I've tried to live that out however imperfectly every day of my life since. And with my wife at my side, we've followed a calling into public service, where we've -- we've tried to -- we've tried to keep faith with the values that we cherish.

And with regard to when I struggle, I appreciate, and -- and -- and -- I have a great deal of respect for Senator Kaine's sincere faith. I truly do.

KAINE: That's shared.

PENCE: But for me, I would tell you that for me the sanctity of life proceeds out of the belief that -- that ancient principle that -- where God says before you were formed in the womb, I knew you, and so for my first time in public life, I sought to stand with great compassion for the sanctity of life.

The state of Indiana has also sought to make sure that we expand alternatives in health care counseling for women, non-abortion alternatives. I'm also very pleased at the fact we're well on our way in Indiana to becoming the most pro-adoption state in America. I think if you're going to be pro-life, you should -- you should be pro- adoption.

But what I can't understand is with Hillary Clinton and now Senator Kaine at her side is to support a practice like partial-birth abortion. I mean, to hold to the view -- and I know Senator Kaine, you hold pro-life views personally -- but the very idea that a child that is almost born into the world could still have their life taken from them is just anathema to me.

And I cannot -- I can't conscience about -- about a party that supports that. Or that -- I know you've historically opposed taxpayer funding of abortion. But Hillary Clinton wants to -- wants to repeal the longstanding provision in the law where we said we wouldn't use taxpayer dollars to fund abortion.

So for me, my faith informs my life. I try and spend a little time on my knees every day. But it all for me begins with cherishing the dignity, the worth, the value of every human life.

KAINE: Elaine, this is a fundamental question, a fundamental question. Hillary and I are both people out of religious backgrounds, from Methodist church experience, which was really formative for her as a public servant.

But we really feel like you should live fully and with enthusiasm the commands of your faith. But it is not the role of the public servant to mandate that for everybody else.

So let's talk about abortion and choice. Let's talk about them. We support Roe v. Wade. We support the constitutional right of American women to consult their own conscience, their own supportive partner, their own minister, but then make their own decision about pregnancy. That's something we trust American women to do that.

And we don't think that women should be punished, as Donald Trump said they should, for making the decision to have an abortion.

Governor Pence wants to repeal Roe v. Wade. He said he wants to put it on the ash heap of history. And we have some young people in the audience who weren't even born when Roe was decided. This is pretty important. Before Roe v. Wade, states could pass criminal laws to do just that, to punish women if they made the choice to terminate a pregnancy.

I think you should live your moral values. But the last thing, the very last thing that government should do is have laws that would punish women who make reproductive choices. And that is the fundamental difference between a Clinton-Kaine ticket and a Trump- Pence ticket that wants to punish women who make that choice.

PENCE: No, it's really not. Donald Trump and I would never support legislation that punished women who made the heartbreaking choice to end a pregnancy.

KAINE: Then why did Donald Trump say that?

PENCE: We just never would.

KAINE: Why did he say that?

PENCE: Well, look, it's -- look, he's not a polished politician like you and Hillary Clinton. And so...

KAINE: Well, I would admit that's not a polished...

(CROSSTALK)

PENCE: You know, things don't always come out exactly the way he means them.

KAINE: Well, can I say...

PENCE: But I'm telling you what the policy of our administration would be.

KAINE: Great line from the -- great line from the gospel of Matthew. From the fullness of the heart, the mouth speaks.

PENCE: Yeah. KAINE: When Donald Trump says women should be punished or Mexicans are rapists and criminals...

PENCE: I'm telling you...

KAINE: ... or John McCain is not a hero, he is showing you who he is.

PENCE: Senator, you've whipped out that Mexican thing again. He -- look...

KAINE: Can you defend it?

PENCE: There are criminal **aliens** in this country, Tim, who have come into this country illegally who are perpetrating violence and taking American lives.

KAINE: You want to -- you want to use a big tar brush against Mexicans on that?

PENCE: He also said and many of them are good people. You keep leaving that out of your quote. And if you want me to go there, I'll go there.

But here's -- there is a choice, and it is a choice on life. I couldn't be more proud to be standing with Donald Trump, who's standing for the right to life. It's a principle that -- Senator Kaine -- and I'm very gentle about this, because I really do respect you -- it's a principle that you embrace.

And I have appreciated the fact that you've supported the Hyde amendment, which bans the use of taxpayer funding for abortion, in the past, but that's not Hillary Clinton's view. People need to understand, we can come together as a nation. We can create a culture of life. More and more young people today are embracing life because we know we are -- we're better for it. We can -- like Mother Teresa said at that famous national prayer breakfast...

KAINE: This is important --

PENCE: ... bring the -- let's welcome the children into our world. There are so many families around the country who can't have children. We could improve adoption...

KAINE: But, Governor...

PENCE: ... so that families that can't have children can adopt more readily those children from crisis pregnancies.

KAINE: Governor, why don't you trust women to make this choice for themselves? We can encourage people to support life. Of course we can. But why don't you trust women? Why doesn't Donald Trump trust women to make this choice for themselves?

That's what we ought to be doing in public life. Living our lives of faith or motivation with enthusiasm and excitement, convincing other, dialoguing with each other about important moral issues of the day...

PENCE: Because there are...

KAINE: ... but on fundamental issues of morality, we should let women make their own decisions.

PENCE: Because there is -- a society can be judged by how it deals with its most vulnerable, the aged, the infirm, the disabled, and the unborn. I believe it with all my heart. And I couldn't be more proud to be standing with a pro-life candidate in Donald Trump.

QUIJANO: I do have one final question for you both tonight. It has been a divisive campaign. Senator Kaine, if your ticket wins, what specifically are you going to do to unify the country and reassure the people who voted against you?

KAINE: That's a really important one. That may be the $64,000 question, because it has been a divisive campaign. And again, Hillary is running a campaign about stronger together, and Donald Trump -- and this is -- this is not directed at this man, except to the extent that he can't defend Donald Trump -- Donald Trump has run a campaign that's been about one insult after the next.

But we do have to bring the country together. So here's what we'll do. Hillary Clinton was first lady, then senator for eight years and secretary of state. And I served in the Senate. And I'm really amazed, Elaine, as I talk to Republican senators, how well they regard and respect Hillary Clinton.

She was on the Armed Services Committee. She was on other committees. She worked across the aisle when she was first lady to get the CHIP program passed so that 8 million low-income kids have health insurance in this country, including 150,000 in Indiana.

She worked across the aisle after 9/11 to get health benefits for the first responders who bravely went into the towers and into the Pentagon. She worked to get benefits for -- TRICARE benefits for National Guard members, including Hoosiers and Virginians in the National Guard.

She has a track record of working across the aisle to make things happen. And, you know, Elaine, I have the same track record. I was a governor of Virginia with two Republican houses. And in the Senate, I have good working relationships across the aisle.

Because I think it's fine to be a Democrat or Republican or independent, but after Election Day, the goal is work together. And Hillary Clinton has a track record of accomplishment across the aisle that will enable her to do just that when we work with the new Congress in January.

QUIJANO: Governor, how will you unify the country if you win?

PENCE: Well, thank you, Elaine, and thanks for a great discussion...

KAINE: Absolutely.

PENCE: ... tonight. Thank you, Senator.

This is a very challenging time in the life of our nation. Weakened America's place in the world after the leadership of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama on the world stage has been followed by an economy that is truly struggling, stifled by an avalanche of more taxes, more regulation, Obamacare, the war on coal, and the kind of trade deals that have put American workers in the back seat. I think the best way that we can bring people together is through change in Washington, D.C.

You know, I served in Washington, D.C., for 12 years in the Congress of the United States. And I served with many Republicans and Democrats, men and women of goodwill. The potential is there to really change the direction of this country, but it's going to take leadership to do it.

The American people want to see our nation standing tall on the world stage again. They want to see us supporting our military, rebuilding our military, commanding the respect of the world, and they want to see the American economy off to the races again. They want to see an American comeback.

And Donald Trump's entire career has been about building. It's been about -- it's going through hardship just like a businessperson does and finding a way through smarts and ingenuity and resilience to fight forward and -- when Donald Trump becomes president of the United States, we're going to have a stronger America.

When you hear him say he wants to make America great again, when we do that, I truly do believe the American people are going to be standing taller. They're going to see that real change can happen after decades of just talking about it. And when that happens, the American people are going to stand tall, stand together, and we'll have the kind of unity that's been missing for way too long.

QUIJANO: All right, gentlemen, thank you so much.

This concludes the vice presidential debate. My thanks to the candidates, the commission, and to you for watching. Please tune in this Sunday for the second presidential debate at Washington University in St. Louis and the final debate on October 19th at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

From Farmville, Virginia, I'm Elaine Quijano of CBS News. Good night.

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the First Draft newsletter.

Online Correction: October 5, 2016, Wednesday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An earlier version of this article, transcribed and provided by the Federal News Service, quoted incorrectly from an exchange between Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia and Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana over comments from Donald J. Trump. Mr. Kaine said, ''you want to use a big tar brush against Mexicans on that?,'' not ''you want to use a big broad brush against Mexicans on that?''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDBRUSSELS -- The European Union and Afghanistan announced a deal on Wednesday that would send tens of thousands of Afghan migrants who had reached Europe back home to an increasingly hazardous war zone.

The agreement is the most specific effort yet by Europe to divert or reverse a wave of hundreds of thousands of migrants from war-torn countries including Afghanistan and Syria. But unlike a major agreement with Turkey this year to have that country host more Syrian **refugees**, the new deal as worded would forcibly send Afghans whose asylum applications were rejected directly back to an intensifying war that has taken a severe toll on civilian life -- seemingly at odds with international conventions on **refugees**.

''The E.U. and the government of Afghanistan intend to cooperate closely in order to organize the dignified, safe and orderly return of Afghan nationals to Afghanistan who do not fulfill the conditions to stay in the E.U.,'' the agreement read.

The repatriation deal was announced alongside an international conference in which governments pledged $3.75 billion in annual development aid to Afghanistan over the next four years. But few of the keynote speakers even hinted at the worsening security in the country in recent weeks, and none publicly discussed the repatriation deal, which was reportedly signed on Sunday.

As speakers at the conference praised improvements in Afghanistan, the very idea that even important Afghan cities could be secured was under direct assault.

Taliban fighters on Wednesday attacked Afghan security forces who were fighting for a third day to maintain control of the main government buildings in Kunduz, a vital provincial capital that briefly fell to insurgents last year. In the Afghan south, another of the few remaining government-held districts in Helmand Province has been seized by the insurgents this week. At no time since before the 2001 American invasion of Afghanistan have the Taliban controlled more territory in the country.

''While donors are preoccupied with deterring **refugee** flight, they should focus instead on security force and Taliban abuses and children's lack of access to education, and address the reasons people are so desperate to leave,'' said Brad Adams, the Asia director at Human Rights Watch.

In 2015 alone, 213,000 Afghans arrived in Europe, with 176,900 claiming asylum that year, according to European Union data. Fifty to 60 percent of such Afghan requests have been denied so far, meaning that tens of thousands of people could be returned to Afghanistan under the deal.

European officials denied that the repatriation deal was a condition for aid to Afghanistan. Federica Mogherini, the high representative of the European Union for foreign affairs and security, told reporters, ''There is never, never a link between our development aid and whatever we do on migration.''

But Ekram Afzali, head of Integrity Watch Afghanistan and part of the Afghan delegation meeting with the Europeans in Brussels, said delegates were told by Afghan and international officials that the repatriation deal was a quid pro quo for European aid. A leaked European Union memo dated March 3 discussed openly making pledges of aid at this week's conference conditional on Afghanistan's agreement with the repatriation deal.

At the conference, Secretary of State John Kerry said Wednesday that American funding of civilian programs would continue ''at or near current levels, on average, all the way through 2020.'' Such funding in the current year is about $1.1 billion, according to John Kirby, the State Department spokesman.

Europe pledged 1.3 billion euros annually, or about $1.46 billion, making it the single biggest donor, while British officials were expected to provide aid of more than $900 million a year.

None of those aid commitments were tied to the security situation, but they were linked to progress by the Afghan government in meeting goals outlined by an international donors' conference that was held in Tokyo in 2012. This year's conference was one of a series in which Afghanistan's progress on benchmarks, called the Tokyo Framework, was evaluated.

Participants at the conference seemed determined to look on the bright side.

''The past four years have not been easy,'' Mr. Kerry said. ''But Afghanistan's upward trajectory continues.''

President Ashraf Ghani of Afghanistan cited success on many fronts: ''Our new development partnership with the United States is condition-based and we've met all the conditions.''

But this year's conference was distinguished less by what was publicly discussed than by what was not -- among them some of those benchmarks for aid.

Transparency International, for instance, criticized the progress on fighting corruption -- one of the Tokyo benchmarks -- charging that of 22 central commitments of anticorruption measures made by the Afghan government, only two had been carried out.

Other benchmarks that were discussed were progress on women's issues, human rights and elections. Afghanistan was to have held parliamentary elections by 2015, and to have finalized procedures for future elections, neither of which has happened. That was the one area where Mr. Kerry was critical, if mildly.

''I urge them to move forward as a matter of urgency to appoint electoral authorities and unveil a realistic time frame for parliamentary elections,'' he said.

Mr. Kerry was among several leaders at the conference who repeatedly praised Afghanistan for enrolling millions of girls in schools, which was not done until 2002, after the Taliban were ousted from power. Doubts have long been raised that Afghan figures on girls' enrollment are exaggerated, however, and recently, there have been reports that girls' schools have been closing because of rising security concerns.

Progress on human rights and women's rights was severely criticized as well. ''We've actually gone backwards since Tokyo in the extent that human rights are included in the measurable benchmarks,'' said Heather Barr, a researcher for Human Rights Watch who has worked extensively in Afghanistan.

Against that backdrop, the new repatriation deal with Europe instantly rankled Afghan officials and international aid workers, some of whom said that by any measure of stability, Afghanistan was a hazardous place.

Though the language of the deal, called the Joint Way Forward, did not provide information on the number of Afghans who would be returned home, the details available suggested preparations for a major undertaking.

''Both sides will explore the possibility to build a dedicated terminal for return in Kabul airport and express their willingness to carry out nonscheduled flights at the best convenient time,'' read a document describing the deal.

The government's agreement to the deal was bound to anger many in Afghanistan, particularly because the families of a large number of the government's senior officials live abroad.

''We call on European countries to suspend the deportation of Afghan **refugees** in Europe,'' said Maiwand Rahyab, of the Afghan Institute for Civil Society, a delegate in Brussels. ''We call on the international community to uphold their principles and their European values, and respect the rights of Afghan **refugees** until such time as Afghanistan is a peaceful country.''

Timor Sharan, senior analyst for Afghanistan at the International Crisis Group, said the European motivation for sending a large number of Afghan asylum seekers back was not based on the realities in Afghanistan, but rather on anti-**immigration** sentiment in Europe.

''This is a political response to a humanitarian situation,'' Mr. Sharan said.

Dan Tyler, the Norwegian **Refugee** Council's protection officer for Asia and Europe, said the deal was part of an ''extremely concerning'' trend in Europe on what has been called migration-sensitive aid.

''Return conditions are on every indicator deteriorating: People are faring extremely badly, there are huge spikes in malnutrition, displacement internally, and the E.U. is striking deals to return asylum seekers,'' Mr. Tyler said.

In addition to the fact that even Afghan districts and major highways once declared safe are now threatened or overrun by the Taliban, the returnees from Europe will go back to a dire economic crisis, with an unemployment rate of about 35 percent and about 400,000 young people entering the job market every year.

''Their logic is that provincial capitals are safe. But the reality -- look at Kunduz, Helmand, Uruzgan, and even Kabul with the recent suicide bombings -- clearly indicates they are not safe,'' Mr. Sharan said. ''With nearly 10,000 troops in Kunduz, the government is not able to secure a provincial capital.''

In Kunduz on Wednesday, residents fled in increasingly large numbers despite Taliban roadblocks on the main roads out. More than 1,000 families arrived in neighboring Takhar Province, its governor said.

Shops in Kunduz remained closed, and the city was without electricity and running water for a third day.

Marzia Salam Yaftali, the head doctor at Kunduz's central hospital, said the Taliban's roadblocks left many unable to bring in their wounded. Even the hospital where she works did not remain safe: Several mortar shells hit the compound in the afternoon, forcing the workers to move patients to the basement.

''The opposition group is able to capture the city in a single day, but government with all its power is not able to recapture the city in three days,'' said Sayid Assadullah Sadat, a member of the Kunduz provincial council. ''The fighting is house to house.''

Correction: November 5, 2016, Saturday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An article on Oct. 6 about a deal reached by Afghanistan and the European Union that would send tens of thousands of Afghan migrants back home misstated the dollar equivalent of the annual aid the bloc pledged for Afghanistan. It is 1.3 billion euros, or about $1.46 billion, not $1.46 million.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**By any measure, António Guterres of Portugal is an excellent choice to replace Ban Ki-moon of South Korea as the next United Nations secretary general. He has experience, energy and diplomatic finesse, all of which he'll need to lead the United Nations as it confronts regional wars, rising tensions between Russia and the West, China's aggressive posture in Asia and the **refugee** crisis in the Middle East and Europe.

Against these challenges, the secretary general post has only limited power, and its diplomatic influence is even more attenuated with stateless terrorist groups and insurgencies that cross international borders. A good part of Mr. Guterres's work will be to figure out how the United Nations, a 193-member body, can navigate a world in which terrorism and war are melded and now are driven by multiple forces.

After leading Portugal as prime minister, Mr. Guterres served as the United Nations high commissioner for **refugees** for a decade until 2015, dealing with the displacement of millions fleeing wars in Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere by providing food and shelter and finding them **refuge** in other countries. Mr. Guterres was effective at pressing Western nations to do more to help and at hammering out agreements in difficult circumstances. As the **refugee** crisis has worsened, it has generated a nationalistic backlash in Europe and the United States. Mr. Guterres's understanding of the problem and his passionate advocacy for just and compassionate solutions could persuade governments to keep accepting **refugees**, rather than shut them out.

Wars in the Middle East and elsewhere have eroded confidence in the United Nations' ability to be a force for peace, its core mission. Mr. Guterres has spoken of intensifying diplomatic efforts to reach peace agreements in Syria, Libya and Yemen. He will need to do that while also seeking to mitigate the dangerous rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia, overseeing implementation of the Iran nuclear deal, enforcing nuclear sanctions against North Korea and feeding millions of people at risk of starvation.

The demand for peacekeepers in conflict zones is greater than ever, requiring the United Nations to persuade more countries to contribute troops. Its inadequate efforts to stop sexual assaults and other abuses by these troops is a shameful record that Mr. Guterres will have to work hard to correct. He will also have to insist that United Nations officials stay focused on reforming the agencies that failed to respond adequately to the Ebola crisis in 2014 and ensuring a better means of accountability for harm done, like the cholera epidemic caused by United Nations peacekeepers in Haiti after the 2010 earthquake.

Though Mr. Guterres had been the front-runner for the job for many months, there were more than a dozen other candidates, including qualified female candidates, especially Kristalina Georgieva of Bulgaria, a European Commission vice president and former World Bank official. In the end, the 15-member Security Council coalesced around Mr. Guterres. An official Council vote ratifying the choice is expected Thursday, with a vote of the General Assembly after that. Mr. Guterres has said he will appoint women to leadership positions, a pledge he must keep.

Mr. Guterres, a forceful personality and an effective political communicator, may become, as Matthew Rycroft, the British ambassador to the United Nations, said, the kind of secretary general ''who will provide a convening power and a moral authority at a time when the world is divided on issues, above all like Syria.'' If Security Council members permit Mr. Guterres to do that, he may yet restore the mission and reputation of an international institution that is still trying to find its role in a perilous and complicated world.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The vice-presidential debate may be in the books, but the post-debate spin goes on.

The Trump and Clinton campaigns both declared victory on Wednesday morning.

Kellyanne Conway, Donald J. Trump's campaign manager, accused Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia of having an ''obsession'' with Mr. Trump.

For his part, Mr. Trump, who repeatedly interrupted Hillary Clinton during the first debate, said that Mr. Kaine's constant interruptions of Mr. Pence should not have been allowed but that his running mate ''won big'' anyway.

Mrs. Clinton's team seized on Mr. Pence's strategy of appearing to forget much of what Mr. Trump has said on the campaign trail and criticized Mr. Pence with a video mash-up featuring him denying statements that his running mate has made publicly.

While pundits generally agreed that Mr. Pence was the winner of the debate, he was careful on Wednesday not to take too much of the limelight, and he took to Twitter to dispel concerns that he had not sufficiently defended Mr. Trump.

Some think I won last night's debate. I'll leave that to others. From where I sat, @realDonaldTrump's vision for America was the real winner -- Mike Pence (@mike\_pence) October 5, 2016

'That Mexican thing' might have been the line of the night.

The early favorite for most memorable debate moment was Mr. Pence's use of the phrase ''that Mexican thing.''

In a rare moment of frustration at Mr. Kaine's barrage of attacks on Mr. Trump's contentious statements on Hispanic **immigrants**, Mr. Pence shot back, ''Senator, you've whipped out that Mexican thing again.''

The line #ThatMexicanThing quickly became a popular hashtag on social media, where Mr. Pence was criticized for showing a lack of sensitivity.

#ThatMexicanThing is my abuelita who moved to San Antonio without speaking English & slept in a barn while picking lettuce every summer. -- Matthew Duarte (@matthew\_duarte) October 5, 2016

Mr. Pence went on to make the case that Mr. Trump's focus has been on **immigrants** who are in the United States illegally.

Yes, Ohio is still up for grabs.

Recent polls of Ohio voters have shown that the Buckeye State might be slipping away from Mrs. Clinton's grasp, but a Monmouth University survey released on Wednesday shows that the Democratic nominee still has a chance there.

A poll of likely voters showed that 44 percent back Mrs. Clinton and 42 percent support Mr. Trump. Mrs. Clinton had a four-point advantage in August. (The poll had a margin of error of plus or minus 4.9 percentage points.)

After showing signs of struggling in Ohio, it appeared that Mrs. Clinton might be giving up in the crucial swing state. However, she is making another push and plans to campaign with President Obama in Cleveland on Friday.

According to the Monmouth poll, she is not doing as well as Mr. Obama did in 2012 with minority voters, so their joint appearance could help her solidify that base of support.

But Trump's wobbles are worsening elsewhere

The next pivotal moment in the race arrives on Sunday night, when Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton hold their second debate.

Republicans have been on edge since Mr. Trump's uneven first debate and his erratic behavior in the aftermath of that performance. The Times reported on Wednesday evening that Mr. Trump is slipping in several swing state polls and that members of his party could start to distance themselves from him if he falters again on Sunday out of concern that their hopes of maintaining control in Congress could be on shaky ground.

Independents, in particular, have been especially turned off by Mr. Trump in the last week and there is growing concern about an exodus of female voters.

And what about that Russian romance?

Mr. Trump has heaped praise on Vladimir V. Putin for months, calling him a strong leader and a potential ally.

Mr. Pence struck a different note on Tuesday night, describing the Russian president as a ''small and bullying'' leader who the United States should not hesitate to confront.

The remarks made it appear that the Republican ticket might not be on the same page when it comes to Russian policy, and in an interview Wednesday with CNN, Jason Miller, a spokesman for Mr. Trump, was careful not to shed much light on the campaign's official line on the matter.

''We have to be able to stand up to foreign leaders,'' Mr. Miller said. ''There's also no reason why we can't work with foreign leaders, for example to defeat ISIS.''

The Kaine and Pence show was not must-see TV.

New data from Nielsen showed that the vice-presidential debate drew 37 million television viewers, the smallest audience since Dick Cheney and Joe Lieberman debated in 2000.

Although that does not capture people who viewed the proceedings online, it paled when compared to the first presidential debate between Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton. That drew 84 million viewers, according to Nielsen.

Mr. Pence and Mr. Kaine are both relatively mild-mannered candidates who are not overly combative and their showdown lacked the fanfare that the top of the ticket has received.

The most watched vice-presidential debate remains the one from 2008, when Sarah Palin took on then Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr.

In the meantime...

Russia appears to be taking advantage of the period of uncertainty before the American presidential election to deepen its presence in Syria and its support of President Bashar al-Assad's government.

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the First Draft newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UNITED NATIONS -- The United Nations Security Council reached a surprisingly swift consensus Wednesday on its choice for the next secretary general of the United Nations: António Guterres, a former prime minister of Portugal.

Mr. Guterres, 67, who ran the United Nations **refugee** agency for 10 years, had been the clear front-runner for the last several months. That a deeply divided Security Council rallied around him was a clear signal that Russia and the West saw him as someone they could work with.

Thirteen candidates, including a record seven women, had vied for the job; two had dropped out.

''We have a clear favorite, and his name is António Guterres,'' said Vitaly I. Churkin, the Russian ambassador to the United Nations, who is presiding over the Security Council this month.

Mr. Churkin made the announcement outside the Council's chamber on Wednesday, flanked by his American counterpart, Samantha Power, in an unusual display of cooperation. The envoys of all the other members of the Council were also there, looking as if they, too, were surprised by their unity.

''In the end, there was a candidate whose experience, vision and versatility across a range of areas proved compelling, and it was remarkably uncontentious, uncontroversial,'' Ms. Power said. ''And I think it speaks to the fact that each of us represents our nation and each of us know how fundamentally important this position is in terms of the welfare of our own citizens.

''Every day we go into Security Council, we aspire for the kind of unity we saw today,'' she added. ''And on a crisis with carnage as horrific as that in Syria, the urgency of achieving that unity is no secret to anyone. And it's not something we've achieved up to this point.''

Mr. Guterres will face a formal Council vote on Thursday morning and will then have his name submitted to the 193-member General Assembly for approval, which will most likely happen next week. If elected, he will succeed the current secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, whose second five-year term expires at the end of this year. The United Nations is faltering in carrying out its chief mandate, to stop the scourge of war, and is confronting a widening rift between Russia and the West.

Mr. Guterres was in Portugal when the announcement was made. The Portuguese mission to the United Nations said he would comment publicly only after Thursday's formal vote.

The choice of Mr. Guterres dashed the hopes of many diplomats and civil-society activists that the United Nations would be led by a woman for the first time in its 71-year history.

One of the women contending for the job, Christiana Figueres of Costa Rica, said on Twitter that the results were bittersweet: ''Bitter: not a woman. Sweet: by far the best man in the race. Congrats Antonio Guterres!''

Mr. Guterres has promised gender parity in senior posts within the organization, but beyond that, what he will do to advance the rights of women through the work of the United Nations remains to be seen.

Antonia Kirkland, program manager for Equality Now, an advocacy group, said that while it was ''disappointing'' that a man would run the body again, ''we are at least hopeful that he will continue the feminist agenda, including, first of all, ensuring gender parity among his staff at the Secretariat, and also prioritizing violence and discrimination against women as a pivotal issue.''

Trained as a theoretical physicist, Mr. Guterres is a veteran politician and a member of his country's Socialist Party. His first major diplomatic test will be to rally Russia and whoever wins the presidency in the United States to address the carnage in Syria. He will also face a range of thorny conflicts elsewhere, from South Sudan to Yemen, and nuclear brinkmanship in North Korea. He will have to repair the United Nations' reputation for peacekeeping, sullied by repeated accusations of sexual abuse, and show that the secretary general's office can stand up to political pressure from rich and powerful countries.

Michael W. Doyle, a former United Nations official who is now a Columbia University professor, said that as the high commissioner for **refugees**, Mr. Guterres had demonstrated both charisma and an ability to maneuver. ''In the agency, he was known as someone who could sit down and hammer out agreements under difficult circumstances,'' he said. ''Moscow has to understand that.''

Mr. Guterres's first order of business will be to fill plum posts, and there, he is likely to face bare-knuckles lobbying by the world powers. Russia had insisted that it was an Eastern European's turn to be secretary general, so it remains to be seen how much it will push for its favored diplomats for key positions, including deputy secretary general and head of the United Nations' political affairs division.

The way the Council selects the world's top civil servant has long been opaque, though frustration on the part of many countries and a campaign by civil-society groups have allowed a bit of sunlight into the process. This year, for the first time, candidates faced hearings with members of the Security Council. Most of them took part in public debates and took questions from the news media.

The Council had taken five informal polls over the last few months, but there was no way to distinguish how the five veto-wielding permanent members had voted. On Wednesday, for the first time, the permanent five -- Britain, China, France, Russia and the United States -- voted on red ballots, and the others on white ballots. This was designed to show which candidates might face a veto. When the counting was finished, it was clear that Mr. Guterres would not.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BIRMINGHAM, England -- Prime Minister Theresa May of Britain capped the Conservative Party's convention on Wednesday by breaking with the domestic agenda of her predecessor, courting working-class voters and promising to use the power of government to rein in abuses by big business.

Addressing delegates in Birmingham, England, at a conference that had been dominated by the issue of Britain's relationship with the European Union, Mrs. May sought to redefine the profile of her party by claiming a ''new center ground.''

With parties on the left and right in disarray, Mrs. May moved to capture disaffected working-class supporters of the Labour Party, as well as those sympathetic to the populist right-wing U.K. Independence Party, which has long demanded stricter control of **immigration** -- one of the crucial issues in the June vote to withdraw from the 28-member bloc.

Mrs. May's speech suggested that her government would protect hard-pressed families who have struggled in the globalized economy that her predecessor, David Cameron, embraced enthusiastically.

''It wasn't the wealthy who made the biggest financial sacrifices after the financial crisis,'' Mrs. May said, adding that ''change is going to come'' and pledging to pursue firms that fail to pay their share of tax.

''Too many people in positions of power behave as though they have more in common with international elites than the people down the road,'' she said.

Conservative leaders have sought for years to reduce state intervention, but Mrs. May struck a different tone, saying that her government would tackle injustice and create an economy that benefited ordinary working people.

Amid uncertainty from the unexpected decision by voters to leave the European Union, Mrs. May has sought to steady British politics, and she received an enthusiastic reception from delegates on Wednesday.

Her speech underscored her determination to differentiate herself from Mr. Cameron, who was born into a wealthy family, educated at the exclusive Eton College and whom critics saw as detached from the concerns of ordinary people.

By contrast, Mrs. May, the daughter of a provincial clergyman, studied at a state school, and she has emphasized that she is on the side of working-class people who struggle to get by.

''Just listen to the way a lot of politicians and commentators talk about the public,'' Mrs. May said at the convention. ''They find your patriotism distasteful, your concerns about **immigration** parochial, your views about crime illiberal, your attachment to your job security inconvenient.''

She continued, ''They find the fact that more than 17 million voters decided to leave the European Union simply bewildering.''

Mrs. May supported continued membership in the European Union during the referendum campaign, though tepidly, but she has since embraced the cause of withdrawal, known as Brexit. She has given strong indications that she is willing to make a clean break from the bloc, even if that curtails the access of British businesses to Continental markets.

In some respects, Mrs. May is unlikely to find a better time to assert herself. The opposition Labour Party is badly split, with many lawmakers hostile to their left-wing leader, Jeremy Corbyn. The U.K. Independence Party has also been plunged into crisis after the unexpected resignation on Tuesday of Diane James as leader.

Ms. James, who quit after only 18 days on the job, cited professional and personal reasons for her decision. With no deputy in place, it was unclear who was running the party, leaving open the possibility that the former leader, Nigel Farage, might technically still be in charge.

The centrist Liberal Democrats, meanwhile, have just eight lawmakers in Parliament.

As part of the Conservatives' effort to attract working-class voters, the home secretary, Amber Rudd, defended proposals that could require British companies to publish the number of foreign workers they employ.

''There is still one in 10 18- to 24-year-olds in the U.K. who are unemployed,'' Ms. Rudd told the BBC. ''I want businesses to think first about locally training people where possible.''

The proposal, which first became known on Tuesday, was criticized by at least one business federation, the British Chambers of Commerce, as well as by the Labour Party.

Mr. Corbyn accused the Conservatives of xenophobia and of blaming foreigners ''for their own failures,'' adding that ''drawing up lists of foreign workers won't stop unscrupulous employers undercutting wages in Britain.''

The measure also appears to be at odds with the views of some of Ms. Rudd's cabinet colleagues, who have expressed concern about the risks to the economy if access to employees from the Continent is restricted.

Despite Mrs. May's efforts to broaden the discussion, the party's convention was dominated by the debate over Britain's future relationship with the European Union, an issue that looks certain to determine the success or failure of the government.

In the bars and corridors of the convention center in Birmingham, the debate focused on whether Britain would make compromises in an effort to maintain close economic ties with the European Union. Mrs. May's comments in the first of two speeches delivered on Sunday suggested that a ''hard Brexit,'' with fewer concessions, was more likely.

The British economy has not suffered the grievous damage many supporters of European Union membership had feared would follow a vote for withdrawal, and the stock market is buoyant.

But Britain remains a full member of the bloc, and it will almost certainly continue to be one until the spring of 2019. This means that the effect on many parts of the economy have yet to be felt, and there are ominous signs.

Perhaps most significant, the pound has dropped to its lowest level against the dollar in more than three decades, as currency markets continue to express concern that Britain may ultimately find itself outside the European Union's tariff-free market of around 500 million consumers.

When formal negotiations on the British withdrawal begin, expected no later than the end of March, the clock will start ticking on a two-year deadline to reach a deal or risk an exit without any preferential trade arrangements.

Unless that process is very carefully managed, investment decisions are likely to be postponed, and British business confidence could erode. That worry was reflected in a speech by Philip Hammond, the chancellor of the Exchequer, at the conference on Monday.

Britain's financial services sector, which accounts for almost 12 percent of economic output and 1.1 million jobs, is particularly worried that it will lose the right to operate freely throughout the bloc, under a system known as ''passporting.''

Mrs. May has given no indication that she is willing to make trade-offs with European partners to smooth market access for banks. Such concessions could include allowing the free movement of people across European frontiers and paying budget contributions to the bloc.

Instead, the comments by Mrs. May and Ms. Rudd suggested that controlling **immigration** would be a higher priority than placating bankers.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In a thousand-year-old language like Yiddish, with many of its words rooted in the ancient Bible, how would you say ''email''? Or ''transgender''? Or ''designated driver''? Or ''binge watch''?

Those terms came into popular usage long after the language's heyday, when it was the lingua franca of the Jews of Eastern Europe and the garment workers of the Lower East Side and was the chosen literary tongue for writers like Sholem Aleichem and Isaac Bashevis Singer. Though the Holocaust and assimilation have shrunk the ranks of Yiddish speakers -- once put at over 11 million worldwide -- to a relative handful, Yiddish still needs to keep itself fashionably up-to-date.

So two of its conservationists have produced the first full-fledged English-to-Yiddish dictionary in 50 years and it is designed to carry Yiddish into the 21st century and just maybe beyond. After all, Yiddish has always had a canny way of defying the pessimists.

''Email''? How is ''blitspost'' -- a combination of the Yiddish words for ''lightning'' and ''mail''? ''Transgender''? How's ''tsvishnminik,'' which blends the common Yiddish words for ''between'' and ''type.'' ''Designated driver''? ''Der nikhterer shofer'' does the trick by fusing the Yiddish word for ''sober'' with that for ''driver.'' And ''binge watch'' is ''shlingen epizodn,'' literally ''wolf down episodes.''

The 826-page Comprehensive English-Yiddish Dictionary, with almost 50,000 entries and 33,000 subentries, is the work of Gitl Schaechter-Viswanath, a Yiddish editor and poet, and Paul Glasser, a former dean at YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, the major repository of Yiddish language, literature and folklore. Published in June by Indiana University Press with a copyright owned by the League for Yiddish, the dictionary's debut will be formally celebrated on Nov. 13 with a panel discussion and klezmer music at the Center for Jewish History in Manhattan.

Whether the new words, many of which were coined by the editors, will be widely embraced remains an open question. Many Yiddish speakers may already be too comfortable with the word ''laptop'' to jump ship for its Yiddish equivalent, ''shoys-komputer'' (a ''computer for the lap'').

''Any word that you've got to scratch your head to come up with they'll use the English word,'' said Yosef Rapaport, a Hasidic journalist and translator who is the media consultant for Agudath Israel of America, the umbrella group for ultra-Orthodox Jewish organizations.

That was true in the golden age of Yiddish speakers in America. Leo Rosten, the great lexicographer and humorist, pointed out that words like ''boychik'' (young boy), ''boarderkeh'' (female boarder) and ''nextdoorekeh'' (apartment-house neighbor) were concocted by **immigrants** tailoring their Yiddish to the English of their adopted land. Even ''chutzpah'' had a slightly more tart meaning in Rosten's view: the audacity of ''a man, who having killed his mother and father, throws himself on the mercy of the court because he is an orphan.''

The new dictionary was adapted from the lexical research of Mordkhe Schaechter, Ms. Viswanath's father, a leading Yiddish linguist and senior lecturer at Columbia University. As a **refugee** in a displaced persons camp in Vienna after World War II, he sensed the grievous wound that Yiddish had suffered with the murder of six million Jews and began collecting Yiddish words on index cards. Later, he interviewed ordinary American speakers -- shoemakers, tailors, musicians -- to learn words they used. Even before he died in 2007 at age 79, his daughter pored through those cards -- 87 card catalogs and shoe boxes full. She and Mr. Glasser added his words and terms to the 20,000 already solemnized in the 1968 dictionary put together by Uriel Weinreich, a close colleague of Mr. Schaechter's.

The editors then came up with Yiddish equivalents for the hundreds of new English words spawned as a result of advances in technology and science and shifts in culture since 1968. Some words, like those for ''email'' (''blitspost,'' or ''blitsbriv'' for an individual message), had already been bandied about through what Mr. Glasser called ''spontaneous generation'' within the circles of Yiddish academics and aficionados.

For the ones the editors invented from scratch, they consulted dictionaries of languages like German, French or Polish to see what these made of contemporary English terms. And sometimes they concocted words from their own quirky experiences. Ms. Viswanath, who is 57, remembered that as a 3-year-old her sister, Rukhl, now editor of the Yiddish Forverts newspaper, called flip-flops ''fingershikh'' -- ''finger shoes'' -- because of the way the toes stick out, and she gave the word the dictionary's kosher seal of approval.

''It's an innocent word coinage,'' she explained. ''No strategy was needed.''

Similarly, for butt dialing -- the accidental call made by a cellphone stuck in a back pocket -- the editors came up with ''alpi tokhes'' -- which literally means ''by way of the backside.'' Surrogate mother was an easy coinage -- ''bimkem-mame,'' or substitute mother. And autism became ''oytizm.'' With smartphone, the editors decided to have it both ways -- rendering it with Yiddish equivalents, ''klug-mobilke,'' which uses the Yiddish word ''klug'' that means ''smart,'' along with ''mobile,'' and keeping the sound of the word essentially the same with ''smartfon.''

''If everyone is using the word, it doesn't make sense to fight it,'' Mr. Glasser said.

In 2006, the census estimated that 152,000 Americans speak Yiddish at home. The vast majority are Hasidim and other ultra-Orthodox Jews in the New York area who spurn secular books and newspapers and, yes, even dictionaries in using a vernacular that is as intrinsic in their neighborhoods as air and water.

Beyond that group, Yiddish is increasingly confined to the dwindling ranks of Holocaust survivors and a smattering of their children, to teachers and students of Yiddish in more than two dozen college programs nationwide, and to the eclectic sprinkling of Yiddishists, ardent advocates who have chosen to make preserving the language a lifelong mission.

Hasidim and other ultra-Orthodox Jews tend to absorb new English words just as they are for convenience' sake without any guilt that they are bastardizing the purity of Yiddish. Email becomes email, though spelled in the Hebrew script that Yiddish adopted when it arose among Ashkenazic Jews in German-speaking lands during the 10th century.

''For Hasidim, Yiddish is not about culture; it's about using language in a utilitarian way,'' Mr. Rapaport, the Hasidic translator said.

But Mr. Glasser, 59, who learned Yiddish when his family sent him to a Workmen's Circle Yiddish school in the Bronx and ''caught the bug,'' said that the editors tried to avoid too much borrowing of English words.

''In the long run if you keep borrowing English, you end up speaking English,'' he said.

Language is so fungible a medium that English has absorbed dozens of Yiddish words, like chutzpah, kvetch, kibitz, megillah, schmooze, nosh and schlock. The new dictionary includes these and, without blinking, translates them back into Yiddish.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The voters of the world have had quite a year: They rejected Colombia's peace deal; split Britain from the European Union; endorsed a Thai Constitution that curtails democracy; and, in Hungary, backed the government's plan to restrict **refugees**, but without the necessary turnout for a valid result.

Each of these moves was determined by a national referendum. Though voters upended their governments' plans, eroded their own rights and ignited political crises, they all accomplished one thing: They demonstrated why many political scientists consider referendums messy and dangerous.

When asked whether referendums were a good idea, Michael Marsh, a political scientist at Trinity College Dublin, said, ''The simple answer is almost never.''

''I've watched many of these in Ireland, and they really range from the pointless to the dangerous,'' he added.

Though such votes are portrayed as popular governance in its purest form, studies have found that they often subvert democracy rather than serve it. They tend to be volatile, turning not just on the merits of the decision but also on unrelated political swings or even, as may have happened in Colombia, on the weather.

Voters must make their decisions with relatively little information, forcing them to rely on political messaging -- which puts power in the hands of political elites rather than those of voters.

''This is a tool that's risky, but politicians keep using it because they think that they'll win,'' said Alexandra Cirone, a fellow at the London School of Economics. But often they do not win, and instead of resolving political problems, the referendums create new ones. Looking over the research on these votes, it becomes clear why many experts are skeptical.

'Short cuts' to hard answers

Voters face a problem in any referendum: They need to distill difficult policy choices down to a simple yes or no, and predict the outcome of decisions so complex that even experts might spend years struggling to understand them.

Voters typically solve this problem by finding what the political scientists Arthur Lupia and Mathew D. McCubbins have termed ''short cuts.'' The voters follow the guidance of trusted authority figures or fit the choice within a familiar narrative.

When a referendum is put forward by the government, people often vote in support if they like the leadership and vote in opposition if they dislike it, according to research by Lawrence LeDuc, a political scientist and professor emeritus at the University of Toronto.

''A vote that is supposed to be about an important public issue ends up instead being about the popularity or unpopularity of a particular party or leader, the record of the government, or some set of issues or events that are not related to the subject of the referendum,'' Professor LeDuc wrote in a 2015 paper.

In Colombia, for example, most regions that voted for President Juan Manuel Santos in 2014 also voted for the peace deal, and vice versa.

Voters may also cope with complex issues by shoehorning them into existing ideological beliefs.

This dynamic plays out in virtually every referendum -- especially those with higher stakes.

Imposing a narrative

Politicians or other powerful actors will often reframe the referendum into simplistic, straightforward narratives. The result is that votes become less about the actual policy question than about contests between abstract values, or between which narrative voters find more appealing.

In Britain's debate over whether to leave the European Union, or ''Brexit,'' neither side emphasized the specifics of membership in the bloc, instead framing the vote as a choice about which values to emphasize. The ''Remain'' campaign presented membership as a matter of economic stability. The ''Leave'' campaign emphasized **immigration**.

It worked. People who voted to remain expressed great concern about the economy, but not much about **immigrants**. People who voted to leave said they were very concerned about **immigration**, and less so about the economy.

In Colombia, Mr. Santos presented the referendum as a vote on peace, but the opposition presented it as a decision on whether the country's largest rebel group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, known as the FARC, was entitled to leniency. Neither narrative fully portrayed the question of whether the peace deal would be worthwhile.

Colombia, Ms. Cirone said, also highlighted that ''in contexts where the referendum addresses a historical political issue, it may be hard for voters to separate past experiences with what is best for the country in the future.''

In Thailand, the military-led government held a referendum in August to approve a new Constitution that would entrench its power and curtail elements of democracy. But the military also promised elections only after the Constitution passed, in effect selling an anti-democratic document as the pro-elections choice. The measure passed.

Democracy as a tool

for the powerful

Though presented as putting power in the hands of the people, referendums are often intended to put a stamp of popular legitimacy on something leaders have already decided to do.

''It doesn't have a lot to do with whether this should be decided by the people,'' Ms. Cirone said. ''It has to do with whether a politician can gain an advantage from putting a question to the people.''

For example, David Cameron, until July the British prime minister, held the vote on whether to depart the European Union expecting that it would bolster his decision to stay in the bloc and would thus silence British politicians who wanted to leave.

The Thai military restricted news coverage of the draft Constitution, ensuring that there was no counternarrative that might portray it as a threat to democracy. By giving the appearance of popular input, the military in fact dampened it.

Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary most likely devised his country's referendum -- on whether to reject European Union requirements for accepting **refugees**-- to pre-empt inevitable objections in the bloc to his anti-migrant policies and to bolster his political standing at home. In both cases, it was about using the vote as an instrument to strengthen himself.

High-risk, high-reward

votes for peace

This stamp of popular legitimacy, though, can sometimes be a good thing, settling contentious national disputes that might otherwise lead to political turmoil or even to armed conflict. But it is precisely because the stakes are so high that the risks are, as well.

Northern Ireland's Good Friday peace deal in 1998 was followed by two referendums, one in Northern Ireland and one in the Republic of Ireland. That gave communities a sense of having been included, and marginalized anyone who wanted to keep fighting, making a relapse into conflict less likely.

This shows an important way referendums are different from regular elections: They succeed only when the nation perceives the vote as reflecting popular will. That works best if turnout is high and one side wins in a landslide, as happened in Northern Ireland's 1998 vote.

But in Colombia, turnout was just 38 percent, and the vote was split almost perfectly down the middle, meaning a few thousand people swung the outcome. Even if the referendum had passed, it would have failed to give the peace deal popular legitimacy.

That problem can be solved by requiring high turnout and a landslide victory for a referendum to be binding, Ms. Cirone said. But in a puzzling decision, neither Colombia nor Britain required more than 50 percent of the vote for either side to win.

A low-turnout, close result like Colombia's can risk deepening political disputes rather than bridging them. Leaders have to choose whether to accept a result that does not demonstrably reflect popular will, or reject the result and risk a political backlash or a constitutional crisis.

'Russian roulette for republics'

National referendums can also be extremely volatile, driven by factors unrelated to the issue's merits and outside anyone's control.

Opinion polls are often misleading because people do not form their opinions until immediately before the vote. Tellingly, they often abandon those views just as quickly.

Professor Marsh of Trinity College Dublin said he had found, in some cases, that ''most people can't remember any arguments for -- this is about a week later -- they can't remember any arguments against, and they're not really quite sure why they voted yes or no.''

He added, ''That doesn't inspire me, really, with referendums.''

The ambient noise of politics can also distort popular will: Whether one party is up or down in the polls, whether intraparty infighting over the vote spills into public, and how the news media portrays related issues all play a role.

Votes are also subject to random factors, including the weather. In Colombia, turnout for the referendum may have been depressed by a hurricane that hit the day before, forcing evacuations in some areas.

''The idea that somehow any decision reached anytime by majority rule is necessarily 'democratic' is a perversion of the term,'' Kenneth Rogoff, an economics professor at Harvard, wrote after Britain's vote to leave the European Union.

''This isn't democracy; it is Russian roulette for republics,'' he added.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BEIJING -- Joshua Wong, who was a prominent leader of the 2014 pro-democracy rallies in Hong Kong, was detained at the international airport in Bangkok early Wednesday while trying to enter Thailand, and he was later put on a flight back home, according to his political party.

The party, Demosisto, which the 19-year-old activist had recently helped to establish, said that Mr. Wong had arrived in Thailand at 11:45 p.m. on Tuesday on an Emirates flight. He had been invited to speak at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok.

The party said that it had been unable to get any word about Mr. Wong's whereabouts until several hours later, when a Thai student who was expecting to meet with him said that Mr. Wong had been detained at the airport.

The student, Netiwit Chotiphatphaisal, said in an interview that the Thai authorities had told him that they had received a letter from the Chinese government asking that Mr. Wong not be allowed into the country. China's Foreign Ministry was closed for a holiday and could not be reached for comment.

''This is blocking our education,'' Mr. Netiwit said. ''He was supposed to be here to speak about the future of politics and his experience in the movement. But it turns out this matter is not open for discussion. How will the new generation live in the future if we still act like this?''

In response to a question about Mr. Wong's reported detention, Hong Kong's **Immigration** Department said ''a Chinese national'' had been detained at the Bangkok airport and was awaiting deportation. An official at the department, speaking on the condition of anonymity because she was not authorized to release the information, confirmed that the person was Mr. Wong.

Mr. Wong's party said Wednesday afternoon that Mr. Wong had boarded a flight back to Hong Kong.

Mr. Wong drew international attention as one of the leaders of the so-called Umbrella Revolution protests in 2014, which called for more democratic elections in Hong Kong, a former British colony that reverted to Chinese control in 1997 but has its own legal system and civil liberties not available in mainland China. During the protests, thousands of students and other demonstrators blocked major thoroughfares in Hong Kong for months.

Mr. Wong had been invited to speak Thursday at Chulalongkorn University for the 40th anniversary of a bloody crackdown on student demonstrators in Bangkok.

It was not the first time that he had been barred from an Asian country where fellow student activists had invited him to speak. Malaysia denied him entry in May of last year because the country did not want Mr. Wong to ''jeopardize our ties with China,'' the police inspector general said at the time. Mr. Wong had been invited to forums hosted by Malaysian youth activist groups.

Mr. Wong has spoken at dozens of schools around the world, including universities in Japan, Taiwan and the United States.

Though the Hong Kong protests did not win any immediate political concessions from Beijing, they gave rise to a new generation of political activists who went on to win seats in local elections. Nathan Law, 23, another leader of the protests and a founder of the Demosisto party, will become the youngest ever legislator in Hong Kong when he is inaugurated next week.

Agnes Chow, the deputy secretary general of Demosisto, said, ''The Chinese government doesn't want Hong Kong's pro-democracy voices to be heard outside.''

''But the harder it tries to suppress us,'' Ms. Chow added, ''the louder we'd be heard.''

Thailand's military junta, which seized power from an elected government in 2014, has a record of complying with security requests from the Chinese government. It has deported scores of Uighur **refugees** back to China in response to demands by the Chinese authorities, and it allowed men representing Beijing's interests to track down a liberal Hong Kong bookseller at a Thai resort.

Peter Dahlin, a Swedish legal rights advocate who was detained and expelled from China in January, said Chinese security officers or their representatives had recently been conducting surveillance on Chinese rights lawyers undergoing training on a Thai island. Mr. Dahlin now lives in Chiang Mai, Thailand.

Sophie Richardson, director of China research for Human Rights Watch, said: ''Thailand's arrest of Joshua Wong, a well-known pro-democracy activist in Hong Kong, sadly suggests that Bangkok is willing to do Beijing's bidding. Wong should be freed immediately and allowed to travel and exercise his right to free expression.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**You may have missed this story, so I am repeating it as a public service:

MOSCOW, Special to The New York Times, Oct. 1 -- A previously unheard-of group called Hackers for a Free Russia released a treasure trove of financial records online today indicating that President Vladimir Putin owns some $30 billion in property, hotels and factories across Russia and Europe, all disguised by front organizations and accounting charades.

The documents, which appear to be authentic, include detailed financial records and emails between Mr. Putin's Kremlin office and a number of his Russian cronies and Swiss banks. They constitute the largest hack ever of Mr. Putin. Russian censors are scrambling to shut down Twitter inside the country and keep the emails out of Russian-language media.

At a news conference in Washington, C.I.A. Director John Brennan was asked if U.S. intelligence services had any hand in the cyberleak of what is being called ''The Putin Files.'' With a slight grin, Mr. Brennan said: ''The U.S. government would never intervene in Russian politics, just as President Putin would never intervene in an American election. That would be wrong.'' As Mr. Brennan left the podium, though, he burst out laughing.

No, you didn't miss this story. I made it up. But isn't it time there was such a story? Isn't it time we gave Putin a dose of his own medicine -- not for juvenile playground reasons and not to instigate a conflict but precisely to prevent one -- to back Putin off from what is increasingly rogue behavior violating basic civilized norms and increasingly vital U.S. interests.

Putin ''is at war with us, but we are not at war with him -- both the U.S. and Germany are desperately trying to cling to a decent relationship,'' remarked Josef Joffe, editor of Die Zeit, a weekly German newspaper and a leading strategic thinker in Europe. No one should want to start a shooting war between great powers ''in the shadow of nuclear weapons,'' Joffe told me.

But we also cannot just keep turning the other cheek. Putin's behavior in Syria and Ukraine has entered the realm of war crimes, and his cyberattacks on the American political system threaten to undermine the legitimacy of our next election.

Just read the papers. Last week a Dutch-led investigation adduced irrefutable video evidence that Putin's government not only trucked in the missile system used to shoot down a Malaysia Airlines plane flying over Ukraine in 2014, killing all 298 civilians onboard, but also returned it to Russia the same night and then engaged in an elaborate cover-up.

On Sept. 19, what U.S. intelligence officials say was almost certainly a Russian Su-24 warplane bombed a U.N. convoy in Syria carrying relief supplies for civilians. The Red Cross said at least 20 people were killed. U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon called the bombing ''savage and apparently deliberate.''

For a long time, Putin's excesses were just a tragedy for the Russian people and for many people in Ukraine and Syria, so President Obama could plausibly argue that the right response was economic sanctions and troop buildups in Eastern Europe. But in the last nine months, something has changed.

Putin's relentless efforts to crush both the democratic and Islamist opposition to President Bashar al-Assad in Syria; his rejection of any real power-sharing solution there; and his joining with Assad in mercilessly bombing civilians in Aleppo are not only horrific in and of themselves, but they also keep pushing more **refugees**into the European Union. This is fostering an anti-**immigrant** backlash in Europe that is spawning right-wing nationalist parties and fracturing the E.U.

Meanwhile, Russia's hacking of America's Democratic Party -- and signs that Russian or other cyberwarriors have tried to break into American state voter registration systems -- suggests that Putin or other cyberdisrupters are trying to undermine the legitimacy of our next national election.

Together, these actions pose a threat to the two pillars of global democracy and open markets -- America and the E.U. -- more than anything coming from ISIS or Al Qaeda.

''The Soviet Union was a revolutionary state that sought a wholesale change in the international order,'' observed Robert Litwak, director of security studies at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and author of ''Deterring Nuclear Terrorism.'' Putin is ostensibly not seeking a revolution of the international order, Litwak added, but Putin's departure from standard great-power competition -- encouraging a flood of **refugees** and attacking the legitimacy of our political system -- ''is leading to shifts in global politics that could have revolutionary consequences, even if Putin is not motivated by revolutionary ideology.''

Obama believed that a combination of pressure and engagement would moderate Putin's behavior. That is the right approach, in theory, but it's now clear that we have underestimated the pressure needed to produce effective engagement, and we're going to have to step it up. This is not just about the politics of Syria and Ukraine anymore. It's now also about America, Europe, basic civilized norms and the integrity of our democratic institutions.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**SAN FRANCISCO -- One of the **immigrants** appearing before Judge Dana Marks in a crowded court here was a boat worker from the former Soviet Union who stared in silence as a prosecutor asked about his criminal history. Another was a mother who started praying after testifying that she had fled Honduras because her husband beat her. She sought divine rather than judicial intervention.

In all, 336 people from 13 countries and even more ethnic backgrounds appeared in San Francisco's **immigration** court recently over three days. All of them were facing possible deportation, because they were in the United States illegally or had committed crimes serious enough to jeopardize their legal presence as noncitizens. One challenge facing Judge Marks was deciding whether to deport some of them immediately after they had testified. Another challenge was her own biases.

''You have to go through some hypotheticals in your brain,'' said Judge Marks, wrestling with the weighty decisions she must make, the little time she has to make them and all the impressions she and her judicial colleagues form from the bench about the **immigrants** before them.

''Would I treat a young person the same way I'm treating this old person?'' she said. ''Would I treat a black person the same way I'm treating this white person? This situation of rush, rush, rush as fast as we can go, it's not conducive to doing that.''

Keeping implicit biases out of **immigration** court decisions is critical and daunting. Claims often rise and fall on testimony alone. Cultural and linguistic misunderstandings are common.

Now, as the country struggles with how these instinctive judgments shape our lives, the Justice Department is trying to minimize the role of bias in law enforcement and the courts. More than 250 federal **immigration** judges attended a mandatory anti-bias training session in August, and this summer, the Justice Department announced that 28,000 more employees would go through a similar exercise.

Several current and former **immigration** judges said they thought the sessions were badly needed. But they doubted the training would be enough.

Few other areas of the law involve as much discretion -- judges approve and deny cases at vastly different rates. And **immigration** judges handle more than 700 cases a year, twice as many as Federal District Court judges.

While there are 277 **immigration** judges today, more than ever before, their combined backlog peaked this summer at more than half a million cases, the most in history. For years, the judges union has lobbied Congress, with limited success, for more law clerks and other support staff to offset their burden.

Experts say the conditions that **immigration** judges work under -- fast paced, high pressure and culturally charged -- make some misjudgments all but inevitable.

''If we have a high cognitive load, you tend to make more mistakes,'' said Kelly Tait, who led the judges' training session.

When the brain has to process large volumes of information quickly, there is a tendency to rely on experiences rather than on unique details in the present. In judging people, for instance, this can mean falling back on generalizations about race, age, country of origin, religion or gender.

**Immigration** judges have higher burnout rates than hospital workers and prison wardens, according to a 2008 study. And since that study was published, many of the same courtroom pressures have held strong.

As a result, judges often must decide the fate of foreign families in the time it takes to consume a fast-food lunch, wondering whether they are making the right decisions on who deserves to stay and who should go.

Judge Marks, who spoke as the president of the National Association of **Immigration** Judges because judges are otherwise barred from speaking to the news media, tends to be more lenient than some of her colleagues. But she said decisions were frequently far from clear-cut.

For example, Jose Roberto, who asked that his last name not be used because of his legal predicament, looked every bit like the hard-working patriarch of a Guatemalan-American family that he is, sitting tall on the witness stand, wearing a sharp gray suit jacket.

He said he was a loyal employee, working the same job at a San Francisco hotel for 31 years, dutifully filing his taxes each year. But he had also been convicted in 2005 of assaulting a lover, which sent him to jail for eight months. Since then, he explained to the judge, he had reconciled with his disabled wife, whom he pledged to care for if he was allowed to stay in the United States.

It was not clear whether his downcast eyes were a sign of contrition or evasion. Still, Judge Marks ruled in his favor.

An **immigrant**'s ability to persuade a judge that the testimony given is true is ''the most important factor in any case,'' she said later. ''That, of course, can be one of the most difficult things to convince someone of when you can't corroborate with documentation.''

Adding to the confusion, deportation hearings are many **immigrants**' first experience in a formal legal setting.

''I think it's almost overwhelming or insurmountable for many of them,'' said Eliza Klein, who retired as a federal **immigration** judge in 2015 after more than 20 years. ''The stakes are incredibly high. It's a foreign system.''

More than 40 percent of **immigrants** come to court without a lawyer, but even when lawyers are involved, they say **immigrants** who are educated, articulate and white have an easier time gaining the court's sympathy.

''Something that is familiar is going to feel right even if it's not,'' Ms. Tait, from the judges' training session, said.

Groups that oppose illegal **immigration** argue that judges spend too much time on weak claims.

''The judges are allowing too many cases to be dragged out for too long, which clogs the system,'' said Jessica M. Vaughan, director of policy studies at the Center for **Immigration** Studies, which supports giving Border Patrol and other **immigration** enforcement officers the power to order deportations to alleviate pressure on the courts. ''It's a self-inflicted problem.''

In court, where most testimony is filtered through interpreters, even simple questions can lead to delays.

The boat worker appearing before Judge Marks, who said he had never become a citizen of any country after the Soviet collapse interrupted the proceedings at one point because he did not understand a question from several minutes earlier about his arrest.

Down the hall, Judge Rebecca Jamil called Frankly Vasquez-Perez, a 1-year-old boy from Guatemala, for his preliminary deportation hearing.

Frankly's mother, Esmeralda Perez-Roblero, stepped forward with him on her hip. But when Judge Jamil asked her through an interpreter about her **immigration**status -- the mother and child appeared to have crossed the Mexican border together -- she stayed silent.

''At home, what language do you speak?'' the judge asked.

When she failed to respond again, a lawyer who volunteers to help **immigrants** in preliminary hearings shuffled through her documents. ''Her family is probably of indigenous ancestry,'' said the lawyer, Marco Ambron.

Judge Jamil continued the hearing, but it was unclear if Ms. Perez-Roblero knew what was going on.

In August, at the judges' training session, Ms. Tait went over strategies to counteract bias, like focusing on something as innocuous as the color of an **immigrant**'s shirt to prevent cases from bleeding together.

She explained that people who know they are biased against a particular group can try to picture an exemplar of that group whom they hold in high esteem. One of the judges she taught said that when he had felt himself tensing up next to a large African-American man on the witness stand, he pictured President Obama. Another judge said that under similar circumstances, he had thought of Nelson Mandela.

The simplest and most effective way to combat bias, however, is to avoid rushing and take breaks, Ms. Tait said. But with more than 500,000 cases pending, **immigration** judges say that slowing down is not an option.

Instead, they will have to resign themselves to cutting corners to get through their work, according to Judge Klein, as she had to do during her career.

''Over time, I think you just get used to those pressures,'' she said. ''So then the quality of justice erodes over time as well.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Mike Pence defended Donald J. Trump by scarcely defending him at all.

For 90 minutes on Tuesday night, Mr. Pence, the Republican vice-presidential candidate, was asked, over and over, to carry out perhaps the most unenviable, thankless and futile task in American politics: answering for Mr. Trump's cruel name-calling, factual distortions and radical proposals.

Instead, he dodged, deflected and demurred -- deciding, it seemed, that all of the fires that Mr. Trump has set in the past year could not be doused in a single night.

When his Democratic rival, Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia, delivered a scorching rebuke of Mr. Trump's affection for autocrats like Vladimir V. Putin and Saddam Hussein, both of whom he has praised, Mr. Pence, the governor of Indiana, looked over, weighed the message and promptly changed the subject.

''Did you work on that one a long time?'' Mr. Pence mischievously asked his rival. ''Because that had a lot of really creative lines in it.''

Here is what he did not do: defend Mr. Trump's warm words for those much-maligned foreign leaders.

In Mr. Pence's telling, it was the Democratic presidential nominee, Hillary Clinton, not Mr. Trump, who was running the ''insult-driven campaign.''

Mr. Kaine, who was compelled to spend much of his time defending Mrs. Clinton, seemed at times bewildered by Mr. Pence's coolly effective performance. ''He is trying to fuzz up what Donald Trump has said,'' Mr. Kaine said.

And he was right. Pressed on Mr. Trump's startling and unsubstantiated claim that Mexico was sending rapists and criminals to the United States, Mr. Pence protested that his running mate had called some of those **immigrants** ''good people.''

Time and again, Mr. Kaine beseeched Mr. Pence to explain or justify Mr. Trump's behavior.

Time and again, Mr. Pence found a way not to.

Did Mr. Trump apologize, Mr. Kaine wondered, for mocking a former Miss Universe, Alicia Machado, because she had gained weight? Did Mr. Trump apologize for describing black people as living in a dystopian war zone? Did Mr. Trump apologize for stoking doubts about President Obama's place of birth?

''You will look in vain,'' Mr. Kaine said, ''to see Donald Trump ever taking responsibility for anybody and apologizing.''

Mr. Pence did not take the opportunity to apologize for Mr. Trump. Instead, he pivoted to Mrs. Clinton, reminding viewers that she had dismissed half of Mr. Trump's supporters as belonging in a ''basket of deplorables.''

''She said they were irredeemable -- they were not American,'' Mr. Pence said. ''I mean, it's extraordinary.''

All running mates eventually play the role of human shield, sacrificing a measure of dignity and putting their future political prospects in jeopardy to protect the person at the top of the ticket. But in most cases, the slings and arrows originate with their rivals.

From the moment he was named to the Republican ticket, however, Mr. Pence has struggled to salve the wounds and minimize the damage that Mr. Trump has inflicted on himself.

It is a painful task, and one that Mr. Pence has gamely tried to laugh off with self-deprecating jokes about bringing a dose of sobriety to an amply colorful candidacy. In almost every conceivable way, he is Mr. Trump's polar opposite: deeply religious, instinctively civil and conspicuously cautious -- as at ease quoting from Scripture as Mr. Trump is mocking a woman's physique.

On Tuesday, Mr. Pence reminded Americans of his faith in prayer. ''I try to spend a little time on my knees every day,'' he said.

For all their bruising clashes, Mr. Kaine and Mr. Pence have much in common: Both have experience as governors of large states. Both were raised Roman Catholic -- though Mr. Pence later became an evangelical Christian -- in middle-class Midwestern families of Irish ancestry. Both have sons serving in the Marines.

But the similarities end there. Mr. Kaine was chosen for his political compatibility and his chemistry with Mrs. Clinton. Mr. Pence was chosen as a conservative counterweight who could stick up for Mr. Trump with all manner of doubters.

Mr. Pence, who speaks in the steady, measured voice of a former talk radio host, has embraced that challenge on the campaign trail. But his previous attempts to translate and recast Mr. Trump's statements have at times tipped over into parody.

Why did Mr. Trump invite Russian hackers to illegally break into Mrs. Clinton's email? ''He's just simply saying, 'Gosh, if they're out there somewhere, I would like to see them,''' Mr. Pence explained.

At times, Mr. Pence, a former altar boy, has simply thrown up his hands and conceded that Mr. Trump was flat-out wrong, as he did a few weeks ago when he was asked about Mr. Obama's birthplace. (Hawaii, he said, well before Mr. Trump had acknowledged that fact.)

On Tuesday night, Mr. Pence made no such concessions.

Was it wrong that Mr. Trump may have avoided paying federal income taxes for up to 18 years, by using a nearly $1 billion loss that he declared in 1995?

''Do you take all your deductions, Senator?'' Mr. Pence batted back, with a smile. ''I do.''

Throughout the debate, Mr. Kaine, a onetime civil rights lawyer, played prosecutor, framing the night as a series of demands for accountability from Mr. Pence.

When Mr. Kaine reminded Mr. Pence, once again, of Mr. Trump's denigrating description of **immigrants** from Mexico, Mr. Pence could hardly muster a reply. ''You whipped out that Mexican thing again,'' he observed, sounding more like an analyst than a participant in the debate.

Mr. Kaine frequently took notes, sipped water or merely grinned as Mr. Pence spoke. Eventually he made clear what he had been jotting down.

''Six times tonight I have said to Governor Pence, I can't imagine how you can defend your running mate's position on one issue after the next,'' Mr. Kaine said, ''and in all six cases, he's refused to defend his running mate. And yet he is asking everybody to vote for somebody that he cannot defend.''

Mr. Pence shot him a chilly look. ''I'm happy to defend him, Senator,'' he said of Mr. Trump. ''Don't put words in my mouth.''

But it was Mr. Trump's words that loomed largest throughout the night.

In fact, Mr. Trump has relentlessly upstaged Mr. Pence from the start of their partnership. At the news conference introducing his running mate, Mr. Trump ignored tradition and droned on for 28 minutes, focusing on himself, not on Mr. Pence. The campaign's emasculating initial logo did not help matters: An oversize T seemed to skewer a smaller P.

That design was scrapped, but Mr. Pence has been eclipsed, nonetheless, ever since.

On Tuesday, Mr. Trump overshadowed him in a different way, by forcing Mr. Pence to absorb the consequences of Mr. Trump's pronouncements and to defend his business record.

It was left to Mr. Kaine to define this new, awkward role, with a sneering allusion to Mr. Trump's reality-TV past.

''You,'' he told Mr. Pence, ''are Donald Trump's apprentice.''

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the First Draft newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It's safe to say Tuesday's vice-presidential debate won't rival the Hillary Clinton-Donald Trump rumble for great television moments. It features two middle-aged, white, Midwest-raised politicians who call themselves ''boring'' (Tim Kaine) and ''B-list'' (Mike Pence). And running mates play an even smaller role than usual in 2016, given the outsized personalities at the top of the tickets. But if these two men are willing to seriously engage the issues (and the rest of us are willing to stay awake), they could provide useful insights into their sharply contrasting plans for the future.

Such an exchange would be particularly illuminating on the Republican side.

Even to many in his own party, Mr. Pence, a former congressman and the sitting Indiana governor, struck a Faustian bargain by joining the Trump ticket. But he has tried to articulate a different set of principles, in contrast to dead-enders like Rudolph Giuliani, Newt Gingrich and Chris Christie. If Mr. Trump loses, Mr. Pence will likely be part of a rump of Republican leaders left to pick up the pieces and focus the party in a more positive direction.

Left largely on his own while the Trump inner circle fights fires (and each other), Mr. Pence has been trying to reassure conservatives and evangelicals that he'll represent them. A social conservative, his anti-abortion, anti-gay stances are deeply at odds with many Americans' views. At the same time, he has rejected Mr. Trump's attacks on the family of an American Muslim soldier killed in Iraq, and distanced himself from Mr. Trump's ''birther'' campaign.

Though he says he's against Obamacare, as governor he backed the Medicaid expansion that was central to it. He has waffled on the legal fate of 11 million undocumented **immigrants**, but he has not come out in favor of deporting them. He can legitimately claim firsthand experience and some successes confronting the hollowing-out of the American manufacturing economy. Mr. Pence may in fact be in a better position than Mr. Trump to reinforce the ticket's appeal to working-class voters, given Mr. Trump's recent preoccupation with personal attacks and bizarre tweets.

Mr. Kaine, the junior senator from Virginia and its former governor, will field the first question of the debate from Elaine Quijano of CBS News, the moderator. At some point he'll surely attack Mr. Trump's income tax filings. But it might be more interesting, given his fluent Spanish and service as a missionary in Honduras, to hear a clearer articulation of the Clinton campaign's vague promise of ''comprehensive **immigration** reform.'' What would that legislation contain, and how could it succeed?

Mr. Kaine could also spell out more fully why Mrs. Clinton reversed her position on the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement. The campaign says it had to do with specific weaknesses in the agreement, but her turnabout still mystifies many voters.

The debate is set in Mr. Kaine's home state, Virginia, known for weak laws on influence peddling. What are Mr. Kaine's ideas for fulfilling a pledge to carry out tougher campaign finance laws?

This is the only time the vice-presidential nominees will debate before the election. Compared with the flaming barbecue that was last week's presidential debate, this one seems like boiled cauliflower. But a helping of policy substance might be good for everybody.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- A short-handed Supreme Court on Monday turned down a request from the Obama administration to reconsider a major **immigration** decision, dooming for now President Obama's plan to spare millions of undocumented **immigrants** from deportation.

The court also declined to hear more than 1,000 petitions seeking reviews in cases that had piled up during the justices' summer break. Among them were ones concerning what college athletes may earn, the Washington Redskins' trademarks and a campaign finance investigation in Wisconsin. Adhering to its custom, the court did not give reasons for turning down the cases.

The request that the justices rehear the **immigration** case came after a deadlock in the case in June. The 4-to-4 tie left in place an appeals court ruling that had blocked Mr. Obama's plan, which also would have allowed the undocumented **immigrants** to work legally in the United States.

The Supreme Court has been one justice short of its standard nine members since Justice Antonin Scalia died in February. The tie vote in the case, United States v. Texas, No. 15-674, set no precedent. The court did not disclose how the justices had voted.

The administration's petition seeking rehearing said a matter of such importance should be resolved by a nine-member Supreme Court, which ''should be the final arbiter of these matters through a definitive ruling.''

The administration acknowledged that the **immigration** case was at an early stage and could again reach the court in a later appeal. But the petition said there was a ''strong need for definitive resolution by this court at this stage.''

The Supreme Court also declined to hear a case about whether the N.C.A.A. violated federal antitrust laws by restricting what college athletes could earn.

Last year, the federal appeals court in California issued a decision that managed to make both sides unhappy. The court ruled against the association, saying its amateurism rule violated the antitrust laws.

But the court went on to say that the association may restrict colleges from compensating athletes beyond offering scholarships and a few thousand dollars for ''the cost of attendance.'' The appeals court rejected a trial judge's proposed alternative that colleges be allowed to pay athletes up to $5,000 a year in deferred compensation.

Both sides sought Supreme Court review in N.C.A.A v. O'Bannon, No. 15-1388, and O'Bannon v. N.C.A.A., No. 15-1167.

The case was brought by Ed O'Bannon, a former basketball star at U.C.L.A., and other current and former college football and basketball players. They sought compensation for the commercial use of their names and images in video games, archival recording and the like.

The N.C.A.A. responded that college athletes were amateurs and that the distinctive nature of college sports would be destroyed by turning a scholastic model into a professional one.

The association also sought review of a related appeals court ruling. The association said the First Amendment allowed use of the athletes' names and likenesses without compensation. The lower courts are divided on the legal standards for when commercial uses of celebrities' images require payments to them.

The Supreme Court also turned down a petition from the Washington Redskins football team, which sought review of a decision denying federal trademark protection. But the basic question in that case -- whether a federal law on disparaging trademarks violates the First Amendment -- is already before the justices in a case they agreed to hear on Thursday, Lee v. Tam, No. 15-1293.

On Monday, the justices refused to hear the Redskins case, Pro-Football Inc. v. Blackhorse, No. 15-1311, probably because it is still pending before a federal appeals court.

The Supreme Court also declined to hear a campaign finance case arising from an investigation into campaign spending in Wisconsin.

Last year, the Wisconsin Supreme Court shut down an investigation into spending to oppose a 2012 effort to recall Gov. Scott Walker, a Republican. The court also ordered prosecutors to destroy the documents they had gathered.

The Guardian recently disclosed about 1,500 pages of the documents, which seemed to show substantial coordination between candidates and ostensibly independent groups.

The public version of the prosecutors' request for United States Supreme Court review was heavily redacted but appeared to address two main questions: whether the Wisconsin Supreme Court had been too lax in policing coordination between candidates and independent groups, and whether two State Supreme Court justices who had benefited from campaign spending should have recused themselves.

In a brief urging the United States Supreme Court not to hear the case -- Chisholm v. Two Unnamed Petitioners, No. 15-1416 -- the state's attorney general, Brad D. Schimel, said the Wisconsin Legislature had codified the State Supreme Court's interpretation of the law, meaning that there was nothing to review.

''The people of Wisconsin thus made as clear as they possibly could that they wish to put this unfortunate chapter behind them,'' Mr. Schimel wrote.

He added that there had been no need for the two justices, Michael J. Gableman and David T. Prosser, to disqualify themselves. A 2009 Supreme Court decision that required a West Virginia Supreme Court justice to recuse himself from a case involving a campaign supporter, Mr. Schimel wrote, concerned a more extreme potential conflict.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BIRMINGHAM, England -- Outlining a timetable for Britain to leave the European Union in the spring of 2019, Prime Minister Theresa May on Sunday put **immigration** at the center of her strategy for withdrawal, suggesting that Britain could be headed for a ''hard Brexit,'' or clean break, from the bloc.

In a speech at the start of the Conservative Party's annual convention here, Mrs. May said Britain would formally begin exit negotiations by the end of March. Those talks will be governed by a two-year deadline unless all members of the bloc agree to prolong them.

Previously, Mrs. May had said only that the talks, under Article 50 of a European Union treaty, would not begin before the end of this year -- a delay designed to buy time for the government to work out its negotiating stance.

On Sunday, Mrs. May also began to lay down her priorities for a deal on withdrawal, known as Brexit, including the power to control **immigration** and reject European Union rules that allow people to move and settle across national frontiers.

''We have voted to leave the European Union and become a fully independent, sovereign country,'' Mrs. May said to applause from delegates. ''We will do what independent, sovereign countries do. We will decide for ourselves how we control **immigration**. And we will be free to pass our own laws.''

That position strikes at the heart of the usual trade-off by countries that have unfettered access to Europe's internal market of about 500 million people, but that also accept the freedom of Europeans to cross frontiers and live and work in any member state.

While Mrs. May said she wanted the ''maximum'' scope for British companies to trade inside the European Union 's single market, she added that Britain would not accept the right of European Union law to trump national legislation, another pillar of the single market.

Mrs. May also spoke of striking free-trade deals with new partners, suggesting that Britain would leave Europe's Customs Union, which lays down common tariffs but prevents member states from making independent arrangements with other countries.

Her speech left many details unclear and undoubtedly represents a tough opening bid before next year's talks, which are likely to be complex and fraught with disagreement.

She argued that the country's new relationship with the European Union would be unique, and rejected the idea that there was a clear division between a ''hard'' Brexit and a ''soft'' one with closer economic ties, although there are signs of deep differences within her cabinet on the issue.

Ideally, Mrs. May would like to regain the ability to limit migration from the Continent while keeping full access to the European Union 's single market.

In an interview in The Sun published on Saturday, Boris Johnson, the foreign secretary, argued that Britain's policy was ''having our cake and eating it.''

Yet across the English Channel, there has been no sign of compromise, and European politicians have made it clear that a trade-off is required from Britain.

Over all, Mrs. May's speech suggested that she would emphasize the right to limit **immigration** even if that meant securing less favorable access to European markets.

David Davis, the minister responsible for negotiating Brexit, underscored the position that trading arrangements were not the only, or even the most important, part of the British equation.

''We want to maintain the freest possible trade between us, without betraying the instruction we have received from the British people to take back control of our own affairs,'' Mr. Davis told the convention.

Mrs. May insisted in her speech, the first of two to the convention, that Scotland would leave the European Union , too, and had ''no opt-out from Brexit.'' In the referendum that determined Britain's exit from the union, the majority of Scots voted to remain.

She also announced plans to start the domestic legislative process for Brexit next year by asking Parliament to repeal the 1972 European Communities Act, which allowed Britain to join the European Union 's predecessor.

Although this new legal step would not come into effect until Britain left the bloc, it would transfer European legislation, including laws to protect labor rights, into British law. Parliament would then be able to decide at a later point which laws to keep.

In a statement, Carolyn Fairbairn , the director general of the nation's main business lobby group, the Confederation of British Industry , welcomed that development but highlighted the anxieties of many companies.

''With a rapid timetable pointing to an exit from the E.U. in spring 2019, businesses need to know the government's ambition on the fundamental issues of skills and barrier-free access to E.U. markets as soon as possible,'' she said.

''Businesses cannot continue to operate in the dark,'' she added, because ''the decisions they face today are real and pressing.''

There have been warnings in recent weeks from manufacturers, including carmakers that fear they may face tariffs, and from financial services companies that worry about their ability to do business across Europe from London.

Carlos Ghosn , the chief executive of Nissan, said last week that he would be unable to make investment decisions in Britain unless the government guaranteed compensation for any tariffs that might be imposed after Brexit.

Still, the outcome of the June referendum was interpreted by many politicians, including Mrs. May, as a rejection of the European Union 's policy of free movement of people, which has allowed hundreds of thousands from Southern and Eastern Europe to settle in Britain.

Mrs. May served as home secretary for six years and devoted much of that time to an ultimately ineffective attempt to reduce **immigration**.

Normally, there would be no high-profile speeches on the opening Sunday of a Conservative convention, but party leaders hope to get the European Union issue out of the way so they can focus on less contentious subjects during the rest of the gathering, which will conclude on Wednesday.

The European Union aims to guarantee the free movement of goods, capital, services and people across its frontiers, and for many of Europe's policy makers, it would be a betrayal to allow Britain to enjoy the economic benefits while rejecting free movement of people.

In a recent interview with the BBC , Prime Minister Matteo Renzi of Italy said it would be ''impossible'' to give British people more rights than others outside the European Union .

The president of the European Central Bank, Mario Draghi , has said that Britain should not be granted any special favors on single-market access and that ''any outcome should ensure that all participants are subject to the same rules.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**If you go by what some Twitter users have to say, it's a wonder I can string together a sentence. I don't know how I ever manage to get myself to the office given what a ''dumb ass'' I am -- a Jew, no less, and someone who soils his pants out of fear of a Trump presidency. And if you don't believe that last bit, someone using a pseudonymous Twitter account was kind enough to provide a graphic photograph of the supposed soiling, but not his or her actual name, because it's just so much easier to hurl bile while cowering behind anonymity.

Then again, I don't know what it's like to be really savaged by Twitter. No one has threatened to rape me or kill me (unless being advised to kill myself counts). No one has relegated me to a gas chamber. And no one has hit me with anything like the sustained racist and sexist barrage that forced the ''Saturday Night Live'' and ''Ghostbusters'' star Leslie Jones to temporarily leave Twitter in disgust.

Now that Twitter is contemplating putting itself up for sale, we can only wonder what lucky suitor is going to walk away with such a charming catch.

Twitter is seeking a buyer at a time of slowing subscriber growth (it hovers above the 300 million mark) and ''decreasing user engagement,'' as Jason Helfstein, the head of internet research at Oppenheimer & Company, put it when he downgraded the stock in a report last week.

There's a host of possible reasons for this, including new competition, failure to adapt to fast-changing media habits and an ''open mike'' quality that some potential users may find intimidating.

But you have to wonder whether the cap on Twitter's growth is tied more to that most basic -- and base -- of human emotions: hatred.

It courses through Twitter at an alarming rate, turbocharged by this year's political campaigns and the rise of anti-**immigration** movements that dabble in racist, sexist and anti-Semitic tropes across the globe. And this is to say nothing of its use by terrorist recruiters.

It's a lamentable turn that Twitter says it is urgently working to address.

Soon after Twitter took its place in the tech-driven media revolution a decade ago, it proved to be a forceful amplifier of ideas and personalities, one that could be a political game changer. Its role in enabling the Arab Spring movements remains inspirational. It helped foster bottom-up movements like the Tea Party and Black Lives Matter here in the United States. And, of course, it helped make possible the outsider candidacy of Donald J. Trump, who continues to use it, er, aggressively.

The back-and-forth over his candidacy, and the news media's coverage of it, have added a new cache of material to the uglier side of Twitter's oeuvre.

More often than not, the venom comes from pseudonymous accounts -- the white hoods of our time.

Just take a gander at @Bridget62945958, who published a series of anti-Semitic posts against my colleague Binyamin Appelbaum. One message showed a series of lampshades. Its caption read: ''This is your family when Trump wins. Get your Israeli passport ready.''

Twitter suspended the account after Mr. Appelbaum brought it to the attention of Twitter's co-founder and chief executive, Jack Dorsey, by way of his own Twitterfeed. A new account sprang right up to continue the vitriol, prompting Jeffrey Goldberg, a national correspondent for The Atlantic, to write a post asking Mr. Dorsey, ''How does it feel to watch Twitter turning into an anti-Semitic cesspool?''

Mr. Goldberg says he is torn about what Twitter should do, given that its cause -- openness and free speech -- is a reason he and so many other journalists are drawn to the service. ''That's the fundamental problem,'' he told me. ''At a certain point I'd rather take myself off the platform where the speech has become so offensive than advocate for the suppression of that speech.''

Twitter clearly wrestles with the same fundamental problem. It warns users they may not ''threaten other people on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin, sexual orientation, gender'' and various other traits. Yet it often fumbles the enforcement. Charlie Warzel of BuzzFeed News unearthed a doozy last week.

After a user who identified herself as Kathleen posted a tweet criticizing the Trump campaign, a Twitter member going by Adorable Deplorable directed a message back at her featuring a photograph of a beheaded man -- apparently an ISIS victim -- and the words, ''Your [sic] heading for a deep hole.''

Twitter forced the photo's removal after BuzzFeed's inquiries, but it initially told Kathleen that the post did not violate its policies. This is apparently common. In a BuzzFeed survey of Twitter users, about 90 percent of those who said they had reported abuse said their complaints went unheeded.

So-called trolls are a problem for all social media -- even Facebook, which keeps a tidier, more contained system. (To wit, the Facebook message a local New Jersey politician wrote to the Daily Beast writer Olivia Nuzzi after she posted something about Mr. Trump that he did not like: ''Hope. You. Get. Raped. By. A. Syrian. **Refugee**.'')

But the openness of Twitter, and the sheer speed and volume of information that moves through it, present a particularly hard challenge that executives there say they are rushing to meet.

''Everyone on Twitter should feel safe expressing diverse opinions and beliefs,'' the company said in a statement it sent me on Saturday. ''But behavior that harasses, intimidates or uses fear to silence another person's voice should have no place on our platform.''

In a letter to shareholders, Mr. Dorsey said the company was putting in place technology enabling it to more readily detect abusive accounts, make it easier for users to report them and even prevent them in the first place.

It's all a bit tricky for a company founded with an absolutist ethos, once calling itself ''the free speech wing of the free speech party.''

Some of its moves to curtail abuse have drawn accusations that it is applying a double standard aimed at conservatives. After Twitter placed the Breitbart News editor Milo Yiannopoulos on permanent suspension for his role in the Twitter campaign against Ms. Jones, he accused it of declaring ''war on free speech,'' specifically against ''libertarians, conservatives and anyone who loves mischief.''

Another banned Twitter provocateur, Charles C. Johnson -- whom my predecessor David Carr once called a ''troll on steroids'' -- says he is planning a lawsuit to fight his suspension.

In an interview, Mr. Johnson said he respected Twitter's right to ban patently offensive speech but argued that it needed to set a consistent, uniformly applied standard. Still, he said, ''the problem of trolls'' might be unsolvable.

''It might just be a human nature problem,'' he said. ''Maybe we don't like each other that much -- and that's what Twitter has revealed.''

We didn't need Twitter to reveal that. And in the previous two media revolutions -- radio and television -- the country managed to strike some sort of accommodation between the right to free speech and the greater civic good.

That happened because there was an immediate national recognition that these media could have tremendous power to shape culture, politics and government for good and for ill.

As Herbert Hoover moved to establish basic standards for radio, he acknowledged that it had ''great possibilities of future influence'' but was also of ''potential public concern.''

He declared radio should be developed with public interest in mind, an idea that carried over to television. What followed were standards that forced broadcasters to devote at least some of their hours to civic affairs while avoiding obscene and ''grossly offensive'' content. At times, the efforts have wandered dangerously into censorship. But at least there was a big national discussion about what should beam into American living rooms.

There was no similarly robust discussion at the start of this, the latest media revolution, and we can only hope that the political mistrust isn't so great that we can't have a constructive one now.

Each new media development has served as a mirror for the society that spawned it. It sure seems time for a good, hard look.

But what does this dumb, pants-soiling Jew know?

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**On Sunday, Colombians in and around New York City voted in a referendum on a peace accord between the Colombian government and the country's largest rebel group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, known as FARC. The deal was endorsed by President Juan Manuel Santos and had been expected to pass.

Voters rejected it, however, and the ''no'' vote won by a slim margin. Among voters in Manhattan and Queens, ''yes'' and ''no'' supporters turned out with posters and flags. Their responses have been translated and condensed.

Lina Alvarez, 45; No

**Immigrated** to the United States in 1998

''We don't want the deal that Santos has made with the narco-terrorist guerrillas. I feel sad to see Colombians blindfolded by the president. He's going to turn over the country to the guerrillas. He already did. The 'yes' voters? They're going to be voting 'yes,' when they're standing in line for toilet paper.''

Juan Camilo Caicedo, 44; Yes

**Immigrated** to the United States in 2000

''Four kidnappings, two murders. My two uncles were doctors who were kidnapped and killed. One was kidnapped to tend to the head of the 22nd Front of the FARC. My two cousins were kidnapped, too; they are my age. But they were released. My father was threatened every year on our farm. My whole family was, really.

''I'm voting yes, of course. It's the better option, so that my daughter can know a Colombia in peace.''

Henry Camelo, 40; Yes

**Immigrated** to the United States in 2001

''My last job in Colombia was at Citytv. I was part of their investigative unit. We were bringing to light links between members of the government, the military and the paramilitaries. We were investigating a politician who had links to the paramilitaries.

''We discovered this, we made it public, and the threats started. I got a condolence card. They sent it to my mother's house. It said, 'We're sorry about the death of your son.'

''One night two motorcycles appeared, and they started shooting. Luckily nothing happened. That's when I came here.''

''I'm voting yes. I feel that finally the truth is going to be revealed. There's going to be a truth commission, and the guerrillas are going to say exactly what happened, but it's also going to come out who was involved when there were displacements and massacres. And those who hide behind the 'no' are in the end going to have to answer for it.''

María Isabel Nieto Jaramillo, 50; Yes

**Immigrated** to the United States a year and a half ago

''My brother was kidnapped in 1984; my family dealt with extortion and kidnappings. No murders, just extortion and kidnappings. I'm happy to be living this moment and to have seen the process from up close.

''Here we've heard many stories from victims. It's part of our work-- the victims come here to process applications for reparations. I heard from one woman whose entire family was assassinated by the FARC -- father, husband, siblings, children. She forgave them. She did it publicly here at an event. There are so many people who were displaced by the conflict here. Meanwhile, social media has become a battleground. What I say is that every person is the sole owner of their pain. We can't judge anyone for their position in favor or in opposition.''

José, 38; No

**Immigrated** to the United States in 1994

''We all want peace in Colombia. But not with impunity. This is total impunity. One of my uncles was kidnapped and tortured by the FARC in 2000. They demanded money from the family and they returned him in a bag, cut up in pieces. So peace? Yes. Total impunity? No. Running the country and making laws? No.''

Anamaria Roa, 20; Yes

**Immigrated** to the United States in 1999

''I had doubts; I read lots of articles and listened to my friends and relatives. I think at the end of the day you have to take a leap of faith.

''I love Colombia. It's a country full of passion, full of happiness. It's time that it be recognized for that happiness and not just for all the violence.''

Amy Velez, 56; Yes

**Immigrated** to the United States 30 years ago

''We are a country where the state sustained paramilitary groups that made ovens to throw people in so they wouldn't talk. I don't want to get emotional, but imagine a country where people decapitated bodies with wire and then played soccer with the people's heads in the public plaza. When we went to the massacre of Alta Naya the people said, 'Señora, in the river there wasn't water flowing, there was blood.'

''If you tell me there's the possibility that we can participate politically without them killing us, of course I'm going to say yes.''

Adriana Marin, 49; No

**Immigrated** to the United States 17 Years Ago

''My uncle gave lodging to the military and the guerrillas told him the next time you do that, we'll kill you. He and his wife went running. They left their house, the land he had cultivated his entire life. For me, it hurts because I lived it. The fear, the constant hiding.

''I got tired of living that way. They must pay somehow. It's not fair that they want to give them positions in the government. I want peace, but I don't believe that this will be real.''

John Sepúlveda, 63; Yes

**Immigrated** to the United States in 2000

''Yesterday I called one of my relatives, he was at one of the farms in the Córdoba region. It was hit by the guerrillas, then by the paramilitaries. We were hit from right and left. He said, 'You don't know how happy I feel again in my farm, checking my cattle. Call all your friends and say they have to vote for peace in Colombia.' I cried.

''He said, 'I don't want anyone to go through this thing. I didn't think I would ever come back.'''

Noilys Arrieta, 56; Yes

**Immigrated** to the United States three years ago

''My brother in-law died. He was a professor when they assassinated him, the paramilitaries. No one knows why. Imagine, the father of a family leaving behind his wife and young kids.

''Before that, another professor had disappeared. He was tortured, his fingers cut off. It was horrendous.

''We have to find peace. If God wills it.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**This is American politics in 2016: the normalization of the deeply abnormal, the collapse of customs of behavior and respect, and the creation of an environment so toxic and polarized that the nation's leaders struggle to carry out the most basic tasks of government.

In this chaotic climate, it can be easy to forget that the Supreme Court, which begins a new term on Monday, remains without a ninth justice nearly seven months after President Obama nominated Merrick Garland to fill the vacancy created by the death of Justice Antonin Scalia in February. That seat is likely to stay empty until well into 2017, and depending on which party wins the White House and controls the Senate, possibly long beyond that.

This is entirely contrary to the workings of a constitutional government, and it is inflicting damage on the court and the country. But the Senate Republicans care nothing about that as they continue their unprecedented stonewalling of Judge Garland's nomination in the hopes of preserving the court's conservative majority.

Meanwhile, the eight justices have split evenly in several major cases, which puts off any final judgment on lawsuits that affect millions of Americans. These include challenges to the right of public-sector unions to charge collective bargaining fees to nonmembers, to religious exemptions from the Affordable Care Act's birth-control mandate and to the legality of President Obama's executive actions on **immigration**.

The inability to issue precedent-setting rulings appears to have led the justices to grant review on fewer new cases than usual. So far, the new term's docket includes cases involving, among other things, the use of race in redrawing state legislative districts, a free-speech challenge to a federal law that denies protection to disparaging trademarks, a challenge to the secrecy of jury deliberations when there is evidence that a juror was racially biased against the defendant and Texas's unscientific standard for determining whether someone is intellectually disabled enough to be spared from execution.

Meanwhile, some of the nation's most pressing legal issues are awaiting substantive rulings by the court. Most urgent among these are lawsuits against the efforts of Republican legislatures to suppress voting by minorities, young people and others who tend to vote Democratic.

For example, in July a federal appeals court panel struck down a 2013 North Carolina law that one election-law scholar called ''possibly the largest rollback of voting rights'' since 1965. That court found the law had been enacted intentionally to reduce black voter turnout.

North Carolina appealed that ruling to the Supreme Court, which split 4-to-4 without issuing any explanation, meaning that the lower court's decision was upheld. While that was the right result, a full court could have set a legal standard on voter suppression efforts that would have applied nationwide.

Other high-profile cases that demand attention from a full court include a challenge to a Virginia school's refusal to allow a transgender boy to use the boys' bathroom (the court in August temporarily blocked a lower court's order in the boy's favor, but has not yet agreed to hear the case); a 28-state lawsuit against the Obama administration's effort to reduce pollution from coal-fired power plants; and the cases on **immigration**, birth-control access, and public-sector union dues that the deadlocked justices failed to resolve last term.

The court, particularly after it decided the outcome of the 2000 presidential election by a 5-to-4 vote, has struggled to overcome the growing public perception that it is little more than another political body, no less ruled by partisanship than the other two branches. The Senate Republicans' insistence that no hearing can be held for the next justice until after the new president takes office only serves to reinforce that notion.

Conservative apologists pretend this is all just standard political gamesmanship, but nothing like it has ever happened before. Even when Democrats strongly opposed Republican nominees, like Robert Bork or Clarence Thomas, they still respected the president's right to make a nomination, and they held hearings and had a full vote. In contrast, the Republicans have shut down the process entirely out of fear that the near half-century of conservative control of the court could come to an end.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**JERUSALEM -- For Mahmoud Abbas, the Palestinian president, what was intended as a gesture of respect for a man of peace has brought him anything but peace back home.

His brief visit to Jerusalem to attend the funeral of Shimon Peres, the former prime minister and president of Israel, and his handshake with the current prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, brought a fierce backlash from many Palestinians who called it an act of betrayal by a leader who has grown out of touch.

The youth movement of Mr. Abbas's own Fatah party at one university declared that he had ''committed a crime'' and called on him to apologize and resign. A Palestinian military officer was so critical of Mr. Abbas on Facebook that security forces went to his home and arrested him. On Twitter, angry Palestinians used Arabic hashtags that translate to #Treason, #CondolenceForTheKiller and #AbbasDoesNotRepresentMe.

''Abu Mazen's participation in the funeral is an absolute disgrace to the Palestinian people,'' Abu Samah, 52, an electrician from Ramallah, said in an interview, using Mr. Abbas's nickname.

Abu Nidal, 36, a taxi driver, complained that Mr. Abbas had joined an Israeli event even as Israelis used force against Palestinians to administer the occupation of the West Bank and continued to build settlements on land claimed by Palestinians.

''Why would you honor a man responsible for the killing of your own people and then willingly shake the hands of the current enemy who is continuing to enforce the torture of his people?'' Mr. Nidal asked. ''Shame on you, Abu Mazen.''

The reaction to Mr. Abbas's attendance at the funeral underscored divergent views of Mr. Peres. In Israel, the United States and much of the world, he was admired for his part in negotiating the Oslo accords, which won him a Nobel Peace Prize.

But he was remembered in the West Bank, in Gaza and elsewhere in the Arab world as an Israeli security hawk who was instrumental in building Israel's military might and promoted settlements on Palestinian territory. He also launched a military offensive against Hezbollah in Lebanon in 1996, during which Israeli artillery shelling of a United Nations base killed scores of Lebanese **refugees**, many of them children.

The wave of criticism also reflects the weakened domestic position for Mr. Abbas and his ruling team after more than a decade in power at the Palestinian Authority. With the peace process frozen, Mr. Abbas has little to show for his cooperation with Israel on security and other matters, according to many Palestinians in the West Bank, who see their leaders as, in effect, Israeli collaborators.

To his critics, Mr. Abbas seems less interested in his domestic audience than the international community, particularly in Washington. And yet his international patrons are worried that he is losing the credibility that would be necessary for a peace process to have a chance at success, should it ever be restarted.

Mr. Abbas earned praise from world leaders for attending the funeral while other Arab leaders stayed away. In his eulogy, President Obama hailed him for coming. Official Palestinian news agencies published interviews praising Mr. Abbas for acting like a statesman and creating new opportunities for negotiations.

Mohammed al-Madani, an adviser to Mr. Abbas who attended the funeral with him, said the decision to go would advance the Palestinian cause internationally.

''All the world leaders who were at the funeral applauded the president's participation, and 90 percent of the attendants shook his hands,'' Mr. Madani told a Fatah-affiliated radio station, according to Maan News, an Arabic news agency. ''It was a political move rather than just participation in a funeral.''

Mahmoud Habbash, who served for years as religious affairs adviser for Mr. Abbas, said the Palestinian leader had acted in the best tradition of his faith. The Prophet Muhammad participated in his Jewish neighbor's funeral, he told Arabic news outlets, ''and Peres is our neighbor.''

The 1996 shelling that killed Lebanese **refugees** sheltered at the United Nations base made Mr. Abbas's presence at the funeral especially controversial in Lebanon.

''There is nothing worse than the death of the former Israeli president Shimon Peres, quietly, on the land of occupied Palestine, except the pilgrimage of Arab and Palestinian officialdom to participate in his funeral,'' the Lebanese newspaper Al-Akhbar declared in an editorial.

Another Lebanese newspaper, Assafir, described Mr. Abbas's participation as ''shaking the hands of a killer at the funeral of a killer.''

The decision gave Mr. Abbas's foes in Hamas fresh ammunition against him. Mahmoud Zahar, a co-founder of Hamas, told an Iranian television channel that under Islamic law, Mr. Abbas now qualified as a Jew. ''I pray for Allah that he will join Peres in hell,'' Mr. Zahar said.

The criticism extended inside Mr. Abbas's Fatah party and across social media. Cartoons mocking him were posted and shared. One such cartoon showed Mr. Abbas placing a wreath on a boot representing Mr. Peres; on Mr. Abbas's backside was a boot print. A Facebook video posted by a critic who excoriated Mr. Abbas had more than 330,000 views by Sunday evening.

The funeral was held as violence, and the fear of it, continued. A Palestinian man stabbed an Israeli soldier on Friday at the Qalandiya checkpoint between Ramallah and Jerusalem and was then shot to death, according to the Israeli authorities. Israeli forces shut down all crossings with the West Bank for two days for Rosh Hashana, as they typically do during Jewish holidays.

The Palestinian authorities have reacted sharply to some of the criticism. Besides arresting the Palestinian officer, who wrote on Facebook that Mr. Abbas had ''made a mistake'' by agreeing to ''participate in the funeral of the killer of our people,'' the authorities shut down the website of the Fatah youth movement at Birzeit University, which had condemned Mr. Abbas for his ''betrayal.'' Several students were reported to have been detained.

Mr. Abbas seemed to react to the criticism by taking a hard line on Israel again as soon as he returned home. At a factory groundbreaking ceremony in Bethlehem, he vowed to break the Israeli occupation.

''It is true that we are a state under an occupation that persecutes, oppresses, seizes our land piece by piece, runs after our youth and destroys our homes,'' he said, according to reports from the event.

''Let them do what they want and build what they want, but we will build our nation and will establish our independent state.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MIAMI -- For decades, being Latino in Florida almost always meant being Republican. Miami was the undisputed capital of Cuban exiles who had fled the Communist government -- they were most of the state's Latinos -- and by the 1980s a large majority had registered with the Republican Party.

But a glimpse at the state voter rolls these days, where the names Samuel Del Valle, Maria Flores and Oswaldo Muñoz all appear as Democrats or independents, makes clear how much has changed in one of the nation's most important swing states, one that will be important for Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump in November.

In March, Mr. Del Valle, newly arrived from Puerto Rico, stood in front of a voter registration table, staring at the four relatively unfamiliar choices in front of him: Florida Democratic Party, Republican Party of Florida, No Party Affiliation, Minor Party.

Back home, major political parties go by different names and their differences hinge on the island's status as an American commonwealth: Should Puerto Rico seek statehood, remain a commonwealth or opt for independence from the United States? But here, he had a new choice to make.

''I chose Democrat,'' said Mr. Del Valle, 34, who lives in St. Cloud, in the Orlando area, and who represents one big reason Florida's Latinos are no longer a predictably Republican vote: the fast-growing Puerto Rican population.

When Ms. Flores, the American-born daughter of Cuban **refugees**, arrived at her new junior high school in Miami from New Orleans three decades ago, the city's Cubanía -- its Cuban sensibility -- jolted her.

But she adapted quickly. Spanglish soon became her third language. She mastered the Cuban greeting -- an air kiss doled out as abundantly as, well, air, even if you just met the person. Then, at 18, she participated in another Miami Cuban rite of passage: She registered to vote as a Republican.

''My parents were Republican, and they were happy with it,'' Ms. Flores said in her living room, the smell of rice and beans floating in from the kitchen.

But in 2008, Ms. Flores, 43, a legal secretary and single mother, did what was once unthinkable. She re-registered as a Democrat, another sign Republican candidates can no longer count on Florida's Latinos.

From his offices in Doral, a suburb of Miami, Mr. Muñoz, an entrepreneur from Venezuela, commands an empire of newspapers and websites that stretches across Florida to Panama and Spain. Mr. Muñoz, 64, is one of the Latin American **immigrants** who have contributed to the diversity and growth of Doral, which is now 80 percent Latino. Many, like Mr. Muñoz, arrived with means, while others started with nothing, drawn by the pull of American opportunity.

When he came here two decades ago, Doral was a warren of cargo warehouses. But as Venezuelans fled the economic depredations of a socialist president, Hugo Chávez, and his successor, Nicolás Maduro, Mr. Muñoz gained readers for his publications, which are known as El Venezolano. A restaurant serving arepas, Venezuela's signature corn pancakes, became a social center of Doral.

Cubans, Colombians and Dominicans also moved in, building walled, palm-lined golf course communities. More than 200 companies based their headquarters in Doral. And Mr. Muñoz sold lots of ads.

In his columns, Mr. Muñoz rails against the leftist government that has reduced Venezuelans to hunger. But in regard to American politics, Mr. Muñoz, a naturalized citizen, is a registered independent who votes Democratic -- yet another reason the vote in Florida may be so competitive.

Ten years ago, Republicans had a registration edge among the state's Latinos -- 37 percent were Republicans, 33 percent were Democrats and 28 percent independents, according to official figures. This year, the party lags among Latinos, with 26 percent registered as Republicans, 37 percent as Democrats and 35 percent as independents. And the independents increasingly lean Democratic, particularly among new **immigrants** and Puerto Ricans.

''The Hispanic vote in Florida was reliably conservative and now is becoming reliably Democrat,'' said Fernand R. Amandi, a pollster who has extensively surveyed Latinos in this crucial swing state whose 29 electoral votes are very much up for grabs, and could determine the outcome of the presidential race.

Still, much remains up in the air. Strong Latino candidates who are Republicans, like Senator Marco Rubio, still command loyal votes. And in Miami, Representative Carlos Curbelo, a Cuban-American Republican, and Joe Garcia, a Cuban-American Democrat, are in close duel in which Mr. Garcia is trying to retake the congressional seat Mr. Curbelo won from him two years ago.

There are few places in America where Latino voting power is as fluid as in Florida. Here are three snapshots.

Lured by Change

MIAMI -- Ms. Flores was never enamored of politics. But the more she heard her bosses, a group of lawyers, talk, the more she realized she had a kinship with Democrats on issues that affected her. As with so many people who switch parties, her decision was also driven by the top of the ticket, Barack Obama, in 2008.

''I was a single mom with two kids, and he represented change, and helping people like me, and equality,'' she said.

She worried about getting laid off. She worried about how she could afford to get her son a car and pay for college. Yet, she said, the Republican Party didn't speak to her. Instead, it fumed about abortion and religious rights and **immigration**. ''It was 'God says this and God says that,''' she said.

Her father and son, in different ways, are moving in similar directions.

Her father, Rolando Bocos, a former yacht builder who once served five years in a Cuban prison after the government charged his brother with carrying a weapon, is no Democrat. ''I think they are Communists,'' Mr. Bocos said. But now, he will not vote for Republicans, either. ''It doesn't matter Republican, Democrat, to me anymore,'' said Mr. Bocos, 77. At his age, he said, ''I'm only interested in Medicare and Social Security.'' He said he would not vote this year.

Ms. Flores's 21-year-old son, Alex, a student at Florida International University, drifted toward the Democrats because of social issues -- gay rights (his godfather and some of his cousins are gay), religious tolerance, female empowerment. ''I knew which side fit my moral compass,'' he said. Last year, he became president of the university's College Democrats.

Ms. Flores laughed at the unexpected turn in her life. ''It's funny that I came to Miami and became a Democrat.''

The Exile Experience

DORAL, Fla. -- The transformation of Doral reflects the broader changes across South Florida. Cuban-Americans no longer dominate, but are now part of a Hispanic mix that includes a wave of **immigrants** from Latin America. Although many Venezuelans, Colombians and Brazilians have escaped leftist politics at home, once they become Americans they typically become Democrats.

Their voting power is limited, but growing. Many **immigrants** in Doral have not been here long enough to become naturalized, so there are only about 20,000 registered voters among 56,000 residents. But the trend away from Republican dominance is clear: 29 percent are Democrats and 46 percent are registered as independents. Only 24 percent are Republicans.

Mr. Muñoz said Cubans have welcomed Venezuelans to Miami, seeing in them a similar exile experience. The feeling is mutual. ''We live close to their pain, so we understand it,'' he said.

But there are differences. Venezuelans reject anything that reminds them of Mr. Chávez's authoritarian rule, but they still favor the expansive government role in health care and education that Democrats support. Many Venezuelans are suspicious of the back-room politics they see in the entrenched Miami Republican establishment.

Unlike Cuban exiles, who benefit from special entry to the United States, Venezuelans -- and other Latin **immigrants** -- have no easy path. Some Doral residents are undocumented.

''We are **immigrants**, and we will always be **immigrants**,'' Mr. Muñoz said.

This year's race for mayor of Doral reflects the changes. The incumbent, Luigi Boria, is a self-made businessman from Venezuela. A registered independent, he is a Republican in practice and a conservative Christian pastor whose priority has been to promote and bring order to the city's frenetic growth.

He is facing a challenge from Sandra Ruiz, a Democrat and popular Mexican-American councilwoman who moved here years ago from San Diego. She zips around town in a car decorated with her photograph. Ms. Ruiz says Mr. Boria is too partial to developers and has failed to include lower-income residents in city programs.

Even though Mr. Boria is a compatriot, Mr. Muñoz and his newspapers are supporting Ms. Ruiz. Warily recalling Mr. Chavez's multiterm rule in Venezuela, he thinks one term for Mr. Boria is enough.

But in Doral -- as among Florida Latinos overall -- the person pushing Latinos toward the Democrats this year is the Republican nominee, Mr. Trump. The owner of a golf course here, Mr. Trump persuaded Doral to host the Miss Universe beauty pageant in January 2015. The taxpayers ended up paying $1.1 million to Mr. Trump's organization, Mr. Boria confirmed. But the exposure was a boon to local businesses, and Mr. Boria proposed giving Mr. Trump a key to the city.

But when Mr. Trump began his campaign last year attacking Mexican **immigrants** as criminals, it cast a shadow on Doral. Ms. Ruiz was offended.

''I felt Doral lost the city's entire investment the moment he opened his mouth regarding Hispanics,'' Ms. Ruiz said.

The feeling of insult was heightened after Mr. Trump waged a relentless Twitter assault on Alicia Machado, a former Miss Universe who is Venezuelan, whose story was highlighted by Mrs. Clinton last week's presidential debate. Mr. Trump called her ''disgusting'' because she had gained weight after her pageant victory.

In an interview in Mr. Muñoz's publications, Ms. Machado, who became an American citizen this year, exhorted Latino voters to learn from her experience: ''We can't risk having such a violent, bad-tempered, macho person as Trump as our president.''

Mr. Muñoz explained that Mr. Trump, although a Republican, reminds him and many other Venezuelans of their leftist nemesis, Mr. Chávez. ''It's his arrogance, his intolerance, the way he insults people who disagree with him,'' Mr. Muñoz said.

Speaking His Language

ST. CLOUD, Fla. -- When Samuel Del Valle became a Democrat, he joined a huge influx of American citizens streaming into Central Florida -- Puerto Ricans, who are helping reshape the party's political identity. Their growing presence along the state's Interstate 4 corridor is a chief reason Florida's Latino vote has veered away from Republicans.

For Mr. Del Valle, a teacher and college graduate, the choice this election season is easy. He liked the Clintons. He also liked President Obama. He even liked Jeb Bush, but Mr. Bush dropped out of the race. Ultimately, though, he knew enough about the Democratic Party to know it spoke his language, he said.

''They are super on minorities, and women and gays,'' said Mr. Del Valle as his wife, Verónica Rivera, unloaded boxes inside the small apartment they rented recently in St. Cloud. ''They support the Arabs, the Indians, the Latinos -- all of us are different and have different cultures.''

For the Republican Party, though, the thousands of Puerto Ricans who have fled the island's economic collapse remain within reach. Like many Latinos, they tend to hold conservative values; new to the mainland and without strong partisan preconceptions, they are open to Republican ideas in ways that Puerto Ricans in the North are not. With the right candidate, Puerto Ricans here are open to Republican courtship.

Despite the Latino firestorm over Mr. Trump and his talk of border walls, Mr. Del Valle says he finds traces of redemption in him.

''I like some Republican ideas,'' he said. The party, he added, stands for patriotism, law and order, discipline in government and a strong military. These ideas are appealing to many Puerto Ricans who have confronted high murder rates and deep-rooted government corruption, but who also boast high levels of military service.

''Trump does mention things that are true,'' Mr. Del Valle said. ''It's a big border and people are coming illegally.''

So far, though, that is not enough to sway Puerto Rican voters. Their growing alliance with Democrats is strongly rooted in the candidates' words and attitudes, and the signals they send about whether Latinos are welcome here as equals.

''I see myself as a Latino who wants to contribute to the United States,'' Mr. Del Valle said. ''And the Democrats are saying things that I want to hear about Latinos.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BRENTWOOD, N.Y. -- Four dead teenagers. Two weeks. One town. And a ruthless gang, the authorities say, was most likely responsible for the toll. Again.

On Sept. 13, Nisa Mickens, 15, and her best friend, Kayla Cuevas, 16, were murdered, their battered bodies found near an elementary school here. A week later and just two miles away, the skeletal remains of two more teenagers -- identified as Oscar Acosta, 19, and Miguel Garcia-Moran, 15 -- were found in the woods near a psychiatric hospital. Oscar had been missing since May, Miguel since February. Their deaths have been ruled homicides.

Brentwood, a hardscrabble town of nearly 60,000 on Long Island, 40 miles east of Manhattan, has reached another crisis point. For nearly two decades, MS-13, a gang with roots in Los Angeles and El Salvador, has been terrorizing the town, the authorities say, especially its young people. Since 2009, its members have been accused of at least 14 murders, court and police records show.

School officials are scrambling. Police officers are searching. Students are frightened. Parents are anguished.

''It's so hard, I'm hurting,'' Evelyn Rodriguez, Kayla's mother, said last week. ''I wish I could hold my daughter again.''

In her first interview since Kayla's funeral, Ms. Rodriguez spoke measuredly about how her daughter had been bullied by gang members inside and outside her high school.

''To me, it's worse than it was before; it's everywhere,'' said Ms. Rodriguez, a 1987 graduate of Brentwood Ross High School, where her daughter was a student. ''This is ridiculous,'' she added. ''We need some type of assistance to help our police officers here and see if they can come together to figure out a plan to make things better for the kids now.''

The path to such a plan, however, runs through a fractured Suffolk County. Its former police chief is headed to jail, its district attorney is under federal investigation and a Justice Department settlement mandated changes in the Police Department in 2013 after findings of bias against Latino residents.

Tensions simmer here because some residents say they believe an increase in Central American migrants to town has led to the increase in gang violence. According to 2014 census figures compiled by Queens College, Brentwood's population is 68 percent Latino or Hispanic, with more than 17,000 residents claiming to be from El Salvador.

Timothy Sini, who became the Suffolk County police commissioner 11 months ago, after his predecessor, James Burke, pleaded guilty to civil rights violations and obstruction of justice, has vowed to eradicate the gangs.

''The only people in Brentwood who have anything to fear are the criminals,'' Mr. Sini said. ''That's because there is a tsunami of law enforcement officers at their doorsteps.''

The department has increased uniformed patrols and door-to-door canvassing, and rejoined the eight-member Long Island Gang Task Force of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Sini said he met recently with dozens of agencies including Homeland Security Investigations and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives.

''It's not a good time to be a gang member in Brentwood,'' he said.

One gang member was arrested and was in federal custody for questioning, Mr. Sini added, although a motive for the murders was still unclear. The F.B.I. confirmed it was assisting the police.

The Brentwood School District held a community forum last month with elected officials and parents that ran for four hours.

There, according to Ms. Rodriguez, school officials said some students had been ''red-flagged'' for having possible gang affiliations.

''So if they are red-flagged, why are they in the school?'' Ms. Rodriguez said. ''Kids are being targeted. They're trying to find some type of safe way to even go to school,'' she added. ''Being in school, they always have to look over their shoulder to see who's walking.''

Brentwood has 4,400 high school students divided into two schools, and administrators say the environment is safe.

''Gang members rarely present themselves in the schools,'' Richard Loeschner, the principal of Brentwood Ross High School, said. ''If they do, we take care of that pretty quickly.''

But ultimately, he said, after acknowledging that the administration knew of about 20 to 25 students in the district with possible gang affiliations, there is only so much officials can do.

''We can't exclude a kid because we suspect they are in a gang,'' Mr. Loeschner said. ''That's state and federal law that they are entitled to an education.''

Even before the girls' murders, students were subject to random screenings with metal detectors, which have increased over the past few weeks, he added. There are no detectors at the entrances of either high school, however.

Some parents were concerned that the school's response to the violence was not proactive enough. Levi McIntyre, the school superintendent, sent an email to parents warning their children not to wear royal blue, the color identified with MS-13, or clothes displaying the Salvadoran flag. A student on the way to school, he wrote, recently had his blue shirt torn off by gang members and burned.

MS-13 was formed in Los Angeles in the 1980s by **immigrants** from El Salvador escaping civil war. The abbreviation stands for Mara Salvatrucha, which roughly translates to ''Salvadoran street posse.''

The authorities say the gang has been in Suffolk County since around 1998, and is organized in cliques bearing names like the Brentwood Locos Salvatruchas. Leaders gather to discuss their lines of business -- extortion, prostitution, robbery, drug dealing -- and to authorize the killings of chavalas, or members of rival gangs like the Bloods and the Crips, court papers say.

In 2009, a 15-year-old boy, Christopher Hamilton, was fatally shot in the head after an MS-13 crew in search of chavalas opened fire with rifles and handguns on a house party on American Boulevard here.

Two years later, an 18-year-old Brentwood man was fatally shot in his driveway, and a 22-year-old local leader of MS-13 was convicted of the killing.

''In the past, it used to be like rival gangs on each other,'' Dr. McIntyre said. ''But now it has taken another turn. When it goes after all kids, it's a whole new realm. It's tearing the fabric of our community apart.''

Noel Vega's son was a classmate of the murdered girls, who wondered whether he could be next.

''He's more upset about the fact that they keep finding bodies,'' Mr. Vega said, standing outside a Brentwood funeral home for Kayla's wake with fellow members of the Christian Motorcyclists Association. They are not the only group offering unofficial security to the town; he noted that the crisis even brought the Guardian Angels to Brentwood.

Of his son, Mr. Vega added: ''He actually wants to move out of Brentwood; he wants to move out of state. He's upset and he fears for the loss of his friends and himself. It gets me upset; we all get upset.''

The recent murders have exacerbated disputes in the town over **immigration** policy, which Donald J. Trump, the Republican candidate for president, fueled during last week's debate by saying that the gangs roaming the streets were made up of illegal **immigrants**.

''There's been a huge influx, to be honest with you,'' said Ray Mayo, the president of the Brentwood Association of Concerned Citizens, who added that he was upset over undocumented **immigrants** crowding rental properties. ''It seems like a whole new set of gang members who have stirred the pot up.''

Two law enforcement authorities, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the continuing murder investigation, said that over the last several years the gang has sought to enlist recent **immigrants** from Central America because they are often more vulnerable to recruitment.

But some recently settled families are just as worried about their own children's safety.

''I am afraid, as a Salvadoran,'' said Ana, 38, a mother of two girls, one in high school. She fled El Salvador in 2006 and has since become a member of Make the Road New York, an **immigrant** activist group. She did not want to give her full name for fear of retribution.

''It makes me feel bad that people think this of all Salvadorans,'' she said. ''Violence was the reason I left -- when they killed my brother. And now we are experiencing the same violence.''

Distrust of the Suffolk County police among Latinos is palpable and long documented. Residents said they were dismayed by a dearth of Spanish-speaking officers, and undocumented **immigrants** in particular often worry that if they report information, the authorities will turn them over to **immigration** officials.

Mr. Sini said that would not happen, and that he was trying to reassure **immigrant** communities to work with the police.

Ms. Rodriguez, whose parents came from Puerto Rico, said that two years ago, when gang members threatened Kayla on a friend's block, she went to the police.

''I got attitude like they were talking to somebody off the street,'' Ms. Rodriguez said. ''They wouldn't even report it,'' she added. ''They told me to tell her: 'Don't go on the block.'''

The feeling of helplessness is spreading among the teenagers.

At a vigil held for the murdered girls before a football game, some students held signs: ''Help Us!'' ''Stop the Violence!'' Others shook their heads when Mr. Sini told students to call a hotline for investigative tips.

''We're the ones out here, dealing with it all,'' said a 16-year-old boy who would give only his nickname, Tiny T. ''They think they can do something, but they're just fooling. They can't do nothing.''

At Kayla's wake, a 17-year-old student too afraid of MS-13 to give his name said: ''You don't know who's watching you, who's following you. Just yesterday, a group of guys in a car with blue bandannas followed a girl home in Brentwood.''

He, his mother and his cousin wore T-shirts that read ''Justice for Kayla,'' which they had printed at the mall. ''Afraid?'' his cousin, a 19-year-old woman, said. ''There's not even a limit to afraid.''

At memorials for both Kayla and Nisa, on the cul-de-sac near where their bodies were found, basketballs sat among the glass candles and deflated balloons. Kayla, a tenacious athlete, was going to try out for the varsity basketball team this year. Instead, her mother was starting a scholarship fund called Ball Is My Life.

Ms. Rodriguez hoped her daughter's death would at least stop the cycle. ''It can't go on anymore,'' she said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Season 2, Episodes 14 and 15: 'Wrath' and 'North'

So, how about those thumbs?

The penultimate episode of this ''Fear the Walking Dead'' season gave us, hands down (sorry!), the most gruesome zombie kill of the ''Dead'' universe. It was a lurid distraction from a pair of uneven episodes that show our characters increasingly beholden to, and lost in, the violent chaos of the new world.

Nick attempts to convince Luciana to leave the colonia before the thug Marcos and his cohorts attack, but she remains loyal to Alejandro, even when it's revealed that he is not blessed by God with immunity against infection. Alejandro's entire story line has been undercooked. At no point did I ever believe that this man held anyone in rapture, nor that anyone would die for him. Luciana's somewhat flat performance (and my incredulity that she would have anything to do with Nick) did not help. The unfortunate truth is that viewers know, thanks to the other show, what it looks like when a cult of personality rules over an exhausted band of survivors. In fact, we know what that looks like from real life and it's not something that can be established in two or three quick scenes.

Madison, meanwhile, is still trying to convince Travis that he did the right thing by letting Chris leave with Brandon and Derek, the unambiguously horrible duo. Unbeknown to the traumatized father, the pair has taken **refuge** in the hotel, but there is no sign of Chris. Strand councils Madison that she shouldn't tell Travis anything about them if she thinks he couldn't stand losing his hope that Chris is still out there. Of course, Madison knows something about keeping that frail hope alive.

It doesn't take Travis long to figure out that Brandon and Derek are part of the **refugee** enclave. He's tipped off when there's an outcry and upheaval that the two gringos are being taken into the hotel to treat Brandon's dislocated shoulder. What are the chances that the **refugees** are protesting irrational writing? Whatever their reasons, the protesters conveniently vanish as soon as Travis corners Brandon and Derek inside and attempts to discover what happened to his son.

Like Nick trading one family for another, Chris's journey to becoming a villain was more interesting in theory than in execution. While the show's exploration of his violence arising from cowardice was thoughtful, it remained more of a skim than a deep dive. On the one hand, I'm impressed at how the show depicted the cruelty of life by killing off a main character through what is essentially a dumb accident. (In any other episode, that compound fracture would get top billing, but it had the poor luck of being in the same hour as The Thumb Kill.)

And on the other, I mourn the loss of a scene never written, in which Travis and Chris meet again down the line, no longer father and son but two men on opposite sides of an increasingly gray moral scale.

When Travis realizes Brandon and Derek are lying to him, he beats the snot out of them until they finally confess that they shot Chris dead after he was badly wounded in a car accident. For all his bravado, Chris was only 16 and had only driven once with his father.

One doesn't have to be an armchair psychologist to deduce that when Travis beats Brandon and Derek to death -- shot tastefully so as to distinguish from the more cartoonish violence of zombie kills -- it's not so much rage at them as at himself that fuels his actions.

In the second episode of the night, the season finale, Madison chooses family over safety and elects to leave, with Alicia, after Travis is excommunicated. Oscar, one of the wedding survivors, was badly wounded when he tried to step in between Travis and Brandon and Derek. When he dies his family wants revenge.

Can anyone name the wedding guests and the former staff? I've only got Elena and Hector, but that's about it, and ever since their introductions, we've learned next to nothing about them. Oh Oscar, we hardly knew you! (Actually, we didn't know you at all.)

Doe-eyed teenagers have been known to croon, ''I'd kill for you,'' but in the age of the zombie apocalypse, true love goes something along the lines of ''I accept the fact that you're going to kill people,'' and Madison loves Travis. When he warns her that he doesn't regret killing Brandon and Derek, her response is simply, ''You shouldn't be. They deserved it ... You'll have to again. We will have to. And I can face that, if you're with me.''

When someone comes for Travis, it's Alicia who steps in and has her first nonzombie kill. It has been a long road for the girl who fell in love with someone over shortwave radio. (Remember that unfortunate story line?) Plunging her knife into a man is like her bat mitzvah in these dark times.

While Madison, Travis and a traumatized Alicia make a run for it, Strand stays behind. Whether it's because he's going to try to distract the angry mob or he doesn't want to give up the safety of the hotel, it's hard to say. Here's what I like about Strand: It really could go either way with him.

Most of the first part of this season focused on Strand, a fascinating mixture of cynic and romantic, and the love that drove him south to the Abigail farm. Since the fire and the expulsion from that compound, Strand and his story line have taken a back seat as both the major plots and broader themes of the rest of the season have been about parents and children. The relationship between Strand and Madison, which progressed from adversarial to trusted companionship, was always intriguing, and I hope the show veers back toward it in the third season.

Alejandro is finally convinced to tell his flock to flee, and the thugs are conveniently dealt with by the horde he lets loose. What was set up to be a tense wait for a ruthless attack akin to ''Zulu,'' ended up being mostly a shrug -- clever writing, but not exactly thrilling television.

Alejandro's dying words point Madison north, where Nick is leading Luciana and the rest of her group over the border, toward what they think is a **refugee** camp. A barrage of gunfire sends the other **refugees** scurrying, and the wounded Luciana and Nick are taken into to custody by the same group that has Ofelia.

Until next season.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BUDAPEST -- Hungarians handed the country's autocratic prime minister, Viktor Orban, a partial victory on Sunday by overwhelmingly voting ''no'' in a national referendum on whether to accept more migrants, but without giving him the turnout for a valid result. What Mr. Orban intends to do now, however, remains a mystery.

The referendum -- on which the government spent at least 10 billion Hungarian forint, or about $36 million -- included no specifics about legislation or government action.

''What will happen after the referendum will depend partly on the results themselves, but also on what is happening on the international scene,'' said Zoltan Kovacs, Mr. Orban's chief international spokesman, who declined to provide any more details.

With 99 percent of the vote counted Sunday night, 98 percent of voters had chosen to refuse to allow the European Union to force the country to accept **refugees**. But the turnout was 40 percent, well below the 50 percent required for a referendum to be considered valid under Hungarian law.

Despite the failure to meet the turnout threshold, Mr. Orban said he considered the vote a mandate for the government to pursue its anti-**immigrant** policies.

''We can be proud to be the first E.U. state to let its people express their own views on the issue of **immigration**,'' Mr. Orban said in a speech at his victory party on Sunday night. ''We are facing the most important question for years to come: It's about the future of Hungary, with whom we live, what will be our culture, our lifestyle and our Christian roots.''

In 2015, Mr. Orban made a name for himself by building a heavily guarded, razor-wire fence across the country's southern borders to stem the flood of migrants into Hungary. He is the leader of one of a growing number of nationalistic, right-wing parties spreading across Europe, fueled by fear of migrants and resentment about the centralization of the European Union's power.

Leaders across the Continent were closely watching the outcome of the vote and what actions Mr. Orban would take afterward.

Poland's foreign minister, Witold Waszczykowski, recently echoed Mr. Orban's call for restructuring the European Union to return more power to individual nations. ''Our proposals are quite radical,'' Mr. Waszczykowski said.

The Czech Parliament has also discussed proposals to emulate Hungary by building border fences and beefing up border security. In Austria, a right-wing candidate has a solid chance of becoming the next president. And support for nationalist parties is surging in France and Denmark.

''Far-right movements are on the rise everywhere, and there are reasons for that,'' said Gabor Fodor, the head of the Hungarian Liberal Party. ''The E.U. is very slow. Look at the 2008 financial crisis, the subsequent euro crisis and now the **refugee** crisis. People can feel it. There is nothing happening.''

Further fueling populist leaders, Mr. Fodor said, is the reality that Europe's economy is less robust than it was in the 1990s.

''The middle class doesn't have as much. The economy is not as strong,'' Mr. Fodor said. ''The welfare state is on the way down, and this has an impact on people's lives.''

Even Europe's most powerful leader, Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, is in real danger of falling to this nationalist tide in next year's elections.

''We are in the midst of a backlash against globalization, and it is a widespread phenomenon,'' said Stefan Lehne, a visiting scholar at Carnegie Europe in Brussels. ''The general perception is that things have spiraled out of control. There is an increasing resistance to international business agreements. And this phenomenon has led to renationalization of individual states and rediscovery of national identity.''

Marta Pardavi, a chairwoman of the Hungarian Helsinki Committee, a **refugee** rights group, said Mr. Orban insisted that ''he needs the demonstrated support of the Hungarian people in the referendum so he can take courageous and bold steps.''

But Mr. Orban has not been specific about what those steps will be. Instead, rumors swirl: There is talk of an amendment to Hungary's Constitution preventing the European Union from imposing rules on the country without the approval of the Parliament. Some say Mr. Orban is likely to hold early elections to take advantage of the referendum's momentum.

Mr. Orban wants more autonomy from the European Union, but he also does not want to threaten the flow of desperately needed aid from the bloc's headquarters in Brussels.

Whether Mr. Orban will storm up the Danube and lay siege to Brussels, or whether this was just a very expensive exercise in rallying domestic support, is the subject of much debate here.

''Most of the effort, I would say, is for domestic political purposes,'' said Csaba Toth, the director of strategy for the Republikon Institute, a research and advocacy group that has been critical of the government. ''Whenever the migration issue is on the table, the government's popularity goes up. When something else is on the agenda, the government's popularity goes down.''

But as the flow of migrants into Hungary has slowed in recent months -- largely because of Mr. Orban's border fence -- the issue has slipped from public consciousness.

''Last year, it was easy to keep the migration issue on the agenda,'' Mr. Toth said. ''We had a real **refugee** crisis. It was evident everywhere. Now, we don't, so they have to make it a political initiative to keep the migration issue in the public's mind.''

Mr. Orban was aided by a lack of unity among the opposition, mainly because there is little popular support anywhere for admitting more migrants.

Most left-wing parties had urged their supporters to stay home on Sunday, hoping to deny Mr. Orban the turnout he needed for a valid vote -- although there remained questions about what that meant for a referendum that demanded no specific actions by the government other than opposing European Union **refugee**policies.

''When a question doesn't make sense, why take part?'' Timea Szabo, a chairwoman of the left-wing Dialogue for Hungary Party, said before Sunday's voting. ''Orban is purposely misleading the Hungarian people in a villainous way. All of this focus on migrants takes attention away from government corruption cases, the terrible state of public health and education.''

In failing to meet the legal threshold, Mr. Orban's government found itself hoisted by its own petard. In 2011, the government raised the level of voter turnout necessary for a referendum to be considered valid to 50 percent, from 25 percent. Critics said the move was intended to stifle popular efforts to overturn Mr. Orban's policies.

The prankster Two-Tailed Dog Party, which has fought the government with irreverent humor, had urged people to purposely cast an invalid ballot, which, in sufficient numbers, they hoped would deny the government its 50 percent threshold.

Voting on Sunday morning in Budapest, Mr. Orban said that while a valid result was certainly better than an invalid one, there would be ''legal consequences'' in either event, as long as there were more ''no'' votes than ''yes'' votes.

''According to us, only the Hungarian Parliament can decide with whom Hungarians want to live,'' he said. ''We will make sure this is enshrined in our legal system if it is valid or invalid.''

Jobbik, a far-right party, had reluctantly urged its members to support the government and vote ''no.''

Only Mr. Fodor's tiny Liberal Party urged citizens to vote ''yes,'' arguing that the referendum should be seen as a measure of support for the European Union.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**VANCOUVER, British Columbia -- Seattle and Vancouver are like fraternal twins separated at birth. Both are bustling Pacific Northwest coastal cities with eco-conscious populations that have accepted the bargain of dispiriting weather for much of the year in exchange for nearby ski slopes and kayaking and glorious summers.

Yet 140 miles of traffic-choked roads and an international border divide the two cities, keeping them farther apart than their geographic and cultural identities would suggest.

Now the political, academic and tech elite of both cities are looking for ways to bring them closer together, with the aim of continuing the growth of two of the most vibrant economies in North America.

''Vancouver has a lot more in common with Seattle than we do with Calgary, Montreal, Toronto, anywhere else in our country,'' Christy Clark, the premier of British Columbia, said in an interview. ''We should make the most of those cultural commonalities.''

Whether their grand vision of a ''Cascadia innovation corridor'' -- which borrows its name from the region's Cascade mountain range -- ever materializes, leaders on both sides of the border have motives for getting cozier immediately. American tech icons like Microsoft, with voracious needs for global engineering talent, are expanding their Vancouver offices, partly because of Canada's smoother **immigration** process.

For its part, Vancouver wants to bring more American technology companies to the city in hopes of spinning out future entrepreneurs who will expand its comparatively small base of technology companies.

One serious obstacle to Vancouver's tech ambitions is its head-spinning housing costs. The median price for a detached home in the metropolitan area in August was 1.4 million Canadian dollars (about $1.06 million), a 27.8 percent increase from a year earlier, according to the Real Estate Board of Greater Vancouver. In the San Francisco metropolitan area, the median single family home price was about $848,000, according to Zillow.

But while median pay for tech-related jobs is $112,000 a year in the San Francisco Bay Area, it is just under $49,000 in Vancouver, according to an analysis by PayScale, a compensation data firm. (Some of that discrepancy is due to a drop in the value of Canada's currency relative to the United States dollar.)

''We have San Francisco real estate prices with the incomes of somewhere between Reno and Nashville,'' said Andy Yan, acting director of the city program at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver.

On the thrumming streets of downtown Vancouver, signs of the Seattle region's growing economic ties to the city are hard to miss. A rectangular glass and steel office building with a large Microsoft sign occupies nearly an entire city block, sitting atop a large Nordstrom store (another Seattle brand).

Microsoft says it invested $120 million in its new offices in Vancouver, which opened in June, and expects to spend $90 million more annually on wages and other operating costs. It plans to employ nearly 750 people in the city.

Microsoft is hiring Canadians for the facility, but the country's more open **immigration** policies were an important factor in its investment, Brad Smith, Microsoft's president, said in an interview. Microsoft and other tech companies have long complained that the United States education system does not produce enough computer science graduates, forcing them to rely on **immigrants** from India, China and elsewhere.

Foreign workers in the United States can wait about three times as long for a work visa as those in Canada do, the Boston Consulting Group estimates. And the prospect of Donald J. Trump winning the presidency has raised concerns among tech companies, because of the Republican candidate's comments about further restricting **immigration** to the United States.

''Right now, there's just a lot of uncertainty about open **immigration**,'' Mr. Smith said.

Last month, officials and executives from both cities huddled in a Vancouver hotel to discuss how to enable people, ideas and capital to flow more freely between them, as heedless of the international border separating the cities as a pod of orcas swimming in the sea.

At the Cascadia conference, Ms. Clark and Jay Inslee, the governor of Washington, signed an agreement to deepen the ties between Vancouver and Seattle, including more research collaboration between the University of British Columbia and the University of Washington. Bill Gates, co-founder of Microsoft, and Satya Nadella, its current chief executive, talked about globalization and education.

One proposal to deal with traffic between Vancouver and Seattle was for a high-speed rail line that would whisk travelers at more than 200 miles an hour between the cities in 57 minutes (it can take four hours or more by car). The details on financing the project -- which could cost an estimated $30 billion or more -- have not been worked out.

A group of Seattle techies proposed a cheaper alternative: a dedicated lane for autonomous vehicles on Interstate 5, the highway connecting Seattle to the Canadian border. The plan -- which relies on autonomous vehicles that still need a lot of work -- would not shave much time off the commute between the cities, but could make the ride less tedious by letting travelers work or watch a movie, said Tom Alberg, a managing director at Madrona Venture Group, a Seattle venture capital firm, and an author of the proposal.

With roots in timber and shipping, Vancouver's economy has diversified in recent decades with the growth of film and video game production. The city claims a tech ''unicorn'' -- a start-up valued at over $1 billion -- in Hootsuite, which makes social media tools.

But Vancouver remains a relative small fry in tech, with about $1.78 billion in venture capital flowing into local tech start-ups in the last decade, compared with about $8.9 billion in Seattle, the research firm Pitchbook estimates.

Still, the city's hoped-for tech boom may hit a wall if it cannot address its cost-of-living issues, which are by some standards more acute than those plaguing other thriving cities. Vancouver was ranked the third most unaffordable city in the world, after Hong Kong and Sydney, in a study published this year by Demographia, a consulting firm.

Mr. Yan has spent years analyzing his hometown's soaring real estate values and concluded that a surge in foreign capital, primarily from mainland China, has decoupled Vancouver home prices from the local economy. British Columbia recently imposed a 15 percent tax on new home purchases in the Vancouver area by foreign buyers, a move now facing legal challenges.

The housing market is showing signs of cooling off, though it is not yet clear how much of that is because of the tax. The total number of homes sold in the area in August dropped 26 percent from a year earlier and price growth has slowed, according to the Real Estate Board of Greater Vancouver.

Dennis Pilarinos, chief executive of Buddybuild, a Vancouver maker of developer tools for mobile apps, says affordability has been less of a problem for young tech workers, who may be willing to rent smaller apartments and live with roommates. But when start-ups get bigger, many struggle to recruit senior executives with families, said Mr. Pilarinos, who previously worked for Microsoft and Amazon in Vancouver.

''Companies tend to run into scaling issues,'' he said. ''You end up with fewer Microsofts or Amazons.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PORTLAND, Ore. -- It has been a difficult few months for the Bundys.

Ten months after two brothers from this country's most notorious ranching family staged an audacious, armed occupation of a wildlife sanctuary in eastern Oregon, their call to shift federal land to local control has softened to a whisper. Some of their allies have abandoned them, and almost a dozen fellow occupiers have pleaded guilty to federal charges.

Outside the downtown courthouse where the brothers, Ammon and Ryan Bundy, and five others are on trial for conspiracy, their supporters have dwindled to a handful of self-described patriots carrying pocket Constitutions and lamenting their shrunken ranks.

''I had hoped there would be hundreds of people here, but there's not,'' said Jason Patrick, 44, tugging on a cigarette not far from a Black Lives Matter rally that had more than 100 participants. ''Why wouldn't you come to the most pressing court case of your time?''

It is a long way down the mountain from the weeks in January when the Bundys drove around the snow-covered **refuge** in cowboy hats, leading daily news conferences for an international audience, ripping out government fences and propagating a vision of a West in which the federal authorities owned little of the land.

As he sits facing an American flag in a federal courthouse, Ammon Bundy, 41, is choosing to wear blue-and-pink prison scrubs and depict himself as a political prisoner. Judge Anna J. Brown, however, has repeatedly rejected his lawyer's attempts to turn the trial into a referendum on land control, chiding the lawyer, Marcus R. Mumford, each time he strays from the central question: Did the occupiers conspire to prevent federal workers from doing their jobs?

''The ownership of the **refuge** is not up for discussion,'' Judge Brown told Mr. Mumford last week, when he asked a **refuge** employee on the witness stand about land acquisition. ''Please move on.''

The Bundys and their co-defendants face up to six years in prison. Eleven other occupiers have pleaded guilty, and most are in custody pending a sentencing hearing. Seven others will go to trial in February. And those who have not been indicted are scattered around the country, wondering when their turn will come.

''They're probably going to arrest me,'' said one of them, Case Fisher, 33, a former machine operator who joined the occupation after learning about it from internet videos. He said he has bounced from state to state since the end of the takeover, finding work off the books and avoiding putting his name on a lease. ''You're always looking over your shoulder,'' he said, adding a note of defiance. ''We'll never be defeated. You can't defeat an idea and a cause.''

The Bundys became antigovernment sensations in 2014 after federal agents attempted to seize cattle that the government says their father, Cliven, had been grazing illegally on public acres. Hundreds of supporters came to the family's aid, some taking sniper positions on a highway bridge near the family's Nevada ranch. The authorities, fearing bloodshed, eventually backed away.

The episode -- and the fact that the Bundys were not arrested -- emboldened activists in pockets of the West where anger at the federal government has long run deep, and it helped give rise to the Oregon takeover.

But some of the militia groups who came to the Bundys' side in 2014 have criticized the family's actions this year. The first standoff was about defending their lives and property, the logic goes. In the second case, they sought out trouble far from home, a provocation that ended in their arrests and the death of a charismatic leader, LaVoy Finicum.

''Ammon Bundy and his father basically handed their heads on the platter to the federal government,'' said Stewart Rhodes, 51, the founder of a militia group called the Oath Keepers that claims to have 35,000 members across the country. The Oath Keepers were active in Nevada, he said, but he instructed members to stick to the sidelines in Oregon. ''It was an 'Alice in Wonderland' viewpoint: 'This land is ours, now that we occupy it.'''

The Oregon occupation has also complicated the political landscape for state leaders who have attempted to use legitimate means to acquire federal land.

The so-called land transfer movement has gained traction among some conservatives because federal acres contain rich troves of timber, ore and grazing grass, and certain state officials believe they should be able to decide what happens to those resources.

''What the Bundys did was draw attention to that,'' said Jennifer Fielder, a Republican state senator from Montana who heads a pro-transfer group called the American Lands Council. ''But in some ways, it was very negative attention, unfortunately. The majority of us are committed to a civil process that is going to be peaceful and isn't going to get anybody killed.''

The Republican Party platform calls on Congress to ''convey certain federally controlled public lands to states.'' But neither major presidential nominee has shown interest in such a transfer. Critics say the idea would be prohibitively expensive, saddling states with the responsibility of hiring hundreds of rangers to care for mountainsides and fire-prone forests. And they worry that legislatures would simply start auctioning off the country's most striking landscapes.

''I don't like the idea,'' Donald J. Trump, the Republican presidential nominee, told Field & Stream magazine in January, ''because I want to keep the lands great, and you don't know what the state is going to do. I mean, are they going to sell if they get into a little bit of trouble? And I don't think it's something that should be sold.''

A new legal analysis written by a group of Western attorneys general also places major doubts on arguments Utah lawmakers have made for the transfer of lands to state control. The report was produced by seven Republicans, three Democrats and one independent.

In a twist, the Oregon occupation seems to have encouraged a revolt the Bundy brothers never expected: In recent months, counties around the West have begun passing resolutions specifically affirming their support for keeping federal lands from being turned over to the state. Some of them have been helped by the Theodore Roosevelt Conservation Partnership, a group that supports the rights of hunters and fishermen.

''It was backlash against this notion that all Westerners don't like the federal government owning public land,'' said Whit Fosburgh, the organization's president. ''The whole Bundy invasion probably set back the transfer movement significantly. Because it displayed this movement as a bunch of kooks.''

Commissioners in at least 21 places from New Mexico to Wyoming have signed pro-public lands resolutions. In interviews, several said they had become concerned that their state leaders, if given control of federal lands, would start selling the ski slopes, river rapids and trekking trails that drive their communities' economies and souls.

''We all utilize those public lands for hiking and biking and motorcycle riding, floating the rivers,'' said Bill Leake, a commissioner in Teton County, Idaho, who sign a pro-public lands resolution in July. ''I don't see myself as a rebel -- I just see myself as an informed county commissioner.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDIn recent years, one of the most important events on a prospective Republican presidential candidate's calendar was the RedState Gathering, a summer convention for conservative activists from across the nation. Its host was Erick Erickson, a round-faced, redheaded former election lawyer and city councilman in Macon, Ga., who began blogging in 2004 on a site called RedState.com.

Erickson, who is now 41, is a conservative absolutist who made his name in the mid-2000s by ''blowing up'' -- in the Twitter parlance he jovially employs -- Republican leaders he viewed as insufficiently principled. In 2005, he played a role in torpedoing the Supreme Court nomination of the White House counsel Harriet Miers, publishing damaging admissions from White House sources that Miers had not been properly vetted. Five years later, he chided the National Rifle Association for being too willing to compromise, labeling it ''a weak little girl of an organization.'' He was a sharp-tongued critic of John McCain and Mitt Romney during their presidential runs, characterizing the former as ''an angry old jackass'' and the latter as ''the Harriet Miers of 2012.''

Along the way, Erickson became one of the new kingmakers of the Tea Party-era G.O.P. A little-known Florida legislator and Senate hopeful named Marco Rubio reached out to him in 2009 when he was at 3 percent in the polls. A former Texas solicitor general, Ted Cruz, did the same in 2011. Rick Perry announced his 2012 presidential candidacy at Erickson's gathering. By 2015, a number of the coming cycle's aspirants -- Rubio, Cruz, Perry and Bobby Jindal -- had given him their personal cellphone numbers, and he had traded emails with Jeb Bush. And two months before that August's convention in Atlanta, a New York-based Republican consultant named Sam Nunberg reached out to Erickson to ask if he could accommodate one more speaker: Donald Trump.

Erickson watched coverage of Trump's stream-of-consciousness announcement at Trump Tower on June 16 and was not particularly impressed. On the syndicated radio show he broadcasts from Atlanta, he offered his assessment with a dismissive chuckle: ''I guess he's ready to be spoiler, not president.'' He had met Trump once before, in July 2011, when he visited the 26th floor of Trump Tower to interview the businessman and reality-TV-show star. Trump had spent the past few months flirting with a presidential run only to decide, as he told Erickson that day, ''I have a great show that's a big success, and it's hard to say, 'I'm gonna leave two hours of prime-time television in order to get beat up by people that don't know what they're doing.' ''

The hourlong conversation struck Erickson as pleasant but unmemorable. What did stick with him was their exchange as he was leaving Trump Tower. ''Trump asked me if I played golf,'' Erickson told me recently. ''And I said, 'Yeah, I'm terrible.' '' Then, he said, Trump asked if he would be interested in coming to Trump's golf-club in West Palm Beach, Fla., to play. ''I'm very flattered -- I've never been to West Palm Beach before,'' Erickson recalled. ''Several times, his office reached out. So finally I asked my wife, 'What do you think this is about?' She said, 'He wants to own your soul.' So I never went.''

Erickson did not see much of a political future for Trump, but he imagined that he might be good for ticket sales, if nothing else, at the RedState Gathering. He informed Nunberg that Trump could have a slot on the convention's second day.

The evening before he was to speak in Atlanta, Trump went on CNN and denounced the Fox News host Megyn Kelly for her sharp questioning of him during a recent debate, speculating that Kelly had ''blood coming out of her wherever.'' When Erickson saw the footage that evening, he called Trump's campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, and rescinded Trump's invitation on the grounds that he would be too much of a distraction. ''And that was that,'' Erickson would later recall with a sheepish grin. ''Until the next day, when he's blowing me up.''

On Twitter, Trump called Erickson ''a major sleaze and buffoon'' and said that the ''small crowds'' at the gathering were due to his absence. Trump's supporters soon piled on. This was to be expected, but what surprised Erickson were the attacks from people he regarded as his fellow bomb-throwers in the conservative revolution. On Twitter, the talk-radio host and Fox News commentator Laura Ingraham mocked ''JebState.'' The author and right-wing provocateur Ann Coulter brought up some of Erickson's own crass utterances, like his characterization of the former Supreme Court justice David Souter in 2009 as a ''goat-[expletive] child molester.'' The next week, 30,000 readers of Erickson's email newsletter canceled their subscriptions.

Erickson dug in, writing that Trump was ''out of his depth'' and lacking in ''common decency.'' But he was drowned out by Trump sympathizers with even bigger audiences than his own, like The Drudge Report and the online outlet Breitbart. It was one of the first salvos in what would open up in the year that followed into a civil war within the conservative media, dividing some of the loudest voices on the right. Days earlier, Erickson had unimpeachable credentials in the conservative movement. But by crossing Trump, he was now, in the eyes of his former allies, ''a tool of the establishment.''

The conservative media has always been a playground for outsize personalities with even more outsize political ambitions. The National Review founder William F. Buckley fashioned much of the intellectual genetic code of the Reagan Revolution, while also writing fringe groups like the John Birch Society out of the conservative movement and, for good measure, running for mayor of New York against the liberal Republican John Lindsay. In 1996, the former Nixon media consultant Roger Ailes brought his attack-dog ethos to Rupert Murdoch's Fox News channel and built the network into a transformational power in Republican politics before his fall this year amid accusations of sexual harassment.

But alongside the institution-builders like Buckley and Ailes, the conservative-media landscape has also produced a class of rowdy entrepreneurs who wield their influence in more personal, protean ways. The godfathers mostly came to power in the 1990s: Clinton-administration antagonists like Rush Limbaugh, who began broadcasting nationally in 1988 and became talk radio's hegemonic power in the Clinton years, and Matt Drudge, who started his pioneering Drudge Report online in 1996.

If these figures defied the stuffy ceremony of the East Coast think tanks, opinion journals and bow-tied columnists who traditionally defined the conservative intelligentsia, they rarely challenged the ideological principles of conservatism as they had existed since the Reagan era: small government, low taxes, hawkish foreign policy and traditional social values. What they mostly did was provide the Republican Party with a set of exceptionally loud megaphones, which liberals have often envied and tried unsuccessfully to emulate. Conservative talk radio and Fox News now collectively reach an audience of as many as 50 million -- most of them elderly white Republicans with a high likelihood of turning out in election years. And this isn't even counting the like-minded online outlets that have flourished during the Obama years, thanks to a growing internet-media economy and a presidency, particularly in the case of the Affordable Care Act, that gave conservatives common cause.

Then came Trump. In a sense, the divide that he has opened up among conservative media figures is simply a function of the heartburn his ascent has caused among Republicans more generally, pitting voter against voter, congressman against congressman, Bob Dole against the Bushes. Some conservative media outlets threw themselves behind Trump from the beginning, explaining away his more radioactive statements and his uneven-at-best record as a conservative. Breitbart, whose former chairman, Steve Bannon, is now Trump's chief strategist, was an ardent early supporter, breathlessly covering Trump's ascent in the polls and his smackdowns of ''low energy'' Jeb Bush and ''little Marco'' Rubio. But as Trump expanded into more sacrosanct targets -- Fox News's Kelly, George W. Bush's performance in the war on terror and Cruz -- the dissenting chorus among conservatism's dons grew louder. The Washington Post columnist Charles Krauthammer warned in December that Trump ''has managed to steer the entire G.O.P. campaign into absurdities.'' His Post colleague George Will predicted that a Trump nomination would mean the loss of conservatism ''as a constant presence in U.S. politics.'' The Weekly Standard editor William Kristol floated the idea of a new ''non-Trump non-Clinton party.'' And on the eve of the Iowa caucus, National Review devoted an entire issue to a single topic: ''Against Trump.''

Since Trump clinched the nomination, the dividing lines have become starker, the individual dilemmas more agonizing. Mark Levin, an influential talk-radio host, complains that among conservative commentators, Trump's message is endlessly repeated by what he derisively refers to as ''the Rockettes.'' But Levin, too, recently announced to his listeners that he intends to vote for Trump, if only to prevent another Clinton presidency. As he put it to me, ''I'm not going to be throwing confetti in the air if Trump wins,'' adding that he viewed the candidate as ''a liberal with some conservative viewpoints that he's not terribly reliable at sticking to.''

Others -- Sean Hannity, Ingraham, the former Reagan official and ''The Book of Virtues'' author William Bennett -- have thrown in for Trump with a brio that strikes some in the business as unseemly. ''Look, we're in the opinion business, but there's a distinction between that and being a Sean Hannity fanboy,'' the Milwaukee-based talk-radio host Charlie Sykes told me. ''It's been genuinely stunning to watch how they've become tools of his campaign and rationalizing everything he's done.''

''For 20 years I've been saying how it's not true that talk radio is all about ratings and we don't believe what we say,'' he went on. ''Then you watch how the media types rolled over for him. Obviously Donald Trump is very good for ratings, and at some point it's hard not to conclude they decided the Trump train was the gravy train. I've been thoroughly disillusioned, and I'm not alone in that. It's like watching 'Invasion of the Body Snatchers': Oh, my God, they got another one!''

When Trump declared his candidacy in June 2015, the part of his announcement speech that most clearly foreshadowed the campaign to come had to do with **immigration**. ''When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best,'' he told the crowd at Trump Tower. ''They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists.''

The line struck Sykes as awfully familiar when he heard it. A month before, he had run a segment with Ann Coulter, who had just published her 11th book, an anti-**immigration** screed titled ''¡Adios, America!'' Sykes was well aware of Coulter's views, but he was taken aback when she began a riff on Mexican rapists surging into the United States (a subject that takes up an entire chapter of ''¡Adios, America!''). ''I remember looking at my producer and going, 'Wow, this is rather extraordinary,' '' he told me. ''When Trump used that line, I instantly recognized it as Ann Coulter's.''

In fact, Corey Lewandowski had reached out to Coulter for advice in the run-up to Trump's announcement speech. The address Trump delivered on June 16 bore no resemblance to his prepared text, which contained a mere two sentences about **immigration**. Instead, he ad-libbed what Coulter today calls ''the Mexican rapist speech that won my heart.'' When Trump's remarks provoked fury, Lewandowski called Coulter for backup. Three days later, she went on HBO's ''Real Time With Bill Maher'' and, amid shrieks of laughter from the audience, predicted that Trump was the Republican candidate most likely to win the presidency.

One evening this past March, Trump received Coulter at Mar-a-Lago, his estate-turned-club in Palm Beach. Though in recent years the two had developed a rapport on Twitter, she had met him face to face only once before he declared his candidacy, a lunch date at Trump Tower in 2011. Over lunch, Trump gave Coulter the impression that he had read her books. He also gave her a few items from his wife's line of costume jewelry and told Coulter, who keeps a house in Palm Beach, that she was welcome to use the pool at Mar-a-Lago anytime.

The golf resort was the chief staging ground for Trump's charm offensives against the conservative media. Many of its members have visited at Trump's invitation in recent years, joining the resident Gatsby for steak and lobster on the patio, where Trump squints and appears to listen intently while his guests dispense political wisdom -- though it is never clear whether he is actually interested in it, simply flattering his guests or sizing them up. When I dined with him on the patio this spring, Trump asked me eagerly about how I liked his odds in the election. Later, on the campaign trail, I watched him solicit the same counsel from random stragglers on the rope line.

Coulter, at any rate, appeared immune to the whole routine. A week earlier, Trump bragged during a Republican presidential debate in Detroit that ''there's no problem'' with the size of his penis. On the patio, Coulter told the candidate that no one wanted to hear about his endowment. She told Lewandowski that he should buy a dozen teleprompters and put them in every room of Trump's house until he learned how to use them. Reminding Trump that she had been his earliest and most dedicated advocate, she told him: ''I'm the only one losing money trying to put you in the White House. You're going to listen to me.''

This appeal to the bottom line seemed to tweak Trump's conscience. He gave Coulter an open invitation to Mar-a-Lago, waiving the $100,000 membership fee. The following evening at the next Republican debate, he exhibited considerably more restraint, for which Coulter, with characteristic modesty, claims credit. ''Coulter delivers!'' she told me.

Some of Trump's supporters within the conservative media are attracted to his actual positions on issues. One is his trade policy, on which many media personalities on the right are considerably more populist and protectionist than Republican Party leaders and Chamber of Commerce boosters. Throughout Obama's presidency, Laura Ingraham has warned of China's predations: ''The trade war is on, and we're losing it,'' she has often said. For others, Trump's assurance that he will appoint Antonin Scalia-like conservatives to the Supreme Court is reason enough for their support.

But Trump also simply fulfills the ineffable urge many have to, as Michael Needham, the chief executive of the conservative policy group Heritage Action for America, puts it, ''punch Washington in the face.'' This is true for Coulter, who, in her newly published paean to the candidate, ''In Trump We Trust,'' writes that Trump is fit for the presidency not in spite of his crudeness but because of it: ''Only someone who brags about his airline's seatbelt buckles being made of solid gold would have the balls to do what Trump is doing.''

But what really sold Coulter on Trump, she told me, was his hard line on **immigration**. Coulter told me that she had never given the issue much thought during her childhood in New Canaan, Conn., and her student days at Cornell. Then in 1992, the British-American journalist Peter Brimelow wrote a 14,000-word essay for National Review titled ''Time to Rethink **Immigration**?'' which would later become a sort of ur-text for today's alt-right, the ascendant white-nationalist movement that has found its champion in Trump. Brimelow cast the current wave of American **immigrants** in dismal terms: less skilled, less European, less assimilated, less law-abiding and less Republican than the previous newcomers. Coulter, who was 31 and a law clerk at the time, remembers reading it and thinking, ''Oh, my gosh, I've been completely lied to!''

Twenty-four years later, Coulter helped formulate Trump's **immigration**-policy position, which she hailed on Twitter as ''the greatest political document since the Magna Carta.'' (Her additional tweet on the subject -- ''I don't care if @realDonaldTrump wants to perform abortions in the White House after this **immigration**policy paper'' -- prompted Mark Levin to tweet back, ''These have to be among the most pathetic comments of anyone in a long time.'')

Coulter has not always gotten her way with the candidate. At Mar-a-Lago that evening in March, she lobbied unsuccessfully for him to pick as his running mate Kris Kobach, the secretary of state of Kansas, who is credited with selling Mitt Romney on ''self-deportation.'' And her book tour for ''In Trump We Trust'' hit a momentary snag when Trump told Sean Hannity that he would be open to ''softening'' his **immigration** stance, though Coulter chose to believe that, as she told me, ''it was Hannity badgering him.''

Still, she has become the Trump campaign's most unrepentant brawler. When Khzir Khan, the Pakistani-American father of a U.S. Army captain who was killed in combat in Iraq, spoke critically of Trump at the Democratic National Convention, Coulter wrote on Twitter: ''You know what this convention really needed: An angry Muslim with a thick accent like Fareed Zacaria[sic].''

That tweet provoked disgust from fellow conservatives, among them Erick Erickson, who tweeted: ''What a terrible thing to say about a man whose son died for this country.'' When I reminded Coulter of Erickson's scolding, she let out a hearty laugh. ''I always hated him,'' she said. ''This is one of the fantastic things. In any political movement, there are many people you think are losers and dorks, but your friends talk you into liking them, because they're on our side. Now all of those people are out.''

Sighing, she said, ''Trump has made my life better in so many ways.''

You will not find copies of ''¡Adios, America!'' or ''In Trump We Trust'' on any of the many bookshelves in the home of the Washington Post columnist George Will. A week after Ted Cruz dropped out of the Republican presidential race in early May, Will and his wife, Mari, a Republican political consultant, gave a catered dinner party for Cruz and his wife, Heidi. The other guests were conservative donors, activists and journalists, along with their spouses. The Wills have been hosting these off-the-record encounters with political celebrities at their Maryland home for decades. In early 2009, Will's fellow conservative columnists gathered there to meet Obama a week before his inauguration.

Among the guests that evening in May was Laura Ingraham. Ingraham is of proudly working-class heritage -- her mother was a waitress for almost 30 years and her father owned and operated a Coin-a-Matic carwash -- and does not share Will's reverence for decorum. She was an early defender of Trump's willingness to say things ''no one else is saying.'' While interviewing Cruz on her radio show six weeks before the Wills' party, she interrupted him to mock his Harvard Law degree. Still, Cruz knew that his political future relied on conservative opinion-makers like Ingraham, and it was at his request that the Wills included her in the party.

Over cocktails, the Cruzes spoke fondly of their experiences on the campaign trail, and the other guests listened politely, mindful of Cruz's recent humiliating defeat. Then midway through dinner, at a table set with glasses once used by Abraham Lincoln, Ingraham insisted that Cruz needed to throw his weight behind the man who had branded him ''Lyin' Ted.'' ''If you don't endorse him, where does that leave you?'' she said. ''You don't have the public and you don't have the establishment. How can you be a leader of the conservative movement?''

Cruz amiably replied that such a decision did not have to be made right away. Others at the table joined in to defend him, but Ingraham would hear nothing of it. ''You can't want Hillary Clinton elected,'' she goaded him.

Will sat fuming silently. ''She was quite animated,'' he would later recall. Cruz refused to offer his support to Trump that night or in the weeks to follow. Speaking at the Republican convention on July 20 moments before Cruz was to do the same, Ingraham taunted him: ''We should all, even all you boys with wounded feelings and bruised egos -- and we love you, we love you -- but you must honor the pledge to support Donald Trump now, tonight!'' The following morning on her radio show, Ingraham declared that Cruz's refusal to endorse had ''effectively ended his political career.''

Will was no more persuaded by Ingraham than Cruz was. The first and only time Will met Trump was in March 1995, when, at Trump's invitation, he gave a speech at Mar-a-Lago. Years later on Twitter, Trump would ascribe Will's harsh view of him to Will's having ''totally bombed'' with his performance that night. Will told me: ''He started telling this story: 'The reason Will doesn't like me is I invited him to give a speech at Mar-a-Lago, and I knew it was going to be boring, so I waited out on the patio.' Which raises two questions. First, if he knew it was going to be that boring, why did he invite me? And second, who would be the guy with the orange hair sitting in the front row?''

Will said on ABC's ''This Week'' in 2012 that Trump was ''a bloviating ignoramus'' and he has spent much of the past year predicting the candidate's imminent political demise. ''I thought even an entertaining bore could be a bore after a while,'' he told me. By late December of last year, however, his contempt had given way to alarm. ''Conservatives' highest priority,'' he wrote in a Post column, ''must be to prevent Trump from winning the Republican nomination'' -- even if it meant Hillary Clinton's election.

Then on June 2, three weeks after his dinner party for Cruz, Will learned that his friend and fellow Republican Paul Ryan, the House speaker, had endorsed the nominee. Will considered the matter over martinis at home that evening. The next morning, he walked into his office and told his assistant: ''Go change my registration. This is not my party anymore.''

Recently I visited Will at his office, a three-story Georgetown brick rowhouse erected in 1811. Its walls are covered with framed photographs, several of them depicting the writer in his youth alongside Reagan and other titans of his former party. The dean of conservative pundits, now 75, wore a crisp pinstripe shirt and gray slacks, his customary owlish Mona Lisa expression a bit tighter than usual, owing to the subject matter. Will told me that he cast his first vote in 1964, for Barry Goldwater. He voted for the Republican candidate in every succeeding presidential election, until now.

''I don't use the word 'frightening' often,'' he told me. ''But it's frightening to know this person'' -- Trump -- ''would have the nuclear-launch codes. The world is getting really dangerous. His friend Mr. Putin is dismantling a nation in the center of Europe. Some trigger-happy captain of a Chinese boat with ship-to-ship missiles might make a mistake in the next three years near the Spratly Islands. All kinds of things can go wrong. And the idea that this guy will be asked to respond in a sober, firm way? My goodness.''

He seemed genuinely despondent. ''Given that, could you see yourself urging your readers to vote for Hillary Clinton?'' I asked.

Will's lips pursed slightly. ''Well,'' he said, ''it's clear from everything I've written that I think she'd be a better president. That said, I'm not going to vote for her. First of all, I'm a Maryland voter. She couldn't lose Maryland if she tried.''

''Then. ...''

''I haven't decided,'' he said. ''You can imagine -- I get tons of emails: 'I, too, have left the Republican Party. What should I do?' Well, there are a number of legitimate options. Not voting is a legitimate expression of opinion.''

Ingraham and other conservative media personalities hailed Trump for having ''tapped into'' a shared and seething disquiet among predominantly white, non-college-educated voters. ''What I don't understand on the part of those being tapped into,'' Will told me, ''is: What exactly do they want? I can think of nothing the American people have wanted intensely and protractedly that they didn't get. Took a while, but they got it.''

With a resigned half-smirk, he looked at the ground and intoned, in the manner of a hostage-video monologue: ''It's gonna be yuge. And it's all gonna get fixed. And we're all gonna be winners.''

''If he doesn't build that wall, I'm pissed,'' Sean Hannity told me, reflecting on the prospects of a Trump presidency in the office of his radio show in Midtown Manhattan. ''If he doesn't repeal Obamacare, I'm gonna be pissed. If he appoints a liberal jurist to the Supreme Court, I'm gonna lose my mind. And by the way: I'll be screaming. Not talking -- screaming about it. But in fairness, if Trump doesn't keep his promises, you can also blame me, because I believed him.''

Although Coulter was Trump's earliest cheerleader among prominent conservative-media personalities, Hannity's stake in the election perhaps runs deepest of all, if only because of the size of his audience. He hosts the second-highest-rated show (after Limbaugh) on talk radio and the third-highest-rated program (after Bill O'Reilly and Megyn Kelly) on cable news. More than 2.4 million weekly viewers and 13 million listeners have witnessed Hannity sticking his neck out on behalf of a first-time politician and sometime Republican who has voiced support for Planned Parenthood while vowing to limit America's military footprint and shred trade deals that the G.O.P. has backed for decades.

Hannity's critics on the right have accused him of essentially running hourlong daily Trump infomercials. When I asked him about this, Hannity responded with a well-rehearsed litany of sins perpetrated by the Republican establishment in concert with Obama: perilously low labor participation and homeownership rates, soaring national debt, Obamacare and so on. A Clinton presidency, he warned, would be ''Obama on steroids.'' These were his motivations. ''My conscience is clear. And I feel like Donald Trump would be a great president.''

Hannity told me that he had in fact never stayed at a Trump hotel property, played on a Trump golf course or visited Mar-a-Lago. ''I have my own place -- on the other Florida coast, in Naples,'' he said. ''I don't need his place. I always got the sense people were asking him for something. I don't believe in asking for free stuff.''

Nonetheless, the two men have a mutual affinity that has spanned at least two decades. The MSNBC ''Morning Joe'' host and former Republican congressman Joe Scarborough theorized to me that their relationship has a psychological underpinning: ''Donald Trump, Sean Hannity, Bill O'Reilly all share the same resentment that they will never be accepted into Manhattan's polite society no matter what they do.'' (Trump is from Queens; Hannity and O'Reilly are from Long Island.) Trump, in a recent phone conversation, offered me a somewhat simpler explanation: ''Sean likes having me on his show, and that has to do with ratings more than anything else.''

No presidential candidate in history, Hannity told me, understands television better than Trump -- ''not even close.'' On this score, I couldn't disagree. One evening this past spring, on his plane after a campaign event in Buffalo, Trump told me that at rallies, he always made a point of finding the TV cameras at the back of the media pen and noticing whether a red light was flickering. ''That means they're airing it live,'' he explained. ''So I make sure to say something new'' -- by which he meant newsworthy, the better to own the next news cycle.

Trump was a TV star for more than a decade before he became a politician; he watches TV news incessantly and understands the medium intimately. He knows the optimal time slots on the morning shows. He stage-manages the on-set lighting. He is not only on speaking terms with every network chief executive but also knows their booking agents. He monitors the opinions of hosts and regular guests more avidly than most media critics do and works them obsessively, often directly.

Scarborough told me that Trump's family -- particularly Ivanka Trump's husband, Jared Kushner -- sometimes asked him for advice, and more than once ''called me and asked me to get him off the ledge. I've said, 'I can do that, but six hours later he's going to revert to form.' I told Jared at one point: 'Jared, your father-in-law listens to me more when I'm attacking him on television than when I'm trying to convince him to be rational for the sake of the party.' I think he's a creature of TV.''

TV networks, in the mainstream as well as conservative media, have profited handsomely from Trump's election-season theatrics, but some of their on-air personalities like Hannity are drawn to him for reasons apart from ratings. The prospect of getting in on the ground floor of a Trump administration that is short on policy ideas and disdainful of old Washington hands amounts to a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. By employing the Breitbart publisher Steve Bannon, and by including both Ingraham and Roger Ailes in his debate preparations, Trump has implicitly encouraged the conservative media to consider itself part of the campaign team.

I asked Hannity if it was true that, as a Trump confidant had told me, he wished to be considered as a potential Trump White House chief of staff. ''That's news to me,'' he insisted, adding a politician's practiced nondenial denial: ''I have radio and TV contracts that I will honor through December 2020.'' Nonetheless, Hannity's service to the Trump campaign well exceeds that of ritually bashing Clinton and giving Trump free airtime. He has offered private strategic advice to the campaign. The same Trump confidant told me of at least one instance in which Hannity drafted an unsolicited memo outlining the message Trump should offer after the Orlando nightclub shooting in June. In public, Hannity has made it his mission to warn fellow conservatives -- naming names, like the columnist Jonah Goldberg and the National Review editor in chief Rich Lowry -- that if they do not soon climb aboard the Trump train they will, as the hashtag threatens, #OwnIt: Clinton's picks for the Supreme Court, her response to the Islamic State, her trade deals, all of it.

Hannity maintains that his scolding of Trump's conservative dissenters derives from his fear of a Clinton presidency. ''It'd be pretty much over,'' he said. Taken alone, George Will or even National Review might have little impact on Trump's standing in the race, Hannity argued, but ''cumulatively they do. I can look at the poll numbers. If you go back to a month ago, he was garnering 73 percent of the Republican vote. The most recent, I think he had 88 percent. He needs to get to 93.'' And the key to the last 5 percent might very well lie with the noisy holdouts, like Erick Erickson.

On Sept. 16, Erickson showed up at the National Press Club in Washington to participate in a debate sponsored by the National Religious Broadcasters. Erickson left RedState at the end of last year to concentrate on his radio show and his online opinion journal, The Resurgent, but he has remained influential among conservatives who do not support Trump. In July, when he learned that Ted Cruz was about to have a private meeting with the nominee on the eve of the convention, Erickson texted the senator: ''Don't endorse! Don't endorse!'' Later that evening, Erickson says, Cruz texted back: ''Didn't endorse! Didn't endorse!'' (Cruz finally announced that he would vote for Trump on Sept. 23.)

The subject of the debate, inevitably, was Trump: specifically, whether evangelical Christians should support him. Being a lifelong evangelical himself, Erickson had some thoughts on the matter. Over the years, he had been condemned for his own offensive words, like the time he called the Texas gubernatorial candidate Wendy Davis ''Abortion Barbie.'' But he had recently apologized for many (though not all) of these statements and had called upon Trump to affect a similar posture of Christian humility. ''1 Corinthians is very explicit,'' he told me. ''If someone holds one's self out to be a Christian and doesn't behave that way, Christians are supposed to judge him. This is a guy who's bragged about his affairs.''

This was Erickson's principal argument during the debate. Trump was not merely a sinner, he said, but a gleefully unrepentant one. Erickson's debate opponent, the Christian talk-show host and fervent Trump supporter Janet Parshall, responded by reciting a litany of sinners in chief -- from Thomas Jefferson with the out-of-wedlock child he fathered with a slave, to Warren G. Harding with his multiple liaisons, to Richard Nixon with his foul language memorialized on the White House tapes. ''We are not electing a messiah,'' Parshall said. ''Last time I checked, he was appointed to office and he is not term-limited.''

Erickson's debating partner, the conservative activist Bill Wichterman, argued that Trump appealed to the worst in America: His bullying, his lying and his bigotry were ''corrosive to our national character.'' Erickson could testify to this. At one point, he was receiving as many as 300 emails a day from Trump supporters. Some of them referred to him as a ''cuck'' or ''cuck-servative.'' The word -- a masculinity-insulting derivative of ''cuckold'' -- was new to Erickson, as were its originators in the white-nationalist alt-right.

More than one of the emails predicted that Erickson would be shot to death. At the local grocery store, a man walked up to Erickson's two young children ''and told them they needed to know their father was destroying this country by supporting Hillary Clinton,'' Erickson told me. And one evening, two people showed up on the Ericksons' doorstep to deliver a threat -- Erickson would not tell me what it was -- explicit enough that he later hired security guards. ''I've never had Obama or Romney or McCain or Clinton supporters come to my home or send me nasty letters,'' he said.

Did Trump beget all of this? If so, what begot Trump? Erickson argued that the fault lay with Beltway Republicans. ''They've broken so many promises,'' he said. ''They promised to defund the president's **immigration** plan. They promised to defund Obamacare. They promised to fight the president on raising the debt limit. At some point, the base of the party just wants to burn the house down and start over.''

But even Erickson did not seem convinced that this alone explained what he saw as a nihilistic turn among Republican voters. ''I do think there are a lot of people that have just concluded that this is it -- that if we don't get the election right, the country's over,'' he said. As to where they might have gotten that idea, Erickson knew the answer. It was the apocalyptic hymn sung by talk-radio hosts like his friend and mentor Rush Limbaugh, whose show Erickson once guest-hosted, though in the time of Trump, it seemed unlikely he would receive another invitation.

This February, Limbaugh, who has applauded Trump without endorsing him outright, posed to Erickson the question of whether a commentator should try to act as ''the guardian of what it means to be a conservative.'' In effect, the legend of talk radio was laying down an unwritten commandment of the trade, which applies as well to cable TV: Do not attempt to lead your following.

This was simple enough for an avowed Trump supporter like Ingraham. ''Laura's never missed an opportunity to build her career on the backs of others,'' Erickson told me. He counted Hannity as another mentor and admired his entrepreneurial cunning, saying: ''Sean reflects his audience. He's not going to leave his audience.'' On his own radio show, Erickson found that the more he denounced Trump, the more female listeners he picked up. But most of the 300,000 people who tuned in weekly during rush hour were men. While Erickson refused to abandon his principles, he did not wish to go broke, either.

On Sept. 20, Erickson wrote a long post for The Resurgent titled ''Reconsidering My Opposition to Donald Trump.'' He made no effort to disguise his moroseness. ''I see the election of Hillary Clinton as the antithesis of all my values and ideas on what fosters sound civil society in this country,'' he wrote, and described his manifold objections to her at great length. But, he went on, ''I have to admit that while I may view Hillary Clinton's campaign as anti-American, I view Donald Trump's campaign as un-American. ... While I see Clinton as having no virtue, I see Donald Trump corrupting the virtuous and fostering hatred, racism and dangerous strains of nationalism.'' The election left him adrift. ''I am without a candidate. I just cannot vote for either one.''

And so Erickson's conscience led him back to where he was 13 months ago. Nowadays, he told me, he was doing all he could to avoid discussing Trump and the election altogether -- a tall order for a talk-radio host. Responding to my look of bewilderment, he said, ''Why dwell on the train wreck?''

Erickson believed he was not alone. ''People know where we're headed, don't like where we're headed and would rather talk about something else,'' he said. Erickson had won many fights. This one was the biggest yet, and he had lost. There was nothing left to do but step back from his megaphone, dwell on happier matters and wait for the next righteous cause.

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Correction: October 16, 2016, Sunday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An article on Oct. 2 about the conservative media's reaction to Donald Trump's presidential candidacy misstated the rank of Sean Hannity's Fox News show among the highest-rated cable news shows. It is the third-highest, not the second. The article also misidentified the location in Florida of Mar-a-Lago, Trump's estate-turned-club. It is Palm Beach, not West Palm Beach. (The Trump International Golf Club is in West Palm Beach.) And the article referred incorrectly to Ann Coulter's book ''¡Adios, America!'' It is her 11th book, not her 10th.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MARACAY, Venezuela -- The voices tormenting Accel Simeone kept getting louder.

The country's last supplies of antipsychotic medication were vanishing, and Mr. Simeone had gone weeks without the drug that controls his schizophrenia.

Reality was disintegrating with each passing day. The sounds in his head soon became people, with names. They were growing in number, crowding the tiny home he shared with his family, yelling obscenities into his ears.

Now the voices demanded that he kill his brother.

''I didn't want to do it,'' recalled Mr. Simeone, 25.

He took an electric grinder from the family's garage. He switched it on.

But then, to spare his brother, he attacked himself instead, slicing into his own arm until his father raced in and grabbed the grinder from his bloody hands.

Venezuela's economic collapse has already decimated its health system, leaving hospitals without antibiotics, surgeons without gloves and patients dying on emergency room tables.

Now, thousands of mental health patients -- many of whom had been living relatively normal lives under medication -- are drifting into despair and psychosis because the country has run out of the vast majority of psychiatric medicines, leaving families and doctors powerless to help them, medical experts say.

Mental institutions have released thousands of patients because they can no longer treat them, according to physicians. The patients still being cared for now suffer in crumbling wards that can barely even feed them. Doctors and nurses fear violent attacks and say they have little choice but to tie their patients to chairs, lock them up or strip them of their clothes to prevent suicides.

In the city of Barquisimeto, the scenes at El Pampero Psychiatric Hospital are those of nightmares. (Go inside the dysfunctional state-run institution here.)

Food shortages had left one older schizophrenic man emaciated, like a walking skeleton in a concentration camp. An epileptic man bereft of medication fell into repeated seizures, while another untreated patient lay strapped to a bed, bound at the ankles. An older woman with no drugs to control her schizophrenia crawled across the floor, past a hungry patient eating fruit that had fallen into a pool of open sewage.

But most patients around the country are in the hands of families like the Simeones, doctors say. Family members must choose between going to work and watching over their loved ones. It is a life of searching for increasingly rare drugs, desperately hoping their relatives do not harm themselves, or others, the moment someone looks away.

''When I heard that he could hurt his brother, that broke me,'' said Evelin de Simeone, Accel's mother, recounting the day in June her son grabbed the electric grinder.

Venezuela, the country with the largest oil reserves in the world, once produced most of its own pharmaceutical drugs. In the early 2000s, the president at the time, Hugo Chávez, began a broad nationalization of Venezuelan drugmakers in an effort to produce cheaper medicines. Foreign companies like Pfizer and Eli Lilly filled in the gaps by shipping drugs.

Then oil prices collapsed. The government began running out of hard currency, leaving it unable to import raw materials for the state-owned factories supplying Venezuelan hospitals. Many foreign drug companies stopped sending medicines because the government owed them so much money.

The consequence: About 85 percent of psychiatric medicines are now unavailable in Venezuela, according to the country's top pharmaceutical trade group.

''The most elemental things are gone,'' said Robert Lespinasse, a former president of the Venezuelan Society of Psychiatry. ''It's like being impotent.''

For some, the lack of drugs has brought tragedy. On June 30, Yolanda Sayago, a 63-year-old with severe depression, went to the ninth floor of a building in the city of San Cristóbal and climbed onto a ledge. In her last moments, captured in a video that now circulates on YouTube, Ms. Sayago looks down once, leans forward and, with her arms spread, leaps to her death.

She had spent months unable to find antidepressants, said her son, Jesús Guillén, 43, who works for the state electricity company. She fell into a depressive relapse that pushed her toward suicide, he said.

''She was always saying medicines were impossible to find here,'' Mr. Guillén said.

Hobbled by such shortages, Venezuela's mental institutions now care for only a small portion of the patients they did a few years ago. In 2013, there were 23,630 long-term psychiatric patients in public hospitals, but only 5,558 last year, according to a report from the Health Ministry.

Publicly, the Venezuelan government denies that its hospitals are suffering, and has refused multiple offers of international medical aid.

But at the invitation of doctors, journalists from The New York Times visited six psychiatric wards across the country. All reported shortages not only of medicines, but of food.

In El Peñón Hospital, the converted mansion of a former Venezuelan dictator in Caracas, the capital, only two patients remained, despite a capacity for 40. Doctors were turning away anyone hoping to be admitted because food had not arrived regularly in months.

In Dr. José Ortega Durán Psychiatric Hospital in Valencia, an 18-year-old schizophrenic man was tied to a metal chair. Hospital workers said it was necessary because they had no medications to treat him.

In El Pampero Hospital, Jusmar Torres ran out of medication for a mood disorder and depression weeks ago. Now she was sitting behind bars in solitary confinement. She had been there, naked, for four days. Hospital staff members had stripped her because they feared she would hang herself.

Weeks later, a paranoid schizophrenic who ran out of medication threw herself on top of a bunkmate at night and bit off the woman's nose.

''It wasn't me, I did not do it,'' said the schizophrenic patient, pacing a dank solitary confinement cell with bars as nurses kept their distance.

Down the hall, the victim sat with her face covered in bandages, writhing in pain. All the nurses could offer her was an anti-inflammatory medicine similar to ibuprofen. A mosquito net blocked the swarms of flies drawn to her wound. Dogs and cats roamed the halls. The smell of urine hung in the air.

''This is too hard,'' said the victim's sister, Doris Villegas, gasping at the injury. ''I look for her medicines, but I can't find them now.''

The screams of Emiliana Rodríguez, another schizophrenic patient, echoed. She had little food and no medication for her glaucoma, leaving her hardly able to see. She could barely acknowledge those around her, but for a moment focused.

''I'm not crazy,'' she said. ''I'm hungry.''

Evila García, the head nurse, looked up in anguish at the patients who had been left at the hospital.

''No one wants a crazy person at their house,'' she said.

That is not the case for Accel Simeone, the young man whose visions urged him to kill his brother. The family's cinder-block home in the tropical city of Maracay remains a **refuge**, even after he took to his arm with a grinder.

Soon after, a psychiatrist prescribed a different medication -- one that could be found, at least that month -- and the voices haunting Accel grew quieter.

It might have brought calm to the household if Gerardo Simeone, Accel's brother, were not schizophrenic, too.

Soon it was Gerardo who was out of medication.

When Life Looked Good

The Simeones were true believers in Mr. Chávez and his Socialist-inspired revolution.

Mario Simeone, the father, was the son of a **refugee** from World War II Italy who had married in Venezuela, but the hard work of his parents did little to raise his prospects. When he and Evelin married in the late 1980s, their first home, in a run-down barrio, had neither a table nor a bed.

Then Mr. Chávez took office in 1999, promising health care, education and jobs to reorient the country and its oil wealth toward the poor. The Simeones became loyal supporters.

Mrs. Simeone finished a law degree at a free, state-funded university and began a practice specializing in lawsuits and wills. Her husband, a curious tinkerer, opened a garage to fix vehicles. In 2005, the two bought a new home and filled it with appliances: four televisions, two laptops, and a washer and dryer.

''Our refrigerator was always full,'' Mrs. Simeone said.

But something was wrong with Accel. The affable young man, nicknamed El Gordo, or the Fat Man, had turned 18 and was starting to feel anxious, with a constant sense of being pursued. Voices told him that he was gay, or that they wanted to kill him for his money.

At 19, Accel attacked his father with a stick. A psychiatrist in Caracas immediately recognized the symptoms of schizophrenia and prescribed a number of drugs, then easy to obtain.

''Medication was the only way to win,'' Mrs. Simeone said.

But the battle was only beginning. Accel's younger brother, Gerardo, had long been the more talkative one, a raconteur and joke teller who broke into long discourses about the history he learned at school. Then El Negro, as his family called him for his dark features, suddenly fell silent.

''What surprises life gives you,'' Mario Simeone said of Gerardo's schizophrenia. ''Who would have known it would have hit the two boys?''

In many respects, life remained the same. The medication calmed the brothers' paranoia on all but a few days, allowing Evelin to continue working and Mario to fix cars in the garage. Accel even started working as Mario's assistant.

Still, Accel and Gerardo, once pictured in photos as boys hugging each other with wide grins, now barely spoke. Accel took an interest in writing hip-hop lyrics and in cooking. Gerardo remained quiet.

''He was so kind and loving,'' Mrs. Simeone said, remembering Gerardo before he became ill. ''He had such an amazing lexicon.''

Outside the home, other changes were afoot. Mr. Chávez, who had cancer, died in 2013, leaving a lesser-known successor, Nicolás Maduro. The next year, oil prices began to decline drastically. The country found itself unable to pay for goods, services and imports.

Lines for food became frighteningly common in the Simeones' neighborhood. Basics like cornmeal and rice were hard to come by. By 2015, inflation hit triple digits, decimating the family's savings and often leaving Evelin and Mario without clients.

The shortages of medicine struck hard. Mrs. Simeone was spending long periods each week scouring pharmacies for olanzapine, an antipsychotic drug, having little luck. By April, she was dividing the remaining pills between her sons and reducing the doses to make them last.

''I said, 'My God, neither of them will have any soon,''' she recalled.

When the drug ran out in May, Accel felt it first.

The voices that had haunted him surged forward again. Specters adopting the names of hip-hop artists like Nicki Minaj and Ñengo Flow, a Puerto Rican singer, pelted him with insults. The dead did, too. Time and again, they told Accel that he was gay and should be punished.

Days before he attacked himself, Accel wrote a series of Facebook messages to his mother. The voices, he explained, were making absurd demands, asking her to make large purchases and threatening Accel if she didn't. Frustrated, Evelin told him to go help his father in the garage and think of other things. Accel warned that the voices were becoming violent.

''They even throw grenades at me,'' he wrote on May 30.

On June 4, Evelin and Mario went to a relative's house, leaving the brothers alone. That was when Accel's voices told him to kill Gerardo.

''They came and told me to do it, to do it, to do it,'' Accel recalled as his brother looked on. ''I didn't know if I was alive or dead.''

Torn between the voices and his conscience, Accel left his brother and headed to a shed where his father kept tools. The voices continued, urging him on.

''I felt the need to take a screwdriver and put it in my chest, just where my heart is,'' he said.

Accel settled on a grinder on the floor. He plugged it in, switched it on.

''They said I needed to keep sawing until I had cut off my arm,'' Accel said.

He had just started when Mario returned home and wrestled the grinder from his son's hands.

''He was just standing there, like it was normal and nothing happened,'' Mario said.

The wounds did not hit any arteries or veins. The large gashes in his arms are now scarring.

But the costs from the day the family now refers to as ''the crisis'' are still adding up.

Evelin, who had hardly been able to work in order to watch over the brothers, has quit work entirely. Mario fixes cars to pay for medication for his sons, when it can be found, lamenting how far the family's fortunes have fallen.

He recalled when they bought their home in 2005. The price was 45 million bolívars, an amount that soon dropped to 45,000 after the government replaced the currency with a new devalued one in 2008. Now inflation has made that figure seem laughable.

''The price of our house is barely enough for a cellphone,'' he said.

He wanted someone to blame.

''This is a fanatic state,'' he said. ''If you really love a country, how could you leave it without food, work or medicine?''

Sometimes It's Too Much

Unlike his brother, Gerardo wasn't prone to violence when his pills ran out. By July, when most of his medications were gone, he drifted into his own world, standing calmly in a corner for long spells as the rest of the family sat in the living room, watching television. He would look up and answer a question now and then, but it was as if he were dreaming elsewhere.

''We call him our Swiss Guard,'' Mario said wryly.

Waiting in line and scrounging for medicines are not the only daily struggles for the Simeone family. The real trial is holding the strained, at times violent, household together.

Accel still hears voices in his head, which now tell him that he can no longer sleep in his bed. He has moved to his parents' room. Mario and Evelin's grown son spends the night with them.

Guilt haunts Evelin. She is troubled that she has not searched as hard as she can for medicine for Gerardo.

''I am tired,'' she said. ''This is too much sometimes.''

She began to cry and walked away. Accel looked up, sensing something was wrong.

''It's allergies again,'' she told him.

The tiny house feels cramped, with a sense of cabin fever. When there is enough medicine to clear his mind, Accel takes to writing new hip-hop lyrics. One is about his relationship with Gerardo. Another, called ''The Lights Are Out,'' tells of the constant blackouts in his neighborhood.

Accel opened his bedroom door and pointed at lyrics written on the wall. Every inch has been covered by his frenetic writing.

Mario spends most of his days tinkering in the garage, muttering about parts that are no longer found in Venezuela. Gerardo's silence now frustrates him.

''There are times I get mad at him,'' he said. ''I just don't understand why he's behaving like that. I tell him: 'What's wrong with you? Don't act like a stupid person!'''

Gerardo looked on, stone-faced and silent.

Mario looked ashamed, then ran across the room, grabbing his son, lifting him a few inches and twirling him around.

When he let go, Gerardo was still expressionless.

Then his eyes grew wide. A smile cracked across his face. The whole family started to laugh.

Gerardo looked at the floor and started laughing, too.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BURBANK, Calif. -- Is there a more beloved character in all of science fiction than Spock, the half-human, half-Vulcan first officer from ''Star Trek''? He's superstrong -- he could easily pummel Captain Kirk, his ranking officer, were the spirit to move him -- and a whiz at science. He's cool to the point of wintry, a master at tamping down his base needs (granted, Vulcans get the urge to mate only once every seven years) and human emotions. He's skilled at martial arts but rarely fights. He can literally look into your mind.

Leonard Nimoy originated the role in 1966, and when his son, Adam, began asking people what they most loved about the character while filming his new documentary, ''For the Love of Spock,'' all that stuff -- his big brain, his ability to peek into yours -- was secondary. His most attractive trait? ''Ninety percent of them were talking about the fact that he's an outsider,'' he said.

Outsider indeed. Spock is that rarest of 23rd-century beings, the only son of a Vulcan dad and a human mom. For years, he was about the closest viewers could get to a multiracial role model on American TV. ''I had Spock,'' the actress Jennifer Beals said in 2011. ''And that was kind of it.'' (Ms. Beals is of Irish- and African-American descent.)

In ''For the Love of Spock,'' a NASA engineer, Bobak Ferdowsi, describes being encouraged by the series and the role. ''As someone who was from two cultures, Iranian father and an American mother, I saw in Spock the same conflict,'' he said. ''Which one am I? Am I both? Is there a happy medium between the two?''

The character has inspired multiracial artists, writers and scholars almost since his inception. The Los Angeles artist Kip Fulbeck, who has created short films, museum shows and photo exhibitions about the multiracial experience, is a lifelong Spock fan. ''I grew up watching 'Star Trek,''' said Mr. Fulbeck, whose father is white and mother is Chinese. ''Every time McCoy would say, you're half-human, and Spock would say, I'm also half-Vulcan, I was like, 'Yeah, I get that.'''

In his film ''Lilo & Me'' (2003), Mr. Fulbeck posits Spock as possibly the ''one semi-multiracial character'' on TV -- then cuts to a scene in which Kirk, trying to shock his first officer out of a drug-induced haze, calls him a ''mutinous, disloyal, computerized half-breed.'' In ''Banana Split'' (1991), Mr. Fulbeck suggests Spock might have been Asian, something that plenty of hopeful Asian viewers have thought all along, given his black hair, almond eyes and yellowish skin tone. But the character has ''every stereotype,'' too, Mr. Fulbeck admitted: good at science, emotionally detached. Spock even had a cheongsam-wearing fiancée.

In the ''Biracial and Multiracial Identity'' class she teaches at California State University, Northridge, Teresa Williams-León, a professor of Asian-American studies, includes the stories of Spock; Barack Obama (a self-avowed Spock fan); and Tabitha, the half-mortal daughter on ''Bewitched.'' For Ms. Williams-León, there's something telling about Spock's need to choose one of his selves over the other, rather than integrating the two. ''He had to subdue his emotional side to become more cerebral and logical,'' she said. ''So that's problematic. But it's an interesting way of looking at how biracial people have had to suppress aspects of themselves, or one part of themselves.''

On a recent afternoon here, Adam Nimoy talked about his documentary, which is in theaters and on demand as part of the 50th-anniversary celebration of the original series. In addition, in the coming months, there will be the DVD release of Justin Lin's ''Star Trek Beyond,'' a four-month series of ''Trek''-related programs mounted by the Toronto International Film Festival and the compilation ''Star Trek: The Original Series -- The Roddenberry Vault.''

At 60, Mr. Nimoy has the strong jawline and ethnically ambiguous good looks he got from his father, who died last year. Leonard grew up in an **immigrant** Jewish family in Boston's West End and ''was desperate to get out,'' his son said. ''He didn't want to be stuck there, like a townie. And he told me this not that long ago, by the same token, Spock's objective was to overcome the fact that he was half-**alien** and integrate himself with his human crewmates.''

That wasn't always easy, particularly when colleagues were always calling attention to your mixed heritage. In ''This Side of Paradise,'' Kirk dubs the Vulcans a ''subhuman race'' and ridicules Spock's ''gall'' in going after a lovelorn white woman (played by Jill Ireland). McCoy regularly called attention to Spock's ''pointy ears'' and green blood. Replace those gibes with ones about skin color or eye shape, and the show's old-timey country doctor becomes a much different character.

Mr. Nimoy's documentary includes a scene from the episode ''Day of the Dove'' in which Scotty, the Enterprise's irascible engineer, calls Spock a ''freak'' and screams at him, ''Keep your Vulcan hands off me!'' Scotty is under the evil control of **alien** forces, but Spock doesn't know this, so the dig had to sting, Spock's emotionless Vulcan side notwithstanding.

But the pain had purpose. ''That was the civil rights era, when so-called law enforcement officers were using fire hoses and attack dogs,'' George Takei, Sulu on the show, said in a phone interview. ''Gene Roddenberry was trying to use science fiction as a metaphor for the issues of the day.''

In 1968, a biracial girl wrote to ''Mr. Spock,'' in care of a teen magazine, explaining her trouble making friends because ''my mother is Negro and my father is white.'' She wrote, ''I know that you are half-Vulcan and half-human and you have suffered because of this.'' Mr. Nimoy wrote her a long letter back, telling her to believe in herself and not to let the bigots get her down.

That message resonates with several of those interviewed in ''For the Love of Spock,'' like the fan Marty Dormany, who ''grew up as a skinny gay kid in the South.'' Jim Parsons, who plays the uber-nerd Sheldon on ''The Big Bang Theory,'' talks about his (unsuccessful) attempt to take out a bully with a Vulcan nerve pinch, and Mr. Takei explains why gay viewers continue to see themselves in the (unrequited) bromance between Kirk and Spock.

''Hands down, the most popular reason that people connect to Spock is that he makes them feel like it's O.K. to be an Other,'' Adam Nimoy said. ''It's O.K. to be outside the mainstream. And Spock is cool! Spock is awesome. So that makes you feel a little better about yourself, too.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- The Supreme Court, awaiting the outcome of a presidential election that will determine its future, returns to the bench this week to face a volatile docket studded with timely cases on race, religion and **immigration**.

The justices have been shorthanded since Justice Antonin Scalia died in February, and say they are determined to avoid deadlocks. That will require resolve and creativity.

''This term promises to be the most unpredictable one in many, many years,'' said Neal K. Katyal, a former acting United States solicitor general in the Obama administration now with Hogan Lovells.

There is no case yet on the docket that rivals the blockbusters of recent terms addressing health care, abortion or same-sex marriage. But such cases are rare, whether there are eight justices or nine.

''This term's cases are not snoozers,'' said Elizabeth B. Wydra, the president of the Constitutional Accountability Center, a liberal group. ''This term features important cases about racial bias in the criminal justice system, voting rights and redistricting, **immigration** and detention, and accountability for big banks that engaged in racially discriminatory mortgage lending practices.''

There are, moreover, major cases on the horizon, including ones on whether a transgender boy may use the boys' restroom in a Virginia high school and on whether a Colorado baker may refuse to serve a same-sex couple.

''If either of these cases is taken, it will almost immediately become the highest profile case on the court's docket,'' said Steven Shapiro, the legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

There is also the possibility that a dispute over the outcome of the presidential election could end up at the Supreme Court, as it did in 2000 in Bush v. Gore.

''That is the doomsday scenario in some respects of having an eight-member court,'' said Carter G. Phillips, a lawyer with Sidley Austin. A deadlocked Supreme Court would leave in place the lower court ruling and oust the justices from their role as the final arbiters of federal law.

Race figures in many of the new term's most important cases, including two to be heard in October, and that seems to be part of a new trend. ''The court hasn't had a lot of cases recently dealing with race in the criminal justice system,'' said Jeffrey L. Fisher, a law professor at Stanford.

In June, a dissent from Justice Sonia Sotomayor brought a new perspective to the issue. Citing James Baldwin's ''The Fire Next Time'' and Ta-Nehisi Coates's ''Between the World and Me,'' she insisted that the brutal history and contemporary reality of racism in the United States must play a role in the court's analysis.

That dissent may prove influential, said Justin Driver, a law professor at the University of Chicago. ''One item to keep an eye on this term,'' he said, ''is the extent to which the Black Lives Matters movement makes its presence felt on the court's docket.''

On Wednesday, the court will hear arguments in Buck v. Davis, No. 15-8049. It arose from an extraordinary assertion by an expert witness in the death penalty trial of Duane Buck, who was convicted of the 1995 murders of a former girlfriend and one of her friends while her young children watched. The expert, presented by the defense, said that black men are more likely to present a risk of future danger.

The justices will decide whether Mr. Buck, who is black, may challenge his death sentence based on the ineffectiveness of the trial lawyer who presented that testimony.

''The Buck case raises questions that could not be more relevant to ongoing conversations sparked by police shootings about implicit bias and stereotyping of African-American men as violent and dangerous,'' Ms. Wydra said. ''The Roberts court, and particularly the chief justice himself, has often been reluctant to acknowledge the reality of systemic racism in this country, but the egregious facts of the Buck case make it impossible to avoid.''

On Oct. 11, the court will consider another biased statement, this one ascribed to a juror during deliberations in a sexual assault trial. ''I think he did it because he's Mexican, and Mexican men take whatever they want,'' the juror said of the defendant, according to a sworn statement from a second juror.

The question in the case, Peña Rodriguez v. Colorado, No. 15-606, is how to balance the interest in keeping jury deliberations secret against the importance of ridding the criminal justice system of racial and ethnic bias.

Race also figures in cases on redistricting, fair housing and malicious prosecution.

On Thursday, the court agreed to decide another charged case, Lee v. Tam, No. 15-1293, which asks whether the government may deny federal protection to a trademark said to disparage Asian-Americans. The case will probably effectively decide a separate one concerning the Washington Redskins football team.

The court will also decide, in Moore v. Texas, No. 15-797, whether Texas may use an idiosyncratic standard in deciding who must be spared execution because of intellectual disability. The state relies in part on what one judge there called the ''Lennie standard,'' which exempts defendants who resemble Lennie Small, the dim, hulking farmhand in John Steinbeck's ''Of Mice and Men.''

At some point this term, the court will hear a significant religion case, Trinity Lutheran Church v. Pauley, No. 15-577. It poses the question of whether states must provide aid to churches in at least some circumstances even if their state constitution forbids such assistance.

The court agreed to hear the case on Jan. 15, about a month before Justice Scalia died. Other cases granted that day were argued and decided by the end of the last term in June. In the ordinary course, the religion case would have been scheduled for argument in the last term or in October, and certainly not later than November.

But the case has yet to be scheduled. ''The most logical inference,'' said Paul D. Clement, a former solicitor general in the Bush administration now with Kirkland & Ellis, ''is that this is a case where the court is going to take its time scheduling this in the hopes that they will have nine justices to decide the case in the end because this is a case that could be closely divided.''

The case started when officials in Missouri rejected an application from a Lutheran church for a grant to use recycled tires to resurface a playground.

The Missouri Constitution bars spending public money ''in aid of any church,'' and the State Supreme Court has called for ''a very high wall between church and state.''

The church argues that the State Constitution violates equal protection principles and the First Amendment's guarantee of free exercise of religion.

The court has three **immigration** cases on its docket, involving detentions, deportations and how children born abroad to an American parent may obtain citizenship.

The court has already granted a stay in Gloucester County School Board v. G.G., No. 16-273, temporarily barring Gavin Grimm, a transgender boy, from using the boys' bathroom in a Virginia high school. The justices are scheduled to decide whether to hear the case on Oct. 14, and the stay suggests that they may be ready to enter the national debate over transgender rights.

Later this term, in Masterpiece Cakeshop v. Colorado Civil Rights Commission, No. 16-111, the justices will decide whether to take up a baker's contention that he should not be compelled to create a cake for a same-sex wedding.

Mr. Clement, at a briefing at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative group, said the justices will most likely be cautious in granting contentious cases until they are back at full strength.

''The court seems to be reluctant,'' he said, ''to add cases to their docket that they think in advance may well divide them 4 to 4.''

But the court may feel it has to try to resolve a dispute arising from the presidential election.

''Would they take the case?'' Mr. Phillips mused at the same briefing, referring to one along the lines of Bush v. Gore. ''My guess is they might. Whether they would ultimately decide anything, who knows?''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**If ever there was a year for Latinos in the United States to exercise their right to vote, 2016 is it.

Donald Trump, the Republican nominee, has made ''Build a wall!'' and deporting 11 million people central promises of his presidential campaign. At his rallies, Latino **immigrants** are cast as an invasion that needs to be stopped because it is transforming the face of America too profoundly, too quickly.

The implicit point of his campaign theme -- ''Make America Great Again'' -- is that America was great when it was a less diverse nation and that resurrecting that era will require drastic measures. While this has resonated with some white Americans, disaffected by social changes and an uneven economic recovery, it has offended and frightened Latinos, one of the fastest-growing segments of the electorate.

Whether stoking xenophobia turns out to be a genius or a disastrous move by a presidential candidate who has defied all the laws of political gravity will depend on how many of the 27 million eligible Hispanic voters turn out in November.

In a tight race, a resounding Latino showing could flip battleground states for the Democratic nominee, Hillary Clinton, and change how political parties perceive and engage with Hispanic voters in the future. That would affirm that Latinos are shaping the destiny of a nation that has always become stronger by embracing newcomers.

Presidential campaigns have been courting Latino voters since John F. Kennedy made a strong effort to woo Mexican-Americans during his 1960 White House run, which he narrowly won. Since then, Latinos, an electorate that is rapidly diversifying as it grows, have continued to lean Democratic in presidential elections, but have turned out in low numbers.

George W. Bush made notable gains in 2004, getting roughly 40 percent of the Latino vote. After he left office, the Republican Party's position on **immigration**hardened considerably. In a shortsighted move, party leaders have since sought to suppress minority voting power through a combination of redistricting and tactics like voter ID laws. Mitt Romney's loss in 2012, when he received only 27 percent of the Latino vote, caused Republican strategists to talk seriously about remaking the party's relationship with Latinos.

Mr. Trump obliterated any chance that would happen by making the demonization of Mexican **immigrants** a centerpiece of a campaign that has catapulted white supremacy into the mainstream of American politics. He has also vilified Muslims and spoken ignorantly and contemptuously about African-Americans.

Latino grass-roots organizers hope that Mr. Trump's nastiness will unlock the potential of the Latino electorate. That may well happen. They have made an ambitious push to get Hispanics to become naturalized citizens and to register to vote this year, particularly in swing states. The crush of applications for citizenship has overwhelmed the government.

In addition to defeating a bully, Latinos have plenty of reasons to enthusiastically support Mr. Trump's main rival.

Mrs. Clinton has coherent, well-thought-out plans to address the matters that Latinos say they care about most. These include the economy, affordable access to health care, national security and education. Her record on **immigration** policy is not consistently progressive; as a senator in 2007, she opposed allowing unauthorized **immigrants** to get New York driver's licenses. But she has changed her position on that issue and has promised to make the long overdue overhaul of America's broken **immigration** system a priority. She also has vowed to continue, and expand, the program President Obama established to temporarily shield from deportation millions of unauthorized young **immigrants** with deep roots in the United States.

While **immigration** reform will no doubt entail a tough political fight, Latinos could make the prospect of an overhaul more likely by going to the polls in November. Low turnout among these voters would increase the likelihood of a Trump victory, which could mean mass deportations and more attacks on **immigrants**.

America's 56 million Latinos -- one third of whom are under 18 -- are helping to shape America's future in classrooms, workplaces and neighborhoods. It is only a matter of time before their mark on the nation's politics matches their contributions in other spheres.

That moment should start now.

For the Sunday print edition, this editorial appeared in both Spanish and English. See how it looks here.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**NIGHT

By Etel Adnan

50 pp. Nightboat, paper, $12.95.

A meditative heir to Nie­tzsche's aphorisms, Rilke's ''Book of Hours'' and the ­verses of Sufi mysticism, ''Night'' is an intricate thread of reflections on pain and beauty.

To ''constitute spirit,'' as Adnan puts it -- or become our best selves, as others might have it -- she advocates opening our minds and memories to encounter the world, to nurture a love from our radical correspondences with the dispossessed or overshadowed:

I entered once someone's memory, I say through his brain, the seat of his illuminations. The place was planted with olive trees, and mathematical equations. On one of the trees was hanging a Van Gogh painting. The ground of that house of memory had been once the bed of a river that had run through still another person's brain. All this constitutes my spirit.

Adnan's language summons transcendent experiences, like shibboleths the poet utters to cross a room without ''thinking'' it. An empathy with ­other worlds has been a constant in this Arab-American's work, whether embracing Syrian **immigrants** and Palestinian orphans in her classic Lebanese civil war novella ''Sitt Marie Rose'' -- essential reading to grasp our current **refugee** crises -- or here in ''Night.'' Adnan's collection is ''a cosmic phenomenon,'' to borrow another phrase from the book, ''elevating us far above our daily condition.''

GHOSTSPEAKING

By Peter Boyle

370 pp. Vagabond, $29.95.

Imagine if the 18th-century poet-lexicographer Samuel Johnson had abandoned his group biography, ''The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets,'' and decided instead to invent his subjects and their verses from thin air.

That's just what the Australian poet Boyle does in ''Ghostspeaking,'' setting loose a group of 11 poets (from Latin America, France and Quebec) who never actually existed. Lazlo Thalassa, for example, ''eccentric Mexican poet of mixed Bulgarian and Turkish origins,'' writes on ''Fate and Other Inconveniences,'' while Ricardo Xavier Bousoño writes about ordinary life amid political horrors:

A day like any other in Uzbekistan.

The normality project going on in one corner

and the loading of sarin canisters in another.

The poets are ''interviewed'' and ''translated'' by Boyle, who comments from the shadows. His extraordinary palimpsest includes a magical ''traveler's notebook'' and a poem whose aura ''travels just ahead of the traveler,'' lighting the way. There are obvious echoes of Roberto Bolaño here, but Boyle's work feels less plotted and truer to the epigraph's claim (from Proust) that ''the only true journey'' involves ''seeing the universe with the eyes of another.''

Boyle's readers will wildly experience this vast inclusion: ''Once the nomads have entered you / there's no way of going back, / no way to slow the chaos in the blood.''

VIOLET ENERGY INGOTS

By Hoa Nguyen

85 pp. Wave, paper, $18.

Nguyen was born in the Mekong Delta and raised in Washington, D.C.; her poems invoke influences from Sappho to Shakespeare as she rewrites the rights of those played by love, betraying the old appeal to prove fidelity. ''I won't lawyer love,'' she says:

o Love how you plumb

and play down the spine of me It's the bay

of my youth I'm drawn to doing leg

lifts à la Jane Fonda on the wooden dock

Like a sailor's plumb, love here measures the depth of the lover's free-fall. Words echo waves across time, sounding the sexual metaphor from Shakespeare's dark lady to Fonda, who the speaker becomes, ''anchored in the bay where all men ride,'' her words falling in abeyance toward a boy of her youth on the dock of Otis Redding's overheard bay.

Nguyen's whimsical innuendos do not lack commanding rhymes or political foresight: ''In the future,'' she writes, ''there will be / no compulsory mono­gamy.'' Of the pharaoh queen Hatshepsut, Nguyen observes that she ''sported a kilt and / bare chest'' and that ''as a mummy she / is noted as 'fat.' ''

Nguyen's playful criticism of our society of the spectacle shows how we deflate the currency of ancient nobility by our own reductive values surrounding identity and beauty, as she cries the old songs down the river.

THE LAUGHTER OF THE SPHINX

By Michael Palmer

85 pp. New Directions, paper, $15.95.

How does a poet today gaze at Emerson's sphinx, to answer difficult questions? Palmer's title poem responds without cheer:

The laughter of the Sphinx

caused my eyes to bleed

The blood from my eyes

flowed onto that ancient map

of sand

Ridiculous as I am

often have I been drawn

to such lands

The poems in this coruscating two-part collection wander there like tragicomic masks, raging at the idiocies of the world or probing how meaning is made when answers escape us. In Palmer's work a ''song could mean anything'' or ''the song might mean nothing,'' so readers have permission to make what they will out of his words. And the music in these verses never exhausts itself, as a single breath contains generous space for paradox: ''Let us ravel the silence,'' one line proclaims. Yet ''to ravel'' is both to entangle and to disentangle -- thus to stay still while getting caught up in making the music. Of course you can also interpret the line as summoning the composer (or ''maker'') Ravel through the silence. ''Call the makers before they're gone,'' Palmer writes elsewhere: ''Tell them / It ain't worth the candle / Ain't worth a song.'' Like a troubadour witness, ''gone / sometimes in light / sometimes not / traveling,'' Palmer recomposes the measures of poetic song for our time, often on the ground of gone.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Providence, R.I. -- Last semester, a group came to Providence to speak against admitting Syrian **refugees** to this country. As the president of the Brown Coalition for Syria, I jumped into action with my peers to stage a counterdemonstration. But I quickly found myself cut out of the planning for this event: Other student groups were not willing to work with me because of my leadership roles in campus Jewish organizations.

That was neither the first nor the last time that I would be ostracized this way. Also last semester, anti-Zionists at Brown circulated a petition against a lecture by the transgender rights advocate Janet Mock because one of the sponsors was the Jewish campus group Hillel, even though the event was entirely unrelated to Israel or Zionism. Ms. Mock, who planned to talk about racism and transphobia, ultimately canceled. Anti-Zionist students would rather have no one speak on these issues than allow a Jewish group to participate in that conversation.

Of course, I still believe in the importance of accepting **refugees**, combating discrimination, abolishing racist law enforcement practices and other causes. Nevertheless, it's painful that Jewish issues are shut out of these movements. Jewish rights belong in any broad movement to fight oppression.

My fellow activists tend to dismiss the anti-Semitism that students like me experience regularly on campus. They don't acknowledge the swastikas that I see carved into bathroom stalls, scrawled across walls or left on chalkboards. They don't hear students accusing me of killing Jesus. They don't notice professors glorifying anti-Semitic figures such as Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt or the leadership of Hezbollah, as mine have.

Nor do they speak against the anti-Semitism in American culture. Even as they rightfully protest hate crimes against Muslim Americans and discrimination against black people, they wrongfully dismiss attacks on Jews (who are the most frequent targets of religiously motivated hate crimes in the United States) and increasing anti-Semitism in the American political arena, as can be seen in Donald Trump's flirtations with the ''alt-right.'' They don't take issue with calls for the destruction of the world's only Jewish state.

Many of my fellow activists also perpetuate anti-Semitism by dismissing Jews of color, especially the Mizrahi and Sephardi majority of Israel's Jewish population, descendants of **refugees** from Southwest Asia and North Africa. Ignoring the expulsion of 850,000 Mizrahi and Sephardi Jews from Arab and Muslim countries from 1948 to the early 1970s allows students to portray all Israelis as white and European and get away with making a ''progressive'' case for dismantling the Jewish state.

Even hummus has become politicized: Anti-Zionists at my school who demanded that cafeterias stop serving hummus produced by a company with Israeli ownership, also claimed that the product showed cultural appropriation even though Mizrahim and Sephardim have been eating Southwest Asian cuisine since long before the rise of organized Zionism.

In my experience, anti-Semites refuse to acknowledge Mizrahi and Sephardi Jews to minimize the history of oppression against Jews, and in doing so dismiss contemporary Jewish concerns. For example, non-Jewish students at Brown tell me that I cannot appreciate a history of marginalization because, as they see it, Jews have historically been a powerful group, the Holocaust being the only few years of exception. They play down the temporal and geographic scope of that history so that the oppression appears circumstantial rather than global and systemic.

These are serious issues, and social justice movements should be addressing them. I recognize my white, male and other privileges, and, accordingly, I listen to people of color, women and members of other marginalized groups and support them as allies. Likewise, I expect non-Jews at Brown and elsewhere to recognize our oppression to include us in efforts for change.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A little before 7 the other night, the prosecutor Marilyn Mosby stopped by my house in Baltimore for dinner. She was coming straight from work in one of her customary gray pantsuits, and because I was already nursing a beer, she took off her jacket with a sigh and poured herself a glass of white wine. Then we stepped onto the back deck to throw a few burgers on the grill. This being a September evening, you might imagine the yard in raking light and breezy autumnal aspect, but it was actually pretty swampy, the oppressive tonnage of summer humidity not yet given way to season's end, so as soon as the burgers looked about done, we ferried them inside and settled at the island in my kitchen to eat. After a few minutes, Mosby's husband, Nick, who sits on the City Council, knocked on my front door, let himself in and wandered through the house to join us. He took a seat two chairs down from Marilyn, leaving an empty one between them.

''Hey, Marilyn,'' he said quietly.

''Hey, Nick,'' she said. ''How are you?''

''Fine,'' he said.

''How was your meeting?''

''What meeting?''

''Didn't you have a Council meeting?''

''Oh,'' he said. ''That was a long time ago.''

She raised an eyebrow. ''Then where are you coming from just now?''

''I was waiting for you at home,'' he said.

Now she looked annoyed. ''I called you at 6:07,'' she said. ''You didn't answer.''

''Which number?'' he asked.

''Your cellphone!'' she said.

There was a long silence as Marilyn stared at Nick, who stared at the table. ''Well,'' he said, shaking his head. ''I was at home.''

I relate this bit of conversation not because it offers a perfect window on the Mosbys and their marriage, but just the opposite: because it's important to understand from the outset that what you are about to read is a narrow but intimate view. A couple in the midst of a public ordeal is not excused from life's usual bothers, and what is striking when you find yourself in proximity to a crisis isn't always the soaring arc of the fall but the way it touches against, grazes and refracts all the familiar daily torments on the way down.

In case your memory is a little foggy, the Mosbys have emerged as one of the most prominent political couples in Baltimore over the last 18 months of upheaval. Nick represents the City Council district where a 25-year-old resident, Freddie Gray, was arrested in April 2015 and where protests over his death turned to incendiary violence. Marilyn is the state's attorney who, in the midst of that unrest, took to the steps of the War Memorial downtown, facing City Hall, to announce that she was filing criminal charges against six police officers over Gray's death.

''I have heard your calls for 'no justice, no peace!' '' she boomed before a bank of television cameras in a clip that would echo across the country, would calm the simmering tenor of the city and would, at least temporarily, elevate Mosby to the role of proxy for a nation reeling with outrage and disbelief over the failure of other prosecutors in other cities to indict other police officers for the killings of other black men, including Michael Brown in Ferguson, Mo., and Eric Garner on Staten Island. In the days after her announcement, Mosby would be thrust into a woozy limelight: called onstage at a Prince benefit concert and photographed by Annie Leibovitz for Vogue.

Yet over the last year and a half, the halo around Mosby has faded as her office failed to convict any of the police officers and instead produced three acquittals, and one hung jury -- before deciding in late July to withdraw all remaining charges. She is now being sued for defamation by five of the officers she indicted and has become a go-to grievance for the voluble right, being subject to more or less constant assault on the conservative airwaves, accused of criminal misconduct by Donald Trump and featured on the cover of the police magazine Frontline under the headline ''The Wolf That Lurks.'' A steady barrage of racist hate mail and death threats still pours into her home and office. Nick Mosby has had an equally dispiriting year, having started and abandoned a campaign for mayor of Baltimore and, in the process, giving up his seat on the Council, where his term comes to an end this year. Critics often accuse the Mosbys of Clintonian ambition. A few weeks ago, Baltimore's alternative weekly, City Paper, released its annual Best of Baltimore issue, declaring them ''Best Failed Political Dynasty'' and naming Marilyn ''Best Don Quixote.''

Missing in all the hype and fizzle has been just about any public comment from the Mosbys, and particularly from Marilyn, who spent nine months under a gag order imposed by the criminal courts. At her news conference in July to announce the dismissal of charges, she seemed to offer a glimpse into her mood and thinking when she denounced the city's criminal-­justice system as hopelessly broken. ''Without real, substantive reforms,'' she said, ''we could try this case 100 times, and cases just like it, and still wind up with the same result.'' Afterward, Mosby declined to take questions, and she has mostly avoided interviews since, citing the defamation lawsuits against her.

Baltimore is a peculiar place, with its own categories of privilege. The northern sector is an enclave of white wealth that would be familiar to any New Englander, with historic stone churches and elite preparatory schools cultivating vaunted lacrosse programs, but the city is predominantly black, with mostly black political leaders, and if you're a kid like me, who came up through the public schools downtown and spent several years writing news and opinion pieces for a prominent black paper, you can gain a certain alternate privilege and entree with the city's other power base, which we might call the black establishment. It is possible to find yourself, as I did one night this spring, sitting alone with the mayor in the back of a bar to chat over a few drinks, or leaving for vacation this month with a longtime member of the City Council. So when a curious figure like Mosby emerges, even if she's bound to silence, you're only a phone call away from a personal introduction.

Which is how it came to be that one day in August, I asked a friend to put us in touch and discovered that Mosby was not only willing but eager to record a series of conversations. A couple of days before she and Nick dropped by for dinner, we traveled to Dorchester, Mass., to visit the old Victorian home where Mosby's grandmother lives, chatting around her dining table among piles of family knickknacks and photo albums, and a few days before that, we scarfed down pizza at the Mosbys' rowhouse in Baltimore, six blocks up the street from my parents, while their two young daughters, Nylyn and Aniyah, scampered around laughing and the family cat clawed at the leather chairs, with Marilyn pausing occasionally to shriek: ''Get Down! GET DOWN!''

The upshot being that after a while, these get-­togethers began to seem less like individual interviews than phases in a much longer conversation that was already well underway. As I listen to the recordings now, what jumps out is how fluid the discussion became, how quickly it would pivot from the most quotidian affairs, like a choice of condiment or a spat over a missed phone call, to a deeper slate of personal concerns that cut to the center of their lives, as the Mosbys tried to convey in whatever words they could muster the experience of these last few months, of what went wrong, and when and why, and how much they had lost. ''I don't think I'll ever be who I was before,'' Marilyn told me at one point. ''I'm still trying to figure out who this new woman is.''

Throughout all this, I was also recording conversations with a variety of other people in Baltimore, some fiercely opposed to the Mosbys, others ardent fans. At a certain point in the middle of September, after maybe three weeks of hosting gatherings, it began to feel as if my living room had become an old-­fashioned salon, in which the story of the Baltimore uprising was being endlessly retold in Rashomon variation.

Like one night in mid-­September, a cop with two decades of service on the police force swung by around 9 p.m. and spent the next hour and a half venting about Mosby's intractable incompetence. In case you are picturing some old white dude with a revanchist hankering for the good old days of zero tolerance, I want you to know that this cop is a woman of color with staunchly liberal views, who firmly supports mandatory police cameras and readily acknowledges, for example, that under the mayoralty of Martin O'Malley in the early 2000s, the Baltimore police behaved like a goon squad, rounding up black people in mass arrests without a scintilla of probable cause. ''O'Malley had us clearing corners and violating the constitutional rights of everybody,'' she said.

Even so, she regarded Mosby as a singular catastrophe for the city. One thing that most people outside Baltimore don't realize is the degree to which Mosby's election in 2014 came as a surprise. When she started her campaign to become the city's top prosecutor a year before, she was a 33-year-old corporate lawyer working for an insurance firm. Although she had spent a few years in the prosecutor's office from 2005 to 2011, she caught little notice on the job. ''I was like, 'Who is that?' '' the officer at my house recalled thinking when Mosby announced her campaign. ''And I knew pretty much every state's attorney at the district level, and every state's attorney at the Circuit Court level, and most of the judges.'' In conversation with half a dozen prosecutors who worked with Mosby, no one could remember any of the cases she handled before her election.

People have all different ways of explaining Mosby's victory, but most agree that it came down to a combination of the political connections that she and Nick developed through his seat on the City Council; a vigorous yearlong campaign of knocking on doors across the city; the failure of the incumbent state's attorney, Gregg Bernstein, to take her seriously until the final weeks of their race; and the underlying electoral math of a hyper­segregated city.

The night before the Mosbys came over for dinner, I invited a city councilman named Carl Stokes for drinks. Stokes is an old friend of mine, for whatever that disclosure is worth, and is a 66-year-old black man who has been involved in local politics since approximately forever. Over the 20 years I've known him, I would say he has become increasingly allergic to euphemism. During the uprising last year, for example, he caused a stir on CNN when he denounced the anchor for using the term ''thug'' with a flurry of unvarnished indignation that I can tell you is precisely what I love about Carl. Stokes admires Mosby, but over dinner he laid out a pretty simple theory to explain city elections. ''It's black and white,'' he said with a laugh. ''This is Baltimore! The only time the issues matter is when two candidates of the same race are competing.'' Anyone from Baltimore can think of contrary examples to what Stokes was saying, but anyone honest would have to admit that the basic gist is right.

A couple of days later, I went for a run through the city with a reporter who has covered Baltimore for many years. Zigzagging through a dozen neighborhoods along sidewalks and watershed ravines, he sketched an alternate history of how the last two years might have unfolded if Mosby had somehow lost the election, giving another prosecutor custody of the Gray case, which might have led to a different outcome in the trials while also giving Nick Mosby enough distance from the controversy to be elected mayor -- a prospect appealing to my friend, who considered Nick a rising star. At the end of this long, wistful analysis, he threw his hands in the air and said, ''We got the wrong Mosby.''

Other Baltimore reporters might tell you just the opposite. Another friend, who covers the city for a major newspaper, has told me on more than one occasion that whatever you think about the way Mosby handled the trials, you have to admire the guts she showed in taking on the Police Department, knowing that it would **alienate** many of the prosecutors in her office and every cop in the city. ''Even if you don't think she did the best job prosecuting the cases, I have a lot of respect for her,'' my friend said. He was less enthusiastic about Nick: ''I think his decision to run for mayor hurt her. Their political aspirations collided, but she's a much more compelling figure than he is.''

Marilyn Mosby took office as Baltimore's top prosecutor in January 2015, a few days before her 35th birthday. She arrived for her first day on the job with a clear focus on reform. Mosby believes that the country is in the midst of a paradigm shift in criminal justice, in which city prosecutors are learning to redirect energy from the drug war toward violent crime. ''When it comes to violent offenders, I'm going to go hard, and I'll sit in the courtroom and make sure that the jury sees me and that you get the maximum sentence,'' she told me. ''But at the same time, when we're talking about nonviolent offenses, drug offenses, I think that that's when you can exercise discretion.''

In the weeks before Mosby assumed office, she watched grand juries for Ferguson and Staten Island fail to indict police officers in high-­profile killings of black men, and she spent the period leading up to her inauguration traveling to other cities and meeting with other top prosecutors to learn how they organized their staffs to reflect the changing landscape around the drug war and police brutality. She made a point of asking each prosecutor she met how his or her office handled the investigation of police misconduct. ''That was one of the questions that I would ask every person,'' she said. ''I went to Atlanta, I met with Kamala Harris in L.A., I went to Philadelphia, I went to Manhattan, I went to Washington, D.C.''

In her first week on the job, she fired six prosecutors, setting off a round of hand-­wringing in the local media; since then, she has presided over a continuous outflow, with more than 60 prosecutors leaving over the last 21 months, which by my estimation is about five times the usual attrition. Mosby said that this is partly a consequence of reform. ''Of course the amount of turnover is going to be higher than my predecessor,'' she said. ''Because I've challenged the status quo, and people are going to have a problem with that.''

Whether you agree that losing nearly a third of her staff is a sign of a vigorous shake-up in a calcifying agency or believe instead that it's a tragic evisceration of a vital public office depends on your own inclinations. Suffice it to say that from the perspective of a cop, the replacement of so many veteran prosecutors with new attorneys has been frustrating. ''They have seriously depleted the top end,'' a police lieutenant with three decades of experience told me, ''and the result is that nobody knows what they're doing.'' Add to that the festering resentment over Mosby's decision to prosecute officers for the death of Gray, and it's fair to say that the partnership between the police and prosecutors in Baltimore is broken.

''It's a fractured relationship,'' the cop at my house the other night said with a shrug. ''It's absolutely been fractured, and I won't say it can't be repaired, but I think it's going to be a very, very long time.'' As she was preparing to leave, I asked this officer if she was willing to admit that the conflict with Mosby, and the mutual mistrust, has led police officers to pull back from their essential duties. One of the most discouraging statistics in Baltimore has been a 63 percent increase in homicides last year. As I asked about this, I watched the cop's face twist into a frown, which at first I mistook for a sign that she was offended by the question. Then she nodded.

''Absolutely,'' she said. ''You should get used to 300 murders a year.''

Mosby's childhood home in Dorchester is a gray, prefabricated duplex surrounded by a thin strip of weedy grass. In a neighborhood of large historic homes with broad eaves and wraparound porches, it stands out for being almost perfectly devoid of architectural interest. What the home lacks in grace, however, it recovers in proximity: It is just around the corner from the sprawling manse where Mosby's grandparents lived.

As I stood with Mosby outside her former home on Labor Day weekend, I was struck by how different she appeared from her professional persona. It wasn't just that she had swapped out her workaday suits for a faded purple T-shirt and jean shorts with Converse high-tops. There was also an unguarded ease about her that suggested a person in every way content to be home. When I arrived, she was settled in front of the television with her grandmother while Nick relaxed upstairs. Now, as she stood on the sidewalk around the corner, she seemed to brace herself for the inevitable rush of memory; we were on the spot where, as a young teenager, she watched her cousin die.

Mosby and I had spoken about Diron Spence before. Growing up on either side of their duplex, just three years apart in age, with the shared experience of attending mostly white schools through Boston's Metco desegregation program, Mosby and her cousin became extraordinarily close. ''He was like my brother,'' she said.

Spence was killed on an uncommonly hot afternoon in August 1994. Mosby, who was 14, was in her bedroom when she heard the crack of gunfire. ''Then I hear the doorbell going crazy, so I ran downstairs,'' she recalled. As she opened the door, she found a friend in a panic, saying, ''I think somebody just shot Diron.'' Mosby could see a figure running down the street. She shut the door, then opened it again. Diron's body was crumpled on the sidewalk. ''I seen him laying on the corner,'' she said. ''Just laying there.''

Standing on the site two decades later, Mosby was still visibly shaken. The neighborhood contained plenty of troubled kids, but Diron wasn't one. He was an honor student on his way to college. Investigators would eventually conclude that the killing was a botched robbery and a matter of mistaken identity. ''Everything is still a blur,'' she said. ''I try to suppress a lot of that stuff. I just remember seeing him laying in the street.''

We walked to the front of her grandparents' house and stepped inside. There was a billiards table in the middle of the front room and beyond it a pair of French doors leading to a large indoor pool. ''This was the hangout spot,'' she said. ''We used to have barbecues, and then my grandmother had karaoke night until like 4 in the morning every weekend.''

The crowd that gathered around Mosby's family in those days consisted mainly of cops. Mosby comes from a police family in a way that few Americans can understand. Her grandfather was a founding member of the first black police officers' association in Massachusetts and made the home both a gathering place for cops and a **refuge** for troubled kids. Although Mosby's mother and uncle shared the duplex around the corner, Mosby spent much of her childhood with her grandparents. Her mother gave birth at 17 and struggled with substance abuse, often leaving Mosby in the care of her grandmother, Marilyn Thompson.

We found Thompson in the kitchen, watching television. She is a sturdy woman with short gray hair, a shy smile and amused eyes. She told me a story about Mosby's childhood as the only black student at her elementary school in the wealthy town of Dover. ''This one other girl was Asian,'' she recalled with a smile, ''so Marilyn told the little girl, 'You and I have to stick together, because we're minorities.' '' Mosby laughed, but she had told me less anodyne stories of white children telling her they didn't want to be friends with a black girl or approaching her in the hallways, wagging their fingers and trotting out lines like, ''You go, girl.''

''I had to be representative of all black kids,'' she said. ''So at a very early age, you have to put it in perspective. I said: 'I don't speak like that. Why are you talking to me like that? You're talking to me like that because I'm black, and you have this perception about black people.' ''

As a teenager, Mosby plunged into political action. She became active in the student government and the school newspaper; she worked with a group called Weatoc, which raised awareness about issues of race and gender; she joined an organization known as Project Hip-Hop, which fosters appreciation of the civil rights movement -- she walked the bridge in Selma, Ala., and visited the grave of James Chaney in Meridian, Miss. In 1998, she enrolled at the historically black Tuskegee University, where she met Nick. Their first evening together, they stayed up until all hours dissecting politics. He was determined to return to Baltimore and enter local politics.

I asked Mosby if, during these years, she also began to see another side of the police; if like so many black Americans, she found herself stopped and questioned without cause. ''I can't tell you how many times that's happened to me and my husband,'' she said. ''But at the end of the day, what are we doing about it? Back in the day, they strategized, they organized. It wasn't just marching and protesting. And it's so frustrating to me. Do you know how much of a difference you can make by being at the table? For example, the whole Black Lives Matter -- like, start enrolling in these police departments! I'm trying to reform the system from within. Ninety-­five percent of the elected prosecutors in this country are white. Seventy-­nine percent are white men. As a woman of color, I represent 1 percent of all elected prosecutors in the country.''

As she spoke, it occurred to me that from a certain vantage, Mosby seemed almost perfectly groomed for the moment in which she burst into national attention. If you were trying to engineer a figure with the right background and life experience, the instinct and inclination to do what prosecutors for Ferguson and Staten Island did not, you would imagine a young black prosecutor, acutely aware of racial injustice and systemic oppression, who had organized herself since childhood to confront bigotry through political action, and yet someone who came from generations of police, who could not be accused of hating cops or coddling criminals, whose commitment to hard-­nosed prosecution was inspired by her own formative experience of violent crime.

Mosby and I left her grandmother in the kitchen and settled to chat in the dim light of the dining room. She seemed almost to exhale the accumulated strain of the last year and a half as she began to describe in detail the moment when she lost faith in the police investigation of Gray's death, when she realized that she didn't trust the internal review to uncover the truth and felt compelled to turn the glaring light of the prosecutor's office onto the family of blue that she'd known all her life.

''The Police Department from the very outset seemed to be going down a different route,'' Mosby said. ''They were under the impression that Freddie Gray did this to himself.''

It was April 13, 2015, when Mosby first spoke with Baltimore police officers about Gray's injuries. He had been arrested a day earlier, at the corner of Mount and Presbury Streets in a tough West Baltimore neighborhood known as Sandtown-­Winchester. Two of his neighbors used cellphones to record the scene as a pair of police officers on bicycles held him down, then dragged him to a van with his legs dangling beneath him. Gray could be heard on the video screaming in apparent pain. By the end of the day, he lay in the hospital, in a coma, with three fractured vertebrae, a crushed larynx and his spinal cord nearly severed, while the videos of his arrest began to circulate on social media.

Mosby is an avid Twitter user and saw a video that night. As she gathered with her staff the next morning for their daily meeting, she prepared a list of questions about what happened to Gray. This is routine for any situation in which prosecutors suspect that a crime might have taken place; part of their job is to coordinate with the police to draw out evidence necessary to consider charges. But when Mosby and her staff met with police officials the next day, she said, her internal alarms started going off. She believed that the police investigators were not seriously considering the possibility of wrongdoing by other cops. ''It was this perception that he had done this to himself, and it didn't add up,'' she said. ''They didn't want to do anything that we requested them to do, and we saw that right away.''

Mosby decided to look into the case independently: ''It just did not make any sense, and so I said: 'Send our investigators out to the scene. We need to figure out what's going on.' '' She told me that some prosecutors in her office were reluctant to question the police narrative so quickly. ''My team was like, 'Well, we've got to be real careful, because we need the police,' '' she said. ''I told them: 'We need the police to a certain extent, but we need to find out the truth. So I need you to go send investigators out there and find out what the hell happened.' ''

One element that raised Mosby's suspicion was the statement of a witness, Donta Allen, who was picked up by the police shortly after Gray and was held in the opposite side of the transport van. Although there was a metal partition separating the two men, the police told Mosby that Allen heard Gray intentionally smashing his head against the dividing wall. ''Donta Allen, to me, was not a credible witness,'' Mosby told me. ''This is an individual that says, 'I know the guy on the other side was banging his head!' How do you know that? There's a wall. You don't know what's banging. And it's the same thing that the police officers are trying to say. Meanwhile, Allen hasn't been charged with anything, and he's essentially being let go. I need to know who this Donta Allen is. So I had my prosecutors go down to the police station to try to pull the records to see if he's a confidential informant. My suspicion was that he was.''

Investigators for the state's attorney do not have police powers. They can knock on doors, interview witnesses and request public documents, but in order to file a search warrant, they need police support. Mosby said that on a series of requests, she could not get the Baltimore police to comply. ''We couldn't trust that they were going to follow through with everything that we needed,'' she said. One of her requests was to execute a search warrant on the personal cellphones of the officers involved. Mosby told me that she knew the officers exchanged several text messages while Gray was in the van, and she believed that the content of those messages would be important to determine what happened.

''We got a judge to sign off on the search warrant,'' she said, ''and a police investigator failed to do it. She didn't execute it, and then returned it and didn't tell us. It was just incredibly, incredibly frustrating. It was at this point where I was just like, 'You all, we cannot rely on them, so we have to do something other than working with them.' '' The lead investigator for the police, Dawnyell Taylor, told me that the cellphones were actually a ''nonfactor'' because another officer turned over a personal cellphone to the grand jury that contained innocuous messages with some of the cops involved. ''You got to see it all,'' Taylor said. ''It wasn't going to give us jack.'' (A police spokesman defended the investigation, saying detectives worked with the ''utmost integrity.'')

Mosby said she turned to the state police for help. ''We went to them with a number of items in which we said, 'Can you please follow up on this, this and this?' And they said, 'No, we'll only help you with I.T. support.' ''

Meanwhile, if you lived in Baltimore, you could feel the temperature of the street rising. On April 19, one week after Gray's arrest, the police announced that he had died. Outrage in the city began to swell, and protests filled downtown. On Saturday, April 25, demonstrators clashed with overzealous officers in riot gear outside the baseball stadium, and on April 27, officials responded to a false report of incipient violence by shutting down lines of transportation near a local mall, which only fanned the outrage further: Fights broke out, cars and buildings were torched and 130 police officers suffered injuries.

Mosby said that throughout all this, she watched the mayor, Stephanie Rawlings-­Blake, and the police commissioner, Anthony Batts, deliver misinformation to reporters. For example, Batts was undercounting the number of stops the police van made before delivering Gray to medical attention. ''First Batts said there were three stops, and we knew at that point there were four or five,'' she said. ''So I sat down with them and said: 'You know, we've got to stop putting misinformation out into the media and giving that to the public. It's going to be to our detriment.' They didn't listen.''

Mosby also believed that the Police Department was in a rush to close the case. She said that Batts ''came up with this fictitious timeline as to when the investigation would be complete, on May 1. So I'm like: 'Where are you getting this? The autopsy report isn't even usually completed that quickly.' Then the mayor started telling the media, 'Oh, absolutely we know that this death took place inside of the wagon.' Wait a minute. The investigation is not even complete. How are you going out to the public and saying you know for certain that this took place inside of the wagon?''

In private, Batts and Rawlings-­Blake are equally critical of Mosby -- and sometimes each other. Rawlings-­Blake fired Batts as commissioner in July 2015. When I contacted the mayor about Mosby's comments, she chose not to respond on the record, but Batts vehemently denied putting out misinformation. He said he thought it was important to report progress in the investigation as it happened, even if some details were likely to prove wrong. ''Cases change as you get more information,'' he said. ''But you've got to tell people something, and you've got to tell them as much as you can to be transparent.'' He said that although the preliminary police investigation was ending, he expected Mosby's investigation to continue beyond May 1.

In Dorchester, Mosby leaned back in her chair and sighed. After 18 months, the memory of her conflict with Batts and Rawlings-­Blake was still frustrating. While they argued over how much information to release and whether it was accurate, the streets of Baltimore were breaking down. ''There are protesters outside; they are burning stuff down,'' she said. ''I had told them that was going to happen, because they were exacerbating distrust. So I called the mayor, and I was livid. I was like: 'You know, this is ridiculous. You all have single-­handedly caused what's happening in this city right now.' I just screamed on her. But she was like: 'Oh, no, I'm getting phone calls from the attorney general and the president's office. They want to know -- where's the state's attorney?' I said: 'That's because you and your commissioner have set false expectations. You did this, not me. Not me.' And I was like, 'You know what else?' I can't remember what I said, but I hung up on her. And that was it.''

Just then, Nick wandered down the staircase in an old Orioles T-shirt.

''Nick,'' Marilyn said. ''Do you remember my conversation with the mayor?''

''When you asked them to stop having the press conferences?'' he asked.

''No, not that one. She said the A.G. had called. They wanted to know where the state's attorney was and why I hadn't done anything.''

Nick shot a worried glance at my tape recorder. ''Yeah, I don't remember,'' he said.

A silence descended in the room, and after a while Nick continued to the kitchen. Marilyn and I spoke for a few minutes longer, then she walked me to the door. We stood on the porch in darkness, and I asked if she felt any regret about the impact of her public profile on her private life.

''I don't know,'' she said quietly. ''It's definitely a sacrifice. This has been the most trying time in our relationship, and I've been with Nick since I was 18 years old. It's a lot of stress, and I take it out on him, unfortunately.''

''At least you're aware of that,'' I said.

''I am now,'' she said with a laugh. ''I mean, in retrospect, you can say, 'O.K., I was projecting whatever I was going through onto you.' But when you're going through it, you don't necessarily understand it.''

Mosby swallowed hard and looked away, and I walked down the street to my car. As I pulled away, she was still standing alone on the porch in darkness.

A favorite parlor game in Baltimore these days, best undertaken with bourbon, is to enumerate the various errors and blunders in the Freddie Gray trials. The most common mistake you hear attributed to Mosby is that she overcharged in the indictments, trying to establish such a profound degree of blame that it was impossible to prove. This is an accusation you hear everywhere around town, but it strikes me as the least compelling, because it overlooks the reality that prosecutors often overcharge as a matter of process, and that it's standard procedure in a criminal case to begin with the most extreme indictment that can be squeezed under the rubric of probable cause. As the case proceeds and the standard of proof rises, the arc of a case is often a matter of prosecutors tailoring those early claims down.

To my mind, the more troubling aspect of the trials is the litany of small, strange choices that aggregated until you had to wonder what prosecutors were thinking. For example, in Maryland, a criminal defendant has the right to decide whether he wants to face a judge or a jury. When a police officer is charged with a criminal offense, she enjoys the same basic rights. Pretty much anyone in Baltimore can tell you that a cop will get more sympathy from the average judge than the average jury, so it was no surprise when most of the officers asked for a bench trial. Except that it did appear to bother Mosby, who has insisted that the officers shouldn't be allowed to make that choice. Mosby told me she believes that the right to a trial by jury is so basic to the American system that the defense and the prosecution should have to agree before it can be waived. That's how the system works in federal court and some other states. If the Freddie Gray case had taken place in Atlanta, for example, a prosecutor could have forced the police officers to face a jury. As it happened, the trials took place in Baltimore.

The other glaring example like this involved Gray's pocketknife. Police claimed that the knife was illegal and used it to justify his arrest. Mosby and her staff have argued that the arrest was illegal, because police didn't know that Gray was carrying a knife when they took him into custody. The problem with this position is that it fails to account for the murky space between a stop and an arrest. Cops have a great deal of latitude -- one might say too much -- to detain a suspect, and if they find an illegal weapon during a search, they can escalate to an arrest. These are pretty rudimentary things, which is why it's bewildering that Mosby's team chose to make them an issue in the case. Taylor, the lead investigator for the police, said of Mosby, ''Maybe if she spent some time in the courtroom, she would know how this whole process worked.''

On the other hand, the level of intransigence that Mosby says she encountered from the Police Department is troubling. Especially if the officers planted an informant in the van to suggest that Gray injured himself, as Mosby suspected, and if investigators failed to execute a search warrant for the text messages. Allen, by the way, has retracted his original statements about Gray banging his head, and he denies being an informant. Mosby so distrusted the process, from top to bottom, that she did not inform the mayor of her decision to press charges until a few minutes before she announced it to the world. ''I called her five minutes before, and I said, 'I'm giving you a heads-up,' '' she said.

What has emerged, then, is a pair of irreconcilable narratives about the death of Gray -- but a trial, by nature, tends to emphasize one. The prosecution crafts a detailed story about what may have happened, leaving the defense to respond in ­pieces along the way. But there is another complex narrative for the defense, another timeline to explain Gray's death, which is endorsed by just about every cop in the city and many of the prosecutors who have left Mosby's office. I find that narrative underwhelming for several reasons, one of which is that I believe the medical examiner's conclusion that Gray's injuries suggest homicide. It's nevertheless useful to consider the alternate story, so I'll try to present it as nearly as I can.

Imagine the scene for a moment. Here is Freddie Gray. He's standing on the corner in a pair of bluejeans and a light jacket over a black Lacoste T-shirt. Let's say he's holding a few pills of dope, or let's just say he's selling them, when a pair of cops roll up on bicycles and Gray takes off.

Probably at this point the cops should let him go, because really, who cares? Veteran officers know that the city is awash in violent crime and that mucking around with Gray over a dope collar amounts to nothing. But these are cops on an enforcement detail, under pressure to make arrests, so we have a pursuit, and pretty soon, they have Gray down. But when they search his pockets, they can't find the pills. No surprise. Any suspect on the run is going to consider tossing his dope or swallowing it, and it seems as if Gray ate his. His toxicology report will eventually come back with traces of opioids in his blood, and even the cops will admit that Gray wasn't a junkie or a user. In fact, some of them will tell you that he worked with them as an informant and that they wish the flex squad had left him alone. ''When I catch somebody and I can't find the drugs, I'm like: 'All right. You win today. I'll get you tomorrow,' '' a cop who worked with Gray told me. ''But those young guys, those bike cops, honestly they're kind of looking for numbers.'''

So now the police call for a wagon, and when it comes, they hoist Gray in. At this point, he's crying out in pain and clearly dragging his legs. Any normal citizen watching the video is going to say the only humane thing to do is call for medical help, but plenty of cops see it differently. They'll tell you that people fake injuries all the time, and not only fake them but deliberately incur them to avoid jail. ''I've seen it hundreds of times, guys banging their head on the cellblock wall or the door or just thrashing around to injure themselves,'' one cop told me. In any case, Gray goes into the van with handcuffs and shackles, but no one puts his seatbelt on. That may seem negligent, but cops say it was completely normal; that if you get close enough to strap someone in, there's a chance he'll strike out. ''Their knees are literally touching the center wall, so you would have to crawl across their waist to buckle them in,'' a longtime officer told me. ''So if he's sitting on the right side of the van, you're going to have to lean over him with your gun side basically sticking in his stomach, and you're at his mercy. Even though he's handcuffed, he can bite you, he can knee you, he can head-butt you.'' The cop with three decades of experience told me, ''I never saw one single guy seat­belted, ever, before Freddie Gray.''

So the van takes off with Gray shackled and possibly injured, loose in the back without a seatbelt. Next you have the ''rough ride.'' There's been a lot of talk about this: cops driving fast around corners and making sudden stops with suspects in the van. Nobody on the police force will say this never happened. It's a point of fact in Baltimore, especially in decades past, and any good cop will tell you that giving somebody a rough ride should be grounds for disciplinary action. But a lot of cops don't believe that it happened to Gray. Think about the dynamic, they say. These are a couple of cops on bicycles calling for a wagon. The driver doesn't care about them. ''They're just here to pick up your guy, search him, take him to central booking, drop him off,'' one cop said. ''There's no camaraderie, like, 'Oh, we're going to get him for you.' That's not going to happen.''

Maybe the van driver has his own agenda, or maybe Gray is simply in the back of a wagon bouncing through the cratered streets of West Baltimore. Either way, by the time he comes out, he's in critical condition. We know from the autopsy that the way he was dragging his legs wasn't substantiated by any known injury. Cops will tell you that after faking a medical calamity, Gray gave himself a real one inside the wagon.

And that's your basic police narrative. Call it the case for the defense. If you find it convoluted and improbable compared with the simple explanation that the police roughed him up and bounced him around until he died, then the question becomes, If the prosecution's story is so obvious, why was it so hard to convict? One member of the hung jury told me that, although she is a black woman from the city who appreciates the problem of police brutality, ''11 out of 12 of us felt like the prosecution should have done a better job, and some of us are individuals who were for conviction.''

Mosby likes to say that even without convictions, the trials have done more good than she could have hoped. The Police Department has installed cameras inside vans and adopted new requirements for the use of force and the provision of medical care. Two weeks after Mosby dropped the remaining charges, the Justice Department released a blistering review of the discriminatory practices of the Baltimore police; under federal scrutiny, the department is likely to implement a raft of reforms. But the most important impact of the trials may be in the way future investigations of the police unfold. This month, Mosby plans to introduce, with a consortium of other prosecutors from around the country, a set of five recommendations that would give prosecutors more independence and authority to investigate the police.

Still, in the case of Freddie Gray, the uncomfortable truth remains that if, like Mosby, you believe that a man was killed by police negligence, you must also accept that the officers accused of killing him went free. The question that lingers around Mosby, then, is really one of shading: whether the failure to convict was a result of her own mistakes or of the larger forces arrayed against her. Whether, that is, the fatal error was personal or systemic, whether it was pride or destiny that stopped her, whether the tragedy is Shakespearean or Greek.

Over dinner at my place, conversation with the Mosbys drifted between this and that, before turning to their political aspirations, once shared, now driven apart. Since the day they met at Tuskegee, they worked together for every ambition, helping to manage each other's campaigns and careers. But within weeks of Marilyn's inauguration, news reports began to imply that Nick was pulling the strings in her office. To blunt the accusation, Marilyn felt compelled to put distance between them. As the trials commenced and Nick ran for mayor, the distance widened. If her battle with the Police Department cast a shadow over his campaign, his campaign added fuel to the criticism that her prosecution was politically driven. ''Had he run for mayor not now, but next time, ... '' she mused one evening as we sat in her corner office overlooking the dusky skyline. Her voiced trailed off, then she said, ''But this is his dream, and you don't ever want to be discouraging.''

Marilyn told me that she and Nick had never talked openly about the distance, but as dinner wound down in my kitchen, it came up.

We were talking about the criticism of his influence, and she said, ''I had to establish my own sort of leadership, because I was being accused of him running my office.''

Nick turned to Marilyn. ''Our strength has always been working together,'' he said.

''I have to take into consideration the political ramifications,'' she said. ''You may be asking what took place at work, but because I'm so much on guard, I don't want to talk about that. But then that creates this. ... ''

''Chasm,'' Nick said.

''A chasm between us,'' she said.

''There's always going to be some level of disconnect there,'' Nick said. ''I don't see it ever returning back to the level where it was.''

Marilyn looked surprised. ''Like you mean the damage has been done?'' she asked.

''It's just like, that's what the relationship is now,'' he said.

There was a long silence, and I realized that when you looked at the fallout from Gray's death -- the devastation to his family, the eruption of the city, the polarizing trials and dismissed charges, the rift between cops and prosecutors and the surging violence -- the scars were everywhere in this city, but it sometimes seemed as if the only public figure who had really suffered for his death, who put her career and private life on the line, whether right or wrong, the elected official who paid the highest price was the one who set out to make sure someone did.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**RE: FIRST WORDS

Wesley Morris wrote about Colin Kaepernick and the question of who gets to be called a ''patriot.''

The near requirement that a person stand for the national anthem is a peculiarly American notion. What should be more meaningful and profound are the freedoms and liberties that the anthem represents, including the right to protest injustice against you or others. Colin Kaepernick has been excoriated by many for not being grateful or patriotic enough. I'd say that the conversation he is helping to inspire is about as patriotic as a person can get. Edwin Andrews, Malden, Mass.

Historically, it has always been the patriot willing to challenge the status quo who has effected the most meaningful change. It is difficult and sometimes dangerous to do so, and for this reason, these people have my utmost admiration. There is something genuinely sad about the ''love it or leave it'' crowd, who are seemingly incapable of doing an independent analysis of what is happening in their country, but who are so desperate to seem worthy of praise that they engage in a symbolic one-upmanship of nationalistic fervor. Destined to serve as political pawns, they actually do more harm than good to their country, as they help to stifle meaningful review of military or government policy.

This is a fine essay that explores how the ignorant fears of the knee-jerk ''patriot'' overlap with the ignorant fears at the root of racism and xenophobia. That these fears are still rampant in 21st-century American life is a bleak testimony to the failings of both the education system and what poses as political leadership these days. May future generations find a way to better celebrate the challengers of the status quo. Philip Conrad, Montreal

When it's just a lapel pin, which seems to have become a required piece of jewelry for every official or candidate for an elected position, it's easy to be ''patriotic.'' It's much harder to be a patriot and serve the country or be a patriot and pay your taxes because those taxes support the country. It's actually quite unpatriotic to hide money in offshore accounts, outsource jobs to avoid hiring, training and paying Americans or encourage deliberately underpaid employees to apply for food stamps and welfare.

Patriotism can mean disagreeing with your country or protesting. It can mean standing up for your country, celebrating its traditions, welcoming new citizens and respecting others who are different. But every time someone tells me that it's unpatriotic to say that there are things I don't like about America or tells me how to be patriotic, I wonder how fragile that person's patriotism is. Wrapping yourself in the flag is not patriotism. Applying and understanding the Constitution is. So is defending the rights of someone to make statements you find unpleasant. Andrea L. Alterman, Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y.

RE: **IMMIGRATION**

Alec MacGillis wrote about the failure of the Republican-led House to reach a compromise on **immigration**.

It is pretty clear that the House of Representatives could have passed **immigration**-reform legislation if John Boehner would have had the courage to break the undemocratic and highly partisan ''Hastert rule,'' which blocks a floor vote unless a majority of the majority party supports the bill, and would have put forth for a vote the bipartisan legislation passed by the Senate.

As President Andrew Jackson has been credited with saying, ''One man with courage makes a majority.'' Boehner, the speaker of the House, was not a man of courage. He missed the opportunity to pass historic legislation and to gain his place in history. He has done irreparable damage to the country and to the Republican Party. He is one of the individuals most responsible for the rise of Donald Trump. Jorge D. Fraga, on nytimes.com

Clearly, the only question on our legislators' minds in considering legislation is ''What's in it for me?'' We need to bring back earmarks -- a few bridges to nowhere would be a cheap price to pay for getting a functioning legislature again.

How can these people admit that they failed to even vote on legislation that they believe is in the best interest of the country? Isn't that a violation of their oaths of office? And as Christians, how do they sleep at night knowing the fear that pervades so many homes in our country as children go to bed hoping they will wake up to an alarm clock and not armed federal officers bursting in? I guess ''Christian'' doesn't mean what I thought it meant. Paula, on nytimes.com

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PLAY ANYTHING

The Pleasure of Limits, the Uses of Boredom, and the Secret of Games

By Ian Bogost

266 pp. Basic Books. $26.99.

THE TETRIS EFFECT

The Game That Hypnotized the World

By Dan Ackerman

264 pp. PublicAffairs. $25.99.

DEATH BY VIDEO GAME

Danger, Pleasure, and Obsession on the Virtual Frontline

By Simon Parkin

254 pp. Melville House. $25.95.

Hopscotch. Fantasy sports leagues. Settlers of Catan. Dungeons & Dragons. Beer pong.

We are a nation at play. We love games. But there's nothing frivolous about it.

In these digital days, to think about play means moving beyond Parcheesi boards and the phalanxes of Las Vegas blackjack tables. We must stare into the almost $100-billion-a-year video game abyss, an industry soon poised to overshadow all other forms of entertainment and diversion -- motion pictures, television, books and Donald Trump combined.

Three books examine the appeal and purpose of games, video and otherwise, probing the reasons some of these playthings have become so engaging, addictive and even good for you.

In ''Play Anything: The Pleasure of Limits, the Uses of Boredom, and the ­Secret of Games,'' Ian Bogost takes the widest angle view, promising to ''upset the deep and intuitive beliefs you hold about seemingly simple concepts like play and its supposed result, fun.'' Bogost, who also wrote ''How to Talk About Videogames,'' is a philosopher, professor at the Georgia Institute of Technology and video game designer. Proposing an aesthetic of play, he draws on myriad examples, from golf to the task of watering his lawn to his daughter's self-directed rules of ''step on a crack, break your mother's back.''

The direct but oftentimes ­repetitive, idea-driven prose of ''Play Anything'' might remind you of the applied-­philosophy tactics of an Alain de Botton, even as Bogost makes no grand claim that games can make you a better person. Indeed, Bogost tries to disabuse us of what he perceives as the false gods of fun, ranging from the ''spoonful of sugar'' advice of Mary Poppins (''I dare you to try to follow this advice'') to the decluttering mantra of Marie Kondo and the entire field of ''happiness science.'' But games do combat ''the fear of ordinary life,'' the feeling of ''our minds flip-flopping between heartfelt commitment and sorrowful disdain,'' ­Bogost writes. ''Games aren't appealing because they are fun, but because they are limited. Because they erect ­boundaries. Because we must accept their structures in order to play them.'' Fun is therefore ''the feeling of finding something new in a familiar situation.'' Hence, Pokémon Go, which, like soccer and other video games, is another ''deliberate, if absurd, pursuit,'' as Bogost might call the smartphone game known for sending millions on quests to capture creatures named ­Venusaur and Muk virtually lurking in city parks and on your front lawns.

A clear steppingstone on the road to Pokémon Go was ­Tetris. This legendary Russian video game, Bogost writes, involves the quick arrangement of ''four orthogonally connected squares.'' Programmed in 1984 by Alexey Pajitnov, a young researcher at the Russian Academy of Sciences, the game was the first-­ever software to arrive from behind the Iron Curtain to this country. That history is the single focus of ''The Tetris Effect: The Game That Hypnotized the World.'' The first-time author Dan ­Ackerman, a journalist and CNET editor, puts together, brick by painstaking brick, the tale of that journey, one that upends the standard Silicon Valley, Steve Jobs/Mark Zuckerberg technology-creation myth. This version unfolds in the 1980s and '90s, during a ­Soviet age in which the term ''distribution'' meant delivering floppy disks by hand.

When Ackerman evokes this clunkier era ruled by DOS, IBM PCs and Soviet bureaucrats clueless about property rights, the story shines. But when this rich setting is abandoned, the narrative falters (unless you're excited by endless minutiae about licensing negotiations). Oddly, despite interviewing many of the major players who shaped the destiny of Tetris, Ackerman includes almost none of their direct quotes or reflections. Further, Ackerman's main story is broken up by ''Bonus Level'' chapters that distractingly detail, for example, clinical uses of Tetris to study PTSD. Factoid-filled boxes also litter the layout; personally, I would have preferred screenshots of the game itself. These deficits aside, at least he makes clear what was groundbreaking about ­Pajitnov's creation: ''the idea of using a video game to play with space and structure, with no distracting narrative elements or cartoonish mascots'' such as Pac-Man. ''Before Tetris and its trance-­inducing waterfall of geometric puzzle pieces, video games were brain-dulling distractions for preteens.''

The question of why video games are so engrossing -- O.K., even addictive -- forms the DNA of ''Death by Video Game: Danger, Pleasure, and Obsession on the Virtual Frontline.'' Simon Parkin's investigation was inspired by the shocking deaths of fanatical gamers in Taiwan and other countries, and seems to pick up where Tom Bissell's 2010 deep dive into the genre's allure, ''Extra Lives: Why Video Games Matter,'' left off. Parkin, a gaming and gaming-culture journalist, has more interesting ideas than Ackerman, and more of a literary eye for scenic and investigative detail than Bogost. Making the case that video games ''are somehow different'' from films or novels, Parkin writes that playing one ''leaves us reeling and bewildered, hungry and ghosted in the fug of chronoslip,'' his term for how digital games can create out-of-body ­experiences that are also out of time.

''Death by Video Game'' divides its ­argument into chapters -- among them, ''Success,'' ''Belonging,'' ''Mystery,'' ''Healing'' -- that sound like attributes you'd want your avatar to possess on its path through a massively multiplayer online game. Each chapter profiles gamers or game designers immersed in their particular compulsion: Grand Theft Auto, Dance Dance Revolution, Eve Online and No Man's Sky; classics like Elite, Missile Command and ­Donkey Kong; indie games like Papers, Please (which asks players to assume the role of an **immigration** officer) or That Dragon, Cancer (which simulates the heartbreak of having a child with terminal cancer). If ''Death by Video Game'' begins to feel episodic and disjointed, it is: Nearly the entire book is a pastiche of profiles that originally appeared in publications like The New Yorker Online and Eurogamer.

Parkin is not so much making an argument about video games as curiously plumbing the genre's appeal. ''Video games give a person the opportunity to survive and thrive within a system,'' he offers, but they also ''create unfamiliar places with unfamiliar vistas'' where ''people can belong. Many characters are blank sheets, ready for us to project our own stories and ideas onto.'' More violent games might ''allow us to explore our own darkness.'' Tetris, he says, ''replicates the sense of being overwhelmed as life's problems and demands pile up more quickly than you are able to clear them away.'' A game provides agency, whereas life can be unbeatable. For a man consumed with grief, a fantasy game like Skyrim provides **refuge**, a world of ''easily digestible tasks,'' Parkin writes, that allows him ''to be anchored.'' The ''whys'' behind our gaming obsession can seem as infinite as the digital playground of Minecraft.

If the chockablock structures each of these authors concocts can, at times, feel as rote or automatic as grinding through the levels of a World of Warcraft quest, so be it. Each in its own way, these books demonstrate the importance of thoughtful, serious criticism on gaming and play. Humans are now firmly connected to this new medium that, unlike film or literature, has had only a few decades to find its voice. Meanwhile, as Bogost reminds us: ''We don't even know what fun is.''

''We consume a book, but a game consumes us,'' Parkin says. Best we understand these beasts -- whether Pokémon's Snorlax, Hypno or Wigglytuff or many others -- because they stand poised now to devour us.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**THE Republican Party's politicians have mostly surrendered to Donald Trump. The Republican Party's entertainers have mostly been enthusiastic about his candidacy. But the conservative intelligentsia -- journalists, think-tankers and academics -- has been conspicuous in its resistance.

Now, though, we have ''Writers and Scholars for America'' -- a collection of prominent signatories to the proposition that given the available options, ''Donald J. Trump is the candidate most likely to restore the promise of America.''

The list of names is an interesting mix: There are hacks of the sort who inevitably flutter toward Trump's flame, but there are also writers I've admired for many years. And while there is no unifying manifesto, it's possible to piece together the arguments that attract these thinkers to Trump's candidacy.

Those arguments seem at first blush to be in tension. On the one hand, many of the pro-Trump thinkers seem to believe that for all his distinctive vices, Trump would probably end up governing largely as a conventional Republican. Believing as they do that liberal ideas are dangerous or destructive, these conservatives see the 2016 election as a straightforward lesser of two evils situation, in which the Republican nominee's indecency is preferable to the damage that a Hillary Clinton presidency would all but guarantee.

But then you also have others who are attracted to Trump precisely because he isn't a conventional Republican. Reagan-era conservatism had its time and failed, these Trump-supporting intellectuals suggest, and the time has come to roll the dice, to embrace a change agent even if he seems gross and seedy and bigoted, because the alternative is staying on a fatal course.

Some of these writers feel that the American republic has already gone under, we're just choosing between elected emperors, and you might as well gamble on a Caesar who's willing to flay the empire's ruling class. Others take the more modest view that Trump is correct on particular issues (**immigration**, foreign policy, the importance of the nation-state) where the bipartisan consensus is often wrong, and his candidacy is a chance to vote against an elite worldview that desperately needs to be chastened and rebuked.

I said that these two perspectives seem to be in tension, but it's actually pretty easy to combine them. If Trump gets restrained by his advisers, he'll be a typical Republican, this combination would go, and if he stays true to his own essential Trumpiness, he'll be the scourge our rotten system needs.

If ideas were all, this would be a plausible argument. Trump is too mercurial to be fully trusted on judicial appointments or any other issue that matters to the right. But it's reasonable to think that the way he's campaigned -- on a mix of standard-issue Republican ideas and populist-nationalist heresies -- is the way that he will try to govern.

But the problem comes in with that one word, ''try.''

Set aside for a moment Trump's low character, his penchant for inflaming racial tensions, his personal corruptions. Assume for the sake of argument that all that can be folded into a ''lesser of two evils'' case.

What remains is this question: Can Donald Trump actually execute the basic duties of the presidency? Is there any way that his administration won't be a flaming train wreck from the start? Is there any possibility that he'll be levelheaded in a crisis -- be it another 9/11 or financial meltdown, or any of the lesser-but-still-severe challenges that presidents reliably face?

I think we have seen enough from his campaign -- up to and including his wretchedly stupid conduct since the first debate -- to answer confidently, ''No.'' Trump's zest for self-sabotage, his wild swings, his inability to delegate or take advice, are not mere flaws; they are defining characteristics. The burdens of the presidency will leave him permanently maddened, perpetually undone.

Even if that undoing doesn't lead to economic or geopolitical calamity (yes, Virginia, there are worse things than the Iraq War), which cause or idea associated with Trumpism is likely to emerge stronger after a four-year train wreck? Not populism or **immigration** restrictionism. Not evangelical Christianity. Not economic conservatism. They'll all be lashed to the mast of a burning ship whose captain is angrily tweeting from the poop deck.

Months ago, I worried that Trump was too authoritarian to be entrusted with the presidency. That worry has receded a bit, because authoritarianism requires a ruthless sort of competence that Trump cannot attain.

But fecklessness in the presidency can be as destructive as malice, and not just to the country: A disastrous chief executive can do devastating damage to his own political ideas.

In this sense the intellectuals' case for Donald Trump fails because it cannot shake free of those ideas and see the personal element here clearly.

What Trump believes, what he intends to do in office -- those questions are ultimately secondary to the problem of the man himself, and the near-certainty that he will fail, and in failing, betray anyone who has lent him their support.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LAS VEGAS -- On paper at least, Asian-Americans seem like perfect Republicans. Many are small-business owners. Their communities tend to be more culturally conservative. And a lot of them, having fled oppressive Communist governments, found comfort in the Republican Party's aggressive anti-Communist policies.

But in what could be a significant realignment of political allegiance, Asian-Americans are identifying as Democrats at a quicker pace than any other racial group. And many Republicans worry this election will only accelerate that trend, damaging their party for years to come with what is now the fastest-growing minority in the country.

The Republican presidential nominee, Donald J. Trump, is not helping. His attacks on the Chinese -- which he has sometimes delivered in a crude, mocking accent -- are a feature of his populist campaign. He has suggested cutting off **immigration** from the Philippines, citing fears that the longtime American ally poses the same national security threat as countries like Syria and Afghanistan.

Mr. Trump's talk of deporting millions of undocumented **immigrants** has also stirred up painful memories among a group that has been singled out under American law before, whether by the Chinese Exclusion Act, which barred the **immigration** of Chinese laborers until 1943, or by the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II.

''It's like we're going back in time,'' said Marc Matsuo of Las Vegas, who grew up in Hawaii with parents of Japanese ancestry and recalled how his family used to feel uncomfortable expressing their heritage, to the point they would not speak Japanese. He now helps register Asian-Americans to vote. ''I was always brought up that you don't talk about religion, you don't talk about politics. Not anymore.''

Though Asian-Americans are still just 4 percent of the overall eligible voting population, their political power is concentrated in important swing states like Nevada and Virginia, where both parties have been building on their efforts to reach out.

In and around Las Vegas, home to one of the country's largest Asian populations, this means printing campaign leaflets in Korean, having a Vietnamese translator on standby at speeches, publishing op-ed articles in the local Filipino newspaper and hiring employees who know enough Mandarin to recruit voters at the Chinatown seafood market.

Hillary Clinton's campaign has a resident staff member in Las Vegas dedicated to Asian-Americans and Pacific Islanders. Staff members and volunteers here speak Chinese, Korean, Hindi and Tagalog, the Filipino language. The campaign has recently been conducting native language training on how to use voting machines in a local Chinese cultural center. Volunteers are sent to court supporters in Buddhist temples.

Though Mr. Trump's campaign announced a new Asian Pacific American Advisory Committee last week, a Republican National Committee spokesman, Ninio Fetalvo, said Mr. Trump's outreach to Asian-American voters had been coordinated until now mainly through two staff members at the party's Washington headquarters. The party, he added, has also printed materials in a variety of Asian languages in cities like Las Vegas.

Republicans' difficulties with Asian-Americans are similar to those the party has faced with most minority groups. A sense that the party is hostile to **immigrants**and minorities has driven more Asian-American voters into the Democratic Party lately, political scientists and community leaders said. And if Republicans do not make more of an effort, those voting shifts could harden, just as Hispanics' voting patterns have.

''What we see now are some early indications that people who either leaned toward the Democratic Party or did not identify with either party are now starting to identify as Democrats,'' said Karthick Ramakrishnan, a professor of political science at the University of California, Riverside. ''This is still a group that is making up its mind,'' he added, ''but it should be concerning to the Republican Party that you're starting to see this crystallization.''

A national survey in the spring by Asian and Pacific Islander American Vote, a nonpartisan research group, showed ''a significant leftward shift'' since 2012 among Asian-American registered voters, with 47 percent now identifying with the Democratic Party, compared with 35 percent in 2012. Fifteen percent identified as Republican.

In 1992, the year national exit polls started reporting Asian-American sentiment, the group leaned Republican, supporting George Bush over Bill Clinton 55 percent to 31 percent. But by 2012, that had reversed. Asian-Americans overwhelmingly supported President Obama over Mitt Romney -- 73 percent to 26 percent, almost the same margin by which Hispanics favored Mr. Obama.

A Pew Research Center report released last month showed that Asian-Americans have since 2008 embraced the Democratic Party at a faster rate than any other ethnic group.

Still, many Republicans believe that the damage is reversible and see Asian-Americans' political identity as still very young and malleable. For example, among many Asian-Americans, there is a tendency to be less forgiving on illegal **immigration**, which is sometimes seen -- unfairly or not -- as an issue specific to Latinos.

Lanhee Chen, who was Mitt Romney's policy director in 2012, said the effect of Mr. Trump's harsh talk on **immigration** could be more muted with Asian-Americans than it is with other minorities. ''Trump has not been helpful,'' Mr. Chen said. ''Now is it as directly harmful as it would be to Latinos? I don't think so.''

As Asian-Americans have replaced Hispanics as the nation's fastest growing racial group, Nevada has become the center of their emerging political class. Asian-Americans are now about 7 percent of the electorate in the state, a figure that is expected to double by 2060.

Democrats and Republicans have concluded that winning in closely divided Nevada requires performing strongly among Asian-Americans: The state's Republican senator, Dean Heller, carried Asian-Americans when he narrowly won in 2012. And Harry Reid, the state's long-serving Democratic senator who is retiring, performed even better with them than he did among Hispanics in his 2010 election.

None of which is lost on the two candidates vying to succeed Mr. Reid: Representative Joe Heck, the Republican, employs an aide who speaks Mandarin and has made Kamayan dinners -- traditional Filipino banquets -- as much a campaign staple as marching in parades. And Catherine Cortez Masto, the Democrat, grew up in the Las Vegas neighborhood that has since become the city's Chinatown, with Korean barbecue restaurants, Vietnamese noodle bars, foot spas and Chinese arches. When she attended a lunar celebration last month, she spoke in English as someone translated her words into Vietnamese.

As much as Mr. Trump's positions seem to be driving Asian-Americans into the Democratic Party, the group defies easy political categorization. Many Koreans are evangelical Christians. Filipinos overwhelmingly belong to the Roman Catholic Church. Many Vietnamese who emigrated during the war identify closely with the Republican Party's anti-Communism.

''In general, Asian values are very much in line with Republican values: family, education, the country needs to be stable,'' said James Yu, a member of the Las Vegas Asian Chamber of Commerce, which has endorsed Mr. Heck in the Senate race. Notably, it has not backed Mr. Trump.

By November, about 9.3 million Asian-Americans will be able to vote nationally, or 4 percent of the eligible voting population. That is up from eight million in 2012. And that growth has spawned new civic organizations, like the nonpartisan Asian Community Development Council in Las Vegas, which aims to boost the group's low voter turnout. Only 47 percent of eligible Asian-Americans voted in 2012.

Vida Chan Lin, the group's founder, said that her message each time she goes out to register Asian-Americans to vote -- in casinos' employee lunchrooms, in Chinatown shopping malls and at employee orientations for businesses like the Panda Express fast-food chain -- is that they have to harness the power of their growing numbers.

''We've got to get them to vote,'' Ms. Lin said in her office, which was humming with volunteers planning registration drives, as well as follow-up calls as reminders to vote.

One positive consequence of Mr. Trump's divisiveness, she said, was that interest in the election is like nothing she has ever seen. And the chatter about it follows her everywhere, she added: ''When I went to China, they were talking about it.''

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the First Draft newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Hillary Clinton's campaign and the main group supporting it, Priorities USA, hit the airwaves this week with new Spanish-language ads as they look to increase their lead among Hispanic voters in key swing states. An ad called ''Disappear,'' from Priorities, focuses on deportation.

THE AD A Hispanic family smiles and shares a box of cereal around a table, but they quickly fade from the scene, leaving an unswept table and dirty dishes. ''This is a country where we speak English,'' Mr. Trump is heard saying, with subtitles in Spanish. The disappearance motif builds through the spot: A woman working at her laptop fades away, her computer screen still flashing; a family reading a book in bed vanishes, followed by a woman studying on the lawn.

''Donald Trump wants to see us disappear,'' the narrator says in Spanish. Spliced between each disappearance are quotes from Mr. Trump, discussing his deportation plans: ''I want everybody out.''

THE MESSAGE Mr. Trump's hard-line **immigration** policies, which experts have estimated would lead to the deportation of millions of unauthorized **immigrants**in the country, would lead to the loss of friends, family members and neighbors in Hispanic communities.

TAKEAWAY The Clinton team has made Hispanic outreach a cornerstone of its advertising efforts, spending more than $2.5 million on Spanish-language advertising on broadcast alone, according to Kantar Media/CMAG. This ad, combined with an ad from the Clinton campaign highlighting Hispanic residents proudly proclaiming that they are voting in their first election, seeks to harness that energy just as early voting is beginning. Immediately after the first debate, Googlesearches for ''voter registration'' surged in Hispanic communities, where high turnout is essential for Mrs. Clinton to win in states crucial to her victory, like Colorado and Florida.

A recent Mason-Dixon poll found Mr. Trump down 35 points to Mrs. Clinton among Hispanics in Florida. These ads, coming as Mr. Trump escalated his feud with a former Miss Universe, Alicia Machado, who is Hispanic, have made for a tough week for Mr. Trump among Hispanic voters.

Changing channels ...

Asked and Answered

Mrs. Clinton just discovered the dangers of a rhetorical question, courtesy of a new Trump ad. Not long after she said this month in Florida, ''Why aren't I 50 points ahead, you might ask?'' the Trump campaign quickly offered an answer in a new ad featuring a list of grievances. ''Maybe it's because the director of the F.B.I. said you lied about your emails,'' a narrator says. ''Or maybe it's because you call Americans 'deplorable,''' he continues, as the now infamous clip plays of Mrs. Clinton deriding some of the Trump supporters. The ad closes as it opened, and adds a rhetorical question: ''Do you really need to ask?''

Beer Politics

There's the ''Trump Wall,'' a towering 55-foot barricade of best-in-the-world concrete, and then there's the Tecate Beer Wall, waist high and the perfect place to rest an ice-cold, glistening brew. In a rare political ad from a commercial enterprise, Tecate poked fun at the central tenet of the Trump appeal, envisioning a wall that ''brings us together,'' described with Trumpian hyperbole, like ''tremendous'' and ''the best wall.'' Stretching for miles across a desert landscape, four men from Mexico and four men from California meet at the wall, sharing a cooler of beers and at one point hopping over from the California side to the Mexican. The ad concludes, ''This wall may be small, but it will be huge.''

Toilet Humor

Getting attention in a down-ballot local race can be tough, driving candidates to get more creative in their ad making. John DiSanto, a candidate for State Senate in Pennsylvania, went with not one, not two, but three toilet humor jokes in his new ad. ''As a businessman and farmer, I've had to deal with a lot of crap,'' he says, as a shot of him spearing manure with a pitchfork pans across the screen. Pivoting to his opponent, Mr. DiSanto comes right out with it, saying, ''He's spreading a lot of --'' before going to a bleeped-out, four-letter word. The ad then traces over his record, before going for one more joke: ''These career politicians produce a lot of manure, so it's good I've got some big equipment.''

Numbers

$18.4 million spent on the Florida Senate general election.

$56.8 million spent on the presidential election in Florida.

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the First Draft newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald J. Trump is often seen at rallies or on reality television or across from a journalist. But on Friday, a Washington judge made public video showing Mr. Trump in a far more subdued setting: the deposition room.

The video shows Mr. Trump, in a black suit and blue tie, sitting in an nondescript law office in June answering questions in his suit against Geoffrey Zakarian, a celebrity chef who backed out of Mr. Trump's new hotel development at the Old Post Office Pavilion in Washington. Mr. Trump is also suing another chef, José Andrés, who backed out of another restaurant.

The chefs pulled out after Mr. Trump made incendiary comments last year about Mexican **immigrants** as he announced his presidential campaign. Mr. Trump said Mexico was sending people with ''problems'' -- ''They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists.''

He is suing the companies associated with Mr. Zakarian and Mr. Andrés for breach of contract.

In the deposition, Mr. Trump sat for about 100 minutes, often with his arms folded and sometimes swaying in his chair. He answered questions about the contracts with the chefs and about his remarks on Mexicans, telling Mr. Zakarian's lawyer, Deborah Baum, that he had been misinterpreted by the news media, which he called ''very dishonest.''

''All I'm doing is bringing up a situation which is very real, about illegal **immigration**,'' he said during the deposition. ''And I think, you know, most people think I'm right.''

He explained that his raising the topic of illegal **immigration** ''led to my nomination in a major party in the country.''

''I've tapped into illegal **immigration**,'' he said. ''I've tapped into other things, also. But, you know, when you get more votes than anybody in the history of the party, history of the party by far -- more than Ronald Reagan, more than Richard Nixon, more than Dwight D. Eisenhower who won the Second World War -- you know, that's pretty mainstream, when you think about it.''

The judge in the Zakarian case ordered the release of the deposition video, as well as those of two of Mr. Trump's children, in response to requests from news organizations, including BuzzFeed News, which posted the footage online.

A federal court judge hearing a separate fraud case pertaining to Trump University recently decided not to make public the video of Mr. Trump's deposition in the case.

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the First Draft newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**They stayed up late studying for civics tests. They went to classes, paid hefty fees and underwent background checks.

During the last year, nearly a million legal **immigrants** applied to become American citizens, many of them hoping to take the oath of citizenship in time to cast their first ballots on Nov. 8 in a presidential race where **immigration** has been fiercely debated.

But as the number of aspiring citizens grew this year, the backlog at the federal agency that approves naturalizations swelled. With the agency now reporting that it takes up to seven months to complete the process, Obama administration officials are reluctantly admitting that many -- perhaps most -- of the **immigrants** in the backlog will not become citizens in time to vote.

''I've been checking my mail every day, but I haven't heard anything,'' said Francisca Fiero, 73, a Mexican **immigrant** in Las Vegas. ''I'm starting to get very worried.''

Ms. Fiero, who has had a green card for a decade, applied in January and gave her fingerprints in June. Since then, nothing. The voter registration deadline in Nevada is Oct. 18.

In the last year almost 940,000 legal **immigrants** applied to become citizens, a 23 percent surge over the previous year. As of June 30, more than 520,000 applications were waiting to be examined, a pileup that increased steadily since last year.

**Immigration** officials ''anticipated that there would be a spike in applications this year, but the increase has exceeded expectations,'' said Jeffrey T. Carter, a spokesman for the United States Citizenship and **Immigration** Services, the agency in charge of naturalizations.

The official figures revealing the backlog, published in late September, came as a shock to **immigrant** groups that put on a nationwide push early this year to help eligible **immigrants** to naturalize. Some of the biggest increases in applications came in battleground states where they had focused their efforts, including a 30 percent increase over a year earlier in Colorado, a 40 percent increase in Florida and a 53 percent increase in Nevada.

''The agency has developed an acute case of the slows, and it could not be a more critical moment,'' said Tara Raghuveer, deputy director of the National Partnership for New Americans, a coalition of 37 groups that held citizenship workshops around the country. The groups scrambled to file applications before May 1, she said, after the **immigration** agency originally advised them that the process would take four to six months.

This year for the first time the naturalization drive also had high-profile backing from the White House, which sponsored ad campaigns, gave $10 million to community groups and made fixes to make it easier to apply. But officials said the White House was not monitoring the results to confirm that the **immigration**agency was completing naturalizations in a timely way.

In the presidential race between Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump, the **immigrant** vote could be pivotal, especially in states with large numbers of Latino **immigrants**.

The naturalization backlogs are bad news for Mrs. Clinton because polls in those states show Latinos favoring her by gaping margins. In Florida, for example, more than 66,000 potential new voters stuck in the backlog could be enough to affect the outcome of a race that polls show is a virtual tie.

Citizenship applications generally surge during presidential election cycles. In 2007 and 2008, more than 1.4 million **immigrants** became citizens, stirred by a combination of an impending fee increase and the historic candidacy of Barack Obama.

This year, **immigrant** groups set a goal of one million naturalizations, and the application numbers were on track to reach it. In May, the Obama administration announced another fee increase for later this year, which could have moved some latecomers to apply. Then the backlogs emerged.

Many **immigrants** decided to become citizens because they just wanted to vote, without being drawn to a particular candidate.

''I want to put in my voice to be heard just like everybody else,'' said Geraldine Rolle, a 65-year-old **immigrant** from the Bahamas, who has been a legal resident since 1991 and now lives in Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

She applied in February. After having her photograph taken in April, she heard nothing more. ''They keep telling me you have to be a citizen to vote, and now it doesn't look like I'm going to get that before the elections,'' Ms. Rolle said sadly.

Ms. Fiero, in Las Vegas, has had a rocky time. She came to the United States as a legal resident and has always kept her green card up to date. A cafeteria worker in an elementary school, she applied to naturalize in January. But the agency rejected her application as incomplete.

When many similar rejections were reported in Nevada, the Culinary Workers Union, which helped Ms. Fiero and many others to apply, appealed to Senator Harry Reid. **Immigration** officials acknowledged to Mr. Reid that the applications had been denied by mistake. Ms. Fiero was allowed to apply again a month later.

Like many Latino **immigrants**, Ms. Fiero said she was eager to vote because she does not like Mr. Trump and is a fan of Mrs. Clinton's. ''She seems like the right person to help poor families get better houses,'' Ms. Fiero said.

Officials at the citizenship agency said they shifted employees to offices where the workload had mounted and authorized overtime for many offices. But Mr. Carter, the spokesman, said that nationwide the agency was ''still within our normal processing times.''

Internal emails from the **immigration** agency's Houston office, which were recently leaked by Republican leaders in the Senate, show it was working to pick up the pace. A message on July 21 exhorted employees to finish as many naturalizations as possible before Oct. 1 ''due to the election year needs.''

But in New York, citizenship groups have heard from anxious **immigrants** who have waited as long as a year with no end in sight. In Nashville, city officials had to cancel a swearing-in ceremony planned to take place this weekend during a festival. The judge scheduled to conduct it reported no **immigrants** were ready. **Immigration** officials said other demands on agency employees' time got in the way.

The agency is also facing pressure to slow down. In a letter last week, Senators Charles E. Grassley of Iowa and Ron Johnson of Wisconsin, both Republicans, cited a recent case in which more than 800 **immigrants** who had been ordered deported were granted citizenship because of gaps in the agency's vetting.

Rather than speeding up, the agency ''should instead be putting on the brakes,'' the senators wrote.

But at the Culinary Workers Union, **immigrants** are fuming. ''It really is outrageous that people can do everything right and still be denied an important right as a citizen,'' Yvanna Cancela, a union official, said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- The Supreme Court agreed on Thursday to decide whether a federal law that denies protection to disparaging trademarks can survive First Amendment scrutiny.

The case, concerning an Asian-American dance-rock band called the Slants, will probably also effectively resolve a separate one concerning the Washington Redskins football team.

The trademark case was one of eight the justices chose from among the hundreds of petitions seeking review that had piled up over the summer.

Other new cases added to the docket concerned deportations, students with disabilities, and criminal fines.

The trademark disputes started when the Patent and Trademark Office denied protection to the band and the team under part of a federal law, the Lanham Act, that bans federal registration of trademarks that disparage, among others, ''institutions, beliefs or national symbols.''

Last year, in the Slants case, a federal appeals court in Washington found the Lanham Act's disparagement provision unconstitutional.

Writing for the majority in a 9-to-3 decision, Judge Kimberly A. Moore of the United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit said that while some of the rejected trademarks ''convey hurtful speech that harms members of oft-stigmatized communities,'' the First Amendment ''protects even hurtful speech.''

Recent Supreme Court decisions have been protective of offensive speech, including hateful protests at military funerals, depictions of animal cruelty and lies about military honors.

More generally, the court said last year in Reed v. Town of Gilbert that laws ''that target speech based on its communicative content'' were ''presumptively unconstitutional.''

The government, in its petition asking the Supreme Court to hear the Slants case, Lee v. Tam, No. 15-1293, said that the trademark law did not ban any speech and that the Slants were free to continue to use their name.

All the law does, the brief said, is offer ''federal benefits on terms that encourage private activity'' in line with legislative policy.

In an unusual move, the band agreed that the justices should hear the government's appeal, given the importance of the issues it presents. The band added that it should win on its First Amendment argument and two others: that the law is unconstitutionally vague and that ''the Slants'' is not disparaging.

The agency's decisions are so inconsistent, the band's brief said, that it ''might as well be tossing a coin.'' It has, for instance, rejected trademarks for ''Heeb,'' ''Dago,'' ''Injun'' and ''Squaw,'' saying they were disparaging. In other cases it has registered trademarks for those same terms.

In any event, the band said, it did not mean to disparage anyone. Its goal, it said, is to adopt and reform a disparaging term about Asians, much as some gay people have embraced the term ''queer.''

The Redskins also maintain that they mean no offense. For many years, the trademark office agreed, registering Redskins trademarks in 1967, 1974, 1978 and 1990. In 2014, though, it reversed course and canceled six registrations, saying they disparaged Native Americans.

The team lost before a trial judge in Virginia and has appealed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, also in Virginia. The appeal is scheduled to be argued in December.

In an unusual move, the team asked the Supreme Court to hear its case, Pro-Football Inc. v. Blackhorse, No. 15-1311, along with the Slants case, even though the Fourth Circuit has not yet ruled. The court took no action on the Redskins' petition.

The court also agreed to decide whether part of a federal law that allows the deportation of **immigrants** who commit serious crimes is unconstitutionally vague.

The law concerns ''aggravated felonies,'' a term that includes any offense ''that, by its nature, involves a substantial risk that physical force against the person or property of another may be used in the course of committing the offense.''

Last year, in Johnson v. United States, the Supreme Court ruled that a similar criminal law was unconstitutionally vague. The United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, in San Francisco, said the reasoning in the Johnson case also doomed the provision of the **immigration** law.

The Obama administration, in its petition urging the Supreme Court to hear the case, Lynch v. Dimaya, No. 15-1498, said the Ninth Circuit, which hears appeals from federal courts in nine Western states, had overlooked distinctions between the two laws.

The appeals court's decision, the administration's petition added, ''will disrupt the enforcement of **immigration** laws against criminal **aliens** in the nation's busiest judicial circuit for **immigration** enforcement.''

The Supreme Court also agreed to hear a case that will affect the education of many children with disabilities, Endrew F. v. Douglas County School District, No. 15-827.

It concerns an autistic boy whose parents, unhappy with his progress at his local public school in Colorado, enrolled him in a private school and sought reimbursement for the cost of tuition. Under the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act, children with disabilities are entitled to a free public education that addresses their needs.

The lower courts have disagreed about what kind of programs public schools must provide. In the Colorado case, a federal appeals court ruled that a modest benefit to the boy was sufficient and that no tuition reimbursement was warranted.

The Obama administration had urged the justices to hear the case to resolve the conflict.

The justices also agreed to hear a challenge to a Colorado law that makes it hard for criminal defendants whose convictions were overturned to obtain refunds of fines and restitution.

According to the petitioners in the case, Nelson v. Colorado, No. 15-1256, Colorado ''appears to be the only state that requires defendants to prove their innocence before they can get a refund.''

The Colorado Supreme Court upheld the law. In dissent, Justice William W. Hood III said the law ''flips the presumption of innocence'' by requiring defendants seeking refunds to prove their innocence by clear and convincing evidence.

''I struggle,'' he wrote, ''to see how we can sanction a system that makes money immediately due without providing for its return when reversible error occurs.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ATHENS, Ohio -- After decades as one of America's most reliable political bellwethers, an inevitable presidential battleground that closely mirrored the mood and makeup of the country, Ohio is suddenly fading in importance this year.

Hillary Clinton has not been to the state since Labor Day, and her aides said Thursday that she would not be back until next week, after a monthlong absence, effectively acknowledging how difficult they think it will be to defeat Donald J. Trump here. Ohio has not fallen into step with the demographic changes transforming the United States, growing older, whiter and less educated than the nation at large.

And the two parties have made strikingly different wagers about how to win the White House in this election: Mr. Trump, the Republican nominee, is relying on a demographic coalition that, while well tailored for Ohio even in the state's Democratic strongholds, leaves him vulnerable in the more diverse parts of the country where Mrs. Clinton is spending most of her time.

It is a jarring change for political veterans here, who relish being at the center of the country's presidential races: Because of newer battleground states, Mrs. Clinton can amass the 270 electoral votes required to win even if she loses Ohio.

''Their map is a little different, and Ohio is not as crucial as it once was,'' conceded James Ruvolo, a former chairman of the Ohio Democratic Party who lives in the Toledo area, a Democratic bulwark that Mrs. Clinton has not visited once this year. ''They'll keep putting in money, but I don't think they're going to put a lot of her time in here.''

Ohio has long basked in the presidential spotlight. Every four years, fall would bring frequent candidate visits, ceaseless television commercials and breathless, county-by-county tallies of its voting returns late into election night. Democrats in the state became used to rock-concert-style rallies, like the ones John Kerry staged in Cleveland and Columbus with Bruce Springsteen in 2004 and President Obama held at Ohio State to kick off his 2012 re-election campaign. Mr. Obama held five events over three trips to Ohio in September 2012 alone.

And it was all for good reason: No candidate of either party has won the White House without carrying Ohio since John F. Kennedy in 1960.

But its Rust Belt profile, Mr. Trump's unyielding anti-trade campaign and Mrs. Clinton's difficulty energizing Ohio's young voters have made it a lesser focus for Democrats this year, even as it remains critical to Mr. Trump's path to the White House. As Mrs. Clinton's aides privately note, the demographic makeup of Florida, Colorado and North Carolina, which have a greater percentage of educated or nonwhite voters, makes those states more promising for Democrats in a contest in which the electorate is sorted along bright racial and economic lines.

And with a once-competitive Senate race in Ohio turning into a rout for Rob Portman, the Republican incumbent, Democrats can quietly pull back from the state with little fear of down-ballot consequences.

As the place where Appalachia meets the Midwest, and where industrial centers arose not far from a vast farm belt, Ohio has prided itself on being a version of America writ small. Its **immigration** patterns reflected that, with New Englanders resettling here, followed by Germans and Eastern Europeans. At the same time, Southerners, white and black, crossed the Ohio River in search of freedom and opportunity.

But even some of the state's proudest boosters acknowledge that Ohio, which is nearly 80 percent white, is decreasingly representative of contemporary America.

''Ohio, like a melting iceberg, has slowly been losing its status as the country's bellwether,'' said Michael F. Curtin, a Democratic state legislator and former Columbus Dispatch editor who is an author of the state's authoritative ''Ohio Politics Almanac.''

He continued: ''It's a slow melt. But we have not captured any appreciable Hispanic population, and there has been very little influx of an Asian population. When you look at the diversity of America 30 to 40 years ago, Ohio was a pretty close approximation of the country. It no longer is.''

What is less clear than the racial trends is whether the state will continue to grow more forbidding for Democrats in future presidential races.

That could be determined by the choices the national parties make after the election, particularly whether Republicans continue Mr. Trump's project of shifting from a business-friendly to a more populist approach on **immigration** and trade.

''If the Republican Party looks more like the Trump coalition and the Democratic Party looks more like the Obama coalition, then the states Democrats must win will no longer be Ohio and Iowa,'' said David Wilhelm, a manager of Bill Clinton's first presidential campaign and a former Democratic national chairman who lives in suburban Columbus. ''They will be Virginia, North Carolina, Arizona and Georgia.''

Yet that same Obama coalition was enough to hand the president a two-point victory in Ohio in 2012, when the state's demographics were no less challenging for Democrats. The difference now, Ohio voters and strategists from both parties say, is in the two candidates and the issues at hand.

Facing Mitt Romney, who was easily caricatured as a country club Republican, Mr. Obama battered him as a handmaiden for the wealthy and criticized his opposition to the auto bailout, which lifted Mr. Obama with white union Democrats in car-making communities around Youngstown and Toledo.

But this year, Republicans have put forward a candidate whose views on trade are indistinguishable from, if not more hard-line than, the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s.

''Republicans used to run on God and guns,'' Mr. Ruvolo said. ''Well, Trump added a third element: trade.''

Paired with Mr. Trump's jeremiads about **immigrants**' taking American jobs, it makes for a powerful combination in a state that has suffered from the decline of manufacturing. Though he lost the Ohio primary to Gov. John Kasich, Mr. Trump still carried a stretch of counties along the eastern spine of the state, its most economically depressed region, where thousands of industrial and coal-mining jobs have been lost. Mr. Trump is expected to pile up significant margins in those counties in November.

Some political veterans speak with wonder about private polls showing Mr. Trump leading even in bedrock Democratic communities. ''I see, at best, lack of enthusiasm in traditional Democratic areas,'' said Dennis E. Eckart, a former Democratic congressman from suburban Cleveland.

Mike Dawson, a Republican strategist who runs a website on Ohio's political history, said Mr. Trump would be competitive in two counties in Youngstown's Mahoning Valley that the Democratic presidential candidate has carried in every election for 60 years with the exception of 1972.

It is no coincidence that the same region kept re-electing Representative James A. Traficant Jr. from 1985 to 2002, despite his routine flouting of ethics. Mr. Traficant, a longtime Democrat who died in 2014, was known for mixing inflammatory rhetoric, a squirrel-like toupee and a hard-edge populism.

''There is not a dime's worth of difference, as George Wallace once said, between Jim Traficant and Donald Trump,'' said Mr. Eckart, whose district abutted Mr. Traficant's. ''They say anything, do anything, just act outrageous, and people just kind of like that.''

Mrs. Clinton remains strongest in the more affluent and educated areas around Ohio's population centers -- Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati -- where some voters who backed Mr. Romney four years ago are appalled by Mr. Trump.

Emily Huber, a 29-year-old evangelical Christian and loyal Republican in Columbus, is one of them. As she sold candles and jewelry made by victims of sex trafficking at a farmer's market in the shadow of the state capitol, Ms. Huber said she and her husband were unsure whether they could back Mr. Trump because of offensive comments that she said ''show his true character.''

What will determine who wins Ohio, said Representative Steve Stivers, a Republican, is if ''Hillary can pick up a bunch of voters in the suburbs to offset the rural and some of the industrial areas.''

Mrs. Clinton has an organizational advantage, with 60 offices across the state, and is flooding Ohio with surrogates: Bill Clinton is expected in the state on a bus tour next week. But her campaign is sensitive about her absence, which has become a local topic of discussion. After this article was published online, it hurried to announce that she would return on Monday, but without specifying which city she would visit.

A Clinton victory in Ohio may also require rousing younger voters, which is in doubt. When a group of Democratic Ohio mayors campaigned recently for Mrs. Clinton in Athens -- home of Ohio University and seat of the county with the state's largest percentage of millennials -- they drew little interest.

As students stopped at sidewalk A.T.M.s to prepare for parents weekend, they expressed only lukewarm support for Mrs. Clinton. Paula Atfield, a freshman from Cleveland, said she was voting for Mrs. Clinton because ''she's not Trump,'' but added that the election was seen as ''a joke'' on campus.

''Neither of them are suitable,'' she said. ''Most people aren't even voting.''

At a news conference earlier in the day, the Dayton mayor, Nan Whaley, had declared that the state would send Mrs. Clinton to the White House. ''Ohio is the decider of presidents,'' she said.

But now, Ms. Whaley sounded less bullish. ''I think it's crucial,'' she said of a Clinton victory in Ohio, before quickly adding of Mr. Trump, ''It's just not as crucial as his.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PORTLAND, Ore. -- Ammon and Ryan Bundy, who led an armed occupation to protest federal control of Western lands -- much of which was captured on video and streamed online -- began their defense in court this week.

The trial, which began Sept. 7, revolves around the question of whether the Bundy brothers and five co-defendants conspired to impede federal workers at a wildlife **refuge** from doing their jobs by using intimidation or threats. Over several days, the prosecution has shared videos of occupiers putting ''closed permanently'' signs on federal buildings; showed jurors 34 guns and 18,331 pieces of ammunition found at the **refuge**; and shared Facebook exchanges in which Ammon Bundy discussed plans for the protest that led to the takeover.

In the defense portion, the occupiers and their lawyers have tried to paint the group as peaceful protesters who treated the wildlife sanctuary with respect and feared the federal agents who had arrived in the area to investigate their actions.

Jeff Banta, 47, one of the defendants, testified that he did not know his presence at the **refuge** was illegal. ''The whole reason I went there was to stand up and let these people have a voice,'' he said, speaking of ranchers living in the area.

''I only pointed my weapon at the end,'' he continued, ''when they came rolling in talking about taking me to jail.''

The occupation in January of the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge** in eastern Oregon began as a protest of the imprisonment of two local ranchers and grew into a stand against federal control of land in the West. The protest was viewed widely as the sequel to a 2014 stand against federal power in Nevada. That confrontation was led by the men's father, Cliven Bundy, a rancher.

The Oregon occupation was billed by its leaders as a political protest and a rallying point for frustrated ranchers who wanted to reclaim land under federal control. But it drew all sorts of people, all with their own grievances. The occupiers ultimately failed to achieve their goal of forcing Washington to hand the sanctuary over to the county.

Eleven people have already pleaded guilty. One participant, LaVoy Finicum, was killed by the authorities during the standoff.

On Trial Now

Ammon Bundy | Emmett, Idaho

Ryan Bundy | Cedar City, Utah

The occupation was led by Ammon Bundy, now 41, and his brother Ryan Bundy, now 43. During the occupation, at the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge**, it often felt as if Ammon Bundy was in charge. The two were often spotted around the compound, dressed in flannel shirts and cowboy hats, pledging fealty to the Constitution and evoking the Bible to justify their cause.

Neither is a full-time cowboy. Ammon Bundy started a company that provides repairs for car fleets in Arizona before moving to Idaho shortly before the occupation, and Ryan Bundy has run a construction company in Utah. They both head large families: Ammon has five children, and Ryan has eight. The brothers are two of Cliven Bundy's 14 children, and both were active participants in the 2014 standoff in Nevada between Cliven's supporters and the federal authorities.

Shawna Cox | Kanab, Utah

Ms. Cox has a long history of protesting federal involvement on Western lands, including President Bill Clinton's decision in the 1990s to turn a vast area of Utah into a national monument called Grand Staircase-Escalante. She has become a close friend of the Bundys, and in 2014 she published a book about the first standoff, ''Last Rancher Standing: The Cliven Bundy Saga, a Close-Up View.'' In her writings, she has said she believes that the environmental movement and the nation's federal lands policy are controlled by the Chinese. She has 12 children.

Jeff Banta | Yerington, Nev.

Mr. Banta was one of the last holdouts at the **refuge**. His father told The Associated Press that his son's distrust of the government came from him.

Kenneth Medenbach | Crescent, Ore.

Mr. Medenbach has been protesting federal power for at least two decades. He is a woodworker by profession.

David Lee Fry | Blanchester, Ohio

At the **refuge**, Mr. Fry seemed out a place in the band of older Westerners. He was a skinny, longhaired 27-year-old from Ohio who had connected with leaders over the internet. Back at home, he had worked at a dental practice with his parents. During the takeover, he became increasingly erratic, and he was among the last participants to leave the **refuge**. In a tense negotiation with the authorities that was streamed live on YouTube, he threatened to kill himself before giving up his freedom. ''I will not go another day as a slave to this system,'' he said. ''I'm a free man. I will die a free man.'' He has been jailed since the occupation. While in custody, he has said that he has gender dysphoria and is concerned about **alien** visits.

Neil Wampler | Los Osos, Calif.

Mr. Wampler was a familiar face at the **refuge**, and in an interview with Oregon Public Broadcasting during the occupation, he called himself a 68-year-old hippie. ''Here I am, out doing this marvelous, fantastic stuff,'' he told reporters. ''It's just fantastic.'' Mr. Wampler is also a felon, having killed his father with a steel rod in 1977 while the man slept. He was convicted of second-degree murder and spent four years in prison.

On Trial Feb. 14, 2017

Sean and Sandra Anderson of Riggins, Idaho; Dylan Anderson of Provo, Utah; Duane Ehmer of Irrigon, Ore.; Jason Patrick of Bonaire, Ga.; Darryl Thorn of Marysville, Wash.; Jake Ryan of Plains, Mont.

Guilty Pleas

Blaine Cooper of Dewey-Humboldt, Ariz.; Eric Flores of Tulalip, Wash.; Wesley Kjar of Manti, Utah; Corey Lequieu of Fallon, Nev.; Joseph O'Shaughnessy of Cottonwood, Ariz.; Ryan Payne of Anaconda, Mont.; Jon Ritzheimer of Peoria, Ariz.; Geoffrey Stanek of Lafayette, Ore.; Travis Cox of Bend, Ore.; Brian Cavalier of Bunkerville, Nev.; Jason Blomgren of Murphy, N.C.

Charges Dismissed

Peter Santilli | Cincinnati

Mr. Santilli, an internet radio host, broadcast live from the **refuge** during the standoff, making frequent calls for people around the country to join the occupation. He was known to harass journalists and other onlookers during his show.

Charged in Another Case

Cliven Bundy | Bunkerville, Nev.

Mr. Bundy was not involved in the Oregon occupation. He is jailed on separate charges stemming from the 2014 Nevada standoff. In that case, federal prosecutors accuse Mr. Bundy of participating in a ''massive armed assault'' on federal officials after the authorities tried to confiscate his cattle. Hundreds came to Mr. Bundy's aid, and the authorities eventually backed off. That trial is scheduled for 2017.

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This is a more complete version of the story than the one that appeared in print.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MEXICO CITY -- A sudden shift in American **immigration** policy has divided scores of Haitian families trying to enter the United States from Mexico, **immigrants**and advocates say.

The policy change, announced last week, has separated wives from husbands and children from their fathers, stranding the men in Mexico after their families were allowed to cross into the United States.

''I'm hoping God makes miracles,'' said Sandra Alexandre, who was allowed into the United States last week ahead of her boyfriend and gave birth three days later. The new policy went into effect right before the child's father could cross.

The family separations appear to be an unintended consequence of the Obama administration's effort to tighten the border against the arrival of thousands of Haitians streaming north from Brazil, mostly to seek employment in the United States.

Until the change, the United States had been allowing Haitians without visas to enter under a temporary humanitarian parole, a special concession owing to the social, economic and political troubles facing Haiti after the devastating 2010 earthquake. But on Sept. 22, amid a surge in Haitians from Brazil, the Obama administration said it was resuming the deportation of Haitians who presented themselves at border crossings without **immigration** documentation.

The policy change effectively shut the door on newly arriving undocumented Haitians, including men whose partners and children had already been admitted.

**Immigrant** advocates in San Diego said they had identified more than 50 families in that city alone who had been separated by the policy change, and they have appealed to Homeland Security officials to help reunite the families in the United States.

''The bottom line is that this was not a well-conceived policy,'' said Andrea Guerrero, executive director of Alliance San Diego, a group that has been helping Haitians who have arrived from Brazil in recent months. ''It seemed to have come down from one day to the next without a clear understanding of what was going on and what kind of impact it would have.''

The Department of Homeland Security did not immediately reply to written questions about the effect of the policy change.

Amid the surge, the American border authorities had been using an appointment system to process arriving Haitians. They had been giving priority to women and children, who received earlier dates rather than being forced to spend weeks in the overcrowded shelters. Men, no matter if they were traveling with their partners and children, usually had to wait for later appointments.

Ms. Alexandre, 24, arrived in the border city of Mexicali with her boyfriend, Volcy Dieumercy, 29, on Sept. 20 after a 10-week trip from Curitiba, Brazil. She was pregnant and nearing her due date.

Because of her pregnancy, Mexican officials, who have been scheduling the migrants' appointments with American border officials, granted Ms. Alexandre an appointment for last Thursday, but they denied the couple's request that Mr. Dieumercy be processed on the same day, the couple said. Instead, he was given an appointment for Sept. 30, forcing him to wait in Mexicali.

Ms. Alexandre entered under a three-year humanitarian parole, and she made her way to a migrant shelter in San Diego. She soon learned that Mr. Dieumercy had been barred from entering under the new policy.

On Sunday, she went into labor and was admitted to the hospital. A volunteer working with Alliance San Diego called Mr. Dieumercy so the couple could speak. The volunteer remained in touch with Mr. Dieumercy throughout the birth using WhatsApp, updating him on Ms. Alexandre's progress.

The couple had intended to travel together to Orlando, Fla., and live with Mr. Dieumercy's relatives. Ms. Alexandre said she had no idea what she would do if Mr. Dieumercy was not allowed into the country.

''I haven't thought that far ahead,'' she said from the hospital earlier this week before being discharged. ''Right now, I'm only thinking positively.''

Mr. Dieumercy is equally uncertain. He knows that if he tries to cross at an official American port of entry, he will probably be deported.

''I need my family,'' he said in a text message from Mexicali. ''I can't wait any longer. I'm very sad.''

Among the families that have been divided since the policy took effect, more than a dozen include pregnant women separated from their partners, Ms. Guerrero said. There are even cases of mothers' being separated from their teenage sons, she said.

Sinskya Cetoute, a Haitian **immigrant**, said that she, her husband and their 4-year-old daughter had gone to the San Ysidro border crossing between Tijuana and San Diego last Friday, a day after the new policy went into effect. **Immigration** officials quickly separated them, with Ms. Cetoute, 33, and her daughter taken in one direction and her husband in another.

Ms. Cetoute and her daughter were allowed into the United States on humanitarian parole, with permission to stay for three years, but she has not heard from her husband since she last saw him. ''We don't know what we're going to do,'' she said. ''I can't live without the father of my daughter.''

In announcing the policy change last week, American **immigration** officials said they hoped it would discourage Haitians from making the grueling trek to the United States border. But shelter administrators and migrant advocates along the route report that many Haitians continue to move north through the Americas, undeterred by news of the full resumption of deportations in the United States.

Marcelo Pisani, the International Organization for Migration's regional director for Central America, North America and the Caribbean, said that migrants from outside the region were arriving at the Panama-Costa Rica border at an average rate of 90 to 110 per day. He said ''a significant percentage'' were Haitians.

Mr. Pisani said it was ''very probable'' that with the humanitarian door closed, more Haitians arriving at the United States' southern border would seek asylum.

In Tijuana, which has received thousands of Haitian migrants this year, a steady stream of Haitians are still arriving each day. Many of them, though aware of the policy change, are presenting themselves at the border only to be put immediately into fast-track deportation proceedings, advocates said.

''They believe that the United States will not turn their back on them,'' Ms. Guerrero said. ''They believe that the United States understands what the situation is in Haiti, and they believe that the United States would never send them back.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**EL CAJON, Calif. -- The federal authorities tried twice to deport the man fatally shot by the police in this suburb of San Diego, but Uganda, the victim's native country, refused to take him. That resulted in his release.

Officials with **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement said that the man, Alfred Olango, stopped reporting to them in February 2015. Virginia Kice, an agency spokeswoman, said she did not know if officers had tried to find him after that.

Mr. Olango was shot and killed Tuesday by the police in El Cajon. They said that Mr. Olango had pulled a vape pen, a type of electronic cigarette, from his pocket and pointed it at an officer, who then shot him.

A family lawyer said that Mr. Olango had been having an emotional breakdown over the recent death of his best friend.

Mr. Olango arrived as a **refugee** from Uganda in 1991 and was ordered to be deported in 2002 after being convicted on drug charges. He was released under a Supreme Court ruling banning the detention of foreign nationals after six months if deportation is unlikely.

The **immigration** authorities took Mr. Olango into custody in 2009 after a firearms conviction in Colorado, but were unable to deport him then because of a lack of documents.

A former agency director, John Sandweg, said Mr. Olango could not be held for more than six months on suspicion of not reporting to the **immigration** authorities last year because failing to do so is not a crime.

''The officers knew that they were not going to be able to hold this guy,'' Mr. Sandweg said.

Since coming to the United States, Mr. Olango ran afoul of the law several times: He was arrested on charges of selling cocaine and driving drunk, and of illegally possessing a 9-millimeter semiautomatic handgun when he was arrested in Colorado in 2005 with marijuana and the drug ecstasy in his car, according to court records. He pleaded guilty in federal court and was sentenced to nearly four years in jail for being a felon in possession of a gun.

The investigation of his death centers on a video taken by a bystander. The police have produced a single frame from the cellphone video to support their account, saying that it showed Mr. Olango in a ''shooting stance.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LIVERPOOL, England -- Jackie Walker, a prominent left-wing activist, was in full flow. ''We're part of the biggest political moment in the last 50 years!'' she cried. ''The seeds we are sowing, who knows what fruit they will bring?''

The packed audience in a former Congregational chapel turned arts center here cheered with the fervor of a religious gathering, reflecting a kind of reverence for the man they had shown up to support: Jeremy Corbyn , the hard-left leader of Britain's Labour Party. At the party conference in Liverpool just minutes away, he had defeated what his supporters called a ''coup attempt'' by more centrist Labour members of Parliament.

Many Labour legislators fear that Mr. Corbyn, 67, is dragging the party so far from the political and ideological mainstream that he will lead it to another devastating political defeat at the hands of the Conservative Party in the next general election, which is not due until 2020 but is possible earlier.

Despite Labour's significant growth in grass-roots members, some fear successive defeats. Janan Ganesh, a Financial Times columnist, wrote that ''there is a reasonable chance, and it becomes stronger by the day, that Gordon Brown will turn out to have been the last Labour prime minister.'' (Mr. Brown left office in 2010.)

But if the mood of the Labour conference itself the last few days was resigned in the face of Mr. Corbyn's re-election on Saturday as party leader, the atmosphere at this parallel conference, held by the hard-left group Ms. Walker helps run, Momentum, verged on ecstasy.

In the battle for Labour's direction, Momentum is winning. Seen by critics as a softer successor to the Trotskyist Militant movement, which Labour banned from the party as too extreme in the 1980s, Momentum has flowered into a powerful organizing vehicle for Mr. Corbyn. It has helped him register and mobilize passionate supporters intent on substituting unapologetic socialism for politics as usual.

''People are fed up with a so-called free market system that has produced grotesque inequality, stagnating living standards for the many, calamitous foreign wars without end and a political stitch-up,'' Mr. Corbyn said on Wednesday in remarks to the party conference.

In many ways, Momentum's success is the culmination of the backlash on the left to the centrism of Labour under Tony Blair in the 1990s and the first years of this century. Its detractors view Momentum as naïve at best and dangerous at worst. Its supporters feel they are building a movement less concerned about the next election cycle than with bringing true socialism to Britain. Either way, the group has solidified Mr. Corbyn's hold on the party's leadership.

''We're heading in the right direction, which is the left direction,'' said Emine Ibrahim, a member of the Haringey Council in London. Grass-roots membership in the local Labour Party has gone up to 5,500 now from 1,300 before Mr. Corbyn's election last year, she said, mirroring a tripling of national membership.

Daniel Cooper, 26, joined the Labour Party in 2009. Then, he said, ''I realized that it wasn't for me, left and joined the Communist Party, then under Jeremy Corbyn came back to support Labour.''

''I feel this is the natural time and moment,'' he said, when asked about his support for Momentum. ''The financial crisis is deeper than it was in the 1930s, and we need radical revolutionary ideas to overcome the problems of capitalism.''

Momentum has helped Mr. Corbyn take over the party from inside, intimidating and isolating center-left members. Mr. Corbyn and the movement appeal to an electorate that is angry about inequality, globalization and unemployment, and is seeking clearer, simpler choices. While Mr. Corbyn is trying to address them from the left, those same issues are motivating supporters of populist candidates on the right, including Donald J. Trump in the United States and Marine Le Pen of the National Front in France.

''Momentum has remarkable energy,'' said Mark Wickham-Jones, a professor of political science at the University of Bristol. ''But it is clearly energy that is coming from many directions, and it is going to be hard to channel it.''

As the Labour Party moves to the left and grows, to become one of the largest in Western Europe, it also seems to slip further from power in a country that has historically disliked extremes.

Mr. Wickham-Jones said Labour faced an ''existential crisis,'' having lost its traditional Scottish heartland to the left-leaning Scottish National Party and under challenge from the right in working-class districts by the populist U.K. Independence Party.

There is now a clear split between grass-roots party members, he said, and its more pragmatic lawmakers. Of the current 230 Labour members of the House of Commons, 172 voted against Mr. Corbyn in a no-confidence vote in June.

In his remarks on Wednesday, Mr. Corbyn seemed to underscore his apparent lack of interest in vote chasing. At a time when limiting **immigration** is Britain's most prominent political issue -- it was widely seen as the driving force in the nation's vote to leave the European Union -- Mr. Corbyn pointedly did not promise to impose limits. Instead, he vowed to give extra resources to regions where population increases put pressure on public services and said he would crack down on exploitation of migrant labor to help protect the pay of workers.

The British news media largely interpreted these views as naïve, while senior Labour legislators were already weighing methods of curbing **immigration** to appeal to disenchanted Labour voters who favored leaving the European Union .

This kind of conventional political analysis holds little water among the members of Momentum, who believe that with enough rallies, speeches and street campaigning they can win Britain over to their version of socialism.

''People see in Jeremy Corbyn the chance to change things, the belief that things can be different,'' said Ian Hodson, the head of the Bakers, Food and Allied Workers Union .

Many of their own party's elected members of Parliament are regarded by newly empowered leftists as closet Conservatives, traitors and worse. ''The M.P.s should be the servants of the party members, not the masters,'' said Matt Wrack, the general secretary of the Fire Brigades Union.

The Momentum supporters have a hero in John McDonnell, the shadow chancellor of the Exchequer and a close Corbyn ally, who persuaded him to fight on against the leadership challenge. Mr. McDonnell grew up poor here in Liverpool and is considered an enforcer, channeling the enthusiasm and passion of the new Labour members and of Momentum.

Mr. McDonnell won huge cheers for telling the conference: ''In this party you no longer have to whisper it. It's called socialism.'' He began his remarks to Momentum by lifting his fist and saying, ''Thanks a lot, comrades,'' praising their passion and support for Mr. Corbyn.

But for Steven Fielding, a political scientist at Nottingham University , ''it's difficult to overstate how utterly irrelevant are the speeches and policy debates at this Labour conference.''

''It's political science fiction,'' he said.

The novelist Will Self summed up the dilemma of a party caught between old socialist dreams and the revolutionary dreams of the youth of 1968. In the modern digital world ''with its free flows of capital and most critically labor,'' he said, ''there's really no place for a political party with an 1887 heart and a 1968 head.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ROTTERDAM, the Netherlands -- For as long as ships have ventured across water, laborers like Patrick Duijzers have tied their fortunes to trade.

He is a longshoreman here at Europe's largest port, and his black Jack Daniel's T-shirt, hoop earrings and copious rings give Mr. Duijzers the look of a bohemian pirate. His wages put him solidly in the Dutch middle class: He has earned enough to buy an apartment and enjoy vacations to Spain.

Lately, though, Mr. Duijzers has come to see global trade as a malevolent force. His employer -- a unit of the Maersk Group, the Danish shipping conglomerate -- is locked in a fiercely competitive battle around the world.

He sees trucking companies replacing Dutch drivers with **immigrants** from Eastern Europe. He bids farewell to older co-workers reluctantly taking early retirement as robots capture their jobs. Over the last three decades, the ranks of his union have dwindled to about 7,000 members, from 25,000.

''More global trade is a good thing if we get a piece of the cake,'' Mr. Duijzers said. ''But that's the problem. We're not getting our piece of the cake.''

Far beyond the docks of the North Sea, such laments now resonate as the soundtrack for an increasingly vigorous rejection of free trade.

For generations, libraries full of economics textbooks have rightly promised that global trade expands national wealth by lowering the price of goods, lifting wages and amplifying growth. The powers that emerged victorious from World War II championed globalization as the antidote to future conflicts. In Asia, Europe and North America, governments of every ideological persuasion have focused on trade as their guiding economic force.

But trade comes with no assurances that the spoils will be shared equitably. Across much of the industrialized world, an outsize share of the winnings have been harvested by people with advanced degrees, stock options and the need for accountants. Ordinary laborers have borne the costs and suffered from joblessness and deepening economic anxiety.

These costs have proved overwhelming in communities that depend on industry for sustenance, vastly exceeding what economists anticipated. Policy makers under the thrall of neoliberal economic philosophy put stock in the notion that markets could be trusted to bolster social welfare.

In doing so, they failed to plan for the trauma that has accompanied the benefits of trade. When millions of workers lost paychecks to foreign competition, they lacked government supports to cushion the blow. As a result, seething anger is upending politics in Europe and North America.

In the United States, the Republican presidential aspirant Donald J. Trump has tapped into the rage of communities reeling from factory closings, denouncing trade with China and Mexico as a mortal threat to American prosperity. The Democratic nominee, Hillary Clinton, has done an about-face, opposing an enormous free-trade deal spanning the Pacific that she supported while secretary of state.

In Britain, the vote in a June referendum to abandon the European Union was in part a rebuke of the establishment, from laborers who blame trade for declining pay. Across the European Union, populist movements have gained adherents as an outraged response to globalization, imperiling the future of major trade deals, including a pact with the United States and another with Canada.

''The trade policy of the European Union is paralyzed,'' said the Italian minister of economic development, Carlo Calenda, during a recent interview in Rome. ''This is a tragic situation.''

The anti-trade backlash, building for years, has become explosive because the global economy has arrived at a sobering period of reckoning. Years of investment manias and financial machinations that powered the job market have lost potency, exposing longstanding downsides of trade that had previously been masked by illusive prosperity.

This tide of animosity may prove nearly impossible to reverse, given that technological disruption and economic upheaval are now at work in an era of scarcity. Today, many major nations are grappling with weak growth, tight credit and a gnawing sense that a lean future may persist indefinitely.

The worst financial crisis since the Great Depression has left banks in Europe and the United States reluctant to lend. Real estate bonanzas from Spain to Southern California gave way to a disastrous wave of foreclosures, eliminating construction jobs. China's slowdown has diminished its appetite for raw materials, sowing unemployment from the iron ore mines of Brazil to the coal pits of Indonesia.

Trade did not cause the breakdown in economic growth. Indeed, trade has helped generate what growth remains. But the pervasive stagnation has left little cover for those set back by globalization.

The North American Free Trade Agreement, or Nafta, exposed workers in the United States to competition with Mexico, but its passage came in the mid-1990s, just as investment was pouring into the web, creating demand for a range of manufactured goods -- office furniture for Silicon Valley coders, trucks for the couriers delivering e-commerce wares. China's entry into the World Trade Organization in 2001 unleashed a far larger shock, but a construction boom absorbed many laid-off workers.

The dot-com boom is now a distant memory. The housing bubble burst. Much of the global economy is operating free of artificial enhancements. Lower-skilled workers confront bleak opportunities and intense competition, especially in the United States. Even as recent data shows middle-class Americans are finally starting to share in the gains from the recovery, incomes for many remain below where they were a decade ago.

''The debates that we are having about globalization and the adjustment cost, these are the conversations that we should have been having when we did Nafta, and when China entered the W.T.O.,'' said Chad P. Bown, a trade expert at the Peterson Institute for International Economics in Washington. ''There were people talking about these things, but they weren't taken very seriously at the time. There's a lot of policy regret.''

''We do need to have these trade agreements,'' Mr. Bown said, ''but we do need to be cognizant that there are going to be losers, and we need to have policies to address them.''

The extent of the damage suffered by these ''losers'' has accelerated an erosion of faith in the wealth-creating powers of free trade. A profound skepticism has taken root in some of the largest trading powers, notably the United States, France, Italy and Japan.

Successive administrations in the United States, led by Democrats and Republicans alike, have embraced liberalized trade as a central component of the nation's foreign policy. Yet only 19 percent of American voters said trade with other countries created more jobs in the United States, according to a New York Times/CBS News poll released in July.

Even among those who support trade, doubts are growing about its ability to deliver on crucial promises. A 2014 Pew Research Center survey of people in 44 countries found that only 45 percent of respondents believed trade raised wages. Only 26 percent believed that trade lowered prices.

Volumes of economic data tell a different story.

Workers employed in major export industries earn higher wages than those in domestically focused sectors.

Americans saw their choice of products expand by one-third in recent decades, the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas found. Trade is how raspberries appear on store shelves in the dead of winter.

Lower-income households have benefited from better prices on basic goods. As imports surged, the cost of baby and toddler clothes in the United States dropped by 10 percent from 1999 to 2013, according to an analysis by Pietra Rivoli, a trade expert at the McDonough School of Business at Georgetown University. The price of shoes went up much more slowly than the overall cost of living.

But the fear and anger over trade are well founded.

Vast numbers of laborers have lost jobs as imported goods from low-wage countries arrived. Mills have closed, while strip malls fill with dollar stores and payday lenders.

In the fallout, the United States maintained limits on unemployment benefits, leaving American workers vulnerable to plummeting fortunes. Social welfare systems have limited the toll in Europe, but economic growth has been weak, so jobs are scarce.

All the while, automation has grown in sophistication and reach. From 2000 to 2010, the United States lost some 5.6 million manufacturing jobs, by the government's calculation. Only 13 percent of those job losses can be explained by trade, according to an analysis by the Center for Business and Economic Research at Ball State University in Indiana. The rest were casualties of automation or the result of tweaks to factory operations that enabled more production with less labor.

American factories produced more goods last year than ever, by many indications. Yet they did so while employing about 12.3 million workers -- roughly the same number as in 2009, when production was roughly three-fourths what it is today.

At APM Terminals, where Mr. Duijzers works, a symphony of motion greets every arriving container ship. Cranes rev, lifting containers. But people are scarce. ''Robots Running Things in Rotterdam,'' proclaims an article on the company website. ''Of the 74 machines operating in the yard, 63 run on their own with no human intervention.''

Yet if robots are a more significant threat to paychecks, they are also harder to blame than hordes of low-wage workers in overseas factories.

''We have a public policy toward trade,'' said Douglas A. Irwin, an economist at Dartmouth College. ''We don't have a public policy on automation.''

The China Syndrome

When Michael Morrison took a job at the steel mill in the center of Granite City, Ill., in 1999, he assumed his future was ironclad.

He was 38, a father with three young children.

''I felt like I had finally gotten into a place that was so reliable I could retire there,'' he said.

The mill had been there -- just across the Mississippi River from St. Louis -- since the end of the 19th century. It had changed hands, ultimately landing in the portfolio of United States Steel. But the basics held. For those willing to sweat, the mill was a reliable means of supporting a family.

Mr. Morrison began by shoveling slag out of the furnaces, working his way up to crane driver. From inside a cockpit tucked in the rafters of a cavernous building, he manned the controls, guiding a 350-ton ladle that spilled molten iron.

It was a difficult job requiring finesse and perpetual focus. He was compensated accordingly, earning $24.62 an hour.

He worked overtime shifts, amassing savings to send his children to college. Last year, he took home $86,000.

His eldest daughter recently finished her master's in epidemiology. His son completed his sophomore year at McKendree University in nearby Lebanon.

But events playing out on the other side of the world would soon upend his life.

China's relentless development was turning farmland into factories, accelerated by a landmark in the history of trade: the country's inclusion in the World Trade Organization.

The W.T.O. was born out of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, a compact forged in 1947 that lowered barriers to international commerce in an effort to prevent a repeat of global hostilities.

In the first four decades, tariffs on manufactured wares plunged to nearly 6 percent from about 35 percent, according to the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago. By 2000, the volume of trade among members had swelled to 25 times that of a half-century earlier.

Most of this trade took place between wealthy countries with similar wages and labor standards. But the rollout of Nafta in the 1990s put American workers in direct competition with counterparts in Mexico, where wages were much lower and labor rights and environmental standards were minimal.

A washing machine maker with factories in the United States now had a ready way to cut costs: set up a plant in Mexico.

Still, Mexico -- home to about 123 million people -- was not big enough to refashion the terms of trade. When China joined the W.T.O. in 2001, that added a country of 1.3 billion people to the global trading system.

China targeted crucial industries for domination, lavishing favored companies with sweetheart credit terms while investing aggressively in ports, highways and electrical generation. Anyone with ideas about organizing Chinese labor risked landing behind bars.

In the first 13 years after China entered the W.T.O., its exports of goods swelled to nearly $2.3 trillion in 2014 from $266 billion, according to the World Bank.

The beneficiaries of this surge include anyone who has bought practically anything touched by human hands -- an iPhone, a car, a Christmas ornament. Corporations that used China to cut costs raised their value, enriching executives and ordinary investors.

The casualties of China's exports are far fewer, but they are concentrated. The rugged country of western North Carolina suffered mass unemployment as Chinese-made wooden furniture put local plants out of business. So did glassmakers in Toledo, Ohio, and auto parts manufacturers across the Midwest.

A paper published last year by a trio of economists -- David H. Autor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, David Dorn at the University of Zurich and Gordon H. Hanson at the University of California, San Diego -- concludes that Chinese imports eliminated nearly one million American manufacturing jobs from 1999 to 2011. Add in suppliers and other related industries, and the total job losses reach 2.4 million.

Mr. Trump vows to slap punitive tariffs on Chinese goods. But that would very likely just shift production to other low-wage countries like Vietnam and Mexico. It would not turn the lights on at shuttered textile plants in the Carolinas. (Even if it did, robots would probably take most of the jobs.)

Granite City sat smack in the middle of this gathering storm.

From 2005 to 2015, China's share of global steel production swelled from just less than one-third to fully half, according to data compiled by the Peterson Institute for International Economics. China's steel exports more than quadrupled.

Last fall, United States Steel began slowing production in Granite City, laying off 40 or so apprentices. As layoffs accelerated, they reached the ranks of more senior workers.

Two days before Christmas, Mr. Morrison finished his shift and went into the break room. ''Everybody was standing there like zombies, looking at the bulletin board,'' he said. A list of names was tacked there, along with instructions for those workers to clean out their lockers.

This is how Mr. Morrison found himself confronting a bewildering new state of affairs -- joblessness.

''I've worked since I was 12,'' he said, recalling a paper route, then a job as a cook at his brother's taco place.

A blue Steelworkers union T-shirt hugs his burly frame. His calloused hands attest to years of physical labor. Suddenly, his $2,000 biweekly paycheck shrank to a $425-a-week unemployment check, plus some severance. In July, the unemployment checks stopped. He had reached the six-month limit.

He interviewed for a job as a supervisor at an Amazon warehouse, but it required computer skills that he lacked. So he took a position as a ''fulfillment associate,'' working the night shift, pulling products off warehouse shelves and putting them in boxes. It paid $13 an hour -- a little more than half his United States Steelwages.

His first night on the job, his knees gave out. He took painkillers. The next morning he could barely stand up. He called in and said he would not be coming back. He has an interview coming up for a forklift driving position at a warehouse. It pays $12 an hour, another step down.

''I had to tell my son that he can't go back to McKendree for his junior year,'' Mr. Morrison says, straining to choke back tears. ''He has to go to community college.''

He swallows hard. Tears emerge from the corners of his eyes.

''It just crushes you,'' he says. ''I didn't get to go to college. I wanted my kids to succeed. When you see the disappointment in your kids' eyes. ...''

Falling Without a Net

When Dan Simmons started working at the mill 38 years ago, talk centered on how to make steel. These days, he spends his days at a job for which he feels little prepared -- de facto social worker.

Mr. Simmons is the president of the Steelworkers Local 1899, which represents 1,250 workers at the Granite City plant. On a recent morning, only about 375 of his people are employed. He sits at his desk inside the brick union hall, greeting laid-off workers who arrive seeking help.

One man wants guidance scanning online job listings. Another has hit a snag with his unemployment benefits.

A night earlier, Mr. Simmons took a call on his cellphone from the niece of a high school classmate, a laid-off millworker. He had shot himself to death, leaving behind two children.

Trade Adjustment Assistance, a government program started in 1962 and expanded significantly a dozen years later, is supposed to support workers whose jobs are casualties of overseas competition. The program pays for job training.

But Mr. Simmons rolls his eyes at mention of the program. Training has almost become a joke. Skills often do not translate from old jobs to new. Many workers just draw a check while they attend training and then remain jobless.

A 2012 assessment of the program prepared for the Labor Department found that four years after completing training, only 37 percent of those employed were working in their targeted industries. Many of those enrolled had lower incomes than those who simply signed up for unemployment benefits and looked for other work.

European workers have fared better. In wealthy countries like Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark, unemployment benefits, housing subsidies and government-provided health care are far more generous than in the United States.

In the five years after a job loss, an American family of four that is eligible for housing assistance receives average benefits equal to 25 percent of the unemployed person's previous wages, according to data from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. For a similar family in the Netherlands, benefits reach 70 percent.

Yet in Europe, too, the impacts of trade have been uneven, in part because of the quirks of the European Union. Trade deals are cut by Brussels, setting the terms for the 28 member nations. Social programs are left to national governments.

''You're pursuing trade and liberalization agreements at the E.U. level, and then leaving to the individual member countries how to deal with the damage,'' said Andrew Lang, a law professor at the London School of Economics.

In Granite City, the damage now dominates Mr. Simmons's day.

Inside the union hall, a supply cabinet has been outfitted as a food pantry. He hands out plastic bags full of canned foods -- yellow corn, peas, green beans. He hands one to Mr. Morrison, who initially refuses to take it.

''These are some proud steelworkers, and it's very difficult for them to do this,'' Mr. Simmons says. ''These guys are used to making a living, and not asking for handouts.''

Kenneth Hahn had been working at the plant for more than 40 years when he was laid off in February. He spends most of his time in his garden, tending to vegetables.

His father lived on a Missouri farm without plumbing or electricity during the Great Depression.

''They grew everything they needed,'' he said.

If the mill does not start up again soon, Mr. Hahn is thinking about doing likewise.

''Move down to the holler,'' he said. ''I can always eat squirrel and rabbit.''

In China, farmers whose land has been turned into factories are making more steel than the world needs.

In America, idled steelworkers are contemplating how to live off the land.

The Bounty of the Sea

Rotterdam has a history of looking across the water and finding things that can be turned into money.

In the 16th century, it was herring. A burgeoning fleet set sail in pursuit. Merchants began salting and drying the catch in barrels for an emerging export trade. By the 17th century, local shipyards were clattering away, constructing vessels for the Dutch East India Company as it plied the spice routes to Southeast Asia.

As waterways linking the port to the industrial communities of the Rhine were deepened and channelized, German automobiles and machinery began flowing through Rotterdam on the way to the rest of the planet. Offices filled with law firms, insurance agents and logistics companies.

''The fortunes of this country have been built on trade,'' said Wouter Jacobs, a transportation economist at Erasmus University Rotterdam. ''It's our lifeline.''

Yet even here, unease has entered the conversation.

Jacob van der Vis is paid to promote trade. An adviser on international business for the Netherlands Chamber of Commerce, he advertises innovations playing out at the port. He speaks of trade with China as a golden opportunity.

But Mr. van der Vis is skeptical of the enormous trade deal being negotiated between the United States and the European Union, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, better known as T.T.I.P. He singles out a provision that would enable multinational companies to sue governments for compensation when regulations dent their profits.

Esso, a subsidiary of Exxon Mobil, the American petroleum company, has operations in the Netherlands. Suppose the government went ahead with plans to limit drilling to protect the environment?

''They could sue the Dutch state,'' he fumed. ''We are not so sure in the Netherlands whether we want to give the multinationals so much power. We are a trading country, but it's not always that trade should prevail against quality of life.''

Out at the docks, the longshoremen fret about robots.

On a recent afternoon, the Mette Maersk, a Danish-flagged behemoth, sat tethered at APM Terminals. Some 18,000 shipping containers are stacked like children's blocks on a deck longer than three football fields, bearing auto parts, scrap metal, electronics -- any conceivable thing made on one continent and sold on another.

Robotic arms grip containers, lift them and deposit them on deck with thunderous rumbles. Trucks drive themselves.

Yet to absorb this scene and conclude that robots are about to render humanity jobless is to miss something vital. At offices a few miles away, coders are designing the software powering the automated port system, earning wages they distribute through the economy.

For the longshoremen still employed, automation has tamed their work.

John Arkenbout remembers working through ceaseless wind and drizzle when he started at the port 25 years ago. He lifted huge bricks from a pile and dropped them into rope sacks that a crane operator lifted skyward. He saw three people die -- one crushed by a truck, two flattened by wayward containers.

Now many longshoremen sit in glass-fronted offices set back from the docks, controlling robotic arms via computer terminals.

''Before, it was physically taxing,'' Mr. Arkenbout, 51, said. ''Now it's more mental.''

Most longshoremen earn about 50,000 euros a year, or $56,000. Mr. Arkenbout works a maximum of 40 hours a week.

But he sees the robots becoming more sophisticated. He hears from union leadership that as many as 800 jobs could be eliminated by 2020.

The union held a rare strike in January, winning job guarantees while robots are phased in gradually. But labor is playing defense. The robots will win in the end, because robots never strike. Robots improve with time.

Mr. Arkenbout scoffs at the notion that automation and trade are separate. The shipping companies are deploying robots to cut costs.

Trade deals, **immigrant** labor, automation: As Mr. Arkenbout sees it, these are all just instruments wielded in pursuit of the same goal -- paying him less so corporations can keep more.

''When they don't need me anymore,'' he said, ''I'm nothing.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PHOENIX -- ''Donald!'' cried a woman in the front row at the Arizona Republican Party headquarters on Monday night. On the large TV screen before her, Donald J. Trump strode out to do battle with Hillary Clinton. Among the 84 million people tuned in to the first presidential debate of the general election, the crowd in Phoenix was primed for a gladiatorial contest.

They played their role with gusto: hissing, guffawing or cackling when Mrs. Clinton spoke; whooping and air-punching for Mr. Trump. Ronald Reagan, the patron saint of modern Republicanism, grinned from a framed portrait in the corner. Pizza was served.

It seemed as good of a place as any to ask a question that has baffled so many observers outside the United States: Why do so many Americans support Mr. Trump?

Readers emailing from abroad are surprised by the campaign's bluster, insults and prevarications. They don't understand how a race for the American presidency can be dominated by arguments over missing emails, ''birtherism'' and beauty queens.

Across the United States, though, the campaign is about much more than that. I've spent the past 10 days talking to Trump supporters, looking for answers.

Arizona, with its searing deserts and saw-toothed mountains, has long been a Republican bastion, a place of conservative-leaning politics and liberal gun laws. The state's most prominent Trump advocate is Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Maricopa County, who became notorious for his intolerance of unauthorized **immigrants** and making prison inmates wear pink underwear.

At the debate party in Phoenix, the largely white crowd was seized by a palpable air of anticipation. After a sharp dip in August, Mr. Trump was suddenly riding high again in the polls. Could he pull ahead of Mrs. Clinton?

The first thunderclap of applause erupted when Mr. Trump said that Mrs. Clinton has been ''doing this for 30 years,'' with little to show for her efforts. But as the debate wore on, and Mr. Trump's energy started to flag, so too did the atmosphere in the room. Onscreen, Mrs. Clinton grew in confidence, unleashing a volley of attack lines. As Mr. Trump struggled to respond, the crowd in Arizona lapsed into ever longer silences.

A supporter of Mr. Trump in the crowd who refused to be identified, citing unspecified threats from Clinton loyalists, said he didn't expect his candidate to be as polished as a professional politician. He was willing to take the brash Mr. Trump as is, he said.

Others at the viewing party said they were worried by Mr. Trump's performance. Kathy Manie, wearing a red ''Make America Great Again'' hat, said she was disappointed that Mr. Trump appeared ill-prepared for Mrs. Clinton's rehearsed barbs. ''He could have spoken more eloquently,'' she said. ''Hillary knew exactly how to taunt him, and he fell for the bait. He gave as much as he got, but I wish his words were stronger.''

Ms. Manie was not the prototypical Trump supporter. Born in Trinidad, she **immigrated** to the United States more than two decades ago, at 21. She is a social worker and a committed Christian, and she said that she was praying for Mr. Trump to win.

''I can't stand another four years of a Democrat running this country,'' she said, but she worried the forces of history were pulling against her preference. ''We're at a time when the world seems to want a woman president.''

Some Trump supporters are less forthcoming. Last week in Houston, I was ejected from a Trump event hosted by an anti-**immigration** group that objected to my attempts to interview their supporters. Before I was asked to leave, a Trump supporter sidled up, making pointed comments to me about ''snakes in the grass that bite people.''

Days later, at a county fair in southern Arizona, representatives of a local gun club refused point blank to speak to me. The only quote came from their T-shirts, which read: ''Hillary For Prison.''

Yet many other voters were more thoughtful about their support for Mr. Trump. On Sunday, I went to see Dan Bell, a cattle rancher who lives on the Arizona border with Mexico, and whose land is frequently trespassed by migrants and drug smugglers. Mr. Bell was a classic rancher: a burly man with blue eyes, in a cowboy hat, quietly forthright. For him, Mr. Trump represents urgently needed change.

''Sure, there's been things I wish he hadn't said,'' he told me as we bumped along the border in his Jeep, rain spitting against the windshield. ''But this country needs a course correction. He's been successful in business. We need to get the career politicians out.''

That is a common sentiment among Trump supporters: Their man fuses a potent anti-establishment vim with a certain brand of American authenticity. They may not agree with all of his more lurid attacks -- although some clearly do -- but they see in him the archetype of a successful if boastful businessman. To them he is someone whose words are to be taken with a pinch of salt.

Mr. Trump seems to have been stung by Monday's debate, which was widely seen as a victory for Mrs. Clinton. Lashing out, he has blamed his performance on the debate moderator's bias and a defective microphone, and threatened to turn Bill Clinton's marital infidelity into an issue in the next debate, scheduled for Oct. 9 in St. Louis.

Convention political wisdom has it that Mr. Trump's mercurial debate performance, while pleasing to his core supporters, did little to persuade other demographics, like women and college-educated whites, whose support he desperately needs. Mainstream Republicans are shunning him.

On Tuesday, The Arizona Republic, which has never endorsed a Democrat for president since it started publishing in 1890, formally declared for Mrs. Clinton. ''The 2016 Republican candidate is not conservative and he is not qualified,'' the paper said.

But the conventional wisdom has been wrong so many times in this election that only the foolish would dismiss Mr. Trump.

As people filed out of the debate party on Monday night in Phoenix, Phil Lovas, a member of the Arizona House of Representatives who heads the state Trump campaign, urged them to take home a Trump yard sign. ''We've got 43 days until we elect President Trump,'' he said. ''We need your help.''

The man seated beside me, who had been silent for much of the debate, piped up. ''President Trump,'' he repeated, speaking the words in a low murmur, as if testing them out to see how they might sound.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PARIS -- Bikini -- and burkini -- season is over here, but with the new school year, France's battle over national identity has erupted on a new front: its history curriculum.

School curriculums have long been a part of culture wars, including in the United States, where there have been tussles over slavery and evolution. But in France, where the state sets school programs nationwide, the country's understanding of its past -- and how it uses education to shape young citizens -- has become a hot-button issue in a fraught election season.

Changes to how Joan of Arc and other touchstone historical figures are taught in elementary school, as well as changes to how French, Latin and Greek are introduced, have sparked fierce arguments between right-leaning politicians and intellectuals, who believe schools should foster national pride, and the Socialist education minister Najat Vallaud-Belkacem and her defenders, who argue that the curriculum should reflect changes in society.

In a recent campaign speech and newspaper column, a former prime minister running in primaries for the right-wing Republican party, François Fillon, said France ''shouldn't have to apologize'' for its history. And last week, former president Nicolas Sarkozy, also a candidate in the right-wing party primaries, upped the ante. ''Once you become French, your ancestors are the Gauls,'' he said, adding that students should be taught, '''I love France, I learned the history of France, I see myself as French.'''

This increasing politicization of education is happening at a time of intense debate over **immigration**, multiculturalism and national identity, said Rachel D. Hutchins, a professor at the University of Lorraine in France and the author of ''Nationalism and History Education: Curricula and Textbooks in the United States and France.''

''For politicians, targeting history education provides a simple, rhetorically powerful response to public fears over **immigration**,'' she said.

Mr. Fillon, who was prime minister from 2007 until 2012 under Mr. Sarkozy, said that if elected, he would insist the Education Ministry mandate a ''national narrative.'' His remarks were seen as a rebuke to decades of changes to textbooks that have come to cast France's colonial exploits, particularly in North Africa, in a negative light.

''Our history has glorious moments and tragic moments, but it's an entirety,'' he said. ''We should embrace it and we do not have to apologize for it.'' He also lamented the removal this fall from the elementary school curriculum of Julius Caesar, Cardinal Richelieu and Voltaire.

This year's elementary school curriculum was changed significantly -- to focus more on French history and less on world history -- after ''a very intense debate,'' said Michel Lussault, president of the Superior Council for Programs, the state-appointed independent committee of 18 experts that sets curriculums.

The debate centered on how best to teach history and the French language, and how to divide the elementary school curriculum into three-year cycles. But at a time when terrorist attacks have pushed questions of national identity and civic education to the fore, it quickly became politically charged. In the end, the committee's decision to focus on French history was a compromise between traditionalists who wanted more of a ''national narrative'' and progressives who believed the curriculum should resonate more with today's students and make them more active participants in the classroom.

Mr. Lussault, a geography professor at the University of Lyon, said that Mr. Fillon was playing politics. ''This is a kind of political rhetoric that doesn't have much to do with the reality of the curriculum,'' he said.

Even if the new curriculum eliminated detailed lists of historical figures, including Joan of Arc and Caesar, teachers are still required to cover their epochs. ''I imagine if you're teaching the Roman conquest of Gaul, you would talk about Julius Caesar,'' Mr. Lussault said.

After last year's terrorist attacks in Paris, the Education Ministry added more hours dedicated to teaching about secularism and the republican values of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Those changes came amid a debate over what it means to be French. ''So many people have a French identity card, but the question of what is France and how to transmit the knowledge or the love of France, that's what the attacks introduced into the debate,'' said Alain Finkielkraut, a public intellectual whose 2013 book, ''The Unhappy Identity,'' about the strains of a multicultural society, lamented what he sees as a decline in school standards.

Ever since the French Revolution -- and certainly since the French state wrested control of schools from the Roman Catholic Church in the early 20th century -- education has been the government's main method of instilling certain values of citizenship. But what kind of citizens?

''Should history be civic history? Or a way of teaching curiosity and otherness? That's a big issue,'' said Patricia Legris, a professor of contemporary history at the University of Rennes. As for the kind of citizen: ''Should it be a national citizen? Or a European citizen? A world citizen?''

In ''The Phantom School,'' published this month, the right-wing intellectual Robert Redeker argues that French youth are out of sync with French values because schools have gone downhill. ''Many are of North African origin and they are in dissonance, they are like a separate people,'' said Mr. Redeker, who has lived under police protection since 2006, when he wrote an opinion piece in Le Figaro calling Islam a violent religion.

''They have a hatred of the country into which they were born,'' Mr. Redeker continued. ''But rather than teaching love and respect for this country and its language and its history, the school since the start of the '90s has taught them that ultimately we are mean, slave owners, colonialists, almost murderers.''

Mr. Redeker and others who emphasize Europe's Greco-Roman past are upset that this year Latin and Greek, which are electives, were changed to focus more on ancient civilizations and less on grammar. ''It's pedagogical tourism,'' he said. ''Latin and Greek, like mathematics, are a school of logic, one that teaches rigor in thinking.''

Whether curriculums can help solve France's woes is another question. ''A kind of magical thinking goes on around them,'' said Mark Lilla, a professor of humanities at Columbia who has written extensively on contemporary French politics. ''The presumption is that if we add 15 more minutes of this or that, we've done something to fight the man or to fight the barbarians that are at the gate.''

''In a sense it's testimony to their faith in the life of the mind,'' Professor Lilla added, ''but it's also a way of avoiding hard political choices.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BEIRUT, Lebanon -- Government soldiers made advances in the center of the besieged city of Aleppo on Tuesday, as heavy aerial bombardments by Syria and its ally Russia extended into a fifth day, state-run media organizations said.

Syrian state television reported that troops loyal to the government of President Bashar al-Assad had captured the rebel-held neighborhood of Farafra, near the city's medieval citadel.

The Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, a monitoring organization based in London, confirmed that government forces had pushed into the center of Aleppo as part of their siege of rebel-held areas in the eastern part of what was once Syria's commercial capital.

Airstrikes on Tuesday afternoon killed at least 23 people, including nine children, in the Sha'ar and Mashhad neighborhoods in eastern Aleppo, the observatory reported.

The ground offensive, if confirmed, would be a major development in the battle for Aleppo, where fighting has raged off and on since 2012.

However, social media accounts associated with opposition fighters said the government was exaggerating the magnitude of its advances. Insurgents from groups that identify themselves as the Free Syrian Army said they had blocked government forces trying to advance on the eastern sections of Aleppo's Old City.

Rebels have been fortifying the eastern neighborhoods under their control for years, and any ground offensive would probably be long and grinding, international officials have said.

The Syrian military has not demonstrated an ability to quickly take and hold large territories, even with help from thousands of foreign militiamen commanded by Iranian Revolutionary Guards, including fighters from the militant group Hezbollah and from Iraq, as well as a small number of Russian ground troops and heavy application of Russian and Syrian air power.

Over the last week, Aleppo has been the site of some of the most ferocious fighting in Syria's five-year civil war, after the collapse of a cease-fire negotiated by the United States and Russia.

Mohamed Abu Jaafar Kahil, the head of a medical charity, said in an electronic message that conditions in Aleppo were desperate.

''Hospitals have no more room to receive even one more case, due to the huge number of casualties, of wounded and of martyrs who died today at the hands of barbaric Russian warplanes backed by Syrian warplanes,'' he said.

Mr. Kahil recounted ''nonstop bombing'' by rockets and other artillery, including cluster munitions, which maim and kill indiscriminately. He estimated that dozens had died and hundreds had been wounded.

Dr. Mohamed al-Ahmad, a radiologist reached via the messaging app Viber, described a dire situation at the hospital where he worked. ''We're running short of drugs; we're running short of respirators,'' he said. ''We don't have baby milk, especially for newborns.''

Bassem Ayoub, an Aleppo resident, said food and medical supplies were running out. ''Every day is worse than the last,'' he said. ''Every day I leave my house, I keep in mind that I might not be back. All the people are doing the same here. We're living day by day.''

Humanitarian organizations were trying to repair a water pumping station serving the eastern part of the city. Hanaa Singer, the Unicef representative for Syria, said officials were worried that the supply of drinking water might run out, putting 100,000 children at risk of dehydration.

There was no progress on diplomatic efforts to halt the bloodshed. In Germany, Chancellor Angela Merkel denounced the violence but expressed skepticism that a no-fly zone, one of the ideas for stanching the violence, could be instituted.

''What we currently see on the ground is very, very brutal and clearly targeting civilians,'' she told reporters in Berlin, according to The Associated Press. She added that the recent attacks amounted to a ''deep, deep setback.''

''It clearly now is up to the Assad regime, and also Russia, to take a step to improve the chances for a cease-fire and humanitarian aid,'' she said.

The conflict in Syria has by some estimates left 500,000 people dead, displaced half the population and, according to the United Nations, has sent more than 4.8 million people into neighboring countries as **refugees**.

The United States has accepted about 12,500 Syrian **refugees** over the past year, Anne C. Richard, the senior State Department official for **refugee** issues, said on Tuesday. That exceeds the goal set by President Obama of admitting as least 10,000 during the fiscal year. But it is a tiny fraction of the total number of **refugees**.

Ms. Richard also announced that the United States would provide more than $364 million in additional aid, three-quarters of which is to be provided to Syrians who are inside the country. That brings the total humanitarian assistance the United States has provided during the conflict to more than $5.9 billion.

Donald J. Trump, the Republican candidate for president, has called the program to admit Syrian **refugees** a security risk and has said it should be suspended. Defending the program, Ms. Richard said the vetting was ''extremely rigorous'' and added that the State Department wanted to bring in a higher number of Syrian **refugees** next year, though there was not a specific target.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Some debates seem to transform the fundamentals of a political campaign. The first clash between Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump was not one of those events.

Rather than shifting the lines of the presidential race, this debate seems likely to deepen them -- bolstering Mrs. Clinton's advantage on questions of temperament and tolerance, and amplifying Mr. Trump's blustery message of drastic change.

But Mrs. Clinton appeared to gain in strength over the course of the debate, ultimately routing Mr. Trump in a series of late exchanges. Here are some of our key takeaways from the night:

Clinton scored on race, gender and security

Mrs. Clinton seems to have bested Mr. Trump in the debate largely thanks to her mastery of three subjects that have defined her general election campaign: race, gender and national security.

Breaking through in an exchange on race, she battered Mr. Trump for pushing what she called a ''racist lie'' that President Obama was born outside the United States. Assailing Mr. Trump as sexist, Mrs. Clinton quoted him calling women ''pigs, slobs and dogs.'' And in a back-and-forth on national security, she accused him repeatedly of risking ''another war'' with his hot temper, and said he could not be trusted with nuclear weapons.

Mr. Trump struggled to answer the substance of Mrs. Clinton's criticism, and often appeared thrown by her attacks. His response on national security consisted largely of name-checking various global problem areas, like the Islamic State and Iran, without offering a pointed critique or alternative solution.

Trump is stronger as the outsider

In an uneven and at times flailing debate performance, Mr. Trump had a few moments of strength: He was at his best when he was bringing the fight to Mrs. Clinton on trade policy and her status as a political insider, and delivering blunt calls for wholesale upheaval in Washington.

Mr. Trump hammered Mrs. Clinton early on as an avatar of the status quo. ''She's been doing this for 30 years,'' Mr. Trump said repeatedly. Later, he charged: ''Our country is suffering because people like Secretary Clinton have made such bad decisions.''

But what Mr. Trump has not yet done is convince most Americans that he is the right alternative to a broken political system, and it's not likely he accomplished that on Monday.

A clash of styles and personalities

He shouted, interrupted and sniffed. She kept a level tone and wielded prefab one-liners.

For all the policy disputes between Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton, it may be the vast difference in their personalities that leaves a deeper impression on voters. Mr. Trump, who dodged policy details, badgered Mrs. Clinton as he did his Republican primary opponents, cutting in to mock and contest her claims. He talked over Lester Holt, the moderator -- a performance likely to reinforce his appeal to fans, but unlikely to dispatch doubts about his temperament.

Mrs. Clinton was far more restrained: She declined to match Mr. Trump's volume when he yelled over her, and several times pointed viewers to the internet for fact-checking purposes, rather than going after Mr. Trump's misstatements herself.

Notably, for a candidate who has strained to connect with voters on a gut level, Mrs. Clinton repeatedly invoked her father and granddaughter, in what seemed like an effort to cast her views in a more personal light.

Trump defied the facts again

Mr. Trump has faced intensifying scrutiny in recent weeks for his practice of spreading incorrect or misleading information. But he was undeterred on Monday evening and again peddled false claims, including some of his most thoroughly debunked fables.

In his leadoff answer, Mr. Trump warned that Ford was planning to slash thousands of American jobs to relocate small-car production to Mexico -- a claim the company's chief executive has denied. Mr. Trump insisted that he had not called global warming a hoax perpetrated by China, though he has said precisely that on Twitter. And Mr. Trump repeated numerous times that he was against the war in Iraq from the start, which is plainly contrary to the facts.

Mr. Holt, the staid NBC anchor moderating the debate, stepped in at one point to observe that Mr. Trump had not originally opposed the war. Perhaps surprisingly, Mrs. Clinton allowed several of Mr. Trump's claims to go unchallenged in their specifics.

The bells that didn't ring

There were a few glaring omissions from the list of issues covered in the debate -- including, remarkably, the defining issue of Mr. Trump's candidacy.

**Immigration** did not come up even once. Mr. Trump didn't raise it, and neither Mrs. Clinton nor Mr. Holt challenged him on the subject. While Mrs. Clinton criticized Mr. Trump for demonizing Muslims, neither she nor anyone else mentioned a signature Trump proposal from the Republican primaries, to ban all Muslim **immigration** to the United States.

And in an oversight that would have been unthinkable for any conventional Republican candidate, Mr. Trump did not even mention the Affordable Care Act or the word ''Obamacare,'' effectively ignoring the defining concern of the Obama-era Republican Party.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The America I know wasn't on the television screen on Monday night. My America is about the freedom to make choices, pursue your dreams and use your skills as entrepreneurs. It is about having more choices than just red versus blue.

Americans want to be able to choose a president who is capable of reason, of learning from failures, and of telling them the truth, even when it hurts. Most of all, they want to choose a president who will adhere to the Constitution and will make government live within its means.

I'm offering that choice. I wasn't part of the presidential debate on Monday, but as Americans listened in dismay to the so-called major parties' candidates, Googlesearches for ''Gary Johnson'' skyrocketed.

I'm the third candidate -- the leader of the Libertarian Party. My name will be on every ballot alongside that of my running mate, Bill Weld, who like me was a twice-elected Republican governor of a strongly Democratic state. Contrary to the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates, Bill and I don't believe the United States is a polarized nation.

We don't deny that there are very real tensions on the fringes, and we can't simply ignore those tensions. But when it comes down to the basics, most Americans really aren't that far apart.

Our kids are better educated than ever before. Our technology enables entrepreneurship and transparency. Our military is second to none, as it should be. But our two-party political system is an entirely different story. Hyper-partisanship may be entertaining, but it's a terrible way to try to run a country. We're the alternative -- and we're the only ticket that offers Americans a chance to find common ground.

People might call us fiscal conservatives. Like most Americans, I believe that government does too much and costs too much. As governor of New Mexico, I vetoed more than 750 bills and reduced government involvement in business, better known as ''crony capitalism.''

Some would call us social liberals. I've been vocal in criticizing the disparity in the treatment of black Americans by the police. I want reform in our criminal justice and sentencing systems. ''Three strikes'' laws and mandatory minimums have put the United States among the world leaders in incarceration. Treating drug use and abuse as crimes, rather than health issues, has put far too many Americans behind bars.

What would government be like in a Johnson administration? First, we would begin the conversation about the size of government by submitting a real balanced budget. Every government program would have to justify its expenditures, every year. Cuts of up to 20 percent or more would be on the table for all programs, including military spending. Changes to Social Security and Medicare must also be considered.

As governors, we balanced our budgets and reduced taxes: I cut taxes 14 times; Bill Weld did so 21 times in his six years leading Massachusetts. It just requires commitment and certainty.

Hillary Clinton's and Donald J. Trump's proposals call for much more spending. Both parties are responsible for our unsustainable fiscal problems: President George W. Bush nearly doubled our national debt, to $10 trillion from $5.7 trillion. President Obama is on track to double it again.

Second, we would protect the Constitution and civil liberties and stop treating **immigration** as a bad thing. In the difficult case of abortion, I support a woman's right to choose. I've long supported civil liberties, including marriage equality and freedom from mass surveillance.

Given the way it has served as both a launching pad and a crash-landing site for Republican presidential prospects, **immigration** was strangely absent from Monday's debate. Neither the Republican-controlled Congress nor President Obama has done anything to fix the dysfunctional **immigration** system. Deporting millions of noncriminal undocumented **immigrants** and building a wall, as Mr. Trump proposes, are ludicrous ideas.

A majority of Americans can actually agree on a solution. We would allow those **immigrants** who are here without documents, but with otherwise clean records, to come forward, pay taxes, undergo a background check and legally reside in the United States. We'd eliminate categories and quotas on **immigration**, and border enforcement would be devoted to keeping out real criminals and would-be terrorists.

Third, we would offer free trade to all nations, but limit military intervention to when our nation is attacked. We would honor all treaty obligations and pursue strategic alliances that made our country safer.

Mrs. Clinton wants to continue a muddled mix of intervention, regime change and bombing campaigns. That approach brought us Syria, Iraq, Libya and failed nation-building in Afghanistan. Our troops and the American people deserve clear objectives, with a well-drawn distinction between defense and futile interventions. And our troops deserve authorization from Congress for their activities overseas, an important detail that has fallen by the wayside.

The same common-sense attitude applies to trade and diplomacy. Our ticket is the only one to support free trade. The goal is to enhance prosperity and peace without sending our young people to war.

Less than six weeks before Election Day, independents and, particularly, young voters are increasingly turning to Bill Weld and me as reasonable, rational and experienced candidates. We are the party that can break the partisan gridlock which for too long has kept real solutions out of reach.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald J. Trump lashed out on Tuesday in the aftermath of a disappointing first debate with Hillary Clinton, scolding the moderator, criticizing a beauty pageant winner for her physique and raising the prospect of an all-out attack on Bill Clinton's marital infidelities in the final stretch of the campaign.

Having worked assiduously in recent weeks to cultivate a more disciplined demeanor on the campaign trail, Mr. Trump cast aside that approach on Tuesday morning. As Mrs. Clinton embarked on an ebullient campaign swing through North Carolina, aiming to press her newfound advantage, Mr. Trump vented his grievances in full public view.

Sounding weary and impatient as he called into a Fox News program, Mr. Trump criticized Lester Holt, the NBC News anchor, for asking ''unfair questions'' during the debate Monday evening, and speculated that someone might have tampered with his microphone. Mr. Trump repeated his charge that Mrs. Clinton lacked the ''stamina'' to be president, a claim critics have described as sexist, and suggested that in the future he might raise Mr. Clinton's past indiscretions.

Defying conventions of political civility, Mr. Trump leveled cutting criticism at a beauty pageant winner, Alicia Machado, whom Mrs. Clinton held up in Monday night's debate as an example of Mr. Trump's disrespect for women.

Mr. Trump said on Fox he was right to disparage the former Miss Universe because of her weight.

''She was the winner and she gained a massive amount of weight, and it was a real problem,'' said Mr. Trump, who was the pageant's executive producer at the time.

Mrs. Clinton has already been broadcasting an ad highlighting crude remarks from Mr. Trump about women; she answered his taunts about her marriage with a rhetorical shrug, telling reporters Mr. Trump was free to run whatever kind of campaign he preferred. On board her campaign plane, she plainly relished her moment of apparent triumph, and poked fun at Mr. Trump's morning lamentations.

''Anybody who complains about the microphone,'' she said, ''is not having a good night.''

Mr. Trump's setback in the debate represents a critical test in the final six weeks of the race. Having drawn closer to Mrs. Clinton in the polls, Mr. Trump now faces an intensified clash over his personal temperament and his attitudes toward women and minorities -- areas of grave concern for many voters that were at the center of the candidates' confrontation on Monday.

Against Mr. Trump's brooding, Mrs. Clinton cut a strikingly different profile on the campaign trail on Tuesday, emerging emboldened from her encounter with the Republican nominee. At a rally in Raleigh, N.C., Mrs. Clinton, brandishing her opponent's debate stumbles, assailed Mr. Trump's comments suggesting he avoided paying taxes and welcomed the 2008 financial crisis as a buying opportunity.

''What kind of person would want to root for nine million families losing their homes?'' Mrs. Clinton asked the crowd. ''One who should never be president, is the answer to that question.''

Having shaken at least temporarily the malaise of the past month, Mrs. Clinton must seek to gain a durable upper hand over Mr. Trump, who before the debate had been delivering a more focused message on trade, **immigration** and national security.

Mr. Trump's comportment on Tuesday threatened to undermine his gains of the past month, and recalled his practice during the Republican primaries and much of the general election of belittling political bystanders in language that **alienated** voters, like attacking the Muslim parents of an Army captain killed in Iraq and a Hispanic federal judge.

It remains to be seen if Mr. Trump will approach the remainder of the race with the unfiltered abandon of his comments Tuesday morning.

By the day's end, Mr. Trump had returned to a caustic but somewhat more conventional script, attacking Mrs. Clinton in bitter language at a rally in Melbourne, Fla.

Blasting Mrs. Clinton as a ''vessel for her friends, the donors,'' Mr. Trump exhorted the crowd, ''We're going to get rid of that crooked woman.''

And Mr. Trump again complained at the event about how he had been treated by Mr. Holt, whom he referred to as ''the M.C.''

The fear among Republicans is that Mr. Trump will confront adversity by continuing to swing impulsively at politically inopportune targets, dragging the party again into needless and damaging feuds, as he did for most of the summer.

The notion of raising Mr. Clinton's infidelity is particularly controversial among Mr. Trump's advisers, who have sent conflicting signals about that line of attack.

Kellyanne Conway, Mr. Trump's campaign manager, said in a CNN interview that he deserved credit for holding back from that particular subject, saying Mr. Trump had been ''polite and a gentleman.''

But Rudolph W. Giuliani, a former New York City mayor and a close confidant of Mr. Trump's, called for a far harsher approach. Mr. Trump, he told a reporter for the website Elite Daily, had been ''too reserved'' in his confrontation with Mrs. Clinton.

Mr. Giuliani recommended attacking Mrs. Clinton for having questioned Monica Lewinsky's credibility in claiming an affair with Mr. Clinton. He also called Mrs. Clinton ''too stupid to be president.''

Mr. Giuliani has his own complex marital history: He is on his third marriage; as mayor, he surprised his second wife by announcing his plans to separate from her at a news conference.

Should Mr. Trump follow the path prescribed by Mr. Giuliani, it could transform the final six weeks of his candidacy into an onslaught of unrestricted personal vituperation -- a risky course that would probably please Mr. Trump's political base at the cost of his broader appeal.

But Democrats signaled on Tuesday that they would welcome an extended battle with Mr. Trump over matters of temperament and personal character. Priorities USA Action, a ''super PAC'' supporting Mrs. Clinton, released a television ad highlighting a debate exchange in which Mr. Trump said his temperament was his ''strongest asset,'' along with clips of Mr. Trump using obscene and violent language.

And Mrs. Clinton's running mate, Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia, said in a television interview that Mr. Trump had appeared ''flustered'' and ''ran out of gas.'' During a campaign stop in Orlando, Fla., Mr. Kaine suggested that Mr. Trump was too unsteady for the White House.

''If you're that rattled in a debate,'' he said, ''try being president.''

Still, among Mr. Trump's core voters, there is clearly an appetite for blunter and more personal attacks on Mrs. Clinton, and at his rally in Florida, several said they hoped Mr. Trump would be harsher in the next debate.

''I'm glad he was a gentleman,'' said Fran Hadjilogiou, 75, of Indian Harbour Beach. ''He should just go get her next time.''

Jim Clapper, 66, of Palm Bay, said he hoped Mr. Trump would bring up Mr. Clinton's infidelity ''every chance he gets.''

''He ought to bring it up every day so that the young people in this country know what went on with that family,'' Mr. Clapper said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Across Western Europe, marriage equality is fast becoming the norm: From Scandinavia through the Netherlands and Denmark; even the Catholic countries of Ireland, France and Spain. But there's one glaring exception: Germany. It stands out not only because it is the largest country in Western Europe, but also because on many measures, it is among the most progressive.

Germany's outlier status (it allows ''registered partnerships,'' but not full marriage) is even more curious because much of the country is in favor. But not its leadership: Chancellor Angela Merkel and her party, the Christian Democratic Union, have stood athwart the Continentwide movement and yelled no.

Part of the reason is personal: Ms. Merkel, the daughter of a Protestant pastor, grew up in the former East Germany, where Communism and traditional social mores reinforced the power of the state, and she admits to being extremely conservative on this issue. She has budged on gay rights issues only when forced to do so by the Constitutional Court.

Indeed, her position on gay rights goes beyond marriage equality. Ms. Merkel has also explicitly opposed a proposal that would allow full adoption rights for homosexual couples. Such laws in other European countries are not without their share of controversy, but at least France and other countries grant the right.

Ms. Merkel has clearly decided that it's better to shore up her support among the country's older, more conservative voters than to make a pitch to younger Germans, who support marriage equality. In an uncomfortable interview on YouTube, she stunned the millennial host by telling him condescendingly that there would be no gay marriage (and also no legalization of cannabis) as long as she was in office.

Ms. Merkel has spent the last year pushing her country and neighbors on the **refugee** issue, and it's easy to forget that on most issues, she is deeply skeptical of social change. Despite the influx of newcomers, she has resisted any sort of effort to codify the reality of Germany as a country of **immigrants** with a major revision of its outdated **immigration** laws. (Part of that is pragmatism, based on the fear of further fueling right-wing extremism.)

Still, whether Ms. Merkel as a person is truly against gays marrying is an open question. In March, Guido Westerwelle, a former foreign minister under Ms. Merkel who lived in a ''registered partnership'' and fought hard for gay rights, died of leukemia at the age of 54. Ms. Merkel gave an insightful speech at his funeral, at which his partner, Michael Mronz, was also present. Ms. Merkel may simply feel that she can't make progress on the issue, so doesn't try.

But it's not just a personal matter. Ms. Merkel governs in partnership with the left-wing Social Democrats, who support marriage equality, but in populous Bavaria the conservative wing of the coalition is represented by the C.D.U.'s sister party, the Christian Social Union, which strongly celebrates its closeness to the Roman Catholic faith, the church and its religious customs. At the same time, the party is drifting ever further to the right, embracing openly xenophobic, anti-**refugee**ideas (to such an extent that the Catholic bishops of Bavaria and the archbishop of Cologne, among the most powerful clergymen in the country, found themselves compelled to reprimand the C.S.U. for its un-Christian conduct).

The C.D.U. is also looking to reinforce its conservative image. In recent years the party has capitulated on several key issues, which until then were considered to lie at the core of their policy: compulsory military service and nuclear energy, to name just two prominent examples. There aren't many such issues left, but marriage equality is one of them. For many in the party, giving in on gay rights would be the equivalent of selling the silverware. Several C.D.U. members have defected to the upstart, far-right Alternative for Germany Party, which upholds the biblical family model and rejects marriage for all.

With the Social Democrats stuck at around 20 percent nationwide, and despite Ms. Merkel's own ups and downs in the polls and recent losses by the C.D.U. in elections in eastern Germany, her party is on track to win the national elections convincingly next fall. (Of course, if she decides not to run again for the top spot, and a younger, more progressive candidate steps in, the chances for marriage equality could change.)

A result, at least for now, is an odd reversal of Western Europe's league tables for social progress. Traditionally, it is the Protestant countries of the north that have led on progressive social issues, with the Catholic south dragging behind. This time, though, it is Germany, the leading country in Protestant Europe, that lags the rest. Without a major realignment in German politics, that is unlikely to change for a long time to come.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDShould it come as a surprise that not one chief executive among the Fortune 100 has donated money to Donald Trump's campaign?

That was the news reported by The Wall Street Journal over the weekend after tabulating the latest donation disclosures through August.

Mr. Trump's supporters trumpeted, excuse the pun, the lack of donations from the nation's largest companies as a badge of honor. Big business, they say, has failed the country, so why would their guy want its support?

But the logic of this argument is backward. Mr. Trump has campaigned as a successful businessman, a brilliant negotiator and someone, as he said in his own words, who can ''get along with people.'' He has contended that his economic policies will unleash unheard-of levels of growth -- as much as 6 percent. He plans to lower corporate taxes, remove regulations and allow companies to repatriate cash held overseas. Together, these policies sound like a C.E.O.'s dream.

And yet here we are: Many of the most successful business people in the country refuse to support him -- or do business with him, either.

This is not an opinion. In case there is any doubt, here is a list of companies that in the last two years have publicly severed or reduced business relationships with Mr. Trump, mostly over his inflammatory rhetoric: Macy's, Univision, Comcast's NBCUniversal, Serta, Disney's ESPN, the PGA Tour, Nascar and Perfumania.

Those companies, which have customer bases that include broad swaths of the nation that ostensibly look like the electorate, all said some variation of what Macy's said: ''In light of statements made by Donald Trump, which are inconsistent with Macy's values, we have decided to discontinue our business relationship with Mr. Trump.''

As this column has noted previously, virtually no big United States banking institution has done new business with Mr. Trump in years, in part because of his history of bankruptcies and his penchant for litigation. During orientation for new employees, Goldman Sachs specifically used to use Mr. Trump as an example of the kind of prospective client to avoid.

Still, based on Mr. Trump's policies, you would think that companies like Apple or Nike, which have railed for lower taxes and are pining to bring tens of billions dollars stashed abroad back to the United States, would be kneeling at the altar of Mr. Trump. (Apple's and Nike's chief executives have contributed to Mrs. Clinton.)

Granted, there are his views on **immigration** and trade, which aren't in sync with United States multinational companies that manufacture products abroad. But then again, Mrs. Clinton opposes the Trans-Pacific Partnership too, so that doesn't provide much of a choice.

Jeffrey Immelt, General Electric's chief executive, who employed Mr. Trump on ''The Apprentice'' when G.E. owned NBC, was asked by Vanity Fair about him over the summer. ''The Donald Trump that I had a chance to work with, I found to be fun to work with,'' he said. ''The words? I can't reconcile with anything I believe in, or that I think the country stands for or that the company stands for.''

By the way, this was Mr. Trump's reply last year to businesses that stopped doing business with him: ''Macy's, NBC, Serta and Nascar have all taken the weak and very sad position of being politically correct even though they are wrong in terms of what is good for our country.'' (I should note here that I co-anchor ''Squawk Box'' on CNBC, which is a unit of NBCUniversal.)

In fairness, it is worth pointing out that only 11 C.E.O.s of the Fortune 100 donated to Hillary Clinton, according to The Journal. Mr. Trump does have support from some businessmen like Jack Welch, Carl C. Icahn and Wilbur Ross, among others.

But for a group that has historically leaned Republican, the absence of contributions is eye-opening, particularly since at least 19 of them gave to the other Republican candidates in the primaries.

There is a good reason, wholly unrelated to political correctness, that the business community has not rallied around Mr. Trump's economic plans. On its merits, that plan is expected to hurt the economy, according to nonpartisan economists. It is hard to find many serious economists, except a handful mostly advising his campaign, who say otherwise.

According to the Committee for a Responsible Budget, a nonpartisan think tank that includes a list of luminaries from both sides of the aisle, Mr. Trump's economic plan would add $5.3 trillion to our national debt. That compares with $200 billion as a result of Mrs. Clinton's plan.

''Both Clinton and Trump would increase the debt relative to current law-- though Trump would increase it by an order of magnitude more, and Clinton's plan would slightly reduce deficits if we incorporated unspecified revenue from business tax reform,'' the committee wrote.

None of this column is meant to suggest that Mrs. Clinton's economic plan will usher in a new age of stupendous growth. It won't. It doesn't fully address the need for corporate tax reform, and it won't bring many companies out from under the regulatory morass that they suffer. It won't bring trillions of dollars back from abroad. Her plan is unlikely to pump up the economy much compared with the path that we are currently on. It is very possible some of her policy measures could even slow the economy.

And finally -- again -- there is the issue of trade. A centerpiece of Mr. Trump's economic agenda is renegotiating many of the country's trade agreements. In a new report published by his campaign, Mr. Trump's advisers suggest he would threaten, for example, to leave the World Trade Organization to get a better deal. ''Without the U.S. as a member, there would not be much purpose to the W.T.O.,'' the advisers wrote.

There is no question that the country would be improved by better trade pacts, but Mr. Trump's risky approach could start a trade war that could be disastrous for the country's largest companies. And the uncertainty of the negotiations themselves could slow the economy and rattle our foreign neighbors; just look at the resignation of Mexico's minister of finance for helping bring Mr. Trump there to meet-and-greet with the Mexican president. Other countries will want to avoid similar situations in which they could look like they are caving in to Mr. Trump. (By the way, for those who say, ''Who cares about what happens to big businesses that outsource anyway?'' think about all the money in all those 401(k) plans that is invested in them.)

The Trump economic report cites the Business Roundtable, a lobbying group representing big business, and its complaints about regulatory burdens. The suggestion is that big business will back Mr. Trump, since he plans to reduce regulation. Yet it is hardly clear the Business Roundtable supports him. The organization has not endorsed either candidate, and its chief executive, John Engler, told The New York Times over the summer: ''We're just on the opposite side of Trump on trade and **immigration**.''

Mr. Trump, the self-described great negotiator, may brush aside the views of the country's leading business executives -- but perhaps that is because he hasn't been able to strike a deal with them.

Correction: September 30, 2016, Friday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: The DealBook column on Tuesday, about a relative lack of support for Donald J. Trump from other businessmen, misidentified one of the organizations that has curbed ties with Mr. Trump in the last two years. It is the PGA Tour, not the PGA of America.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Following is a transcript of the first presidential debate on Monday, as transcribed by the Federal News Service.

HOLT: Good evening from Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York. I'm Lester Holt, anchor of ''NBC Nightly News.'' I want to welcome you to the first presidential debate.

The participants tonight are Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. This debate is sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization. The commission drafted tonight's format, and the rules have been agreed to by the campaigns.

The 90-minute debate is divided into six segments, each 15 minutes long. We'll explore three topic areas tonight: Achieving prosperity; America's direction; and securing America. At the start of each segment, I will ask the same lead-off question to both candidates, and they will each have up to two minutes to respond. From that point until the end of the segment, we'll have an open discussion.

The questions are mine and have not been shared with the commission or the campaigns. The audience here in the room has agreed to remain silent so that we can focus on what the candidates are saying.

I will invite you to applaud, however, at this moment, as we welcome the candidates: Democratic nominee for president of the United States, Hillary Clinton, and Republican nominee for president of the United States, Donald J. Trump.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: How are you, Donald?

(APPLAUSE)

HOLT: Good luck to you.

(APPLAUSE)

Well, I don't expect us to cover all the issues of this campaign tonight, but I remind everyone, there are two more presidential debates scheduled. We are going to focus on many of the issues that voters tell us are most important, and we're going to press for specifics. I am honored to have this role, but this evening belongs to the candidates and, just as important, to the American people.

Candidates, we look forward to hearing you articulate your policies and your positions, as well as your visions and your values. So, let's begin.

We're calling this opening segment ''Achieving Prosperity.'' And central to that is jobs. There are two economic realities in America today. There's been a record six straight years of job growth, and new census numbers show incomes have increased at a record rate after years of stagnation. However, income inequality remains significant, and nearly half of Americans are living paycheck to paycheck.

Beginning with you, Secretary Clinton, why are you a better choice than your opponent to create the kinds of jobs that will put more money into the pockets of American works?

CLINTON: Well, thank you, Lester, and thanks to Hofstra for hosting us.

The central question in this election is really what kind of country we want to be and what kind of future we'll build together. Today is my granddaughter's second birthday, so I think about this a lot. First, we have to build an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top. That means we need new jobs, good jobs, with rising incomes.

I want us to invest in you. I want us to invest in your future. That means jobs in infrastructure, in advanced manufacturing, innovation and technology, clean, renewable energy, and small business, because most of the new jobs will come from small business. We also have to make the economy fairer. That starts with raising the national minimum wage and also guarantee, finally, equal pay for women's work.

CLINTON: I also want to see more companies do profit-sharing. If you help create the profits, you should be able to share in them, not just the executives at the top.

And I want us to do more to support people who are struggling to balance family and work. I've heard from so many of you about the difficult choices you face and the stresses that you're under. So let's have paid family leave, earned sick days. Let's be sure we have affordable child care and debt-free college.

How are we going to do it? We're going to do it by having the wealthy pay their fair share and close the corporate loopholes.

Finally, we tonight are on the stage together, Donald Trump and I. Donald, it's good to be with you. We're going to have a debate where we are talking about the important issues facing our country. You have to judge us, who can shoulder the immense, awesome responsibilities of the presidency, who can put into action the plans that will make your life better. I hope that I will be able to earn your vote on November 8th.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton, thank you.

Mr. Trump, the same question to you. It's about putting money -- more money into the pockets of American workers. You have up to two minutes.

TRUMP: Thank you, Lester. Our jobs are fleeing the country. They're going to Mexico. They're going to many other countries. You look at what China is doing to our country in terms of making our product. They're devaluing their currency, and there's nobody in our government to fight them. And we have a very good fight. And we have a winning fight. Because they're using our country as a piggy bank to rebuild China, and many other countries are doing the same thing.

So we're losing our good jobs, so many of them. When you look at what's happening in Mexico, a friend of mine who builds plants said it's the eighth wonder of the world. They're building some of the biggest plants anywhere in the world, some of the most sophisticated, some of the best plants. With the United States, as he said, not so much.

So Ford is leaving. You see that, their small car division leaving. Thousands of jobs leaving Michigan, leaving Ohio. They're all leaving. And we can't allow it to happen anymore. As far as child care is concerned and so many other things, I think Hillary and I agree on that. We probably disagree a little bit as to numbers and amounts and what we're going to do, but perhaps we'll be talking about that later.

But we have to stop our jobs from being stolen from us. We have to stop our companies from leaving the United States and, with it, firing all of their people. All you have to do is take a look at Carrier air conditioning in Indianapolis. They left -- fired 1,400 people. They're going to Mexico. So many hundreds and hundreds of companies are doing this.

TRUMP: We cannot let it happen. Under my plan, I'll be reducing taxes tremendously, from 35 percent to 15 percent for companies, small and big businesses. That's going to be a job creator like we haven't seen since Ronald Reagan. It's going to be a beautiful thing to watch.

Companies will come. They will build. They will expand. New companies will start. And I look very, very much forward to doing it. We have to renegotiate our trade deals, and we have to stop these countries from stealing our companies and our jobs.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton, would you like to respond?

CLINTON: Well, I think that trade is an important issue. Of course, we are 5 percent of the world's population; we have to trade with the other 95 percent. And we need to have smart, fair trade deals.

We also, though, need to have a tax system that rewards work and not just financial transactions. And the kind of plan that Donald has put forth would be trickle-down economics all over again. In fact, it would be the most extreme version, the biggest tax cuts for the top percent of the people in this country than we've ever had.

I call it trumped-up trickle-down, because that's exactly what it would be. That is not how we grow the economy.

We just have a different view about what's best for growing the economy, how we make investments that will actually produce jobs and rising incomes.

I think we come at it from somewhat different perspectives. I understand that. You know, Donald was very fortunate in his life, and that's all to his benefit. He started his business with $14 million, borrowed from his father, and he really believes that the more you help wealthy people, the better off we'll be and that everything will work out from there.

I don't buy that. I have a different experience. My father was a small-businessman. He worked really hard. He printed drapery fabrics on long tables, where he pulled out those fabrics and he went down with a silkscreen and dumped the paint in and took the squeegee and kept going.

And so what I believe is the more we can do for the middle class, the more we can invest in you, your education, your skills, your future, the better we will be off and the better we'll grow. That's the kind of economy I want us to see again. HOLT: Let me follow up with Mr. Trump, if you can. You've talked about creating 25 million jobs, and you've promised to bring back millions of jobs for Americans. How are you going to bring back the industries that have left this country for cheaper labor overseas? How, specifically, are you going to tell American manufacturers that you have to come back?

TRUMP: Well, for one thing -- and before we start on that -- my father gave me a very small loan in 1975, and I built it into a company that's worth many, many billions of dollars, with some of the greatest assets in the world, and I say that only because that's the kind of thinking that our country needs.

Our country's in deep trouble. We don't know what we're doing when it comes to devaluations and all of these countries all over the world, especially China. They're the best, the best ever at it. What they're doing to us is a very, very sad thing.

So we have to do that. We have to renegotiate our trade deals. And, Lester, they're taking our jobs, they're giving incentives, they're doing things that, frankly, we don't do.

Let me give you the example of Mexico. They have a VAT tax. We're on a different system. When we sell into Mexico, there's a tax. When they sell in -- automatic, 16 percent, approximately. When they sell into us, there's no tax. It's a defective agreement. It's been defective for a long time, many years, but the politicians haven't done anything about it.

Now, in all fairness to Secretary Clinton -- yes, is that OK? Good. I want you to be very happy. It's very important to me.

But in all fairness to Secretary Clinton, when she started talking about this, it was really very recently. She's been doing this for 30 years. And why hasn't she made the agreements better? The NAFTA agreement is defective. Just because of the tax and many other reasons, but just because of the fact...

HOLT: Let me interrupt just a moment, but...

TRUMP: Secretary Clinton and others, politicians, should have been doing this for years, not right now, because of the fact that we've created a movement. They should have been doing this for years. What's happened to our jobs and our country and our economy generally is -- look, we owe $20 trillion. We cannot do it any longer, Lester.

HOLT: Back to the question, though. How do you bring back -- specifically bring back jobs, American manufacturers? How do you make them bring the jobs back?

TRUMP: Well, the first thing you do is don't let the jobs leave. The companies are leaving. I could name, I mean, there are thousands of them. They're leaving, and they're leaving in bigger numbers than ever.

And what you do is you say, fine, you want to go to Mexico or some other country, good luck. We wish you a lot of luck. But if you think you're going to make your air conditioners or your cars or your cookies or whatever you make and bring them into our country without a tax, you're wrong.

And once you say you're going to have to tax them coming in, and our politicians never do this, because they have special interests and the special interests want those companies to leave, because in many cases, they own the companies. So what I'm saying is, we can stop them from leaving. We have to stop them from leaving. And that's a big, big factor.

HOLT: Let me let Secretary Clinton get in here.

CLINTON: Well, let's stop for a second and remember where we were eight years ago. We had the worst financial crisis, the Great Recession, the worst since the 1930s. That was in large part because of tax policies that slashed taxes on the wealthy, failed to invest in the middle class, took their eyes off of Wall Street, and created a perfect storm.

In fact, Donald was one of the people who rooted for the housing crisis. He said, back in 2006, ''Gee, I hope it does collapse, because then I can go in and buy some and make some money.'' Well, it did collapse.

TRUMP: That's called business, by the way.

CLINTON: Nine million people -- nine million people lost their jobs. Five million people lost their homes. And $13 trillion in family wealth was wiped out.

Now, we have come back from that abyss. And it has not been easy. So we're now on the precipice of having a potentially much better economy, but the last thing we need to do is to go back to the policies that failed us in the first place.

Independent experts have looked at what I've proposed and looked at what Donald's proposed, and basically they've said this, that if his tax plan, which would blow up the debt by over $5 trillion and would in some instances disadvantage middle-class families compared to the wealthy, were to go into effect, we would lose 3.5 million jobs and maybe have another recession.

They've looked at my plans and they've said, OK, if we can do this, and I intend to get it done, we will have 10 million more new jobs, because we will be making investments where we can grow the economy. Take clean energy. Some country is going to be the clean- energy superpower of the 21st century. Donald thinks that climate change is a hoax perpetrated by the Chinese. I think it's real.

TRUMP: I did not. I did not. I do not say that.

CLINTON: I think science is real.

TRUMP: I do not say that.

CLINTON: And I think it's important that we grip this and deal with it, both at home and abroad. And here's what we can do. We can deploy a half a billion more solar panels. We can have enough clean energy to power every home. We can build a new modern electric grid. That's a lot of jobs; that's a lot of new economic activity.

So I've tried to be very specific about what we can and should do, and I am determined that we're going to get the economy really moving again, building on the progress we've made over the last eight years, but never going back to what got us in trouble in the first place.

HOLT: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: She talks about solar panels. We invested in a solar company, our country. That was a disaster. They lost plenty of money on that one.

Now, look, I'm a great believer in all forms of energy, but we're putting a lot of people out of work. Our energy policies are a disaster. Our country is losing so much in terms of energy, in terms of paying off our debt. You can't do what you're looking to do with $20 trillion in debt.

The Obama administration, from the time they've come in, is over 230 years' worth of debt, and he's topped it. He's doubled it in a course of almost eight years, seven-and-a-half years, to be semi- exact.

So I will tell you this. We have to do a much better job at keeping our jobs. And we have to do a much better job at giving companies incentives to build new companies or to expand, because they're not doing it.

And all you have to do is look at Michigan and look at Ohio and look at all of these places where so many of their jobs and their companies are just leaving, they're gone.

And, Hillary, I'd just ask you this. You've been doing this for 30 years. Why are you just thinking about these solutions right now? For 30 years, you've been doing it, and now you're just starting to think of solutions.

CLINTON: Well, actually...

TRUMP: I will bring -- excuse me. I will bring back jobs. You can't bring back jobs.

CLINTON: Well, actually, I have thought about this quite a bit.

TRUMP: Yeah, for 30 years. CLINTON: And I have -- well, not quite that long. I think my husband did a pretty good job in the 1990s. I think a lot about what worked and how we can make it work again...

TRUMP: Well, he approved NAFTA...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: ... million new jobs, a balanced budget...

TRUMP: He approved NAFTA, which is the single worst trade deal ever approved in this country.

CLINTON: Incomes went up for everybody. Manufacturing jobs went up also in the 1990s, if we're actually going to look at the facts.

When I was in the Senate, I had a number of trade deals that came before me, and I held them all to the same test. Will they create jobs in America? Will they raise incomes in America? And are they good for our national security? Some of them I voted for. The biggest one, a multinational one known as CAFTA, I voted against. And because I hold the same standards as I look at all of these trade deals.

But let's not assume that trade is the only challenge we have in the economy. I think it is a part of it, and I've said what I'm going to do. I'm going to have a special prosecutor. We're going to enforce the trade deals we have, and we're going to hold people accountable.

When I was secretary of state, we actually increased American exports globally 30 percent. We increased them to China 50 percent. So I know how to really work to get new jobs and to get exports that helped to create more new jobs.

HOLT: Very quickly...

TRUMP: But you haven't done it in 30 years or 26 years or any number you want to...

CLINTON: Well, I've been a senator, Donald...

TRUMP: You haven't done it. You haven't done it.

CLINTON: And I have been a secretary of state...

TRUMP: Excuse me.

CLINTON: And I have done a lot...

TRUMP: Your husband signed NAFTA, which was one of the worst things that ever happened to the manufacturing industry.

CLINTON: Well, that's your opinion. That is your opinion.

TRUMP: You go to New England, you go to Ohio, Pennsylvania, you go anywhere you want, Secretary Clinton, and you will see devastation where manufacture is down 30, 40, sometimes 50 percent. NAFTA is the worst trade deal maybe ever signed anywhere, but certainly ever signed in this country.

And now you want to approve Trans-Pacific Partnership. You were totally in favor of it. Then you heard what I was saying, how bad it is, and you said, I can't win that debate. But you know that if you did win, you would approve that, and that will be almost as bad as NAFTA. Nothing will ever top NAFTA.

CLINTON: Well, that is just not accurate. I was against it once it was finally negotiated and the terms were laid out. I wrote about that in...

TRUMP: You called it the gold standard.

(CROSSTALK)

TRUMP: You called it the gold standard of trade deals. You said it's the finest deal you've ever seen.

CLINTON: No.

TRUMP: And then you heard what I said about it, and all of a sudden you were against it.

CLINTON: Well, Donald, I know you live in your own reality, but that is not the facts. The facts are -- I did say I hoped it would be a good deal, but when it was negotiated...

TRUMP: Not.

CLINTON: ... which I was not responsible for, I concluded it wasn't. I wrote about that in my book...

TRUMP: So is it President Obama's fault?

CLINTON: ... before you even announced.

TRUMP: Is it President Obama's fault?

CLINTON: Look, there are differences...

TRUMP: Secretary, is it President Obama's fault?

CLINTON: There are...

TRUMP: Because he's pushing it.

CLINTON: There are different views about what's good for our country, our economy, and our leadership in the world. And I think it's important to look at what we need to do to get the economy going again. That's why I said new jobs with rising incomes, investments, not in more tax cuts that would add $5 trillion to the debt.

TRUMP: But you have no plan.

CLINTON: But in -- oh, but I do.

TRUMP: Secretary, you have no plan.

CLINTON: In fact, I have written a book about it. It's called ''Stronger Together.'' You can pick it up tomorrow at a bookstore...

TRUMP: That's about all you've...

(CROSSTALK)

HOLT: Folks, we're going to...

CLINTON: ... or at an airport near you.

HOLT: We're going to move to...

CLINTON: But it's because I see this -- we need to have strong growth, fair growth, sustained growth. We also have to look at how we help families balance the responsibilities at home and the responsibilities at business.

So we have a very robust set of plans. And people have looked at both of our plans, have concluded that mine would create 10 million jobs and yours would lose us 3.5 million jobs, and explode the debt which would have a recession.

TRUMP: You are going to approve one of the biggest tax cuts in history. You are going to approve one of the biggest tax increases in history. You are going to drive business out. Your regulations are a disaster, and you're going to increase regulations all over the place.

And by the way, my tax cut is the biggest since Ronald Reagan. I'm very proud of it. It will create tremendous numbers of new jobs. But regulations, you are going to regulate these businesses out of existence.

When I go around -- Lester, I tell you this, I've been all over. And when I go around, despite the tax cut, the thing -- the things that business as in people like the most is the fact that I'm cutting regulation. You have regulations on top of regulations, and new companies cannot form and old companies are going out of business. And you want to increase the regulations and make them even worse.

I'm going to cut regulations. I'm going to cut taxes big league, and you're going to raise taxes big league, end of story.

HOLT: Let me get you to pause right there, because we're going to move into -- we're going to move into the next segment. We're going to talk taxes...

CLINTON: That can't -- that can't be left to stand.HOLT: Please just take 30 seconds and then we're going to go on.

CLINTON: I kind of assumed that there would be a lot of these charges and claims, and so...

TRUMP: Facts.

CLINTON: So we have taken the home page of my website, HillaryClinton.com, and we've turned it into a fact-checker. So if you want to see in real-time what the facts are, please go and take a look. Because what I have proposed...

TRUMP: And take a look at mine, also, and you'll see.

CLINTON: ... would not add a penny to the debt, and your plans would add $5 trillion to the debt. What I have proposed would cut regulations and streamline them for small businesses. What I have proposed would be paid for by raising taxes on the wealthy, because they have made all the gains in the economy. And I think it's time that the wealthy and corporations paid their fair share to support this country.

HOLT: Well, you just opened the next segment.

TRUMP: Well, could I just finish -- I think I...

(CROSSTALK)

HOLT: I'm going to give you a chance right here...

TRUMP: I think I should -- you go to her website, and you take a look at her website.

HOLT: ... with a new 15-minute segment...

TRUMP: She's going to raise taxes $1.3 trillion.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, I'm going to...

TRUMP: And look at her website. You know what? It's no difference than this. She's telling us how to fight ISIS. Just go to her website. She tells you how to fight ISIS on her website. I don't think General Douglas MacArthur would like that too much.

HOLT: The next segment, we're continuing...

CLINTON: Well, at least I have a plan to fight ISIS.

HOLT: ... achieving prosperity...

TRUMP: No, no, you're telling the enemy everything you want to do.

CLINTON: No, we're not. No, we're not.TRUMP: See, you're telling the enemy everything you want to do. No wonder you've been fighting -- no wonder you've been fighting ISIS your entire adult life.

CLINTON: That's a -- that's -- go to the -- please, fact checkers, get to work.

HOLT: OK, you are unpacking a lot here. And we're still on the issue of achieving prosperity. And I want to talk about taxes. The fundamental difference between the two of you concerns the wealthy.

Secretary Clinton, you're calling for a tax increase on the wealthiest Americans. I'd like you to further defend that. And, Mr. Trump, you're calling for tax cuts for the wealthy. I'd like you to defend that. And this next two-minute answer goes to you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Well, I'm really calling for major jobs, because the wealthy are going create tremendous jobs. They're going to expand their companies. They're going to do a tremendous job.

I'm getting rid of the carried interest provision. And if you really look, it's not a tax -- it's really not a great thing for the wealthy. It's a great thing for the middle class. It's a great thing for companies to expand.

And when these people are going to put billions and billions of dollars into companies, and when they're going to bring $2.5 trillion back from overseas, where they can't bring the money back, because politicians like Secretary Clinton won't allow them to bring the money back, because the taxes are so onerous, and the bureaucratic red tape, so what -- is so bad.

So what they're doing is they're leaving our country, and they're, believe it or not, leaving because taxes are too high and because some of them have lots of money outside of our country. And instead of bringing it back and putting the money to work, because they can't work out a deal to -- and everybody agrees it should be brought back.

Instead of that, they're leaving our country to get their money, because they can't bring their money back into our country, because of bureaucratic red tape, because they can't get together. Because we have -- we have a president that can't sit them around a table and get them to approve something.

And here's the thing. Republicans and Democrats agree that this should be done, $2.5 trillion. I happen to think it's double that. It's probably $5 trillion that we can't bring into our country, Lester. And with a little leadership, you'd get it in here very quickly, and it could be put to use on the inner cities and lots of other things, and it would be beautiful.

But we have no leadership. And honestly, that starts with Secretary Clinton.

HOLT: All right. You have two minutes of the same question to defend tax increases on the wealthiest Americans, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: I have a feeling that by, the end of this evening, I'm going to be blamed for everything that's ever happened.

TRUMP: Why not?

CLINTON: Why not? Yeah, why not?

(LAUGHTER)

You know, just join the debate by saying more crazy things. Now, let me say this, it is absolutely the case...

TRUMP: There's nothing crazy about not letting our companies bring their money back into their country.

HOLT: This is -- this is Secretary Clinton's two minutes, please.

TRUMP: Yes.

CLINTON: Yeah, well, let's start the clock again, Lester. We've looked at your tax proposals. I don't see changes in the corporate tax rates or the kinds of proposals you're referring to that would cause the repatriation, bringing back of money that's stranded overseas. I happen to support that.

TRUMP: Then you didn't read it.

CLINTON: I happen to -- I happen to support that in a way that will actually work to our benefit. But when I look at what you have proposed, you have what is called now the Trump loophole, because it would so advantage you and the business you do. You've proposed an approach that has a...

TRUMP: Who gave it that name? The first I've -- who gave it that name?

(CROSSTALK)

HOLT: Mr. Trump, this is Secretary Clinton's two minutes.

CLINTON: ... $4 billion tax benefit for your family. And when you look at what you are proposing...

TRUMP: How much? How much for my family? CLINTON: ... it is...

TRUMP: Lester, how much?

CLINTON: ... as I said, trumped-up trickle-down. Trickle-down did not work. It got us into the mess we were in, in 2008 and 2009. Slashing taxes on the wealthy hasn't worked.

And a lot of really smart, wealthy people know that. And they are saying, hey, we need to do more to make the contributions we should be making to rebuild the middle class. CLINTON: I don't think top-down works in America. I think building the middle class, investing in the middle class, making college debt-free so more young people can get their education, helping people refinance their -- their debt from college at a lower rate. Those are the kinds of things that will really boost the economy. Broad-based, inclusive growth is what we need in America, not more advantages for people at the very top.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, we're...

TRUMP: Typical politician. All talk, no action. Sounds good, doesn't work. Never going to happen. Our country is suffering because people like Secretary Clinton have made such bad decisions in terms of our jobs and in terms of what's going on.

Now, look, we have the worst revival of an economy since the Great Depression. And believe me: We're in a bubble right now. And the only thing that looks good is the stock market, but if you raise interest rates even a little bit, that's going to come crashing down.

We are in a big, fat, ugly bubble. And we better be awfully careful. And we have a Fed that's doing political things. This Janet Yellen of the Fed. The Fed is doing political -- by keeping the interest rates at this level. And believe me: The day Obama goes off, and he leaves, and goes out to the golf course for the rest of his life to play golf, when they raise interest rates, you're going to see some very bad things happen, because the Fed is not doing their job. The Fed is being more political than Secretary Clinton.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, we're talking about the burden that Americans have to pay, yet you have not released your tax returns. And the reason nominees have released their returns for decades is so that voters will know if their potential president owes money to -- who he owes it to and any business conflicts. Don't Americans have a right to know if there are any conflicts of interest?

TRUMP: I don't mind releasing -- I'm under a routine audit. And it'll be released. And -- as soon as the audit's finished, it will be released.

But you will learn more about Donald Trump by going down to the federal elections, where I filed a 104-page essentially financial statement of sorts, the forms that they have. It shows income -- in fact, the income -- I just looked today -- the income is filed at $694 million for this past year, $694 million. If you would have told me I was going to make that 15 or 20 years ago, I would have been very surprised.

But that's the kind of thinking that our country needs. When we have a country that's doing so badly, that's being ripped off by every single country in the world, it's the kind of thinking that our country needs, because everybody -- Lester, we have a trade deficit with all of the countries that we do business with, of almost $800 billion a year. You know what that is? That means, who's negotiating these trade deals?

We have people that are political hacks negotiating our trade deals.

HOLT: The IRS says an audit...

TRUMP: Excuse me.

HOLT: ... of your taxes -- you're perfectly free to release your taxes during an audit. And so the question, does the public's right to know outweigh your personal...

TRUMP: Well, I told you, I will release them as soon as the audit. Look, I've been under audit almost for 15 years. I know a lot of wealthy people that have never been audited. I said, do you get audited? I get audited almost every year.

And in a way, I should be complaining. I'm not even complaining. I don't mind it. It's almost become a way of life. I get audited by the IRS. But other people don't.

I will say this. We have a situation in this country that has to be taken care of. I will release my tax returns -- against my lawyer's wishes -- when she releases her 33,000 e-mails that have been deleted. As soon as she releases them, I will release.

(APPLAUSE)

I will release my tax returns. And that's against -- my lawyers, they say, ''Don't do it.'' I will tell you this. No -- in fact, watching shows, they're reading the papers. Almost every lawyer says, you don't release your returns until the audit's complete. When the audit's complete, I'll do it. But I would go against them if she releases her e-mails.

HOLT: So it's negotiable?

TRUMP: It's not negotiable, no. Let her release the e-mails. Why did she delete 33,000...

HOLT: Well, I'll let her answer that. But let me just admonish the audience one more time. There was an agreement. We did ask you to be silent, so it would be helpful for us. Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I think you've seen another example of bait-and- switch here. For 40 years, everyone running for president has released their tax returns. You can go and see nearly, I think, 39, 40 years of our tax returns, but everyone has done it. We know the IRS has made clear there is no prohibition on releasing it when you're under audit.

So you've got to ask yourself, why won't he release his tax returns? And I think there may be a couple of reasons. First, maybe he's not as rich as he says he is. Second, maybe he's not as charitable as he claims to be. CLINTON: Third, we don't know all of his business dealings, but we have been told through investigative reporting that he owes about $650 million to Wall Street and foreign banks. Or maybe he doesn't want the American people, all of you watching tonight, to know that he's paid nothing in federal taxes, because the only years that anybody's ever seen were a couple of years when he had to turn them over to state authorities when he was trying to get a casino license, and they showed he didn't pay any federal income tax.

TRUMP: That makes me smart.

CLINTON: So if he's paid zero, that means zero for troops, zero for vets, zero for schools or health. And I think probably he's not all that enthusiastic about having the rest of our country see what the real reasons are, because it must be something really important, even terrible, that he's trying to hide.

And the financial disclosure statements, they don't give you the tax rate. They don't give you all the details that tax returns would. And it just seems to me that this is something that the American people deserve to see. And I have no reason to believe that he's ever going to release his tax returns, because there's something he's hiding.

And we'll guess. We'll keep guessing at what it might be that he's hiding. But I think the question is, were he ever to get near the White House, what would be those conflicts? Who does he owe money to? Well, he owes you the answers to that, and he should provide them.

HOLT: He also -- he also raised the issue of your e-mails. Do you want to respond to that?

CLINTON: I do. You know, I made a mistake using a private e- mail. TRUMP: That's for sure.

CLINTON: And if I had to do it over again, I would, obviously, do it differently. But I'm not going to make any excuses. It was a mistake, and I take responsibility for that.

HOLT: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: That was more than a mistake. That was done purposely. OK? That was not a mistake. That was done purposely. When you have your staff taking the Fifth Amendment, taking the Fifth so they're not prosecuted, when you have the man that set up the illegal server taking the Fifth, I think it's disgraceful. And believe me, this country thinks it's -- really thinks it's disgraceful, also.

As far as my tax returns, you don't learn that much from tax returns. That I can tell you. You learn a lot from financial disclosure. And you should go down and take a look at that.

The other thing, I'm extremely underleveraged. The report that said $650 -- which, by the way, a lot of friends of mine that know my business say, boy, that's really not a lot of money. It's not a lot of money relative to what I had.

The buildings that were in question, they said in the same report, which was -- actually, it wasn't even a bad story, to be honest with you, but the buildings are worth $3.9 billion. And the $650 isn't even on that. But it's not $650. It's much less than that.

But I could give you a list of banks, I would -- if that would help you, I would give you a list of banks. These are very fine institutions, very fine banks. I could do that very quickly.

I am very underleveraged. I have a great company. I have a tremendous income. And the reason I say that is not in a braggadocios way. It's because it's about time that this country had somebody running it that has an idea about money.

When we have $20 trillion in debt, and our country's a mess, you know, it's one thing to have $20 trillion in debt and our roads are good and our bridges are good and everything's in great shape, our airports. Our airports are like from a third world country.

You land at LaGuardia, you land at Kennedy, you land at LAX, you land at Newark, and you come in from Dubai and Qatar and you see these incredible -- you come in from China, you see these incredible airports, and you land -- we've become a third world country.

So the worst of all things has happened. We owe $20 trillion, and we're a mess. We haven't even started. And we've spent $6 trillion in the Middle East, according to a report that I just saw. Whether it's 6 or 5, but it looks like it's 6, $6 trillion in the Middle East, we could have rebuilt our country twice.

And it's really a shame. And it's politicians like Secretary Clinton that have caused this problem. Our country has tremendous problems. We're a debtor nation. We're a serious debtor nation. And we have a country that needs new roads, new tunnels, new bridges, new airports, new schools, new hospitals. And we don't have the money, because it's been squandered on so many of your ideas.

HOLT: We'll let you respond and we'll move on to the next segment.

CLINTON: And maybe because you haven't paid any federal income tax for a lot of years. (APPLAUSE)

And the other thing I think is important...

TRUMP: It would be squandered, too, believe me.

CLINTON: ... is if your -- if your main claim to be president of the United States is your business, then I think we should talk about that. You know, your campaign manager said that you built a lot of businesses on the backs of little guys. And, indeed, I have met a lot of the people who were stiffed by you and your businesses, Donald. I've met dishwashers, painters, architects, glass installers, marble installers, drapery installers, like my dad was, who you refused to pay when they finished the work that you asked them to do.

We have an architect in the audience who designed one of your clubhouses at one of your golf courses. It's a beautiful facility. It immediately was put to use. And you wouldn't pay what the man needed to be paid, what he was charging you to do...

TRUMP: Maybe he didn't do a good job and I was unsatisfied with his work...

CLINTON: Well, to...

TRUMP: Which our country should do, too.

CLINTON: Do the thousands of people that you have stiffed over the course of your business not deserve some kind of apology from someone who has taken their labor, taken the goods that they produced, and then refused to pay them?

I can only say that I'm certainly relieved that my late father never did business with you. He provided a good middle-class life for us, but the people he worked for, he expected the bargain to be kept on both sides.

And when we talk about your business, you've taken business bankruptcy six times. There are a lot of great businesspeople that have never taken bankruptcy once. You call yourself the King of Debt. You talk about leverage. You even at one time suggested that you would try to negotiate down the national debt of the United States.

TRUMP: Wrong. Wrong.

CLINTON: Well, sometimes there's not a direct transfer of skills from business to government, but sometimes what happened in business would be really bad for government.

HOLT: Let's let Mr. Trump...

CLINTON: And we need to be very clear about that.

TRUMP: So, yeah, I think -- I do think it's time. Look, it's all words, it's all sound bites. I built an unbelievable company. Some of the greatest assets anywhere in the world, real estate assets anywhere in the world, beyond the United States, in Europe, lots of different places. It's an unbelievable company.

But on occasion, four times, we used certain laws that are there. And when Secretary Clinton talks about people that didn't get paid, first of all, they did get paid a lot, but taken advantage of the laws of the nation.

Now, if you want to change the laws, you've been there a long time, change the laws. But I take advantage of the laws of the nation because I'm running a company. My obligation right now is to do well for myself, my family, my employees, for my companies. And that's what I do.

But what she doesn't say is that tens of thousands of people that are unbelievably happy and that love me. I'll give you an example. We're just opening up on Pennsylvania Avenue right next to the White House, so if I don't get there one way, I'm going to get to Pennsylvania Avenue another.

But we're opening the Old Post Office. Under budget, ahead of schedule, saved tremendous money. I'm a year ahead of schedule. And that's what this country should be doing.

We build roads and they cost two and three and four times what they're supposed to cost. We buy products for our military and they come in at costs that are so far above what they were supposed to be, because we don't have people that know what they're doing.

When we look at the budget, the budget is bad to a large extent because we have people that have no idea as to what to do and how to buy. The Trump International is way under budget and way ahead of schedule. And we should be able to do that for our country.

HOLT: Well, we're well behind schedule, so I want to move to our next segment. We move into our next segment talking about America's direction. And let's start by talking about race.

The share of Americans who say race relations are bad in this country is the highest it's been in decades, much of it amplified by shootings of African-Americans by police, as we've seen recently in Charlotte and Tulsa. Race has been a big issue in this campaign, and one of you is going to have to bridge a very wide and bitter gap.

So how do you heal the divide? Secretary Clinton, you get two minutes on this.

CLINTON: Well, you're right. Race remains a significant challenge in our country. Unfortunately, race still determines too much, often determines where people live, determines what kind of education in their public schools they can get, and, yes, it determines how they're treated in the criminal justice system. We've just seen those two tragic examples in both Tulsa and Charlotte.

And we've got to do several things at the same time. We have to restore trust between communities and the police. We have to work to make sure that our police are using the best training, the best techniques, that they're well prepared to use force only when necessary. Everyone should be respected by the law, and everyone should respect the law. TRUMP: You need better relationships between the communities and the police, because in some cases, it's not good.

But you look at Dallas, where the relationships were really studied, the relationships were really a beautiful thing, and then five police officers were killed one night very violently. So there's some bad things going on. Some really bad things.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton...

TRUMP: But we need -- Lester, we need law and order. And we need law and order in the inner cities, because the people that are most affected by what's happening are African-American and Hispanic people. And it's very unfair to them what our politicians are allowing to happen.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I've heard -- I've heard Donald say this at his rallies, and it's really unfortunate that he paints such a dire negative picture of black communities in our country.

TRUMP: Ugh.

CLINTON: You know, the vibrancy of the black church, the black businesses that employ so many people, the opportunities that so many families are working to provide for their kids. There's a lot that we should be proud of and we should be supporting and lifting up.

But we do always have to make sure we keep people safe. There are the right ways of doing it, and then there are ways that are ineffective. Stop-and-frisk was found to be unconstitutional and, in part, because it was ineffective. It did not do what it needed to do.

Now, I believe in community policing. And, in fact, violent crime is one-half of what it was in 1991. Property crime is down 40 percent. We just don't want to see it creep back up. We've had 25 years of very good cooperation.

But there were some problems, some unintended consequences. Too many young African-American and Latino men ended up in jail for nonviolent offenses. And it's just a fact that if you're a young African-American man and you do the same thing as a young white man, you are more likely to be arrested, charged, convicted, and incarcerated. So we've got to address the systemic racism in our criminal justice system. We cannot just say law and order. We have to say -- we have to come forward with a plan that is going to divert people from the criminal justice system, deal with mandatory minimum sentences, which have put too many people away for too long for doing too little.

We need to have more second chance programs. I'm glad that we're ending private prisons in the federal system; I want to see them ended in the state system. You shouldn't have a profit motivation to fill prison cells with young Americans. So there are some positive ways we can work on this.

And I believe strongly that commonsense gun safety measures would assist us. Right now -- and this is something Donald has supported, along with the gun lobby -- right now, we've got too many military- style weapons on the streets. In a lot of places, our police are outgunned. We need comprehensive background checks, and we need to keep guns out of the hands of those who will do harm.

And we finally need to pass a prohibition on anyone who's on the terrorist watch list from being able to buy a gun in our country. If you're too dangerous to fly, you are too dangerous to buy a gun. So there are things we can do, and we ought to do it in a bipartisan way.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton, last week, you said we've got to do everything possible to improve policing, to go right at implicit bias. Do you believe that police are implicitly biased against black people?

CLINTON: Lester, I think implicit bias is a problem for everyone, not just police. I think, unfortunately, too many of us in our great country jump to conclusions about each other. And therefore, I think we need all of us to be asking hard questions about, you know, why am I feeling this way?

But when it comes to policing, since it can have literally fatal consequences, I have said, in my first budget, we would put money into that budget to help us deal with implicit bias by retraining a lot of our police officers.

I've met with a group of very distinguished, experienced police chiefs a few weeks ago. They admit it's an issue. They've got a lot of concerns. Mental health is one of the biggest concerns, because now police are having to handle a lot of really difficult mental health problems on the street.

CLINTON: They want support, they want more training, they want more assistance. And I think the federal government could be in a position where we would offer and provide that.

HOLT: Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: I'd like to respond to that.

HOLT: Please.

TRUMP: First of all, I agree, and a lot of people even within my own party want to give certain rights to people on watch lists and no- fly lists. I agree with you. When a person is on a watch list or a no-fly list, and I have the endorsement of the NRA, which I'm very proud of. These are very, very good people, and they're protecting the Second Amendment.

But I think we have to look very strongly at no-fly lists and watch lists. And when people are on there, even if they shouldn't be on there, we'll help them, we'll help them legally, we'll help them get off. But I tend to agree with that quite strongly.

I do want to bring up the fact that you were the one that brought up the words super-predator about young black youth. And that's a term that I think was a -- it's -- it's been horribly met, as you know. I think you've apologized for it. But I think it was a terrible thing to say.

And when it comes to stop-and-frisk, you know, you're talking about takes guns away. Well, I'm talking about taking guns away from gangs and people that use them. And I don't think -- I really don't think you disagree with me on this, if you want to know the truth.

I think maybe there's a political reason why you can't say it, but I really don't believe -- in New York City, stop-and-frisk, we had 2,200 murders, and stop-and-frisk brought it down to 500 murders. Five hundred murders is a lot of murders. It's hard to believe, 500 is like supposed to be good?

But we went from 2,200 to 500. And it was continued on by Mayor Bloomberg. And it was terminated by current mayor. But stop-and- frisk had a tremendous impact on the safety of New York City. Tremendous beyond belief. So when you say it has no impact, it really did. It had a very, very big impact.

CLINTON: Well, it's also fair to say, if we're going to talk about mayors, that under the current mayor, crime has continued to drop, including murders. So there is...

TRUMP: No, you're wrong. You're wrong.

CLINTON: No, I'm not.

TRUMP: Murders are up. All right. You check it.

CLINTON: New York -- New York has done an excellent job. And I give credit -- I give credit across the board going back two mayors, two police chiefs, because it has worked. And other communities need to come together to do what will work, as well.

Look, one murder is too many. But it is important that we learn about what has been effective. And not go to things that sound good that really did not have the kind of impact that we would want. Who disagrees with keeping neighborhoods safe?

But let's also add, no one should disagree about respecting the rights of young men who live in those neighborhoods. And so we need to do a better job of working, again, with the communities, faith communities, business communities, as well as the police to try to deal with this problem.

HOLT: This conversation is about race. And so, Mr. Trump, I have to ask you for five...

TRUMP: I'd like to just respond, if I might.

HOLT: Please -- 20 seconds.

TRUMP: I'd just like to respond.

HOLT: Please respond, then I've got a quick follow-up for you.

TRUMP: I will. Look, the African-American community has been let down by our politicians. They talk good around election time, like right now, and after the election, they said, see ya later, I'll see you in four years.

The African-American community -- because -- look, the community within the inner cities has been so badly treated. They've been abused and used in order to get votes by Democrat politicians, because that's what it is. They've controlled these communities for up to 100 years.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, let me...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: Well, I -- I do think...

TRUMP: And I will tell you, you look at the inner cities -- and I just left Detroit, and I just left Philadelphia, and I just -- you know, you've seen me, I've been all over the place. You decided to stay home, and that's OK. But I will tell you, I've been all over. And I've met some of the greatest people I'll ever meet within these communities. And they are very, very upset with what their politicians have told them and what their politicians have done.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, I...

CLINTON: I think -- I think -- I think Donald just criticized me for preparing for this debate. And, yes, I did. And you know what else I prepared for? I prepared to be president. And I think that's a good thing.

(APPLAUSE)

HOLT: Mr. Trump, for five years, you perpetuated a false claim that the nation's first black president was not a natural-born citizen. You questioned his legitimacy. In the last couple of weeks, you acknowledged what most Americans have accepted for years: The president was born in the United States. Can you tell us what took you so long?

TRUMP: I'll tell you very -- well, just very simple to say. Sidney Blumenthal works for the campaign and close -- very close friend of Secretary Clinton. And her campaign manager, Patti Doyle, went to -- during the campaign, her campaign against President Obama, fought very hard. And you can go look it up, and you can check it out. TRUMP: And if you look at CNN this past week, Patti Solis Doyle was on Wolf Blitzer saying that this happened. Blumenthal sent McClatchy, highly respected reporter at McClatchy, to Kenya to find out about it. They were pressing it very hard. She failed to get the birth certificate.

When I got involved, I didn't fail. I got him to give the birth certificate. So I'm satisfied with it. And I'll tell you why I'm satisfied with it.

HOLT: That was...

(CROSSTALK)

TRUMP: Because I want to get on to defeating ISIS, because I want to get on to creating jobs, because I want to get on to having a strong border, because I want to get on to things that are very important to me and that are very important to the country.

HOLT: I will let you respond. It's important. But I just want to get the answer here. The birth certificate was produced in 2011. You've continued to tell the story and question the president's legitimacy in 2012, '13, '14, '15...

TRUMP: Yeah.

HOLT: .... as recently as January. So the question is, what changed your mind?

TRUMP: Well, nobody was pressing it, nobody was caring much about it. I figured you'd ask the question tonight, of course. But nobody was caring much about it. But I was the one that got him to produce the birth certificate. And I think I did a good job.

Secretary Clinton also fought it. I mean, you know -- now, everybody in mainstream is going to say, oh, that's not true. Look, it's true. Sidney Blumenthal sent a reporter -- you just have to take a look at CNN, the last week, the interview with your former campaign manager. And she was involved. But just like she can't bring back jobs, she can't produce.

HOLT: I'm sorry. I'm just going to follow up -- and I will let you respond to that, because there's a lot there. But we're talking about racial healing in this segment. What do you say to Americans, people of color who...

(CROSSTALK)

TRUMP: Well, it was very -- I say nothing. I say nothing, because I was able to get him to produce it. He should have produced it a long time before. I say nothing.

But let me just tell you. When you talk about healing, I think that I've developed very, very good relationships over the last little while with the African-American community. I think you can see that.

And I feel that they really wanted me to come to that conclusion. And I think I did a great job and a great service not only for the country, but even for the president, in getting him to produce his birth certificate.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, just listen to what you heard.

(LAUGHTER)

And clearly, as Donald just admitted, he knew he was going to stand on this debate stage, and Lester Holt was going to be asking us questions, so he tried to put the whole racist birther lie to bed.

But it can't be dismissed that easily. He has really started his political activity based on this racist lie that our first black president was not an American citizen. There was absolutely no evidence for it, but he persisted, he persisted year after year, because some of his supporters, people that he was trying to bring into his fold, apparently believed it or wanted to believe it.

But, remember, Donald started his career back in 1973 being sued by the Justice Department for racial discrimination because he would not rent apartments in one of his developments to African-Americans, and he made sure that the people who worked for him understood that was the policy. He actually was sued twice by the Justice Department.

So he has a long record of engaging in racist behavior. And the birther lie was a very hurtful one. You know, Barack Obama is a man of great dignity. And I could tell how much it bothered him and annoyed him that this was being touted and used against him.

But I like to remember what Michelle Obama said in her amazing speech at our Democratic National Convention: When they go low, we go high. And Barack Obama went high, despite Donald Trump's best efforts to bring him down.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, you can respond and we're going to move on to the next segment.

TRUMP: I would love to respond. First of all, I got to watch in preparing for this some of your debates against Barack Obama. You treated him with terrible disrespect. And I watched the way you talk now about how lovely everything is and how wonderful you are. It doesn't work that way. You were after him, you were trying to -- you even sent out or your campaign sent out pictures of him in a certain garb, very famous pictures. I don't think you can deny that.

But just last week, your campaign manager said it was true. So when you tried to act holier than thou, it really doesn't work. It really doesn't.

Now, as far as the lawsuit, yes, when I was very young, I went into my father's company, had a real estate company in Brooklyn and Queens, and we, along with many, many other companies throughout the country -- it was a federal lawsuit -- were sued. We settled the suit with zero -- with no admission of guilt. It was very easy to do. TRUMP: I notice you bring that up a lot. And, you know, I also notice the very nasty commercials that you do on me in so many different ways, which I don't do on you. Maybe I'm trying to save the money.

But, frankly, I look -- I look at that, and I say, isn't that amazing? Because I settled that lawsuit with no admission of guilt, but that was a lawsuit brought against many real estate firms, and it's just one of those things.

I'll go one step further. In Palm Beach, Florida, tough community, a brilliant community, a wealthy community, probably the wealthiest community there is in the world, I opened a club, and really got great credit for it. No discrimination against African- Americans, against Muslims, against anybody. And it's a tremendously successful club. And I'm so glad I did it. And I have been given great credit for what I did. And I'm very, very proud of it. And that's the way I feel. That is the true way I feel.

HOLT: Our next segment is called ''Securing America.'' We want to start with a 21st century war happening every day in this country. Our institutions are under cyber attack, and our secrets are being stolen. So my question is, who's behind it? And how do we fight it?

Secretary Clinton, this answer goes to you.

CLINTON: Well, I think cyber security, cyber warfare will be one of the biggest challenges facing the next president, because clearly we're facing at this point two different kinds of adversaries. There are the independent hacking groups that do it mostly for commercial reasons to try to steal information that they can use to make money.

But increasingly, we are seeing cyber attacks coming from states, organs of states. The most recent and troubling of these has been Russia. There's no doubt now that Russia has used cyber attacks against all kinds of organizations in our country, and I am deeply concerned about this. I know Donald's very praiseworthy of Vladimir Putin, but Putin is playing a really...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: ... tough, long game here. And one of the things he's done is to let loose cyber attackers to hack into government files, to hack into personal files, hack into the Democratic National Committee. And we recently have learned that, you know, that this is one of their preferred methods of trying to wreak havoc and collect information. We need to make it very clear -- whether it's Russia, China, Iran or anybody else -- the United States has much greater capacity. And we are not going to sit idly by and permit state actors to go after our information, our private-sector information or our public-sector information.

And we're going to have to make it clear that we don't want to use the kinds of tools that we have. We don't want to engage in a different kind of warfare. But we will defend the citizens of this country.

And the Russians need to understand that. I think they've been treating it as almost a probing, how far would we go, how much would we do. And that's why I was so -- I was so shocked when Donald publicly invited Putin to hack into Americans. That is just unacceptable. It's one of the reasons why 50 national security officials who served in Republican information -- in administrations...

HOLT: Your two minutes have expired.

CLINTON: ... have said that Donald is unfit to be the commander- in-chief. It's comments like that that really worry people who understand the threats that we face.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, you have two minutes and the same question. Who's behind it? And how do we fight it?

TRUMP: I do want to say that I was just endorsed -- and more are coming next week -- it will be over 200 admirals, many of them here -- admirals and generals endorsed me to lead this country. That just happened, and many more are coming. And I'm very proud of it.

In addition, I was just endorsed by ICE. They've never endorsed anybody before on **immigration**. I was just endorsed by ICE. I was just recently endorsed -- 16,500 Border Patrol agents.

So when Secretary Clinton talks about this, I mean, I'll take the admirals and I'll take the generals any day over the political hacks that I see that have led our country so brilliantly over the last 10 years with their knowledge. OK? Because look at the mess that we're in. Look at the mess that we're in.

As far as the cyber, I agree to parts of what Secretary Clinton said. We should be better than anybody else, and perhaps we're not. I don't think anybody knows it was Russia that broke into the DNC. She's saying Russia, Russia, Russia, but I don't -- maybe it was. I mean, it could be Russia, but it could also be China. It could also be lots of other people. It also could be somebody sitting on their bed that weighs 400 pounds, OK? TRUMP: You don't know who broke in to DNC.

But what did we learn with DNC? We learned that Bernie Sanders was taken advantage of by your people, by Debbie Wasserman Schultz. Look what happened to her. But Bernie Sanders was taken advantage of. That's what we learned.

Now, whether that was Russia, whether that was China, whether it was another country, we don't know, because the truth is, under President Obama we've lost control of things that we used to have control over.

We came in with the Internet, we came up with the Internet, and I think Secretary Clinton and myself would agree very much, when you look at what ISIS is doing with the Internet, they're beating us at our own game. ISIS.

So we have to get very, very tough on cyber and cyber warfare. It is -- it is a huge problem. I have a son. He's 10 years old. He has computers. He is so good with these computers, it's unbelievable. The security aspect of cyber is very, very tough. And maybe it's hardly doable.

But I will say, we are not doing the job we should be doing. But that's true throughout our whole governmental society. We have so many things that we have to do better, Lester, and certainly cyber is one of them.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I think there are a number of issues that we should be addressing. I have put forth a plan to defeat ISIS. It does involve going after them online. I think we need to do much more with our tech companies to prevent ISIS and their operatives from being able to use the Internet to radicalize, even direct people in our country and Europe and elsewhere.

But we also have to intensify our air strikes against ISIS and eventually support our Arab and Kurdish partners to be able to actually take out ISIS in Raqqa, end their claim of being a Caliphate.

We're making progress. Our military is assisting in Iraq. And we're hoping that within the year we'll be able to push ISIS out of Iraq and then, you know, really squeeze them in Syria.

But we have to be cognizant of the fact that they've had foreign fighters coming to volunteer for them, foreign money, foreign weapons, so we have to make this the top priority.

And I would also do everything possible to take out their leadership. I was involved in a number of efforts to take out Al Qaida leadership when I was secretary of state, including, of course, taking out bin Laden. And I think we need to go after Baghdadi, as well, make that one of our organizing principles. Because we've got to defeat ISIS, and we've got to do everything we can to disrupt their propaganda efforts online.

HOLT: You mention ISIS, and we think of ISIS certainly as over there, but there are American citizens who have been inspired to commit acts of terror on American soil, the latest incident, of course, the bombings we just saw in New York and New Jersey, the knife attack at a mall in Minnesota, in the last year, deadly attacks in San Bernardino and Orlando. I'll ask this to both of you. Tell us specifically how you would prevent homegrown attacks by American citizens, Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Well, first I have to say one thing, very important. Secretary Clinton is talking about taking out ISIS. ''We will take out ISIS.'' Well, President Obama and Secretary Clinton created a vacuum the way they got out of Iraq, because they got out -- what, they shouldn't have been in, but once they got in, the way they got out was a disaster. And ISIS was formed.

So she talks about taking them out. She's been doing it a long time. She's been trying to take them out for a long time. But they wouldn't have even been formed if they left some troops behind, like 10,000 or maybe something more than that. And then you wouldn't have had them.

Or, as I've been saying for a long time, and I think you'll agree, because I said it to you once, had we taken the oil -- and we should have taken the oil -- ISIS would not have been able to form either, because the oil was their primary source of income. And now they have the oil all over the place, including the oil -- a lot of the oil in Libya, which was another one of her disasters.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I hope the fact-checkers are turning up the volume and really working hard. Donald supported the invasion of Iraq.

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: That is absolutely proved over and over again.

TRUMP: Wrong. Wrong.

CLINTON: He actually advocated for the actions we took in Libya and urged that Gadhafi be taken out, after actually doing some business with him one time.CLINTON: But the larger point -- and he says this constantly -- is George W. Bush made the agreement about when American troops would leave Iraq, not Barack Obama.

And the only way that American troops could have stayed in Iraq is to get an agreement from the then-Iraqi government that would have protected our troops, and the Iraqi government would not give that.

But let's talk about the question you asked, Lester. The question you asked is, what do we do here in the United States? That's the most important part of this. How do we prevent attacks? How do we protect our people?

And I think we've got to have an intelligence surge, where we are looking for every scrap of information. I was so proud of law enforcement in New York, in Minnesota, in New Jersey. You know, they responded so quickly, so professionally to the attacks that occurred by Rahami. And they brought him down. And we may find out more information because he is still alive, which may prove to be an intelligence benefit.

So we've got to do everything we can to vacuum up intelligence from Europe, from the Middle East. That means we've got to work more closely with our allies, and that's something that Donald has been very dismissive of.

We're working with NATO, the longest military alliance in the history of the world, to really turn our attention to terrorism. We're working with our friends in the Middle East, many of which, as you know, are Muslim majority nations. Donald has consistently insulted Muslims abroad, Muslims at home, when we need to be cooperating with Muslim nations and with the American Muslim community.

They're on the front lines. They can provide information to us that we might not get anywhere else. They need to have close working cooperation with law enforcement in these communities, not be **alienated** and pushed away as some of Donald's rhetoric, unfortunately, has led to.

HOLT: Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: Well, I have to respond.

HOLT: Please respond. TRUMP: The secretary said very strongly about working with -- we've been working with them for many years, and we have the greatest mess anyone's ever seen. You look at the Middle East, it's a total mess. Under your direction, to a large extent.

But you look at the Middle East, you started the Iran deal, that's another beauty where you have a country that was ready to fall, I mean, they were doing so badly. They were choking on the sanctions. And now they're going to be actually probably a major power at some point pretty soon, the way they're going.

But when you look at NATO, I was asked on a major show, what do you think of NATO? And you have to understand, I'm a businessperson. I did really well. But I have common sense. And I said, well, I'll tell you. I haven't given lots of thought to NATO. But two things.

Number one, the 28 countries of NATO, many of them aren't paying their fair share. Number two -- and that bothers me, because we should be asking -- we're defending them, and they should at least be paying us what they're supposed to be paying by treaty and contract.

And, number two, I said, and very strongly, NATO could be obsolete, because -- and I was very strong on this, and it was actually covered very accurately in the New York Times, which is unusual for the New York Times, to be honest -- but I said, they do not focus on terror. And I was very strong. And I said it numerous times.

And about four months ago, I read on the front page of the Wall Street Journal that NATO is opening up a major terror division. And I think that's great. And I think we should get -- because we pay approximately 73 percent of the cost of NATO. It's a lot of money to protect other people. But I'm all for NATO. But I said they have to focus on terror, also.

And they're going to do that. And that was -- believe me -- I'm sure I'm not going to get credit for it -- but that was largely because of what I was saying and my criticism of NATO.

I think we have to get NATO to go into the Middle East with us, in addition to surrounding nations, and we have to knock the hell out of ISIS, and we have to do it fast, when ISIS formed in this vacuum created by Barack Obama and Secretary Clinton. And believe me, you were the ones that took out the troops. Not only that, you named the day. They couldn't believe it. They sat back probably and said, I can't believe it. They said...

CLINTON: Lester, we've covered...

TRUMP: No, wait a minute.

CLINTON: We've covered this ground.

TRUMP: When they formed, when they formed, this is something that never should have happened. It should have never happened. Now, you're talking about taking out ISIS. But you were there, and you were secretary of state when it was a little infant. Now it's in over 30 countries. And you're going to stop them? I don't think so.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, a lot of these are judgment questions. You had supported the war in Iraq before the invasion. What makes your...

TRUMP: I did not support the war in Iraq.

HOLT: In 2002...

TRUMP: That is a mainstream media nonsense put out by her, because she -- frankly, I think the best person in her campaign is mainstream media.

HOLT: My question is, since you supported it...

TRUMP: Just -- would you like to hear...

HOLT: ... why is your -- why is your judgment...

TRUMP: Wait a minute. I was against the war in Iraq. Just so you put it out.

HOLT: The record shows otherwise, but why -- why was...

TRUMP: The record does not show that.

HOLT: Why was -- is your judgment any...

TRUMP: The record shows that I'm right. When I did an interview with Howard Stern, very lightly, first time anyone's asked me that, I said, very lightly, I don't know, maybe, who knows? Essentially. I then did an interview with Neil Cavuto. We talked about the economy is more important. I then spoke to Sean Hannity, which everybody refuses to call Sean Hannity. I had numerous conversations with Sean Hannity at Fox. And Sean Hannity said -- and he called me the other day -- and I spoke to him about it -- he said you were totally against the war, because he was for the war.

HOLT: Why is your judgment better than...

TRUMP: And when he -- excuse me. And that was before the war started. Sean Hannity said very strongly to me and other people -- he's willing to say it, but nobody wants to call him. I was against the war. He said, you used to have fights with me, because Sean was in favor of the war.

And I understand that side, also, not very much, because we should have never been there. But nobody called Sean Hannity. And then they did an article in a major magazine, shortly after the war started. I think in '04. But they did an article which had me totally against the war in Iraq.

And one of your compatriots said, you know, whether it was before or right after, Trump was definitely -- because if you read this article, there's no doubt. But if somebody -- and I'll ask the press -- if somebody would call up Sean Hannity, this was before the war started. He and I used to have arguments about the war. I said, it's a terrible and a stupid thing. It's going to destabilize the Middle East. And that's exactly what it's done. It's been a disaster.

HOLT: My reference was to what you had said in 2002, and my question was...

TRUMP: No, no. You didn't hear what I said.

HOLT: Why is your judgment -- why is your judgment any different than Mrs. Clinton's judgment?

TRUMP: Well, I have much better judgment than she does. There's no question about that. I also have a much better temperament than she has, you know?

(LAUGHTER)

I have a much better -- she spent -- let me tell you -- she spent hundreds of millions of dollars on an advertising -- you know, they get Madison Avenue into a room, they put names -- oh, temperament, let's go after -- I think my strongest asset, maybe by far, is my temperament. I have a winning temperament. I know how to win. She does not have a...

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

TRUMP: Wait. The AFL-CIO the other day, behind the blue screen, I don't know who you were talking to, Secretary Clinton, but you were totally out of control. I said, there's a person with a temperament that's got a problem.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Whew, OK.

(LAUGHTER)

Let's talk about two important issues that were briefly mentioned by Donald, first, NATO. You know, NATO as a military alliance has something called Article 5, and basically it says this: An attack on one is an attack on all. And you know the only time it's ever been invoked? After 9/11, when the 28 nations of NATO said that they would go to Afghanistan with us to fight terrorism, something that they still are doing by our side.

With respect to Iran, when I became secretary of state, Iran was weeks away from having enough nuclear material to form a bomb. They had mastered the nuclear fuel cycle under the Bush administration. They had built covert facilities. They had stocked them with centrifuges that were whirling away.

And we had sanctioned them. I voted for every sanction against Iran when I was in the Senate, but it wasn't enough. So I spent a year-and-a-half putting together a coalition that included Russia and China to impose the toughest sanctions on Iran.

And we did drive them to the negotiating table. And my successor, John Kerry, and President Obama got a deal that put a lid on Iran's nuclear program without firing a single shot. That's diplomacy. That's coalition-building. That's working with other nations.

The other day, I saw Donald saying that there were some Iranian sailors on a ship in the waters off of Iran, and they were taunting American sailors who were on a nearby ship. He said, you know, if they taunted our sailors, I'd blow them out of the water and start another war. That's not good judgment.

TRUMP: That would not start a war.

CLINTON: That is not the right temperament to be commander-in- chief, to be taunted. And the worst part...

TRUMP: No, they were taunting us.

CLINTON: ... of what we heard Donald say has been about nuclear weapons. He has said repeatedly that he didn't care if other nations got nuclear weapons, Japan, South Korea, even Saudi Arabia. It has been the policy of the United States, Democrats and Republicans, to do everything we could to reduce the proliferation of nuclear weapons. He even said, well, you know, if there were nuclear war in East Asia, well, you know, that's fine...

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: ... have a good time, folks.

TRUMP: It's lies.

CLINTON: And, in fact, his cavalier attitude about nuclear weapons is so deeply troubling. That is the number-one threat we face in the world. And it becomes particularly threatening if terrorists ever get their hands on any nuclear material. So a man who can be provoked by a tweet should not have his fingers anywhere near the nuclear codes, as far as I think anyone with any sense about this should be concerned.

TRUMP: That line's getting a little bit old, I must say. I would like to...

CLINTON: It's a good one, though. It well describes the problem.

(LAUGHTER)

TRUMP: It's not an accurate one at all. It's not an accurate one. So I just want to give a lot of things -- and just to respond. I agree with her on one thing. The single greatest problem the world has is nuclear armament, nuclear weapons, not global warming, like you think and your -- your president thinks.

Nuclear is the single greatest threat. Just to go down the list, we defend Japan, we defend Germany, we defend South Korea, we defend Saudi Arabia, we defend countries. They do not pay us. But they should be paying us, because we are providing tremendous service and we're losing a fortune. That's why we're losing -- we're losing -- we lose on everything. I say, who makes these -- we lose on everything. All I said, that it's very possible that if they don't pay a fair share, because this isn't 40 years ago where we could do what we're doing. We can't defend Japan, a behemoth, selling us cars by the million...

HOLT: We need to move on.

TRUMP: Well, wait, but it's very important. All I said was, they may have to defend themselves or they have to help us out. We're a country that owes $20 trillion. They have to help us out.

HOLT: Our last...

TRUMP: As far as the nuclear is concerned, I agree. It is the single greatest threat that this country has.

HOLT: Which leads to my next question, as we enter our last segment here (inaudible) the subject of securing America. On nuclear weapons, President Obama reportedly considered changing the nation's longstanding policy on first use. Do you support the current policy? Mr. Trump, you have two minutes on that.

TRUMP: Well, I have to say that, you know, for what Secretary Clinton was saying about nuclear with Russia, she's very cavalier in the way she talks about various countries. But Russia has been expanding their -- they have a much newer capability than we do. We have not been updating from the new standpoint.

I looked the other night. I was seeing B-52s, they're old enough that your father, your grandfather could be flying them. We are not -- we are not keeping up with other countries. I would like everybody to end it, just get rid of it. But I would certainly not do first strike.

I think that once the nuclear alternative happens, it's over. At the same time, we have to be prepared. I can't take anything off the table. Because you look at some of these countries, you look at North Korea, we're doing nothing there. China should solve that problem for us. China should go into North Korea. China is totally powerful as it relates to North Korea.

And by the way, another one powerful is the worst deal I think I've ever seen negotiated that you started is the Iran deal. Iran is one of their biggest trading partners. Iran has power over North Korea.

And when they made that horrible deal with Iran, they should have included the fact that they do something with respect to North Korea. And they should have done something with respect to Yemen and all these other places.

And when asked to Secretary Kerry, why didn't you do that? Why didn't you add other things into the deal? One of the great giveaways of all time, of all time, including $400 million in cash. Nobody's ever seen that before. That turned out to be wrong. It was actually $1.7 billion in cash, obviously, I guess for the hostages. It certainly looks that way.

So you say to yourself, why didn't they make the right deal? This is one of the worst deals ever made by any country in history. The deal with Iran will lead to nuclear problems. All they have to do is sit back 10 years, and they don't have to do much.

HOLT: Your two minutes is expired.

TRUMP: And they're going to end up getting nuclear. I met with Bibi Netanyahu the other day. Believe me, he's not a happy camper.

HOLT: All right. Mrs. Clinton, Secretary Clinton, you have two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, let me -- let me start by saying, words matter. Words matter when you run for president. And they really matter when you are president. And I want to reassure our allies in Japan and South Korea and elsewhere that we have mutual defense treaties and we will honor them.

It is essential that America's word be good. And so I know that this campaign has caused some questioning and worries on the part of many leaders across the globe. I've talked with a number of them. But I want to -- on behalf of myself, and I think on behalf of a majority of the American people, say that, you know, our word is good.

It's also important that we look at the entire global situation. There's no doubt that we have other problems with Iran. But personally, I'd rather deal with the other problems having put that lid on their nuclear program than still to be facing that.

And Donald never tells you what he would do. Would he have started a war? Would he have bombed Iran? If he's going to criticize a deal that has been very successful in giving us access to Iranian facilities that we never had before, then he should tell us what his alternative would be. But it's like his plan to defeat ISIS. He says it's a secret plan, but the only secret is that he has no plan.

So we need to be more precise in how we talk about these issues. People around the word follow our presidential campaigns so closely, trying to get hints about what we will do. Can they rely on us? Are we going to lead the world with strength and in accordance with our values? That's what I intend to do. I intend to be a leader of our country that people can count on, both here at home and around the world, to make decisions that will further peace and prosperity, but also stand up to bullies, whether they're abroad or at home.

We cannot let those who would try to destabilize the world to interfere with American interests and security...

HOLT: Your two minutes is...

CLINTON: ... to be given any opportunities at all.

HOLT: ... is expired.

TRUMP: Lester, one thing I'd like to say.

HOLT: Very quickly. Twenty seconds.

TRUMP: I will go very quickly. But I will tell you that Hillary will tell you to go to her website and read all about how to defeat ISIS, which she could have defeated by never having it, you know, get going in the first place. Right now, it's getting tougher and tougher to defeat them, because they're in more and more places, more and more states, more and more nations.

HOLT: Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: And it's a big problem. And as far as Japan is concerned, I want to help all of our allies, but we are losing billions and billions of dollars. We cannot be the policemen of the world. We cannot protect countries all over the world...

HOLT: We have just...

TRUMP: ... where they're not paying us what we need.

HOLT: We have just a few final questions...

TRUMP: And she doesn't say that, because she's got no business ability. We need heart. We need a lot of things. But you have to have some basic ability. And sadly, she doesn't have that. All of the things that she's talking about could have been taken care of during the last 10 years, let's say, while she had great power. But they weren't taken care of. And if she ever wins this race, they won't be taken care of.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, this year Secretary Clinton became the first woman nominated for president by a major party. Earlier this month, you said she doesn't have, quote, ''a presidential look.'' She's standing here right now. What did you mean by that?

TRUMP: She doesn't have the look. She doesn't have the stamina. I said she doesn't have the stamina. And I don't believe she does have the stamina. To be president of this country, you need tremendous stamina.

HOLT: The quote was, ''I just don't think she has the presidential look.''

TRUMP: You have -- wait a minute. Wait a minute, Lester. You asked me a question. Did you ask me a question?

You have to be able to negotiate our trade deals. You have to be able to negotiate, that's right, with Japan, with Saudi Arabia. I mean, can you imagine, we're defending Saudi Arabia? And with all of the money they have, we're defending them, and they're not paying? All you have to do is speak to them. Wait. You have so many different things you have to be able to do, and I don't believe that Hillary has the stamina.

HOLT: Let's let her respond. CLINTON: Well, as soon as he travels to 112 countries and negotiates a peace deal, a cease-fire, a release of dissidents, an opening of new opportunities in nations around the world, or even spends 11 hours testifying in front of a congressional committee, he can talk to me about stamina.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: The world -- let me tell you. Let me tell you. Hillary has experience, but it's bad experience. We have made so many bad deals during the last -- so she's got experience, that I agree.

(APPLAUSE)

But it's bad, bad experience. Whether it's the Iran deal that you're so in love with, where we gave them $150 billion back, whether it's the Iran deal, whether it's anything you can -- name -- you almost can't name a good deal. I agree. She's got experience, but it's bad experience. And this country can't afford to have another four years of that kind of experience.

HOLT: We are at -- we are at the final question.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Well, one thing. One thing, Lester.

HOLT: Very quickly, because we're at the final question now.

CLINTON: You know, he tried to switch from looks to stamina. But this is a man who has called women pigs, slobs and dogs, and someone who has said pregnancy is an inconvenience to employers, who has said...

TRUMP: I never said that.

CLINTON: .... women don't deserve equal pay unless they do as good a job as men.

TRUMP: I didn't say that.

CLINTON: And one of the worst things he said was about a woman in a beauty contest. He loves beauty contests, supporting them and hanging around them. And he called this woman ''Miss Piggy.'' Then he called her ''Miss Housekeeping,'' because she was Latina. Donald, she has a name.

TRUMP: Where did you find this? Where did you find this?

CLINTON: Her name is Alicia Machado.

TRUMP: Where did you find this?

CLINTON: And she has become a U.S. citizen, and you can bet...

TRUMP: Oh, really? CLINTON: ... she's going to vote this November.

TRUMP: OK, good. Let me just tell you...

(APPLAUSE)

HOLT: Mr. Trump, could we just take 10 seconds and then we ask the final question...

TRUMP: You know, Hillary is hitting me with tremendous commercials. Some of it's said in entertainment. Some of it's said -- somebody who's been very vicious to me, Rosie O'Donnell, I said very tough things to her, and I think everybody would agree that she deserves it and nobody feels sorry for her.

But you want to know the truth? I was going to say something...

HOLT: Please very quickly.

TRUMP: ... extremely rough to Hillary, to her family, and I said to myself, ''I can't do it. I just can't do it. It's inappropriate. It's not nice.'' But she spent hundreds of millions of dollars on negative ads on me, many of which are absolutely untrue. They're untrue. And they're misrepresentations.

And I will tell you this, Lester: It's not nice. And I don't deserve that.

But it's certainly not a nice thing that she's done. It's hundreds of millions of ads. And the only gratifying thing is, I saw the polls come in today, and with all of that money...

HOLT: We have to move on to the final question.

TRUMP: ... $200 million is spent, and I'm either winning or tied, and I've spent practically nothing.

(APPLAUSE)

HOLT: One of you will not win this election. So my final question to you tonight, are you willing to accept the outcome as the will of the voters? Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I support our democracy. And sometimes you win, sometimes you lose. But I certainly will support the outcome of this election.

And I know Donald's trying very hard to plant doubts about it, but I hope the people out there understand: This election's really up to you. It's not about us so much as it is about you and your families and the kind of country and future you want. So I sure hope you will get out and vote as though your future depended on it, because I think it does.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, very quickly, same question. Will you accept the outcome as the will of the voters? TRUMP: I want to make America great again. We are a nation that is seriously troubled. We're losing our jobs. People are pouring into our country.

The other day, we were deporting 800 people. And perhaps they passed the wrong button, they pressed the wrong button, or perhaps worse than that, it was corruption, but these people that we were going to deport for good reason ended up becoming citizens. Ended up becoming citizens. And it was 800. And now it turns out it might be 1,800, and they don't even know.

HOLT: Will you accept the outcome of the election?

TRUMP: Look, here's the story. I want to make America great again. I'm going to be able to do it. I don't believe Hillary will. The answer is, if she wins, I will absolutely support her.

(APPLAUSE)

HOLT: All right. Well, that is going to do it for us. That concludes our debate for this evening, a spirit one. We covered a lot of ground, not everything as I suspected we would.

The next presidential debates are scheduled for October 9th at Washington University in St. Louis and October 19th at the University of Nevada Las Vegas. The conversation will continue.

A reminder. The vice presidential debate is scheduled for October 4th at Longwood University in Farmville, Virginia. My thanks to Hillary Clinton and to Donald Trump and to Hofstra University for hosting us tonight. Good night, everyone.

END

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the First Draft newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**''Debate'' is an iffy word for an exercise in which candidates are prompted by moderators to dole out their stump speeches bit by bit under hot lights while a clock counts the seconds and every quip and jab and stumble is used to keep score and proclaim a ''winner.''

But when just one candidate is serious and the other is a vacuous bully, the term loses all meaning.

Monday night's confrontation between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton was a spectacle, for sure: the sheer reality-TV hugeness of it, the Super Bowl audience of tens of millions. ''Debate of the Century,'' said The Drudge Report. ''America on the Brink,'' said The Huffington Post. For once, the hype may have been about right, given the tightness of the polls and the nearness of the election.

There was a fundamental asymmetry to the exercise, because of the awful truth that one of the participants had nothing truthful to offer. But seeing them on the same stage distilled exactly who they have been throughout this campaign.

Standing at the lectern, interrupting and shouting, playing the invisible accordion with his open hands, filibustering, tossing his word salads -- jobs and terrorism and Nafta and China and everything is terrible -- Mr. Trump said a lot. But as the debate wore on, he struggled to contend with an opponent who was much more poised and prepared than any of the Republicans he faced in the primaries.

Ninety minutes was never going to be enough time for Mr. Trump to redeem his candidacy, even if by some miracle he had wanted to, if he had suddenly developed a coherent set of policies and principles, an agenda against which Mrs. Clinton's proposals could be weighed and reviewed, and a baseline level of decency.

The moderator, Lester Holt of NBC News, announced the preset themes of ''achieving prosperity,'' ''America's direction'' and ''securing America,'' then meekly retreated into silence as Mr. Trump went on the attack, blaming Mrs. Clinton for ISIS and joblessness and globalization, depicting the country as a living hell for black Americans, a land beset by illegal **immigrants** and gangs with guns, with police officers afraid to stop them. ''It's all sound bites,'' he said at one point, meaning to disparage Mrs. Clinton, but unwittingly describing the emptiness of his own words.

Depending on how your lenses are polarized, Mr. Trump met/exceeded/failed to meet expectations, which were low to begin with. He has lied compulsively since he entered the race, and he was caught again on Monday night with his pants on fire (repeating, among other lies, his slander that Mrs. Clinton invented the birther slur against President Obama). But anything short of dropping his pants in the Hofstra University auditorium would still have left him with the support of a large portion of the American electorate.

Mrs. Clinton also met/exceeded/failed to meet expectations, which were different for her. She had to have just enough levity, mixed with substance, to be stern but not shrill, funny but not flippant, smart but not pedantic, able to stand up to bullying. On balance, she pulled it off, swatting his attacks aside and confidently delivering her own criticisms from higher, firmer ground.

A more appealing and competent set of primary candidates might have stopped this. A responsible Republican Party, mindful of the national interest, not obsessed with thwarting President Obama, might have stopped it. In a better political era, both parties -- not just the Democrats -- would have nominated qualified candidates who could answer Americans' concerns about terrorism and war, climate and the economy, **immigration** and racial healing, education and public safety.

But not this year. The Republican field was winnowed to the worst of the worst. Which gave the debate its strange, potentially tragic dimension. It's absurd that the fate of the race, and the future of the nation, might carom this way or that based on a 90-minute television ritual so tainted by falsehoods.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Until recently, you didn't hear people being referred to as ''globalist'' very often. But in a time of rising nationalism, those who see the upside of globalism have become a distinct -- and often embattled -- tribe.

Last week, the globalists had a big family reunion in New York. The gathering was focused on the United Nations General Assembly, but a growing array of side conferences and summits and dinners also attracted concerned internationalists of every stripe: humanitarians, leaders of nongovernmental organizations, donors, investors, app peddlers, celebrities.

But an absence haunted the week. Almost by definition, nationalists and localists are underrepresented at these global gatherings. Their paucity was especially notable this time, because the rising signs of nationalism -- whether in the form of Donald J. Trump's winning the Republican nomination, the British vote to leave the European Union, or the German backlash against Angela Merkel's welcome to **refugees** -- hovered like a specter over many of the discussions.

The globalists have lofty aims, of course, like working toward a climate-change agreement, finding a solution for the **refugee** crisis, and deepening cross-border trade. But there seemed to be a growing realization that solving the problems of the world's commons becomes harder when the globalists neglect their own backyards.

Again and again, in private conversations and in public forums, the globalists spoke of feeling besieged. Take the valedictory address of former President Bill Clinton, the paterfamilias of the globalist reunion. The Clinton Global Initiative is one of the major factors in helping to transform what had been a week centered on United Nations diplomacy into a broader Davos-on-the-Hudson for international aspirations.

Mr. Clinton spoke of the globalist vision of a ''nonzero-sum'' world in which everyone wins together and of how that idea was under attack by ''zero-sum'' tribal politics.

In a discussion Mr. Clinton moderated on shared prosperity, his four guests were esteemed globalists. The panel included Mauricio Macri, a former businessman who recently defeated Argentina's entrenched populists to become president; Matteo Renzi, the Italian prime minister who styled his own career on the pro-market progressivism that Mr. Clinton called the ''Third Way''; Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, a former Nigerian finance minister and World Bank official; and Sadiq Khan, the first Muslim mayor of London, who was a forceful advocate for Britain's remaining in the European Union.

''Argentina has suffered decades of populism,'' Mr. Clinton said in welcoming Mr. Macri. Mr. Clinton told Mr. Khan that he was ''an example of positive interdependence.'' But the panel's insight was limited by the absence of anyone who could explain populist ire with authenticity -- who could explain why, as Mr. Clinton put it, ''the intensity of the feelings of people resisting our being pulled together outweighs the intensity of those who are winning from this.''

The advocates of a more densely enmeshed world seemed caught in a bind. Their project has long been to get people to enlarge the sphere of their worry, to look beyond national boundaries.

But now more than ever, neglect the unemployed workers in the Rust Belt, or ignore the dissatisfaction with Europe in northern England, and it becomes harder to help Syrian **refugees** or thwart climate change.

I asked Mr. Clinton after his conference about the challenge of balancing help for Kenya with care for Kentucky, in an age when Kentucky anger threatens to push the United States toward less engagement in foreign problems.

''What you call 'Kentucky anger' is being fed in part by the feeling that the most powerful people in the government, economy, and society no longer care about them, or look down on them,'' Mr. Clinton responded via email. ''The pain and road rage we see reflected in the election has been building a long time,'' he added.

But he sought to deny the inevitability of tension between globalism and nationalism, pointing to the example of a program he recently visited that was building nanosatellites at Morehead State University in eastern Kentucky. Kentucky benefits from the program, but so, he argued, might Kenya, where the satellites could, for instance, detect and help combat the trade in phony medicines.

''When opportunities are increased in one part of the world,'' Mr. Clinton said, ''there are often positive effects where you might least expect them.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Undeterred and infuriated by Western accusations of war crimes and barbarity in the aerial assault on Aleppo, the Syrian government and its ally Russia intensively bombed the city in northern Syria on Monday for the fourth consecutive day. Residents and rescuers there described the bombardment as among the worst yet in the five-year war.

Both the Kremlin and the Syrian government appeared to harden their position that the United States and its partners had caused the disintegration of a fleeting cease-fire last week. The Russians went as far as suggesting that the Western portrayal of them as war criminals in the Syria conflict risked a further **alienation** in relations.

Insurgent-held neighborhoods in eastern Aleppo were hit with dozens of air attacks in the predawn hours, killing and wounding many people, according to doctors, nurses and activists in the city. By some estimates the deaths totaled 100 or more for the fourth day.

A number of monitor groups disseminated graphic photos and video clips portraying the medical mayhem wrought by the bombings.

The Aleppo Media Center, a group of antigovernment activists and citizen journalists who have sought to document the conflict, posted video footage of civilian victims on a dirty hospital floor getting little more than simple bandages for wounds.

[Video: Syrians injured in bombing raids Sunday in Aleppo are treated at a hospital in a rebel-held part of the city. Watch on YouTube.]

Stockpiles of food and supplies have dwindled to near nothing on the rebel-held side, according to a report from Aleppo by Agence France-Presse. It also said a shortage of blood for transfusions had forced doctors at the few functioning hospitals to amputate limbs of the seriously wounded. Save the Children, the international charity, said children were ''dying on the floors of hospitals'' for lack of ventilators, anesthetics and antibiotics.

The aerial bombardment campaign over #Aleppo continues. 92 killed today, including children. Medical personnel & hospitals are overwhelmed. pic.twitter.com/PVLIXTdT70 -- SAMS (@sams\_usa) September 24, 2016

The crisis in Aleppo has drastically worsened since Thursday, when Syrian and Russian warplanes sharply escalated the bombing of the divided city as the cease-fire, negotiated by the Russians and Americans, collapsed.

The volume of bombings has increased, residents and rescue workers in Aleppo have said, and incendiary weapons and heavy-duty bombs that can destroy underground shelters have been used for the first time, wreaking havoc on crowded neighborhoods.

One Syrian ambulance crew called Shafak said Sunday that half the dead it had collected over the weekend were children, according to Save the Children. Forty percent of the population in eastern Aleppo are children, Save the Children said, a statistic that helps to explain the high rates of young casualties.

Ahmad Mustafa Makiyya, a volunteer with the ambulance team, said he had to pull his own family members from the rubble of their house, which was struck on Monday. The house was close to a gathering point for day laborers, he said, making the area especially crowded.

At an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council on Sunday, the United States, Britain and other allies said that the Russians were abetting war crimes in Aleppo by the government of President Bashar al-Assad.

''Bunker-busting bombs, more suited to destroying military installations, are now destroying homes, decimating bomb shelters, crippling, maiming, killing dozens, if not hundreds,'' Matthew Rycroft, Britain's ambassador to the United Nations, told the Council session. Mr. Rycroft said that ''in short, it is difficult to deny that Russia'' is committing war crimes.

"Syrians are now facing an unprecedented, unrelenting onslaught of cruelty"WATCH: @MatthewRycroft1 address UN Security Council on #Syria pic.twitter.com/S4FneJzEfu -- Foreign Office (FCO) (@foreignoffice) September 26, 2016

Samantha Power, his American counterpart, accused the Russians of ''barbarism.''

Russia's government, which has called the military campaign a necessary response to terrorist groups in Syria, responded harshly on Monday to the criticism.

''We note the overall unacceptable tone and rhetoric of the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States, which can damage and harm our relations,'' Dimitry S. Peskov, a Kremlin spokesman, told reporters in Moscow.

Mr. Peskov said moderate Syrian opposition groups backed by the United States and Western and Arab allies had not complied with the terms of the cease-fire by failing to separate themselves from the jihadist fighters of the Nusra Front, which now calls itself the Levant Conquest Front.

''Terrorists continue their encroachments, they continue offensives,'' he said, so that ''naturally the fight against terrorists is ongoing, and must not be stopped.''

International aid groups that have long denounced the indiscriminate brutality of the Syrian war were aghast at the intensified bombings in Aleppo. The city is home to roughly two million people, including at least 250,000 who live in the insurgent-held eastern zones.

[Video: Video posted by an opposition media group showed residents of the Mashad neighborhood in the rebel-held part of Aleppo rescuing children after an aerial assault. Watch on YouTube.]

The Union of Medical Care and Relief Organizations, a Cincinnati-based group that supports hospitals in Syria, said the use of bunker-busting bombs in recent days had made the crisis more desperate.

''These bombs have the capacity to destroy fortified hospitals, medical points and underground shelters (where tens of thousands are taking shelter) at high risk,'' the group said in a statement.

The United Nations secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, who has repeatedly denounced what he has called the Syrian government's culpability in most civilian casualties of the war, also expressed shock at the use of bunker-busting bombs.

''These bombs are not busting bunkers,'' he said. ''They are demolishing ordinary people looking for any last **refuge** of safety. International law is clear: The systematic use of indiscriminate weapons in densely populated areas is a war crime.''

The power of these bombs is far more destructive than the barrels stuffed with explosives and shrapnel that Syrian government forces have been dropping on rebel-held areas, where they kill and maim indiscriminately.

An ordinary building hit by the so-called barrel bombs will crumble, but the bunker busters obliterate buildings and also leave deep and wide craters, said James Le Mesurier, director of the Stichting Mayday Rescue Foundation, a group that supports the civil defense search and rescue crews known as the White Helmets.

While underground bunkers in eastern Aleppo have afforded civilians some measure of protection from barrel bombs, Mr. Le Mesurier said, the bunker busters leave no place to hide.

Caroline Anning, a spokeswoman for Save the Children in southern Turkey, said Syrian relief workers she had spoken to in recent days told her they no longer felt safe in underground bunkers.

Schools -- such as they are, operating in basements -- have been shut since early July in rebel-held eastern Aleppo. They were scheduled to resume on Saturday, though that now seems unlikely, Ms. Anning said.

There was little indication Monday that diplomacy could be revived to stop the Aleppo assault, with each side blaming the other. Mr. Assad and his subordinates, emboldened by Russia's assistance, have said over the past week that they intend to retake the entire city by force if necessary.

Syria's foreign minister, Walid al-Moallem, said in a television interview that he considered the United States responsible for the collapse of the cease-fire and that Mr. Ban's comments on the Aleppo bombings were ''shameful.''

Josh Earnest, the White House press secretary, told reporters in Washington that diplomacy remained for now the only viable option for reducing the fighting in Syria and ending the war.

However, Mr. Earnest said, ''it is hard to imagine the United States reaching any other negotiated agreement with the Russians until they have lived up to the commitments they have already made.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDAMMAN, Jordan -- Some of the most extreme elements in Jordan made clear in recent weeks that Nahed Hattar should pay for a provocative cartoon he posted online depicting a bearded man in bed with two women ordering God to bring him cashews and wine.

So when Mr. Hattar, 56, a prominent writer from a Christian family, showed up at a court on Sunday to face criminal charges of insulting Islam, at least one man with a gun decided a trial was not enough. As three bullets ripped through the writer in front of the courthouse, Jordan's simmering tensions boiled over.

The brazen daylight killing of Mr. Hattar in front of his horrified family was not only the latest example of violence tied to cartoon renderings of Muslim figures, it was also the sort of manifestation of extremism that Jordan's government has struggled to contain in a nation that finds itself under pressure from multiple directions.

While presenting itself as a stable outlier in a tumultuous region, Jordan maintains a complicated balancing act of its own, split between traditional tribes, Palestinians, a potent jihadi community and now more than 650,000 **refugees** from the grinding civil war in Syria. As Jordan strives to stay neutral in Syria and off the Islamic State's radar, the cartoon Mr. Hattar posted on Facebook proved just the sort of lighter fuel to feed the flames.

Never mind that after an across-the-board social media backlash, Mr. Hattar quickly removed the cartoon, deactivated his Facebook account and apologized, saying he ''did not mean to offend anyone.'' If the government hoped that arresting him would tamp down the anger among the more violent sections of Jordanian society, it misjudged.

''I saw his lifeless, blood-drained body just now,'' his wife, Randa Kakish-Hattar, said in an interview several hours later at her home where she was mourning with friends and family. ''His two children saw him shot and killed before their eyes. And for what? For sharing a cartoon on Facebook?''

Family members accused authorities of not doing enough to guard him against death threats. ''Nahed apologized about the cartoon,'' Saif Hattar, a cousin, said. ''It was misunderstood. We believe the ISIS poisonous mentality was the cause of this but the government failed to protect him.''

A suspect in the shooting was captured near the scene, according to the government, which vowed harsh action. ''We will hold the perpetrator who committed this despicable act to justice, and the government will respond with an iron fist to anyone who uses this incident as an opportunity to spread hate speech in society,'' Mohammad Momani, a government spokesman, said in a statement.

Jordan, an important American ally surviving in part on billions of dollars of aid from Washington, has sought to find ways to keep its Islamist forces in check. The Muslim Brotherhood, outlawed in Egypt, was allowed, through its political wing, to take part in Jordan's parliamentary elections last week. The wing, along with other Islamists, won 15 of 130 seats, while women won 20, a record for the nation. By happenstance, Jordan's government resigned on Sunday, part of the normal process after elections.

But with the Syrian civil war so close, the kingdom's leaders fear that extremism will cross its borders or arise from within. In June, three intelligence officers and two other government employees were killed at a Palestinian **refugee** camp. In November, a Jordanian police officer fatally shot two American trainers, a South African trainer and two Jordanians at a training compound in Amman.

Parody involving Islam has inspired violence in various countries over the last decade, from cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad as a bomb-toting terrorist published in a Danish newspaper in 2005 to the attack last year on Charlie Hebdo, a satirical publication in Paris, killing 12 people.

Mr. Hattar wrote columns for Al Akhbar, a Lebanese newspaper, often about nationalism and Islamic political thought that reflected a secular, leftist point of view. At various points described as a communist and supporter of President Bashar al-Assad of Syria, he was imprisoned several times for his political activism.

Before his death, Mr. Hattar said that he shared the cartoon not to insult Islam but to point out the hypocrisy of the Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL. In his apology statement, he said the cartoon ''mocks ISIS terrorists and their concept of heaven.''

His explanation did not satisfy his most virulent critics. '' The apology and clarification from Hattar make him no less of an infidel than his caricature,'' Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, one of Al Qaeda's most influential ideologues and the spiritual mentor of Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi, the slain Jordanian-born leader of Al Qaeda in Iraq, wrote on Twitter in August.

Relatives said Mr. Hattar received more than 100 death threats, many through Facebook and some by telephone. In one message they played for a reporter, a caller said if justice did not take place, he would kill Mr. Hattar by ''tearing out his heart from his chest.'' The family said it went to the governor to submit the death threats but no action was taken.

''This happened despite the government knowing that Nahed is a prominent person, that he received hundreds of death threats,'' said Saif Hattar, his cousin.

After Mr. Hattar's death on Sunday, a range of organizations in Jordan spoke out against the killing, including the Islamic Action Front, the political wing of the Muslim Brotherhood.

''The murder of Hattar targets democracy and diversity in our society and aims to spread darkness and terrorism,'' Nidal Mansour, the president of the Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists, said in a statement. ''Even though we disagree with what Nahed says or writes, this is the time to stand united against terrorism and those who killed him. They want to instill fear and silence us.''

At the family meeting hall in Amman, relatives consoled one another.

His wife, Mrs. Kakish-Hattar, said she tried to convince Mr. Hattar to leave the country just two days earlier, but he refused.

Mr. Hattar's younger brother, Majed, 51, was with him when he was attacked and still had blood on his clothes and shoes. He said he had chased the gunman and caught him by holding his beard.

More than 1,000 residents joined relatives on Sunday evening in Fuheis, a largely Christian suburb northwest of Amman where the writer came from. ''We meet today in pain and sorrow,'' said Huwaished Akroosh, the president of the municipality. ''We have confidence in his majesty the king and for safekeeping this country and its people. ''

The gathering turned into a march down the main street toward Fuheis Circle, with hundreds of people chanting together. ''The extremists were afraid of you, so they killed you,'' they chanted. ''Your blood was not spilled in vain.'' They also chanted, ''Down with the government. Down with the interior minister.''

Correction: October 26, 2016, Wednesday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: A headline on Sept. 26 with an article about the killing of a Jordanian Christian writer, Nahed Hattar, after he posted a cartoon online deemed offensive to Islam overstated the case against him. He had been charged with insulting Islam, but not convicted of it. The article imprecisely translated a comment on Twitter by Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, one of Al Qaeda's most influential ideologues, in response to Mr. Hattar's apology. He said, ''The apology and clarification from Hattar make him no less of an infidel'' -- not ''is no less of an apostasy'' -- ''than his caricature.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**When Donald Trump began his improbable run for president 15 months ago, he offered his wealth and television celebrity as credentials, then slyly added a twist of fearmongering about Mexican ''rapists'' flooding across the Southern border.

From that moment of combustion, it became clear that Mr. Trump's views were matters of dangerous impulse and cynical pandering rather than thoughtful politics. Yet he has attracted throngs of Americans who ascribe higher purpose to him than he has demonstrated in a freewheeling campaign marked by bursts of false and outrageous allegations, personal insults, xenophobic nationalism, unapologetic sexism and positions that shift according to his audience and his whims.

Now here stands Mr. Trump, feisty from his runaway Republican primary victories and ready for the first presidential debate, scheduled for Monday night, with Hillary Clinton. It is time for others who are still undecided, and perhaps hoping for some dramatic change in our politics and governance, to take a hard look and see Mr. Trump for who he is. They have an obligation to scrutinize his supposed virtues as a refreshing counterpolitician. Otherwise, they could face the consequences of handing the White House to a man far more consumed with himself than with the nation's well-being.

Here's how Mr. Trump is selling himself and why he can't be believed.

A financial wizard who can bring executive magic to government?

Despite his towering properties, Mr. Trump has a record rife with bankruptcies and sketchy ventures like Trump University, which authorities are investigating after numerous complaints of fraud. His name has been chiseled off his failed casinos in Atlantic City.

Mr. Trump's brazen refusal to disclose his tax returns -- as Mrs. Clinton and other nominees for decades have done -- should sharpen voter wariness of his business and charitable operations. Disclosure would undoubtedly raise numerous red flags; the public record already indicates that in at least some years he made full use of available loopholes and paid no taxes.

Mr. Trump has been opaque about his questionable global investments in Russia and elsewhere, which could present conflicts of interest as president, particularly if his business interests are left in the hands of his children, as he intends. Investigations have found self-dealing. He notably tapped $258,000 in donors' money from his charitable foundation to settle lawsuits involving his for-profit businesses, according to The Washington Post.

A straight talker who tells it like it is?

Mr. Trump, who has no experience in national security, declares that he has a plan to soundly defeat the Islamic State militants in Syria, but won't reveal it, bobbing and weaving about whether he would commit ground troops. Voters cannot judge whether he has any idea what he's talking about without an outline of his plan, yet Mr. Trump ludicrously insists he must not tip off the enemy.

Another of his cornerstone proposals -- his campaign pledge of a ''total and complete shutdown'' of Muslim newcomers plus the deportation of 11 million undocumented **immigrants** across a border wall paid for by Mexico -- has been subjected to endless qualifications as he zigs and zags in pursuit of middle-ground voters.

Whatever his gyrations, Mr. Trump always does make clear where his heart lies -- with the anti-**immigrant**, nativist and racist signals that he scurrilously employed to build his base.

He used the shameful ''birther'' campaign against President Obama's legitimacy as a wedge for his candidacy. But then he opportunistically denied his own record, trolling for undecided voters by conceding that Mr. Obama was a born American. In the process he tried to smear Mrs. Clinton as the instigator of the birther canard and then fled reporters' questions.

Since his campaign began, NBC News has tabulated that Mr. Trump has made 117 distinct policy shifts on 20 major issues, including three contradictory views on abortion in one eight-hour stretch. As reporters try to pin down his contradictions, Mr. Trump has mocked them at his rallies. He said he would ''loosen'' libel laws to make it easier to sue news organizations that displease him.

An expert negotiator who can fix government and overpower other world leaders?

His plan for cutting the national debt was far from a confidence builder: He said he might try to persuade creditors to accept less than the government owed. This fanciful notion, imported from Mr. Trump's debt-steeped real estate world, would undermine faith in the government and the stability of global financial markets. His tax-cut plan has been no less alarming. It was initially estimated to cost $10 trillion in tax revenue, then, after revisions, maybe $3 trillion, by one adviser's estimate. There is no credible indication of how this would be paid for -- only assurances that those in the upper brackets will be favored.

If Mr. Trump were to become president, his open doubts about the value of NATO would present a major diplomatic and security challenge, as would his repeated denunciations of trade deals and relations with China. Mr. Trump promises to renegotiate the Iran nuclear control agreement, as if it were an air-rights deal on Broadway. Numerous experts on national defense and international affairs have recoiled at the thought of his commanding the nuclear arsenal. Former Secretary of State Colin Powell privately called Mr. Trump ''an international pariah.'' Mr. Trump has repeatedly denounced global warming as a ''hoax,'' although a golf course he owns in Ireland is citing global warming in seeking to build a protective wall against a rising sea.

In expressing admiration for the Russian president, Vladimir Putin, Mr. Trump implies acceptance of Mr. Putin's dictatorial abuse of critics and dissenters, some of whom have turned up murdered, and Mr. Putin's vicious crackdown on the press. Even worse was Mr. Trump's urging Russia to meddle in the presidential campaign by hacking the email of former Secretary of State Clinton. Voters should consider what sort of deals Mr. Putin might obtain if Mr. Trump, his admirer, wins the White House.

A change agent for the nation and the world?

There can be little doubt of that. But voters should be asking themselves if Mr. Trump will deliver the kind of change they want. Starting a series of trade wars is a recipe for recession, not for new American jobs. Blowing a hole in the deficit by cutting taxes for the wealthy will not secure Americans' financial future, and **alienating** our allies won't protect our security. Mr. Trump has also said he will get rid of the new national health insurance system that millions now depend on, without saying how he would replace it.

The list goes on: He would scuttle the financial reforms and consumer protections born of the Great Recession. He would upend the Obama administration's progress on the environment, vowing to ''cancel the Paris climate agreement'' on global warming. He would return to the use of waterboarding, a torture method, in violation of international treaty law. He has blithely called for reconsideration of Japan's commitment not to develop nuclear weapons. He favors a national campaign of ''stop and frisk'' policing, which has been ruled unconstitutional. He has blessed the National Rifle Association's ambition to arm citizens to engage in what he imagines would be defensive ''shootouts'' with gunmen. He has so coarsened our politics that he remains a contender for the presidency despite musing about his opponent as a gunshot target.

Voters should also consider Mr. Trump's silence about areas of national life that are crying out for constructive change: How would he change our schools for the better? How would he lift more Americans out of poverty? How would his condescending appeal to black voters -- a cynical signal to white moderates concerned about his racist supporters -- translate into credible White House initiatives to promote racial progress? How would his call to monitor and even close some mosques affect the nation's life and global reputation? Would his Supreme Court nominees be zealous, self-certain extensions of himself? In all these areas, Mrs. Clinton has offered constructive proposals. He has offered bluster, or nothing. The most specific domestic policy he has put forward, on tax breaks for child care, would tilt toward the wealthy.

Voters attracted by the force of the Trump personality should pause and take note of the precise qualities he exudes as an audaciously different politician: bluster, savage mockery of those who challenge him, degrading comments about women, mendacity, crude generalizations about nations and religions. Our presidents are role models for generations of our children. Is this the example we want for them?

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump are spoiling for an extraordinary clash over race and gender that could come as early as Monday's debate, with both presidential candidates increasingly staking their fortunes on the cultural issues that are convulsing the nation.

Mrs. Clinton helped pressure the police in Charlotte, N.C., to release video footage on Saturday of an officer's shooting of a black man. She has expressed concern that too many African-Americans feel that their lives are disposable. And she has repeatedly denounced Mr. Trump for making racist and sexist statements, recently releasing a commercial that shows Mr. Trump describing a woman as ''a slob'' and another as ''flat-chested.''

Mr. Trump last week emphatically endorsed ''stop-and-frisk,'' a contentious policing tactic that is loathsome to many African-Americans. His political pitch to black voters, as he put it at a rally on Saturday in Roanoke, Va., is, ''What do you have to lose?'' At the same event, Mr. Trump mangled the name of the new National Museum of African American History and Culture and bragged about his respect for women, just hours after threatening to invite Gennifer Flowers, who accused Bill Clinton of having an adulterous relationship with her, to the debate.

In a campaign that has veered from traditional policy arguments toward a battle over national identity and values, Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump are more sharply opposed over racial and gender issues than any two presidential opponents in decades. Rather than play it safe with milquetoast positions, Mrs. Clinton wants to increase turnout among African-Americans and women by tackling issues of bias and respect. Mr. Trump is positioning himself at the vanguard of white men.

''The extremity of the divergence is unlike anything I have confronted in my adult life,'' said Randall L. Kennedy, a professor of law at Harvard whose books include ''The Persistence of the Color Line: Racial Politics and the Obama Presidency.'' ''The analogies that come to mind are Goldwater versus Johnson in 1964, and Lincoln versus Douglas in 1860.''

Both candidates are preparing for race and gender to come up during Monday's debate, which has three advertised themes, including one called ''America's direction.''

Many Democrats believe Mrs. Clinton has an edge: Her party is energized around these issues and seems eager for a fight, while some Republicans sound fatigued about racism in law enforcement.

''Race and gender are often ignored, often belittled with ridiculous sound bites,'' said Donna Brazile, the chairwoman of the Democratic National Committee. ''Having the two of them debate race and gender issues would show more clearly than anything else that one candidate has a record and vision to bring people together, and one has offered the most divisive, bigoted and sexist comments and policies we've seen from a major party nominee.''

Yet Republicans see electoral advantages for Mr. Trump. He won the nomination largely by appealing to the resentments of whites, especially working-class voters who say they are tired of debating racism and appreciate Mr. Trump's message of law and order. He is also emphasizing security at a time of unpredictable violence in American cities, such as Friday's fatal shooting of five people at a mall near Seattle.

Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker, said that Mr. Trump, whom he has advised, had an opening to present himself as a stern leader and an agent of change for minorities. Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Gingrich said, was vulnerable to being tagged as part of what he called a ''wing of American intellectual culture'' defined by the concept that the ''police are dangerous, and if only we didn't have any guns, nobody would get hurt.''

But Mr. Gingrich also encouraged Mr. Trump to acknowledge directly that blacks faced ''a steeper hill to climb.''

''I'm hoping he'll do more of it,'' Mr. Gingrich said, ''and communicate that being black in America is different and is harder, that the legacy of slavery and discrimination is real.''

Even in other times of social unrest, few if any presidential candidates have constructed their political arguments around themes of race, gender and cultural diversity as much as Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump. And their message has only intensified before the first debate, which looms as a showdown for a wide spectrum of voters -- minorities and women and more educated voters on one side, white men and working-class voters on the other.

Mrs. Clinton, who holds a slim lead in national poll averages, has responded to the violence of the last week by casting herself again as a champion of diversity and inclusion. She spoke out quickly after the fatal police shooting of a black man in Tulsa, Okla., to denounce ''systemic racism'' against blacks. And after the recent bombings in New York and New Jersey, she rushed to make the case that Mr. Trump had endangered the country with his oratorical attacks on Muslims.

She also gave a speech last week criticizing Mr. Trump for having shown disrespect to people with disabilities. Her new commercial about Mr. Trump and women ends with a powerful question: ''Is this the president we want for our daughters?''

Mark Mellman, who advised John Kerry's campaign in 2004, said Mrs. Clinton's challenge on Monday would be to channel the frustrations of minority voters, while reassuring whites who are sympathetic on racial issues. ''You have to understand the problem, empathize with the problem, talk about how to solve the problem,'' he said, ''without appearing to condone the violent response to it.''

Mr. Trump has hardened his own arguments recently, and dialed up his warnings against excessive social tolerance. He speculated last week that political correctness might have held back authorities from stopping the attacks in New York and New Jersey, and he asserted that admitting more **refugees** from Syria would harm the American ''quality of life.''

After the police shootings in Tulsa and Charlotte, Mr. Trump's running mate, Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana, complained that there was ''too much of this talk of institutional bias or racism in law enforcement.''

Mr. Pence and several Republican lawmakers have drawn criticism for such remarks on race, including a congressman from North Carolina, Robert Pittenger, who said that protesters in Charlotte ''hate white people because white people are successful and they're not.'' Mr. Pittenger later apologized.

Facing polls that show most voters see him as intolerant of minorities and women, Mr. Trump has sought to reassure voters that he could also be an inclusive president. He has visited black communities a few times, and at the rally in Roanoke on Saturday, Mr. Trump called the new African-American museum in Washington ''a beautiful place'' and vowed to support black Americans as president.

But he did botch the museum's name, calling it the ''Smithsonian Museum of American History, African-American Art.''

Mr. Trump also boasted of having employed women in influential jobs. But he risked **alienating** some women voters over the weekend by threatening to provide a front-row seat at the debate to Ms. Flowers as retaliation to remarks by Mark Cuban, the billionaire who has been a vocal Trump critic.

Celinda Lake, a Democratic pollster, said Mrs. Clinton's focus on ''bringing people together'' would resonate with female voters, many of whom are troubled by the recent police shootings.

''Hillary Clinton has a real chance to get these independent women out of the undecided column with her messages about race and gender rather than Trump's divisive views,'' Ms. Lake said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PINGTANG COUNTY, China -- When hundreds of engineers and builders began clambering up a jagged hill in southwestern China to assemble a giant telescope in a deep, bowl-shaped basin, poor villagers sometimes crept over the sheer slopes to glimpse the country's latest technological wonder.

''We've never seen anything like it, never imagined it,'' said one villager, Huang Zhangrong, a sun-gnarled 66-year-old carpenter. ''It's a big circle, a big iron wok.''

The wok is the world's largest single-dish radio telescope, and it officially began operating on Sunday, accompanied by jubilant national television coverage, after more than five years of construction. The Five-hundred-meter Aperture Spherical Telescope, FAST for short, is intended to project China's scientific ambitions deep into the universe, bringing back dramatic discoveries and honors like Nobel Prizes.

Maybe even messages from **aliens**.

The telescope, which is in a majestic but impoverished part of Guizhou Province, embodies China's plans to rise as a scientific power. The dish is made of 4,450 intricately positioned triangular panels and has a collecting area of 2.1 million square feet, equal to almost 450 basketball courts. At 1,640 feet in diameter, it will be roughly twice as sensitive as the world's next-biggest single-dish radio telescope, the Arecibo Observatory in Puerto Rico, which is 1,000 feet across.

The telescope will help China make ''major advances and breakthroughs at the frontier of science,'' President Xi Jinping of China said in a congratulatory message on Sunday. He called it China's ''eye in the sky.''

Astronomers will use the Guizhou telescope to map the shape and formation of the universe, relying on its large size and a mobile detector suspended above the dish to explore space more quickly, deeply and thoroughly than they can with smaller telescopes. The telescope cost $184 million, recent Chinese state news reports said, although that figure seems unduly modest, given the telescope's size. To ensure the project remains undisturbed, the government is moving more than 9,000 people.

Chinese science is often seen as serving the country's economic and military expansion, seeking ruthlessly practical dividends.

But the telescope shows that the government in Beijing is also willing to spend heavily to propel China into the big leagues in research that offers few direct payoffs, apart from knowledge and prestige.

''Astronomy is an ultimate expression of 'pure' science that has little immediate practical benefits,'' Luis C. Ho, the director of the Kavli Institute for Astronomy and Astrophysics at Peking University, said by email. ''It is a luxury that only the most advanced economies enjoy.''

China's history of subjugation to the West in previous centuries reinforced the belief that scientific prowess is essential for any modern power. And studying the heavens was, after all, an area where China excelled in ancient times.

''Now we're racing to catch up and want to recreate the glories of our ancestors by reviving our astronomy,'' Zhang Chengmin, an astrophysicist at the National Astronomical Observatories of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, said in an interview. ''China isn't just an economic power; it is also becoming a scientific power.''

Astronomy, however, also depends on international cooperation. Despite Chinese hoopla about the telescope as homegrown technology, it also uses foreign equipment. The receiver, a crucial part, is Australian technology. Foreign scientists will be invited to work on research, and many of the telescope's big projects will draw on international collaboration.

''Radio astronomy is a very international field,'' said Douglas Bock, a senior astronomer at Australia's Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial ResearchOrganization, which built the receiver. ''The science collaborations naturally lead to many deeper technical collaborations on instrumentation and new telescopes.''

The soluble rock that covers this part of Guizhou has dissolved and eroded over eons into jutting hills with natural cavities. The spectacular terrain has also trapped residents in hard, isolated lives, farming corn and honeysuckle in the narrow strips of land among the hills.

But the terrain also offers a nearly ideal environment for a radio telescope. The population is sparse, and the hills are a natural barrier against radio noise and wind that could upset the delicate instruments needed to catch whispers from deep in space.

Even so, not all of the thousands of people being moved for the telescope want to go.

''I've lived here all my life. My ancestors arrived here in the Qing dynasty over 200 years ago,'' said Mr. Huang, the carpenter, who lives in Miaoping village. He said local villagers had complained that the housing they had been offered in a town down the road was poorly built. ''We don't want to leave, but the government says it's for the good of the country,'' he said.

In return for the farmers' pain, Chinese scientists will have a vast and powerful scientific instrument that they hope will make breakthroughs in some of the biggest mysteries of the universe.

''We're definitely aiming for innovative results as quickly as possible, unearthing its potential for Nobel Prize-grade discoveries,'' Di Li, a leading scientist on the FAST project, told Xinhua, the state news agency, last year.

The telescope is part of an array of projects to raise China's standing as a scientific power through big, expensive feats of scientific exploration.

The space program aims to send an astronaut to the moon by 2025 or later and to land an unmanned vehicle on Mars in 2020. Chinese scientists plan to build the world's biggest particle accelerator. And there may be more radio telescopes, including in Tibet.

Using the new reach of the telescope in Guizhou, astronomers hope to better measure the distribution of neutral hydrogen atoms, like a telltale cosmic dust.

''Previous research could only tell us that the universe is expanding,'' Zhang Tongjie, a professor of cosmology at Beijing Normal University who plans to use the telescope, said in an interview.

If the telescope can be used to survey electromagnetic radiation from neutral hydrogen, he said, Chinese scientists would be well positioned to gain a much more accurate grasp of how fast the universe is expanding. ''That would be very significant,'' he said.

Astronomers also hope to use the telescope to locate thousands more pulsars, the highly magnetized neutron stars that rotate, creating a metronome-like pulse that is a boon to measurements. By better measuring pulsars, and more of them, the telescope could open up a new way to explore the long-elusive gravitational waves predicted by Einstein's general theory of relativity.

Early this year, an international team of scientists announced that it had captured evidence of gravitational waves. But the pulsar research would offer another way to make progress, perhaps confirming and refining that discovery.

''This telescope offers the first time that China will have an unsurpassed opportunity to be at the international forefront of deep space exploration,'' said Mr. Zhang, the astrophysicist.

Most alluring to the public may be the search for extraterrestrial civilizations, from signals that accidentally reach Earth or from messages sent here. The new telescope opens up the possibility that the first human leader to respond to a message from **alien** life could be Mr. Xi.

But **alien** life is not a focus for now. Initially, the scientists running the telescope will scan the skies to test and calibrate their equipment, and researchers involved in the international effort to explore for intelligent life on distant planets will ''piggyback'' to sift for signals, Dan Werthimer, the chief scientist of the SETI Research Center at the University of California, Berkeley, which engages in the search for extraterrestrial intelligence, said in a telephone interview.

''They're very keen to collaborate,'' he said. ''We can use the telescope at the same time that they're doing more traditional astronomy to look for E.T.''

But astronomers said it could be years before the telescope in Guizhou starts making breakthroughs. It could take a year or two for the scientists and technicians to tweak and debug the complex equipment so that the telescope can work at full strength, they said.

''It would be premature to want to catch up with international standards in one jump,'' said Wu Xuebing, a professor of astrophysics at Peking University. ''A country's scientific advancement requires a certain accumulation of time.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ORAIOKASTRO, Greece -- Mariya bint Loqman Abdlkarim is 9. She arrived in Greece in February after fleeing Syria with her family and crossing from Turkey in a rickety boat. Since then, she has been living in a shabby state-run camp, her future uncertain, her present reduced to the bare necessities.

Not long ago, the Greek government decided to give her a shot at something closer to a normal life: Along with 22,000 other **refugee** children, she would be allowed to attend public school starting in October.

But as with many aspects of Europe's effort to cope with the huge numbers of migrants who have come to its shores, the plan quickly ran into intense opposition, in this case from parents in a number of communities near camps in northern Greece. The **refugee** children, the parents said, might have contagious diseases. Cultural differences, they said, might disrupt learning.

Last week, an association representing the parents of schoolchildren in the small town of Filippiada in western Greece sent a letter to local officials and the Education Ministry, saying ''explicitly and categorically that we will not accept, under any circumstance and without any compromise, that the children of so-called irregular **immigrants**'' attend local schools, referring to migrants entering the country illegally.

''They come from another continent with completely different diseases and health conditions,'' the letter said, adding that the **refugees** have a ''different outlook regarding the role of the family, of women, of religion.'' Their presence would ''alter the Greek character of the schools,'' the letter said, adding, ''We will not allow religious fanaticism.''

Earlier in September, the parents' association of two schools in the town of Oraiokastro in northern Greece threatened to occupy the school grounds in protest if **refugees** from a nearby state-run facility were allowed to join classes. A few days earlier, the local mayor had called on residents to take the law into their own hands amid rumors that some **refugees** were moving into houses in the area. The parents' announcements and a video of the mayor's suggestion that residents ''intervene'' caused a public outcry and a storm of angry reactions on social media.

They also prompted a Greek prosecutor to investigate whether the parents' groups or the local mayor should be charged with racist offenses.

Since then, both the parents' groups and the mayor have toned down their responses, saying their only concern is the possible health implication if the **refugee**children are not vaccinated. The mayor, Asterios Gavotsis, said his comments in the videotaped meeting were ''misinterpreted'' and that he was ''not inciting anyone to commit illegal acts.''

Outside one of the schools, Haralambos Magoulianos, a 57-year-old retiree waiting to collect his two granddaughters, said he opposed admitting the **refugee**children. ''I don't like it,'' he said. ''What happens if we have an epidemic? I don't want them here,'' he added, saying that youths from the nearby **refugee** camp ''steal bicycles and jump into our backyards.''

Other parents in the area have been more welcoming. The principal of the school in Filippiada and some parents there said the letter sent by the parents in that area did not reflect their views. In Oraiokastro, Alexandra Hapsi, 41, has two children in school. She said she had cooked food and donated clothes for **refugees**living at the sprawling camp at Idomeni, farther north, which was shut this year. ''In Europe, no one is taking in **refugees**, and they call us racist,'' she said, adding that she also wanted reassurances that the **refugees** attending local schools had been vaccinated.

Asterios Batos, whose children attend the same school as Ms. Hapsi's, leads the group representing the parents' associations of all 41 schools in the broader region. ''This image of a racist municipality is unfair,'' he said, referring to the broader region. ''We're not racists. We're concerned about whether all the right precautions have been taken.''

The plan calls for the migrant children to attend school in the afternoons. Initially, they would be kept in classes separate from Greek children, but they would eventually be merged into the general student population. In comments to Greek television last week, the education minister, Nikos Filis, said the program for the induction of **refugees** into schools included vaccinations. The lessons will be in Greek, math and English, or another language, depending on where the **refugees** plan to travel on to.

The government has yet to specify which schools will be part of the program, stoking frustration among some parents and local officials.

''Does a neighborhood or a school have the right to say, 'I don't want foreigners here?' No, it doesn't,'' Mr. Filis said.

The mayor of Oraiokastro, Mr. Gavotsis, said that he was not opposed to **refugees**' being educated, but that classes should be held for a year in other venues, such as disused factories, before the children attend local schools. He said the high proportion of **refugees** in Oraiokastro, which has a population of 30,000, was testing tolerance. ''We have 10 percent of all Greece's **refugees** here,'' he said, referring to some 6,000 migrants at three nearby camps.

There are just over 60,000 **refugees** in camps across Greece. Tensions often boil over among frustrated migrants, some of whom have been waiting for months for the outcome of their asylum applications, and many local residents are fed up, holding regular protests. The turmoil has been exploited by members of far-right groups who have infiltrated some of the protests.

''We just want a fair distribution,'' Mr. Gavotsis said. ''If that makes us racist, what can I say?''

Katerina Karanikolaou, who attended the meeting where Mr. Gavotsis suggested that local residents ''intervene'' to stop the education plan, was the only one of 72 parents to vote against a motion to occupy one of the schools in protest. She said the health concerns were a smoke screen. ''The xenophobia started with Idomeni in February, and it's taken root since,'' she said, adding that residents feared ''their town will be downgraded.''

Last Monday evening, Ms. Karanikolaou and her four children joined an antiracism rally, marching from the mayor's office through the pristine streets of Oraiokastro, which means ''beautiful castle.'' It was named by Greek **refugees** who settled there from 1924 to 1930 after a castle that used to sit on the coast of the Black Sea.

''It's sad,'' Ms. Karanikolaou said. ''Our ancestors were **refugees**.''

Around a mile away, in a huge disused tobacco factory, Mariya, the 9-year-old girl from Syria, lives with her parents and seven siblings in a tent, one of hundreds sheltering some 1,300 **refugees**. The camp is filthy -- state health officials have called for its closure -- but aid organizations run an efficient clinic, vaccinating children against mumps, measles, rubella and hepatitis.

Stirring chunks of stale bread into a pan with browning onions for the family's evening meal, Mariya's mother, Jihan Sheikh Mohammed, 33, said she would prefer that her daughter attend a local school rather than receive the makeshift lessons given on site by humanitarian workers. But her father, Loqman Abdlkarim, 42, is keen to move on, as the family's next asylum interview is not until April and he has relatives waiting for him in Germany.

''I will wait another 20 days,'' he said. ''If nothing happens, then we'll go back to Turkey. Even Syria is better than this,'' he said, adding that drug dealing and sexual abuse were rife in the camp.

Mariya, a bright, friendly girl, wants to stay. She said she would like to be a lawyer eventually. ''Helping people,'' she said. Oblivious to residents' objections in the nearby town, she is eager to go to a real school, but is nervous about fitting in.

Frowning pensively, she pointed to her grubby purple tracksuit and bare feet. ''Will they let me go like this?''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDIf there was one child Mohammad Rahami had to worry about bringing shame upon the family, it was Ahmad. In the fifth grade, his teacher complained to Mr. Rahami that Ahmad acted like a king in class. In junior high, he broke a friend's nose. Even worse was high school -- after Mr. Rahami arranged for Ahmad to marry a good Afghan girl from Kabul, Ahmad dated a Dominican girl, getting her pregnant in his senior year.

The shame. They had falling-outs, so many of them. In the beginning, because Ahmad was just becoming too American for his conservative Afghan parents, who had moved to New Jersey after Mr. Rahami fought in Afghanistan against the Soviets as part of the mujahedeen in the 1980s. And then, in the last few years, they fell out over much darker fears. Ahmad spent hours watching videos on the internet espousing violent jihad, embracing some of the most prominent purveyors of that message: Bin Laden, Awlaki, Adnani, the men who in that world needed no first names. Mr. Rahami said he asked Ahmad to stop.

''This is wrong,'' Mr. Rahami recalled telling his son, one of eight children. ''You don't know if they are real Muslims. You shouldn't watch them. You have nothing to do with them.''

But nothing stopped Ahmad Khan Rahami, 28, who now stands accused of bombings in New York and New Jersey and a string of other attempts: not Mr. Rahami's entreaties to his second-oldest son that such a fascination with jihadi videos was ''a disease,'' and not the Federal Bureau of Investigation's open-and-shut investigation into Ahmad in 2014.

In many ways, Ahmad's story is similar to those of the perpetrators of other recent terrorist attacks in the United States and Europe: a disaffected first-generation **immigrant**, straddling two worlds and unable to fit into either; a young man who had not yet found a meaningful path in life, easily recruited into a cause that promised divine rewards. It is particularly similar to the life of Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, the popular, outgoing high school student sentenced to death a few years after graduation for his role in the 2013 bombing of the Boston Marathon.

But Ahmad's story has nuances, showing how difficult it was for him to make it in America while trying to break out of his conservative family, something, for a while, he seemed to want desperately. His earliest rebellion was not against the West. It was against his father, a conservative, proud man who tried to run his family like he would have back home. And then, later, Ahmad gave up that fight for another, seemingly seeking out jihad on his own and spurning the country that had welcomed his family as **refugees**.

In his recent planning, Ahmad appeared to be isolated and occasionally conflicted. There was no brother to lead him, as in the case of Mr. Tsarnaev. No terrorist cell appeared to be actively helping him. No wife bent on jihad as well, as with the couple in the December shootings in San Bernardino, Calif. No group rushed to claim him or his attacks. Not Al Qaeda and not the Islamic State, despite Ahmad's praise of figures from both groups in the notebook found on him. That notebook also showed his fear: that he would be caught before he completed his mission, the authorities said.

So what turned Ahmad, the class clown, the man who once wanted to be a police officer or a translator for the United States military, into the man now accused of orchestrating the most serious terrorist strike in New York City since the Sept. 11 attacks? Much remains unanswered, but one thing is certain from interviews with his father and friends: He found jihad on the internet, at a time when there was nothing particularly bad in his life, but nothing particularly good.

Struggling to Advance

His life was standing in place. Even as his brothers moved on, graduated from college, drove for Uber, Ahmad was stuck. He tried jobs and failed, and ultimately fell back on the one thing he knew, and wanted to get away from: his family's fried-chicken business. Years of small indignities piled up, the minor court cases, like the one with the neighbor who allegedly conned him in a small-time bank swindle that involved transferring someone else's money to him and paying her back. He asked her in a text message, ''Yo this is solely your money tho rite.'' (It was not.)

There were two main phases of Ahmad's life -- before he started watching the videos in 2013 and after, as he grew ever more radical.

As a teenager, Ahmad embraced America. To his friends, he was not Ahmad -- he was Mad or Ack. He wore baggy jeans, Air Jordans and hoodies, sent slangy text messages proclaiming ''na meen,'' instead of ''know what I mean.'' He was a cutup, a clown. He had girlfriends. He wrote love poems in a spiral notebook.

Back then, Mr. Rahami's desire to send Ahmad to Afghanistan as a way to bring him into a right way of thinking and curb his excesses was seen as a threat, as a punishment, not as a gateway to an extremist cause.

But then came the last trip.

In April 2013, Ahmad left for a nearly yearlong stay in Pakistan. While there, he took trips to Turkey and Afghanistan, according to **immigration** and law enforcement officials in Pakistan and the United States. A relative in Quetta, Pakistan, where Ahmad was staying, began to fret about what was becoming of him, his father said. Ahmad had fallen under the sway of a radical cleric in Quetta, a man called Mullah Qudri, according to a close relative in Afghanistan, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to avoid upsetting family members.

Ahmad came home, angry and violent. A few months later, he stabbed his mother, a brother and a sister. His father was so worried that he talked to the F.B.I. But then, with that investigation closed, Mr. Rahami tried to reconcile with his son. This is a tightknit Afghan family, after all -- a father will forgive many things in a son.

By this year, Ahmad seemed to be doing better. He agreed to take over his father's fried-chicken restaurant. He even moved into a room in the family apartment upstairs.

And then, over the summer, he put a lock on the door.

**Immigrant** Travails

The story of the Rahami family is a typical one for the Afghan diaspora, tracing the fallout from the wars in Afghanistan.

Mohammad Rahami, a Pashtun from Kandahar, joined the fight against the Soviet occupation in Afghanistan shortly after the Soviets invaded in 1979, when he was only 16. In the war, backed by the United States, he fought both with Hezb-i-Islami, or the Islamic Party, comprised mainly of ethnic Pashtuns, and with a faction of the Jamiat-e-Islami, or Islamic Society, led by Burhanuddin Rabbani, who would become Afghanistan's president during the civil war in the 1990s.

Mr. Rahami would later show a prized photograph to a neighbor who served in the Marines in Afghanistan: of himself as a young man, a traditional brown pakol perched on his head, with three or four other men, all brandishing AK-47 rifles.

In 1984, Mr. Rahami moved his home base over the Pakistan border into Quetta, a city teeming with **refugees**, one that would later become a stronghold for militants. He settled with his wife, Najiba, and other family members.

The Rahamis started a family, first a daughter, Aziza, then a son, Mohammad Khan. Ahmad was born in 1988. Najiba was pregnant in 1989, with another son, Qasim, when Mr. Rahami left Pakistan for New Jersey to claim **refugee** status, about the time that the Soviets fled Afghanistan. He was all of 26 years old, and his war, his own jihad, was already behind him.

Najiba and their four children followed in 1995. Four more children would come later.

They endured the travails of so many **immigrants** with little education: hard work, a confusing legal system, limited opportunity and a sea of slights for things that would make no sense back home. Mr. Rahami moved his family from one home to the next one on the New Jersey ladder, from the sprawling Ivy Hill apartment complex in Newark to the Galloping Hill Estates subdivision in Union to the Blueberry Village apartments in Edison, names that all evoked possibility and peace. But all the while, problems piled up: the small lawsuits, his children's run-ins with the police, and Ahmad, always Ahmad.

Mr. Rahami made his way in America like many Afghans at the time in the New York area: in fried chicken, just like the Afghans who started Kennedy Fried Chicken, the shop that has spawned hundreds of fried-chicken restaurants since the first one opened in the 1970s. When Afghans first arrived, they would work for another more-established Afghan, and then they would join together with other Afghan workers to start their own chicken restaurants, to be their own bosses, with aspirational names like Royal Fried Chicken, formerly known as Hollywood Fried Chicken.

''In the community, it's a good way to get started,'' said Mohammed El-Sioufi, who incorporated businesses in New Jersey, including one of Mr. Rahami's first ones in Newark.

So in the 1990s, Mr. Rahami helped run Tasty Pizza & Fried Chicken. In 2002, he would open his flagship, which was really just a hole in the wall, named for the country that embraced him as a **refugee**: First American Fried Chicken. Within two years, he had joined a Kennedy Fried Chicken franchise in Asbury Park. Other relatives opened chicken shops. His sons would work in all of them, long hours into the night.

The family lived for nine years in Ivy Hill, a magnet for first-generation **immigrants**. Ahmad was known to neighbors as the kid who tagged along with his big brother. Mohammad, older by about two years, was tall and skinny. Ahmad was short and plump, his weight something that would continue to bother him. When they saw their elders, they would both say ''salaam,'' a respectful greeting. When they saw their friends, it was, ''Hey, what's up guys?'' They played basketball and went to the park. With their parents, they spoke Pashto, a neighbor recalled.

The apartment complex allowed its Muslim residents to create a mosque in the basement. They put carpets down and installed air-conditioners and called it the Ivy Hills Masjid. The Rahami children wore jeans and T-shirts most of the time but traditional clothes on Fridays, for the most important Islamic prayer of the week.

''You line them up, it was like the von Trapp family, times two,'' said Ken Creegan, a regular at the chicken restaurant who became friendly with the family.

Ahmad was interested in politics in his teens, said a close friend who has known him for about 15 years and who spoke on the condition of anonymity because he did not want to get swept up in the investigation. He railed against Pakistan and its main intelligence agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence directorate, better known as the ISI, which he blamed, like many Afghans, for messing up his ancestral land.

''As a teenager, he was angry at Pakistan, saying ISI created the Taliban -- he was angry about it,'' the friend said.

Wayward Son

Little nuisances always seemed to snowball for the Rahamis.

Some of the issues should have been simple enough to fix, like the $242 gas bill from Tasty Pizza & Fried Chicken in July 1998. The elder Mr. Rahami did not pay it. He let it haunt him for six years, until the gas company finally sued him.

Then there was the matter of being sued by a man who claimed he broke a tooth on a hamburger at Kennedy Fried Chicken. That was a minor irritant, really, but it came just days after Aziza, his eldest daughter, a high school junior, was arrested on suspicion of taking about $565 worth of jewelry and perfume from a Filene's store. Not only that, a brief about it ran in a newspaper, although the outcome of the case is unclear.

The year 2004 was not a great one for the family: Despite all his business endeavors, Mr. Rahami said he earned only $10,000, a court filing showed. Just try raising eight children on that.

Mr. Rahami filed for bankruptcy in October 2005, a decision that for a prideful Pashtun man had to have been tough to make. He owed almost $46,000, for things like a Macy's card and a doctor in Union, N.J., and a 1999 Chevrolet Suburban. He claimed to earn only $1,447.33 a month from his chicken restaurant, somehow feeding his family on $200 of that. He had just $100 in the bank.

Ahmad was also becoming a source of anxiety. The teenager had enjoyed his popularity with a certain group of girls, a male friend said, and the attention ''sometimes puffed up his head.'' His father fretted that he was absorbing too many of the negative aspects of American culture.

So off Ahmad went to relatives in Quetta in the beginning of what should have been his junior year, his first trip out of America in five years.

He stayed until January 2006, and then returned to Edison High School in Elizabeth. Imani Podhradsky sat next to him in Algebra 2, but said Ahmad spent more time socializing than solving math problems.

Maria Mena, whose family was from the Dominican Republic, became Ahmad's sweetheart. A photograph shows the couple in a swimming pool, with another couple and three friends, a diverse group, Maria smiling broadly and hugging Ahmad from behind. Mr. Rahami was furious at the relationship. The family had arranged for Ahmad to marry a woman in Afghanistan. He told his son that he could not have a girlfriend while he was engaged to someone else.

No surprise, but Ahmad did what he wanted. By senior year, Maria was pregnant. The teenagers were excited, holding hands in the hallways, grinning and touching each other. In a prom picture, Maria is pregnant, wearing a shy smile and a white dress. Ahmad seems happy, too, wearing a shiny pink vest and a matching tie over a white shirt.

His father had had enough. One day, Ahmad came to school upset, Ms. Podhradsky said. His parents were forcing him to move back to Afghanistan after graduation.

In early July 2007, just after Ahmad graduated, he was put on a plane -- to Pakistan, it turned out -- leaving behind his girlfriend, who would give birth to their daughter without him.

When Ahmad came home the next March, he tried to put his life back together. He moved in with Maria's family that year. He worked a job at Kmart, which paid him $485.69 a week, court records show. The life that he was building was small, but he was doing it on his own, and that was something. He tried to be a good father. In July 2008, when he was 20, he spent $10.68 for a modest purchase at a toy store. At the time, his bank balance was only $406.41.

The Rahami family also continued to rack up legal problems. For years, it seemed as if the family's main encounters with the outside community were negative ones, in the courtroom, involving lawsuits over small, unpaid bills. Qasim was arrested as a juvenile. At one point, even the mother, Najiba, was arrested, charged with abusing the couple's 7-year-old, and sent to parenting classes.

Around this time, the City of Elizabeth started coming after First American, which had become a go-to spot for local teenagers to hang out at night. They staged rap battles in the back.

The dispute became heated, with the city slapping tickets on the restaurant for staying open past 10 p.m., and the Rahamis arguing that such tickets should never have been issued. After what seemed like countless confrontations, Mohammad Khan, the eldest brother, and another sibling, Qasim, tried to record a police visit in June 2009. They complained of selective enforcement. There was a confrontation, and the two were jailed. Qasim was released; Mohammad Khan eventually pleaded guilty to a minor charge. The Rahamis then filed a federal civil rights suit, claiming in part that they were being targeted because of their faith. That lawsuit fizzled out.

Ahmad is strangely absent from those court documents. But at some point, he came back to the family, strapped with an incomprehensible $996 a month in child support, now estranged from Maria. He tried to find his footing. He enrolled in September 2010 in a criminal-justice program at Middlesex County College, but he would give it up in two years.

About the same time, he told his close friend who had known him for 15 years that he went to Washington to try to get a job as a translator in Afghanistan with the United States military. But he knew only Pashto, one of the two main languages in the country.

''They rejected him and told him to learn Dari,'' the friend recalled.

Nothing was working out. He started working nights, from 6 p.m. until 3 a.m., manning the register at Royal Fried Chicken in Elizabeth. On one of the nights he had visitation rights to his daughter, he brought her to work, said Amarjit Singh, a co-worker and high school friend. He held her, refusing to let her go.

Becoming Someone Else

His life kept going in fits and starts. Ahmad finally married his fiancée on a three-month trip to Pakistan in 2011. But the next year, he was fighting with his ex-girlfriend in court. He was slapped with a restraining order -- it was not clear by whom -- and jailed for violating it eight days later.

By 2013, he was becoming someone else. A friend from high school, who had once watched the movie ''Hellboy'' with Ahmad, found out that his friend's tastes in videos had changed. Ahmad had started watching YouTube videos of extremists, said the friend, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because he was afraid of repercussions. At one point, the friend said, Ahmad showed him a lecture by the leading English-speaking Qaeda propagandist Anwar al-Awlaki, killed in a C.I.A. drone strike in September 2011.

''He put his hands in this,'' is the expression Mr. Rahami used to describe his son's growing extremism, which he first saw in 2013.

So when Ahmad went to Pakistan the last time, in April 2013, he was already dabbling in extremism. Quetta, the capital of Baluchistan Province and a haven for Taliban leaders and other extremists, would have made it easy for him to be drawn in deeper. The irony was clear: As a young teenager, he had hated the Talibanand Pakistan. And now he embraced them, even though a relative had been killed by the Taliban in Afghanistan around this time, the friend of 15 years said.

His close relative in Afghanistan said Ahmad fell under the spell of a man named Mullah Qudri, whom he met through friends in California. ''This Mullah Qudri has brainwashed Ahmad,'' the relative said, adding that Mullah Qudri was even spending nights with Ahmad at the house where he was staying in Quetta.

Ahmad traveled to Afghanistan for several weeks early on in his trip, according to Pakistani **immigration** authorities. He also made a short detour in early 2014 to Turkey -- the gateway to Syria and the Islamic State -- although it is not clear what he did there, law enforcement officials said.

When Ahmad came home in March 2014, he was flagged by customs officials, who pulled him aside for a second screening and alerted a federal agency that assesses potential threats, two law enforcement officials said. It was the first time he came to the attention of federal authorities.

But nothing happened. And there Ahmad was again, living now with his brothers in an apartment in Perth Amboy, N.J., working in the chicken business, even as his brothers were moving on to other things. Only now, he favored wearing more traditional clothes. Only now, he was angry and erratic. His wife, Asia Bibi Rahami, had just given birth to their son but was having trouble getting a visa to come to the United States. When Ahmad showed up at the local congressman's office to ask for help, he was gruff and abrupt, asking the office to mail a letter to Islamabad demanding to know why it was taking so long.

One day in August, he stabbed his brother, his sister and his mother; none of the injuries were grievous, but still. Mr. Rahami, who had seen his son watching these horrible videos, who feared what he was becoming, called the police, a difficult decision, calling in the very people who had never done his family any favors. He described his son to them as a ''terrorist.'' Ahmad was charged with stabbing his brother Nasim in the left leg. Mr. Rahami, in interviews last week, did not want to say much about the attack, so it is not clear why Ahmad was charged only with his brother's stabbing.

Ahmad spent a little more than two months in jail, and Mr. Rahami said he talked to the F.B.I. about his concerns about his son's growing extremism.

The F.B.I., which challenged Mr. Rahami's recollection, never interviewed Ahmad. And about three weeks after the stabbing, the review was formally closed.

Getting Another Chance

Life went on. Ahmad's wife eventually made it to the United States. Mr. Rahami and Ahmad were mostly estranged, although in an Afghan family, where family life is paramount, such estrangements are rarely forever. So then came this year, when the elder Mr. Rahami and his wife and their youngest children planned to move to Roanoke, Va., near relatives, where they would open up another fried-chicken restaurant. Ahmad's brothers were doing well. One was driving for Uber. Another had graduated from college. So Mr. Rahami offered his wayward son a shot: If he wanted, First American was his.

The restaurant deal lasted less than six weeks. After a bitter dispute between father and son, Mohammad Rahami came back at the end of May to run the business until he could sell it. Ahmad left the restaurant and started working shifts at two other fried-chicken restaurants in the area.

But Ahmad stayed in his father's apartment, keeping a lock on the door of his room, Mr. Rahami said. His son grew so suspicious of his father trying to get inside, even through the windows, that he changed the lock.

In June, Ahmad started ordering supplies from eBay, the slingshot steelies, the citric acid, the circuit board, according to the federal criminal complaint against him. He planned. At some point, he allegedly scrawled his thoughts in a notebook, along with thoughts of his muses, Awlaki, Bin Laden and a founder of the Islamic State. ''Inshallah the sounds of the bombs will be heard in the streets,'' the journal finished. ''Gun shots to your police. Death To Your OPPRESSION.''

The bombs went off last weekend, but the elder Mr. Rahami was busy in his chicken restaurant, keeping it open into the wee hours, the best time to make money, after the bars let out and people were hungry.

On Monday morning, Mr. Rahami closed the business just before 3. He said his prayers, and then he went to bed. But then he heard a loud racket outside. Two law-enforcement officers burst into his apartment and told him to raise his hands, he said. They handcuffed him, he said, and put him on the floor, before marching him outside his bedroom. There, he saw three of his sons -- Mohammad Khan, Qasim, Nasim -- also handcuffed.

He looked from one to the next and he had one thought: ''Where is Ahmad?''

Correction: September 28, 2016, Wednesday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An article on Sunday about the bombing suspect Ahmad Khan Rahami's formative years in New Jersey misidentified the location of Edison High School, which he attended. It is in Elizabeth, not in Union.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**All politicians bend the truth to fit their purposes, including Hillary Clinton. But Donald J. Trump has unleashed a blizzard of falsehoods, exaggerations and outright lies in the general election, peppering his speeches, interviews and Twitter posts with untruths so frequent that they can seem flighty or random -- even compulsive.

However, a closer examination, over the course of a week, revealed an unmistakable pattern: Virtually all of Mr. Trump's falsehoods directly bolstered a powerful and self-aggrandizing narrative depicting him as a heroic savior for a nation menaced from every direction. Mike Murphy, a Republican strategist, described the practice as creating ''an unreality bubble that he surrounds himself with.''

The New York Times closely tracked Mr. Trump's public statements from Sept. 15-21, and assembled a list of his 31 biggest whoppers, many of them uttered repeatedly. This total excludes dozens more: Untruths that appeared to be mere hyperbole or humor, or delivered purely for effect, or what could generously be called rounding errors. Mr. Trump's campaign, which dismissed this compilation as ''silly,'' offered responses on every point, but in none of the following instances did the responses support his assertions.

Tall Tales About Himself

Mr. Trump's version of reality allows for few, if any, flaws in himself. As he tells it, the polls are always looking up, his policy solutions are painless and simple and his judgment regarding politics and people has been consistent -- and flawless. The most consistent falsehood he tells about himself may be that he opposed the war in Iraq from the start, when the evidence shows otherwise.

1 A supportive crowd chanted, ''Let him speak!'' when a black pastor in Flint, Mich., asked Mr. Trump not to give a political speech in the church.

Fox News interview, Sept. 15.

There were no such chants.

2 ''I was against going into the war in Iraq.''

Speech in Florida, Sept. 19.

This is not getting any truer with repetition. He never publicly expressed opposition to the war before it began, and he made supportive remarks to Howard Stern.

3 Any supportive comments he made about the Iraq war came''long before'' the war began.

Fox News interview, Sept. 18.

He expressed support for the war in September 2002, when Congress was debating whether to authorize military action.

4 He publicly opposed the Iraq war in an Esquire interview ''pretty quickly after the war started.''

Fox News interview, Sept. 18.

The Esquire interview appeared in the August 2004 edition, 17 months after the war began.

5 Before the Iraq invasion, he told the Fox News anchor Neil Cavuto something ''pretty close'' to: ''Don't go in, and don't make the mistake of going in.''

Fox News interview, Sept. 18.

Not remotely close. He told Mr. Cavuto that President George W. Bush had to take decisive action.

6 When Howard Stern asked him about Iraq in 2002, it was ''the first time the word Iraq was ever mentioned to me.''

Fox News interview, Sept. 18.

Mr. Trump expressed alarm about Saddam Hussein and the situation in Iraq in 2000 in his own book.

7 ''You see what's happening with my poll numbers with African-Americans. They're going, like, high.''

Speech in North Carolina, Sept. 20; made same claim in Ohio, Sept. 21.

Polls show him winning virtually no support from African-Americans.

8 ''Almost, it seems, everybody agrees'' with his position on **immigration**.

Remarks in Texas, Sept. 17.

Most Americans oppose his signature positions on **immigration**.

9 He has made ''a lot of progress'' with Hispanic and black voters, and ''you see that in the polls.''

Fred Dicker radio show, Sept. 15.

No major poll has shown him making up significant ground with black or Hispanic voters.

10 He was ''never a fan'' of Colin Powell.

Fox News interview, Sept. 18.

In his book ''The America We Deserve,'' he named Mr. Powell as among the ''best and brightest'' in American society.

11 ''All the women came out and said they think Donald Trump is terrific'' after The Times published an article scrutinizing his relationships with women.

Fox News interview, Sept. 18.

Only one woman who was quoted in the article came to his defense after its publication.

12 ''Unlike other people'' who only raise money for themselves during presidential campaigns, he also raises money for the Republican Party.

Fox News interview, Sept. 15.

Every presidential nominee forms a joint fund-raising agreement to share money with his or her national party.

On Critics and the Media

It's not just Mrs. Clinton whom Mr. Trump belittles and tars with inaccurate information. He also distorted the facts about his Republican critics, including President George Bush and Gov. John Kasich of Ohio. And he claimed that Lester Holt, the NBC anchor moderating the first presidential debate, is a Democrat -- but Mr. Holt is a registered Republican.

13 In the primaries, Mr. Kasich ''won one and, by the way, didn't win it by much -- that was Ohio.''

Fox News interview, Sept. 19.

Mr. Kasich crushed him in Ohio, winning by 11 percentage points.

14 Lester Holt, the NBC anchor and debate moderator, ''is a Democrat.''

Fox News interview, Sept. 19.

Mr. Holt is a registered Republican, New York City records show.

15 The presidential debate moderators ''are all Democrats.'' ''It's a very unfair system.''

Fox News interview, Sept. 19.

Only one, Chris Wallace of Fox News, is a registered Democrat.

16 It ''hasn't been reported'' that Mrs. Clinton called some Trump supporters ''deplorable.''

Speech in North Carolina, Sept. 20.

It would be difficult to find a news organization that didn't report her remark.

Claims About Clinton

Mr. Trump regularly dissembles about his opponent, attributing ideas to Mrs. Clinton that she has not endorsed, or accusing her of complicity in events in which she had no involvement.

17 ''Hillary Clinton and her campaign of 2008 started the birther controversy. I finished it.''

Remarks in Washington, Sept. 16.

Mrs. Clinton and her campaign never publicly questioned President Obama's birthplace; Mr. Trump made it his signature cause for five years.

18 Mrs. Clinton had ''the power and the duty'' to stop the release of undocumented **immigrants** whose home countries would not accept their deportation after they were released from prison.

Numerous speeches, including in Colorado, Sept. 17, and Florida, Sept. 19.

The secretary of state does not have the power to detain convicted criminals after they have served their sentences, and has little power to make foreign countries accept deportees.

19 Mrs. Clinton has not criticized jihadists and foreign governments that oppress and kill women, gay people and non-Muslims. ''Has Hillary Clinton ever called people who support these practices deplorable and irredeemable? No.''

Speech in Florida, Sept. 19.

She has denounced jihadists and foreign countries on the same grounds, if not necessarily using the same words.

20 ''Do people notice Hillary is copying my airplane rallies -- she puts the plane behind her like I have been doing from the beginning.''

Twitter, Sept. 20.

He did not invent the tarmac rally or the campaign-plane backdrop.

21 Mrs. Clinton destroyed 13 smartphones with a hammer while she was secretary of state.

Speeches in Florida, Sept. 15 and Sept. 19.

An aide told the F.B.I. of only two occasions in which phones were destroyed with a hammer.

22 Mrs. Clinton is calling for ''total amnesty in the first 100 days,'' including ''a virtual end to **immigration** enforcement'' and for undocumented **immigrants** to receive Social Security and Medicare.

Speech in Colorado, Sept. 17.

She has not proposed this.

23 Mrs. Clinton is ''effectively proposing to abolish the borders around the country.''

Numerous speeches, including in Texas, Sept. 17.

She is not even proposing to cut funding for the Border Patrol.

24 ''Hillary Clinton's plan would bring in 620,000 **refugees** in her first term alone,'' and would cost $400 billion.

Numerous speeches, including in North Carolina, Sept. 20.

She endorsed admitting 65,000 Syrian **refugees** this year, on top of other admissions. Mr. Trump is claiming falsely that she wants to do this every year and is estimating the cost accordingly.

Stump Speech Falsehoods

Some warped or inaccurate claims have become regular features of Mr. Trump's stump speech. He routinely overstates the scale and nature of the country's economic distress and the threats to its national security, and exaggerates the potential for overnight improvements if he were elected.

25 ''Our African-American communities are absolutely in the worst shape that they've ever been in before -- ever, ever, ever.''

Speech in North Carolina, Sept. 20.

No measurement supports this characterization of black America.

26 Fifty-eight percent of black youth are not working.

Numerous speeches, including in Florida, Sept. 16, and Colorado, Sept. 17.

This misleading statistic counts high school students as out of work. Black youth unemployment actually was 20.6 percent in July.

27 Many dangerous **refugees** are being welcomed by the Obama administration. ''Hundreds of thousands of people are being approved to pour into the country. We have no idea who they are.''

New Hampshire Speech, Sept. 15.

The Obama administration has admitted more than 10,000 Syrian **refugees**, using an extensive screening process.

28 ''We have cities that are far more dangerous than Afghanistan.''

Numerous speeches, including in Florida, Sept. 16; Colorado, Sept. 17; North Carolina, Sept. 20; Ohio, Sept. 21; and a Fox News interview on Sept. 21.

No American city resembles a war zone, though crime has risen lately in some, like Chicago. Urban violence has fallen precipitously over the past 25 years.

29 Ford plans to cut American jobs by relocating small-car production to Mexico, and may move all production outside the United States.

Fox News interview and New Hampshire speech, Sept. 15.

Mark Fields, Ford's chief executive, said it was not cutting American jobs.

30 ''We have a trade deficit this year with China of approximately $500 billion.''

North Carolina speech, Sept. 20.

He has made this claim repeatedly, but the trade deficit with China is significantly smaller.

Esoteric Embellishments

Mr. Trump often dissembles on subjects of passing interest, like the news of the day or the parochial concerns of his local audiences. But his larger pattern of behavior still holds: These misstatements, too, accentuate the grievances of his supporters, and cast his own ideas in a more favorable light.

31 Senator Bernie Sanders fell victim to ''a rigged system with the superdelegates.''

Speeches in New Hampshire, Sept. 15, and North Carolina, Sept. 20.

Mr. Sanders did not lose the Democratic nomination because of superdelegates. Mrs. Clinton beat him in pledged delegates, too.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In any normal election year, we'd compare the two presidential candidates side by side on the issues. But this is not a normal election year. A comparison like that would be an empty exercise in a race where one candidate -- our choice, Hillary Clinton -- has a record of service and a raft of pragmatic ideas, and the other, Donald Trump, discloses nothing concrete about himself or his plans while promising the moon and offering the stars on layaway. (We will explain in a subsequent editorial why we believe Mr. Trump to be the worst nominee put forward by a major party in modern American history.)

But this endorsement would also be an empty exercise if it merely affirmed the choice of Clinton supporters. We're aiming instead to persuade those of you who are hesitating to vote for Mrs. Clinton -- because you are reluctant to vote for a Democrat, or for another Clinton, or for a candidate who might appear, on the surface, not to offer change from an establishment that seems indifferent and a political system that seems broken.

Running down the other guy won't suffice to make that argument. The best case for Hillary Clinton cannot be, and is not, that she isn't Donald Trump.

The best case is, instead, about the challenges this country faces, and Mrs. Clinton's capacity to rise to them.

The next president will take office with bigoted, tribalist movements and their leaders on the march. In the Middle East and across Asia, in Russia and Eastern Europe, even in Britain and the United States, war, terrorism and the pressures of globalization are eroding democratic values, fraying alliances and challenging the ideals of tolerance and charity.

The 2016 campaign has brought to the surface the despair and rage of poor and middle-class Americans who say their government has done little to ease the burdens that recession, technological change, foreign competition and war have heaped on their families.

Over 40 years in public life, Hillary Clinton has studied these forces and weighed responses to these problems. Our endorsement is rooted in respect for her intellect, experience, toughness and courage over a career of almost continuous public service, often as the first or only woman in the arena.

Mrs. Clinton's work has been defined more by incremental successes than by moments of transformational change. As a candidate, she has struggled to step back from a pointillist collection of policy proposals to reveal the full pattern of her record. That is a weakness of her campaign, and a perplexing one, for the pattern is clear. It shows a determined leader intent on creating opportunity for struggling Americans at a time of economic upheaval and on ensuring that the United States remains a force for good in an often brutal world.

Similarly, Mrs. Clinton's occasional missteps, combined with attacks on her trustworthiness, have distorted perceptions of her character. She is one of the most tenacious politicians of her generation, whose willingness to study and correct course is rare in an age of unyielding partisanship. As first lady, she rebounded from professional setbacks and personal trials with astounding resilience. Over eight years in the Senate and four as secretary of state, she built a reputation for grit and bipartisan collaboration. She displayed a command of policy and diplomatic nuance and an ability to listen to constituents and colleagues that are all too exceptional in Washington.

Mrs. Clinton's record of service to children, women and families has spanned her adult life. One of her boldest acts as first lady was her 1995 speech in Beijing declaring that women's rights are human rights. After a failed attempt to overhaul the nation's health care system, she threw her support behind legislation to establish the Children's Health Insurance Program, which now covers more than eight million lower-income young people. This year, she rallied mothers of gun-violence victims to join her in demanding comprehensive background checks for gun buyers and tighter reins on gun sales.

After opposing driver's licenses for undocumented **immigrants** during the 2008 campaign, she now vows to push for comprehensive **immigration** legislation as president and to use executive power to protect law-abiding undocumented people from deportation and cruel detention. Some may dismiss her shift as opportunistic, but we credit her for arriving at the right position.

Mrs. Clinton and her team have produced detailed proposals on crime, policing and race relations, debt-free college and small-business incentives, climate change and affordable broadband. Most of these proposals would benefit from further elaboration on how to pay for them, beyond taxing the wealthiest Americans. They would also depend on passage by Congress.

That means that, to enact her agenda, Mrs. Clinton would need to find common ground with a destabilized Republican Party, whose unifying goal in Congress would be to discredit her. Despite her political scars, she has shown an unusual capacity to reach across the aisle.

When Mrs. Clinton was sworn in as a senator from New York in 2001, Republican leaders warned their caucus not to do anything that might make her look good. Yet as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, she earned the respect of Republicans like Senator John McCain with her determination to master intricate military matters.

Her most lasting achievements as a senator include a federal fund for long-term health monitoring of 9/11 first responders, an expansion of military benefits to cover reservists and the National Guard, and a law requiring drug companies to improve the safety of their medications for children.

Below the radar, she fought for money for farmers, hospitals, small businesses and environmental projects. Her vote in favor of the Iraq war is a black mark, but to her credit, she has explained her thinking rather than trying to rewrite that history.

As secretary of state, Mrs. Clinton was charged with repairing American credibility after eight years of the Bush administration's unilateralism. She bears a share of the responsibility for the Obama administration's foreign-policy failings, notably in Libya. But her achievements are substantial. She led efforts to strengthen sanctions against Iran, which eventually pushed it to the table for talks over its nuclear program, and in 2012, she helped negotiate a cease-fire between Israel and Hamas.

Mrs. Clinton led efforts to renew diplomatic relations with Myanmar, persuading its junta to adopt political reforms. She helped promote the Trans-Pacific Partnership, an important trade counterweight to China and a key component of the Obama administration's pivot to Asia. Her election-year reversal on that pact has confused some of her supporters, but her underlying commitment to bolstering trade along with workers' rights is not in doubt. Mrs. Clinton's attempt to reset relations with Russia, though far from successful, was a sensible effort to improve interactions with a rivalrous nuclear power.

Mrs. Clinton has shown herself to be a realist who believes America cannot simply withdraw behind oceans and walls, but must engage confidently in the world to protect its interests and be true to its values, which include helping others escape poverty and oppression.

Mrs. Clinton's husband, Bill Clinton, governed during what now looks like an optimistic and even gentle era. The end of the Cold War and the advance of technology and trade appeared to be awakening the world's possibilities rather than its demons. Many in the news media, and in the country, and in that administration, were distracted by the scandal du jour -- Mr. Clinton's impeachment -- during the very period in which a terrorist threat was growing. We are now living in a world darkened by the realization of that threat and its many consequences.

Mrs. Clinton's service spans both eras, and she has learned hard lessons from the three presidents she has studied up close. She has also made her own share of mistakes. She has evinced a lamentable penchant for secrecy and made a poor decision to rely on a private email server while at the State Department. That decision deserved scrutiny, and it's had it. Now, considered alongside the real challenges that will occupy the next president, that email server, which has consumed so much of this campaign, looks like a matter for the help desk. And, viewed against those challenges, Mr. Trump shrinks to his true small-screen, reality-show proportions, as we'll argue in detail on Monday.

Through war and recession, Americans born since 9/11 have had to grow up fast, and they deserve a grown-up president. A lifetime's commitment to solving problems in the real world qualifies Hillary Clinton for this job, and the country should put her to work.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**RIYADH, Saudi Arabia -- As wave and after wave of bombs fell on areas of eastern Aleppo in Syria, ground forces loyal to the Syrian government seized a rebel-held neighborhood on Saturday, intensifying the siege against the rebels and the many civilians who live among them.

The advance was the first sign that an intensive bombing campaign by Syrian and Russian jets that began Thursday night was working to bolster the position of the Syrian government's forces.

Since a cease-fire brokered by the United States and Russia collapsed this past week, the Syrian government has made no secret of its intention to use military force to crush its enemies.

At the United Nations on Saturday, Syria's foreign minister, Walid al-Moallem, said the army was ''making great strides in its war against terrorism,'' thanks to support from Russia, Iran and fighters from Lebanon's Hezbollah group.

Throughout the five-year conflict, which has killed hundreds of thousands of people and displaced half the population, Syrian officials have dismissed the rebels as foreign-backed ''terrorists'' seeking to destroy the country.

The United States has blamed President Bashar al-Assad for most of his citizens' deaths, but has not launched a direct military intervention against him. Nor has the United States found a diplomatic means to end the violence or ensure aid reaches besieged civilians.

Secretary of State John Kerry on Saturday called the situation in Aleppo ''unacceptable.''

''It is beyond the pale,'' Mr. Kerry said at Tufts University, before a meeting with European foreign ministers. ''If people are serious about wanting a peaceful outcome to this war, then they should cease and desist bombing innocent women and children, cease cutting off water and laying siege to an entire community, and work with the international community in order to be able to bring peace to people who are starving.''

The recent bombing campaign has exacerbated the humanitarian situation in rebel-held areas of eastern Aleppo, which have been surrounded by government troops and cut off from aid.

On Saturday, large bombs left craters in roads, destroyed buildings and buried residents in rubble. More than 45 people were killed in the city and at least seven others in the countryside, according to conflict monitors and rescue squads.

Medics said hospital space and supplies were running low, while antigovernment activists shared videos of wounded men in bloodstained bandages sprawled on crowded clinic floors.

''We don't have enough room for surgery,'' said an Aleppo doctor who gave his name as Abu Sara for security reasons. ''Some of the wounded have to wait, and we have lost some of them while they are waiting.''

The bombing helped government forces, and the militias that fight alongside them, to seize the Handarat camp for Palestinian **refugees**, which the rebels had controlled. Controlling the camp, on the city's north side, strengthened the government's position near what had been the rebels' main supply road before the army seized it.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LOS ANGELES -- Every day at South Park Studios is different, but Trey Parker said this particular afternoon, Monday, Sept. 12, was especially memorable.

''There are times where we go, 'How do we tell Comedy Central we don't have a show?''' he said with sardonic delight. ''This is one of those.''

Mr. Parker and Matt Stone, the creators of ''South Park,'' exuded an appearance of calm as they brainstormed in their airy offices, in a gray building on a stretch of highway at the edge of this city. But they were under considerable pressure to finish the first episode for the 20th season of this satirical animated series, which was due in less than 48 hours and would air that Wednesday.

At this stage -- on the ninth draft of a script called ''Member Berries'' -- they would like to have 16 minutes of a 22-minute episode; Mr. Stone and Mr. Parker said they had 12 and a half. (''That doesn't mean that's what we have done,'' Mr. Parker cautioned. ''That means that's all we have figured out.'')

A dry-erase board in the room showed a nearly nonexistent third act, all empty ovals stacked like pancakes, as the collaborators kicked around the episode's story elements: a new American national anthem rebooted by J. J. Abrams; a comically inept xenophobe running for president; and an addictive talking fruit that induces nostalgia for the pop-culture of one's youth.

How these pieces fit together wasn't clear yet. But after two decades of making their show in this stressful, hands-on, seat-of-the-pants way, Mr. Stone and Mr. Parker were reasonably certain they would figure out something.

''I can't believe I'm surprised by it,'' Mr. Stone said. ''How do we get to this point and have no story? But we just go through it again. For the eight millionth time.''

Since its debut in 1997, ''South Park'' has spun more than 250 tales about foul-mouthed fourth graders in a Colorado town that invariably gets swept up in whatever social crisis the nation is facing that week. What began with a show about **aliens** installing a satellite in a child's butt has evolved -- sort of -- into a series that, in its unapologetically crude way, can address debates over transgender bathrooms, racial discrimination or gratuitous sex and violence in ''Game of Thrones.''

Even as animation technology has improved and the ''South Park'' staff has grown exponentially, the show is still fundamentally the work of Mr. Parker, 46, and Mr. Stone, 45, who agonize over every installment. (Mr. Parker has had sole writing and directing credit on all but a few episodes since 2001.)

The mechanics of making the show haven't changed much, but Mr. Stone and Mr. Parker have. The wild-haired punks who were on LSD at the 2000 Academy Awards have grown up: Mr. Stone telecommutes half the week to be with his wife and children in New York, while Mr. Parker's office is strewn with the pastel-colored toys of his 3-year-old daughter.

In its 20th year, ''South Park'' offers a pointed and, surprisingly, still-potent platform for commentary on current events. New episodes typically draw around two million viewers, many of them the 18- to 49-year-olds that advertisers covet, a showing that Comedy Central decidedly needs while its late-night lineup is in flux and other signature franchises like ''Inside Amy Schumer'' are on hiatus.

''For a network that no longer has Stephen Colbert and Jon Stewart, having 'South Park' is extremely important to us,'' said Doug Herzog, the president of Viacom's Music and Entertainment Group, which includes Comedy Central. ''With all due respect to Jon and 'The Daily Show,' 'South Park' is the foundation on which Comedy Central is built.''

If the earliest ''South Park'' episodes reflected a juvenile desire to see what they could get away with on television, their later work suggests Mr. Parker and Mr. Stone have honed their ability to channel their growing exasperation with a polarized world into comedy.

Vernon Chatman, a comedy writer who has worked on ''South Park'' for more than 15 years, said that Mr. Stone and Mr. Parker have thrived by embracing their roles in ''their right-brain, left-brain relationship.''

''Matt has this sharp, analytical mind that's focused and relentless,'' he said. ''Trey has the dreamy, emotional storyteller thing.''

Mr. Chatman added, ''To be in such a heightened, intense relationship, with so much stakes and pressure on it -- the fact that they haven't killed each other is incredible.''

Already, Mr. Parker and Mr. Stone had spent this Monday in a multihour meeting with Mr. Chatman and Anne Garefino, an executive producer, talking through plot points for ''Member Berries'' and shooting them down.

''If we only have three scenes left to write, that's a win,'' Ms. Garefino said. ''It's when you still have that whole last act -- '' Her voice trailed off.

In the afternoon, Mr. Stone and Mr. Parker caromed from office to office in a building decorated with their trophies -- ''South Park'' toys and memorabilia; framed posters from their Tony Award-winning Broadway musical, ''The Book of Mormon'' -- while trying to bring ''Member Berries'' into focus.

For a few minutes, Mr. Parker stepped into a recording booth to perform the voices of two football announcers introducing the new national anthem, while Mr. Stone directed him to be more excitable.

Then it was off to an editing suite, where Mr. Parker reviewed a vividly vulgar montage featuring Mr. Garrison, the ''South Park'' character who has turned into a buffoonish populist demagogue, describing exactly how he'd bring death to America's enemies.

Mr. Parker writes in private, emerging occasionally to pull Mr. Stone from wherever he might be and ask his help.

In the writers' room, the two creators were trying to pin down the motivations of Randy Marsh, the show's ambivalent adult moral compass, as he grapples with a presidential race between two candidates he dislikes and decides whether he should try the narcotic member berries.

Where should Randy be introduced to the enticing fruit -- at a bar or in a friend's house? Do the berries come in boxes or grow in bunches? Mr. Parker was in constant motion as he considered each question, walking many agitated laps around a long conference table.

Together, he and Mr. Stone improvised a scene in which the exhortations of the talking berries grow more sinister: Remember ''Star Wars''? Remember being a kid? Remember feeling safe? Remember no **immigrants**?

As Mr. Parker stepped away to resume his solitary work, Mr. Stone explained that his role in these moments was to be a sounding board for Mr. Parker but also to remind him that he's just got to write something down.

''There's no other way to do it,'' Mr. Stone said. ''If you don't have that one perfect line, you can fix that later.''

In a phone interview a few days earlier, Mr. Parker explained how he and Mr. Stone had abandoned their preseason ritual of holding a writers' retreat to drink, carouse and think up ideas.

''As soon as we're like, 'We could do this, this could be funny,' we're like, 'Stop talking about it,''' Mr. Parker said. ''Because in two months, when we're doing the show, it won't be funny to us anymore.''

Being more extemporaneous, he said, led to unexpected discoveries like their 19th season in 2015, presented as 10 interconnected episodes that told a broader story about gentrification, identity politics and a perceived resurgence of political correctness.

The renewed debate about sensitivity in speech and the policing of language was one that ''South Park'' could not avoid, for its own sake.

''This might finally be the year that we get run out of town,'' Mr. Parker recalled thinking at the time. ''If we're going to, let's make fun of the fact that we're the old guys at the table. All those shows were an honest part of us going, 'Should we go away?'''

Instead, the 19th season was a critical hit; in a review for The New York Times, James Poniewozik wrote that ''South Park'' had ''gone and revitalized itself,'' in part ''by asserting that it takes an outrageous comedy to capture an era of outrage.''

Mr. Herzog, who has worked with Mr. Parker and Mr. Stone since the debut of ''South Park,'' said they have Comedy Central's ''absolute, 1,000 percent eternal trust.'' As long as the show satisfies the network's Standards and Practices department, he said, ''we're cool with the show.''

Yet that success created more angst for Mr. Stone and Mr. Parker as they approached Season 20. Were they obligated to tell a serialized narrative again? Did they have to dwell on the 2016 campaign, when their indifference to presidential politics is a well-worn subject?

All they can do, the ''South Park'' creators said, is continue to apply a principle that has guided them from the beginning.

No matter how serious an issue seems, Mr. Parker said, ''Looking at it with a sense of humor is not only healthier for you, it actually makes you think more clearly about things -- being able to make fun of either side of an issue, rather than just, 'Trump is evil and Clinton is good.'''

''There's always room to equally rip on both of them,'' he said.

Comedy Central has signed Mr. Parker and Mr. Stone to keep making ''South Park'' through 2019. Ms. Garefino, who has worked on the show for 19 of its 20 years, suggested they could stick around longer still.

''They said they didn't still want to be making 'South Park' when they were 40,'' she said. ''I think they'll be doing it when they're 50.''

She tried to make herself sound as confident that the current episode would be completed under deadline.

''There's always a moment where Trey will fall in love with the show, and the pages start flowing,'' she said. ''Something will happen.''

''Member Berries'' was broadcast at 10 p.m. on Sept. 14, but hardly without last-minute incident. That morning, South Park Studios suffered a system crash, and the episode's audio went missing for an hour and a half.

When the episode was transmitted to Comedy Central, it had a mystery six-frame sync problem that was finally fixed and delivered one hour before airtime.

The following day, Ms. Garefino said, ''Trey's like, 'I think from now, we should think about getting the show in earlier.''' Even ''South Park'' would have to bleep out Ms. Garefino's response.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In October of 1995, two Swiss astronomers announced a major discovery: They had detected, about 50 light-years from Earth, a planet orbiting a sun-like star. Scientists had long imagined there were such planets outside our solar system, but never before had one been confirmed. This extrasolar planet, or ''exoplanet,'' appeared to be a Jupiter-like ball of gas and liquid with a blistering atmospheric temperature of 1,700 degrees Fahrenheit. In the two decades since, astronomers have detected more than 3,000 exoplanets. No one has yet found a replica of Earth, although Proxima b, an Earth-size planet in a temperate orbit a mere 4.2 light-years away, whose discovery was announced last month, sounds as if it could be a decent place to live.

The discovery of exoplanets has been a source of special excitement to the scientists of the so-called SETI movement -- the search for extraterrestrial intelligence. As the historian Lawrence Squeri notes in his engaging chronicle WAITING FOR CONTACT: The Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence (University Press of Florida, $26.95), the movement, which began in earnest in the 1960s, would have been ''pointless'' had there not turned out to be planets beyond our solar system. Where else would **alien** civilizations reside? Just as significant to SETI enthusiasts has been the very high percentage of stars that, when scrutinized, have revealed themselves to host a planet. The percentage is high enough that we can basically assume each of the 400 billion stars in our galaxy has a planetary companion. That's a lot of potential places for **alien** life to arise, evolve and -- ideally using electromagnetic signals at a frequency we're monitoring -- drop us a line.

SETI's principal methodology was first outlined by two physicists in the journal Nature in 1959. They proposed that the radio telescope, a new technology used to ''see'' objects in space thanks to the radio waves they emit, could also be used to send and receive interstellar messages with **aliens** at the speed of light. The next year, at an observatory in West Virginia, an astronomer named Frank Drake conducted the first such search for **alien** broadcasts, aiming a radio telescope at two stars about 10.5 and 12 light-years away. It was a crapshoot, and it was unsuccessful: **Aliens** had not, in fact, been sending us messages from those stars 10.5 or 12 years earlier -- at least not at the frequency Drake guessed **aliens** would use. The next step for the movement, as Squeri writes, was to demonstrate this was ''a cutting-edge experiment rather than a lost weekend for reputable scientists who had read too much science fiction.''

The second American SETI search didn't take place until 1971, more than a decade later. (Securing time with a radio telescope is a competitive affair.) In the interim, and indeed throughout the movement's history, SETI scientists spent much of their time justifying and promoting their project. In this capacity, Squeri argues, SETI amounted to more than just a scientific enterprise; it was a kind of ''offbeat political movement,'' a utopian ideology and perhaps surrogate religion -- with **aliens** serving as our more enlightened counterparts. SETI arose amid widespread fears that nuclear weapons and population growth had made the human race a threat to itself. Many of the movement's founders were political progressives who believed that any **alien** civilization advanced enough to contact us would have survived as long as it did because it had solved such problems, presumably by mastering a system of world government. Drake, who later observed that many SETI supporters like himself were exposed in their youth to ''fundamentalist religion,'' entertained hopes that **alien** wisdom would help humans end war and cure cancer.

Drake's other legacy to the movement was an equation he devised in 1961 for estimating the number of **alien** civilizations in our galaxy capable of communicating with us. The astrophysicist Neil deGrasse Tyson, in WELCOME TO THE UNIVERSE: An Astrophysical Tour (Princeton University, $39.95), revisits the Drake equation using contemporary data. The equation holds that the number of communicating **alien** civilizations is a function of seven variables, starting with the rate at which new stars are born in our galaxy, the fraction of these stars that host planets and the number of planets per star that are habitable. In 1961, scientists could fill in only one variable; the other six were sheer guesswork. With our advanced understanding of the cosmos, Tyson -- whose book is written with the astrophysicists Michael A. Strauss and J. Richard Gott -- is able to work out, in some technical detail, a more sophisticated estimate. The verdict? According to his calculations, we might expect to find as many as 100 **alien** civilizations in our galaxy communicating with radio waves right now. ''So,'' he concludes, ''we have a chance.''

In ALL THESE WORLDS ARE YOURS: The Scientific Search for **Alien** Life (Yale University, $30), a lively introduction to the field of astrobiology, the astronomer Jon Willis concurs that exoplanets are an exciting development. But because our first contact with **alien** life, he suspects, ''is likely to be a meeting of microbes rather than a meeting of minds,'' he is more optimistic about finding a simple organism elsewhere in our own solar system. Perhaps it will be an ''extremophile'' bacterium of the sort scientists have recently found on Earth living in conditions previously assumed to be fatal (like volcanic hot springs and subzero temperatures). Three of Willis's top contenders for habitats are Mars, Jupiter's moon Europa and Saturn's moon Titan. But if forced to choose a single project for both feasibility and promise, he would send a spacecraft on a flyby mission to Saturn's ice moon, Enceladus. The craft would collect (and bring back to Earth) icy particles and gases from Enceladus's subsurface liquid ocean, whose chilly waters are regularly spouted into space via geysers. Maybe we'd find something alive in that stuff.

Do planetary scientists, with their arcane interests and occasional searches for **alien** life, strike you as an exotic tribe? Do they seem to require decoding by an anthropologist who conducted fieldwork in their midst? If so, you might consult Lisa Messeri's study PLACING OUTER SPACE: An Earthly Ethnography of Other Worlds (Duke University, paper, $23.95). Messeri, an anthropologist whose undergraduate degree is in aeronautical and astronautical engineering, spent 15 months working with -- and closely observing the customs of -- several groups of planetary scientists, including astronomers at a Chilean observatory, NASAresearchers creating 3-D maps of Mars and exoplanet scientists at M.I.T. What she was trying to understand was their ''pursuit of planetary place.'' By this phrase she means to identify a rarely considered aspect of their professional practice: how these scientists, whose objects of study exist at distances and scales and time-frames that can defy human grasp, nonetheless manage to conceive of these uncanny things more intimately as ''places'' or ''worlds,'' thus allowing the scientists to better engage with them.

Exoplanet scientists offer the best example of what Messeri is talking about. Exoplanets are not visible from Earth, even with the assistance of the most powerful telescopes; instead, they are inferred from subtle changes in the light from the stars they orbit. A slight dimming in the light, a slight wobble in the light -- it is from such fine measurements that astronomers determine an exo­planet's existence, the radius of its orbit, its mass and its density. From its density, they extrapolate what it is made of. In practice, this means exoplanet scientists pass their days looking not at planets but at data: light curves and radial velocity graphs and theoretical models. To become an exoplanet scientist, Messeri shows (in part by undergoing some training herself), is to learn to see and convey these abstractions as something more relatable -- as ­''super-Earths'' or ''mini-Neptunes'' or such. ''To excite the community about a particular visualization,'' as Messeri nicely puts it, ''is to convince them that the image contains a world.'' And to really excite the community, presumably, is to convince them that a world contains little green men.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**IN the history of do-overs at The New York Times, there is one example that may seem of no large consequence but nonetheless infuriated readers. It involved an obituary about a rocket scientist named Yvonne Brill. In its first incarnation, the obit referred to 88-year-old Brill in the first paragraph as a woman who ''made a mean beef stroganoff, followed her husband around from job to job and took eight years off to raise three children.'' In secondary fashion, it mentioned that Brill was a pioneering scientist who invented a propulsion system that kept communications satellites in orbit.

Seven hours later, after infuriated readers let loose, that version disappeared and a new story popped up with a less chauvinistic perspective emphasizing her exceptional career. No editor's note or other explanation for the changes was given.

This was in 2013, and I raise it not because there aren't fresher examples (there are) but because this story was a cultural touchstone in the realm of what is often criticized as ''stealth editing.'' It remains among the most-viewed pieces in the history of the website NewsDiffs, the top destination for comparing versions of news articles. My predecessor, Margaret Sullivan, signaled the changes to this piece. She wrote about seven other such episodes. I've already written about two.

Times editors have thus far rejected appeals to flag readers when stories are reworked, unless it's a correction. They argue that making such edits are a routine part of digital publishing -- you edit a piece, publish it, then report more or add more context, then republish it again, on through the news cycle.

''The vast majority of readers come to a story and get the best, most complete version we have. They read it and go away,'' said Phil Corbett, who oversees standards and ethics in the newsroom. Billboarding changes, he says, would be unwieldy to carry out and of no interest to most readers.

I disagree on all points. This strikes me as an ossified policy in clear need of modernizing. Readers, I believe, are far more sophisticated than they're given credit for and want more transparency in stories that are shapeshifting before their eyes. When changes affect a story's overall tone or make earlier facts obsolete, or when added context recasts a story, readers should be told.

Putting a note on every update is unnecessary. But giving readers insight into why some stories were substantively changed conveys openness and reduces suspicion that editors are trying to get away with something.

Many readers have strong feelings when a story gets a makeover without notice, and it's no wonder. It seems akin to a doctor who sits a patient down to discuss troubling test results, then later rethinks that analysis and mails the patient a more accurate interpretation of the results, without highlighting the changes.

Times policy is powered by the same philosophy -- proceed as if nothing happened. These stories don't appear every day, or even every week, but they occur with some regularity. Lately, many are about politics, and the offenses range from minor to major. On the minor side, a story on Hillary Clinton earlier this month inappropriately used the phrase ''politician's-wife-turned-politician-herself,'' and referred to the candidate as ''hobnobbing'' in the Hamptons. Later those words disappeared.

On the more memorable side, some recent Donald Trump stories received significant changes -- and significant responses from readers. One involved Trump's dueling **immigration** speeches, in Mexico City and Phoenix, where hours apart he presented sharply different views of **immigration**. The story many readers saw captured only the temperate Trump and very little from the fire-breathing one.

In July, the Opinion pages recast a piece by a Georgetown University professor, Michael Eric Dyson, taking it from a blunt critique of white America to a milder one after five Dallas policeman were shot.

Then there was the post-publication editing that everyone at The Times wants to forget -- a piece about Bernie Sanders that was so radically changed it went from fawning to fierce in a matter of hours.

One reader, Adam Smith-Kipnis, eloquently framed the issue in an email to this office. ''The kerfuffle about 'stealth editing' highlights a transparency problem at the intersection of journalism, ethics and user experience design,'' he wrote. ''This problem is not faced only by the Times, but it's one where the Times can take the lead by automatically including links to version history.''

Actually it would be too late for The Times to take the lead -- others already have. The Washington Post, Vox and BuzzFeed among others are noticeably less timid about flagging important story changes.

Cameron Barr, The Post's managing editor, says the policy is to append an editor's note whenever substantial changes are made. A case in point was a story on Ivanka Trump's clothing business which said her manufacturing contractor offers no paid maternity leave. What it didn't state was that she has no managerial control over that contractor's workplace policies. The story wasn't wrong, just misleading. An explanatory editor's note was attached. ''We don't want to hide that from the reader and pretend it didn't happen,'' Barr said.

BuzzFeed puts an update with explanation on any change that would affect how people might perceive a piece. ''I feel no shame in putting a note on to say we updated something,'' says a top editor, Shani Hilton. ''Readers know it. They care.''

If The Times was to break with current orthodoxy, what might an approach look like? Calling such changes an ''Editors' Note'' seems unlikely, given that this designation is generally saved only for stories with an indisputable flaw. But there are other alternatives, for example: ''This story was updated to add important context'' or ''Updated to reflect new information clarifying the police response.''

Top editors could huddle to define what would fall into this ''Updated'' category, asking themselves: Has the tone of the story changed? Are there important new facts central to its takeaway? Or, the key litmus test: Would readers be agitated to discover that changes were made?

This issue of stealth editing presents larger questions for news organizations in the midst of a turn toward transparency. Should a publisher take responsibility for the life of an article? Should a publisher keep a public archive?

The Times may not be prepared to take on these next-generation issues, but a more robust update policy would be an impressive move toward that goal. What's more, it has the potential to change what is now viewed as a conspiratorial act into one seen as a virtue -- one meant to improve a story, not disappear altogether.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**STRANGERS IN THEIR OWN LAND

Anger and Mourning on the American Right

By Arlie Russell Hochschild

351 pp. The New Press. $27.95.

Arlie Hochschild's generous but disconcerting look at the Tea Party presents a likable fellow named Lee Sherman, who once worked for a Louisiana chemical plant where his duties included illegally dumping toxic waste into the bayou.

Sherman did the dirty work; then the company did him dirty. After 15 years on the job, he was doused with chemicals that ''burned my clothes clean off me'' and left him ill. But rather than pay his disability costs, his bosses accused him of absenteeism and fired him.

Sherman became a fledgling environmentalist and got his revenge after a giant fish kill threatened the livelihood of nearby fishermen. Company officials feigned innocence, but Sherman barged into a public meeting with an incriminating sign: I'M THE ONE WHO DUMPED IT IN THE BAYOU. Fast-forward a couple of decades and Sherman, still an environmentalist, is campaigning for a Tea Party congressman who wants to gut the Environmental Protection Agency. Sherman still distrusts chemical companies, but he distrusts the federal government more, because it spends his tax money on people who ''lazed around days and partied at night.''

In ''Strangers in Their Own Land,'' which has been nominated for a National Book Award, Hochschild calls this the ''Great Paradox'' -- opposition to federal help from people and places that need it -- and sets off across Louisiana on an energetic, open-minded quest to understand it.

A distinguished Berkeley sociologist, Hochschild is a woman of the left, but her mission is empathy, not polemics. She takes seriously the Tea Partiers' complaints that they have become the ''strangers'' of the title -- triply marginalized by flat or falling wages, rapid demographic change, and liberal culture that mocks their faith and patriotism. Her affection for her characters is palpable.

But the resentments she finds are as toxic as the pollutants in the marsh and metastasizing throughout politics. What unites her subjects is the powerful feeling that others are ''cutting in line'' and that the federal government is supporting people on the dole -- ''taking money from the workers and giving it to the idle.'' Income is flowing up, but the anger points down.

The people who feel this are white. The usurpers they picture are blacks and **immigrants**. Hochschild takes care not to call anyone racist but concludes that ''race is an essential part of this story.'' When she asks a small-town mayor to describe his politics, his first two issues -- or is it one in his mind? -- are welfare and race: ''I don't like the government paying unwed mothers to have a lot of kids, and I don't go for affirmative action.''

In welfare politics, this is déjà vu all over again. It's been two decades since Bill Clinton signed a tough welfare law aimed in part to end the politics of blame. ''Ending welfare as we know it'' would recast the needy as workers, he said, and build support for a new safety net. The rolls of the main federal cash program have fallen by 80 percent from their 1990s highs -- in Louisiana, by 95 percent. But reverse class anger is more potent than ever.

Liberals have long wondered why ­working-class voters support policies that (the liberals think) hurt the working class. Why would victims of pollution side with the polluters?

Theories abound. Thomas Frank accuses the G.O.P. of luring voters with social issues but delivering tax cuts for the rich. Others point to the political machines built by ultra-wealthy donors like Charles and David Koch. Still others emphasize the influence of conservative media like Fox News.

Hochschild sees these as partial explanations but wants a fuller understanding of ''emotion in politics'' -- she wants to know how Tea Partiers feel, on the theory that the movement serves their ''emotional self-interest'' by providing ''a giddy release'' from years of frustration.

Six characters dominate the book, including Harold Areno, who lives on a swamp so polluted even the rugged cypress trees are dead. He and his wife have had cancer. Yet Areno supports politicians hostile to environmental regulation because he cares more about banning abortion. ''We vote for candidates that put the Bible where it belongs,'' he said.

Mike Schaff lost his neighborhood to the Bayou Corne sinkhole, which started to swallow 37 acres in 2012 after a lightly regulated drilling company punctured an underground salt dome. But he remains a ''free market man,'' because ''Big Government'' threatens ''community.''

Many Tea Party adherents warn that more regulation will cost them jobs. (A small-town mayor says the pungent chemical plant ''smells like rice and ­gravy.'') But Hochschild detects other passions and assembles what she calls the ''deep story'' -- a ''feels as if'' story, beyond facts or judgment, that presents her subjects' worldview.

It goes like this:

''You are patiently standing in a long line'' for something you call the American dream. You are white, Christian, of modest means, and getting along in years. You are male. There are people of color behind you, and ''in principle you wish them well.'' But you've waited long, worked hard, ''and the line is barely moving.''

Then ''Look! You see people cutting in line ahead of you!'' Who are these interlopers? ''Some are black,'' others ''**immigrants**, **refugees**.'' They get affirmative action, sympathy and welfare -- ''checks for the listless and idle.'' The government wants you to feel sorry for them.

And who runs the government? ''The biracial son of a low-income single mother,'' and he's cheering on the line cutters. ''The president and his wife are line cutters themselves.'' The liberal media mocks you as racist or homophobic. Everywhere you look, ''you feel betrayed.''

Hochschild runs the myth past her Tea Party friends.

''You've read my mind,'' Lee Sherman said.

''I live your analogy,'' Mike Schaff said.

Harold Areno's niece agrees, and says she has seen people drive their children to Head Start in Lexuses. ''If people refuse to work, we should let them starve,'' she said.

Actually, anger this raw may depart from the 1990s, when welfare critics often framed their attacks as efforts to help the poor by fighting dependency. The resentments Hochschild presents are unadorned, and they have mutated into a broader suspicion of almost everything the federal government does. ''The government has gone rogue, corrupt, malicious and ugly,'' one Tea Partier complains. ''It can't help anybody.''

Did welfare really ''end''? Conservatives say no. Cash aid plummeted, but food stamp usage soared to new highs and the Medicaid rolls expanded. There's room for debate, but the grievances Hochschild presents feel immune to policy solutions. As long as larger forces are squeezing whites of modest means, it's going to ''feel as if'' people are cutting in line. In Lexuses.

None of Hochschild's characters appear to have been directly hurt by competition from people of color. Their economic problems lie elsewhere, she argues, in unchecked corporate power and technological transformation. Still there's no denying that demographic and cultural change have robbed white men of the status they once enjoyed. Hochschild doesn't buy the racial finger-pointing, but she can see their pain.

Whatever racial or class resentments she finds, Hochschild makes clear that she likes the people she meets. They aren't just soldiers in a class war but victims of one, too. She mourns their economic losses, praises their warmth and hospitality, and admires their ''grit and resilience.'' While her hopes of finding common political ground seem overly optimistic, this is a smart, respectful and compelling book.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**EARLY in 2007, Barack Obama met Hillary Clinton at a candidates forum on health care in Las Vegas in one of their first encounters on a debate-like stage, in what would become one of the longest nominating battles in presidential campaign history.

When he returned to Chicago, he was glum.

''Hillary looked like a president up there, and I didn't,'' he told me.

As the senior strategist for Senator Obama, I spent the better part of two years thinking about how to deal with Hillary Clinton. Fluent in policy and crisp in delivery, Mrs. Clinton dished out all that Mr. Obama could handle in the 26 debates of that marathon campaign. We won the race, but she came out on top in many of those encounters, including one in New Hampshire that may have cost us a critical early primary victory.

Mrs. Clinton is an accomplished debater, and there is no question that she upped my candidate's game and her own over time. But she will be facing an entirely different kind of opponent on Monday night.

There is no whiff of the Oxford Union about Donald Trump. He barreled through a spate of primary debates as an improvisational performer, long on chutzpah and borscht belt put-downs but short on facts. Yet by making it to this stage, the reality show star has ridden the unconventional to the cusp of the presidency.

Mr. Trump's bludgeoning style and boundless bluster have frustrated opponents, moderators and media analysts all season. But what elite commentators have dismissed as boorishness has, to many **alienated** voters, signified strength, authenticity and, crucially, a willingness to defy ''political correctness.''

Throughout the campaign, Mr. Trump has rewritten the rules and played a game that's entirely his own. It is the key reason Monday's audience is expected to be one of the largest for any show in television history. The sheer element of unpredictability and audacity Mr. Trump brings is the attraction.

It may be that he will turn in a muted performance on Monday, convinced that he needs to show presidential temperament and some mastery of substance to woo swing voters who dislike Mrs. Clinton but doubt Mr. Trump's fitness for the job. If Mr. Trump chooses to ride the horse that got him here, however, Mrs. Clinton will confront a showman bent on turning the event into less of a debate and more of a spectacle.

As the world knows, Mr. Trump's chief debate tactic to date is getting under the skin of his opponents by identifying perceived vulnerabilities, appending pejorative descriptors, and then making them stick.

When he gleefully attacked primary opponents on the debate stage, they generally reacted in one of two ways. Some sputtered, looking as if they had been hit in the face with a pie. Others, most notably Senator Marco Rubio, responded in kind, and looked bad doing it.

Mrs. Clinton, who has high unfavorable ratings of her own, will have to find the right tone if Mr. Trump fires at close range the kind of gibes he has hurled from afar at her honesty, her tenure as secretary of state, her vote to authorize the use of force in Iraq -- even her treatment of her husband's infidelities and the women involved.

She will be armed with an encyclopedic knowledge of Mr. Trump's own significant vulnerabilities but, in past debates, Mr. Trump generally has benefited from nasty, personal volleys with his opponents, so she will have to decide when to defend, when to attack and when to rise above.

Instead of engaging Mr. Trump frontally in an ugly contest of insults, the best course for Mrs. Clinton may be to navigate around him. Even as she strikes contrasts, she should take her case directly to the camera and the American people, referring to Mr. Trump without engaging him.

But what if the other Trump appears on Monday? Though it's tough for a brawler to show restraint for 90 minutes, it might make strategic sense for him to try and strike a reassuringly thoughtful and temperate pose.

This version of Mr. Trump would create a different challenge for Mrs. Clinton: She cannot allow her opponent to use the campaign's largest audience to rehabilitate himself with voters who doubt his fitness for the office. She must hold him accountable for his most provocative comments and his utter lack of substance.

In past debates and interviews, Mr. Trump has demonstrated an appalling, almost defiant, lack of knowledge, and these debates, with long segments devoted to specific topics, will demand depth beyond oversimplified answers. Secret plans to defeat the Islamic State, for example, will not pass muster.

Mrs. Clinton cannot count on the moderators to corral Mr. Trump or perform the role of fact-checker. She will have to do this herself, choosing when and where to challenge Mr. Trump's logic and facts without belaboring the tactic or coming off as the obnoxious smartest kid in the class.

One of Mr. Trump's chief assets is his self-cultivated image as a business titan. Managing the economy is one of the few categories in which he has consistently outpolled Mrs. Clinton. (Mitt Romney enjoyed this same presumption over President Obama in pre-election polling.)

Mr. Trump surely will brandish his business credentials and present himself as the only ''job creator'' on the stage. But in doing so, he will open himself up to a strong counterattack about dubious business tactics, bankruptcies and schemes like Trump University. The Clinton team will know going in that questioning Mr. Trump's wealth and business success is a hot button, the only one that seems to unsettle him.

Yet if some wavering voters will be watching to see if Mr. Trump appears to be a plausible president, others will tune in to discover if Mrs. Clinton, who has struggled with questions of trustworthiness, can speak in an open and authentic way that connects with them. They will be looking for what, beyond personal ambition, motivates her and where, beyond the policies of President Obama, she aims to lead.

The well-crafted Democratic convention in July, a high-water mark for Mrs. Clinton, offered a strategic road map to how best to position herself, Mr. Trump and the choice between them.

If she holds true to that successful template, she will pitch herself as a champion for economic fairness and Mr. Trump as a populist poseur, whose actual practices and policies belie his claim to advocacy for working people.

She will emphasize the sure-handedness and discretion needed in a commander in chief and contrast that with Mr. Trump's troubling penchant for loose talk and bellicose language.

Without pretense about the challenges Americans face, she will offer a more optimistic vision of the future than Mr. Trump's relentlessly dystopian portrait of a country on the brink -- the audacity of no hope. She will embrace diversity as a strength, in contrast to his past slights on **immigrants**, Muslims, women and people with disabilities.

Finally, she will stress the need to work together to solve the nation's problems and mock Mr. Trump's oft-stated declaration that he will single-handedly cure America's ills -- on Day 1. Both liberals and conservatives bridle at this autocratic vision.

In the end, presidential debates are less a trial of fact than a televised final exam for the most exacting job on the planet. They offer Americans a window into how each of these candidates would deal with excruciating pressure. They are measured in revealing moments. Will the candidates react with grace, humor and unflappability, or with anger and uncertainty?

Mrs. Clinton's history has been to rise to these occasions. She calmed unsettled Democrats last fall with her confident and steadfast 11-hour-long appearance before the congressional committee on Benghazi and a series of strong primary debate performances with a dogged challenger, Senator Bernie Sanders.

If she can handle the asymmetric challenge of the unorthodox Mr. Trump, she will have taken a big step forward to solidifying her hold on the race, but more important, she will have shown that she can handle pretty much anything.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**TIJUANA, Mexico -- They passed the corpses of other migrants who had tried to cross the Americas. They were cheated by smugglers and fleeced by armed bandits, and they suffered long stretches of hunger.

Finally, after months of traveling across nine international borders, the Haitians made it to Tijuana, where thousands of their countrymen had already been allowed to enter the United States this year. All they had to do, they thought, was wait for their appointments with **immigration** officials and they, too, would be allowed on American soil.

Then, suddenly, they learned that their journey -- and the hopes of thousands of others like them heading toward the American border -- had most likely come to an abrupt, crushing end.

On Thursday, the Obama administration, in an effort to halt an extraordinary wave of Haitian migrants streaming to the United States, announced that it was tightening its **immigration** policy on Haitians. Those who appeared at the American border without visas would almost certainly be sent back to Haiti.

The unexpected change sowed deep disappointment and confusion among the hundreds of Haitians at the border who thought they were only days away from entering the United States. Thousands more are still on their way, risking their lives on a perilous trip, probably in vain.

''I feel bad, I feel bad,'' Renard Paul, a Haitian migrant, said when told about the policy change. He struggled to digest the news, hoping it was just a rumor.

''All the misery we suffered on the way here,'' he muttered.

For months, Haitians have been traveling north from Brazil, where they had gone to find work after Haiti was devastated by an earthquake in 2010. At the time, Brazil, in need of low-wage workers, had welcomed many of them with humanitarian visas.

But Brazil has slipped into economic and political malaise, causing many Haitians to lose work, sink deeper into poverty and set their sights on the United States instead.

Making their way mostly by land, some found an additional incentive to head for the border because of the American election. The next president might be Donald J. Trump, they said, and they wanted to get into the United States before his wall went up.

The vanguard of the migratory surge arrived here in May. Since then, more than 5,000 Haitians without visas have been allowed to pass through the Southern California border crossings.

Many others -- Mexican officials say as many as 1,000 -- are still in Tijuana, crowding the city's migrant shelters, budget hotels and rooms-for-rent where they have spent many days waiting for their appointments with American **immigration** officials.

And thousands more Haitians are still on the way, many of them quite likely unaware that the special **immigration** privileges for Haitians have been revoked.

Haitians had been entering the United States because of a change in deportation policy after the 2010 earthquake. In an acknowledgment of the special political and economic troubles in Haiti, American border officials were allowing them to enter under a humanitarian parole provision, with permission to stay in the United States for as many as three years.

But on Thursday, the Obama administration announced that it was fully resuming the deportations of undocumented Haitians, meaning that anyone who showed up at a border post without a visa would likely be put into a fast-track deportation process that is often used for migrants without visas.

The news stunned advocates on both sides of the border, who struggled to predict what might happen next.

Would Haitian migrants now stay in Mexico, or head elsewhere in Latin America? Would those heading to Tijuana heed suggestions by American officials to turn around and go back to Brazil? Would Mexico and other Latin American countries help absorb them? Would some waiting at the border, having come this far, try to cross into the United States illegally?

Mr. Paul, 40, whose wife and five children live in Haiti, said he was pretty sure of one thing: He wasn't going back to Brazil. He had spent nearly four years there, working as a mason.

''There's nothing there,'' he said. ''We're looking for a better life. If we can't work, we can't feed the family.''

His journey from Brazil to Tijuana had taken 11 weeks. Thieves in Nicaragua stripped him of everything, including his shoes. Now, he said on Friday, he was totally despondent: ''I have no energy now.''

The path from Brazil to Tijuana is full of hazards. Stories circulate of people being swept away as they forded fast-moving rivers. In interviews with more than 20 migrants here, they described passing advice up and down the route, mostly using cellphone messaging apps: which buses to take, the names of the good smugglers, addresses of migrant shelters, the unique perils of various border crossings.

The migrants -- mostly men -- have arrived in Tijuana carrying little, usually no more than a knapsack or a plastic bag. Some also carried toddlers and infants. One woman gave birth this month after crossing the border from Guatemala into Mexico. She was on a bus with her infant the next day for the three-day trip to Tijuana.

The route generally led from the Brazilian interior to Peru, through Ecuador and on to Colombia. Many then took a boat before they started walking again, sometimes for days, through the Darién Gap of Panama, always with a relay team of hired guides, each of whom charged from $10-$20 a head.

Costa Rica became a key staging ground for what many said was the most difficult stretch of the trip: crossing Nicaragua. Getting through that country required a smuggler. Guides charged from several hundred dollars to $1,500 per person and the trip took several days, some of it on foot.

But payment offered no guarantees of safe passage. Haitians here told how their smugglers abandoned their groups midway through the crossing, leaving them vulnerable to bandits or, worse, the Nicaraguan security forces, who returned the migrants to the Costa Rican border. Some migrants got stuck for weeks or even months in Costa Rica waiting for family or friends to wire them money to complete the journey.

At the Mexican border, most Haitians have masqueraded as citizens of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The collective wisdom is that the Mexican authorities treat Africans better than Haitians and are more inclined to give them 20-day transit passes. Real Africans find this masquerade laughable.

''They don't even know there are two Congos,'' scoffed Evans Demorais, 31, a Nigerian migrant here. ''They are saying: 'Please, are you from Africa? What is the capital of Congo? Who is the president?'''

By the time the migrants arrive in Tijuana, after trips that could sometimes take six months, most have spent between $3,000 and $5,000, and some as much as $7,000.

''They arrive here exhausted -- in all senses of the word,'' Margarita Andonaegui, the coordinator of Tijuana's Desayunador Salesiano Padre Chava shelter, said.

The Haitians are not the only ones making the journey. Migrants from across the Americas, Africa, Europe and Asia also started coming, especially in early summer -- a diversity that shelter administrators had never seen before in their dormitories.

''Afghanistan, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Sudan, Cuba, Pakistan, Cameroon,'' Ms. Andonaegui said, reading from a log of nationalities she kept. ''Bangladesh, Russia, the Dominican Republic, Iraq, Côte d'Ivoire.'' More than two dozen nationalities in all, though the range has contracted in recent weeks, leaving this migrant trail populated mainly by Haitians and Latinos.

The sudden increase in people from around the world along the Brazil-to-Mexico migrant route suggested the opening of new smuggling corridors as Europe's borders have tightened.

Homeland Security officials cited the surge in Haitians on the southwestern border as a major impetus for the policy change. They also insisted that the political and economic situation in Haiti, just over two weeks away from a highly contested presidential election, had improved enough to allow for Haitians to be safely returned.

But **immigrants**' advocates criticized the decision, hoping to press President Obama to roll back the change.

''Tell us the facts and figures and prove that Haitians will not be deported back to an unsafe situation,'' Benjamin Johnson, the executive director of the American**Immigration** Lawyers Association, said.

The Rev. Pat Murphy, the director of Casa del Migrante, a shelter in Tijuana, said that the migrants in his shelter have been recalling the pain and risks of the trip they had just endured.

''They started talking about the people who were left behind, the people who died on the path,'' he said. ''As if to say: 'I can't go back there. I'm alive.'''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- When Donald Trump labeled Mexican **immigrants** ''rapists'' in announcing his candidacy in June of last year, he lost contracts with Nascar, Macy's, NBC Universal, Univision, even Serta mattresses. Not surprisingly, his three eldest children -- Ivanka, Donald Jr. and Eric -- began worrying about whether the marketability of the Trump brand could survive the campaign undamaged.

Worry they should, if Mr. Trump's new hotel, which Mr. Trump himself opened last week, is any indication. The hotel is on Pennsylvania Avenue, a short walk from the White House, and to a lot of people, just walking through the door seems like a political act. Mr. Trump's name festoons the key cards, the laundry bags, the bathrobes and slippers. It's hard not to feel that a dollar spent there is a dollar for the Trump campaign.

''I don't know who's going to book it, because it's so contentious,'' a local convention planner said.

On Tuesday, the place seemed eerily empty. You could book a room for next weekend for less than $400. A week ago, the minimum rate was twice that.

The Trump International Hotel, Washington, D.C., occupies the Old Post Office, an 1899 Romanesque structure whose central carved-stone arch now carries a shiny gold Trump logo, like the one that appeared on the jumbotron behind Mr. Trump as he accepted the Republican nomination. Inside the cavernous atrium, there is overstuffed pastel upholstery, multiple mirrors and plentiful gilt.

I asked a waiter if the place was busy. ''Not yet,'' he replied. ''But it's going to be crazy if he wins. I mean, it's going to be crazy no matter what. We are going to have, like, a thousand holiday parties booked in this place,'' he said, sounding a bit like the nominee.

Are all the good holiday party dates taken? ''Not yet,'' he said.

The restaurant is BLT Prime by David Burke, a second choice because the Washington restaurateur José Andrés backed out of his agreement to open a Spanish-Japanese eatery after Mr. Trump's **immigrant**-bashing campaign kickoff speech. At lunchtime on a recent weekday, 17 people were eating in a space that seats 120. Tom Sietsema, The Washington Post's restaurant critic, titled his review ''Gilded Touches on Yet Another Steakhouse.''

Drinking my iced tea, I gazed over the railing at the lobby, then looked again: There was Ivanka, leading an entourage of eager people with clipboards and notebooks.

Ms. Trump swept up the steps into the restaurant. Half the diners stood up. They weren't customers, somebody in the entourage said, but employees.

Ms. Trump, whose name adorns the hotel spa (''The Spa by Ivanka Trump''), coolly surveyed the giant lobby. ''So intimate,'' one of her aides was saying.

I paid my bill and walked back to the office. There was an email from the Hillary Clinton forces, lambasting Mr. Trump for using a campaign ad to promote his new hotel. In the ad, Mr. Trump posed with smiling employees, including those I saw eating in the restaurant. There were no hotel patrons in the ad, either.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CAIRO -- The Egyptian authorities said Friday that they had recovered 162 bodies after the sinking of a ship full of mostly Egyptian migrants in the Mediterranean this week.

The death toll, which is expected to rise to nearly 300, reflects the mounting economic pressure on Egyptians as well as a possible shift away from Libya as a point of departure for migrants headed to Europe, migrant aid workers said.

The boat capsized Wednesday off the coast of Rosetta, the Nile Delta port city east of Alexandria. Witnesses estimate that the boat was carrying 450 people.

The police said most were young Egyptian men in their late teens and their early to mid-20s. The military said it had rescued 163 survivors.

''That's why this is a disaster,'' said a police spokesman, Tarek Attiya. ''They are just kids who wanted to work.''

Four men have been arrested in connection with the smuggling operation, Mr. Attiya said.

The number of Egyptians who are risking their lives to cross to Europe has risen sharply over the last two years, according to the International Organization for Migration, an intergovernmental agency.

''There has been an uptick,'' said Joel Millman, a spokesman for the agency. ''Egypt is busier now than it has been in a while.''

Among young people in Egypt, a third are unemployed and half live under the poverty line, according to official statistics.

The country's economy has suffered a series of disruptions since the uprising in 2011 that ended the presidency of Hosni Mubarak. Egypt's vital tourism industry has all but disappeared.

In June, residents of the coastal town of Burg Migheizil, known for smuggling migrants, said that pictures of European cities posted on social media sites by migrants who have made it to the Continent are also fueling the drive of young men in their town, and elsewhere, to cross the Mediterranean.

The country's economic woes may also be pushing African migrants already in Egypt to risk the passage to Europe.

Some migrants may also be seeking transit from Egypt because smugglers using the shorter route from Libya are already transporting as many passengers as they can, clogging the route, Mr. Milliman said.

''We really do believe Libya is at full capacity,'' he added, noting that Libyan smugglers appear to be on track to match last year's level of about 150,000 departures even though a shortage of boats is forcing them to rely on smaller and less seaworthy crafts. ''This could just be a tipping point from Libya to Egypt,'' he said.

The Egyptian authorities have arrested more than 4,600 foreigners -- mostly from nearby African countries -- for trying to depart across the Mediterranean so far this year, according to the United Nations **refugee** agency.

That is a 28 percent increase compared with the number of people who were arrested in 2015.

More than 300,000 people have tried to cross the Mediterranean this year from various countries. About 3,500 have died or are listed as missing, the **refugee**agency said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- They were young men caught between cultures, sons of **immigrant** families, feeling lost or rejected -- and angry about American-led wars. Online they encountered the silver-tongued recruiters of Al Qaeda and the Islamic State, who said their first loyalty should be not to their nation but to Islam. Then they plotted sensational violence.

In the weekend bombings in New York and New Jersey and stabbings at a mall in Minnesota, the suspected perpetrators fit the same rough pattern as in previous attacks at the Boston Marathon in 2013; in San Bernardino, Calif., in 2015; and in Orlando, Fla., in June, as well as in the terrorist assaults in Paris and Brussels.

A rich recruiting pool for Al Qaeda and the Islamic State includes what psychologists call ''in-betweeners,'' young adults whose identities have not yet solidified. Their uncertainty makes them vulnerable, said J. Reid Meloy, a forensic psychologist and clinical professor at the University of California, San Diego. ''It allows the individual to attach his identity to something that is larger and inflates his sense of himself,'' he said.

The uncomfortable in-between status can be especially acute for those with recent **immigrant** roots. Living in two cultures at once is very enriching for most people but very unsettling for others, said Lorenzo Vidino, the director of the Program on Extremism at George Washington University. For some Muslim **immigrants**, he said, ''You have a message at home that's very conservative, and a completely different message from the society around you when you're growing up.''

The full history of Ahmad Khan Rahami, 28, the naturalized American of Afghan birth who is accused of planting bombs in Manhattan and New Jersey, is not yet known. But his 2014 arrest in an alleged stabbing in a family dispute suggests a young man adrift; his scribbling in a notebook the names of Osama bin Laden, Abu Muhammad al-Adnani -- an Islamic State leader -- and Anwar al-Awlaki, the American-born Qaeda recruiter, appeared to reflect a full-blown embrace of jihadism.

Tamerlan Tsarnaev, a Chechen **immigrant** and the older of the two Boston Marathon bombers, turned to Islamist extremism when his hopes for a boxing career dimmed. He was 26 at the time of the attack. Omar Mateen, the son of an Afghan **immigrant** with outspoken political views, was 29 when he opened fire at an Orlando nightclub, killing 49 people. He had been dismissed from training as a prison guard after making disturbing remarks about weapons, and ended up as a private security guard.

Syed Rizwan Farook, 28, the Chicago-born son of **immigrants** from Pakistan, found work as a health inspector but had spent years searching for dates and a mate before meeting Tashfeen Malik online and marrying her in Saudi Arabia. Together, the couple attacked a luncheon attended by Mr. Farook's colleagues last December, killing 14 people.

''When you dig into these cases, you find the 'why' is a very complex question,'' said Peter Bergen, the director of the security program at New America, a research group, and author of ''United States of Jihad.'' Personal disappointment, perceptions of discrimination, anger about American foreign policy and the desire ''to become a hero in one's own story'' are all at play in addition to jihadist ideology, he said.

''Many of them just take their grievances and dress them up in the garb of Islam,'' Mr. Bergen said.

That has become easy in the age of the internet. The attackers in San Bernardino, Orlando and New York all had expressed support for the Islamic State, and they and the Boston bombers were devotees of the voluminous online work of Mr. Awlaki, who was killed in an American drone strike in 2011. His arguments remain highly popular on the web, where he urged Western Muslims to reject even the friendliest non-Muslim neighbors, whom he called ''Sally Soccer Mom and Joe Six-Pack.'' Mr. Rahami wrote in his journal that ''Sheikh Anwar,'' as well as Mr. Adnani of the Islamic State, had ''said it clearly'': ''Attack the kuffar,'' or non-Muslims, ''in their backyard.''

Farhad Khosrokhavar, a sociologist at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris and the author of ''Radicalization,'' said Muslims in Europe more often than those in America felt ''frontally rejected'' by the larger society. He said he had often seen in his research individuals who felt neither French nor Arab.

''In France, they are blamed for not being French enough, and when they go to their parents' country of origin, they are blamed for not being Arab enough,'' Mr. Khosrokhavar said. ''That double denial can push them to adhere to a radical version of Islam, as a kind of lifeline: Since I am neither French nor Arab, neither American nor Afghan, I am Muslim and to hell with you all,'' he added.

These roots of radicalization do not make **immigrants** in general a danger. In the United States, **immigrants** have a lower rate of crime and violence than other Americans. Converts to Islam are disproportionately represented among Americans and Europeans drawn to extremism, and other ideologies also motivate mass violence -- as in the case of Dylann Roof, who was 21 when he fatally shot nine black people last year at a church in Charleston, S.C., in the name of white supremacy.

''The actual content of the ideology is secondary,'' said Mr. Meloy, the psychologist. ''What's important is the identification and fixation.''

But the Islamist terrorist groups target the particular anxieties of Western Muslims from **immigrant** backgrounds, posing recruitment as a religious loyalty test. They call on supporters to reject the nations where they live and embrace instead a devotion to the ummah, the global community of Muslims. The West is at war with Islam, they say, and you must strike out to defend your fellow Muslims.

That message has been delivered with particular power by Mr. Awlaki, often reinforcing the newer propaganda efforts of the Islamic State. As an imam who counseled **immigrants** at three American mosques, and as a Yemeni-American who had lived in both countries and in Britain, Mr. Awlaki understood the worries of Muslims in the West. When he joined Al Qaeda, he did his best to open a gulf between them and their non-Muslim neighbors.

''The important lesson to learn here is: Never, ever trust a kuffar,'' Mr. Awlaki said in a 2003 lecture in London that was captured on video and remains a YouTubefavorite. ''Now, you might argue and say: 'But my neighbor is such a nice person. My classmates are very nice. My co-workers -- they're just fabulous people, they're so decent and honest.''' Yet these non-Muslims can never be relied upon, he said.

Later, after moving to Yemen, he spoke not only of shunning non-Muslims, but also of attacking them. In a 2010 video, he tried to shame his listeners into choosing his brand of religion over their country.

''To the Muslims in America I have this to say: How can your conscience allow you to live in peaceful coexistence with a nation that is responsible for the tyranny and crimes committed against your own brothers and sisters?'' he said. ''How can you have your loyalty to a government that is leading the war against Islam and Muslims?''

He has led many people down the jihadist path, and not just in English-speaking countries. The Counter Extremism Project, an advocacy group based in Washington, said Wednesday that it had counted 88 ''extremists'' who had been influenced by Mr. Awlaki: 54 in the United States and 34 in Europe.

Most such jihadist recruits are the children of **immigrants**, said Olivier Roy, a professor at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, and the author of ''Globalized Islam.'' His research shows that 65 percent of Muslim extremists in France and Belgium are from this second generation.

''These young people have broken away from their parents, who they blame for many things -- for practicing the wrong Islam, for having brought them to the West, for having failed in life,'' Mr. Roy said, noting that Mr. Rahami reportedly had clashed with his father.

But such conflicts pass. Few jihadists are from the third generation, the grandchildren of **immigrants**, he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**This year the United States will take in 85,000 of the world's most vulnerable so they can begin new lives in America, the highest number since 2001. But at a time when 65 million people have been displaced by violence, and 20 million of them are classified as **refugees** -- more than half of them children -- it is not enough.

Recently, the Obama administration took a small step forward, raising the number of **refugees** the country will let in to 110,000 for the next fiscal year. The next step is for Congress to allocate resources for resettlement -- something it has always done, in a bipartisan fashion, since the **refugee** crisis after World War II.

Unfortunately, this time, a vocal minority in Congress, the states and the public are arguing that we should respond to this humanitarian crisis by pulling up the welcome mat, even for families fleeing the civil war in Syria and the brutality of the Islamic State. Senator Jeff Sessions, Republican of Alabama, called the administration's increase ''reckless and extreme.''

Fear of **refugees** is not new. In 1939, the United States turned away more than 900 Jews fleeing Hitler's Germany because of worries that some might be Nazi conspirators or Communists. More than a quarter of those **refugees** died in the Holocaust.

Some say we should be as fearful of **refugees** today, especially in an era of terrorist attacks. Yet since 2001, more than 800,000 **refugees** have been resettled in the United States, and none have been convicted of an act of domestic terrorism. Compassion and security can coexist.

My organization, World Relief, has settled more than a quarter of a million **refugees** in this country over the past 40 years, working with thousands of congregations to welcome others who have no place to call home, creating a place not just to live, but a place to belong. We're an evangelical charity, and our motivations for this work come from what we believe about Jesus, who was himself a **refugee** who fled with his mother and father to Egypt, and told us to ''do for others as we would want done for us.''

We are joined in this work by many other agencies, religious and secular. They act out of their own traditions and conviction, but all see the need to take bold action to end human suffering.

My group's resettlement efforts began in 1979, when a couple who had returned from two decades of ministry in Vietnam searched for a local church to welcome a **refugee** family. Over the next decade, the federal government, resettlement agencies and thousands of local churches resettled more than 700,000 **refugees**from Asia, most from Vietnam. Today, Vietnamese-Americans are a resounding success story: Compared with the country as a whole, they are more likely to be employed and less likely to live in poverty, and they earn slightly higher wages.

Some have argued that countries in the Middle East accept too few **refugees**, and should take more. But two of Syria's neighbors, Jordan and Lebanon, host more **refugees** per capita than any European country.

Even comparing the United States with other Western countries, our contributions are modest. Canada resettled more than double the number of Syrian **refugees**America received, even though their population is roughly a tenth of the United States population. The United States takes in less than half of 1 percent of the world's **refugees**.

**Refugee** resettlement has always received bipartisan support because the quest for freedom and safety embodied in **refugees**' stories represents the values that make America great, and because our national security is actually strengthened when we respond with wisdom and compassion. Jihadists hate our compassion for **refugees**, because it disproves the claims about Americans they use to sow hatred and violence. Acting according to the best angels of our nature may produce our greatest long-term strength and security.

The president has called for greater commitments from all nations, and this higher quota is meant to lead by example. Congress must now do its part. It can offer -- and I pray will offer -- a response that combines the best of our wisdom, compassion and courage. Organizations like mine stand ready to work with our political leaders to keep the welcome mat out.

Virtually every day, in quiet corners of airports across the country, **refugees** are being welcomed and cared for by teams from churches and community groups. It is in scenes like these, unseen by most, where we recapture the spirit of which we as American citizens have been justifiably proud for most of our nation's history.

This is our new Ellis Island. It is the expression of our faith and our humanity, and it is a worthy response to the legacy we have inherited.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Branding himself the ''law-and-order candidate,'' Donald J. Trump has vowed to carry out a crackdown on crime and terrorism that would benefit white Americans and racial minorities alike.

But an examination of Mr. Trump's recommendations for policing, terrorism and **immigration** enforcement reveals a series of policies that civil rights activists and national security veterans fear could have the effect of treating minorities with suspicion and singling them out for heavier government scrutiny.

Over the past few days, Mr. Trump has intensified the racial and ethnic cast to his policies. On Wednesday, he suggested stop-and-frisk policing, a tactic that has been discontinued in New York City, as a model for other cities. More than four in five people stopped by New York police under stop-and-frisk were black or Hispanic, and a federal judge ruled the policy unconstitutional as it was put in effect.

Earlier in the week, Mr. Trump answered the bombings in New York and New Jersey by calling for aggressive profiling of terrorism suspects, and criticized the authorities for showing restraint toward people from ''that part of the world.''

Many of the details of Mr. Trump's proposals are sketchy and thus difficult to analyze. He has not said precisely what elements of New York's stop-and-frisk policy he would aim to export, or which versions of profiling he would favor, offering remarks in casual television interviews unaccompanied by more extensive proposals. A spokesman said Thursday that Mr. Trump did not intend to endorse racial or ethnic profiling.

But Mr. Trump has insistently described law enforcement and security services as hemmed in by concerns about ''political correctness,'' and has vowed to do away with them. He claimed on Monday that the police were so skittish about being accused of inappropriate profiling that they would balk at stopping someone who ''looks like he's got a massive bomb on his back,'' if the suspect appeared to be of a certain background.

Mr. Trump's policy prescriptions have stirred concern among some experts in national security and law enforcement, including prominent Republicans who warn that Mr. Trump's agenda could undermine public safety by generating a backlash in communities that the police and intelligence officials rely upon for cooperation.

Michael Chertoff, who served as secretary of Homeland Security under President George W. Bush, said Mr. Trump's characterization of law enforcement as hemmed in by political correctness was entirely unfounded.

''I've never heard of a cop or an intelligence person saying, 'We're not going to look at something because we're afraid of offending people,''' he said. ''It's a disservice to our police and to our people in the security services to argue that they've been inhibited in pursuing genuine leads.''

Mr. Chertoff, a former federal judge and prosecutor, said that profiling techniques not relating to ethnicity were already available to the authorities, and that ethnic profiling was counterproductive.

''Not only is it a waste of time, but you're offending people who in many ways you want to be your allies,'' he said, adding, ''When you ethnically profile, you play into the hands of the enemy.''

If elected, Mr. Trump would have little direct power over local law enforcement, but presidents do set the tone at the Justice Department, which can sue municipalities that violate civil rights. Under President Obama, the Justice Department has sought to address racial unrest by scrutinizing police departments in cities like Baltimore and Cleveland. Mr. Trump has been critical of the Obama administration's oversight of the police, raising the prospect that he would take a very different approach.

Presidents have far broader discretion in areas related to national security and **immigration**. In some instances, Mr. Trump has advocated unprecedented measures that would be unlikely to survive legal scrutiny, such as a proposal to ban all Muslim **immigration** that he offered during the Republican primaries.

Mr. Trump has also proposed to enlist local law enforcement agencies to fulfill his promise to deport millions of people who entered the country illegally, largely from Latin America and Asia. He has pledged to ''expand and revitalize'' a federal program known as 287(g), which empowers local police departments to help enforce federal **immigration** law.

But like New York's stop-and-frisk policy, this program has come under fire for its racial impact. In 2012, the Obama administration discontinued its most hotly criticized element, which allowed the police to question people about their **immigration** status on the street, following concerns that it violated the rights of American citizens of Hispanic descent.

''In some places, local law enforcement wound up picking up people who were citizens or who had legal status in the country,'' said David Martin, who served as principal deputy general counsel of the Department of Homeland Security from January 2009 to December 2010. ''There has been no close attention at all on the part of the Trump campaign policy people to see what's being done right now, what is effective and what are the trade-offs that the Obama administration is making.''

Although another element of the program, which deports people who have been charged with crimes, has been kept in place, Mr. Trump contends that Mr. Obama ''recklessly gutted'' the 287(g) program, and has promised to revive it.

Boris Epshteyn, a campaign spokesman, said Thursday that Mr. Trump favored only policies ''within the bounds of the Constitution.'' He said that there were versions of a stop-and-frisk policy that would pass legal muster, and that Mr. Trump favored profiling people based on their activities and nations of origin, rather than using racial and ethnic criteria.

''Donald Trump favors stop-and-frisk to be one of the many tools that are utilized by law enforcement in this country,'' Mr. Epshteyn said. ''He wants it to be applied by police departments where it is necessary.''

He said the 287(g) program could be reapplied in a way that would be effective and avoid discrimination. ''It does not make sense to scrap a viable and successful program just because folks complained about it,'' he said.

Support for aggressive policing has long been part of Mr. Trump's political persona, and he has been rewarded in the presidential race with support from a number of law enforcement groups, including the Fraternal Order of Police, a national union that endorsed his campaign last week.

Its executive director, Jim Pasco, cautioned that the organization did not necessarily subscribe to all of Mr. Trump's views. The endorsement, he said, was ''based on a sense that Mr. Trump is willing to listen to police officers.''

The union has long been against racial profiling, Mr. Pasco noted, adding that he had reservations about the possible use of local police departments to bring ''the hammer down on the illegal **immigrants** who are otherwise not breaking laws.''

''You have to balance that need for cooperation and confidence from the community, particularly in terms of witnesses and early warnings to potential problems, against what might conceivably be a lesser problem,'' Mr. Pasco said. ''And that would be somebody staying over their visa, for example.''

Some of Mr. Trump's ideas have been tried already: He said Thursday morning that his suggestion of stop-and-frisk policing was aimed mainly at Chicago, which is experiencing a spike in violent crime.

But Chicago has already tried to curb crime by using stop-and-frisk methods, pursuing the strategy aggressively under a new police chief in 2011. By 2013, its use of the tactic was considered even more pervasive than New York City's, according to Wesley G. Skogan, a political science professor at Northwestern University.

In the summer of 2014, the Chicago police made 250,000 stops that did not result in arrests; 72 percent were of African-Americans, according to the American Civil Liberties Union. The Chicago police drastically reduced the number of stops after the A.C.L.U. threatened to sue and the Illinois legislature passed a law requiring more oversight of stops.

Vincent Warren, the executive director of the Center for Constitutional Rights, which challenged New York City's stop-and-frisk policy in court, said the tactic effectively treated ''race as a proxy for criminality.''

''The price of stopping every black person is intolerable to communities of color,'' Mr. Warren said. ''Furthermore, when those policies don't work, they feel more like social control or collective punishment.''

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the First Draft newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald J. Trump visited the Detroit Economic Club last month to tell a story about a once-great city destroyed by free trade.

''The city of Detroit is the living, breathing example of my opponent's failed economic agenda,'' Mr. Trump said. ''She supports the high taxes and radical regulation that forced jobs out of your community, and the crime policies have made you far, far less safe.'' He concluded: ''She is the candidate of the past. Ours is the campaign of the future.''

In fact, Mr. Trump is the candidate of Michigan's past, which is one reason he's losing the state in almost every survey. When he talks about making Michigan great again, he is evoking the years between World War II and the 1973 oil crisis, when an auto industry job that paid for a house, two cars and a cottage Up North was, in the words of the author and automaker Ben Hamper, a ''precious birthright.''

Like much of Mr. Trump's nostalgic campaign, his promise to keep manufacturing jobs in America seems better suited for the attitudes -- and the voters -- of the 1980s. Back then, Michigan was in a xenophobic mood, especially toward the Japanese, who were often doing a better job of building the fuel-efficient cars Americans wanted to drive. In a suburb of Detroit, a Chinese-American man was beaten to death in a bar brawl by a Chrysler foreman who told him, ''It's because of you we're out of work.'' In Flint, people at a United Automobile Workers fund-raising event paid $5 to whack a Toyota with a sledgehammer.

I grew up in Michigan, and even then, we were told the manufacturing jobs that Mr. Trump is now promising the state weren't coming back. I was a sophomore at Lansing J. W. Sexton High School in 1982. In December of that year, Michigan's unemployment rate was almost 17 percent. It was the pits of a recession that helped transform the industrial Midwest from the Arsenal of Democracy into the Rust Belt.

That fall, my physics teacher gestured toward the Fisher Body plant across the street from our school and said: ''It used to be that you didn't have to study here. You could just walk across the street and get a job in that plant. Those days are over. You guys are going to have to study and go to college.''

Mr. Trump believes he can win Michigan and other Midwestern states -- some of which haven't voted Republican since George H.W. Bush was elected president -- by appealing to blue-collar workers with attacks on trade deals, especially Nafta, which he blames for exporting hundreds of thousands of middle-class manufacturing jobs to Mexico. (In some of them, like Ohio, he holds an advantage.)

But services and knowledge-based industries are playing a more and more significant role in Michigan's economy. The typical Michigan worker no longer builds cars. In the 2000s, health care surpassed manufacturing as the state's No. 1 private employment sector. There are only about 160,000 autoworkers (manufacturing and parts) in the state now -- 4 percent of the work force, and about half the number since 2000.

Mr. Trump has his reasons for focusing on manufacturing, though. They don't all have to do with economics. He ignores the fact that many of Michigan's auto industry jobs were lost to automation, or to foreign manufacturers operating in the right-to-work South, because depicting the Chinese, Japanese and Mexicans as job-stealing **alien** villains better fits his America First narrative.

Mr. Trump's economic nationalism is inseparable from the ethno-nationalism that's turning off so many African-Americans, Latinos, Asians and Muslims who might agree with him on trade, but understand deep down that jobs aren't all he wants to bring back from his good old days.

Marcus Riddle is an example. I met him outside a Coney Island diner in Flint's North End. He's exactly the kind of dispossessed autoworker Mr. Trump was talking about when he called Nafta ''a total disaster for the United States.'' Mr. Riddle once held a well-paying job with an auto parts manufacturer, but was laid off when the company moved some of its operations to Costa Rica. Now he works at an adult foster-care home, earning ''$9 an hour after nine years.'' Mr. Riddle likes Mr. Trump's stands on terrorism and illegal **immigration**, but he's planning to vote for Hillary Clinton.

''He's too racist for me,'' Mr. Riddle said, citing Mr. Trump's attacks on Mexicans. ''I'm mixed: Indian and black. If he gets into office, what am I going to look like?''

Mr. Riddle is skeptical of Mr. Trump's promises to bring manufacturing jobs back to the United States: ''If other presidents couldn't do it, how can he?''

Michigan was a key state for the Reagan Democrats: hawkish, socially conservative autoworkers who ignored the U.A.W.'s entreaties to vote for Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale. Mr. Trump is winning their heartland, Macomb County, in the blue-collar suburbs of Detroit. He's also ahead among voters ages 50 to 70, who came of age when a factory job was still a birthright, and share his nostalgia for those years.

But the future of Michigan's economy isn't a new auto plant in Detroit. It's a business like Niowave in Lansing, which draws on the skills of both physicists and skilled tradesmen to manufacture particle accelerators. According to ''The New Path to Prosperity: Lessons for Michigan From Two Decades of Economic Change,'' a report by Michigan Future, an organization devoted to encouraging Michigan's transition from an industrial to a knowledge-based economy, the state added about 313,000 jobs in ''knowledge-based services'' from 1990 to 2011 -- almost exactly the same number as it lost in manufacturing.

Since the ''lost decade'' of the 2000s, during which Michigan lost more than half its automaking employment, and General Motors and Chrysler were bailed out by the federal government, the state has added more than 400,000 jobs, a 10.6 percent increase.

Even the auto industry has been recovering, although chances are it will never return to its pre-lost-decade dominance. According to the Mackinac Center for Public Policy, ''jobs in auto and auto-part manufacturing are up 67 percent from their recessionary trough.''

The changes in Michigan's economy present a problem for Mr. Trump. The Republican Party's pursuit of whites without college degrees has been offering diminishing returns since it converted the Reagan Democrats -- in 1980, they were 65 percent of the electorate, compared with 36 percent in 2012 -- but Mr. Trump has tailored his politically incorrect alpha male persona and his protectionist message specifically to them.

The Fisher Body plant across the street from my school is long gone. Most of the jobs are gone, too. As Lansing's mayor, Virg Bernero, has noted, G.M. can build the same number of cars with 5,000 workers as it did with 25,000 in the 1950s and '60s.

The Trump conundrum is that his campaign is about loss. His appeal is strongest among people who feel their social, economic and political influence slipping away, but he appeals to them specifically because their numbers are dwindling, thus making them less effective as an electoral coalition.

A candidate of the past can't win the present. As my physics teacher predicted, Michigan now has more college graduates and fewer autoworkers than it did in the 1980s. Mr. Trump is promising to restore a way of life that, even then, we knew was disappearing.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A wave of migrants and **refugees**, the largest since World War II, has strained the fabric of societies across Europe. The American presidential election, with the unusual campaign of the Republican nominee, Donald J. Trump, has focused the world's nervous attention on strains in the United States.

To varying degrees, countries including Turkey, Poland and Hungary have clamped down on journalists and judges. Governments have struggled to respond to the challenges of religious extremism and gaping disparities in wealth and income. In the United States, Mr. Trump has scorned democratic traditions, arguing that outsourcing of jobs, **immigration** and terrorism have created a mess and vowing, ''I alone can fix it.''

Among the government officials, scholars, activists, journalists and others who gathered last week for the fourth-annual Athens Democracy Forum, organized by The International New York Times, the mood was glum, if not despairing. They agreed that democracy was in danger, and liberalism -- civil rights, the rule of law, the protection of minorities -- even more so.

''The crisis we find ourselves in today is one in which we have started to question the very fundamentals on which our democracies have been built -- our moral values of openness and equality, our fundamental freedoms, our resilience and, most importantly, what unites us, what binds us,'' said Dimitris Avramopoulos, the European Union's commissioner for migration, home affairs and citizenship.

Mr. Avramopoulos, a former foreign minister and defense minister of Greece, said the greatest threat to Europe came not from migration or terrorism but from the demons within. ''What I believe can weaken us is what comes from inside: the rise of nationalism, populism, demagogy and xenophobia -- the rise of dark ghosts from our recent past,'' he said.

The conference itself, said Roger Cohen, a New York Times columnist who delivered the opening speech, was conceived as a ''confident celebration'' of democracy but instead became an ''anxious interrogation.''

''I am pessimistic in the short term, optimistic in the long term, particularly as I won't be around to see if I was right,'' he said. Pessimistic, he said, because ''the problems are deep, can no longer be ignored, and cannot be righted in short order.''

Mr. Cohen said there was some truth to the criticism that political and economic elites have profoundly failed their citizens. Free trade and large-scale **immigration** have produced enormous gains for those at the top of the ladder, but broad gains in prosperity have been elusive, he said.

Among the results: The anxiety that propelled Britain's decision, in a June 23 referendum, to leave the European Union, and the ascent of anti-establishment politicians like Mr. Trump and the French far-right leader Marine Le Pen.

In the long run, though, Mr. Cohen is upbeat: ''The democratic idea is stubborn.''

At the core of the conference were four panel discussions on Sept. 15, addressing the intersection of democracy with migration, authoritarianism, capitalism and religion. Below are highlights:

MIGRATION

Are democratic societies prepared to deal with large-scale movements of people fleeing persecution and violence?

''Under no circumstances do you shut the door to someone whose only crime is that they were born in a war-torn or impoverished country or region,'' said Stavros Lambrinidis, the European Union's special representative for human rights and a former foreign minister of Greece. ''At the same time, you must make sure that you address the root causes of these problems.''

Mario Monti, a former prime minister of Italy and a former member of the European Commission, the executive arm of the European Union, lamented that ''the short-term nature of political discourse'' had made it increasingly difficult to engage in the kind of reasoned, nuanced policy debates necessary to deal with thorny issues.

Lucas Papademos, a former prime minister of Greece who is also an economist, said it was ''not realistic'' to ''keep the doors totally open'' but urged recognition of the long-term benefits of migration: replenishing an aging work force, supporting welfare and pension systems, and assisting entrepreneurship.

Just as efforts to lift people out of poverty must be balanced against the impact on the environment, the rights of migrants have to be balanced against the need to keep societies safe, Mr. Lambrinidis said. ''Sustainable security, like sustainable development, has to become the new paradigm,'' he said.

Mr. Papademos pronounced himself worried about the future of the European project, saying that conflicts abroad, and the resulting exodus of people, were ''threatening the cohesion'' of Europe and turning the ''bedrock'' of values upon which the European Union was built into ''quicksand.''

Mr. Monti sees signs that ''international integration is moving backward,'' as societies turn against the free movement of goods and people.''

He pointed to a lack of leadership in Europe. ''Whereas in the past, member states considered Europe a huge investment in their own long-term interest, now most leaders see Europe as a useful consumption good that you can try to squeeze in order hopefully to generate more short-term domestic political consensus,'' he said.

AUTHORITARIANISM

As democracies falter, candidates promising quick fixes through sheer force of personality have captured the imagination of voters. Alison Smale, the Berlin bureau chief of The New York Times, moderated a discussion on the appeal of the ''big man.'' (The candidates seem invariably to be male.)

Eleni Tsakopoulos Kounalakis, who was the United States ambassador to Hungary from 2010 to 2013, recalled the rise of Viktor Orban, who became prime minister a few months after she arrived in Budapest.

The previous government, led by Socialists, was widely seen as discredited after the global financial crisis, she said, and Mr. Orban swept to power after urging voters to give his nationalist, conservative party, Fidesz, a supermajority in Parliament.

Once in office, Mr. Orban passed legislation deploring the Treaty of Trianon, which in 1920 set Hungary's borders after World War I, while strengthening the government's control over news outlets, the judiciary, universities and local governments. Mr. Orban even embraced the term ''illiberal democracy,'' arguing that his mandate from voters (he was re-elected in 2014) justified restrictions on civil rights and civil liberties.

Mr. Orban set an example that has been emulated by the far-right government that took power in Poland last year, Ms. Kounalakis said.

Christiane Amanpour, the CNN journalist, described her experiences interviewing strongmen, including Robert Mugabe, the longtime president of Zimbabwe; Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian president who was ousted in 2011; Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, the Libyan leader who was murdered by a mob in 2011; and Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who has led an authoritarian turn in that country.

''I've interviewed a lot of these people who have come in as democrats and turned into authoritarians, never-ending rulers,'' she said, describing Mr. Erdogan's outrage when she asked him about his request that Germany prosecute a satirist who had mocked him. ''He was shocked that I would ask him that question,'' Ms. Amanpour said.

Ms. Amanpour, who grew up in Iran when it was led by an authoritarian shah, said control of the news media was the first point on the authoritarian agenda. ''None of these authoritarians could have a lock on so-called success if they didn't have a compliant media,'' she said, noting crackdowns on the press in Russia, Poland, Turkey and elsewhere.

CAPITALISM

Concerns about the ability of governments to rein in capitalism were brought to the fore during the 2008 global economic crisis and continue to reverberate around the West.

At a panel moderated by Paul Krugman, the New York Times columnist and Nobel-laureate economist, Yasheng Huang, a professor of global economics at the M.I.T. Sloan School of Management, said the allure of the business strongman was unsurprising since many chief executives ''rule their own companies'' as unquestioned leaders.

Yanis Varoufakis, a former finance minister of Greece and one of the best-known critics of economic austerity in Europe, said there were three threats to democracy from the rising power of business: the banking sector (which helped cause the financial crisis), the news media (which has been increasingly consolidated) and monopolies (whose concentrated power defies attempts at regulation and control). ''I'm afraid that the political-democratic realm is not doing very well,'' he said.

Mr. Varoufakis did not blame businesses for the austerity policies, which he believes have contributed to a series of economic crises in Greece. ''My experience in Europe is that business was much more progressive in demanding an end to austerity, and is to this day, than governments are,'' he said.

Does economic development eventually lead to democratic reform, as Seymour Martin Lipset and other political scientists proposed in the decades after World War II?

Mr. Huang was not optimistic. ''Before the current leadership,'' he said, ''China has had generations of leaders who were not democrats, but trending toward the liberal direction.'' That has stopped with Xi Jinping, China's paramount leader since 2012.

''This is one of the big problems with an authoritarian system because the leadership selection is a very unpredictable process,'' Mr. Huang said. ''Nobody knew the characteristics of this current leader before he was selected. He had a lot of room to maneuver and he decided to move backward.'' Private-sector confidence in China is declining, and people are taking money out of the country, he added.

RELIGION

''The more that people of different faiths can interact to pursue some common goal, the more well-off we are as democracies,'' said the Rev. Chloe Breyer, an Episcopalian minister and the executive director of the Interfaith Center of New York, reflecting a common belief in the United States.

Serge Schmemann, a member of the Times editorial board who led the discussion, said he wanted to steer clear of familiar debates about Islam in public life. He invited two men born in the Soviet Union -- Natan Sharansky, a Jewish human-rights activist who is now chairman of the Jewish Agency for Israel, and Sergei Chapnin, a former editor of the official journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, the seat of the Russian Orthodox Church board -- to talk about the misuses of faith.

Mr. Sharansky said that during his days as a human rights dissident, religious people were ''by far our strongest, best comrades in arms.''

Mr. Chapnin lamented the co-opting of the Russian Orthodox Church by President Vladimir V. Putin's government.

As the identity of the Russian government changed from ''democratic state to empire,'' church officials agreed to make their faith ''a church of empire,'' he said. ''We have a kind of post-Soviet civil religion based on Orthodox traditions -- or incorporating Orthodox elements -- but in fact this is not the true spiritual tradition,'' Mr. Chapnin said, adding that he believed ''the church is in crisis now.''

As for the threat of religious extremism to liberal democracies, Ms. Breyer said of Western societies: ''We should be much less apologetic about teaching the good things about secularism, the Enlightenment, to people who are very religious and haven't necessarily encountered those values. We should not treat traditions as though they were static.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MEXICO CITY -- The Obama administration, responding to an extraordinary wave of Haitian migrants seeking to enter the United States, said on Thursday that it would fully resume deportations of undocumented Haitian **immigrants**.

After an earthquake devastated parts of Haiti in 2010, the United States suspended deportations, saying that sending Haitians back to the country at a time of great instability would put their lives at risk. About a year later, officials partly resumed deportations, focusing on people convicted of serious crimes or those considered a threat to national security.

But since last spring, thousands of Haitian migrants who had moved to Brazil in search of work have been streaming north, mostly by land, winding up at American border crossings that lead to Southern California.

Few have arrived with American visas, but nearly all have been allowed to enter the United States because **immigration** officials were prohibited, under the modified deportation policy, from using the so-called fast-track removal process often employed at the border for new, undocumented arrivals.

Instead, the migrants were placed in a slower deportation process and released, with an appointment to appear in **immigration** court at a later date, officials said. Since early summer, most have been given permission to remain in the country for as long as three years under a humanitarian parole provision, **immigrant**advocates said.

With the full resumption of deportations, which took effect on Thursday morning, Haitians who arrive at the border without visas will be put into expedited removal proceedings.

Jeh Johnson, the secretary of Homeland Security, said in a statement that conditions in Haiti had ''improved sufficiently to permit the U.S. government to remove Haitian nationals on a more regular basis.''

While Mr. Johnson's statement did not mention the recent influx of Haitians along the southwestern border, Homeland Security officials, during a conference call with reporters, cited the migrant wave as the other major factor in the administration's decision.

Since last October, officials said, more than 5,000 Haitians without visas have shown up at the San Ysidro crossing that links Tijuana, Mexico, with San Diego. By comparison, 339 Haitians without visas arrived at the San Ysidro crossing in the 2015 fiscal year.

An additional 4,000 to 6,000 Haitians were thought to be making their way from Brazil, **immigrant** advocates in San Diego and Tijuana said, based on estimates from shelters along the Brazil-to-Mexico migration route.

The message to those Haitians from the Obama administration, however, seems clear: Turn around or go elsewhere.

An uptick in deportations might not occur immediately. Removals require the cooperation of and paperwork from the receiving country, and Homeland Security officials said they were still in talks with the Haitian government about the policy shift.

In the meantime, officials said, nearly all Haitians stopped at the border and scheduled for accelerated deportations will be put into detention centers.

Officials clarified, however, that asylum law would continue to apply to newly arriving Haitians. A migrant who feared returning to Haiti because of the threat of persecution or torture would be interviewed to determine whether that fear was credible. If an **immigration** officer determined it was, the **immigrant** could apply for asylum.

Haitian **immigrants** covered by temporary protected status would be unaffected by the change in policy.

Over the summer, the unusual surge in Haitian migrants was accompanied by an equally unusual surge in migrants from more than two dozen other countries, nearly all traveling along the same arduous routes from South America, across as many as 10 borders.

The migratory wave has overwhelmed shelters along the way, particularly in Tijuana, where the shelters have been at or over capacity for much of the past four months, while also struggling with language and cultural barriers. Some migrants, because they were unable to find accommodations or wanted to avoid shelter living, have chosen to sleep on the streets.

Haitians started migrating to Brazil in large numbers after the earthquake. Haiti was reeling, but Brazil was ascendant, and it had a need for cheap labor, especially with the World Cup and the Olympics approaching. Haitians, with few prospects at home, were happy to oblige.

Thousands of them made their way to Brazil, where many were granted humanitarian visas that allowed them to work.

But amid Brazil's economic and political convulsions over the last two years, many Haitians lost their jobs or sank deeper into poverty.

The migration north began in earnest during the spring, with a large influx in Tijuana in late May, and the surge has continued.

The Haitian migrant population has mainly consisted of men, though many women have made the trek, too, as have children and even newborns. They have mainly taken an elaborate series of bus rides, though migrants also had to travel at times by foot, truck and boat, and have hired smugglers to help sneak them across certain borders or avoid law enforcement officials.

They have told of highway robberies, frightening encounters with armed gangs and beatings. Some migrants have died during the trip, many being swept away while trying to ford swift-moving rivers.

The shift in American policy caught advocates in San Diego and Tijuana by surprise.

''It was a complete and utter shock,'' said Ginger Jacobs, an **immigration** lawyer and the chairwoman of the San Diego **Immigrant** Rights Consortium. ''We are pretty baffled by what appears to be a complete 180 in terms of policy.''

She added, ''We object to a policy change that doesn't appear to reflect any actual change in reality.''

Margarita Andonaegui, the coordinator of a main migrant shelter in Tijuana, said that on Wednesday afternoon she had received what sounded like heartening news: The American authorities were going to increase their processing capacity for the Haitians, to 150 per day from 50.

But in light of the new deportation policy, that piece of information took on another meaning.

''They're going to receive them to deport them,'' Ms. Andonaegui said. ''That's bad news.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MAIDUGURI, Nigeria -- The crisis spawned by Boko Haram has drawn hundreds of thousands of people to a relatively little-known city in Nigeria that has finally become safe enough for them to wait out an end to the awful, deadly war.

With villagers from the countryside pouring in, it is almost as though the entire city, Maiduguri, has become a sprawling **refugee** camp.

Tented government encampments dot the exurbs where people wait for bags of food to arrive. Once-quaint neighborhoods overflow with cardboard hovels filled with young children who are lucky to eat three meals a day.

Squatters live in old university buildings or crammed inside homes with relatives or kind strangers. Old men sit along busy streets asking for money. At the massive Monday Market, women sell handfuls of fruit or jewelry, hoping to earn enough to pay for a meal.

And those are the fortunate ones.

Other people are far from the city's center -- and from help -- in remote areas of Borno State that have only recently been wrested from Boko Haram control. The news from these areas is grim: Aid workers say many residents could die of starvation.

The Boko Haram crisis still rages, but it has not managed to sustain the level of global outrage that spiked when nearly 300 schoolgirls were kidnapped in 2014 in the village of Chibok, in Borno State's south.

The seven-year-old conflict has produced nonstop new and horrible chapters. Burned villages. Beheadings. Rapes of women and young girls. Military corruption and killings of innocents. Child suicide bombers. Rescued victims, even infants, who are jailed by the military for weeks or months. And now a widespread food and malnutrition crisis.

The horrors have been reported by The New York Times and other news outlets. Humanitarian assistance is on the ground, but the United Nations cannot raise even a quarter of the amount of money it says it needs to help combat the problems.

Despite the continuing tragedy, the world appears to have moved on to other terrible events. Television cameras capture emergency room doctors treating bloodied Syrian children wounded in bombings, and American mothers who have lost sons in shootings by police officers.

For the West, Boko Haram's victims are easy to overlook. The militants target some of the poorest people on the planet. In rural Borno State, proper emergency rooms do not exist to treat the injured. Here, mothers mourn sons who have either been killed by insurgents or, left with no other choice, have joined them.

Most of the victims live in such poverty that, even without the challenges of the insurgency, their lives would play out on the margins, scraping by for survival.

Last month, Bono, the Irish musician and the lead singer of U2, came to Maiduguri hoping to retrain the international spotlight on Boko Haram-induced problems, which, by most measures, are on track to get worse.

This city in northeastern Nigeria was once the home of Boko Haram's founder, Mohammed Yusuf, a dynamic imam whose teachings eventually spawned the Islamic extremist movement that has killed thousands and uprooted more than 2.6 million people from their homes across four countries. So far.

In Maiduguri, Bono met with local government officials and toured encampments for people who had fled their villages as Boko Haram closed in. He visited with a group of young women and children who once lived among Boko Haram commanders.

''These girls were just an unexpectedly human face of the conflict,'' Bono said in a telephone interview after his trip. ''When you think of Boko Haram, I just didn't think of that, or of the malnourished kids, which we saw at the camps.''

This week, in meetings around the United Nations activities, Bono has been lobbying world leaders to increase aid for the victims of Boko Haram. Borno State serves as the backdrop in a video that will be released on Friday, in which he calls for longer-term economic policies to stem the appeal of terrorism.

Getting the world to focus on the Boko Haram crisis will not be easy.

Most people know of the group through its most high-profile attack, on the schoolhouse at Chibok, where nearly 300 girls had gathered for exams in 2014. Militants set fire to the school and took off with the girls, only about 50 of whom managed to escape in the days after the attack.

The episode struck a global nerve. Schoolboys who had been slaughtered around the same time failed to register on the world's conscience. But after the taking of the Chibok girls, a social media campaign went viral, with even Michelle Obama photographed holding a poster with the hashtag #BringBackOurGirls.

In the years since, most of the world's attention has been on another terrorist group, the Islamic State, and its attacks on Westerners in France, Belgium and elsewhere. Those acts have prompted vigils and rallies in cities around the world, as well as scorn and retaliation from world leaders.

The handful of campaigns to help Boko Haram's victims have largely faded. Even though Boko Haram has pledged allegiance to the Islamic State. Even though Boko Haram, by some measures, has been far more deadly than the Islamic State.

About 200 of the Chibok schoolgirls are still being held captive -- one was found in May wandering the forest, hungry and with a baby. But even that campaign has largely become a local one, drawing a few dozen activists to small gatherings in Abuja, Nigeria's capital, in hopes of pressuring President Muhammadu Buhari to find the girls.

Recently, Mr. Buhari released details of failed negotiations for the girls' release. On Wednesday, he requested that United Nations intermediaries help restart the talks.

But access to food and health care is also in jeopardy in areas where Boko Haram is active or has been recently. Mercy Corps said last month that an estimated 800,000 people are living in burned-out villages and unstructured camps in 15 locations across Borno State -- many far outside Maiduguri, with little or no food assistance, no operational markets and no way to make a living.

Bono's Nigeria tour is part of a global appeal by his group, the One campaign, and the United Nations for more attention -- and more money -- to help the displaced throngs, and to help stop a growing malnutrition crisis in the region where about 3.8 million people are facing severe food insecurity. In Borno State alone, 49,000 children will die if they do not get treatment, according to a recent report from Unicef. About 200,000 others suffer from severe acute malnutrition, the report said.

The United Nations office for the coordination for humanitarian affairs has said it needs $739 million to care for the millions of people affected by Boko Haram in Nigeria, one of Africa's biggest economies, as well as in Cameroon, Chad and Niger. By mid-September, it had received only one-quarter of the total amount.

''There's so much strategic importance in Nigeria -- that's why it's odd that there's not more focus on what's happening,'' Bono said.

''It's pathetic,'' he added. ''If Nigeria fails, Africa fails. If Africa fails, Europe fails. If Europe fails, America is no longer America.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Last year, the actor and writer Brian Quijada proposed to his girlfriend. Diamond ring. Bended knee. White sand beach. The whole Instagram-worthy shebang.

Then he began to worry. His fiancée is half Austrian and half Swiss; he is the son of undocumented **immigrants** from El Salvador. First he wondered how the wedding D.J. might remix polka and reggaeton. Later, more substantively, he questioned how to describe this varied inheritance to future offspring. ''I'm not entirely sure how I fit into this crazy world, let alone ever figuring out how to explain it to my child,'' Mr. Quijada said.

Some people might go to insight-oriented therapy for help. Others might consult a spiritual adviser. Others might let those unborn children sort it out for themselves and go back to their calligraphy pens and place cards.

Mr. Quijada instead elected to write and perform a solo hip-hop show, the engaging and obliging ''Where Did We Sit on the Bus?,'' directed by Chay Yew at the Ensemble Studio Theater. Another autobiographical monologue opening this week, Sonya Kelly's droll ''How to Keep an **Alien**,'' directed by Gina Moxley at the Irish Arts Center, is also a tale of **immigration**. More pointedly, both pieces detail the performers' attempts to wedge months and years of disorderly lived experience into more or less tidy narratives, to create life stories that they could live with.

The question that lends Mr. Quijada's show its title is one that he poses to his third-grade teacher as she concludes a lesson on Rosa Parks and the Montgomery bus boycott. Where did Latinos sit? he asks. His Midwestern teacher, flustered, replies: ''Oh. They weren't around.''

In his efforts to discover who he is and where he comes from, Mr. Quijada rushes in where even confessional artists might fear to tread, acting out the coitus that led to his conception and continuing from there. (Hey, it might not be too late to see that therapist.) As he describes his Illinois upbringing, he breathes and pops into the microphone, occasionally strumming a ukulele, then looping the sounds into a backing track for his rhymes, somewhat in the style of Reggie Watts.

Though the show begins as an exploration of his place as a kid of ''brown persuasion/a product of U.S.-bound migration,'' it morphs into Mr. Quijada's efforts to sell his folks on a career in the arts. His parents, who endured hardship to arrive and thrive in America, aren't buying it.

Ms. Kelly, as she tells it, set out to persuade an equally skeptical audience, the Garda National **Immigration** Bureau in Dublin. Ms. Kelly fell in love with Kate, the Australian stage manager who was in Ireland on a temporary work visa. United by a doomed Gogol adaptation, they first made eyes at each other while miming suicides. ''She puts her finger in a plug socket and pretends to fry her brains and I fall out a window: Flirting, Irish style,'' says Ms. Kelly.

Ms. Kelly's earlier solo piece, ''I Can See Clearly Now (The Wheelchair on My Face),'' detailed her severe myopia. Here, she's trying to get the government to see straight (and gay), rallying friends and family to help her fashion a story of the relationship that will persuade the bureau to let them cohabitate. ''Falling in love requires paperwork,'' she moans.

Ms. Kelly enhances her tale with the help of a spirited stage manager, Paul Curley, and a limitless supply of one-liners, many of them delicious. Of an unhappy parting she remarks: ''Life is not a movie. It is an underestimated gas bill.''

Both performers draw on abundant personal charm. Mr. Quijada seems half desperate to please his audience. His face, an appealing mix of handsome and goofy, is always ready to split into a smile, and his feet are quick to dance. (He does a killer, crowd-delighting moonwalk.)

Ms. Kelly, a more seasoned performer, sometimes brings to mind a bespectacled Holly Hughes or Deb Margolin. Her comic style varies nicely from straight-faced to vivacious, from deadpan to a pan that is very much alive, especially her irresistible, maniacal grin.

Ultimately, neither show offers much drama or conflict. Were Mr. Quijada and Ms. Kelly older, the obstacles they faced might have been greater, their outcomes less predictably happy. Ms. Kelly's greatest trial is a camping trip with her girlfriend's family. Pretty much the worst thing that happens to Mr. Quijada is that a kid calls him Brian Quesadilla. ''Quesadillas are delicious!'' he responds.

''Where Did We Sit on the Bus?'' runs through Oct. 9 at Ensemble Studio Theater, 549 West 52nd Street, Manhattan, 866-811-4111, ensemblestudiotheatre.org.

''How to Keep an **Alien**'' runs though Oct. 1 at the Irish Arts Center, 553 West 51st Street, Manhattan; 866-811-4111, irishartscenter.org.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**HOUSTON -- Texas escalated its fight with the Obama administration over **refugee** resettlements on Wednesday, threatening to pull out of the federal resettlement program if the state's plan to limit the number of **refugees** it accepts and to receive additional security assurances is not approved.

Since the Paris terrorist attacks last year, conservative leaders in several Republican-dominated states have raised security concerns over Syrian **refugees**. Texas has been one of the most assertive, suing the State Department in federal court to try to bar Syrian **refugees** from the state and, on Wednesday, vowing to stop assisting the thousands of **refugees** from around the world who resettle in Texas annually.

In a letter to the federal Office of **Refugee** Resettlement, the state's **refugee** coordinator wrote that if the state's plan is not approved by Sept. 30, Texas will exit the federal program and will stop providing **refugee**-related services and benefits starting Feb. 1. In a statement, Gov. Greg Abbott called for Washington to overhaul the federal program.

''Despite multiple requests by the State of Texas, the federal government lacks the capability or the will to distinguish the dangerous from the harmless, and Texas will not be an accomplice to such dereliction of duty to the American people,'' Mr. Abbott said.

If Texas does pull out, it may have little to no effect.

The process of placing **refugees** in the United States is a joint effort among federal and state agencies as well as nonprofit **refugee** aid groups. Resettlement money comes from the federal government, but the states disburse that money by contracting with nonprofit groups that work directly with the **refugees**.

**Refugees** could continue to come to Texas even if the state withdraws, because federal officials and the local groups could bypass the state in coordinating resettlements.

At least two other states, Kansas and New Jersey, have withdrawn from the federal program over what conservatives there have said are similar security concerns. But **refugees** have continued to arrive in those states, as **refugee** groups work with federal agencies, bypassing the states. The legal and regulatory framework behind such programs is well established, with federal officials initially appointing a so-called replacement designee to step in for the state and then developing an alternative program not administered by the state.

''Texas will still resettle **refugees**, but the coordinating role that the state has played will be facilitated instead by a designated nonprofit organization,'' said Linda Hartke, president and chief executive of Lutheran **Immigration** and **Refugee** Service.

The Texas warning to federal officials comes after the state's lawsuit seeking to prohibit Syrian **refugees** was dismissed in federal court in June. It also comes as the Obama administration plans to increase the number of **refugees** admitted to the United States, calling for 110,000 in fiscal 2017, up from 85,000 in 2016.

Texas officials have said the State Department wants Texas to increase the number of **refugees** coming to the state by 25 percent. The state's **refugee** plan says it will instead keep the number at the 2016 level in fiscal 2017. The plan also says Texas will accept only **refugees** who the leaders of federal intelligence agencies can certify to Congress do not pose a security threat. The governor's office has said certification would require ''national security officials to ensure that **refugees**do not pose a security threat to Texas.''

**Refugee** advocates and civil-rights lawyers called Texas' threat to withdraw callous and politically motivated.

''Texas is continuing to play political football with the lives of **refugee** families,'' said Cecillia Wang, the director of the **Immigrants**' Rights Project at the American Civil Liberties Union and one of the lawyers who represented a nonprofit relief group, the International Rescue Committee, in the dismissed lawsuit.

Federal officials appeared unlikely to agree to Texas' demands. The federal Administration for Children and Families, which is part of the federal Department of Health and Human Services, said the model for **refugee** resettlement -- including having those granted **refugee** status complete ''stringent security screenings'' -- will continue in Texas.

Texas has long been a top state for **refugee** relocations: More than 6,700 **refugees** arrived in Texas between October 2015 and August 2016, the most of any state, according to State Department data.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CAIRO -- A boat carrying African migrants headed for Europe capsized in the Mediterranean Sea near the Egyptian city of Alexandria on Wednesday, killing at least 42 people, the Egyptian authorities said.

The Egyptian Army gave the toll in a statement, saying that it had ''thwarted an illegal **immigration** attempt'' and that the boat had been 12 nautical miles off the coast when it sank.

A Health Ministry spokesman, Khaled Megahed, said the total number of dead was still unknown. An official from Beheira Province, Alaa Osman, said the migrants were from several African countries. He added that more than 150 people had been rescued so far but that bodies were still being pulled from the water.

Egypt's official news agency, MENA, said the boat was carrying 600 people when it sank near the coast, more than 100 miles north of Cairo, the capital. Mr. Osman said it was likely that the boat had departed from Kafr el Sheikh Province, farther to the east.

Thousands of migrants fleeing war and poverty have made the dangerous voyage across the Mediterranean in recent years, mostly by way of Libya. Thousands have drowned.

The number of migrants trying to cross the Mediterranean to Europe from Egypt has increased significantly in the past year, Frontex, the European Union border agency, said this month. More than 12,000 migrants arrived in Italy from Egypt from January to this month, compared with 7,000 in the same period last year, the agency said.

Experts say smugglers in Egypt mostly use old fishing vessels, stuffed far beyond capacity both below and above deck.

New and more dangerous smuggling practices and attempts to reach Europe by riskier routes have led to more deaths of migrants trying to cross the Mediterranean, the International Organization for Migration said in a report last month.

The report said newer routes, particularly from Egypt, were longer and riskier, leading to search-and-rescue efforts that were often carried out farther from land. It said 2,901 people had died or disappeared crossing the Mediterranean in the first six months of 2016, a 37 percent increase over the first six months of last year.

In May, hundreds of migrants died after a wooden boat traveling from Libya capsized, even as the Italian Navy rushed to the rescue. European rescue boats, including naval vessels, often patrol off the Libyan coast to try to prevent such disasters.

The migrant crisis has proved deeply divisive in Europe, which has struggled to come up with a unified response. Right-wing nationalist parties opposed to taking in more migrants and **refugees** have made gains, including in Germany, which has accepted more migrants than any other European country.

Migrants rescued by the Italian Navy near Europe's southern borders are taken to processing centers and offered accommodation while they apply for asylum. But many of the thousands registered each month travel on toward Europe's richer north, in hopes of settling there.

More than 60,000 migrants and **refugees** are stranded in Greece -- just across the Mediterranean from Egypt -- and those who arrived after March 20 have been restricted to five islands in the Aegean Sea under a deal brokered by the European Union to deport them to Turkey. The agreement has had numerous delays, however, and most of the people in island camps have applied for asylum in Greece, setting off a lengthy process during which they cannot be deported.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Carl Sagan's Voyager Golden Record -- of sounds of Earth, recorded greetings and an eclectic mix of music that was sent into space -- has long been out of print and pretty much unobtainable for decades.

One copy of the record is attached to NASA's Voyager 1 spacecraft, which has entered interstellar space, the farthest artifact ever tossed out by humanity. A second copy, on Voyager 2, is not quite as distant, just 10 billion miles away.

Both are receding from Earth at more than 35,000 miles per hour.

Not even Dr. Sagan, the Cornell astrophysicist who led the creation of the record in 1977 for the listening pleasure of any **aliens** who happened upon it, could get a copy.

He asked. NASA said no.

But now, a Kickstarter crowdfunding project begun on Wednesday is planning to reissue it, long a dream of David Pescovitz, an editor and managing partner at Boing Boing, the technology news website, and a research director at the nonprofit Institute for the Future.

''When you're 7 years old, and you hear about a group of people creating messages for possible extraterrestrial intelligence,'' Mr. Pescovitz said, ''that sparks the imagination. The idea always stuck with me.''

He teamed up with Timothy Daly, a manager at Amoeba Music in San Francisco, and Lawrence Azerrad, a graphic designer who has created packaging for Sting, The Beach Boys, Wilco and other musicians.

The reissue will not exactly be like the original, which was pressed out of a gold-plated copper disk. The original was also intended to be played at 16 2/3 revolutions per minute, half of the usual speed of LP records. That was necessary to cram in a variety of sounds of Earth, spoken greetings in 55 languages, 116 images and 90 minutes of music.

The reissue will consist of three LPs pressed out of vinyl recorded at normal LP speed. The box set will cost $98 plus shipping, with the project aiming to raise $198,000. For the MP3 generation -- or anyone without a phonograph -- digital downloads are available for $25.

Mr. Pescovitz aims to distribute the records next year in time for the 40th anniversary of the Voyager launches. (Voyager 2 launched first, on Aug. 20, 1977; Voyager 1 launched a couple of weeks later, on Sept. 5.)

Perhaps now the recording, meant to encapsulate thousands of years of music, will finally find an audience. The songs include a Peruvian wedding song, a Pygmy girls' initiation song, a movement from one of Bach's Brandenburg Concertos, and ''Johnny B. Goode'' by Chuck Berry.

''Isn't it funny?'' recalled Timothy Ferris, a science writer who produced the original record. ''It hasn't been heard by any **aliens** yet, and it hasn't hardly been heard by humans.''

A CD-ROM version was issued in 1992, and NASA has since put digital versions of the greetings and sounds of Earth -- but not the music -- on SoundCloud. But this is the first time it will be available as an LP.

''For us, it's creating a physical, tangible object,'' Mr. Pescovitz said.

Mr. Ferris said the song selections were done by consensus, although Dr. Sagan, who died in 1996, did not like ''Johnny B. Goode'' at first. Alan Lomax, a folk music archivist who was another volunteer member of the committee selecting material for the Voyager records, also disliked the song and complained to Dr. Sagan that it was adolescent.

Mr. Ferris recalled Sagan's response: ''Well, there are a lot of adolescents on Earth, too.'' The song went on the record.

But Mr. Ferris added, ''You can't take it too far or you'd be doing Miley Cyrus.''

A dozen copies of the golden record were made. Afterward, Dr. Sagan wrote to NASA, asking if he and John Casani, the project manager for Voyager, could obtain copies as mementos.

Robert A. Frosch, the NASA administrator, replied that all of the copies had been distributed to various institutions, mostly NASA centers, except for one copy reserved for President Jimmy Carter.

Today, it is not easy to get a glimpse of a copy. The aluminum cover can be seen at the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum in Washington, but the record itself is not on display. The Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif., the NASA center that operates the continuing Voyager missions, has its copy of the record on display in a case in an auditorium that is open to the public, at least during public lectures.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**On Feb. 14, 2005, a massive bomb killed the former prime minister of Lebanon, Rafik Hariri, my father, along with 22 other Lebanese. The Special Tribunal for Lebanon at The Hague identified five Hezbollah operatives as suspected collaborators in the murder. If proved, that would mean his assassination was carried out by Iran's allies in Lebanon, who are financed and controlled by the regime in Tehran.

Three years later, in 2008, Hezbollah moved to occupy Beirut, and after many years of promising that its vast, Iranian-supplied arsenal was intended only to protect Lebanon from Israel, turned its weapons against the Lebanese people.

More recently, Hezbollah has prevented Lebanon from electing a new president and has imposed a devastating gridlock on the country's government in order to blackmail the citizenry into accepting its demands.

Meanwhile, Hezbollah has sent thousands of young Lebanese men to fight and die in Syria to defend the odious regime of Bashar al-Assad, the brutal dictator condemned in the United Nations and around the world for presiding over the deaths of at least a quarter million of his own people. Mr. Assad -- with the help of Iran; its Revolutionary Guards and its proxies; Hezbollah and militias in Iraq and Afghanistan -- has created the worst **refugee** problem since World War II, ruthlessly displacing millions of people into neighboring countries and Europe.

We Lebanese are all too familiar with the violence, discord, sectarian hatred, brutality and terrorism that Iran and its allies inflict on other countries, whatever Iranian officials might try to claim to the outside world. Iran has been the world's greatest state sponsor of terrorism since the late 1970s.

We have not forgotten the taking of Americans, and other Westerners, as hostages in the 1980s by Iranian proxies in Lebanon. We have not forgotten the bombing of the Marine barracks at the Beirut airport, which killed 241 United States Marines, sailors and soldiers. The amnesia in much of the world about these events, let alone what is happening today in Syria and elsewhere, leaves us dumbfounded.

In Syria, the disaster that has befallen its people began when Iran and its allies intervened to prop up the brutal dictatorship of Mr. Assad against a popular, and originally nonviolent and nonsectarian, pro-democracy uprising. The Syrian people were merely asking for the reform of a vicious and corrupt system by a government that rules by brute force. Now Lebanon is overwhelmed by some 1.3 million Syrian **refugees** driven from their homes by this remorseless regime.

The tragedy in Yemen, too, began when the Iranian-backed Houthi rebel militia began its battle against its own people in a coup condemned by the United Nations Security Council. They did this simply to menace and threaten the stability of Saudi Arabia and the other Persian Gulf Arab states.

In Iraq, Iran has promoted and funded brutal proxy militias that have spread sectarian hate in the country and are now undermining efforts to defeat the Islamic State.

Iranian officials brazenly boast that their country is now in control of four Arab capitals -- Beirut, Baghdad, Sana and Damascus -- and gloat over their hegemony. Such bluster is an obvious threat, which we in Lebanon know to take very seriously, that Iran wants to expand its influence in the Middle East by sowing discord, promoting terrorism and sectarian hatred, and destabilizing the region through proxies, while pretending to be bystanders.

Contrast this with what Saudi Arabia has done for Lebanon. In the 1980s, while Iran was busy directing its proxy militias in Lebanon, Saudi Arabia helped the country reach a historic agreement to end its civil war. The Taif Accords, named after the city in Saudi Arabia where the Lebanese Parliament met, ended 15 years of carnage.

As Lebanon was trying to rebuild its economy after the civil war, Saudi Arabia stepped in with crucial assistance to the Paris conferences for the financial reconstruction of Lebanon, contributing more than $1.5 billion in aid.

How many schools and hospitals has Iran built in Lebanon? How much help has it provided for Lebanon to rebuild itself? The answer, of course, is little to none, and any such Iranian aid is structured entirely to the political benefit of Hezbollah.

Iran has a unique opportunity to help those who are really fighting extremism in the Arab world. But to do that, it must stop meddling in Arab affairs, from Yemen and Bahrain to Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. It must stop feeding Sunni resentment, which only encourages a fringe minority to think terrorism is the answer. And Iran can force militias from Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon and Iran to leave Syria. That would be a great first step to clear the last tactical hurdle facing those who are really fighting extremism in the Muslim world.

Iran can be part of the solution. But it must accept the extended Arab hand, led by Saudi Arabia, for normalized, neighborly relations, allowing Sunni Arabs to get down to the real task of getting rid of extremism.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**With less than a week until the first general election debate, Donald J. Trump has used his recent rallies to sharpen the nationalist message he has embraced throughout the campaign.

The three debates will be Mr. Trump's best chance to halt his opponent, Hillary Clinton, who has a clearer path to the nomination even as the race tightens. And with the race most likely to be decided by more than 100 million voters who did not cast ballots in either party primary, some voters will be getting their first hard look at Mr. Trump.

In a typical campaign, nominees of both parties modulate positions to appeal to independent voters. In Mrs. Clinton's case, she has not budged on her economic proposals, which were drafted while she was still battling Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont for the Democratic nomination. On issues like national security, however, she has more to offer moderate voters.

Mr. Trump, on the other hand, has done little to adjust the underpinnings of his message. He has heightened his incendiary comments in recent days, striking notes of nationalism as he continues to call for drastic changes to the **immigration** system. In North Carolina on Tuesday, he said he wanted to see the **immigration** policies of the nation changed to reflect ''American values.''

Mr. Trump's calls for large-scale deportations are opposed by a majority of national voters. And his comments are more familiar to a brand of nationalism seen in France, by figures like Marine Le Pen.

His proposals have a harder edge than anything the American public has seen from a candidate on a general election debate stage in decades. But Mr. Trump has been determined to stick with the message that helped him vault through the primaries.

Find out what you need to know about the 2016 presidential race today, and get politics news updates via Facebook, Twitter and the First Draft newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Do **immigrants** take jobs from Americans and lower their wages by working for less?

The answer, according to a report published on Wednesday by the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine, is no, **immigrants** do not take American jobs -- but with some caveats.

The question is at the heart of the furious debate over **immigration** that has divided the country and polarized the presidential race. Many American workers, struggling to recover from the recession, have said they feel squeezed out by **immigrants**.

Donald J. Trump, the Republican nominee, has called for a crackdown on illegal **immigrants**, saying they ''compete directly against vulnerable American workers.'' He promises to cut back legal **immigration** with new controls he says would ''boost wages and ensure open jobs are offered to American workers first.''

Hillary Clinton, his Democratic rival, takes an upbeat view, saying **immigrants** contribute to the economy whether they are here legally or not, by providing labor for American employers and opening businesses that create jobs for Americans rather than taking them.

The report assembles research from 14 leading economists, demographers and other scholars, including some, like Marta Tienda of Princeton, who write favorably about the impacts of **immigration** and others who are skeptical of its benefits, like George J. Borjas, a Harvard economist. Here's what the report says:

''We found little to no negative effects on overall wages and employment of native-born workers in the longer term,'' said Francine D. Blau, an economics professor at Cornell University who led the group that produced the 550-page report.

Some **immigrants** who arrived in earlier generations, but were still in the same low-wage labor markets as foreigners just coming to the country, earned less and had more trouble finding jobs because of the competition with newer arrivals.

Teenagers who did not finish high school also saw their hours of work reduced by **immigrants**, although not their ability to find jobs. Professor Blau said economists had found many reasons that young people who drop out of high school struggle to find work. ''There is no indication **immigration** is the major factor,'' she said.

High-skilled **immigrants**, especially in technology and science, who have come in larger numbers in recent years, had a significant ''positive impact'' on Americans with skills, and also on working-class Americans. They spurred innovation, helping to create jobs.

''The prospects for long-run economic growth in the United States would be considerably dimmed without the contributions of high-skilled **immigrants**,'' the report said. It did not focus on American technology workers, many of whom have been displaced from their jobs in recent years by **immigrants** on temporary visas.

The report asked another question Americans are debating: Do **immigrants** burden government budgets?

That answer is ''more mixed,'' Professor Blau said.

The first generation of newcomers generally cost governments more than they contribute in taxes, with most of the costs falling on state and local governments, mainly because of the expense of educating the children of **immigrant** families.

For those governments, total annual costs for first-generation **immigrants** are about $57 billion. But by the second generation in those families, **immigrants**, with improved education and taxpaying ability, become a benefit to government coffers, adding about $30 billion a year. By the third generation, **immigrant** families contribute about $223 billion a year to government finances.

In the last two decades, the number of **immigrants** in the country increased 70 percent to about 43 million people; they are now 13 percent of the population. One in every four Americans is either an **immigrant** or the child of one. And since 2001, about one million **immigrants** have come legally to the United States each year.

The report called **immigration** ''integral to the nation's economic growth'' because **immigrants** bring new ideas and add to an American labor force that would be shrinking without them, helping ensure continued growth into the future.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It was a grand Hollywood romance that made its presence felt far and wide, from the red carpet to **refugee** camps in the world's trouble spots.

It was chronicled in lavish photo spreads in high-end fashion magazines and in paparazzi shots that appeared in the tabloids and on the gossip sites, as if to undercut the couple's mythic status.

Now, with a lawyer's blandly worded press statement on Tuesday morning, the love story of Angelina Jolie Pitt and Brad Pitt, who were married in 2014, has come to an unhappy end.

''This decision was made for the health of the family,'' Robert Offer, a lawyer for Ms. Jolie Pitt, said in the statement. ''She will not be commenting, and asks that the family be given its privacy at this time.''

The announcement came a little over two years after the couple married in a ceremony before roughly 20 friends and family members in a Romanesque chapel on the grounds of Château Miraval, their estate in the south of France. The couple's six children, three of them adopted, attended the bride and groom. The master tailor Luigi Massi of Atelier Versace made Ms. Jolie Pitt's wedding dress, incorporating designs from her children's drawings.

In keeping with the public nature of their relationship, Mr. Pitt and Ms. Jolie Pitt sold the photographs of their wedding day to People and Hello! magazines for a reported $5 million. In keeping with their habit of giving to charity, the couple contributed the payment to the Jolie-Pitt Foundation.

When their romance became public, the tabloids were quick to dub them ''Brangelina.'' At the time, she was a divorced mother of an adopted son, Maddox, having ended her marriage to the actor Billy Bob Thornton in 2003. Mr. Pitt was still married to the ''Friends'' star Jennifer Aniston.

Ms. Aniston filed for divorce from the actor in March 2005. That summer a spread appeared in the large-format glossy magazine W. Shot by Steven Klein and headlined ''Domestic Bliss: Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt at Home,'' it comprised 60 pages of photographs of Mr. Pitt, Ms. Jolie and five boys (all of them models) who somewhat resembled Mr. Pitt, in a chic, early 1960s setting.

Their most recent project as a couple, the 2015 film ''By the Sea,'' directed by Ms. Jolie Pitt, told a different story. ''Meta with a vengeance, 'By the Sea' stars Angelina Jolie Pitt and Brad Pitt as itinerant married artists who are suffering, beautifully, through a rough patch,'' Manohla Dargis wrote in her review for The New York Times.

Asked about the process of directing her husband, Ms. Jolie Pitt told Vanity Fair, ''A few friends asked if we were crazy.'' The moody film was a box-office flop, grossing $3.3 million.

During the course of their relationship, the Jolie Pitt clan expanded. In addition to Maddox, 15, whom she adopted in Cambodia in 2002, the couple are parents to Zahara, 11, from Ethiopia; Shiloh, to whom she gave birth in Namibia in 2006; Pax, 12, adopted in Vietnam; and the twins Vivienne and Knox, 8, to whom Ms. Jolie Pitt gave birth in 2008.

Ms. Jolie Pitt and Mr. Pitt have separately discussed struggling with self-destructive behavior in their younger years. Both seemed to have overcome the dark periods, with a slew of high grossing, critically acclaimed films to their names and a well-documented commitment to philanthropy.

She began working for the United Nations in 2000 as a good-will ambassador, and became the special envoy for the United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees** in 2012.

She has gone on dozens of missions to countries around the world, including Iraq, Jordan and Myanmar. Last year she addressed the United Nations Security Council, arguing that the United Nations was failing the people of Syria. Earlier this month, Ms. Jolie Pitt spent three days at the Azraq camp in Jordan, which is home to more than 37,000 Syrian **refugees**, according to the United Nations.

During her years with Mr. Pitt, she had box office hits with the action movie ''Wanted'' and the Disney fantasy ''Maleficent'' while also making a name for herself as a director of serious fare like ''In the Land of Blood and Honey,'' a love story set against the backdrop of the Bosnian War, and ''Unbroken.''

He has won an Oscar for producing the critically acclaimed ''12 Years a Slave'' and has been nominated for several other Oscars, including for best actor for ''The Curious Case of Benjamin Button'' and for ''Moneyball.'' He was also nominated for a best supporting actor Golden Globe for his role in ''Babel.''

In 2013, Ms. Jolie Pitt wrote a candid and widely praised Op-Ed page essay for The New York Times about choosing to have a preventive double mastectomy. She followed it up in 2015 with an essay on her next preventive surgery, during which her ovaries and fallopian tubes were removed.

While he wears his political commitments more lightly than Ms. Jolie Pitt, Mr. Pitt is a founder of Not on Our Watch, a nongovernmental organization devoted to preventing genocide, and the founder of Make It Right, which builds homes and other structures for people in need.

Over the course of their time together, the couple demonstrated an unusual ability to negotiate with the media. After Shiloh was born in 2006, the couple sold photos of the mother and newborn to People magazine for an estimated $4.1 million, all of which they donated to charity. That same year they negotiated with People on another deal, giving the magazine exclusive photos of Ms. Jolie and Maddox for an estimated $750,000 and the promise to cover Ms. Jolie Pitt's charity work.

Later, they received an estimated $14 million from People and Hello! magazines -- for shots of their twins -- and again donated the funds to charity.

On Tuesday, with the announcement of the split, the hashtag #Brangelina quickly became the top trending item on Twitter, with fans reacting to the news with a range of emotions, including laments over the death of love; complaints that the news was superseding President Obama's speech at the United Nations; and theories that the news was a welcome distraction from the presidential campaign.

Ms. Jolie Pitt was silent on the matter, but Mr. Pitt gave a statement to People magazine: ''I am very saddened by this, but what matters most now is the well-being of our kids. I kindly ask the press to give them the space they deserve during this challenging time.''

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This is a more complete version of the story than the one that appeared in print.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It was the awkward comment heard round the world. At a fund-raiser earlier this month, the Democratic presidential nominee, Hillary Clinton, divided the supporters of her Republican opponent Donald J. Trump into two even groups. One consisted of good, if **alienated** and dispossessed, people. But the other half goes into a ''basket of deplorables,'' she said. ''The racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic -- you name it.''

The ensuing reaction to her comments is a case study in everything wrong with our political discourse. Mr. Trump -- who still hasn't apologized for suggesting that a disproportionate share of Mexican **immigrants** are rapists and criminals -- demanded an apology. Meanwhile, many on the left came to her defense: The remark might have been politically inept, many said, but it was true.

These commentators often base their arguments on polls that paint many Republicans in an unflattering light: About one-third of conservatives believe that Barack Obama is a Muslim, and more than half doubt whether he was born in the United States. According to one Reuters poll, about half of Mr. Trump's supporters say that blacks are ''more violent'' than whites, while approximately 40 percent see blacks as ''lazier'' than other races.

These views are undoubtedly deplorable, and we all have a responsibility to confront them. But if Mrs. Clinton had said that half of Mr. Trump's supporters hold some prejudicial views and left it there, we probably wouldn't be talking about the comment today. Her sin was to collapse millions of people -- from former Klansmen like David Duke to a struggling coal miner with some unacceptable opinions -- into the same group of social outcasts.

It's difficult in the abstract to appreciate that those with morally objectionable viewpoints can still be good people. This perhaps explains why Mrs. Clinton showed considerably less charity than did Mr. Obama as a candidate in a widely praised 2008 speech on race. In one particularly personal passage, he spoke about his white grandmother -- an imperfect, but fundamentally good, woman, ''a woman who helped raise me, a woman who sacrificed again and again for me, a woman who loves me as much as she loves anything in this world, but a woman who once confessed her fear of black men who passed by her on the street, and who on more than one occasion has uttered racial or ethnic stereotypes that made me cringe.''

If a pollster had called Mr. Obama's grandmother and asked her questions about race, religion and sexuality, she almost certainly would have proffered at least one prejudicial view. The data tells us that she wouldn't be alone. In a recent poll, about 40 percent of Democratic voters supported temporarily barring Muslims from entering the country. Large shares of black voters express some uneasiness with homosexual behavior, an opinion common among religious people of all races but undoubtedly unwelcome in cosmopolitan elite circles of the Democratic Party. The same poll that found that 40 percent of Mr. Trump's supporters viewed blacks as lazier revealed that 25 percent of Mrs. Clinton's supporters believed the same thing. Perhaps these people should also join Mrs. Clinton's deplorable basket.

There's no reason to limit basket-worthiness to those with explicit prejudices. For decades, scholars have studied the ways in which implicit biases affect how we perceive other people in this multiethnic society of ours. The data consistently shows that about 90 percent of us possess some implicit prejudices -- and, unsurprisingly, people typically favor their own group. Layer on top of that the many people unwilling to speak about their prejudices with a pollster, and a picture emerges of a nation where a significant majority of the country harbors some type of bias.

There are many ways to confront the people of that nation in all its complexity. We can ignore that these biases exist, and pretend that our uniquely diverse society need never address the difficult questions posed by that diversity. This is the path chosen by far too many of my fellow conservatives.

We can deem a significant chunk of our populace unrepentant bigots, which appears to be the strategy of Mrs. Clinton and much of the left.

Or we can recognize that most of us fall into another basket altogether: One where prejudice -- even implicit -- coexists with incredible compassion and decency. In that basket is the black preacher who may view homosexuality as a little icky even as he lovingly ministers to struggling gay members of his church. The adoptive parent of a child born in Asia, who pours her heart and soul into her child's well-being even as she tells a pollster that she doesn't much care about America's experience with Japanese internment. And in that basket is a white grandmother who speaks ill of black people even as she gives her beloved African-American grandson the emotional support and love that enable him to become the president of all Americans.

We can and should recognize the bad in that basket even as we celebrate the good. We must have the courage to confront dreadful views even in the people we love the most. But that's difficult to do when we cast large segments of our fellow citizens into a basket to be condemned and disparaged, judging them even as we ignore that many of their deplorable traits exist in us, too.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDDonald Trump Jr. -- a close political adviser to his father, Donald J. Trump, the Republican nominee for president -- posted on Twitteron Monday night an image of a white bowl full of rainbow-colored Skittles. The image came with this text: ''If I had a bowl of skittles and I told you just three would kill you. Would you take a handful? That's our Syrian **refugee** problem.''

Mr. Trump, 38, the candidate's oldest child, then got an earful.

Hillary Clinton's campaign called the post ''disgusting.'' A stream of social media users denounced it as both flippant and fearmongering, noting the infinitesimal odds of being killed in a terrorist attack by a **refugee**. Even the parent company of Skittles weighed in.

But Mr. Trump's comparison of men, women and children displaced by a horrific civil war to a chewy candy was hardly the first time he had been accused of poor taste. If his sister Ivanka Trump has become known for her polish and message discipline, he has distinguished himself by wading frequently into the shadowy waters of white supremacy, anti-Semitism, incendiary language and conspiracy theories.

Other political candidates and officeholders, including Hillary and Bill Clinton, have also had relatives attract unflattering attention. But rarely are those family members so central to a campaign. Donald Jr., Ivanka and Eric Trump -- the children from the elder Mr. Trump's first marriage, to Ivana Trump -- all spoke at the Republican National Convention and have been key players in their father's White House run.

This month, Donald Trump Jr. invoked the Holocaust when he argued to a Philadelphia radio station that the news media gave Mrs. Clinton a pass on ''every indiscrepancy.''

If Republicans had done what she had, he said, ''they'd be warming up the gas chamber right now.'' (He later claimed this was a reference to capital punishment.)

He recently shared a Twitter post by Kevin MacDonald, a psychologist who has written about ''Jewish influence'' for a website devoted to ''white identity, interests and culture'' and who has testified on behalf of a Holocaust denier.

A few days before that, Mr. Trump shared on his Instagram account a picture showing the faces of his father, himself and several Trump supporters with Pepe the Frog, a cartoon character that has been co-opted as a mascot by the ''alt-right,'' an informal assembly of white nationalists, anti-**immigration** conservatives and anti-Semitic internet provocateurs.

''A friend sent me this,'' Mr. Trump wrote of the image, adding that he was ''honored'' to have been included in it.

The Trump campaign declined to make Donald Jr. available for comment, instead releasing a statement that echoed his derision of political correctness and applauded him for speaking ''the truth.''

His allies and friends came to his defense. ''It's remarkable to me to see the level of outrage about a metaphor used by Don Jr.,'' the Republican vice-presidential nominee, Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana, said in an interview with NBC News.

Todd Silverman, a friend from the University of Pennsylvania, said Mr. Trump ''is not anti-Semitic.'' Told about the Twitter accounts Mr. Trump had echoed and his ''gas chamber'' remark, Mr. Silverman, who is Jewish, said only, ''That is not consistent with the person I know.''

Mr. Trump and his siblings have appeared at rallies and advised their father, who has generally eschewed traditional political consultants, on strategy.

The elder Mr. Trump, a gun-rights supporter, often mentions that his sons are avid hunters. Donald Jr. and Eric invited journalists to watch them hunt pheasants in Iowa before the caucuses there, and Donald Jr. once posed holding the tail of a dead elephant and other animals killed during an African safari.

The siblings have also taken out big game within their father's campaign: They pushed successfully to oust his onetime campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski.

Donald Jr. also has a big role in the family business, as an executive vice president whose portfolio includes expanding the company's real estate, retail, hotel and golf interests.

He has also had a taste of reality stardom, appearing as an adviser on ''The Celebrity Apprentice,'' an iteration of his father's hit show ''The Apprentice.'' He lives with his wife and five children in New York, where he has flirted with the notion of running for mayor. ''I like to keep optionality,'' he said when asked on CNN if he would consider a run.

The Trump campaign has called the scrutiny of his Twitter posts unfair.

''We're truly living in remarkable times,'' said Jason Miller, a spokesman for the campaign. ''The media's run out of things to attack Mr. Trump on, and so now they scour the social media accounts of his family looking for things to blow out of proportion.''

Appearing this month on ''Good Morning America,'' Donald Jr. was asked by George Stephanopoulos about his use of the frog picture, which Mr. Stephanopoulos called a ''well-known symbol of the white supremacist movement.''

''I've never even heard of Pepe the Frog,'' Mr. Trump said. ''I mean, bet you 90 percent of your viewers have never heard of Pepe the Frog.'' He added: ''I thought it was a frog in a wig. I thought it was funny.''

Mr. Trump's father has also employed his Twitter feed in ways many have found offensive. He has reposted messages from white supremacists' accounts, and in July he posted an image of Mrs. Clinton, a pile of cash and a six-pointed star in the shape of the Star of David. He quickly deleted the post and said it was not intended to be anti-Semitic, but he later said it should not have been deleted. Around that time, his son was retweeting anti-Semitic social media users.

In March, Donald Jr. appeared on a radio show where one of the interviewers had had David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader now running for the Senate in Louisiana, as a guest on his affiliated show. The interviewer, James Edwards, is the host of ''The Political Cesspool,'' which has been described by the Southern Poverty Law Center as ''racist and anti-Semitic.''

Mr. Trump's Skittles post on Monday, which drew almost 24,000 ''likes'' by Tuesday afternoon, seemed almost tame by comparison. Its argument is one that many have made, sometimes using M&Ms, against accepting Syrian **refugees**, and it is consistent with the Trump campaign's talking point that Mrs. Clinton's more inclusive stance toward **refugees** threatens Americans.

In a year marked by anxiety over terrorist attacks, 53 percent of respondents in an Associated Press poll in July thought the United States should allow fewer **refugees** to enter the country, as opposed to 11 percent who believed more should be allowed in.

The Wrigley company, which makes Skittles, was careful not to take a position on the matter, though it was clearly not on board with being seen as a symbol of it.

''Skittles are candy,'' a company official said in a statement. ''**Refugees** are people. We don't feel it is an appropriate analogy.''

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Correction: September 27, 2016, Tuesday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An article on Wednesday about a post on Twitter by Donald Trump Jr. in which he compared Syrian **refugees** to a bowl of Skittles referred incorrectly to radio interviews of Mr. Trump and David Duke. They were interviewed on associated but different radio shows; Mr. Trump did not appear on a show that had once interviewed Mr. Duke. (Mr. Trump was asked questions on the show by another radio host who had interviewed Mr. Duke.)

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump Jr. is facing intense backlash on social media after he posted a message on Twitter Monday night that compared Syrian **refugees** to a bowl of Skittles sprinkled with a few that ''would kill you.''

''This image says it all. Let's end the politically correct agenda that doesn't put America first,'' the post said.

Mr. Trump, a top adviser in his father's presidential campaign, appeared to suggest that the nation was faced with a blind selection process in which a few potentially poisoned pieces would be lurking among the thousands of Syrians fleeing a brutal five-year-old civil war.

This image says it all. Let's end the politically correct agenda that doesn't put America first. #trump2016 pic.twitter.com/9fHwog7ssN -- Donald Trump Jr. (@DonaldJTrumpJr) September 19, 2016

The post, shared widely on Twitter, drew swift condemnation and comparisons to white supremacist memes.

Social media users shared images of displaced residents in the region. President Obama's chief speechwriter, Jon Favreau, invoked Omran Daqneesh, the bloodstained, dust-coated boy who was shown sitting in an ambulance after an airstrike and who became a symbol of the suffering in Aleppo, Syria.

Hey @DonaldJTrumpJr, this is one of the millions of children you compared to a poisoned Skittle today: https://t.co/SDSGw0eUIP[https://t.co/SDSGw0eUIP] pic.twitter.com/HuhY9RGvWW -- Jon Favreau (@jonfavs) September 20, 2016

The post also spurred a strong response from Wrigley, the owner of Skittles:

''Skittles are candy. **Refugees** are people. We don't feel it's an appropriate analogy. We will respectfully refrain from further commentary as anything we say could be misinterpreted as marketing,'' the company said in a statement that was emailed on Tuesday by a spokeswoman and that initially appeared in The Hollywood Reporter.

The post also drew criticism from a spokeswoman for the United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees**, which is providing aid to Syrians.

''Syrian **refugees** are fellow human beings who have left their country to escape war and terrorism,'' Melissa Fleming, the spokeswoman, said in an email on Tuesday. ''Depictions like these are dehumanizing, demeaning and dangerous.''

Emails sent to the campaign of Donald J. Trump, the Republican presidential nominee, seeking comment were not immediately answered on Tuesday. But Mr. Trump's running mate, Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana, criticized the blowback in an interview on MSNBC.

''It is remarkable to me to see the level of outrage about a metaphor used by Don Jr.,'' he said, adding, ''All the while our F.B.I. and public-safety officials tell us that we can't know for sure who those people are coming into this country.''

The war in Syria has killed over 400,000 people and has uprooted nearly five million. Last month, the United States said it had met its goal for the year, welcoming its 10,000th Syrian **refugee**. State Department statistics say that fewer than 20 of the 785,000 **refugees** settled in the United States since the Sept. 11 attacks have been arrested on terrorism charges.

On the campaign trail, Mr. Trump has likened the influx of Syrian **refugees** to infiltrators in a Trojan horse and said he would like to ''build a safe zone in Syria, build a big, beautiful safe zone, and you have whatever it is, so they can live.''

The Skittles meme, using the stark white bowl brimming with multicolored candy, generated accusations of insensitivity.

These aren't Skittles, @DonaldJTrumpJr. pic.twitter.com/h8DXvdFtVM -- Jason Sparks (@sparksjls) September 20, 2016

The younger Mr. Trump was also accused of plagiarism after Joe Walsh, a conservative radio talk show host and a former Illinois congressman known for his Tea Party views, took credit for making the exact analogy last month.

Hey @DonaldJTrumpJr, that's the point I made last month.Glad you agree. pic.twitter.com/Nssw6KC1HY -- Joe Walsh (@WalshFreedom) September 20, 2016

Others noted that the meme dated to at least 2014, when a bowl of M&M's was invoked. And some denounced Mr. Trump for wildly overstating the dangers posed by **refugees**.

''the chance of an American being murdered in a terrorist attack caused by a **refugee** is 1 in 3.64 billion per year'' https://t.co/ZWsr8SsRLK[https://t.co/ZWsr8SsRLK] https://t.co/NPsUxPhsFV[https://t.co/NPsUxPhsFV] -- Elise Foley (@elisefoley) September 20, 2016

Others saw a clear link to white supremacist themes and to Trayvon Martin, the black teenager who went out to buy Skittles in 2012 and was shot and killed by George Zimmerman in Florida.

If you think the choice of Skittles is accidental here, you haven't seen the George Zimmerman alt right fan memes. pic.twitter.com/OlZoMgHkze -- Bob Schooley (@Rschooley) September 20, 2016

Some used the meme to extrapolate on other issues, like prisoners and guns.

I'm sure someone's already made this, but: pic.twitter.com/srX6xuidSt -- Alex SK Clatworthy (@LeonFenrir) September 20, 2016

The younger Mr. Trump was criticized this month for evoking Holocaust imagery in criticisms about the news media after he posted an image of Pepe the Frog, a popular alt-right symbol.

In this latest flare-up, some noted that the Skittles message was posted on Twitter from an iPhone, made by Apple, which was co-founded by Steve Jobs, the son of a Syrian **immigrant**.

Pause to reflect on the fact that this was sent from an iPhone, which was created by the son of a Syrian **immigrant**. https://t.co/N13gXgRozn[https://t.co/N13gXgRozn] -- Binyamin Appelbaum (@BCAppelbaum) September 20, 2016

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDAs Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada made his first address to the United Nations General Assembly on Tuesday, he spoke before not only an enthusiastic audience, but one whose agenda largely mirrored his own.

Two hallmarks of Mr. Trudeau's government since it took power 10 months ago have been admitting Syrian **refugees** and promising action on climate change.

While he raised both of those issues in his speech on Tuesday, Mr. Trudeau also used the occasion to underscore another two of his favorite themes: optimism and internationalism.

''We need to focus on what brings us together, not what divides us,'' Mr. Trudeau said. ''For Canada that means re-engaging in global affairs.''

Later, after acknowledging Canada's relatively limited role on the world stage, Mr. Trudeau pledged to work with other countries on migrants, the environment and economic disparity. ''We're Canadian and we're here to help,'' he said.

During last year's election, Mr. Trudeau, the Liberal Party leader, promised to again make Canada an active participant in global affairs and at the United Nations.

Stephen Harper, his Conservative predecessor, focused on domestic politics and was seen as being less engaged on most global issues. Mr. Harper once skipped a General Assembly session to tour a research center operated by Tim Hortons, the ubiquitous Canadian coffee and doughnut chain.

Specific announcements were absent from Mr. Trudeau's speech, which was greeted with cheers and flashing cellphones. Instead, he used much of his time to challenge other politicians for, in his view, exploiting anxiety.

''Fear has never created a single job or fed a single family,'' Mr. Trudeau said. ''People want their problems solved, not exploited.''

After taking office, the Trudeau government began a large airlift to bring Syrian **refugees** to Canada. The program has now brought in 31,000 people.

Mr. Trudeau used his address to boast of that effort and promise that the **refugees** would be given every possible resource to become members of Canada's middle class. ''In Canada we see diversity as a strength, not a weakness,'' he said.

Online Correction: September 20, 2016, Tuesday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An earlier version of this article misquoted Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in his address to the United Nations. He said, ''We're Canadian and we're here to help,'' not ''We're Canada ...''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In his first speech before the United Nations General Assembly, Brazil's new president, Michel Temer, defended on Tuesday the contentious impeachment proceedings that ousted his predecessor, Dilma Rousseff, and placed him in power.

''Everything happened with absolute respect for the constitutional order,'' said Mr. Temer, 75, a career politician who recently emerged victorious from a power struggle that consumed the country's political establishment. He called the impeachment process, which Ms. Rousseff claimed was an illegitimate usurpation of power, ''an example for the world.''

Mr. Temer also praised Brazil's diversity in the speech, without touching on the criticism he received for naming an all-white cabinet in a country where more than half the population defines itself as black or mixed-race. He spoke positively about recent political shifts in Latin America, including the thawing of ties between the United States and Cuba and the deal between Colombia's government and the country's largest rebel group to end the longest-running war in the Americas.

''Temer's main objective is to put the impeachment issue behind him and start with a clean slate in the international arena,'' said Geraldo Zahran, a professor of international relations at the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo.

Turning to Brazil's profile on the global stage, which had grown less prominent under Ms. Rousseff, Mr. Temer spoke about Brazil's longstanding efforts to strengthen commercial and diplomatic ties with African countries. He said that he was looking forward to hosting a summit meeting of Portuguese-speaking countries, six of which are African.

''Brazil looks to Africa with friendship and respect, with the aim of advancing projects that bring us even closer together,'' Mr. Temer said.

Mr. Temer also emphasized that Brazil had opened its doors to **refugees**. His comments came a day after Brazilian human rights groups blasted him for claiming that Brazil has received more than 95,000 **refugees** when official statistics place the number of **refugees** in the country at about 8,800.

Government officials explained that Mr. Temer had included in his figures tens of thousands of Haitians who have made their way to Brazil on humanitarian visas.

Brazilian analysts noted that Mr. Temer's positions on various international issues, including his support for a two-state solution for the Israel-Palestinian conflict, his condemnation of xenophobic policies and his call to end the United States' trade embargo against Cuba, stand in contrast to views held by conservative politicians like Donald J. Trump, the Republican nominee in the United States.

''This might shock some on the left in Brazil who consider Temer to be on the extreme right,'' said Guga Chacra, a prominent Brazilian journalist and political commentator based in New York. ''Temer was multicultural and globalist in his U.N. speech, like Obama.''

Mr. Temer notably did not make anticorruption measures a priority in his speech, despite the huge graft scandals upending Brazil over the last two years. While Mr. Temer is in New York this week, his allies in Congress tried to hold a vote on a bill that would grant amnesty to politicians engulfed in scandals over illegal campaign financing.

Mr. Temer's administration, which took power in May, has come under fire over testimony and secret recordings that have revealed ambitions to stifle corruption inquiries. Mr. Temer himself has been found guilty of violating campaign finance limits, a conviction that could make him ineligible to run for office for eight years.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Theresa May, Britain's new prime minister, in her first speech before the United Nations General Assembly on Tuesday, vowed that Britain would remain an important and responsible international player despite its vote to leave the European Union.

For Mrs. May, who became prime minister in July after the so-called Brexit referendum, the speech represented another first: her first foreign policy speech as prime minister. In about 20 minutes, she tried to reassure the United Nations and Britain's allies that ''the United Kingdom will be a confident strong and dependable partner internationally.''

Given Britain's importance as a nuclear power and permanent member of the Security Council, the world will be watching closely to take her measure. Mrs. May pledged that Britain would keep its commitment to spend not only 2 percent of gross domestic product on defense, a NATO target, but also 0.7 percent of G.D.P. on development aid, which is more than most countries spend.

Mrs. May is not associated with any particular foreign policy, but the main themes of her speech were aviation security; modern slavery and human trafficking, a subject of particular interest to the British government; and the war in Syria.

Most striking was Mrs. May's call for a global commitment to dealing with the migrant crisis, emphasizing that in a period of anxiety and globalization, countries must be able to control **immigration** and their own borders.

She said that legitimate **refugees** should be protected, but ideally kept near their countries of origin, and that they should remain in the first safe country they reach rather than continuously move across the borders of safe countries. She also said that there must be a more efficient way of sending back economic migrants who are not fleeing persecution in their home countries.

Britain has been criticized for taking relatively few Syrian **refugees**, but it does provide considerable aid, both through the United Nations and separately, to countries like Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon, who host millions of **refugees** from Syria's civil war.

Mrs. May called for ''reducing unmanaged population movement'' as part of a ''more effective global approach to manage migration.''

She also said that the world must do more to stop human trafficking and modern forms of slavery.

While in New York, she plans to meet with several American business executives to convince them that despite Britain's vote to leave the European Union, Britain is ''still open for business'' and intends to play a global role.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UNITED NATIONS -- It was President Obama's last appearance on the marble dais of the United Nations General Assembly hall, and his farewell speech on Tuesday revealed a man whose eye was fixed as much on the next seven weeks of the American political campaign as on his place in history.

Mr. Obama delivered a stinging rebuke of those who would build walls, a message aimed at foreign leaders who he said had fueled rising nationalism, sectarian hatred and economic inequality -- but, unmistakably, at Donald J. Trump, as well.

''A nation ringed by walls would only imprison itself,'' Mr. Obama said of the protectionist impulse to resist the forces of global integration. At another point, he declared to the packed chamber in New York, ''the world is too small for us to simply be able to build a wall'' to keep out extremists. Lest anyone miss the point, he said of the spreading Zika virus, ''mosquitoes don't respect walls.''

Mr. Obama has addressed the disruptive forces of globalism before, in speeches at Stanford University and before the Canadian Parliament. But this time, with his days in office ticking down, his legacy up for grabs and the global picture more unsettled than ever, there was a darker tone and a deeper urgency to his plea for international order.

''At this moment, we all face a choice,'' Mr. Obama said. ''We can choose to press forward with a better model of cooperation and integration, or we can retreat into a world sharply divided and ultimately in conflict along age-old lines of nation and tribe and race and religion.''

That choice, Mr. Obama implied, was as sharply drawn in the race between Mr. Trump and the president's preferred candidate, Hillary Clinton, as it was in the grinding sectarian war in Syria, the predations of President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and the muscle-flexing of China. Mr. Obama spoke of a ''crude populism'' driving politics in the United States and Europe that fed on ''uncertainty and unease and strife'' around the world.

Mr. Obama's words underscored the distance he has traveled from the hopeful leader who first addressed the General Assembly on Sept. 23, 2009. On that day, he pledged to forswear the unilateralism of his predecessor, George W. Bush, heralded a new era for the United States' relationship with the Muslim world and promised to revive peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians.

On Tuesday, he dismissed the Israeli-Palestinian peace process with a single sentence -- not a fervent call for a two-state solution but the perfunctory observation that both sides would ''be better off if Palestinians reject incitement and recognize the legitimacy of Israel, but Israel recognizes that it cannot permanently occupy and settle Palestinian land.''

Even more telling was Mr. Obama's reference to Syria. On a morning when his secretary of state, John Kerry, was struggling to salvage a fragile cease-fire agreement there after a deadly airstrike on an aid convoy -- which American officials said later in the day was probably carried out by Russian aircraft -- the president said, ''we have to be honest about the nature of these conflicts.'' No outside actor, he said, will ever be able to force people from different religious or ethnic groups to coexist peacefully.

''In a place like Syria, where there's no ultimate military victory to be won,'' Mr. Obama said, ''we're going have to pursue the hard work of diplomacy that aims to stop the violence and deliver aid to those in need and support those who pursue a political settlement and can see those who are not like themselves as worthy of dignity and respect.''

There are a couple of explanations for Mr. Obama's circumspect tone. The obvious one is that he has only four months left in office, which means that intractable problems like Syria are not going to be fixed on his watch. Mr. Obama also finds himself in a political bind: He does not want to saddle Mrs. Clinton with policies that could backfire with voters, like a new plan to push Israel and the Palestinians back to the bargaining table.

Mr. Obama was reticent even about his diplomatic achievements. The nuclear agreement with Iran, for example, consumed him and Mr. Kerry for months, requiring a titanic battle against opponents on Capitol Hill and months of diplomatic repair work with allies in the Persian Gulf. Yet on Tuesday Mr. Obama described the deal's benefits in the blandest terms, saying that it ''enhances global security and enhances Iran's ability to work with other nations.'' He coupled this unenthusiastic boast with a warning about another major proliferation threat, North Korea, which recently tested another bomb.

Whatever its long-term risks and payoffs, the Iran nuclear deal remains a source of political static in the United States. To the extent that Mrs. Clinton refers to it on the campaign trail, which is not often, she mostly promotes her credentials to police Tehran aggressively.

For his part, Mr. Obama saved his activism for what would otherwise be a less controversial issue: the plight of **refugees**. He led a meeting of fellow leaders to nail down commitments from countries to take in more displaced people, and to spend more to integrate them. But even here, in an election year in which fears of terrorism loom large, the constraints on Mr. Obama were clear. In noting that the United States had agreed to admit 110,000 **refugees** in 2017, up from 85,000 this year, he said that ''**refugees** are subject to more vigorous screening than the average tourist.''

Mr. Obama's annual speeches to the United Nations are a good way to track the evolution of his foreign policy. The soaring ambition of 2009 gave way to a more restrained tone in 2013, when Mr. Obama acknowledged the limits of American military force. A year later, however, the president struck a more hawkish tone, trying to enlist the world in the fight against the Islamic State and promising to resist Mr. Putin's aggression in Central Europe with sanctions -- and force, if necessary.

Russia, Mr. Obama said on Tuesday, remains a threat to the international order. ''In a world that left the age of empire behind,'' he said, ''we see Russia attempting to recover lost glory through force.''

But he left to his successor how best to resist that. And though Mr. Obama reiterated the need for a ''united and relentless'' effort to destroy the Islamic State, he lamented that ''the mind-set of sectarianism and extremism and bloodletting and retribution that has been taking place will not be quickly reversed.''

As he exits the world stage, Mr. Obama sometimes seems less determined to change the world than to come to terms with it.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- There is nothing in Donald J. Trump's or Hillary Clinton's antiterrorism plans that would have had much chance of stopping the bombings in New York and New Jersey that Ahmad Khan Rahami is accused of carrying out.

The subject of how to prevent terrorism will almost certainly be a major topic on Monday night, when the two presidential candidates face off in their first debate. But the truth is that cases like Mr. Rahami's fit neatly into no categories.

And his journey from childhood **immigrant** to naturalized citizen to accused terrorist shows that the debate now underway on the campaign trail is too simplistic. It fails to address the hardest and most common cause of radicalization in the United States, when personal demons morph into ideologically driven violence.

Mr. Rahami came to the United States from Afghanistan as a 7-year-old, and later became a citizen. Mr. Trump's insistence in recent days that he has no problem with ethnic profiling might have led to tougher interrogations of Mr. Rahami when he traveled to Quetta, Pakistan, the center of Taliban power, and returned, or when he came back from there with a Pakistani wife.

The strongest indication of his leanings came in 2014 when the local police and the F.B.I. investigated Mr. Rahami's father's claim that his son was a terrorist. But finding no evidence, the authorities did not act. Since Mr. Rahami is an American citizen, the only way he could have been locked up without being charged was with a detention system similar to the way Japanese-Americans were placed in Japanese ''internment camps'' during World War II.

That was a technique, Mr. Trump told Time magazine in December, that he might or might not have supported at the time. He added that as undesirable as it would be to revive such an arrangement, in an age of terrorism, ''war is tough.''

Mrs. Clinton's approach would be to rely on countermessaging to prevent radicalization and to try to recognize early signs of extremism. But no one seems quite certain how Mr. Rahami was radicalized -- on the internet, during trips to Pakistan or perhaps by his new wife. And Mrs. Clinton's approach, even its advocates acknowledge, is no guarantee -- it tries to stem the tide, rather than reverse it.

Mr. Trump, in short, has described a policy of keeping potential terrorists out of the country altogether, even if that means suspending or violating America's longstanding principles of taking in **refugees** and not discriminating against **immigrants** on the basis of their religion. Mrs. Clinton, in contrast, has argued for the vetting of **immigrants** -- about their history or sympathy for radical ideology -- but working to counter extremists messages or behavior.

A core element of Mrs. Clinton's counterterrorism strategy has been to build on pilot programs in four communities that, among other features, offer residents ways to report individuals who could become radicalized or otherwise exhibit troubling behavior. The four communities are Minneapolis-St. Paul, Los Angeles, Boston and Montgomery County, Md.

In the Elizabeth, N.J., neighborhood where Mr. Rahami lived and worked, such a program might -- or might not -- have made a difference. In recent years, for instance, some friends of Mr. Rahami's noticed a significant change in his personality and religious devotion after a trip to Afghanistan, where he and his relatives are from. But there is no evidence that they alerted anyone, or expressed any concern.

Mrs. Clinton aims to set up an early-warning system, community by community. That builds on a growing number of programs that the Obama administration terms ''countering violent extremism.'' The aim is not just to rely on religious leaders such as imams to help detect the early signs of radicalization, but also to enlist teachers, coaches, physicians and others who might notice subtle changes in an individual's behavior and, perhaps with family and friends, intervene.

Mrs. Clinton also suggested, in December, that she would accelerate work with technology companies to take radical speech off Facebook, YouTube, Snapchat and encrypted apps used by terrorists.

''You are going to hear all the familiar complaints: 'Freedom of speech,''' she told the Brookings Institution. She suggested those complaints should be dismissed.

Her advisers acknowledge this would not constitute a complete solution -- but neither would **immigration** bans, which they view as counter to American values.

''Look, we're never going to be able to identify every potential bad actor solely through a police record or their involvement with other bad actors,'' said Daniel Benjamin, a former State Department terrorism coordinator and now a scholar at Dartmouth College. ''So having more eyes on this, and more awareness within communities, is absolutely essential, and will have to be a key part of the solution.''

Mr. Benjamin, who is an adviser to the Clinton campaign, acknowledged Tuesday that ''there's no guarantee that such programs would have identified Rahami ahead of time.'' But he said Mr. Rahami's case, and that of a Somali-American man who stabbed 10 people at a mall in St. Cloud, Minn., before he was shot and killed by an off-duty police officer, ''appear to be examples of fairly dramatic changes in behavior that might have set off alarms.''

Mrs. Clinton spoke by phone for 45 minutes on Tuesday morning with a group of top national security and counterterrorism advisers about lessons learned from the most recent terrorist attacks and what additional steps a Clinton administration would need to take to prevent strikes on American soil, according to a summary of the call that the campaign released.

They also discussed how to ensure that the police and other law enforcement agencies followed up on individuals who had been previously identified as possible threats. Mrs. Clinton has called for ''an intelligence surge'' to improve information sharing among federal agencies and with foreign partners.

Mrs. Clinton and her advisers mulled over ways to combat so-called lone-wolf attacks and online radicalization -- without specific direction or enabling from groups like the Islamic State or Al Qaeda -- and ''how we can best balance the right to privacy with this modern national security imperative,'' according to the summary.

Finally, the group examined ''the dangers of inflammatory rhetoric, generalizations and expressions of prejudice,'' all of which Mrs. Clinton and her supporters have accused Mr. Trump of using in his social media comments and campaign speeches.

Mr. Trump has one word for those solutions: ''Weak.''

He argued during the primaries that he would temporarily ban all Muslim **immigration**, a position that received withering criticism from his own party. (He also said he would ''take out'' the families of terrorists, a violation of international conventions.)

He combined that with what he maintains would be a far more relentless attack on the Islamic State, including seizing oil in areas where it operates, presumably in Iraq (although most of the oil belongs to Iraq, and the Bush administration always went to some lengths to say it would be preserved for the benefit of the Iraqi people, not sold by the United States).

Under pressure, Mr. Trump amended his approach to saying he would temporarily ban **immigration** from countries that have been breeding grounds for terrorism; he seemed to have Afghanistan and Pakistan in mind. But that definition could easily embrace Germany, France, Belgium and Britain as well.

Had that program been in effect in 1995, it might have stopped Mr. Rahami's entry into the country as a 7-year-old, or his readmission in 2000, when he and his family were admitted as **refugees**.

Mr. Trump said in a rally on Tuesday that the lesson of the New York and New Jersey bombing attacks was the need for an **immigration** crackdown.

''These attacks were made possible because of our extremely open **immigration** system, which fails to properly vet and screen the individuals or families coming into our country,'' he said. ''Attack after attack -- from 9/11 to San Bernardino to Orlando -- we have seen how failure to screen who is entering the United States puts all of our citizens in great danger.''

He said Mrs. Clinton was ''for people pouring in from Syria,'' though the 10,000 **refugees** who have come from there this year is a tiny fraction of what European nations have taken in. Mr. Trump called for stopping ''the massive inflow of **refugees**, which Hillary Clinton is trying to drastically increase.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**If Donald Trump were to win the presidency and carry out his strident promise to build an impregnable wall along the border with Mexico, both advocates and foes agree, it would turn the United States into a nation quite different from the one they live in.

They don't know the half of it: Under Mr. Trump's anti-**immigrant** proposals, the American population would probably shrink to 323 million by 2024, about one million fewer people than today and 22 million fewer people than the Census Bureau's projections for eight years from now.

There is another side to the story, too: With Hillary Clinton as the next president, the population of the United States is more likely to increase to 360 million in 2024, from 324 million today.

Of course, these disparate futures, estimated by Joseph Chamie, a demographer who once headed the United Nations Population Division, rely on a few assumptions. Mr. Trump would expel 11 million **immigrants** who are illegally in the country; Mrs. Clinton would legalize them. Future migration in a Trumpian America would fall to zero but would rise if Mrs. Clinton were president, as many newly legalized residents brought their families along.

The gap -- 37 million people, more than a tenth of the population -- underscores how powerfully **immigration** policy will shape the future of the United States. And it highlights the shortcoming of a decades-old political debate over overhauling the nation's **immigration** system that has failed to take into account the disconnect between policy makers and the American public.

''One of the main demographic effects would likely be on overall population size,'' said Michael S. Teitelbaum, who in the 1990s was vice chairman and acting chairman of the United States Commission on International Migration. ''Another major effect would be on demographic composition in terms of national origin, language, education, religion, race/ethnicity, etc.''

Nobody disputes that America's **immigration** system is broken. The law governing **immigration** is pretty much irrelevant to the reality of **immigration** on the ground. But we can't just patch the system.

Attempts at reform have focused on cobbling together constituencies that would stand to gain from specific changes: businesses eager to acquire cheap workers; labor unions interested in organizing newly legalized foreigners; advocacy groups out to protect the rights of **immigrants** who are toiling with little recourse to law.

One problem with this approach is that it has bypassed American voters.

Most Americans would rather not allow more **immigrants** into the United States. Many would prefer fewer. In 2010, three out of four said they favored tighter restrictions on **immigration**.

This doesn't mean the United States should pull up the drawbridge, as Mr. Trump proposes. But it does suggest that any effort to change **immigration** laws and practices faces a big democratic challenge.

Mr. Trump's **immigration** strategy has little contact with reality. Even under the most favorable circumstances its costs would exceed its potential benefits. According to some **immigration** experts, his vaunted border wall could even increase the number of **immigrants** living and working illegally in the United States. Unless Mr. Trump were also prepared to impose a police state that would hunt down and deport every foreigner, **immigrants** facing a higher cost of entry -- higher smugglers' fees, greater odds of dying on the way -- would be more likely to stay once they got in.

''What the U.S. government is doing in terms of border enforcement, mass deportations and other restrictive policies just isn't relevant to the decision to stay home,'' noted the Mexican Migration Field Research and Training Program of the University of California, San Diego, which has interviewed thousands of **immigrants** and potential **immigrants** in communities across Mexico.

Wayne A. Cornelius, who heads the effort, concluded that ''border enforcement, in whatever form and at whatever level, has never been a cost-effective deterrent.''

If Mr. Trump were able to cut **immigration** to zero, it would have other consequences. The United States would have not just a smaller population in the future but also an older one. The work force, which powers economic growth, would be smaller. Each worker would have to maintain more retirees.

But Mr. Trump is not the only politician misleading the public about **immigration**.

For decades, the political debate over **immigration** has been mired in implausible possibilities. Notably, even reformers on the pro-**immigration** side still peddle the notion that illegal **immigration** could be stopped after the latest batch of unauthorized **immigrants** obtained legal residence.

This proposition doesn't mesh with an ineffectual enforcement policy and a border that, to most voters, looks like Swiss cheese. What it does is squander voters' trust. ''What trips this up is that politicians are continuously making claims which turn out not to be true,'' Mr. Chamie, the demographer, told me.

The runaway popularity of Mr. Trump's extreme anti-**immigrant** stance among a large bloc of the electorate tells you just how mistrustful voters have become over the prevarications of the political class.

In 1965, when President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law an **immigration** bill that abolished national quotas favoring migrants from Western European countries, he told Americans that it would ''not affect the lives of millions,'' nor ''reshape the structure of our daily lives.''

Two decades later, President Ronald Reagan signed the **Immigration** Reform and Control Act, which offered amnesty to several million unauthorized **immigrants** but promised to slam the door on future illegal **immigrants** by holding their employers accountable.

Lots of things happened over the last few decades. What's certain is that **immigration** did not follow the pattern envisaged by President Reagan. Nor did its impact on the makeup of the United States fit the modesty of President Johnson's prognostication.

**Immigrants**, their children and grandchildren have accounted for 55 percent of the country's population growth since 1965, according to the Pew Research Center. Then, the country was 84 percent white, 4 percent Hispanic and less than 1 percent Asian. Today it is 62 percent white, 18 percent Hispanic and 6 percent Asian. Unauthorized **immigrants**, brought close to zero after the legalization wave of the 1980s, are back at an estimated 11 million.

**Immigration** brings many positive things, including diversity of experience and talent, new ideas, customs and skills. The National Academy of Sciences this week will release a report that the **immigration** surge to the United States from 1990 to 2010 produced net benefits for the native-born, beyond those accruing to the **immigrants** themselves, of $50 billion a year, a small but nontrivial amount. It is bigger than the economic gains expected from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the trade agreement among 12 Pacific Rim nations now stalled in Congress.

But admitting new **immigrants** carries costs, too, like pressure on land, housing and natural resources, and lower wages for workers with scant education who compete directly with **immigrants** in the labor market. It might be a bad idea to craft policy around Americans' misgivings about ethnic and cultural change. Still, they should be brought into the conversation.

Any effort at durable **immigration** reform must acknowledge that expelling 11 million people and having them wait in some nonexistent line to return legally would not just be inhumane but also impossible. The effort must come to terms with the fact that the United States economy benefits from workers of many different backgrounds. It must accept that stopping illegal **immigration** from the poorer regions of the world will require offering a legal avenue for entry.

Reform cannot simply deal with things like border controls and requiring employers to verify legal status. Education -- both of **immigrants** and the American-born -- will be critical to nurture bonds of identity.

Reformers must engage with Americans' fears, while offering those who suffer economic losses the means to overcome their loss. Reform efforts will not succeed if they fail to bring Americans along.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**AMMAN, Jordan -- At the headquarters of the Muslim Brotherhood, Ali Abu al-Sukkar's telephone would not stop ringing Tuesday. It was Election Day, the first time the Islamist organization had taken part after nearly a decade of boycotts, and Mr. Sukkar found himself in demand.

The deputy secretary general of the Islamic Action Front, the brotherhood's political wing, Mr. Sukkar listed the party's priorities: unemployment, poverty, health care, education, human rights, economic development, debt. He did not mention religion. Indeed, the party scrapped its old slogan, ''Islam is the Solution.'' Its new slogan: ''Reform.''

In retreat elsewhere in the Middle East, the Muslim Brotherhood hopes to stage a comeback of sorts here in the relatively moderate kingdom of Jordan by calibrating its message. Eschewing the more radical language of Islamists in other parts of the region, the Brotherhood has emphasized bread-and-butter concerns and included women and Christians on the candidate lists it presented to voters on Tuesday.

''Our slogan of reform does not conflict with our Islamic values,'' Mr. Sukkar said in between phone calls. ''They are not two contradictory things.'' But Jordanians do not want the convulsions they have seen around them, he added. ''They don't want the violent path to reform.''

By most assessments, when the votes are counted later this week, the Islamists will emerge with the largest single bloc in Parliament. That will still probably amount to no more than 25 of the 130 seats, leaving the government firmly in control of an institution that has little real authority in this monarchy anyway. But it will test the influence of Islamists in a country that has been a mostly calm haven in a region of turmoil.

''What the Muslim Brotherhood gets out of this is a platform allowing them to get their message out,'' said Anja Wehler-Schoeck, the resident director of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, a German organization that promotes democracy.

The brotherhood has been on the defensive in the last three years since President Mohamed Morsi was ousted by the military in Egypt. Other Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain, have banned the party or deemed it a terrorist organization, although it officially renounces violence.

Jordan stripped the Brotherhood of its license this year as well, but the Islamic Action Front, its political wing, remains registered and legal. Hoping to draw the Islamists into the system rather than leave them on the outside where they might grow more radical, the government adopted a new election law allowing bloc voting, reversing a two-decade-old system that worked against parties like the Brotherhood.

The Brotherhood, which boycotted the last two elections, agreed to participate this time. But even as the government cleared the way for the Brotherhood to run, it did not want the party to score too well and encouraged the splintering of Islamists into four factions. King Abdullah II scorns the Brotherhood, calling it ''a Masonic cult'' and ''wolves in sheep's clothing'' in a 2013 interview.

In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly in New York on Tuesday, the king called the elections a sign of Jordan's growing democracy. ''It is one more step in our country's positive, evolutionary path,'' he said, ''a path to which we have insistently conformed, despite regional turbulence and a massive **refugee**burden.''

Jordan sits at the crossroads of chaos, uncomfortably close to the wars in Syria and Iraq. With 650,000 Syrian **refugees** registered and more unregistered, Jordan has been overrun by the flight from civil war and terrorism. Maintaining stability in Jordan is a top American priority in the region and the United States is providing $1.6 billion this year to help it cope with the crisis, making it one of the top recipients of foreign aid.

Apathy and cynicism marked the balloting on Tuesday. At polling places, there was a lot of politicking but few voters. Youngsters in colored vests handing out fliers vastly outnumbered actual voters as candidates searched for hands to shake. By day's end, turnout was reported to be 37 percent.

Emerging from a women's school with her index finger painted blue to show she had voted, Rasha Sharayha, 30, an accountant, said she was wary of the Muslim Brotherhood. ''They're too extreme,'' she said. ''Religion in general, too much of it is extreme.''

But Nermine Nashashib, 53, said she voted for the Brotherhood candidates because they understand everyday people.

''A lot of the people in the Muslim Brotherhood, they had to work hard to get to where they are -- they still have to,'' she said. ''They're not very rich like some of these politicians who don't know about the struggles of the people, so they reflect the people better.''

Mr. Sukkar, the party leader, said Jordan's version of the Brotherhood differs from the one ousted in Cairo. ''In Egypt, they were forced in a way to fail,'' he said. ''There is pressure internationally and regionally for Jordan to fight the Muslim Brotherhood, but the government knows the reality of the Jordan context and the positive historical role it has played in Jordan.''

He said the party took a more inclusive approach in Jordan, even fielding four Christian candidates along with women in hopes of winning some of the seats reserved for women and Christians. ''We are partners with other groups in Jordan,'' he said.

Indeed, partly because of the Brotherhood, some 250 women are running, a record, and some analysts expect them to win more than just the 15 seats reserved for them.

Among those with a good chance is Reem Badran, the only woman to win a seat beyond the quota in the 2010 elections. However, her goal on Tuesday was to keep seats out of the hands of the Brotherhood.

Greeting voters outside a polling place in Amman, the capital, she cited Jordan's historic resistance to the extremism more prevalent in its neighbors. ''We're still a moderate country,'' she said. ''Our mission, our agenda, is that we are moderate. This is No. 1.''

Ghazi Musharbash, a Christian candidate on the same list, said the Brotherhood was running for one reason. ''They want to show the government or the state that 'even though we are not legalized, people love us,''' he said.

Mr. Musharbash, who also served in Parliament in the past, said he decided to run again to keep the Brotherhood from winning one of the nine seats reserved for Christians. The idea of an Islamist party controlling one of those seats, he said, was unthinkable. ''Really, this is kidnapping,'' he said.

As he talked, a Muslim voter told Mr. Musharbash that he had cast his ballot for him.

''Muslims and Christians, there is no difference,'' the voter said.

Mr. Musharbash beamed.

''See?'' he said. ''This is Jordan.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The United States will soon mark 15 full years of war in Afghanistan, but you wouldn't know it from the political discourse.

Democrats and Republicans seem to have something of a rare, if unspoken, truce on the subject. Even amid deepening partisan polarization, with the most frivolous issues seized for political gain, no one seems eager to discuss a war that is still costing American lives and hundreds of billions of dollars.

This year's presidential campaign, in which mass deportations and the NATO alliance are on the table, has hardly touched it. When Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump squared off at a recent televised forum on national security issues, they were surrounded by an audience of veterans, many of whom had fought in Afghanistan, but the war barely came up.

And though the election has grown most heated over terrorism and **immigration**, the candidates showed rare restraint on Monday, when the police arrested an Afghan-born American citizen, Ahmad Khan Rahami, on suspicion of planting bombs in Manhattan and New Jersey.

Mr. Trump's response was typically harsh and Mrs. Clinton's typically detailed, but neither had much to say about Afghanistan. That is a conspicuous and newfound prudence for both candidates, who have been eager to discuss Syria and Iraq immediately after terrorist attacks linked to those countries.

Whether or not investigators find connections between these bombings and American action in Afghanistan, it is increasingly apparent that America's public and policy makers alike would rather not address their faraway, largely failed war.

Neither party has an incentive to call attention to this bipartisan failure. Neither has a better policy to offer. And neither sees any political gain in raising it. Voters, entering their fourth consecutive presidential election with the United States at war, seem happy to pretend that the Afghan war, which has killed more than 2,300 American service members, doesn't exist.

The result is an awkward national silence whenever Afghanistan's chaos inevitably imposes itself on our attention, like a family pretending not to hear the troubled relative pound the Thanksgiving table.

It is not hard to see why Americans shun the topic. They have experienced the war as a long series of bitter failures and of noble missions that turned out not to be. They have disengaged out of moral self-preservation as much as exhaustion.

For decades, leaders portrayed Afghanistan as a beautiful but lawless land to which the United States would bring order and American values, somewhat similar to the old Western frontier. Their adventure began in 1979, when the Soviet Union invaded and the United States armed Afghan rebels. President Ronald Reagan called this ''a compelling moral responsibility of all free people'' and a battle for ''the human spirit.'' Rebel leaders were romanticized and taken on tours of American churches, according to ''The Looming Tower,'' a book by the journalist Lawrence Wright.

Those rebels turned against one another in a long civil war that gave rise to the Taliban. Americans were then sold on invading Afghanistan in 2001, to bring the Sept. 11 attackers and their accomplices to justice. The Taliban government quickly fell, raising a question that became obvious only after it was raised: Now what? What should take the Taliban's place, and how to make it stick despite the group's continued support?

Iraq quickly distracted attention and resources from the Afghanistan question until 2008, when Barack Obama was elected president while promising to end the former and win the latter. Afghanistan became the good war. Americans were sold on promoting democracy and, later, on saving the women -- an ambition captured by a 2010 Time magazine cover showing an Afghan woman who had been mutilated by Taliban officers.

But practice did not match the ideals. Seeking allies where it could, the United States often directly empowered warlords whose corruption, drug trafficking and violence seemed little better than the Taliban's. Drones proliferated overhead and airstrikes killed civilians on the ground, provoking anguished debate at home. Pakistan, at once Washington's closest and least reliable ally in the war, played both sides.

Americans were left feeling they had compromised their morality, and to little gain. As the 9/11 attacks receded more than a decade into the past, it became harder to argue for the war's necessity. American gains against Al Qaeda only drew more attention to the loftier goals that never seemed to advance.

The operation so completely failed to uproot the Taliban or build a functioning government that American officials became convinced that withdrawal would lead to total collapse -- and that collapse would be unacceptably costly. With even the most meager goals unmet, the Obama administration settled on something even less ambitious.

Douglas Ollivant, a senior fellow at the New America Foundation, put it bluntly when he told The New York Times last year that Americans had quietly decided on spending ''somewhere between $10 and $20 billion per year in perpetuity for the privilege of Afghanistan not totally collapsing.''

That is not an inspiring mission. But voters, tired of inspiring Afghanistan missions, have stopped asking why we're still fighting. So political leaders have not bothered to contort themselves into providing an explanation. Rather, in regular-as-clockwork annual speeches, Mr. Obama has simply delayed or slowed troop withdrawals.

Normally, an opposition party might profit from Mr. Obama's broken promises and policy disappointments. But in 2012, neither he nor his Republican challenger, Mitt Romney, showed much desire to debate Afghanistan. Both candidates offered policies that were functionally the same: withdrawal.

Neither wanted to promise a solution, knowing he would have to deliver. Neither offered a way to end the chaos before departing, or to cope with its consequences once American troops had left.

Four years later, the country is barely standing, the Taliban is resurgent and **refugee** outflows are high. The United States has assumed an unspoken role as indefinite occupier, with just enough troops to stave off Afghanistan's implosion but not enough to make that implosion any less inevitable. The question of whether the United States should play this role has not really come up in the presidential primaries or the general campaign, partly because so few Americans want to even acknowledge it is happening.

There is no known link yet between Afghanistan's deterioration and the attacks in which Mr. Rahami is charged. Even if one emerges, it will have little bearing on the roughly 100,000 Afghans in the United States, many of whom are **refugees** from this long war and pose no unusual threat; attacks by Afghans appear no more common than those from any other group. If anything, the significance is for the thousands of innocent Afghans still fleeing the country, often on dangerous, desperate journeys to Europe.

But even the search for links between Mr. Rahami and his birth country has reminded Americans of their unacknowledged 51st state, where Washington has ruled -- indirectly, and to little positive effect -- for longer than most hereditary monarchs.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**You could be forgiven, after five years of Syria's war dominating front pages, for feeling lost.

It is easy to track the war's toll: It has killed 500,000 people by some estimates, displaced millions, opened space for the Islamic State, and sucked in foreign powers, including the United States. It is harder to keep track of the how and why. The basics can seem even more confusing than the day-to-day details.

But those basics are crucial to understanding Syria's war -- and they are far more complex than they might initially seem. As last week's truce appears shaky after American planes bombed Syrian troops, here are straightforward answers to some of the fundamental questions about the conflict: an attempt to explain its origins, the broader context and how it relates to the **refugee** crisis and the rise of the Islamic State.

What is the Syrian civil war?

The war makes more sense if you think of it as four overlapping conflicts.

The core conflict is between forces loyal to President Bashar al-Assad and the rebels who oppose him. Over time, both sides fractured into multiple militias, including local and foreign fighters, but their fundamental disagreement is over whether Mr. Assad's government should stay in power.

This opened a second conflict: Syria's ethnic Kurdish minority took up arms amid the chaos. The Kurds carved out a de facto ministate. While Mr. Assad has not focused on fighting the Kurdish groups, they are opposed by neighboring Turkey, which is in conflict with its own Kurdish minority.

The third conflict involves the Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL, which emerged out of infighting among jihadist groups. In 2014, the Islamic State seized large parts of Syria and Iraq. It has no allies and is at war with all other actors in the conflict.

The fourth, and most complex, dynamic may be the crisscrossing foreign interventions. Mr. Assad receives vital support from Iran and Russia, as well as the Lebanese militant group Hezbollah. The rebels are backed by the United States and oil-rich Arab states like Saudi Arabia.

How did the war happen?

On the surface, the conflict began in 2011 with the Arab Spring. Syrians, like other peoples across the region, rose up peacefully against their authoritarian government. Mr. Assad cracked down violently. Communities took up arms to defend themselves, then fought back in what became a civil war.

But that alone does not explain Syria's disintegration. It is now clear that the state was weak in ways that made it inherently unstable and prone to violence.

The government was dominated by a minority group. Over decades, Syria's religious and ethnic divides had taken on greater political importance, making the ruling minority fearful and reactive. Mr. Assad had strong support among the military and security services, but not the broader population, making violence more tempting.

Fighting, once it began, was worsened by several external factors. A decade of war in neighboring Iraq had produced battle-hardened extremist groups that now flowed into Syria. Iraq's political troubles in 2011 and 2012 helped open space for the Islamic State. During this time, Syria was sucked into the regional power struggle between Iran and Saudi Arabia.

Which countries are involved?

Five countries are playing a major role in Syria, each with a different agenda. Their interventions have locked the war into an ever-worsening stalemate.

Iran was first, sending supplies and soldiers to prop up Mr. Assad. Iran sees Syria as crucial to its regional strategy: It provides access to Lebanon and therefore Hezbollah, a group Tehran uses for regional influence and as a counterweight to Israel, whose nuclear weapons it fears.

Saudi Arabia supported Syria's rebels in the hopes of replacing Mr. Assad with a friendlier government and of countering Iran's influence. Saudi Arabia and Iran have been rivals for decades, fighting something like a cold war for regional dominance. (Other Arab states like Jordan, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates have also backed the rebels.)

The United States funnels weapons to Syria's rebels. It did so initially out of opposition to Mr. Assad, a longtime enemy, and later to encourage those groups to fight the Islamic State. The United States has also armed Kurdish groups against the Islamic State.

Turkey sheltered Syrian rebels and ushered in foreign recruits, seeking to undermine and perhaps topple Mr. Assad. Later, the country also acted to counter Syrian Kurdish groups, fearing that they could strengthen Kurdish insurgents in Turkey.

Russia has backed Mr. Assad from the beginning, selling him arms and providing diplomatic cover at the United Nations. Syria is one of Russia's last remaining allies, and it is where Moscow maintains its only military bases outside the former Soviet Union. Russian forces intervened in 2015, at a time when Mr. Assad appeared to be losing ground.

Why is the war so bloody?

There have been atrocities on all sides, but forces loyal to Mr. Assad have committed by far the most. That has included using chemical weapons, barrel bombs and starvation.

Because neither Mr. Assad nor the rebels are strong enough to win, the battle lines push back and forth, rolling across communities in waves of destruction that kill thousands but accomplish little else.

Foreign interventions have made those shifting front lines even bloodier and have deepened the stalemate. As a result, the overall violence kills more Syrians without altering the conflict's underlying dynamics.

As often happens in lengthy civil wars, militias have filled the vacuum. Their leaders often behave more as warlords, forcibly extracting resources from local communities.

The rise of the Islamic State has worsened all of these trends. The jihadist group has provided another set of shifting battle lines, introduced more warlords, compelled more foreign interventions and put communities under its tyrannical, fanatical rule.

Why is it divided by religion?

There is nothing innately religious about Syria's war, but its broader political forces have played out along religious lines. To understand why, it helps to start about 100 years ago.

After World War I, France took control of an Ottoman Empire territory that is now Syria. France ruled through minority groups that would be too small to hold power without outside support. That included Alawites, followers of a branch of Shiite Islam. The last French troops left in 1946, and Syria's military consolidated power in a 1970 coup led by Hafez al-Assad, an Alawite general and the father of Bashar al-Assad.

Syria's authoritarian government favored Alawites and other minorities, widening social and political divides along sectarian lines.

Minority governments like Syria's tend to be unstable. They sometimes fear discrimination or worse should they lose power, and can see the majority group as a potential threat rather than a base of support. This can make them more willing to use violence to hold on to power.

As the war has worsened, many Syrians have based their allegiance on sectarian identity. This contributes to atrocities: If Alawites are seen as innately pro-Assad, then Sunni militias could conclude that all Alawite civilians are a threat and treat them accordingly, which prompts more defensive sorting.

How did the Islamic State form?

A key name is Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a Jordanian extremist who fought in Afghanistan in the 1990s and Iraq in the 2000s. He flourished in Iraq's war, using tactics now associated with the Islamic State: videotaped beheadings, mass killings of fellow Muslims deemed nonbelievers and attacks meant to incite a Sunni-Shiite war.

Al Qaeda invited Mr. Zarqawi to rebrand his group as Al Qaeda in Iraq, but the two factions argued over strategy and ideology, setting them up for conflict a decade later in Syria.

Mr. Zarqawi was killed in 2006, and his group declined as Sunni Iraqis turned against it.

Years later, amid political chaos in Iraq, the group reconstituted itself as the Islamic State in Iraq, now led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who combined Mr. Zarqawi's views with an apocalypticism taking hold amid the region's upheaval.

In 2013, Mr. Baghdadi declared himself commander of all Al Qaeda forces in Iraq and Syria. Mr. Baghdadi -- his force now rebranded as the Islamic State -- invaded Syria to fight his former Qaeda allies.

The Islamic State carved out a ministate in Syria's chaos, then used it as a base to invade Iraq in 2014.

Why is the **refugee** crisis so large?

The war in Syria has produced nearly five million **refugees**.

They face disease and malnutrition. Host countries often bar them from working, meaning that families cannot provide for themselves. Many Syrian children are deprived of education, a problem that could hinder them for life.

Many **refugees**, unable to tolerate life in crowded camps, have braved the dangerous journey to Europe. But European voters have largely rejected them, supporting extreme measures to keep out Syrians and other migrants.

As a result, many **refugees** are stuck in camps in Italy and Greece. Many others die trying to reach Europe. European countries, along with the United States and Canada, have absorbed thousands of **refugees**, but not nearly enough to alter the underlying crisis.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ATHENS -- Thousands of people were left homeless after a fire tore through a **refugee** camp Monday night on the Aegean island of Lesbos, and the Greek authorities appealed on Tuesday to the European Union for more support in managing the migration crisis.

The fire, which started in the island's main Moria camp, destroyed 50 prefabricated homes and dozens of tents, driving 4,400 migrants into nearby fields, according to humanitarian aid workers.

Footage aired on Greek television showed the bulk of the camp in flames. About 100 unaccompanied children were the first to be resettled to a hostel Monday night, and about half the families had returned to the Moria camp by midday on Tuesday. The Shipping Ministry said it would send a vessel to anchor at the island, providing temporary accommodation for about 1,000 of the migrants.

''Things are very difficult,'' an Interior Ministry official, Nikos Toskas, told Greek radio.

''The Europeans must send real, genuine aid,'' he said.

He condemned European countries that ''build fences and then send blankets,'' an apparent reference to Balkan states that closed their borders to migrants this year, leaving thousands trapped in Greece.

The cause of the blaze remained unclear. Local news media said clashes had broken out between different ethnic groups in the camp amid rumors that large numbers of migrants would be sent back to Turkey. The police detained nine camp residents. Earlier in the day, residents protested, calling for the migrants to leave the island. In the wake of the unrest, Mr. Toskas said, two riot police units would be sent to the island.

A spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees** said frustrations had frequently bubbled over into clashes in camps, as many migrants have been living in poor conditions for months amid uncertainty about their future.

''These people gave up everything to seek a better life months ago, and now they're stuck,'' said Roland Schoenbauer, the agency's representative in Greece.

He said frustrations and tension were being fueled by the slow pace at which the Greek authorities were processing the migrants' asylum applications, and a sluggish European relocation program that has moved 3,700 people to other countries from Greece over the past year, far short of the target of 66,400.

If the pace does not pick up, ''it will take several years to resolve the problem,'' Mr. Schoenbauer said.

''This is not going to go away,'' he continued, adding that economic migrants who do not merit asylum should be repatriated ''in a humane and dignified way'' to free up space at the camps.

More than 60,000 **refugees** or asylum seekers are in Greece, the vast majority in camps across the country, most of them cramped and dirty. Over 5,700 are on Lesbos, which has borne the brunt of the migrant influx into Greece.

Arrivals from neighboring Turkey have dropped since the peak of the crisis this time last year, when thousands made the short, perilous journey across the Aegean Sea aboard rickety boats, many drowning in the attempt. An agreement in March between the European Union and Turkey to curb human smuggling across the Aegean reduced the arrivals to virtually zero. However, there has been a significant uptick since July, after the failed coup attempt in Turkey. Now scores, sometimes hundreds, are arriving daily.

The increase in arrivals and rising tensions in the camps have fueled protests in some communities close to state-run camps where many residents are fed up with the growing migrant populations. Last week, residents on another Aegean island, Chios, protested. The upheaval has been exploited by members of far-right groups who have also protested, often clashing with more moderate demonstrators.

Mayor Spyros Galinos of Lesbos said the protests were being ''guided by certain circles, far-right circles who are being supported by members of other parties that have found the opportunity to boost their following, and all this is a dangerous climate that can become explosive.''

Addressing a United Nations summit meeting in New York on Monday, the Greek prime minister, Alexis Tsipras, called on other European Union countries to take in more **refugees** from Greece and emphasized the risk of giving ''space to nationalistic and xenophobic forces to show their faces.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ELIZABETH, N.J. -- Along the commercial corridor of Elmora Avenue, Salvadoran pupusas are sold next to kosher California rolls and across the street from a salon where three Colombians, a Cuban and a Uruguayan cut hair. Past Las Américas Bakery, the owner of another salon is the proud daughter of southern Italian **immigrants**.

And on that same street, which decades ago used to be populated by Orthodox Jews, there stands an outlier: First American Fried Chicken, owned and operated by the Rahami family, **immigrants** from Afghanistan.

Afghans are not a particularly large group living in Elizabeth. There were only about 200 in a city of nearly 127,000 people, with 77 born in Afghanistan, according to 2014 census figures compiled by researchers at Queens College. In that same year, 63 percent of Elizabeth residents were Hispanic. But because of Ahmad Khan Rahami, the 28-year-old arrested on Monday after a gunfight and suspected of planting bombs in Manhattan and New Jersey, Afghans have become the most talked about **immigrants** in what seemed to be a haven of diversity.

''I woke up feeling like it was a dream; I never felt like that could happen here,'' Agueda Elizabeth Meza, 54, the owner of a Peruvian restaurant on Elizabeth Avenue, said through an interpreter. ''Elizabeth is a city of all different bloods -- as García Márquez said.''

Pick a flag -- there are more than 50 nationalities, and more than 37 languages spoken, according to the office of Mayor J. Christian Bollwage (who is of German and Irish heritage). From Poland, Portugal and Peru, they all have come to Elizabeth.

The International Rescue Committee, one of nine agencies in the United States that work with the government to resettle **refugees**, said that since 2010, its office here had helped 102 Afghan **refugees**, which includes 30 families.

It is still not clear why Mr. Rahami and his family settled in Elizabeth. The authorities said he arrived in the United States as a child and, while a minor, was naturalized through his father -- a different path from recent **refugees** who have come after years of international vetting.

''One thing we do not want to see is any sort of backlash against the community in or around Elizabeth,'' said Avigail Ziv, the International Rescue Committee's executive director for New York and New Jersey. ''These are **refugees** who have suffered a lot and have dealt with violence as well. They are just trying to rebuild their lives.''

There are four mosques in Elizabeth, but the largest, and where the agency said its Afghan **refugees** attended, is Darul Islam, in the northwestern part of the city. The president of the mosque, Hassen Abdellah, said he did not know whether Mr. Rahami had been there.

''If he prayed in Elizabeth, my gut is that he did come here, everybody comes here,'' said Mr. Abdellah, born in New Jersey, who was one of the mosque's founding members in 1992. ''We have an international community, people from Russia, Turkey, Pakistan. We have Asians, Africans, African-Americans, we have the whole tree.''

Asked how many Afghans attend his mosque, Mr. Abdellah said it was perhaps ''6 to 7 percent.''

On Monday morning, Mr. Abdellah received an email sent to leaders of area mosques with pictures of Mr. Rahami. ''I was in shock, like everybody else,'' he said. ''I can't believe that somebody in Elizabeth was involved in something like this. We've always been in partnership with the city and the government.''

The surprise registered closer to the fried chicken restaurant on Elmora Avenue. Guillermo Niell, 35, from Uruguay, said he and his family live across the street. He would often buy Coca-Cola there and he never noticed anything strange about the owners.

But his Uruguayan hair stylist, Pepo Lambrechts, recalled that recently Mr. Rahami was always on his computer or his phone, not paying attention to customers.

''My father loved that place,'' Cristina Castro, 35, the Colombian-born owner of the salon, said. Once a week, when he used to visit from Colombia, her daughter, Lesley, 13, would take him there.

Ms. Castro's mother, Gladys Echeverri, said she moved the family to Elizabeth in 1999, after the largest rebel group in Colombia made owning a hair salon too difficult in their small town outside Medellín.

Ms. Echeverri was worried that Mr. Rahami's arrest would affect business in Elizabeth. ''It will hurt the reputation,'' she said.

But Ms. Castro said the city's image was already tarnished by being in the dingy shadow of Newark.

Officials with the Greater Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce would disagree. They are trying to turn Elizabeth into prime tourist destination, with the Jersey Gardens outlet mall as its biggest draw and its history -- thanks to Alexander Hamilton, who lived and studied in Elizabeth after coming to the American colonies in 1772 -- in vogue.

''We were the first capital of New Jersey; this is where New Jersey was founded,'' said Gordon Haas, the president of the Chamber of Commerce.

''We advertise, 'You can dine the world without a passport,' because you name a restaurant, we've got it,'' Mr. Haas said, adding, ''including now, I guess, an Afghani chicken place.''

On Monday, as police cars and government vehicles cordoned off the street next to the restaurant and others around downtown Elizabeth, there was another kind of tension in the air for some **immigrants**. Back in January, **immigration** officials conducted raids in New Jersey as part of a nationwide effort to deport those who had orders of removal. That brought an increased law enforcement presence and anxiety to Elmora Avenue.

''On the one side, you feel some security having all of this police around,'' Ms. Meza said, who is a member of Make the Road New Jersey, an **immigrant** activist group. ''But on the other side, there is this feeling of fear because only a few months ago raids were happening in our community, and one cannot help but be reminded.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDBERLIN -- Throughout the almost 11 years Chancellor Angela Merkel has been in office in Germany, her nation has been reassuringly stable in the midst of tumult throughout Europe, maintaining a steady economy and stolidly predictable politics.

But it is becoming increasingly clear that Ms. Merkel's decision last year to allow hundreds of thousands of migrants to enter the country has set off aftershocks that continue to upend politics in Germany and beyond. And on Monday, a day after voters in Berlin dealt her party another stinging loss in the second regional vote in two weeks, she was left to convince voters that she was not out of touch with their anger and anxiety over the flood of **immigrants**.

''If I could, I would turn back time by many, many years to better prepare myself and the whole German government for the situation that reached us unprepared in late summer 2015,'' Ms. Merkel said after meeting with leaders of her party, the center-right Christian Democratic Union. ''Nobody, including myself, wants a repeat of this situation.''

In a speech that was at times personal, Ms. Merkel took responsibility for her party's record-low showing in balloting in Berlin. She also acknowledged a role in the party's humiliating third-place finish, behind the Social Democratic Party and a nationalist party, Alternative for Germany, two weeks ago in her home state, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. She pledged to work to regain voters' trust.

Since her decision to welcome **refugees** from Syria and other poor and war-torn countries, the effects across Germany and Europe have only grown more intense. The main political beneficiary of the backlash in Germany has been Alternative for Germany -- a trend that has played out across much of the Continent, where far-right, anti-**immigrant** parties are on the rise in many countries.

The question of how far to go in assimilating the migrants has exposed a deep rift between Eastern and Western Europe, and the economic and cultural challenges of absorbing so many people have contributed to rising nationalism in countries including France, the Netherlands and Austria, and to Britain's decision to leave the European Union.

On Monday, instead of gathering with President Obama and other world leaders in New York at the United Nations, Ms. Merkel stayed home to shore up her political standing a year before general elections, deflecting questions about whether she would even run again.

The chancellor defended her decision as ''absolutely right,'' but she acknowledged that ''ultimately, it led to a time when we did not have enough control over the situation.'' She pointed to legislation and efforts since then aimed at helping to regain control and integrate the new arrivals.

Her conservative party's loss on Sunday in the state elections in Berlin, she acknowledged, was the result of the mass arrival of **refugees** and a resulting protest vote against the party.

But there were several other reasons, she said, including the emergence of ''a post-facts world, where people are not necessarily interested in facts, they are just following their feelings.''

The gut-driven behavior of voters and politicians this year -- most stunningly seen in Britain's vote to leave the European Union -- has upset faith in opinion polls and in institutions developed since World War II to contain the far-right or far-left thought that is now attracting populist support.

Many Germans found their country's chaotic response to the influx of migrants worrying to the point that they felt a threat, whether real or perceived, to their personal stability and prosperity, said Constanze Stelzenmüller, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

''To many, the German state appeared not to be capable of handling this wave of migrants,'' Ms. Stelzenmüller said. ''That raised questions of safety of their own personal life. That showed, right or wrong, their country's institutions were not as strong as people thought they are. The shock of the initial wave is still in people's bones.''

Ms. Merkel said it was vital to recognize the economic roots of insecurity, suggesting that globalization and new trade patterns could have profound effects on people, from the German farmer to the young population of Africa.

Making that connection, she argued, is essential for a decent future.

Germany ''won't let itself be rattled to its core,'' she said, adding, ''That didn't happen even in such a turning-point, indeed extremely unsettling, year as the past one.''

Germans in rural areas -- where Christian Democrats hold more sway than in cities -- are deeply worried that even if they are doing well, they have lost faith in their prospects for the future, she said.

''When the young people all leave the villages, when one can only with difficulty sell one's home,'' she noted, there is drama and uncertainty ''which thicken into a fear, or at the very least a worry about the future.''

After 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the spread of freedom across Europe, she said, made it seem that Europe was on a victorious course and could not be overtaken. Now, she added, ''something has developed where we notice that in the globalized world, we are not necessarily in the forefront.''

Correction: October 20, 2016, Thursday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An article on Sept. 20 about Chancellor Angela Merkel's acceptance of blame for her party's losses in German regional elections quoted incorrectly from comments by Constanze Stelzenmüller, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution who said many Germans felt threatened by the influx of migrants last year. She said, ''To many, the German state appeared not to be capable of handling this wave of migrants'' -- not '' ... not to be capable of not handling this wave of migrants.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDWorld leaders are gathering in New York this week for the United Nations General Assembly, and at the top of their agenda sits a **refugee** crisis that has reached a level of urgency not seen since World War II. The United Nations Summit for **Refugees** and Migrants and President Obama's Leaders' Summit on **Refugees** represent a watershed moment that is putting a global spotlight on the need for an effective response to a growing humanitarian crisis.

Our shared perspective is informed by the sober awareness of the dangers we face. In the aftermath of an explosive device going off in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York last weekend, and other attacks in cities throughout the world, we recognize that the security of all our residents is paramount in large, open, democratic societies. But it is wrong to characterize **immigrant** and **refugee** communities as radical and dangerous. Therefore, we must continue to pursue an inclusive approach to resettlement in order to combat the growing tide of xenophobic language around the globe. Such language will lead only to the increased marginalization of our **immigrant** communities, and without making us any safer.

As the mayors of three great global cities -- New York, Paris and London -- we urge the world leaders assembling at the United Nations to take decisive action to provide relief and safe haven to **refugees** fleeing conflict and migrants fleeing economic hardship, and to support those who are already doing this work.

We will do our part, too. Our cities pledge to continue to stand for inclusivity, and that is why our cities support services and programs that help all residents, including our diverse **immigrant** communities, feel welcome, so that every resident feels part of our great cities.

In New York and Paris, for example, municipal ID programs have achieved great success in increasing a sense of belonging among **immigrants** and allowing for greater access to services like bank accounts and veterans benefits and city resources like libraries and cultural institutions. In less than two years, New York's municipal ID program, known as IDNYC, has signed up over 10 percent of the city's total population and garnered strong praise from a diverse coalition of community members, advocates and institutional partners.

Programs like IDNYC build safer cities because **immigrants** and **refugees** know that they are included and recognized by their governments. In New York, the Police Department was a crucial partner in the establishment of the municipal ID program, as residents are more likely to report crimes when they have a form of ID that is accepted by law enforcement. In Paris, new measures such as the Carte Citoyenne and the participatory budget, which lets Parisians decide how to allocate a percentage of the city's annual spending, offer the opportunity to all residents to take part in civic life and become local stakeholders, without any restriction.

Investing in the integration of **refugees** and **immigrants** is not only the right thing to do, it is also the smart thing to do. **Refugees** and other foreign-born residents bring needed skills and enhance the vitality and growth of local economies, and their presence has long benefited our three cities.

In New York, nearly half of all small-business owners are **immigrants** who contribute to the tax base and expand job opportunities for other New Yorkers. London recently began a publicity campaign, #LondonIsOpen, which highlights similar success stories, drawing from the three million Londoners who were born abroad and contribute to the city's creativity, vitality and entrepreneurial spirit.

Our cities are also on the front lines of helping those fleeing violence or persecution connect to critical, often lifesaving, services. Paris is one of the first major municipalities to open a **refugee** center in the heart of the city. Beginning in October, the center will provide services and basic necessities, as well as administrative support, to 400 **refugees**. New York has placed city representatives in **immigration** court to connect the thousands of unaccompanied children from Central America seeking asylum to crucial health, education and other social services. Last year London boroughs provided support to more than 1,000 unaccompanied, asylum-seeking children, and the city is now developing new ways of working with communities to offer support to resettled **refugees**.

We know policies that embrace diversity and promote inclusion are successful. We call on world leaders to adopt a similar welcoming and collaborative spirit on behalf of the **refugees** all over the world during the summit meeting this week. Our cities stand united in the call for inclusivity. It is part of who we are as citizens of diverse and thriving cities.

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook and Twitter (@NYTopinion), and sign up for the Opinion Today newsletter.

Correction: September 21, 2016, Wednesday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An Op-Ed essay on Tuesday about relief for **refugees** included the phrase, ''In our experience, militant violence is vanishingly rare.'' Because of a miscommunication, the phrase, which was added by an editor, was published without final approval of the authors.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**How well is the United Nations performing on the most vital global challenges of the past decade? We examine the organization's track record on **refugees**, war and peace, human rights, terrorism, gender equality and climate change, with experts offering their assessments.

**Refugees**

Little Relief for **Refugees**: The **refugee** crisis is precisely the sort of issue the United Nations was made to tackle: a global problem crying out for a global solution.

A record 65 million people are displaced worldwide because of conflict, both within their countries and outside their borders.

The 1951 **Refugee** Convention, which most nations signed, obligates countries to offer protection to all those fleeing war and persecution.

Country after country flouts that treaty, and the United Nations has been unable to do much to compel countries to help.

In its relief efforts, the United Nations struggles to raise the money it needs to provide food, blankets and medicine to the ever-expanding number of people affected by conflict.

War and Peace

Veto Power Impedes Peace Efforts: Eliminating ''the scourge of war'' is one of the original goals of the United Nations, and the Security Council is the arm of the organization with the mandate, and the tools, to prevent and end conflict.

In the face of some of the world's worst conflicts, the Council has proved to be ineffective, in large part because one or more of its veto-wielding permanent members have backed one warring party or another.

Mass atrocities continue in the Darfur region of Sudan as China and Russia support the government. In Yemen, a military coalition led by Saudi Arabia and backed by the West is implicated in the bombing of schools and hospitals. The Council's starkest recent failure has been over Syria, with Russia backing the government as the United States, Britain and France support some opposition groups.

The Council's considerable powers include sending in peacekeepers, and, today, about 100,000 soldiers and police officers are deployed to some of the world's worst battlefields.

But the United Nations faces a crisis about what its troops are willing and able to do.

And peacekeepers have sometimes been accused of hurting the civilians they were sent to protect, with claims of sexual abuse in the Central African Republic and failure to prevent a massacre in South Sudan. Perhaps most damaging, peacekeepers have been blamed for introducing cholera to Haiti, killing more than 10,000.

Human Rights

Individual Rights Trumped by National Interests: The Human Rights Council is the United Nations body dedicated to taking action against countries that violate the rights of their citizens. But some of its members are countries that regularly violate those rights.

As with so much at the United Nations, the interests of member states trump everything else.

For instance, calls to establish a commission to investigate atrocities in Yemen, where a Saudi-led military coalition is battling ethnic Houthi insurgents, were rejected by the Human Rights Council in 2015. Saudi Arabia and its most powerful ally, the United States, are members of the rights council.

In 2009, the United Nations came under withering criticism for its failure to speak out on the widespread human rights violations at the end of the civil war in Sri Lanka. Ban Ki-moon, the secretary general of the United Nations, vowed not to repeat that mistake and established a policy urging employees to report gross rights violations.

Terrorism

Limited Tools to Fight Terrorism: The United Nations was set up at a time when conflicts erupted among nations, and peace was negotiated among them, too. As transnational terrorist groups have emerged as a pressing global problem, the United Nations has struggled to make a difference.

The Security Council has imposed sanctions on individual terrorists, freezing their assets and banning travel.

But there is no internationally accepted definition of terrorism, and not everyone agrees on who is a terrorist. India and Pakistan, for instance, spar over whether a leader of a Pakistan-based group called Lashkar-e-Taiba belongs on the sanctions list.

United Nations peacekeepers are not prepared for counterterrorism operations, though they occasionally find themselves in the thick of war zones where known terrorist groups are active. Troops with the peacekeeping mission in northern Mali, for instance, have frequently been targeted by insurgents affiliated with Al Qaeda.

Gender Equality

The Gap Goes On: It was under Mr. Ban's watch that the General Assembly established U.N. Women, which is dedicated to promoting gender equality. He has championed lesbian and gay rights and extended benefits to gay couples. And in recent months, he said he backed the idea of a woman's succeeding him as secretary general.

That looks unlikely. Six women and six men vied for the post, but the front-runners at the moment are men. Mr. Ban's successor is to take over on Jan. 1.

Mr. Ban's record on promoting women's leadership has been mixed. He did appoint several women to key posts, but a vast majority of his senior appointments in 2015 went to men.

Climate Change

Success on Signature Issue: Mr. Ban focused on climate change as a signature issue shortly after assuming his post. He went to see the melting ice in Greenland. He planted mangroves to guard against coastal erosion in the Pacific island nation of Kiribati.

His greatest legacy stands to be an agreement that the nations of the world reached in Paris in December to curb carbon emissions. Much of the impetus for the deal came from China and the United States, the world's two biggest polluters, which together vowed to stave off the worst effects of climate change.

It showed that the United Nations can come up with global solutions to global problems -- but only when the world's most powerful countries let it.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PARIS -- France is frightened about many things these days, terrorism above all. But there is another fear -- raised recently by prominent politicians on the right and on the left -- of slipping into an acceptance of what is often called an Anglo-Saxon multicultural model, in which ethnic communities live separately, even autonomously.

The idea that this model, or ''communautarisme,'' should be so repellent can be baffling to Anglo-Saxons, largely understood by the French to be British and Americans who, for the most part, stopped thinking of themselves exclusively in such narrow terms long ago.

France's idea of an Anglo-Saxon model has meant many things over the last century, sometimes referring to liberal capitalism, rampant individualism, consumerism or, in the view of President Charles de Gaulle, the threat of a global hegemony based on American power and the English language.

But today the perceived Anglo-Saxon threat is about the breakdown of France into distinct communities based on ethnic identity. Prime Minister Manuel Valls referred to this obliquely in criticizing a New York Times article about the European experience of Muslim women, who described a day to day ''struggle.'' Mr. Valls, a Socialist, stressed that ''France, as distinct from other countries, does not see itself as a juxtaposition of communities, each with their autonomous path.''

Nicolas Sarkozy, the former president now seeking his conservative party's nomination for next year's presidential election, was more explicit in his latest book. Calling for a muscular defense of the French identity, he wrote, ''We are not like the Anglo-Saxons who let communities live side by side, ignoring each other and at any rate not mixing.''

The issue is not just whether the French model, which emphasizes integration or assimilation into a single identity, is succeeding or not these days. The question is also why the British and American experience with **immigration** is viewed through such a skewed lens.

Both countries have long traditions of tolerating multiple identities and community-based politics, which produces candidates who represent ethnic groups and their concerns.

Unlike France, the United States and Britain allow census figures on ethnic origins and religious affiliations, and celebrations of diverse identities are encouraged.

That is not to say that racism and de facto segregation are not stubborn realities in the United States and Britain, with issues like police violence against black men growing more visible rather than less. This year, appeals to nativist sentiments helped propel Britain's decision to leave the European Union and are fueling Donald J. Trump's campaign for president. In both countries, economic and social mobility can be limited by race and ethnicity.

Still, that hardly adds up to societies divided into autonomous neighborhoods that shun contact with one another, an exaggeration that would surprise recent **immigrants** who live in the swirling mix of cultures that define London, New York and other cities.

So what is it that makes the Anglo-Saxon model so scary to the French today? Emile Chabal, a professor of modern French history at the University of Edinburgh, traces it to France's deeply held faith in a single, indivisible republic that makes no distinction among its citizens.

''Within French republicanism, which is today the dominant political language, the fear of fragmentation is very powerful and very real,'' Mr. Chabal said in an interview. ''This means any political process that is seen to encourage that -- community leaders, accommodations to certain groups -- is seen as a threat to the unity of the nation.''

So why is the threat of a creeping Anglo-Saxon model being brandished in France today? Mr. Chabal said it was a political response based on a ''double lie,'' one that is a misreading of life on the ground in Britain and the United States, as well as a denial of reality in France.

In fact, he said, the differences between the two approaches are narrowing. In France, despite their allegiance to republican values, local politicians are compelled to deal with competing concerns of diverse communities. ''It is the reality of a pluralistic society,'' Mr. Chabal said. ''Pressure groups are part and parcel of modern democracy.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- The Department of Homeland Security granted citizenship to hundreds of people who had previously been ordered deported or removed under different names because of flaws in keeping fingerprint records, according to a report released Monday.

The report from the department's Office of Inspector General found that nearly 900 individuals were granted citizenship because neither the agency nor the F.B.I. databases contained all of the fingerprint records of people who had previously been ordered to be deported.

Nearly 150,000 older fingerprint records were not digitized or simply were not included in the Department of Homeland Security's databases when they were being developed, the report said. In other cases, fingerprints that were taken by **immigration** officials during the deportation process were not forwarded to the F.B.I.

''This situation created opportunities for individuals to gain rights and privileges of U.S. citizenship through fraud,'' said John Roth, the inspector general at Homeland Security.

The report comes as members of Congress, Homeland Security and intelligence officials have undertaken a broader examination of the nation's **immigration**policy and have raised concern about individuals with ties to terrorist groups gaining entry into the United States. The examination began in the wake of terrorist attacks in Paris in November and the shooting in San Bernardino, Calif., that left 14 people dead in December.

After the attacks, President Obama signed legislation that tightened visa waivers to make it harder for travelers to enter the United States from Europe if they had dual citizenship from Iran, Iraq, Sudan or Syria, or had visited one of those countries in the previous five years.

About 38 countries, mostly in Europe, participate in the visa-waiver program, which allows their citizens to visit the United States without a visa on trips of 90 days or fewer. Homeland Security officials have also begun an extensive review of the K-1 visa, also known as a fiancé visa, which allowed Tashfeen Malik, one of the attackers in San Bernardino, to enter the United States.

Officials say the findings illustrate a major security gap.

''This failure represents a significant risk to America's national security as these naturalized individuals have access to serve in positions of public trust and the ability to obtain security clearances,'' Senator Ron Johnson, a Wisconsin Republican who is chairman of the Senate Homeland Security Committee, wrote in a letter to Jeh Johnson, the secretary of Homeland Security.

The United States Citizenship and **Immigration** Service, an agency within Homeland Security that oversees citizenship, is supposed to check the fingerprints of applicants for citizenship against a number of databases to make sure that they do not have criminal records or pose a threat.

But since the fingerprint databases are incomplete, the report found that the agency had no way of knowing if the individuals were actually who they said they were.

Investigators found that in more than 200 cases they examined, none of the individuals disclosed that they had another identity or that they had final deportation orders on their naturalization application.

As naturalized citizens, these individuals retain many of the rights and privileges of American citizenship, including serving in law enforcement, obtaining a security clearance and sponsoring the entry of other foreigners into the United States, the report said.

For example, investigators with the inspector general's office said they learned that at least three people, who became naturalized citizens after having been deported under a different name, had obtained the necessary clearances to conduct security-sensitive work at commercial airports or at ports and aboard ships.

Since being identified, all have had their credentials revoked, the report said.

The inspector general's report said the **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement agency had investigated few of the naturalized citizens to determine if their citizenship should be revoked. That agency is working to increase its inquiries and digitize all its fingerprint records.

In a statement, Homeland Security acknowledged the issues raised in the report. The statement added, ''It is important to note that the fact that fingerprint records in these cases may have been incomplete at the time of the naturalization interview does not necessarily mean that the applicant was in fact granted naturalization, or that the applicant obtained naturalization fraudulently.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ST. CLOUD, Minn. -- The man who the police say stabbed 10 people at a mall here on Saturday seemed like a model of assimilation, not a violent jihadist, people who knew him and his family said. The son of Somali **refugees**, he lived in the United States most of his life, did well in school, played sports, worked as a security guard and took classes at a local college.

But a new description has been applied to him: terrorist. As he stalked through the Crossroads Center mall, wearing a security guard uniform and wielding a knife, the attacker, identified by officials on Monday as Dahir Adan, 20, mentioned Allah and asked at least one victim if he was Muslim, the police said.

A report by a news agency linked to the Islamic State claimed on Sunday that a ''soldier of the Islamic State'' was behind the stabbing. The F.B.I. is investigating the attack as a possible terrorist act.

But law enforcement officials were unsure whether Mr. Adan had made contact with any terror organization, or had ''self-radicalized,'' heeding the online calls to radical jihad that terrorist groups have used to goad Westerners into mounting attacks at home. The St. Cloud police chief, William Blair Anderson, stressed that the investigation had barely started, adding, ''I want to know everything about this individual since the day he was born until last Saturday.''

''He was a normal American kid,'' said Jama Alimad, a leader among St. Cloud's ethnic Somalis and a friend of the Adan family, who had seen Mr. Adan as recently as this summer. ''I can't see anyone more assimilated than that guy.''

As customers in the mall fled the attacker and rushed for the exits, the rampage ended when Mr. Adan was shot and killed inside Macy's by an off-duty police officer.

On Monday, the St. Cloud police raised the number of wounded from nine to 10, explaining that they had learned of a victim who had not immediately sought medical treatment. None of the eight men and two women who were stabbed suffered life-threatening injuries, and none remained hospitalized, officials said. The mall reopened on Monday morning.

Since the attack, people who had encountered Mr. Adan have tried to reconcile the quiet, mild-mannered youth they saw with the bloody accounts of his actions. People who have spoken with his family said that he had shown no signs of radicalization, and that on Saturday, he seemed to be in good spirits and said he was going to the mall to buy a new iPhone.

''That's something he was hiding very well if indeed he did that,'' said Haji Yussuf, director of UniteCloud, a group that tries to resolve tensions between cultures in the city.

Until the police release video recordings of the attack, ''we cannot believe the speculation we hear,'' said Mohamoud Ismail Mohamed, executive director of the Saint Cloud Area Somali Salvation Organization, who said he helped the Adan family settle in St. Cloud about seven or eight years ago. ''What happened that night between leaving home and the shooting is the million dollar question.''

A few of Mr. Adan's friends and schoolmates took to social media to express their disbelief and confusion. One called Chammy said on Twitter, ''He was such a sweet humble guy, and that's still how I see him.''

We don't know the story. We don't know what Dahir was going through. He was a sweet humble guy, and that's still how I see him. -- Chammy (@Cham\_odol) September 19, 2016

Abdulwahid Osman, a lawyer for the Adan family, released a statement Monday night saying that Mr. Adan's relatives wanted to express their ''deepest sympathy and condolences'' to the injured and their prayers for recovery.

''As a family, we are committed to fully cooperating, within the limits of the law, with all relevant law enforcement agencies as they conduct their investigation,'' the statement said.

The statement also urged people ''not to rush to judgment or conclusions'' and said ''our family loves St. Cloud and this state.''

President Obama said that he was being briefed on the Minnesota investigation, and that there was no sign of a link to explosions in and around New York City on Saturday.

''At this point, we see no connection between that incident and what happened in New York and New Jersey,'' the president said at a news conference in New York, where he was attending the annual session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Mr. Alimad said Mr. Adan had **immigrated** to the United States as a toddler and grew up in St. Cloud. He said Mr. Adan excelled in school, and was not especially religious, though also not an atheist.

''We need to get to the bottom of this,'' he added. ''We need to know what triggered this kid.''

The Star Tribune in Minneapolis reported that Mr. Adan lived with his father in an apartment in St. Cloud. The father said his son was born in Kenya, where many Somalis have fled to escape the long-running civil war in their country.

He graduated in 2014 from Apollo High School in St. Cloud, then enrolled at St. Cloud State University, intending to major in information systems, the university said, but he was not enrolled for the fall term.

Mr. Adan worked part time for a global security firm, Securitas, which assigned him to weekend guard duty at an Electrolux facility in St. Cloud, according to both companies. Securitas released a brief statement saying that Mr. Adan had quit in June, offering little else about his history with the company, except that he ''was hired in accordance with Minnesota state law and company policy.''

Family friends said he had a security guard job at the time of the attack, but it was not clear where.

The attacker was stopped by Jason Falconer, an off-duty part-time police officer in Avon, a nearby town.

''He's a firearms instructor for the City of Avon,'' said Corey Nellis, Avon's police chief. ''He's a competitive shooter. If I was going to ask anybody to fire live rounds in a crowded mall, I would trust his abilities next to anybody's.''

Chief Nellis said that Mr. Falconer, a former police chief in another nearby town, Albany, worked only an occasional shift for his department; in fact, he was not scheduled to work over the next two months.

Minnesota is home to about 25,000 Somalis, the largest concentration in the United States. Some have flocked in recent years to St. Cloud, a small city northwest of the Twin Cities, in search of safety and jobs, where Somali leaders say they have mostly been made to feel welcome.

''Knowing your neighbor makes you less fearful of your neighbor,'' said Mayor Dave Kleis, who said the city has worked hard to welcome and integrate the newcomers.

Gov. Mark Dayton, a Democrat who has long been an outspoken advocate for **immigrants**, said at a news conference on Monday, ''I implore citizens of St. Cloud, and really citizens throughout Minnesota, to rise above this tragic incident and to remember our common humanity, our shared citizenship, and our shared desires to live together peacefully.''

But Somalis said there was a widespread fear of a backlash after the attack.

''We are really fearful,'' Mr. Alimad said. ''Kids are afraid. Women are afraid to go to shop. And this is happening in the land of the free.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A suspect in a bombing was still at large Monday morning, his motives and intentions unknown -- but Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump were already racing to seize the political upper hand.

With a manhunt still in progress before an arrest later in the day, Mrs. Clinton sought to shift the terms of the presidential contest back in her direction. She called Mr. Trump a ''recruiting sergeant for the terrorists'' and, from a rainy airport in White Plains, offered herself as a seasoned warrior against terrorism.

Mr. Trump returned fire hours later, blaming Mrs. Clinton and President Obama's handling of **immigration** and the Iraq war for bringing terrorism to American shores. He called for vigorous police profiling of people from the Muslim world and drew a direct equation between **immigration** controls and national defense.

The attacks could reframe the presidential race around stark questions of national security after weeks of often-bitter sniping between Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton over more personal matters of character, transparency and medical records. The violence of the weekend is all but certain to ripple in the first presidential debate, set for next Monday at Hofstra University on Long Island.

For both the candidates and their parties, the bombings in New York and New Jersey over the weekend are a critical inflection point. Not since the Iraq war has the mantle of national security and protection been more vigorously contested than it has been in this campaign, or its textures more difficult to define.

With seven weeks left in the campaign, the candidates' responses to an apparent terrorist plot on American soil could sharply alter voters' views not only of them but of the parties they lead. And both candidates set up extraordinary stakes, each asserting that the other was not only wrong on national security, but actively abetting terrorists in word or deed.

It was Mrs. Clinton who appeared most determined to bend the moment to her advantage. Unlike most Democratic nominees, she has enjoyed an edge over her Republican opponent on issues of national security and foreign policy. Having faced a rocky stretch in the presidential race, punctuated by a bout of pneumonia, she appeared to welcome a renewed debate over terrorism.

Before flying to Philadelphia to court younger voters, Mrs. Clinton held a news conference to call for ''courage and vigilance'' in the face of terrorism, and warned that Mr. Trump was unprepared to keep the country safe.

Citing former intelligence and counterterrorism officials who have criticized Mr. Trump's caustic remarks about Islam, Mrs. Clinton leveled an attack that might have shocked the political world in any other campaign: In addition to calling him a ''recruiting sergeant'' for terrorists, she accused him of giving ''aid and comfort'' to the Islamic State with his campaign oratory.

''We're going after the bad guys, and we're going to get them, but we're not going after an entire religion,'' Mrs. Clinton said, adding, ''We know that Donald Trump's comments have been used online for the recruitment of terrorists.''

It was the most drastic version yet of an attack Mrs. Clinton has tried out recently with increasing boldness: In an interview on Israeli television this month, she said the Islamic State was praying for Mr. Trump's victory, and she has warned that foreign adversaries could seek to sway the election in her opponent's favor.

Mr. Trump, she said on Monday, has helped the Islamic State and other terrorist groups cast their attacks as part of a religious war between Islam and the West.

''They are looking to make this into a war against Islam, rather than a war against jihadists, violent terrorists,'' Mrs. Clinton said. ''The kinds of rhetoric and language Mr. Trump has used is giving aid and comfort to our adversaries.''

Mr. Trump responded with indignation. His campaign released a string of statements expressing outrage, criticizing Mrs. Clinton for favoring more lenient **immigration** policies and calling her attack on Mr. Trump tantamount to an accusation of treason.

At a rally in Florida on Monday afternoon, Mr. Trump blasted Mrs. Clinton for failing, as a member of the Obama administration, to stop the rise of the Islamic State, employing much the same throw-the-bums-out argument he has used to demand an overhaul of government on domestic matters.

''Her weakness, her ineffectiveness, caused the problem, and now she wants to be president,'' he said. ''I don't think so.''

Mr. Trump directly equated American vulnerability to terrorism with what he called laxness in the **immigration** system. He has mainly warned about the risk of admitting **refugees** from Syria and other war-torn countries, though the suspect arrested in the weekend attacks, Ahmad Khan Rahami, is a naturalized citizen born in Afghanistan and has lived in the United States for years.

''These attacks, and many others, were made possible because of our extremely open **immigration** system,'' Mr. Trump said, trying to return the political debate to the issue he is most comfortable discussing. ''**Immigration** security,'' he added, ''is national security.''

But Mr. Trump may have to clear a higher standard than merely keeping up, punch for punch, with Mrs. Clinton. While he has drawn close to her in the polls, he still faces broad reservations among voters about his readiness to serve as commander in chief. In the past, he has provoked a backlash after terror attacks by fulminating against Muslims and shifting too quickly onto the offensive.

If Mr. Trump finished the day with a forceful speech denouncing Mrs. Clinton, he began with a meandering telephone interview with Fox News, during which he asserted that there were ''many foreign connections'' to the weekend attacks, though none had been established. And he suggested, again without supplying evidence, that American police officers fail to act against terrorism suspects because of political correctness.

Mr. Trump also applauded himself for having described the Saturday night explosion in New York City as a bombing even before the police did. ''I should be a newscaster,'' he said. ''I called it before the news.''

The hostilities between the candidates erupted at the start of a week when both were aiming to cut a presidential profile and to strengthen their credentials on the international stage by meeting with foreign leaders in New York at the annual session of the United Nations General Assembly.

In many respects, Mrs. Clinton's campaign against Mr. Trump has flipped the traditional contours of defense politics, offering voters a Democrat with more hawkish instincts and deeper ties to the national security establishment, and a Republican who has broadly rejected military intervention and has been spurned by many defense leaders in his own party.

Mrs. Clinton is by far the more conventionally experienced and credentialed candidate, and in some respects is more hawkish: She has called for the creation of a no-fly zone in Syria, as well as more airstrikes there, and has urged closer collaboration with Silicon Valley to expand the United States' surveillance capabilities, alarming some civil liberties advocates.

In Mr. Trump, she confronts a candidate who has been abandoned by most of his party's national security elite, who is still unable to produce a detailed set of proposals for stopping terrorism, and whose essential political brand -- disruption -- does not always comfort voters seeking strength in moments of crisis and terror.

Tommy Vietor, a former national security spokesman for Mr. Obama, said that if Democrats were conventionally cast as the ''mommy party'' and Republicans as the ''daddy party'' in American politics, then ''Trump is the crazy uncle and Hillary Clinton is the only person you trust to watch your family for a week.''

Mr. Trump has also cast doubt on American participation in NATO and spoken warmly of Vladimir V. Putin, the Russian president and strongman. And in recent days, he has feuded with Robert M. Gates, a highly regarded former defense secretary, and found himself mocked by another respected national security figure, former Secretary of State Colin Powell, who called Mr. Trump ''a national disgrace and an international pariah'' in private emails released by hackers last week.

Whatever doubts many voters still have about Mrs. Clinton's trustworthiness, most appear to consider her better suited to manage foreign policy and threats to the American people. Before the Chelsea bombing, according to a New York Times/CBS News poll, voters gave her a slight edge on the question of who would better handle terrorism and national security, and a large one on foreign policy. Some polling suggests that she has a bigger lead over Mr. Trump on related questions -- who would be a better commander in chief, for example -- than past Democratic nominees have had over Republicans.

''Voters look for the qualities of experience, temperament and judgment,'' said Evan McMullin, a former intelligence officer who is running for president as a conservative independent candidate. ''Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump lack some or all of them. But Trump lacks all of them.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**W. S. Merwin and Adam Fitzgerald are such dramatically different poets that reading their latest books in tandem can induce a feeling of vertigo. Imagine a playlist that squeezed together the music of Nick Drake and Lady Gaga, or think of a loaf of wild-yeast sourdough bread all rainbow-spangled with Pop Rocks. But both books have essential things to say about the movements of memory and loss -- about what our minds try to hold on to, and why.

Mr. Merwin, 88, is a former poet laureate who came of age during the golden days of radio. In ''Garden Time'' he delivers a late-period distillation of the type of lyrics he has been polishing for decades. Unpunctuated, yoked to gentle rhythms, and all the more radiant because of their restrained vocabulary, these are poems that bring the reader back to phrases like ''morning light'' and ''clouds over the mountaintops,'' ''sun-filled leaves drifting among the butterflies'' and ''let's stay home together my love.''

Scholars sometimes caution us not to go looking to poetry as a source of relaxation -- the stuff's not Xanax, after all. But there's no denying that much of Mr. Merwin's work has the calming quality of a murmuring stream. Here are the opening lines of ''One Sonnet of Summer'':

Summer has come to the trees reaching up for it

it has come in daylight without a sound

it arrived when the trees were dark in sleep

they dreamed it and woke knowing it was there

Now consider those lines in contrast to the closing stanza of ''Prospero's Books,'' a standout in Mr. Fitzgerald's book ''George Washington'':

Goodbye, Blockbuster Video! Farewell to the Monopoly Man.

Read up on UFOs. Marvel at their beginnings: an interracial

Vermont couple sees **aliens**. We vacationed with JVC Camcorder

at CVS Euphrates. Delta Burke left Designing Women in 1991.

If Mr. Merwin's work feels like part of some timeless continuum, a river that stretches all the way back to Han Shan and Li Po, Mr. Fitzgerald's poems appear to arrive at that bend in the waterway where the currents are clogged with pop debris. In ''Garden Time'' (as the title implies), you might find a **refuge** from all the clutter and clang of contemporary life. But in ''George Washington'' (whose title gives you an early hint, á la ''Hamilton,'' that it will apply a fresh coat of paint to what we think of as American history), you're right in the middle of the overload, channel-surfing from ''Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles'' to ''Thomas the Tank Engine'' to LL Cool J to Bill Nye the Science Guy. (All of those references come from one poem, by the way -- ''The Remake.'')

Sample titles from ''George Washington'' suggest a childhood spent in the company of cable TV: ''Here Comes the Hotstepper'' and ''Elegy in a Courtyard Marriott'' and ''Low-Impact Fat-Burning Workout.'' Sample titles from ''Garden Time'' evoke retirement years spent in the company of breezes and tides: ''Drinking Tea in the Small Hours'' and ''A Breath of Day'' and ''Old Man at Home Alone in the Morning.''

Both books feel brilliant and necessary in their divergent ways. In Mr. Fitzgerald's debut collection, ''The Late Parade,'' his exertions came across as simultaneously tentative and opaque, as if the words were getting in the way of what he wanted to say. But ''George Washington,'' his second book, barrels forward with a confidence that marks him as a young poet -- he is 32 -- to be reckoned with.

He piles on plenty of imagery that captures America (largely the New Jersey of his childhood) as a dreary name-brandy shopping mall, but impeccable comic timing prevents him from drifting too far into the Debbie Downer zone. Some of his opening lines are deadpan jewels -- part Frank O'Hara, part Tig Notaro. ''Unlike my older brother, I generally enjoyed the nineties,'' he writes in ''Here Comes the Hotstepper.'' ''A world of Netscape, chat rooms and Fruit by the Foot.''

As the book's title makes plain, Mr. Fitzgerald wants us to do a little rethinking when it comes to founding fathers and their legacies. To that end we find a prose poem called ''Leaves of Grass,'' in which Mr. Fitzgerald's viewpoint is more blank-toned and Warholian than expansive and Whitmanic: ''Walt Whitman Shops formerly known as Walt Whitman Mall is a commercial center located in South Huntington, New York, on Route 110. The shopping plaza, just down the road from the poet's birthplace, is currently undergoing large-scale renovations.'' In ''Vader in Love,'' another mythic patriarch gets a makeover: ''Meanwhile Vader's in love again. Queer figure. Broadway Wagner. The dark side as narcissistic embrace, machismo's paroxysm.''

Spend time toggling between ''Garden Time'' and ''George Washington,'' and it becomes clear that both books are intimately concerned with memory. For Mr. Fitzgerald, there are memories of Care Bears and Beanie Babies and the trash-culture ravines of his formative years. For Mr. Merwin, there is memory itself like a fading measure of music or a passing season. Many of the ghostly poems in ''Garden Time'' convey, with the virtuosic control of a lifelong craftsman, the actual feeling of time slipping away -- each line rises and evaporates like steam. You can hear it in the eddying lines of ''The Sound of Forgetting'':

while the rain fell all around us

I listened to you breathing

I wanted to remember

the sound of your breath

but we lay there forgetting

Each book can be viewed as a collection of elegies -- chronicles of something that's in the process of being lost. In Mr. Merwin's ''Black Cherries,'' as in many of the other poems in ''Garden Time,'' the narrator seeks to stop the flow of time and savor a moment, but knowing that he can't is what intensifies the experience: ''as I stand eating the black cherries/from the loaded branches above me/saying to myself Remember this.'' That continual act of remembering doesn't feel that far off in spirit from Mr. Fitzgerald's ''Blue Yodel No. 5,'' which comes to a close with these haunting notes:

No longer part of nature,

scrub-weed fills my head.

When the grass was full

I sang a different song.

Garden Time

By W. S. Merwin

71 pages. Copper Canyon Press. $24.

George Washington

Poems

By Adam Fitzgerald

105 pages. Liveright. $25.95.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**UNITED NATIONS -- President Obama is planning to use his last appearance before the United Nations General Assembly this week to corral world leaders to uplift the lives of **refugees** crossing borders in droves. But critics say the United States faces a credibility test of its own.

Even those who praise Mr. Obama's plan to host a meeting on the global **refugee** crisis as the annual General Assembly session opens on Tuesday wonder why the United States waited so long to mount an international response to the crisis, and why it has taken in such a paltry number of Syrian **refugees** fleeing the world's deadliest battlefield.

Moreover, American officials are being criticized for trying to keep out people fleeing gang violence in Central America, even jailing children who show up at the border without legal papers. Only recently did the White House agree to let a small number of people from the region apply for resettlement from their home countries.

That ambivalence was summed up by Elvis García, who fled the notoriously violent city of San Pedro Sula, Honduras, only to find himself locked up in the United States. He was 15 at the time.

He praised Mr. Obama for organizing the meeting. But Mr. García, now 26 and living, legally, in New York, plans to attend a so-called shadow summit meeting down the street from the United Nations headquarters to draw attention to what he considers the **refugee** crisis on America's doorstep.

''I understand there's a big crisis in the Middle East, but we can't forget the thousands of children fleeing Central America,'' he said. ''There are so many kids today fleeing violence. They can't get asylum.''

International law requires countries to offer protection to those fleeing war and persecution, and only recently did the Obama administration concede that many people who might have valid asylum claims had no way to get to the United States. It announced this summer that it would let some Central Americans apply for **refugee** status from their home countries. The initiative immediately came under fire from Republicans, who pressed for tougher border controls.

''The U.S. has a mixed history: On resettlement it's strong, but there are certainly many examples where U.S. behavior has not been best practice,'' said Jane McAdam, an Australian law professor who closely follows how countries handle **refugees**.

''Very few countries come to this with clean hands,'' Ms. McAdam said.

There are 21 million **refugees** worldwide, including five million Palestinians. The vast majority of **refugees** are concentrated in low- and middle-income countries. The Syrian war has forced four million people to flee to Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan; hundreds of thousands of them began crossing the Mediterranean last year, creating turmoil in the European Union over how to handle the influx.

The United Nations secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, urged countries to offer permanent homes to about two million **refugees**, but his calls fell on deaf ears. Instead, countries flout their legal obligations. Under a now-faltering deal between the European Union and Turkey, asylum seekers who cross into Greece from Turkey are sent back, and Turkey receives aid to look after them.

Australia detains asylum seekers in offshore Pacific island facilities. Even Jordan, which has long hosted Palestinians as well as **refugees** from Syria, Sudan and Iraq, has lately closed its borders, leaving tens of thousands of Syrians to set up makeshift encampments in the desert.

The United States has long prided itself as a land of **refuge**. It contributes more money than any other nation to the United Nations **refugee** agency. Mr. Obama has forcefully spoken out against calls to bar Muslims from entering the country. And the United States offers a permanent home to more **refugees** than any other country.

This year alone, 85,000 **refugees** from a variety of conflict zones were selected and screened by the government and resettled in the United States. The Obama administration has proposed resettling 110,000 next year.

Election-year politics, though, have weighed heavily on the White House's **refugee** policies. Republicans have pressed for tougher screening procedures on Syrians, and several Republican governors have sought to keep out Syrian **refugees** altogether.

''What we need to see is a greater commitment around the world to not just shunting this burden off to a handful of countries,'' Josh Earnest, the White House press secretary, said last week.

''The other reality here,'' he added, ''is that the president's commitment to ensuring that the United States plays a leading role on this issue is not shared by a lot of people in Congress, including by a lot of people in the Republican majority in Congress, and that has an impact in terms of the resources that are dedicated to this effort.''

Slightly more than 10,000 Syrian **refugees** have been resettled in the United States this year. By comparison, Germany has taken in nearly 500,000 Syrians, and Canada 35,000.

The White House has said it wants countries to double the number of slots available for permanent resettlement to 200,000 (about 1 percent of all **refugees**worldwide); increase aid to **refugees** by 30 percent; provide jobs for a million **refugees**; and offer educational opportunities for a million **refugee** children. Some money pledged by countries at previous aid conferences has yet to materialize.

The White House also plans to announce pledges from private companies to help **refugees**.

Privately, some European diplomats scoff at the notion that the United States is asking the world to do more. Publicly, many Europeans also point out that the United States has the luxury of being far from the hottest war zones.

''Europeans make that point frequently: The geography of North America means Canada and the United States are sometimes in a more relaxed environment,'' said Elizabeth Collett, the director of the Migration Policy Institute's Europe office in Brussels. ''What they would rather see is solidarity.''

T. Alexander Aleinikoff, an American law professor and former United Nations **refugee** agency official, commended the efforts of the Obama administration, but he said he was dismayed that it had not mobilized a global conference earlier to respond to Syrian **refugees**.

''What's really needed is a formal system for responsibility sharing,'' Mr. Aleinikoff said.

The United States played such a role after the Vietnam War, he pointed out. But those were the Cold War days. The United States resettled more than 200,000 **refugees** in the early 1980s, more than double the number it has taken in this year. Most of them were from the former Soviet Union.

Louise Arbour, a Canadian jurist and a former United Nations high commissioner for human rights, called it ''a luxury'' for the United States to be able to accept those **refugees** it so carefully vets.

''Resettlement is a very safe way of taking people in,'' she said. ''It's a very different thing for Europeans to see people walking in, undocumented.''

That is precisely the challenge facing the United States at its southern border. It continues to detain those who show up without legal papers, including children. In August, many countries sought an international agreement committing countries not to detain undocumented children; the United States was among the countries that balked at such language.

**Refugee** advocates say the United States, while moving in the right direction, needs to do more to help **refugees**.

''The United States is tremendously committed,'' said Eleanor Acer, the legal director of the advocacy group Human Rights First. ''But like any country, when it's a **refugee** knocking on your door, then it's harder to live up to your legal obligations and your values.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN -- Chancellor Angela Merkel's party suffered the latest in a string of defeats in German state elections on Sunday, when her Christian Democratic Union was ousted from power in Berlin after its worst showing in the capital since World War II, according to preliminary results.

Voters in Berlin turned out in higher numbers than in previous years, many responding to voter mobilization calls from the anti-**immigrant** Alternative for Germany party. The party is now poised to enter the city-state's legislature for the first time, although its share of the vote, 14.2 percent in the preliminary results, was less than what it was two weeks ago in Ms. Merkel's home state, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, where it placed second.

Ms. Merkel's party won 17.6 percent of the vote in Berlin, not enough to allow it to continue as the junior partner in a governing coalition with the Social Democrats. The center-left Social Democratic Party earned 21.6 percent of the vote and is expected to form a government with two other parties: the Left Party, with 15.6 percent, and the Greens, with 15.2.

''We are all angry that the AfD got in,'' Michael Müller, Berlin's mayor and the Social Democrats' leading candidate, told cheering supporters in the capital, referring to the Alternative for Germany party. ''But I can assure you that Berlin will remain an international city, open to the world.''

The result proved that the Alternative for Germany party is not as popular in Berlin as it is elsewhere, but it managed to draw considerable support, mostly from the city's eastern districts. It campaigned hard against the chancellor's decision last year to allow more than one million migrants into the country.

Berlin is the 10th state in which the party has earned representation, and with little more than a year to go before the 2017 general election, the party appears to be gaining enough strength to earn seats in the national Parliament. Some commentators viewed the result as a chance for a rebirth of Germany's struggling traditional parties and its overall democracy.

''The success of the Alternative for Germany is a wake-up call that it can't be taken for granted that society is liberal and will remain so,'' Heribert Prantl, a journalist at the newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung, wrote in a commentary. ''Nor can it be taken for granted that minorities (and not only the **refugees**) are and will be respected.''

Many former supporters of the chancellor's party drifted to the liberal Free Democratic Party, which voters returned to the state legislature with about 6 percent of the vote after it was ousted in the 2011 election.

But the upstart Pirate Party, which won seats in the state Parliament in 2011, was voted out.

Ms. Merkel, who governs on the national level in a coalition with the Social Democrats, had blamed Mr. Müller, the center-left mayor, for refusing to be held accountable for the chaotic circumstances faced by the 79,000 **refugees** who arrived last year in the capital.

''Based on my own experience, I know that leaders of government are always responsible, and they will be made responsible,'' the chancellor said in an interview with the Berlin newspaper Tagesspiegel before the vote.

Yet many in Ms. Merkel's own conservative bloc have criticized her for allowing the **refugee** influx to become a crisis.

Horst Seehofer, the leader of a Bavarian sister party to Ms. Merkel's conservatives, has been among her loudest critics. In an interview released Friday, Mr. Seehofer threatened to withhold his party's support for her in the 2017 election unless she agreed to set a limit on the number of new **refugees** to be admitted.

Frank Henkel, the leading candidate for Ms. Merkel's party in Berlin, blamed squabbling for the party's poor showing in Berlin, saying the infighting had **alienated**voters and led them to question the bloc's ability to govern.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Two weeks after Hillary Clinton accepted the Democratic presidential nomination in Philadelphia, beaming through a hail of gigantic balloons, her campaign's ''Latinos con Hillary'' program began in five cities in Virginia. One of the kickoff parties took place at Todos Supermarket in Prince William County, in a modest white room where about 40 people gathered around three tables draped in cheap blue cloth to hear a speech by Clinton's national Latino-vote director, Lorella Praeli. When she was 2, Praeli, now 28, lost one of her legs in a car accident, but with her crutches, she commanded the room more adroitly than any of the speakers who preceded her, moving among the tables as she rallied her troops. Though the party was advertised on Facebook, most of the men and women in attendance were seasoned Democratic politicians, staff members and volunteers.

''I'm not here to make it pretty,'' Praeli said. ''The work ahead of us, the task and challenge ahead of us for the next what -- 96 days -- is huge.'' She ticked through the efforts needed to register and turn out Latinos: knocking on doors, hosting phone-bank parties, convincing friends, haunting markets, teaching Spanish-speakers the how and the when and the where of voting. In her speech, the job sounded herculean. Near the end of her pitch, she asked everyone to stand and feel the energy in the room while they said, in Spanish, ''We will be the difference.''

''I want you to say it and to believe it,'' Praeli instructed. ''I want you to say it and to commit yourself.'' She smiled, but these were marching orders. ''If we don't believe it, other people won't believe,'' Praeli said in Spanish. ''If we don't believe it in this room, we won't be the difference in November.''

Latinos have been hearing that they will be the difference for decades. In Spanish-language media this year, the rhetoric around the election has often gone so far as to imply that Latinos will decide the result on their own. Telemundo's election coverage runs under the slogan ''Yo Decido,'' ''I Decide.'' The Univision news anchor Jorge Ramos told The Times last year that ''the new rule in American politics is that no one can make it to the White House without the Hispanic vote.''

It's true enough that 800,000 Latinos turn 18 every year, and both parties burn millions of dollars trying to woo Hispanic voters. This year, 27 million will be eligible to vote. But the idea of a fearsome Latino political power remains more myth than reality. Journalists have been writing about the so-called ''sleeping giant'' of Hispanic voters since at least the 1970s, but the fact is that voter turnout among Latinos remains dismal. It can run almost 20 percentage points lower than that of African-Americans and non-Hispanic whites. Exactly the same percentage of eligible Latinos, 48 percent, showed up for Romney versus Obama in 2012 as turned out for Bush versus Dukakis in 1988. While the raw number of Latino ballots cast has tripled since 1998, so has the number of Latino citizens who don't vote. Only once in the past 28 years, during the 1992 match among George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot that spurred a jump in overall turnout, has Latino turnout exceeded 50 percent. More often than not, ''Yo Decido'' to stay home.

This year, the new spin on the old dream is that Donald Trump will finally shake the giant awake. He opened his campaign last summer by calling Mexican **immigrants** ''rapists,'' has repeatedly proclaimed that he will build a wall between Mexico and the United States and, until recently, has made the deportation of 11 million undocumented **immigrants** a cornerstone of his platform. As early as September 2015, Javier Palomarez, the president and chief executive of the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, told Politico: ''I think the greatest thing to ever happen to the Hispanic electorate is a gentleman named Donald Trump. He has crystallized the angst and anger of the Hispanic community.'' He added, ''I think we can all rest assured that Hispanics can turn out in record numbers.''

Perhaps. But achieving record turnout for a demographic with a lackluster voting history isn't so simple as watching them take themselves to the polls. In June, Mi Familia Vota and the National Council of La Raza, two nonprofit groups devoted to organizing Latinos, warned that they needed more cash to match their voter registration numbers from 2012. In July, the Pew Research Center noted that ''Hispanic voters lag all registered voters on several measures of engagement'' -- they aren't paying attention to election news as closely as other citizens and they aren't thinking about the election as much. At a conference on the Hispanic vote held in New York City in January, the big unanswered question was ''Why have Latinos never really turned out in force?''

Looking for answers, I spent six months interviewing scores of Latinos in Virginia, a battleground state where the Latino share of the population has more than tripled since 1990. I met with Latino Catholics, Pentecostals and Mormons, with legal residents, citizens and undocumented **immigrants**. I frequented a church and a community center, soccer fields and a dance club. I lurked around Republican and Democratic events and a skateboard park. I interviewed custodians and construction workers, lawyers and real estate agents, restaurant owners and community organizers, college students and political staffers. In all, I spoke with more than 100 Virginians of various ethnic backgrounds.

For all the energy that activists, especially on the Democratic side, have put into turning out the Latino vote, I met strikingly few Latinos outside the upper-middle class who talked about voting as if it were something they did regularly. The exceptions tended to be people like Lucía Rodriguez, 61, who cleans houses and has voted regularly for more than a decade -- even in 2008 after she and her husband, a custodian, saw all their savings vanish in the mortgage crisis. For years afterward, they scrambled to keep their family afloat, working every available hour. Yet she kept on voting. Why? ''It's a civic duty,'' she said. Rodriguez explained that in Bolivia, where she had been an accountant, she learned the habit of voting because nonvoters could be penalized with fines. In her Mormon church in the United States, she was surrounded by friends who voted. To pass her citizenship test, she had to study American government and learn English. Her voting behavior entailed years of effort and experience. Through all my conversations, I began to fear that the real roots of political engagement, which lie not in quadrennial outreach programs but around dinner tables and in churches and classrooms, are far more absent from Latino life in America than most people understand.

''A person on the fence needs to be activated to turn into a voter,'' Marvin Figueroa, 30, said one humid Friday in July as he stood before a crowd of white-collar professionals at a ''Happy Hour for Hillary.'' These borderline voters, he said, often need ''13 touches'' -- calls, door knocks, texts, etc. -- before they would turn out. Figueroa is Clinton's political director for Virginia. His spreadsheets contain not only Latinos but also African-Americans, millennials and Muslims: any constituent group that might be pulled into a pro-Clinton coali­tion. This evening, inside the Arlington home of a defense contractor who turned Democrat after the Tea Party swept into Congress in 2010, the audience was mostly female, mostly Caucasian and only marginally Latino. The doors to the screened-in porch were open; the air-conditioning was off; the margarita machine was on. The Spanish speakers blended into the crowd.

Statistically, the Latinos most likely to cast ballots are almost identical to other reliable American voters. They are over 40. They've lived in the United States for at least 20 years. They are Puerto Ricans and Cuban-Americans with long cultural histories of citizenship. They are college graduates.

The Latinos least likely to vote represent a different demographic slice altogether. They are under 30, single and Mexican-American. Their families earn less than $50,000 a year. They may not have completed high school.

Data capsules like these suggest that the Latino vote is simply hamstrung by the same factors that impede the Election Day turnout of all Americans: poverty, youth, lack of schooling. Political scientists showed long ago that voting goes hand in glove with affluence and education. Generally speaking, the wealthier you are, the more degrees you earn, the more likely you are to turn out. But if these were the only relevant factors, Latino voting would most likely rise naturally over time as more Latinos enrolled in college and as the age of the average American-born Latino increased. (In 2012 their average age was 18.)

Causality unravels, however, when you start picking at the numbers. Take income, for example. While nearly a quarter of Latinos live in poverty, as a group they are slightly better off than African-Americans. Yet in 2012, African-Americans had the highest turnout rates in the nation. They, not Latinos, have arguably been the decisive bloc in our last two presidential contests and in this year's Democratic primary. So poverty alone can't explain the weak Hispanic vote.

Youth and education also prove to be red herrings. Hispanics are America's youngest and least-educated major racial or ethnic group. Nearly a third of foreign-born Latinos never reached ninth grade. Some have never had a day of schooling in their lives. But if age and learning were the decisive catalysts, we would expect to find the highest voter turnout among Asian-Americans, who are our second-oldest and best-educated group. More than half of Asian-Americans hold bachelors degrees. Yet Asian-Americans tend to vote at even lower rates than Latinos. In 2012, 53 percent of their eligible voters did not go to the polls.

So what do Asians and Hispanics, two vastly different groups in terms of age, education and culture, have in common? It's obvious once you look for it: For the past 30 years, most of America's **immigrants** have arrived from Asia and Latin America. Both groups struggle with English. Roughly a third of Hispanic adults and a 10th of Hispanic children say that they cannot speak English ''very well.'' Among Asians, the numbers are similar.

The American political system once efficiently trained **immigrants** in how to pull electoral levers. For all their flaws, urban political machines like Tammany Hall did an extraordinary job of recruiting poor, undereducated Irish and Italian **immigrants**, then shepherding their political incorporation into local and national affairs. But **immigrants** from Latin America and Asia were largely excluded from the old machines, both by laws limiting their naturalization and enfranchisement and by racism. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was not extended to Hispanics and Asians until 1975. By then most of the urban machines had been dismantled, and the leading edge of our current wave of Asian and Hispanic **immigrants** began unpacking their bags in Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Atlanta and Washington.

The **immigrants** from Latin America immediately found themselves lumped together under the label ''Hispanic,'' even if they spoke Portuguese or an indigenous language, even if they had no ancestral link to Spain. It's tough to galvanize such a heterogeneous group. The panethnic, multilingual category of ''Hispanic'' is a uniquely American invention, created by congressional legislation in the 1970s. In her book ''Making Hispanics,'' G. Cristina Mora shows how bureaucrats, media executives and political activists built the notion to combine Mexican-Americans, Cuban-Americans, Puerto Ricans and others in census counts and federal programs. The term was always deliberately ambiguous, Mora notes, so that it could accommodate varied origin stories. There are Hispanics who swam the Rio Grande hoping for a living wage, Hispanics who flew business class to enroll in Ivy League schools, Hispanics who disembarked as Cold Warriors in Florida. There are even Hispanics whose families owned land in the Southwest before it was ever part of the United States. (These ''Hispanics'' like to joke that they didn't cross the border; the border crossed them.) Unlike African-Americans, most of whom can trace a connection to slavery, Latinos have no single common history. Trump, Figueroa once told me, ''makes us more Latino'': His threats and insults provoke a unifying sense of indignation.

Sifting thorough the numbers and this complicated history makes the 52 percent of nonvoting Latinos look rather different. The problem isn't their youth, poverty or lack of education. The problem is that when you're poor, young or undereducated, it takes more effort to overcome your **immigrant** family's low levels of political socialization. For first-generation Americans, politics is often just one more cultural expression that they must decipher on their own. It's rarely a priority. The **immigrant** parents that I spoke with swam rivers and boarded airplanes to escape violence, to earn money, to educate their children. Learning to play American politics was never on the agenda.

In Virginia, I found that serious political talk was so rare among the American-born children of Spanish-speaking **immigrants** that they would often ask me questions like ''What is the Tea Party?'' and ''Who is my mayor?'' Alicio Castañeda, a student at George Mason University whose parents are from Mexico, told me that after we had lunch in April, he began reading more news articles and researching deeper into the presidential candidates. He voted on Super Tuesday. His love for the soccer team Manchester United had led him to The Guardian newspaper, which reminded him that it was a big day in America. ''I've always been personally interested in politics,'' he told me, ''but I haven't had anyone to talk to about it.''

Until the 1960s, high schools often taught courses on democracy, civics and government. At the turn of the 21st century, most teenagers received one such class, or none. This drought in civics hurts all Americans, but for Latinos it's devastating. Several studies have found that merely hearing parents chat about politics or watching them cast a ballot improves the odds that a child will later vote as an adult. Yet a national survey directed by Mark Hugo Lopez in 2002 found that young Latinos were the least likely to have discussed politics with their parents. They were also the most likely to believe that voting is ''difficult.''

On Super Tuesday, I glimpsed what was missing among so many of the Latino families I spoke with when I met Kat Heller, a non-Hispanic mother, exiting a polling station with two children. Growing up in Minnesota, Heller had always tagged along with her parents when they voted. Once, when she was about 12, her father took her to watch the ballots being counted. ''I just remember feeling it was really exciting,'' she told me. ''It was seeing history happening. Everyone was waiting breathlessly.'' Inside the voting booth on Super Tuesday, Heller put her 3-year-old son on her hip and asked him: ''Which do you think we should vote for?'' His 13 touches had already begun.

Absent Tammany Hall and civics in schools, the work of turning ''new Americans'' into voters often falls to volunteers like Keisy Chavez. Several weekends this summer, Chavez, 45, has stood outside of Todos Supermarket and other locations in Northern Virginia, clipboard in hand, fishing for Latinos who haven't registered to vote. On the Saturday morning that I joined her, she looked surprisingly stylish for the occasion: gold-toned sandals, brilliant white capri pants, fiery nails and a bright orange T-shirt blazoned with the words ''New Virginia Majority.'' You could not engineer a better volunteer than Chavez to help turn out the Latino vote. Political appeals, social scientists have found, work best when delivered by co-ethnics. Chavez meets other requirements as well: She's bilingual, outgoing and frank.

A good rate for voter registration is two new registrations an hour. Chavez and her colleague hit the mark with four new registrations between them (the colleague waited for Chavez every time someone's dominant language was Spanish). Still, most passers-by ignored them. One 20-something with jet black hair who did stop told Chavez, in Spanish, that he was a citizen but not registered. She tried to reel him in.

''O.K.,'' she responded with a smile, ''what is the problem?''

He said that he would come back to register next week, that she should give him her phone number.

''What happens if you don't come next week?'' she asked him.

''I promise you.''

''You know what happens,'' she said. ''If you don't do it now, four more years will go by, and you won't vote.''

Back and forth they went for several minutes. Finally, seeing that Chavez wouldn't give him her number, the man walked away without registering. Winning votes, Lola Quintela of the Fairfax County Democratic Committee told me, is ''trabajo de hormiga'' -- ants' work, performed grain by grain.

The political scientist Lisa García Bedolla proposed a different method in a 2005 paper for The Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy. Because political engagement is strongly influenced by social ties, she argues, Latinos should improve their participation by politicizing their existing social networks. (She also pushes for civics in schools.) Several of the Latinos I met seemed to vote only because they were connected to a political junkie. Manuel Fernandez, 25, a Mexican-American born in New York State, prefers rebuilding and drifting cars to reading politics, but he has voted in local and presidential elections since he turned 18 because his father, Guadencio, a businessman, persuaded him to register to vote and tells him when and how to cast his ballots. ''Dad is really into it,'' he said. ''Whenever my dad says it's voting time, we go vote.''

The Clinton campaign is splitting its strategy between the tactics. After analyzing which programs worked best during the primaries, Praeli began pushing an expansion of Nevada's bilingual Mujeres in Politics program in battleground and ''expansion'' states across the country. Mujeres in Politics marshals Latinas for the ant work of canvassing and phone banking, but it also relies on social ties to deepen the campaign's reach into Latino communities. Each Latina who participates is tasked with the responsibility of drawing in five more Latina volunteers.

''The theory for us was if you target Latinas and then you have Latinas talk to other Latinas, they're the best communicators to do that,'' Praeli told me. ''We see them as the C.E.O.s of their family and their communities. Part of my program description is you need to know that bodega with the highest foot traffic or the church secretary that can give you access to a faith community or who are the comadres in the neighborhood that have the largest influence. All you have to do is talk to a Latina to really understand that.'' Of course, it doesn't hurt that Latinas have voted in higher numbers than Latinos or that they were a key base for Clinton in the primaries.

Chavez herself was lured into politics by a Latina friend. For years after she settled in Virginia from Peru, she earned money washing dishes, waitressing, cleaning bathrooms, cleaning offices, ''cleaning anything,'' she says. At one point she held three jobs: a full-time job, a part-time job and a weekend job cleaning the airport at night. In 1996, she earned her real estate license. Then in 2009, after a friend asked her to walk with Terry McAuliffe in a parade, she was so smitten by his concern for Latinos that she decided to volunteer for his campaign for governor. For Chavez, the experience was intoxicating: ''I was like, 'Whoa, I did not know any of this existed.' '' She has volunteered for Virginia Democrats every year since then. Election season feels like a party to her. ''I have the best time,'' she told me. When Praeli spoke at the ''Latinos con Hillary'' event at Todos, Chavez was there, dressed head to toenails in blue.

The widespread assumption has been that rising numbers of Hispanic citizens will turn Virginia and other states in the South permanently Democratic. Certainly, with each election since 2001, Virginia Democrats have expanded their network of experienced Latino staff members and volunteers. Praeli and Figueroa's work depends on these veterans, a fact that Clinton tacitly acknowledged before Figueroa was even hired. On June 11, five days after The Associated Press called the Democratic primary for Hillary Clinton, the former president Bill Clinton held a closed-door round table in Arlington with about 20 key Latino leaders from all over the state. He, like Praeli after him, was rallying troops.

But Latinos aren't natural Democrats, any more than they are natural Republicans. In 1984, Ronald Reagan won the presidency with nearly half their vote in California. In 2004, George W. Bush won a second term with 40 percent of the national Latino vote, setting off panic in Democratic circles. And even in 2012, 33 percent of the Latino vote in Virginia went to Mitt Romney. He also took 39 percent of the Latino vote in Florida and 42 percent in Ohio.

From the beginning, Latino voters have been up for grabs. The national electoral bloc that we now call the Hispanic vote was created by middle- and upper-class Mexican-American Democrats who wanted more clout in government and politics. According to the historian Ignacio M. García's book on the subject, they organized ''Viva Kennedy'' clubs in Texas, California, New Mexico, Indiana, Illinois and elsewhere. Working together under an absurd logo of John Kennedy riding a grinning burro, these grass-roots clubs turned out thousands of Spanish speakers in delegate-rich states, helping Kennedy squeak into the White House by a margin of less than 1 percent of the popular vote. But Republicans pushed the strategy further: In ''Making Hispanics,'' Mora shows how members of Richard Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign, who nicknamed themselves the ''Brown Mafia,'' ran Spanish-language ads on radio and television. They crafted three distinct campaigns to bring in not just Mexican-Americans but also Puerto Ricans and Cuban-Americans. With their help, Nixon was re-elected by a landslide, taking about 35 percent of what was then known as the ''Spanish speaking'' vote. The real loss for Republicans since President George W. Bush left office is that their candidates have frittered away the affections that he and Reagan earned among Latinos.

Many conservative Hispanics I spoke with in Virginia told me that they don't fit neatly into either party. They would prefer a candidate who legalizes undocumented **immigrants**, outlaws abortion, makes college education free, wipes out drugs and gangs, rolls back the legal right to gay marriage, supports small-business credits and raises the minimum wage. **Immigration** reform might be a distinguishing concern for Latinos, but a recent report from Pew found that, as in previous presidential contests, it is not the top issue for Latino voters. More Latino voters say that the economy, health care and terrorism are very important.

Several of the Catholic Latinos I met said that abortion laws were their top priority. ''If we can close that one clinic,'' Iris Chavez told me with a sparkle in her eye, referring to a Planned Parenthood-like women's clinic that was once located in Manassas, ''we can set fire to the nation.'' Chavez, 26, was brought into the United States illegally from El Salvador when she was 11 and was protected by Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, which Obama created in 2012 for undocumented millennials who came to the United States as children. She works part-time as a secretary at All Saints Catholic Church, where so many Latinos attend the Sunday afternoon, Spanish-language Mass that they spill from the pews to stand three to four deep against the walls. She doesn't much like Donald Trump, she told me, but if she could vote, she would vote for him based on her belief that abortion is murder.

Chavez is the kind of Latino that Nixon's ''Brown Mafia'' was after -- the same kind that Reagan tried to embrace with his 1986 amnesty, which legalized 2.7 million Hispanics who had no criminal history, and the kind that Reince Priebus had hoped the Republican National Committee's 2012 election autopsy would provoke Republicans to seek again. If the party had followed George W. Bush's lead, Todos Supermarket might have become a site for G.O.P. events. Carlos Castro, its owner, considered himself ''almost 100 percent Republican'' until 2007, when the Republicans of Prince William County championed an anti-Hispanic ''**Immigration** Resolution,'' and he began to reconsider. He's now an independent. Other conservatives in the county told me that they would keep their votes out of everybody's reach until a candidate arrives whom they can fully support.

The specter of Trump has roused many Latinos to change their minds about registering; spikes have been documented in North Carolina and Georgia. In California, the rise in registrations early this year was almost double what it was during the same period in 2012. Jairo Castillo, a Nicaraguan-American construction worker in Virginia, complained to me in April that the vote ''doesn't count,'' but after Trump secured the Republican nomination in June, he registered to vote for the first time.

Even if a ''Trump effect'' among Latinos this year does help put Clinton in the White House, will those new voters stay engaged? History suggests they might not. According to the political scientists Matt Barreto and Gary M. Segura, more than a million Latinos in California registered to vote for the first time in the years after the state passed Proposition 187, a 1994 ballot initiative. Prop. 187 prohibited undocumented **immigrants** from state-funded institutions, like schools, and required police officers to report their arrests to federal **immigration** authorities. In a statewide election, the initiative passed with 59 percent of the vote. Pete Wilson, the Republican governor who had championed the measure, won re-election that same fall. Prop. 187 was soon tied up in federal court, which ruled many of its elements unconstitutional, but California's electorate soon went on to pass a ban on affirmative action (Prop. 209) and a reduction in bilingual education (Prop. 227). Both measures were widely regarded as anti-Hispanic.

Prop. 187 and its cousins had notoriously partisan effects in California. In a paper published in The American Journal of Political Science in 2006, the political scientists Shaun Bowler, Stephen P. Nicholson and Segura found that before 1994 Latinos split their votes almost equally between the two parties. By contrast, after the passage of these propositions, the probability that a Latino would identify as Republican fell by more than two-thirds, erasing all the gains that Republicans made since Ronald Reagan's 1980 campaign. Data also revealed that the propositions moved many non-Hispanic whites in California into the Democratic column. Attacking undocumented **immigrants** and Latinos had provoked a white backlash against Republicans that mirrors the disaffection that Trump's nomination has stirred among many party moderates this season.

But as time went on, Prop. 187's effect on Latino turnout revealed itself to be not a turning point but a blip. Last September, The Los Angeles Times noted that only 17 percent of eligible California Latinos voted in 2014. Turnout was similar among Asian-Americans, while all other racial and ethnic groups combined voted more than twice as much. ''By all accounts, the Central Valley is a place where Latino candidates should win elections,'' the reporter Kate Linthicum noted. ''Yet Latino candidates' election losses have piled up here in recent years -- in large part because Latinos aren't turning out to vote.''

Among those defeated in 2014 was Amanda Renteria, now the national political director for Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign. Renteria ran for Congress in a Central Valley district that was 74 percent Hispanic. She grew up in the Central Valley and taught math at her old high school in Woodlake before attending Harvard Business School and becoming the first Latina chief of staff in the history of the Senate. She lost her 2014 bid for Congress by 17 points. If Latinos had turned out for her at the levels that African-Americans turned out for Obama, it's possible that today she would sit in Congress.

This March, the Public Policy Institute of California released a report that detailed the gulf that has opened up in California politics since the Prop. 187 surge. ''Voters in California,'' it noted, ''tend to be older, white, college educated, affluent and homeowners. They also tend to identify themselves as 'haves' -- rather than 'have-nots' -- when asked to choose between these two economic categories. Nonvoters tend to be younger, Latino, renters, less affluent and less likely to be college educated than likely voters -- and they generally identify themselves as have-nots.''

California may be a majority-minority state in terms of its population, the report observed, but its electorate is not: 60 percent of its likely voters are white, while only 18 percent are Latino. It would be naïve, however, to expect Democrats to throw themselves wholeheartedly into the project of turning out the state's Hispanics given that they already control solid majorities in California's State Assembly and State Senate.

''We have to be honest,'' María Teresa Kumar, the president and co-founder of Voto Latino, a nonpartisan organization, told me last fall. ''When it comes to voter registration, each party is looking to the Latino community and the African-American community for enough votes. They don't need us all.'' From her office in Washington, she directs efforts to engage young Latinos who are often navigating the political system for their families. ''Our job,'' Kumar said, ''is to do true political empowerment: It's mass mobilization and mass participation. And for parties, it's about how little do they need to spend to get over the top.''

If Virginia's battleground status suggests a triumph of the Latino vote, it also provides a cautionary tale about its limitations. In early August, Senator Tim Kaine, Hillary Clinton's running mate, appeared in the green-and-yellow gymnasium of Huguenot High School in Richmond. ''Yes, we Kaine!'' the crowd shouted under the floodlights. His homecoming rally doubled as a history lesson. Kaine pointed out that Virginia had gone 170 years without a president or vice-president. When he moved to Virginia in 1984, he said, neither Republicans nor Democrats bothered to campaign in the state, a situation that he attributed to a conservative lock on power that depended upon marginalizing women and minorities. ''We pushed you away from the table,'' he said. But since Barack Obama turned Virginia into a battleground, it has become a campaign stop for every would-be president. ''It's much better to live in state where no one can take you for granted,'' Kaine said.

The shift that brought volunteers like Keisy Chavez to the Democratic table actually began long before Obama. When Mark Warner was elected governor in 2001, his campaign strategy relied on winning rural, Nascar-loving Republicans, not on including minorities. But Kaine's own gubernatorial victory in 2005 used an urban-suburban strategy that relied upon the participation of Northern Virginia's fast-growing, multiethnic communities. Given Kaine's experiences arguing civil rights cases and his work as a missionary in Honduras, the shift may have reflected personal affinities. It was also a canny response to Virginia's changing demographics. According to the University of Virginia's Demographics Research Group, in 1970 only one in 100 Virginians were born outside of the United States. By 2012, that ratio had increased to one in nine. Such demographic transformations are hardly unique to the state. Between 1990 and 2008, the number of Latinos living in Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee grew by 602 percent, prompting political scientists to dub the region the ''Nuevo South.'' ''If you put your faith in the Virginia voter,'' Kaine recalled telling the candidate Obama in 2008, ''You're going to win Virginia.''

Yet the majority of Virginia's General Assembly is still Republican, and only two of its state-level representatives, the delegates Alfonso Lopez and Jason Miyares, are Latino. Harry Wiggins, the chairman of Prince William County's Democratic Committee, described the problem like this: ''We win the presidential. We won for Mark Warner. We won for Tim Kaine. We won for Terry McAuliffe. Yet the county board we lose, because they have off-year elections, and we have very light turnout.''

Figueroa is already preparing for the inevitable drop. ''The numbers are going to plummet next year in places that count, like Prince William,'' he told me. In 2015, the Census Bureau weighed Prince William County at 22.3 percent Latino, 21.8 percent African-American and 8.7 percent Asian. The chairman of its board of supervisors, however, is Corey Stewart, a Republican, who is also chairman of Donald Trump's campaign in the state. ''When he is president and I am governor, you're going to see one helluva tag team in Virginia, and we're finally going to remove illegal **immigrants**,'' Stewart told The Richmond Times-Dispatch in June. The gubernatorial race will occur next year, when no other state in the country except New Jersey will be holding elections.

While Kaine spoke, Figueroa stood near the press box, tapping at his phone and taking in the scene. In the days leading up to the rally, he mentioned several times that he was working to make the event ''blacker and browner.'' His handiwork was evident in the V.I.P. bleachers directly in front of the television cameras, where a group of people sat, many of them wearing the unmistakable bright blue-and-white jerseys of El Salvador's national soccer team. They were students, parents and teachers associated with the English-as-a-second-language program at Huguenot High School and its International Club. Their V.I.P. seating had come from Figueroa. Their homemade red, white and blue sign ''Juntos Se Puede!'' (''Together we can!'') gave Kaine a camera-ready opportunity that he seized, pointing to them and leading a round of ''Sí se puede!'' -- a chant that will always have special resonance for those who know that it originated not in 2008 with Obama but with Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta in 1972.

After Kaine finished his speech, as ''Shake It Off'' blasted through the gym, several of these students joined the throng vying for an opportunity to snap a selfie with him. I asked two of them what they knew about Kaine. ''He was mayor of Virginia,'' one said. The other added that he had lived in Honduras and was a friend of Latinos. That was all that they seemed to know. Two parents I spoke with told me, in Spanish, that they understood only pieces of Kaine's speech, which was in English. This explained why one father appeared so poker-faced through much of the rally. Unless his son translated the speeches for him, he couldn't form an opinion. He didn't understand what was being said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Affordable Care Act has helped 20 million people gain health insurance, but it explicitly excludes one group: undocumented **immigrants**. Now, lawmakers in California want to help change that by letting all **immigrants** purchase policies on the state's insurance marketplace without federal subsidies. This is a good idea that the Obama administration should support.

The act bars undocumented **immigrants** from purchasing policies on the federal and state health insurance marketplaces with or without tax subsidies. California officials say they will seek a waiver from the federal government under a provision of the law that allows states to experiment with different approaches. About 30 percent of California's two million undocumented adults could be eligible, and state lawmakers estimated that 17,000 people would sign up for coverage in the first year if the Obama administration granted the waiver. Administration officials say they will consider the request.

Undocumented **immigrants** can already buy coverage directly from insurers, but these policies tend not to be as comprehensive as plans sold on the state's Covered California marketplace. The waiver would also help families in which only some members are undocumented **immigrants**. Currently, some of these families choose not to buy marketplace policies because they fear that doing so will increase their risk of deportation.

Conservative critics of health care reform are opposing California's plan, the first of its kind in the country, but it is not clear why they would fight it. The people who obtain coverage through the wavier would pay the full cost of the insurance. Allowing them to spend their own money in this way would, in fact, benefit the state and local governments by reducing demand for charity care at emergency rooms and public hospitals, which are typically the last resort for people who lack insurance.

The decision to seek a waiver passed by a large bipartisan majority in the California Legislature. In the last year, California extended state subsidized care to undocumented children under its Medi-Cal program. More than 135,000 children have been enrolled, and officials say this has encouraged parents to get children vaccinated and to use other preventive services, which benefits public health by limiting the spread of infections. A handful of other states, including Illinois, Massachusetts and New York, also provide coverage to undocumented children.

Helping **immigrants** gain access to health care is not just sound fiscal and health policy. It is also a matter of fairness. Economists say **immigrants** typically contribute more in income, payroll and other taxes to support public programs like Medicare and Social Security than they receive in government benefits. For example, between 2002 and 2009, **immigrants** contributed $115 billion more to Medicare than they received from the program, according to a 2013 study published in the journal Health Affairs. That's to say nothing of the many nonfinancial contributions they make to their cities and states.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDIn June, not long after Donald Trump attacked an Indiana-born judge because he was ''Mexican,'' I went to go see Representative Raúl Labrador in the Longworth Office Building on Capitol Hill. Labrador, an Idaho Republican, cuts an unusual profile in Washington. Born in Puerto Rico, he was raised Mormon by a single mother in Las Vegas and now, as he told me, represents ''one of the most conservative districts in the United States, one of the whitest districts in the United States.'' Labrador came to Congress as part of the Tea Party wave of 2010 and later helped found the Freedom Caucus, the House's conservative vanguard. He was also a pivotal member of a bipartisan group of eight House members who, in early 2013, came together in hopes of producing comprehensive legislation to fix the nation's **immigration** system.

Today, nearly every word of that last sentence feels as if it were ripped from a political fiction of ''West Wing''-level implausibility. **Immigration** is the conflict that has eaten the 2016 elections -- relegating other pressing issues to the margins, embodying Washington's political dysfunction, further polarizing a divided country and, above all, fueling the presidential campaign of a man who began his candidacy by vowing to build a wall to keep Mexico from sending ''rapists'' to America. In recent weeks, even Trump's own campaign seems to have grown alarmed by the political toxicity of what it has unleashed, embarking on a series of incoherent revisions before settling back on hard talk about creating a ''special deportation task force.''

But just four years ago, Republican leaders, coming off a presidential election in which their candidate received barely a quarter of the Hispanic vote, made a concerted push to reach a compromise on **immigration** reform. President Obama, too, elevated it as one of the top issues of his second term. Two days after the election, Speaker John Boehner told ABC News that reform was ''long overdue,'' saying that ''I'm confident that the president, myself, others can find the common ground to take care of this issue once and for all.'' At a time when Congress, because of the strategic calculus of its Republican leadership, was struggling to pass such once-rudimentary measures as budgets and highway bills, and bipartisan legislative efforts had become a snow-leopard-like rarity in Washington, it was a remarkable moment: The parties' imperatives had converged on what everyone involved envisioned as a historic piece of legislation to resolve one of the nation's most conspicuous problems, a broken **immigration** system that had left 11 million people undocumented.

The **immigration** bill was supposed to be a relatively straightforward en­deavor -- not politically painless, by any means, but a clear win for all the parties involved, enough so that it came much closer to happening than most people think. ''I've never been involved in an issue where there's no organized opposition to it,'' Representative John Yarmuth of Louisville, Ky., one of Labrador's Democratic colleagues in the Group of 8, told me. ''It's so bizarre when you have the business community, organized labor, the faith community, law enforcement, you name it, everybody's for it. Come on -- how can you have something everybody's for and not get it passed?''

But the bill did not pass. And its failure revealed how fully the Republican Party had boxed itself in in Congress -- the degree to which it had been paralyzed by its own extremity and tactical logic, and the degree to which this intransigence had produced a cynicism among Demo­crats that amounted to a self-fulfilling prophecy. In retrospect, Congress left itself open to the rise of someone like Trump, who, with his blend of nativism and anti-Washingtonism, was able to draw on resentment of undocumented **immigrants** themselves and resentment of Washington's inability to come up with a solution for the problem.

I didn't bring up Trump in my conversation with Labrador, but Labrador did. In the midst of talking about the collapse of the **immigration**-reform effort he had been part of, he broke off and said, matter-of-factly: ''The reason we have Donald Trump as a nominee today is because we as Republicans have failed on this issue.''

It's easy to forget how recently the Hispanic vote was viewed as up for grabs. In 2004, George W. Bush won 44 percent of Latino voters. As late as 2006, Demo­crats and Republicans responded similarly to a Pew Research Center question about whether **immigrants** ''strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents,'' with about 40 percent in each party saying yes.

Seeking to secure lasting Hispanic support for Republicans, Bush in 2007 threw his support behind a bipartisan push for comprehensive **immigration** reform on the Hill. But the legislation failed amid a talk-radio-fueled backlash over ''amnesty'' -- granting legal status to many **immigrants** who arrived in the country illegally -- as well as a lack of political capital on Bush's part and ambivalence among many Democrats and organized labor about the bill's provisions.

In late 2007, after that effort foundered, Representative Xavier Becerra, a Los Angeles Demo­crat, approached Representative Sam Johnson, a Republican from the northern suburbs of Dallas. Becerra, the American-born son of Mexican **immigrants**, had grown up hearing his father talk about seeing ''No dogs or Mexicans'' signs in windows. By his estimate, his district held more noncitizens than any other in the country, and it seemed to him that his entire career in Congress had been defined by the fight to bring clarity for those people and their families.

Johnson, a retired Air Force colonel who spent nearly seven years in a North Vietnamese prison after being shot down during the Vietnam War, was staunchly conservative but not doctrinaire; Becerra was easygoing and well-liked by many of his Republican colleagues. The two congressmen had worked together in the past. ''I said, 'Sam, I betcha you and I, we're about as opposite as you can get, but if you and I sat down, we could figure this out,' '' Becerra says. ''He said, 'You know what, partner, you're probably right.' ''

Becerra and Johnson invited colleagues to expand the conversation, and by the 2008 election, the group had grown to 16. They met often, for hours at a time, and always behind closed doors, to protect the Republicans participating -- memories of the 2007 backlash lingered. By 2010, they had the bones of a bill. ''It became clear that there were a whole bunch of R's that wanted to get this done,'' Becerra told me.

The essential elements of any comprehensive reform package had been clear for some time: improving enforcement for those overstaying their visas; tightening border security; easing the route for legal entry to reduce future illegal **immigration** and supply the work force; and coming to a disposition for the millions already in the United States. In early 2010, the group worked through the usual tension points -- how many guest workers to allow for agriculture and other seasonal employment, what kind of compliance to demand from employers, how many visas to grant for high-tech workers from abroad, how long the path to citizenship for those granted legal status should be and so on.

They made real progress that year, but outside the room, the climate was deteriorating. House Republicans had mounted party-line opposition to Obama's economic-stimulus package, climate legislation and Obamacare. There also simply wasn't the necessary time or attention available, the secretary of homeland security at the time, Janet Napolitano, told me. ''The energies of the administration were focused on the economy, and we were still in Iraq and Afghanistan,'' she says.

That fall, Republicans swept the House, deposing many of the Democrats involved in the **immigration** effort, and the talks came to an abrupt end. The lesson was plain: Bipartisan huddles were well and good, but they meant little in the absence of will on the part of party leaders.

That will suddenly materialized after Mitt Romney's decisive loss in the 2012 presidential election. Romney won just 27 percent of the Hispanic vote, devastating his chances in swing states like Florida, Nevada and Colorado. Republican leaders and conservative pundits took a hard look at his 44-point deficit with Hispanics and saw in it both threat and opportunity. On one hand, a Republican Party that could not attract Hispanic voters risked demographic obsolescence. On the other, a party that could attract those voters might not need to change much else in its policy platform.

It seemed a seductively easy fix. ''There's no need for radical change,'' the conservative Washington Post columnist Charles Krauthammer, who had previously opposed reform, wrote two days after the election. ''The other party thinks it owns the demographic future -- counter that in one stroke by fixing the Latino problem.'' Also announcing his conversion that day was Sean Hannity of Fox News. ''It's simple to me to fix it,'' he said. ''If people are here, law-abiding, participating for years, their kids are born here, you know, first secure the border, pathway to citizenship, done.''

Eight days after the election, Bill O'Reilly aired a segment on **immigration** reform on his Fox News show and invited on Luis Gutiérrez, a Democrat born to Puerto Rican parents who represents part of Chicago and for a time participated in Becerra and Johnson's bipartisan talks. ''I have many Republican colleagues, good men and women,'' Gutiérrez told O'Reilly. ''And you know what they've been telling me? They said: 'Luis, let's take this off the table. Let's take it off the table once and for all, or you're going to run the tables on us.' ''

The following day, Gutiérrez was at the House of Representatives' gymnasium when he spied the Republican Party's most famous gym rat: Representative Paul Ryan, who was readjusting to normal life in the Capitol after the Romney campaign. ''Hey man, I did everything I could to be sure you couldn't be vice president,'' Gutiérrez told him. ''Just joking.''

Ryan took the gibe in stride, then got down to business. He told Gutiérrez that he'd seen him the night before on O'Reilly's show. ''He said to me, 'I don't want to do it to take it off the table, Luis,' '' Gutiérrez told me. '' 'I don't want to do it because it's politically expedient. I want to do it because it's the right thing to do, because I'm Catholic, and my Christian values say we cannot have millions of people in second-tier status.' I was like, Brother, you and I are going to get along just fine.''

The Republican National Committee, for its part, had convened the Growth and Opportu­nity Project, a wide-ranging overhaul -- the commentariat called it the party's ''autopsy'' -- that, among other things, aimed to determine how the party could fare better with Hispanic voters. In December, Ryan was at the Capitol Hill Club, the Republican social organization a block from the Capitol, when he spotted Ali Noorani, executive director of the nonpartisan National **Immigration** Forum. Ryan ''talked my ear off'' about **immigration** reform, Noorani recalls. ''He said, 'We're going to do a conservative, five-bill package, with a different coalition of members for each bill.' ''

The White House and congressional Democrats were eager to take the Republicans up on their new resolve. Obama had incurred the wrath of **immigrant**advocates by presiding over hundreds of thousands of deportations -- making an ex­plicit exception only for **immigrants** brought to the country as children -- precisely in order to build up credibility with Republicans for this moment. And Congress wouldn't be starting from zero; they still had the groundwork laid by Becerra and Johnson's aborted post-2007 effort. In December 2012, Becerra approached Johnson again. ''We've got Barack Obama for another four years,'' he told him. ''Think we can start talking again?''

Among the members of the reconstituted House **immigration** group was Mario Diaz-Balart, a Republican from Miami. In Florida, the Diaz-Balarts are a political dynasty. Mario's grandfather and father were legislators and held other offices in Cuba during the Batista years; his aunt was Fidel Castro's first wife; his older brother Lincoln was a recently retired congressman who had also been in Becerra's group of 16. (A younger brother, José, is a news anchor on Telemundo.) Mario, who has the bluff, jocular bearing of the classic urban politician, saw himself as a dealmaker who could skirt partisan ruts to achieve a historic breakthrough.

After the 2012 election, Diaz-Balart instructed his chief of staff, Cesar Gonzalez, to open a back channel to the Obama administration. Gonzalez tried to reach the White House domestic-policy adviser Cecilia Muñoz, the daughter of Bolivian **immigrants** and a longtime **immigrant** advocate who was the administration's point person on the issue, to set up a meeting at an exurban Starbucks where no one would recognize them. After some prodding, Muñoz agreed instead to call Diaz-Balart one day in January. Gonzalez told her that any time would work, except for one 20-minute window in which his boss was meeting with a foreign minister. Muñoz called during that window.

After that, Gonzalez pleaded with Muñoz to coordinate better and asked if the administration had any big moves planned on **immigration**. Muñoz said it did not. Shortly after Gonzalez hung up the phone, news broke that Obama planned to give a speech in Las Vegas demanding that Congress pass **immigration** reform. Gonzalez got the message: He and Diaz-Balart were on their own.

As that episode suggested, the Obama administration and Democratic congressional leadership did not see eye to eye with the House **immigration** group. In the administration's view, the path to **immigration** reform ran not through the House but through the Senate, where an­other bipartisan group was at work on the issue. The Senate was still under Democratic control and could be counted on to produce legislation closer to the administration's ideal.

The Democrats' ambitions for a more liberal bill also reflected how much, and how quickly, the politics of **immigration** had shifted -- a shift that occurred mostly within the Democratic Party. In Pew's regular polling on the issue, the share of Republicans saying that **immigrants** strengthened the country had dipped slightly since 2006. But the percentage of Democrats saying so had soared to around 70 percent. Reform would eventually need the approval of the House, of course, where Republicans held a 33-seat edge. But the administration was proceeding on the assumption that legislation based on the Senate bill, when it was passed, would be able to clear the lower chamber with the backing of most Democrats and some Republicans. Obama's staff had counted the votes and felt sure they were there.

This plan, however, hinged on one assumption: that Boehner would be willing to hold a vote on the legislation. Dennis Hastert, the previous Republican speaker, had formalized a Republican custom -- now known as the Hastert rule -- by which the speaker would not bring up a bill for a vote if it did not command support from a majority of the party's caucus. Boehner had held to the Hastert rule in all but a few cases.

But in early 2013, Boehner was speaking often with Obama about **immigration** and giving every indication of being very serious about doing whatever it took to pass legislation. So the White House focused its efforts on shaping the Senate bill, while limiting its House considerations mainly to building the outside coalition -- supporters from law enforcement, the evangelical community, small businesses and corporations -- that would provide cover for an eventual vote.

The administration's focus on the Senate did not dissuade the House group from forging ahead. The lawmakers began holding marathon meetings again, switching locations among House offices to throw the press off the scent, with members taking turns picking up the dinner-catering tabs. The four Republicans were Johnson, Diaz-Balart, Labrador and Representative John Carter, a former judge from central Texas. The Democrats were Becerra, Gutiérrez, Yarmuth and Representative Zoe Lofgren of San Jose, Calif.

As had been the case in past efforts, the basic approach to reform was no mystery: Everyone agreed it would involve improving border security and internal visa enforcement, rationalizing the system for legal entry and allowing most of those already here to stay. (Polls in early 2013 showed strong public support, around 70 percent, for such a package.) ''The ground rules were that we wanted to come up with something that fixes the problem and can pass,'' Yarmuth says. ''Those were the only two criteria.''

The group was under no illusions that it would be easy to get the bill through the House. Diaz-Balart says that Boehner was all along telling him that whatever bill they came up with should ideally command a majority of Republican support, thus conforming to the Hastert rule. Getting a majority did not seem out of the question to Diaz-Balart. A small core of Republicans would be viscerally opposed to any **immigration** bill. But this group, by Diaz-Balart's reckoning, was not much larger than the group firmly in favor of reform, and the great mass of House Republicans, he thought, was not out of reach.

This last group was wary of **immigration** -- uncertain on the policy details, uncomfortable talking about it and oversensitive to the calls they got from constituents and activists opposed to it, despite the fact that very few members had ever actually been threatened over the issue by a primary challenger. But this mass operated with a herd instinct. With safety in numbers, it could potentially be moved. ''Most people realize the system we have is broken,'' Diaz-Balart told me.

Luis Gutiérrez was, by his own admission, not exactly a Democratic Party foot soldier when it came to **immigration** reform. Getting relief from the threat of deportation for families trumped all else, even party loyalty. He had been a holdout on Obamacare over the question of undocu­mented **immigrants** not receiving benefits and over the administration's deferral of **immigration** reform -- to the point of being upbraided at a meeting by Valerie Jarrett, Obama's consigliere, who asked him why he wasn't falling in line. ''It was an intervention, and I was the drug addict,'' he jokes.

In April 2013, as the Senate and House groups were plugging along with their bills, Paul Ryan joined Gutiérrez at a Chicago City Club luncheon to push **immigration** reform. Gutiérrez was also seeing what seemed like encouraging signs from Boehner. But he was starting to get worrisome signals from the Democratic leadership in the House, the Senate and the White House -- a sense that they weren't taking the House group's effort seriously. They, along with reform advocates, were focusing all their attention on the Senate bill to a degree that he found nonsensical.

The R.N.C.'s Growth and Opportunity report, ordered up after Romney's loss and released on March 18, did not mince words. ''We must embrace and champion comprehensive **immigration** reform,'' it argued. ''If we do not, our party's appeal will continue to shrink to its core constituencies only.'' Democratic leaders essentially took that language at face value, assuming House Republicans were under orders to deal with the issue. They were wagering that they could get a better bill by ignoring the House group's work; if that project failed, then the Democrats could simply press the more liberal Senate bill upon the House. ''It was clear to me that no matter what I negotiated, they didn't want me to really reach an agreement, because they wanted to go with the Senate version,'' Gutiérrez says.

To Gutiérrez, this was borderline delusional; it ignored both the House's longstanding resentment of being seen as subordinate to the Senate and the weak position of Republican leaders, whose edicts about demographic imperatives carried only so much weight with members in safe districts with few Hispanic voters. Gutiérrez told me that when he pointed out to Senate Democrats and **immigrant** advocates all the House Republicans who had sworn they wouldn't accept the Senate bill, they waved off his concerns: '' 'Don't worry, Luis. Whatever you do, we're going to overwhelm them with such a huge vote in the Senate' '' -- with lots of Republicans -- '' 'that they will take the Senate bill.' It was not a plan for success.''

The Republican contingent had its own icono­clast in the form of Raúl Labrador. The Idahoan had worked for 15 years as an **immigration** lawyer, which made him a natural addition to the House group -- a perfect liaison to the new Tea Party-aligned wing of the caucus who also had a professional understanding of the issue.

To his Democratic colleagues, Labrador's assertive good cheer belied his doctrinaire conservatism. ''Labrador,'' Gutiérrez told me, ''is the kind of guy, if your car broke down, he'd come by and help you fix your tire and get you back on the road -- and if it was too late, you'd stay at his house. But don't expect him the next day, you know?'' Labrador's mantra was that any legislation had to avoid repeating the failures of the 1986 **immigration** law signed by Ronald Reagan, which Labrador argued provided inadequate enforcement alongside its amnesty provisions. ''The principle is you cannot make the mistake of Reagan,'' Labrador told me.

Labrador arrived with a list of conservative criticisms of what the group was drafting. As the group worked through issues he raised, there was something that bothered him: the way the Democrats kept having to seek approval of agreements the group had reached with the office of the top House Democrat, Nancy Pelosi. ''The four Republicans,'' he told me, ''were told by the speaker and the people in charge, 'You come up with a deal.' The Democrats did not have that independence. They had to run everything by their leadership.''

Labrador soon discovered that there was one point on which the Democrats in the group were particularly sensitive. The group that met in 2010 agreed that **immigrants** seeking legal status would need to pay for the cost of their own health care. The Affordable Care Act had complicated this requirement by eliminating the cheap catastrophic health care plans that low-income **immigrants** could most easily afford.

In negotiations, Labrador insisted that undocumented **immigrants** would need to be made explicitly ineligible for any health care subsidies whatsoever -- that, as he put it to me, ''taxpayers are not going to be stuck with a dime.'' He even questioned the status quo of hospitals' paying for emergency treatment for undocumented **immigrants** with federal funds for indigent care, demanding that the **immigrants** be required to pay off their bills over time.

House Democratic leaders, including Pelosi, argued that this could have the effect of sending people into bankruptcy, forcing them to leave the country. If the Democrats were so worried about **immigrants**' ability to meet the requirement, Labrador countered, they could carve out an exception to Obamacare, allowing catastrophic plans.

Labrador's demands created a bind for the Democrats -- especially Xavier Becerra, who helped found the group back in 2007. Among the Democrats, Becerra was now often the most wary of tentative agreements within the group, saying they needed to be run past Pelosi. (Becerra says he was simply concerned about the language being ''unworkable.'') ''His attitude changed dramatically,'' Diaz-Balart says. ''Gutiérrez had been a straight shooter -- 'I can't go any further than this.' You know where he stands.'' Becerra, he said, ''had been fine, and then it was like a switch, wham. ... It was like, whoa.''

Gutiérrez had some idea what had happened. Becerra had risen to the No. 4 slot among House Democrats and was close with Pelosi, who in turn was in constant communication with the White House. Gutiérrez himself was under great pressure from Pelosi not to give up too much to the Republicans -- especially nothing that would undermine Obamacare. Gutiérrez shrugged off her admonitions. ''I just found it extraordinary that every time we reached an agreement on something, then we had to go back to House Democratic leadership to explain it all over again,'' he says. Lofgren was more diplomatic. ''Becerra is a very cautious man,'' she told me.

The mind-set that Gutiérrez was contending with among Democratic leaders was hardly incomprehensible. They had for years faced total Republican intransigence on any bill that might be of political value to Obama. The notion that the House could now muster legislation on so thorny an issue was hard to credit; in my conversations with White House and Senate Democratic staff members, their estimation of the House's efforts on **immigration** oozed condescension verging on scorn. House Republicans had become trapped in a cage of their own making: On the one side they were hemmed in by a constituency and far-right contingent opposed to compromise on principle. On the other side were Democrats who, even when many Republicans did want to pass a law -- one the Democrats wanted, too -- responded with a collective eye roll.

Soon enough, Gutiérrez's warnings to Democratic leaders proved prescient. In mid-April, the Senate group introduced its bill, whose generally liberal provisions -- a path to eventual citizenship for most of those in the United States illegally, generous levels of visas for family reunification and fewer guest-worker permits than many businesses wanted -- and association with Sena­tor Chuck Schumer of New York, the dominant Democrat in the group, predictably riled House Republicans. Labrador and the two Texans, John Carter and Sam Johnson, started coming under pressure for their involvement. On May 15, Carter delivered an ultimatum: If there wasn't resolution at the group's next meeting, the next day, he was out. For the first time, the meeting's location in one of the House office buildings was leaked to the press. A couple dozen reporters massed outside the room, ready to pounce if Carter or anyone else walked out.

Inside, Lofgren proposed new language on health care. Her colleagues gathered to read it over her shoulder on her new iPad Mini. It was very vague, essentially stating that **immigrants** would need to pay for their own health care and that if any government entity provided them with services, they would be ineligible for permanent residence. Everyone seemed provisionally in favor of it -- except for Becerra. The Republicans were exasperated. ''F Becerra,'' Gonzalez, Diaz-Balart's chief of staff, emailed a colleague. ''Ugh. Now I'm looking for window.''

The group broke into separate rooms, Demo­crats in one and Republicans in another. When the group reassembled, the Republicans said they were fine with the language. Then Becerra said he would have to run it by Pelosi.

Carter exploded. ''I don't have to check it with John [Boehner], why do you have to check with Nancy?'' he said, according to Gonzalez and others in the room. ''I'm making a decision here -- why can't you?''

The group left the meeting saying they had a tentative agreement, but in the days that followed, the Democrats backed away. At a meeting with the group's Democrats, Pelosi loudly scolded Gutiérrez for having strayed too far from his brief on **immigration**. Gutiérrez himself was furious that health care had assumed such importance. At the next meeting of the group, Gutiérrez asked the staff members to leave, which was unusual, and berated Becerra for having made things so hard.

It was the Republicans, however, who finally broke first. On June 5, 2013, Labrador announced he was leaving the group, saying the health care issue had become insurmountable and that he would focus on crafting Republican-only legislation instead. It was a grievous blow to the group, coming after it had gone to great lengths -- falling behind the Senate in drafting its bill -- to address Labrador's complaints on multiple fronts. Democrats I spoke to viewed his protestations as fundamentally cynical, an excuse to kill a bill he was ambivalent about by placing it in conflict with the other party's most treasured recent legislative accomplishment. ''If people want to get to an outcome, they can get to an outcome,'' Muñoz said, and sighed. ''Look, there's a reason why no bill ever got introduced. Had a bill been introduced, the pressure to bring it through the process would have been very, very high, which was why they never introduced it.''

Labrador's exit provided some relief at first. ''He's a very emotional guy, and everybody was like, whew,'' Lofgren says. ''It was easier to have discussions that were productive with Labrador out, because people could focus and not go off on tangents.'' The group also kept getting encouragement from Boehner. He surprised Lofgren by inviting her to a private meeting. ''He said: 'Keep this going. This is really important. This is the best chance we have.' ''

The subtext of Boehner's pep talk was that the political context around the issue was changing, in unhelpful ways. He was coming under increasing pressure from his conservative flank to vow not to break the Hastert rule on **immigration**. The increase in drug trafficking from Mexico was giving opponents more fodder. Representative Steve King of Iowa warned that summer of **immigrants** with ''calves the size of cantaloupes because they're hauling 75 pounds of mari­juana across the desert.'' And the Senate, by having released its bill first, had given opponents something to push back against.

Support for the bill from Republican-allied outside groups like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce was registering less in the House than hoped. And the memory of the 2012 loss was fading. Members were talking up a series of posts by Sean Trende, a RealClearPolitics.com analyst, that presented an alternate explanation for the defeat. Contrary to conventional wisdom, Trende argued, Republicans did not need more Hispanic support to win the presidency. They just needed to draw out the ''missing white voters'' Romney had failed to excite.

On June 18, Boehner stated more definitively than before in a meeting with fellow House Republicans that he would not allow an **immigration** reform bill to come to the floor without a majority of Republicans behind it. The following week, the Senate passed its bill by a vote of 68-32, with 14 Republicans in favor -- the sort of decisive victory that Democratic leaders had banked on. But in a meeting of House Republicans in the Capitol basement, Boehner said the House would not take up the Senate bill and would instead continue to produce its own legislation.

What legislation, **immigration** reformers wondered, was Boehner talking about? The Group of 8 had not yet produced a draft. The support that Paul Ryan had communicated so enthusiastically to Gutiérrez in late 2012 was also proving elusive. On Sept. 10, Diaz-Balart hosted an evening meeting at his apartment to discuss a path forward on **immigration**, with Ryan, Labrador and a handful of staff members. But the evening wore on with barely any mention of the issue. It was the night of Obama's speech announcing that he had asked Congress to postpone its vote on authorizing airstrikes on Syria. The group watched the speech, hung around for a while and then dispersed.

Ten days later, Sam Johnson and John Carter announced that they, too, were officially leaving the bipartisan group, rendering it defunct. They were under increasing pressure for participating, and since Labrador had left and taken with him the group's line to the House's Tea Party contingent, the project's efficacy was in doubt. After all the years spent haggling together in small rooms, the news of the Texans' departure reached the other remaining members via news release.

After the Group of 8 disintegrated, Boehner seemed adrift on **immigration**. In January 2014, he announced a set of ''standards'' for the legislation at a party retreat, but they went over poorly, and even supporters of reform were puzzled by their purpose. ''That kind of fell like a lead balloon,'' Diaz-Balart told me. After members heading into primary season for the 2014 midterms complained that it wasn't a good time for the issue, Boehner announced that he would not proceed after all.

Boehner's No. 2 and likely successor, Eric Cantor, was even more wary. ''He was one of the most hard-ass guys we dealt with,'' Diaz-Balart says. ''He was always fair but very tough on us.'' On May 12, Boehner was in Laredo, Tex., on the Mexican border, during a fund-raising tour, when he ran into Ali Noorani, the **immigration**-reform advocate. Noorani asked Boehner where things stood. ''In all my years in public service, I've seen weird issues, but this is the weirdest,'' Boehner said, according to Noorani. ''My own guys'' -- his fellow party leaders -- ''aren't even with me on this.''

Diaz-Balart and Gonzalez, meanwhile, were making a last-ditch effort to salvage the group's work. For months, they had quietly pitched to House Republicans an idea for a bill that would combine heightened border security and visa enforcement with legalization for many of the 11 million but, unlike the Senate's bill, would offer no dedicated path to citizenship. They were getting moral support from Ryan, who saw their proposal as in keeping with what he had outlined to Noorani in late 2012, the central plank in a series of bills. They got clearance from Boehner, if no direct aid from his leadership staff, on one condition: ''You get the majority of the majority.''

They assembled their own team of a dozen or so representatives, including several ardent conservatives, to assist in approaching members. They brought together small groups of members to review results from two different pollsters showing surprisingly strong support from Republican voters and to watch a focus group where voters backed the language they were settling on. They tracked members' likelihood of support, on a 1-to-5 scale, on an Excel spreadsheet.

Gutiérrez assured them that they could get sufficient Democratic support even without a special path to citizenship, on the assumption that millions could eventually attain citizenship even without such a path; he had briefed Pelosi on the proposal and she had not waved him off it. Diaz-Balart even finally got a call from Obama. It felt perfunctory, but at least it was something. Gonzalez had become so desperate to reach Muñoz by early 2014 that he emailed her during a visit to the White House Easter Egg Roll asking if he could come in and see her.

On June 10, as primary season was nearing its end, Diaz-Balart told House leaders that his count of Republicans supporting his **immigration**-bill language was up to 140 -- well above a majority of the caucus. Boehner scheduled a meeting for later in the week to decide how to proceed. Reform-advocacy groups, including the one formed by Mark Zuckerberg, readied a blast of ads in support of imminent legislation. Diaz-Balart was ebullient. He took a couple of bottles of wine back to his apartment to celebrate with Gonzalez and others.

They were gathering when, around 7 p.m., Diaz-Balart got an email from another member. The colleague had seen some worrying numbers coming out of Virginia, where polls had just closed in the Republican primary. Eric Cantor was defending his seat against David Brat, a conservative economics professor who had mounted a challenge inveighing against Cantor's Wall Street ties, his inattention to his district and his support -- grudging as it was -- for **immigration** reform. Diaz-Balart dismissed it as early noise. ''We were going to toast,'' he said. ''And then all of a sudden. ... ''

It wasn't even close. Cantor lost by 11 points. When one top Democratic Senate **immigration** aide found out, she burst into tears, knowing that reform opponents would seize on Cantor's loss as a referendum on the issue, regardless of Cantor's ambivalence on it. Gutiérrez called Diaz-Balart. ''Luis,'' Diaz-Balart told him. ''We lost the whole thing. It's over.''

Reform advocates scrambled together an emergency effort to counter the spin, promoted by opponents like the talk-show host Laura Ingraham, that Cantor had lost because of **immigration**, but it was to no avail. ''People got concerned, and we didn't have the ability anymore to keep the numbers,'' Diaz-Balart says. ''They came to me on the floor the next day and said, 'Hey, man, I know I whipped, but this is not the time.' ''

The administration read the writing on the wall, too. Two weeks later, with a surge of unaccompanied minors from Central America giving more fuel to reform opponents, Obama said his staff would start drafting executive action on **immigration** in lieu of legislation.

When Diaz-Balart held a news conference shortly afterward, he was so upset that he had trouble speaking. He singled out Gutiérrez for his help and his ''willingness, when necessary, to take on Republicans, Democrats and the president.''

''It is highly irresponsible not to deal with the issue,'' he said. ''We were sent here by the American people precisely to tackle difficult issues and not to take the easy way out.''

One evening in April of this year, John Boehner settled into an armchair on an auditorium stage at Stanford University for one of his first public appearances since his resignation the previous September. Sitting opposite the Stanford historian David M. Kennedy, Boehner giddily unburdened himself of his feelings about his fellow Republicans. ''It got to the point where I had to sneak into the White House,'' he said, according to a recording provided by The Stanford Daily. ''I'd walk to the White House, and the right-wing press would say, 'Ooh, what deal is he going to cut?' '' He railed at the ''anything but yes group'' in his caucus -- ''the knuckleheads.''

He said that he had been the one who first encouraged bipartisan talks on **immigration** reform years earlier, and that the House group ''essentially had an agreement.'' Yet, he said, the compromise was undone by his party. ''There was no way the votes were there in the House to do it,'' he said. ''Believe me, I tried a dozen times to bring **immigration** reform to the floor. I got slapped down by my colleagues, slapped down by other leaders.'' The failure to pass **immigration**reform, he said, was ''one of my greatest disappointments.''

The event made headlines for Boehner's frankness -- at one point he called Ted Cruz ''Lucifer in the flesh'' -- but his account of the **immigration** battle was notably incomplete. He failed to mention that he could, all along, have pushed harder to bring **immigration** reform to the floor had he merely been willing to skirt the Hastert rule.

By early 2014, Boehner was already planning to retire; if there had ever been an opportunity for statesmanship at little personal cost, this was it. And yet he could not bring himself to press forward with a legislative effort that he believed was in the best interest of his party and the country. ''Our problem was not a substantive problem -- it was a political problem,'' says Muñoz, at the White House. ''In the end, the coalition on the Hill which could pass a bill was going to consist of a lot of Democrats and probably not a majority of the Republicans. And the speaker never got to a place where that felt comfortable.'' She added, ''It takes a little bit of courage to overcome the political obstacles on the Republican side, and that courage did not manifest itself.''

But the administration and Democratic leaders made their own miscalculations. They had underestimated both the likelihood and the value of having a bipartisan bill emerge from the House. Their strategy had been informed by the ace they had waiting in their pocket: the executive action that Obama could, and did, authorize in the event of a stalemate on Capitol Hill. But this was a rickety scaffolding on which to build an **immigration** policy. In February 2015, a federal judge in Texas ruled in favor of that state's challenge of the executive order. After the eight sitting Supreme Court justices split on the case in June, the judge's injunction stands, and millions of families remain in limbo.

Not long before Boehner's Stanford talk, I attended a Republican Party dinner at a Holiday Inn in Butler County, Ohio, Boehner's home base in the Cincinnati exurbs, where the former speaker was making his postcongressional debut. As Boehner strode through a back hallway to the ballroom, I asked if he would care to take a few questions on **immigration** reform. ''Oh, God, no,'' he said. After the speech, he escaped through the kitchen to avoid any more encounters.

The top candidates to take Boehner's seat were at the dinner. One had come out against birthright citizenship. Another had secured the endorsement of Butler County's sheriff, Rick Jones, who is virulently opposed to illegal **immigration**; he posted a sign reading ''Illegal **Aliens** Here'' outside his jail and sent Mexico a $900,000 bill for **immigrants** he was holding there.

Sheriff Jones was at the event himself, with his brown dress uniform and walrus mustache. He had threatened to run against Boehner in the past. But Boehner was gone now, replaced as speaker by Paul Ryan, who was forced to swear off pursuing **immigration** reform as a condition for winning support from conservative members for his ascension.

The party had not merely failed to address the existential crisis laid bare by the 2012 election; it had lurched in the opposite direction, embracing Donald Trump, a nominee whose idea of Hispanic outreach was tweeting a picture of himself with a taco bowl on Cinco de Mayo. Speaking with Trump supporters in Ohio, I was struck by how thoroughly he had managed to fuse anxieties about border security and terrorism -- my questions about **immigration** were often answered with references to ISIS and Syrian **refugees** rather than Mexicans. But what also struck me was the extent to which their frustration was aimed at Washington's inability to get anything done, rather than at Republicans' having conceded too much. Unwilling to risk a backlash against a controversial step forward, the party had ended up with a backlash against its own fecklessness.

At the Holiday Inn, Jones was excited to tell me about his role the next day as the introductory speaker at a rally just a mile away, for Trump. There, Jones would tell the crowd about his three trips to inspect the Mexican border. ''Law enforcement, chiefs of police, we're fed up, we get no help,'' he would say. ''Drugs are pouring in from the border.''

Jones had his own ideas for how to fix the problem, he said, but those weren't needed just yet. ''My job,'' he told me, ''is to get the crowd fired up.''

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Correction: September 18, 2016, Sunday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An article on Page 52 this weekend about efforts in the House of Representatives to reach a compromise on **immigration** reform misidentifies the birthplace of Representative Luis Gutiérrez, Democrat of Illinois, who helped draft legislation. He was born in Chicago, not Puerto Rico.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WHEN representatives from the United States and other countries gathered in Evian, France, in 1938 to discuss the Jewish **refugee** crisis caused by the Nazis, they exuded sympathy for Jews -- and excuses about why they couldn't admit them. Unto the breach stepped a 33-year-old woman from Massachusetts named Martha Sharp.

With steely nerve, she led one anti-Nazi journalist through police checkpoints in Nazi-occupied Prague to safety by pretending that he was her husband.

Another time, she smuggled prominent Jewish opponents of Naziism, including a leading surgeon and two journalists, by train through Germany, by pretending that they were her household workers.

''If the Gestapo should charge us with assisting the **refugees** to escape, prison would be a light sentence,'' she later wrote in an unpublished memoir. ''Torture and death were the usual punishments.''

Sharp was in Europe because the Unitarian Church had asked her and her husband, Waitstill Sharp, a Unitarian minister, if they would assist Jewish **refugees**. Seventeen others had refused the mission, but the Sharps agreed -- and left their two small children behind in Wellesley, Mass.

Their story is told in a timely and powerful new Ken Burns documentary, ''Defying the Nazis: The Sharps' War.'' The documentary will air on PBS on Tuesday evening -- just as world leaders conclude two days of meetings in New York City about today's global **refugee** crisis, an echo of the one in the late 1930s.

''There are parallels,'' notes Artemis Joukowsky, a grandson of the Sharps who conceived of the film and worked on it with Burns. ''The vitriol in public speech, the xenophobia, the accusing of Muslims of all of our problems -- these are similar to the anti-Semitism of the 1930s and '40s.''

The Sharps' story is a reminder that in the last great **refugee** crisis, in the 1930s and '40s, the United States denied visas to most Jews. We feared the economic burden and worried that their ranks might include spies. It was the Nazis who committed genocide, but the U.S. and other countries also bear moral responsibility for refusing to help desperate people.

That's a thought world leaders should reflect on as they gather in New York to discuss today's **refugee** crisis -- and they might find inspiration from those like the Sharps who saw the humanity in **refugees** and are today honored because of it.

Take Poland, where some Poles responded to Nazi occupation by murdering Jews, while the Polish resistance (including, I'm proud to say, my father's family) fought back and tried to wake the world's conscience. One Pole, Witold Pilecki, sneaked into Auschwitz to gather intelligence and alert the world to what was happening.

Likewise, a Polish farmer named Jozef Ulma and his wife, Wiktoria, sheltered desperate members of two Jewish families in their house. The Ulmas had six small children and every reason to be cautious, but they instead showed compassion.

Someone reported them, and the Gestapo raided the Ulmas' farmhouse. The Nazis first shot the Jews dead, and then took retribution by executing not just Jozef and Wiktoria (who was seven months pregnant) but also all their children. The entire family was massacred.

Another great hero was Aristides de Sousa Mendes, a Portuguese consul general in France as the war began.

Portugal issued strict instructions to its diplomats to reject most visa requests from Jews, but Sousa Mendes violated those orders. ''I would rather stand with God and against man,'' he said, ''than with man and against God.''

By some estimates, he issued visas for 30,000 **refugees**.

Furious at the insubordination, Portugal's dictator recalled Sousa Mendes and put him on trial for violating orders. Sousa Mendes was convicted and his entire family was blacklisted, so almost all his children were forced to emigrate. Sousa Mendes survived by eating at soup kitchens and selling family furniture; he died in 1954 in poverty, debt and disgrace.

''The family was destroyed,'' notes Olivia Mattis, president of a foundation set up in 2010 to honor Sousa Mendes, who saved her father's family.

As today's leaders gather for their summit sessions, they should remember that history eventually sides with those who help **refugees**, not with those who vilify them.

Currently, only a small number of leaders have shown real moral courage on **refugees** -- hurray for Angela Merkel and Justin Trudeau -- and even President Obama's modest willingness to accept 10,000 Syrians has led him to be denounced by Donald Trump.

Without greater political will, this week's meetings may be remembered as no better than the 1938 Evian Conference, and history will be unforgiving.

''We must think of Sousa Mendes's heroism in today's context,'' Jorge Helft, a Holocaust survivor who as a French boy received one of Sousa Mendes's visas, told me. ''I have dinners in Paris where people start saying we have to kick all these people out, there are dangerous people among them.'' He paused and added, ''I remember being on a ship to New York and hearing that some Americans didn't want to let us in because there were Nazi spies among us.

''Yes, there might have been Nazi spies, but a tiny minority,'' he said, just as there might be spies among Syrian **refugees** today, but again a tiny minority. ''Ninety-five percent or more of these people are decent, and they are fleeing from death. So let's not forget them.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Emily Blunt's metamorphosis into Rachel Watson, the physically ravaged, emotionally shattered alcoholic in ''The Girl on the Train'' (out Oct. 7) burrowed deeper than a mere Hollywood make-under.

''I don't have an addictive personality whatsoever, so it was like wearing somebody else's skin,'' Ms. Blunt said of portraying the New York City suburbanite obsessed with a seemingly perfect couple she glimpses each day on her soused commute -- just two doors down from where her ex-husband lives with his new wife and baby. And when her fantasy woman goes missing in this feverishly anticipated adaptation of the Paula Hawkins literary sensation, Rachel, her memory failing, fears she is responsible.

''As **alien** as this person is to who I truly am, I had to understand her and empathize and get into that mind-set,'' Ms. Blunt added. ''The thing I found most helpful was watching 'Intervention' on a loop until I had seen every type of addiction in action.''

Since snap-snapping her fingers into stardom as Miranda Priestly's senior assistant in ''The Devil Wears Prada,'' Ms. Blunt has revealed an impressive range, veering from an **alien**-battling warrior in ''Edge of Tomorrow'' to the barren Baker's Wife in the screen musical ''Into the Woods'' to an F.B.I. agent stalking a Mexican drug cartel in ''Sicario.''

Offscreen, she's the mother of 2½-year-old Hazel and 3-month-old Violet, her daughters with her husband, John Krasinski. In a phone interview from their Brooklyn home, the London-born, crisply funny Ms. Blunt, 33, talked about filming while pregnant and life with another actor. These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

Were you a fan of the book before you took on the role?

I was determined not to read the book initially because I saw everyone else and their auntie reading it. Then the producer called me and said, ''We're really interested in you for it, and do you want to have a read and see what you think?'' I could quickly see why it became the phenomenon that it did. These domestic thrillers are quite tantalizing for readers. You can see yourself in these people. And that idea of danger being close to home is exciting.

What appealed about Rachel?

I don't think I've ever played somebody who is living in such a dark place, who is truly in the depths of despair. And it was such an unusual element for your female protagonist, your heroine, to be a blackout drunk. In these movies that are expected to be blockbusters, women are usually held in some sort of feminine ideal, so that they're appealing and likable and pretty. And I just thought, How fantastic that she looks like this and that she is your eyes and ears, the most unreliable witness, the most unreliable narrator in the world. It was a very easy yes.

Your Rachel is not the very overweight Rachel of the book.

Tate [Taylor, the director, whose credits include ''The Help''] wanted it being less that she physically had let herself go and more a state of mind. She is not just an addict. She is compulsive and voyeuristic and damaged and self-loathing. Considers herself dangerous. I thought, What a thrill to play somebody who spends the entirety of the film living in fear of their own abilities and their own downfalls.

What are the hallmarks of her addiction?

Oh, huge guilt and huge regret -- and regret is one of the most horrific emotions. She's been spun a whole web of lies that she so readily believes about herself. She is certainly not somebody who walks into every room with great hope. She walks into every room with the idea that nobody wants to breathe the same air as her.

How far did Tate allow you to go in finding the character?

He gives you free rein, and I found that very helpful, to not feel straitjacketed or to conform to somebody else's vision. She really needed to be my own, because it was such a stretch for me. The more I do this job, the more I realize that so much about performance is creating happy environments for people and making sure that they know that they can mess up and it doesn't matter. You can always go again.

Did it bother you that the setting was moved from London to Ardsley, N.Y.?

In a way you can transplant this movie and put it anywhere, because that suburban commute is universal.

Did you actually shoot on a train?

We shot all of the interior stuff on this incredible rig that they made with green screen and plate shots. It was incredibly technical and complicated, and everyone just felt really seasick, because the train was jiggling around and moving but going nowhere. So it was like being in some weird twilight zone. And it was suffocatingly hot, and the poor extras were barely being offered a thimble of water.

And you were pregnant on top of it.

The only person who knew was Justin Theroux, because he's my long-term friend. And he guessed, because I was being a bit of a wuss about some of the stunts. He was like, ''You did 'Edge of Tomorrow.' What is wrong with you? Are you pregnant?'' And I was like: ''Yes, but shut up! Don't tell anybody!'' Then I had to tell Tate a little further along, because there was that scene in the bathtub, and I was like: ''Here's the deal. You have to shoot it from behind.'' And he was like, ''Why?'' And I was like, ''No. 1, because I don't want to show everything, but No. 2, because of this.'' I was like 20 weeks when we finished.

You've spoken out about the need for pay equity in Hollywood. Do you feel you've made a difference?

It is up to people like me, in my very fortunate position, to fight for equal pay, because that means that people who have less of a voice may receive the same. But I honestly don't know if speaking out is the thing that makes the difference. I think it's more in how I react when I'm making a deal.

You've been cast as Mary Poppins in a coming remake, and Julie Andrews has given you her stamp of approval.

Well, thank God! Can you imagine if she was like, ''Oh God, not her''? I'd be devastated. But I'm very excited. My heart races about it, actually. And what a gift as a mom to have that for my daughters.

What's it like being a working mother in a two-actor family?

[Laughs sharply] Sometimes actresses talk about being a working mother as if they're the only working mothers in the world. My sister, for example, is a literary agent who literally wakes up to 800 emails in her inbox, and she has a 19-month-old. I don't know how she does it. I actually get long chunks of time off that I take very seriously, because my kids are at very tender ages where they need me. And I'm very fortunate, because there are so many mothers who don't get to be picky about when they work.

The two-actor family thing has always been something wonderful for John and I, because we deeply understand what each other do and have a shared love of it. Actresses say to me, ''Oh I could never be with an actor.'' But I think it depends on the actor. You know, I just happen to be with a very secure, wonderful one.

With great abs, according to People magazine.

With great abs. Exactly.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**So many development battles in major cities around the world fall into easy narratives (villainy versus virtue, for instance) that we tend to imagine them all possessing moral fault lines that are clearly visible: a set of capitalist savages on one side, and on the other, the marginalized agents of a more noble civic mission. That scenario has proved vulnerable to inconsistency. This year, a group of neighbors inhabiting a patch of the Upper West Side just south of Columbia Universitybegan a campaign called Save Manhattan Valley.

From what did they hope to save it? In this instance, the enemy was not a future condominium tower with an in-house aromatherapist and windows the height of an Italian cypress. Instead, it was the city's planned demolition of three parking garages it owns on West 108th Street, to make space for the construction of an 11-story building that would add 258 units of affordable and supportive housing for the poor and the elderly.

Fliers and petitions circulated. ''There are no plans to replace the garages,'' one document proclaimed. ''800 more cars will be competing for street parking!'' On the face of it, of course, the argument is absurd, if not enraging -- pitting the interests of people who seek the most convenient transit to Fairway or Bucks County against those who do not have a decent place to live, and for whom a $345 monthly parking bill might be considered a luxury on the order of a cabin on the Queen Mary. ''Earlier this week I got a letter from a woman who was the single caretaker of her grandchild,'' Vicki L. Been, New York City's housing commissioner, told me when I called to gauge her reaction. ''She enters housing lotteries, and her number never comes up. She is worried about becoming homeless. I have to say to people like her, 'I'm sorry. It's more important for people to have parking'? I just don't think that's the kind of city we want to have.''

The opponents of the project leading this brigade, however, hardly conform to type. One of the founders of Save Manhattan Valley is a woman named Glory Ann Hussey Kerstein, who began squatting in an abandoned building on West 106th Street in the early 1980s with a group of Dominican **immigrants**. A tenant organizer in the Bronx who would go on to run three homeless shelters, Ms. Kerstein worked to get the city to turn the building over to its occupants; the apartments eventually became co-ops that would be owned by many of the same Dominican families who were residing in them illegally. Ms. Kerstein, who has long hair dyed vaguely the color of a slice of red-velvet cake, doesn't own a car.

Given how much of the debate around affordable housing in New York has revolved around the notion that the apartments created are not nearly affordable enough, her point of opposition is unusual. Because the new project would be geared toward very low-income earners, she maintains, children from the **immigrant** families who have long lived in Manhattan Valley -- those who have gone off to college and would like to return to be close to their parents -- would make too much money to qualify to live there. She and her compatriots also worry about the shopkeepers who, because they lack easy access to public transportation, drive in from outside the city to work in the unglamorous stores that make up a stretch of Columbus Avenue in the low 100s. How will they get to their jobs if parking is unfeasible? What will happen to the employees of the garages when those garages are razed?

During a housing crisis so acute -- the number of people arriving in homeless shelters each night now exceeds 60,000 -- there comes a time to ask when some democracy is arguably too much, when need and inconvenience can no longer be weighed equally. During both the Bloomberg and de Blasio administrations, and surely before that, community groups have typically complained that their concerns have been dismissed amid the process of planning new developments. The city almost always counters that it has listened plenty, and that it has sent its representatives to community board meetings and commissioned studies and compromised. Most often the bureaucrats who conceived of the project have their way, but through legal recourse and the channels of the City Council, a community can sometimes kill plans for housing it decides it does not want.

That the loss of parking spaces, though seemingly preposterous in the age of CitiBike, Uber, car sharing and global warming, can be the cause remains a perplexing reality.

In the coming weeks, a proposal for a development made up entirely of affordable housing in Sunnyside, Queens, one to be built by a nonprofit developer, is likely to be scotched. One line of complaint among residents is that the building would supplant an existing parking lot.

Regulations that date from 1961 zoning laws mandate that a certain number of parking spots be allocated per housing unit. This requirement has obscured the city's vision of creating affordable housing for some time. When the de Blasio administration put together zoning changes, to fulfill its goal of preserving and creating 200,000 units of affordable housing, it hoped to cut back drastically on parking requirements. The initiative was met with fierce pushback. The administration was able to get rid of the parking requirements for affordable-housing development in much of Manhattan and parts of Brooklyn, but the mandates still exist elsewhere and remain in place for market-rate buildings.

Mandated parking obviously limits the number of units a developer can create. The irony is that parking spots in an affordable complex can often sit vacant, because owning a car and maintaining it generally do not fall within the means of people in need of subsidized housing. When the Hudson Companies, a well-known developer of affordable housing in the city, built Dumont Green, a project in East New York, Brooklyn, it was forced to create approximately 44 parking spots for 176 units. When the building opened, only three spots were leased. Most of the time, according to the Hudson Companies, the parking spots are unused. The cost of adding a parking space to an affordable-housing unit is approximately $50,000, money that is essentially wasted. It seems as if the moment has arrived for drivers to take the back seat.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Ivana Trump, best known as the first spouse of the 2016 Republican candidate for president and the woman who coined the term ''The Donald,'' made her New York Fashion Week spring 2017 debut at Dennis Basso on Tuesday, sitting front row at Moynihan Station on the West Side of Manhattan in a black-and-white patterned dress.

Ms. Trump has made it clear in several interviews this campaign season that she is supporting her former husband. And as a reporter approached, she was busy telling someone else about her stance on **immigration**.

''I think the Mexican people and all the **immigrants** are perfectly fine,'' she said. ''They are good workers and good people, but they have to come here legally, they have to speak at least a little bit of English and pay their taxes.''

She was not inclined to discuss such issues with anyone from The New York Times.

''You are not so nice to Donald,'' Ms. Trump said, adding that she was ''not a politician'' and was here only because Mr. Basso was a ''good friend.''

Had he designed her dress, too?

''No,'' she said. ''Roberto Cavalli.''

Mr. Basso was dressed in a black blazer, a black-and-white tie and khaki-ish dress pants. And it was quickly clear that he has a formidable ability to show equal love for all the women in attendance, whether young or old, famous or nonfamous, posing for pictures with the young daughters of his more middle-aged clients.

''It's wonderful,'' he said, looking out at all his well-wishers a moment later. ''We have young women in their teens to women of a certain age. I think that's great.''

Of course, not every designer in this polarized election season would be so eager to have the supportive former wife of the Republican contestant for president as one of these front-row patrons, but Mr. Basso had no such quibbles.

''She's a wonderful woman,'' he said of Ms. Trump, shortly after a quick hello with her, too. ''She was at my first show in 1983. And she's actually been to every show since then. Her children come. We're friends of the family.''

But he was not about to say whom he was planning on voting for.

''I think that's a personal question,'' he said, darting off to kiss more cheeks and squeeze more wrists.

The political season also briefly crashed the party at the Michael Kors show on Wednesday morning, but not before a little song.

A surprise guest was Rufus Wainwright, who sang a set of Judy Garland songs, including ''Come Rain or Come Shine'' and ''Get Happy,'' with a six-piece band as models marched out in white twin sets and floral print dresses.

Mr. Wainwright, who wore a crisp black suit by Michael Kors with a white shirt that had three buttons undone, did not flinch when Bella Hadid, in her shimmering black dress with bondage-esque platform heels, stumbled in the middle of the runway.

Mr. Wainwright simply played on, impressively hitting a high note at the end of his set and then throwing in a shouted ''I'm With Her'' reference to Hillary Clinton as the crowd applauded and jumped out of their seats to take a picture.

After his performance, which took place at Spring Studios, Mr. Kors walked out to give him a kiss and escorted him around the runway like a guide taking a tourist around a foreign city. Then the two retired backstage, where Mr. Wainwright stood next to his publicist, mobbed by admirers, including Mr. Kors.

Mr. Wainwright first met the designer roughly a decade ago. Back then, the singer was doing his ''Judy Garland at Carnegie Hall'' tribute show in New York and Mr. Kors, known for his love of Broadway and the Great American Songbook, came to see it.

In fact, Mr. Kors had been listening to Mr. Wainwright's album of Judy Garland covers while designing the current collection. So Mr. Kors came to the conclusion that an appropriate way to show it was having Mr. Wainwright perform live.

Mr. Wainwright was happy to oblige. ''Even if he wasn't one of the top fashion icons of our time, even if he was the bottom of the barrel, I would do it,'' Mr. Wainwright said. ''Because he's been so sweet to me.''

Does that mean he gets to keep the suit that Mr. Kors sent? ''I would imagine,'' Mr. Wainwright said.

''To be determined,'' a publicist added tactfully.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON -- Diane James, a businesswoman and staunch critic of the European Union, on Friday was elected leader of the U.K. Independence Party, a far-right, anti-**immigrant** party that was a driving force for Britain's exit from the bloc.

Ms. James, 56, takes over from Nigel Farage, the brash, combative and divisive former commodities broker who resigned as leader in July, shortly after Britain voted to leave the European Union. He and the party have also been criticized for fanning racism and xenophobia by scapegoating **immigrants**.

As he handed over the mantle on Friday, Mr. Farage said that he planned to travel across the Continent this fall and help ''democracy movements'' that want to leave the European Union. Over the summer, he highlighted polls in the Czech Republic, Denmark, Italy and the Netherlands that showed backing for referendums, and said Britain had become a ''beacon.''

Mr. Farage, who spent his political career pushing for Britain to quit the European Union, said that the ''Brexit'' vote was a ''fairy tale come true,'' and credited UKIP with causing an ''earthquake'' in British politics.

His departure, however, comes with the party in disarray and fighting to be relevant.

Though it holds just one seat in Britain's 650-member House of Commons, UKIP has had outsize influence on British politics in recent years. It got 13 percent of the vote in the 2015 general election, and its years of pressure on the political right wing of the Conservative Party was decisive in forcing former Prime Minister David Cameron to call the referendum on Britain's membership in the European Union.

The Brexit vote accomplished UKIP's core aim, but it has also paradoxically deprived it of its main platform, and the party has been struggling to find a purpose in the new post-Brexit era.

Enter Ms. James, a relative unknown in British national politics.

Ms. James, who founded an international consultancy focusing on the health care sector, is the first woman to lead UKIP. A member of the European Parliamentsince 2014, she is considered an able communicator who has imbibed Mr. Farage's mix of anti-European populism and feel-good nationalism. She has professed admiration for President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, saying that she appreciates his ''nationalist'' leadership and strength.

She is also the latest woman to lead a far-right party in Europe, following in the steps of Marine Le Pen of France's far-right National Front, and Frauke Petry, a British-educated scientist who leads the Alternative for Germany party. Both have ridden a wave of support by adroitly tapping into widespread discontent over **immigration**.

Speaking after her victory was announced Friday at UKIP's party conference in the seaside resort of Bournemouth, Ms. James stressed that her priority was to assure that the government delivered on its promise to follow through with Britain's exit from the European Union.

She called on Prime Minister Theresa May to stop stalling and to begin the two-year process of negotiating Britain's departure. Mrs. May has said she will not invoke it until next year.

''Stop the faff, stop the fudge, get on with it,'' she said, addressing Mrs. May by name and referring to those who campaigned in favor of Britain remaining in the bloc as ''Remainiacs.''

''We must fight against Brexit Lite,'' she said.

Ms. James indicated she would take a tough stance on **immigration**, stressing that Britain must only accept **immigrants** with the ''expertise and skills and social values that this country wants.'' In 2013, she called for a temporary brake on **immigration** to stop Romanians from coming to Britain and committing crimes. (She later apologized saying that she had not meant to generalize ''against every single individual born with a Romanian passport.'')

Some critics, however, questioned whether Ms. James has the necessary leadership skills to repurpose and unify UKIP after she failed to turn up to any of the party's dozen leadership campaign events, instead opting for her own events which she could stage-manage.

Whether she can fill the void left by Mr. Farage, however, is an open question.

Ms. James suggested on Friday that she might prove to be less blunt than Mr. Farage, who famously told a former president of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, in 2010 that he had ''the charisma of a damp rag and the appearance of a low-grade bank clerk.''

She said she hoped Mr. Farage would continue to be a ''thorn'' in the European Union's ''backside.''

But, she noted, she will not be ''Nigel Farage Lite.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- President Obama will use his final appearance at the United Nations General Assembly next week to extol the benefits of his brand of multilateral diplomacy, even as the gathering will lay bare places where that diplomacy has fallen short.

While Mr. Obama is saying his farewells, his preferred successor, Hillary Clinton, will return to the diplomatic stage, meeting with a handful of leaders, including the presidents of Egypt and Ukraine. She was a fixture at the General Assembly as secretary of state, and her presence this year will underscore the sense of political transition in the United States.

Mr. Obama, his advisers said, plans to recount the negotiations that led to the Paris climate accord and the Iran nuclear deal, and to present them as templates for dealing with future crises.

Yet the General Assembly will be shadowed by the recent nuclear test in North Korea, which demonstrated the continuing inability of the United States and other countries to force the North to abide by nonproliferation standards.

And on Tuesday, the United States will play host to a summit meeting of world leaders devoted to the mushrooming **refugee** crisis -- a problem fueled by the five-year civil war in Syria that the Obama administration has had little success in ending.

Mr. Obama's aides acknowledged the mixed picture. ''On the one hand, there are enormous positive indicators in our world today,'' Benjamin J. Rhodes, a deputy national security adviser, said Friday. ''At the same time there's a great deal of unease.''

The General Assembly is doubling as a valedictory for Mr. Obama and a dress rehearsal for Mrs. Clinton. While the president is seeking to cement his legacy and tackle unfinished business, she is using it as a way to telegraph foreign-policy priorities.

Meeting with Ukraine's president, Petro O. Poroshenko, for example, sends a signal to President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, who has continued to menace Ukraine along its eastern border. Her decision to meet with Egypt's president, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, is more complicated. She has known the former general for many years, meeting him with her husband, Bill Clinton, during previous United Nations gatherings.

But General Sisi has an unsavory reputation, particularly among human right groups, for his role in the bloody military coup that ousted President Mohamed Morsi. ''Why does Hillary again want to meet Sisi?'' Kenneth Roth, the executive director of Human Rights Watch, wrote on Twitter. ''He directed 817+ killed in 12 hours in Rabaa Sq.''

The Clinton campaign did not comment on the reason for the meetings, saying only that she would most likely have several others as well. At a news conference Thursday in Greensboro, N.C., Mrs. Clinton defended the meetings as a way to stay connected with world leaders, implicitly contrasting her ties against those of the Republican presidential candidate, Donald J. Trump.

''There's a lot going on in the world and I have a longstanding set of relationships that go back not only to secretary and senator but first lady, and I think it's important to tend to those relationships,'' Mrs. Clinton said.

The leaders Mr. Obama will meet with reflect the problems he is leaving behind. On Monday, he is to meet with Iraq's prime minister, Haider al-Abadi, to gauge the progress in the military campaign against the Islamic State. Later in the week, he is scheduled to meet with the president of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari, whose country is another front in the war against militant Islam.

But the president will also meet with President Juan Manuel Santos of Colombia, who recently signed a peace agreement with the country's largest rebel group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC. Mr. Rhodes said Mr. Obama's diplomatic opening to Cuba had helped ease the way for Mr. Santos's agreement.

For Mr. Obama, the summit meeting on **refugees** is the centerpiece of his diplomatic efforts. To earn a seat at the table, countries have to pledge to accept more **refugees** or spend more on educational and employment opportunities for them. The United States pledged to increase the number of **refugees** it admits to 110,000 a year, from 85,000 this year -- an increase that some critics say is paltry, given the country's size and resources.

The administration said the summit meeting was a sign of American leadership even as Samantha Power, the ambassador to the United Nations, acknowledged that ''a small number of countries have been carrying a disproportionate share of the **refugee** burden.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PORTLAND, Me. -- Leopold Ndayisabye, a Rwandan **immigrant** who works as a caseworker, has watched **refugees**, asylum seekers and other **immigrants**move to this city, fill health care jobs, send their children to school and line up to buy goods in the local stores.

And increasingly, he said, he has witnessed their anxiety when Gov. Paul R. LePage makes sweeping statements denigrating asylum seekers, saying they are bringing diseases into the state or draining public money that should be going to people born in Maine.

''People are not feeling safe,'' said Mr. Ndayisabye, 46, the president of the local Rwandan association. He says he knows some **immigrants** who, feeling uneasy, have left for places like Ohio, Michigan and Washington State.

''Because it's from the governor's mouth,'' he said, ''that's an official thing.''

Community leaders and caseworkers here say that the unwelcoming stance of Mr. LePage, a Republican who strongly backs Donald J. Trump for president, has left many recent arrivals to Maine increasingly concerned about living here. Mr. Trump has called for a nationwide ban on Muslim **immigration** amid fears that resettlement of Syrian **refugees** in the United States could allow terrorists to slip in.

Quite apart from the national debate over **immigration**, Mr. LePage's views are causing anxiety among some of Maine's foreign-born residents. They could also have serious social and economic implications for a state that lost population last year.

As other cities and states have discovered, an influx of **immigrants** can reverse population decline and stave off the loss of political clout in Washington. But in Maine, the governor's pronouncements are complicating efforts to attract the very people the state needs to grow. And some analysts worry about the long-term consequences.

''Anything we're doing now to keep **immigrants** out, and anything we're doing to not attract people to come to Maine from the rest of the U.S. and the rest of the world, is going to be deadly for the next decade,'' said Charles S. Colgan, a longtime economic forecaster and professor emeritus at the University of Southern Maine.

Maine is bedeviled by its population trends: Its median age of 44.5 makes it the oldest state in the country, and it has the nation's highest concentration of baby boomers. Mr. Colgan said that the retirement of the boomer generation was creating a ''slow-motion disaster.''

As older residents retire or die, they are not being replaced. Maine was one of seven states that lost population last year and one of two, West Virginia being the other, where deaths outnumbered births.

''Maine's demographics are putting the state in a precarious position going forward,'' said Amanda Rector, the state economist. ''We're the leading edge of this aging baby boomer population that's going to lead to serious work force shortfalls if things don't change.''

The trends were set in motion long before Mr. LePage took office in 2011, and they are not unique to Maine. But bringing about change here may be harder than elsewhere, analysts say, in part because Maine starts with an older, less diverse population. It is almost 95 percent white, compared with the nation as a whole, which is 62 percent white.

''Governor LePage didn't cause these problems, but he has exacerbated them,'' said James E. Tierney, a former state attorney general who has studied the state's demographics.

Mr. LePage, who did not respond to a request for comment, has argued that public funds should go to Maine residents before they go to asylum seekers, even though they are not allowed to work while their applications are being processed, which can take several months. He has tried multiple times to withhold or limit the funds. In February, he called asylum-seekers ''the biggest problem in our state'' and suggested they were bringing in diseases.

Earlier this year, he pretended to sneeze when pronouncing the name of a Chinese executive whose last name is Chiu -- pronounced ''choo'' -- and has drawn criticism for speaking flippantly about Indians and Bulgarians. He has joined other governors in calling for a ban on Syrian **refugees**, and last month, told The Boston Herald that he would review welfare benefits for **refugees**, though they are mostly administered under federal rules, after learning that an Iranian who had joined the Islamic State had received welfare in Maine.

Mr. LePage's views are in contrast to those of officials elsewhere who see **immigrants** as essential to their economies.

''I fundamentally don't believe that the Northeast will solve our young people shortage until we become a more welcoming place for people who are newcomers to America,'' said Gov. Peter Shumlin, Democrat of Vermont, a state that is almost as old and white as Maine and is caught up in its own controversies over **refugee**resettlement.

Many **immigrants** have found welcoming communities and do not plan to leave, despite Mr. LePage's antipathy toward some foreign-born newcomers. Still, the state's demographic challenges have set off alarm bells.

A new report from the Maine Department of Labor says the work force is shrinking just as demand for certain jobs, particularly in health care, is increasing and leading to shortages that will ripple across the state.

''That translates ultimately into a health care crisis, a work force crisis, it will affect the whole notion of what small-town life is like,'' said State Representative Erik C. Jorgensen, a Democrat who represents Portland, one of the few cities in Maine that has generally welcomed **immigrants**.

Like many states in the Northeast, Maine has had difficulty retaining young people and attracting those from other states. Its relatively low wages, high cost of energy, remoteness and long, harsh winters may account for some of the resistance.

''A lot of the challenge is making Maine a place where people want to be and are able to make a living and trying to compete with places like New Hampshire, which is very similar to Maine but doesn't have an income tax,'' said Ms. Rector, the state economist. (Mr. LePage has sought, unsuccessfully, to eliminate Maine's income tax.)

Whatever the cause, many businesses and local governments are struggling to find qualified workers. Maine is projecting a drop to 2.1 people of working age per retiree by 2032, down from 3.2 per retiree in 2017, according to the Maine Development Foundation, a private organization devoted to improving the state's economy.

The foundation has set a goal of expanding the labor force by a net of at least 45,000 new workers by 2020 -- a difficult task because the work force is projected to shrink by 20,000 during that period. A major component of those new workers, the foundation hopes, will be foreign-born **immigrants**, along with young adults from other states and expanded opportunities for seniors, people with disabilities and veterans.

''We can't suddenly expect to flip a switch and become a preferred destination,'' said Yellow L. Breen, president and chief executive of the foundation. ''But we have to send a message that is welcoming and have all the tools for **immigrants** who do come to succeed.''

He declined to comment on whether the governor's stance had been counterproductive. He did say that the foundation hoped its efforts would ''transcend any short-term political winds,'' adding that, along with the state Chamber of Commerce, it is preparing a report on the value of **immigrants** to the labor force.

Others were more blunt.

Michael F. Brennan, the Democratic former mayor of Portland, where **immigrants** make up 13 percent of the population and 42 percent of public school students are minorities, has clashed often with Mr. LePage, particularly over those seeking asylum.

''I'd be hard pressed, at this point, to find another state that is faced with the demographic challenges,'' Mr. Brennan said, ''where you have a significant number of businesspeople and elected officials that are pursuing one policy objective that are being directly contradicted and thwarted and undermined by the governor.''

In addition to his comments against asylum-seekers, Mr. LePage has blamed black drug dealers on more than one occasion for fueling Maine's heroin crisis. ''The enemy right now, the overwhelming majority of people coming in, are people of color, or people of Hispanic origin,'' he said last month. (The American Civil Liberties Union of Maine has said that statistically, more whites than blacks are selling drugs here, suggesting that more blacks are being arrested because of racial profiling.)

The governor's comments have disheartened **immigrants** and asylum-seekers in particular.

Mohamud Barre, a community leader who fled Somalia two decades ago, worries that as the pressure from Mr. LePage intensifies, more families will leave. ''Most of the people I see, they are so afraid of what's coming from him,'' Mr. Barre said.

''Personally,'' he added, ''I don't like to see my neighbor moving to Minneapolis,'' a city that many view as a model for welcoming African **immigrants**. ''I like people to stay here.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**HARLOW, England -- Perceptions of what happened that night, when a Polish **immigrant** was killed in a fight with a gang of British teenagers, depend on who is talking, and what they saw.

But with Britain increasingly forced to confront questions about tolerance toward **immigrants**, the killing and a separate assault on two Poles in Harlow, a town of 82,000 where one in 10 residents is foreign born, have focused new attention on whether ethnic tensions are spilling over into hate crimes.

After the June referendum on membership in the European Union, in which Britain voted to leave and which gave voice to anti-**immigrant** sentiment in England, attacks and threats targeting racial and ethnic minorities have prompted soul-searching. Some observers warn that the vote unleashed a latent racism among some Britons, and others caution that not every alcohol-fueled altercation or personal disagreement has its roots in racial and ethnic differences.

The death last month of a Polish **immigrant**, Arkadiusz Jozwik, 40, a worker at a sausage factory, and the subsequent beating of two other Poles in front of a pub after a night out probably would not have made headlines a year ago, given that brawls and bar fights are not exactly uncommon in Britain.

But now, residents of Harlow are split over the meaning of the violence and what it says about their town and their country. And the attacks have shaken Poles in the area so much that Warsaw deployed two Polish police officers to Harlow this week to patrol the streets in cooperation with the local authorities.

''It's got me round the twist,'' said Martin Herglotz, 59, using an idiom for ''crazy'' in referring to the assault on Mr. Jozwik, whom he had met at a barbecue last year. The atmosphere here is tense, Mr. Herglotz said. Harlow, 30 miles north of London, voted overwhelmingly to leave the European Union. ''I hope it was just a drunken brawl,'' he said, ''but I don't think it was.''

The latest police figures show that nationally hate crimes rose by 32 percent in England, Wales and Northern Ireland in the eight weeks after the referendum, compared with the same period a year earlier. The police attributed the increase partly to higher awareness of hate crimes.

Among those most affected are **immigrants** from Central and Eastern Europe, including substantial numbers who came to Britain under European Union rules that allow citizens of member nations to live and work in other member countries without a visa. In Leeds, in northern England, a 28-year-old Polish man was kicked and punched last week by a group of up to 20 teenagers wearing hoodies, the police in West Yorkshire said on Monday. The attack was being investigated as ''racially aggravated due to comments made to the victim and his friend,'' the police said in a statement, adding that the man required stitches for a head wound.

There has also been an increase in attacks and insults aimed at native Britons who have Asian or African ancestry or are Muslim. Last month in Milton Keynes, a town 45 miles north of London, a 34-year-old pregnant Muslim woman was kicked in the stomach by a man shouting racist remarks, the police said on Tuesday. ''This racially aggravated assault had absolutely devastating consequences for the victim, who lost her baby as a result of the attack,'' said Richard Armitage, the investigating officer for the Milton Keynes police.

Harlow is characterized by seemingly endless roundabouts and tired-looking low-rise buildings. Mr. Jozwik's death on Aug. 29 has divided residents here. Some see it as an obvious hate crime, while others regard the episode as merely a symptom of the town's persistent youth crime. Nearly 1,000 criminal offenses, most of them nonviolent, were recorded in Harlow in June alone.

Part of the debate here surrounds the legal definition of hate crimes, which some consider too subjective. According to the police, a victim's perception is what counts, even if the motivation behind a hostile act is unclear. A slur based on race, religion, sexual orientation, gender or disability that emerged in the heat of an argument, for example, can be recorded as a hate incident if that was how someone perceived it. But, to some people, such insults are relatively normal exchanges during a fight.

Mark Hamilton, an assistant chief constable who leads hate crime policy for the National Police Chiefs' Council, said in an interview that if a court decides Mr. Jozwik's killing was a hate crime, it will be the most serious attack since the referendum.

Mr. Jozwik and a friend were assaulted just before midnight on Aug. 27 outside a pizza place at the Stow, a small, run-down shopping mall in Harlow. The police, citing security camera footage, said that after the men ordered from TGF Pizza, they went outside and spoke with a group of young people for 20 minutes.

Then the mood changed. A quarrel began and Mr. Jozwik received a single punch in the face, causing him to fall backward and bang his head on the ground. The suspects fled.

Mr. Jozwik died two days later from a head injury before he was able to testify, a police official said. His friend and another man were also injured. Six people, ages 15 and 16, were arrested and released on bail. They will appear in court next month.

Residents said groups of teenagers of different racial and ethnic backgrounds often hang out in the area and yell at both **immigrants** and native citizens.

Bob Davis, an official who represents the neighborhood for the ward where Mr. Jozwik's assault took place, said that the teenagers often ride bicycles, get drunk and hassle shopkeepers and residents. People ''kept complaining to the police but police were not responding adequately,'' Mr. Davis said.

''I don't think it was inspired by racial hatred,'' he said. ''But everyone wants to jump on that bandwagon.''

In an email response to questions, the police in Essex County, of which Harlow is a district, cited testimony from the other two victims that they may have been racially abused before being assaulted.

''This will be one of several lines of inquiry,'' the police said, ''and we are keeping an open mind as we continue our investigation.''

As the police investigated Mr. Jozwik's death, even more attention was heaped on Harlow after the two Polish men were beaten up days later.

Officers were called at 3:30 a.m. on Sept. 4 after reports that four to five men attacked the pair in front of the William Aylmer, a pub. One suffered a cut to his head, and the other a broken nose.

Diana, a 37-year-old Lithuanian woman who worked at the factory with Mr. Jozwik, said she witnessed the attack against the two men.

''Of course it was a hate crime,'' she said, nervously puffing a cigarette outside an Eastern European supermarket in the town's center. She was fearful and requested that her last name not be published. She said that the group started chanting a derogatory term in Polish at the two men, and that when one of them approached the group a fight broke out.

The police said they were treating the assault as a possible hate crime.

Whatever the motives, the attacks have only heightened suspicion between Britons and **immigrants**, with some recent arrivals saying the attacks have prompted them to consider moving because they fear for their safety. Some Britons in Harlow say they fear a possible backlash from the **immigrants**.

''I live next to a house with 11 Romanians,'' said Martin Wildish, 63, sipping a pint of beer at the pub where the Polish men were assaulted. ''Who knows what they might do to someone like me out of revenge?''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The man stood at the podium in the cramped Masjid Un-Noor mosque on Staten Island as hundreds of Muslims sat barefoot on the carpet before him, facing east, just before the start of Friday prayers. In his outstretched right hand, he held up a tiny American flag and a pocket-size copy of the Constitution.

''This unites us,'' said the man, Suhail Muzaffar, a leader at the mosque. ''It is not Christian, it is not Buddhist, it is not Muslim.''

''Please,'' he added. ''Find time to look at this document.''

The scene, charged with symbolism, had a familiarity for many in the crowd. After the services, one man in the congregation approached Mr. Muzaffar and told him, ''You looked just like Khizr Khan.''

He was referring, of course, to the Pakistani **immigrant** whose tribute to his son, an Army captain killed in combat, electrified the Democratic National Convention in what became a memorable moment in the presidential campaign, caused sales of pocket-size copies of the Constitution to skyrocket and galvanized American Muslims eager to answer the anti-Muslim rhetoric of Donald J. Trump, the Republican presidential nominee.

A month and a half after that speech, what might be called the Khizr Khan effect was as palpable as ever in this small Muslim community on Staten Island. After the prayers, a group of high school students passed out 200 miniature copies of the Constitution, accompanied by an equal number of American flags, to mosque members, in hopes that reading it would remind them of their rights as Americans.

Mohammad Manhal Hussain, 17, who is known as Manhal, was an intern at the mosque this summer. He was helping Mr. Muzaffar organize a voter registration drive when he watched Mr. Khan deliver his convention speech.

''It's powerful to see a Muslim man standing and giving a speech at the D.N.C.,'' he said. ''That got us all on our toes.''

He said he had asked Mr. Muzaffar if the mosque could order a shipment of the small copies of the Constitution to distribute to the congregation on Friday, the day before the anniversary of the Constitution's signing in 1787. He thought it would help affirm for the congregation's members that their rights as American citizens were clear, despite what they might hear from Mr. Trump and other politicians.

''It's a sense of comfort,'' Manhal said. ''If they're saying my rights don't fit, then theirs don't either.''

Mr. Muzaffar said that reading the Constitution was especially important for congregants of his who had recently **immigrated** from Pakistan and were more in tune with the politics of their home country than they were with politics in the United States.

He said he hoped it would also help the mosque's broader effort to increase voter registration among members, mirroring a nationwide push by Muslim leaders to encourage American Muslims to make their voices heard in this year's election.

Robert McCaw, director of government affairs at the Council on American-Islamic Relations, a national advocacy group, said the Muslim vote could help tip the election, given the large numbers of Muslim voters in swing states like Florida, Ohio and Virginia.

On Staten Island, a Republican stronghold and New York City's least ethnically diverse borough, Mr. Muzaffar said he felt that Muslim residents had a crucial duty to vote.

''You want to fight back?'' he said. ''There is no bigger bullet than the ballot.''

Estimates of the Muslim population in the city vary widely, from a few hundred thousand to more than one million. Of the five boroughs, Staten Island has the fewest Muslims, said Abdul Bhuiyan, secretary general of the Majlis Ashura, the Islamic Leadership Council of New York. Brooklyn, the borough with the largest Muslim population, has more than 70 mosques, he said; Staten Island has about a half-dozen.

There were no mosques on Staten Island before the mid-1980s, Mr. Muzaffar said. Masjid Un-Noor was its first. But, he added, ''the face of Staten Island is changing.'' He estimated that about 10,000 Muslims may live in the borough now.

Manhal, the summer intern, said the goal was to persuade 1,500 members of the roughly 600-family congregation to register to vote. More than 700 had signed up so far, he said.

With that kind of clout, he said, ''we have a form of power, a form of strength within our community.''

Nearly all 200 of the miniature copies of the Constitution had been distributed by the end of Friday. Aziz Ur-Rehman, 78, who **immigrated** to the United States from Pakistan nine years ago, grabbed one on his way out of the mosque. He had never read it before, he said, and planned to look it over as soon as he got home.

''I'm going to have it in my pocket,'' he said.

As Amal Muzaffar, 23, Suhail Muzaffar's daughter, walked through the parking lot with an extra box of the copies, several people approached asking her where they could get one.

''It's telling our community that you are American,'' she said. ''Feel that connection, and feel that you're not an outsider.''

In his brief speech to the congregation during the prayer services, Mr. Muzaffar urged his fellow Muslims not to think of the American political system as defective, even if they felt threatened by the rhetoric of politicians like Mr. Trump.

''No sir,'' he said. ''Look at the effective part, that you as an American citizen get to decide whether he gets to be president or not.''

And he urged members of the congregation, once more, to read the Constitution. ''It's very, very simple,'' he insisted.

''And vote this year,'' he added, ''inshallah'' -- God willing.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDWASHINGTON -- Senator Ted Cruz, who once led a government shutdown in his efforts to defund President Obama's health care law, has turned his sights on a more obscure target: the federal government's plan to end its oversight of the internet's master directory of website addresses.

The Republican from Texas does not appear to have the ability to inspire another insurgency so close to an election that will determine control of the Senate. He may not have the interest either. His technical theories about the registration of domain names -- the ''.net'' and ''.world'' suffixes of internet addresses -- have been discredited by engineers.

But his move to block the Obama administration through a short-term spending bill needed to keep the government open past Sept. 30 demonstrates that the former Republican presidential candidate remains eager to keep his name in lights, even at the expense of his colleagues' efforts to get back to the campaign trail.

''I am hopeful and optimistic that leadership will follow through and protect the internet,'' Mr. Cruz said on Thursday, when asked if he would prevent the short-term spending measure from moving forward without his internet provision.

Mr. Cruz's hobbyhorse is the administration's plan at the end of the month to transfer its oversight of domain name registrations to the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers, a multinational private organization based in Los Angeles. Out of the United States' control, the openness of the internet would be in jeopardy, Mr. Cruz has warned, with Russia, Iran and China positioned to use their influence on Icann to determine what content appears on the web.

''Imagine an internet run like many Middle Eastern countries, that punish what they deem to be blasphemy,'' Mr. Cruz warned in a Senate hearing he led earlier this week. ''Or imagine an internet run like China or Russia, that punish and incarcerate those that engage in political dissent.''

Technologists and administration officials say Mr. Cruz simply does not understand how the web operates. The government's current job of domain name administrator is largely clerical and cannot influence editorial decisions on the web, they say.

''It sounds like a fairy tale to anyone who understands how the internet works,'' said Andrew Sullivan, chair of the Internet Architecture Board, a nonprofit group of network engineers and tech firms such as Google and Cisco.

The White House press secretary, Josh Earnest, said the administration is committed to meeting its Sept. 30 deadline.

''The industry technology experts, business community and the largest internet companies -- like Facebook, Google and Twitter -- have described it as imperative that the transition move forward,'' he said.

The issue involves the deep plumbing of the internet and the system of addresses and domain names that route traffic around the web. It highlights a broader policy struggle among nations over who should govern the internet, which may have been born in the United States but now counts 3.4 billion global users.

The role of the United States government in internet governance has drawn stronger criticism in recent years, particularly after the leaks by Edward Snowden, a former National Security Agency contractor. In response, several nations have developed their own rules for online users, Balkanizing the regulation of the web.

In 2014, the Commerce Department began to remove itself from overseeing the registration of global top-level domain names -- the parts of internet addresses that allow traffic to route properly across the web's countless networks.

The administration and tech firms that support the plan say Icann is a neutral body with advisers from around the world that will simply act as the keeper of the internet's master directory of domain names.

Some warn that if the plan to transition authority on Oct. 1 is delayed, countries like Russia and China could try to shift domain name responsibilities to the United Nations, giving those nations more influence over global internet policy.

''Any delay would add a degree of instability and make the prospect of government control of the internet more likely, not less,'' said Kathryn Brown, president of the Internet Society, a nonprofit organization that advocates open internet policies.

But Mr. Cruz's allies point to Icann's sketchy track record, including its chaotic 2014 expansion of domain names that generated hundreds of millions of dollars in revenues for the group.

Mr. Cruz has long been a proponent of waging policy fights with the Obama administration via purse strings. The 2013 shutdown proved to be disastrous for Republicans, who gained nothing.

But his leverage is diminished. While Mr. Cruz can slow passage of the spending bill, he does not have enough followers to kill it. House conservatives, while supportive of his policy goal, are interested in other issues, like halting the Syrian **refugee** program.

''This internet issue is not on the front burner, no,'' said Representative Mark Sanford, Republican of South Carolina. ''The Syrian **refugee** piece resonates more back home.''

Democrats are far more worried about protecting money for Planned Parenthood to help fight the Zika virus, pesticide use and other matters related to Zika.

''Can Ted Cruz and Republicans dream up an any more obscure and irrelevant issue to stop the business of the American government?'' Senator Dick Durbin, Democrat of Illinois, asked reporters on Capitol Hill this week.

Mr. Cruz does have the backing of influential Republican leaders such as Senator Chuck Grassley of Iowa. Last week, four House and Senate Republicans sent a letter to Attorney General Loretta Lynch and Commerce Secretary Penny Pritzker asking for the administration to stop its plan.

It is a twist for Mr. Cruz, a Republican who has railed against big government, to argue for more government control and less private enterprise.

''Since the internet's inception, the United States government has stood guard over critical internet functions,'' Mr. Cruz said.

During the hearing on Wednesday, he interrupted and silenced one government witness who disagreed with his logic. He displayed a large poster-board exhibit with quotations from a Washington Post editorial criticizing Icann for malfeasance. Another exhibit showed a former Icann leader who went on to advise the Chinese government.

At one point, Mr. Cruz warned Commerce Department employees that they would be breaking the law if they followed orders to hand over domain name administration to the organization.

''Senator, we have followed the law,'' Lawrence Strickling, head of the National Telecommunications Information Administration, said during the hearing. He added that he was ''outraged'' at the accusations.

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Correction: September 20, 2016, Tuesday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An article on Friday about efforts by Senator Ted Cruz, Republican of Texas, to block the administration's plan to end federal oversight of the internet misstated part of the name of a government agency. It is the National Security Agency, not the National Security Administration.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**After failing to quell a succession of crises, European Union leaders will gather in Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, on Friday to seek a unified response to Britain's decision to leave the bloc.

The leaders are also expected to discuss upgrading their defense cooperation and cracking down on clandestine migration. But the meeting is described as ''informal,'' and major breakthroughs appear beyond grasp at this point.

Three months after the vote for ''Brexit,'' as Britain's decision to leave the bloc is known, the European Union has done almost nothing to respond to the sentiment behind that vote -- and it has shown few signs that it can take effective measures to address public concerns.

Still, the summit meeting will be rich in symbolism: Prime Minister Theresa May of Britain will be excluded, a signal that the survival of the European Union will require the other 27 member states to make a fresh start.

What's at stake?

A priority for many European leaders is halting the growth of populist movements that threaten mainstream parties before important elections in France, Germany and the Netherlands next year.

The leaders are mindful that the European Union is widely regarded in some member states as an elite project that diminishes national sovereignty, and of the extent to which that has lifted the popularity of far-right parties that once appealed only to the fringe.

The rise of Donald J. Trump in the United States and the British referendum in June on European Union membership have made those concerns even more acute.

Yet there are powerful players like Jean-Claude Juncker, president of the European Commission, the bloc's executive body, who continue to encourage joint European action in a wide range of areas, despite the discord.

''Never before have I seen so much fragmentation, and so little commonality in our union,'' Mr. Juncker said on Wednesday in an annual State of the European Union speech. But, ''only together are we, and will we, remain a force to be reckoned with.''

Mr. Juncker also used his speech to voice support for the greater use of common military forces, the expansion of a joint investment fund that would amount to €630 billion, or about $700 billion, by early next decade, and the creation of a European equivalent of the Peace Corps, a volunteer program run by the American government.

Divisions over migrants

Germany's decision to open its doors last year to more than one million asylum seekers has left it somewhat diplomatically isolated, even among its allies. Eastern European countries, in particular, are increasingly going their own way.

The host of the meeting on Friday, Slovakia, is suing the European Union authorities over a quota system that requires it to accept Muslim **refugees** from Greece and Italy, where many asylum seekers first arrive in the bloc.

Hungary will hold a referendum next month on whether to accept the mandatory quotas. In a sign of the growing acrimony, Luxembourg's foreign minister suggested this week that Hungary should be thrown out of the European Union, in part over its policy toward **refugees**.

Divisions over the economy

The generally wealthier countries of northern Europe remain at odds with the poorer and more debt-ridden south over economic policy in general and austerity in particular. The bloc may soon need to decide how to prevent problems in the Italian banking sector from reaching a crisis point that would destabilize the euro.

Europe will also need to decide soon on whether to pursue, while President Obama is still in office, the Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership with the United States, aimed at creating the world's largest trading zone, at a time of strong popular opposition to the initiative in Austria, Germany and elsewhere.

Divisions over 'Brexit'

As the bloc tries to define its future relationship with Britain, there is little scope for headway on Friday.

Germany and several other countries, including the Netherlands, prefer a pragmatic approach that would offer Britain different options to preserve economic ties with Europe.

Others, notably France, favor a tougher approach, to discourage other member states from leaving the bloc.

What might be accomplished?

The European leaders will press for something that would almost certainly not be on the agenda if Britain were still at the table: joint military headquarters. Leaders will also discuss expanding readily deployable European Union forces and increasing joint cooperation on military procurement.

Britain had long impeded steps that might have led to a joint European Union military, preferring to maintain the primacy of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. But such moves are favored by other influential countries, including France and Germany, which support closer military coordination on the Continent as a way to combat terrorism and to secure the bloc's borders. Such plans could be formally endorsed in December.

Leaders are also expected on Friday to endorse allocating more police officers and equipment to help Bulgaria guard its southeastern border with Turkey and to help prevent another wave of mass migration.

The meeting will also include a discussion of plans to increase joint spending on infrastructure projects to help stimulate growth at a time when interest rates are already at record lows and many economists are calling for Europe to ease up on its austerity policies.

Why Slovakia?

In early July, as his nation took over the revolving presidency of the bloc, Prime Minister Robert Fico of Slovakia said that hosting European Union leaders in his country would send a signal that smaller member states could take a bigger voice in the bloc's affairs.

There is growing disquiet in Central and Eastern Europe that policy making in Brussels has been dominated by larger countries like France and Germany -- particularly in the area of migration.

Whither Europe?

The looming question is how much the meeting in Bratislava can contribute to addressing Europe's biggest challenge: reversing the notion that pro-European leaders and the Brussels bureaucracy are promulgating a vision of Europe that is increasingly out of step with the political sentiment in much of the bloc.

Donald Tusk, the president of the European Council, the body that organizes the bloc's summit meetings, warned this week that moves toward centralization were increasingly unrealistic. The European Union ''is often treated as a necessary evil,'' he said, ''not a common good.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LOS ANGELES -- In a move that is sure to draw the ire of Republicans, California officials are asking the Obama administration this week to approve a plan that would allow undocumented **immigrants** to buy health insurance on the state's public exchange.

Officials say that up to 30 percent of the state's two million undocumented adults could be eligible for the program, and that roughly 17,000 people are expected to participate in the first year, if the plan is approved. But the proposal faces serious hurdles in Washington, where it must be approved by the Treasury and the Health and Human Services Departments.

During debates over health care in his first term, and again when Congress considered an **immigration** overhaul in 2013, President Obama made it clear that health insurance subsidies under the Affordable Care Act would not go to **immigrants** who are living in the United States illegally. And two provisions of the health care law limit coverage to residents who are here legally. But advocates of California's initiative argue that the plan should be approved under what is known as an ''innovation waiver,'' which allows states to have provisions of the federal law modified, because no federal dollars will be used to fund the program.

''This really represents the next step in health for all,'' said State Senator Ricardo Lara, a Democrat and the author of the bill, who was in Washington this week to garner support for the measure. ''We're simply asking Washington to allow California to once again allow more people to pay into the system. We're reaffirming once again our desire to make affordable preventative care available to everyone and our belief that health care is a human right not a privilege.''

California is the first state to propose such a plan. **Immigrants** living here illegally represent the largest share of the uninsured in California, and public health officials have been working for years to find ways to provide them with preventive health care. California already offers **immigrants** more care than other states do. Many counties here provide some basic care through community clinics. And children who are undocumented can now receive Medi-Cal, the state's public health insurance for low-income residents, under a law that took effect this spring.

More than 135,000 children have enrolled so far, but public health officials estimate that the number of those eligible is even higher. Many so-called mixed households, in which some family members are here legally and others are not, have been reluctant to sign up, fearing that they would put themselves at risk for deportation, health officials say.

''We have been saying to people, 'We can sign up your child, but we can't sign you up,''' said Anthony Wright, the executive director of Health Access California, an advocacy group. ''There's a symbolic issue of having a state agency that cannot serve an important part of society, even when they are ready to use their own resources.''

Mr. Wright said that he believed the administration would approve the plan because the state was no longer receiving federal subsidies for the operation of its health insurance exchange, Covered California, which is widely seen as one of the best-run exchanges in the country.

Michael F. Cannon, the director of health policy studies at the Cato Institute and a frequent critic of the health care law, said, ''Obama has already broken promises about the law, and doing this would be another broken promise.'' While undocumented **immigrants** should have the right to purchase health insurance on the private market, they should not be allowed to do so on public exchanges, Mr. Cannon said, adding: ''This certainly has the potential to become a welfare magnet. You could easily imagine families with high medical expenses moving to California.''

While the proposal will probably meet resistance in Washington, it is widely supported in California, where public health advocates have been laying the groundwork for such a policy for years. Several Republicans in the State Legislature voted to approve the measure in June, and Gov. Jerry Brown signed it into law in July. Covered California then drafted an application for the waiver, which it will submit to the federal government this month. This week, the state's Democratic congressional delegation wrote a letter urging the Obama administration to approve it.

A federal decision on the waiver application could take several months, officials said.

''They have guaranteed there would be no cost to the federal government, so there's no reason not to do this,'' said Representative Zoe Lofgren of San Jose, who is the senior Democrat on the House Judiciary subcommittee on **immigration**. ''Republicans might rant and rave away, but this is the next logical thing to do if the state wants it.''

Allowing undocumented **immigrants** to buy health insurance could also save the state money in the long run, Ms. Lofgren and other advocates say, because it would decrease the reliance on emergency rooms.

Chona de Leon, the chief operating officer at Eisner Pediatric and Family Medical Center in Los Angeles, said that many of the uninsured families the clinic saw routinely avoided doctor visits until they wind up in an emergency room.

''They just wait until they are really sick, and it ends up being more expensive for everybody,'' Ms. de Leon said.

Since undocumented children began receiving insurance through Medi-Cal, more families have been coming in for immunizations and well-child visits, she said. But their parents are still reluctant to see a doctor, she said. ''They want to stay healthy and they don't have any way of doing it.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Bronx is surging.

The borough, which lost one in five residents during the 1970s when it was afflicted by high crime and arson fires, has not only recouped its population loss but also appears to have surpassed its historic peak, according to new census projections.

An influx of **immigrants** helped boost the borough's population to 1.455 million as of July 1, 2015, according to the United States Census Bureau. At the annual rate the Bronx has been growing since 2010, about 1 percent, the highest of any county in the state, that would place the current total ahead of the high of 1.472 million in 1970, demographers agree.

And Queens, already a polyglot mix of residents from every corner of the globe, is growing ever more diverse. Nearly half, or about 48 percent, of the population of Queens is foreign-born, ranking the borough second only to Miami-Dade in Florida (with nearly 53 percent) among larger American counties in the share of residents from abroad. One-fourth of Queens residents come from Asia.

The latest figures from the bureau's American Community Survey and other estimates also confirm that New York City's total population has exceeded 8.5 million, the highest it has ever been.

In the Bronx, a housing boom has contributed to the population comeback.

A recent report by the New York Building Congress found that the Bronx accounted for nearly 32 percent of building permits issued by mid-2016, compared with an annual average of 11 percent between 2011 and 2015. The Bronx led all five of the city's boroughs in the number of homes and apartments authorized for construction, with 1,926.

Over 50,000 more people are employed in the Bronx this year than five years ago, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the 1970s alone, the Bronx population declined to 1.169 million, from 1.472 million, largely as a result of white flight. From 2007 to 2014, 30,000 more whites left the Bronx. But from 2014 to 2015, fewer than 1,000 did.

In that same one-year period, the borough gained 13,000 foreign **immigrants**, second only to Brooklyn and even more than the usual leader, Queens. The 3 percent increase in the Bronx's foreign-born population was surpassed only by the rate of increase on Staten Island.

''Folks are starting to realize we're no longer the Bronx of the '70s and '80s, that we're safer than we've been in 50 years,'' Ruben Diaz Jr., the Bronx borough president, said.

Prof. Andrew A. Beveridge, a Queens College demographer, said, ''The continued population growth of the outer boroughs of New York City, typical of Brooklyn and to some extent Queens, now seems to be spreading to parts of the Bronx, as they reach their record population.''

Over the five years ending July 1, 2015, Brooklyn led the boroughs in population growth, followed by the Bronx, Queens, Manhattan and Staten Island. The city's overall population increased by 375,000 residents or about 4.6 percent during that period -- the greatest growth since the 1920s.

Mirroring a national trend, between 2014 and 2015, median household income citywide rose to $55,752, and the poverty rate declined to 20 percent, from 20.9 percent. But New Yorkers were not as well off by either measure as they were in 2007 before the recession.

''This is the first tangible sign that the impact of the recession is starting to abate,'' said David Jones, of the Community Service Society, a research and advocacy group. But the fact that the rate barely declined among Hispanic New Yorkers, for one thing, he said, made his organization's agenda for a higher minimum wage and more affordable housing all the more relevant.

''I'm not going out of business,'' Mr. Jones said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald J. Trump unveiled a pledge on Thursday to create 25 million jobs over the next decade, but he offered few details on how he would achieve that ambitious goal as president.

In remarks that may stir new consternation abroad, Mr. Trump told the Economic Club of New York that he would pay for his economic agenda in part by requiring allies to shoulder the full cost of American military resources deployed in their defense.

Mr. Trump has long criticized the country's defense arrangements, but on Thursday, he drew an uncommonly straight line between his job-creation promises and the ''billions and billions of dollars'' currently spent on ''defending other people.'' He specifically mentioned Germany, Japan, Saudi Arabia and South Korea as ''economic behemoths'' that the United States should not pay to protect.

''You could ask yourself, how long would Saudi Arabia even be there if we weren't defending them?'' Mr. Trump said in his speech. ''And I think we should defend them, but we have to be compensated properly.''

He added, ''I'm sure they'll be thrilled to hear that.''

Speaking at the Waldorf Astoria, Mr. Trump largely reiterated a broad economic vision he outlined in Detroit last month, vowing to slash taxes on business and scale back federal regulations, and to redraft or void trade agreements he views as disadvantageous to the United States.

But Mr. Trump's remarks also underscored the opaque and improvisational nature of his policy agenda, which has been defined by a few grand promises but few concrete details. By putting a hard number on his job-creation promises -- even if far-fetched -- Mr. Trump may be aiming to strengthen a campaign message that has been light on policy outside the issues of **immigration** and trade.

And Mr. Trump has now twice revised his tax proposals during the campaign, first sharply scaling back plans for a $10 trillion tax cut and then, on Thursday, backing away from several ideas that drew criticism and mockery in the past.

He partly rolled back his earlier proposals to reduce corporate taxation: Mr. Trump still proposes a 15 percent tax rate on corporate income, but it would no longer apply to business income reported on personal taxes, generally limiting the lower rate to the largest corporations. He also reduced a tax break that generated backlash because it would particularly benefit real estate developers.

Mr. Trump also now proposes to cut federal taxes by $4.4 trillion, not $10 trillion; he insists the plan would ultimately cost the government only $2.6 trillion in revenue, with the difference made up in economic growth.

Mr. Trump spoke loosely and plainly enjoyed himself, repeatedly teasing the well-tailored crowd about their own wealth and business ventures. He put his audience on notice that he would enlist some of them in government, to help renegotiate deals far larger than any they had dealt with before.

''Hate to say it,'' Mr. Trump joked, ''but your companies are peanuts.''

But Mr. Trump also continued to cast himself as a champion of working-class interests, and in his remarks invoked nostalgia for the heyday of the American auto industry, steel manufacturing and coal mining. And Mr. Trump attacked his Democratic rival, Hillary Clinton, for having described some of his supporters as ''deplorables'' for holding views she called bigoted.

''My economic plan rejects the cynicism that says our labor force will keep declining, that our jobs will keep leaving and that our economy can never grow as it did once before,'' Mr. Trump said. ''And boy, oh boy, did it used to grow.''

Mr. Trump's description of an economy growing more slowly than it did after World War II until 2000 is accurate. But his promise to return to that postwar growth rate and add 25 million jobs over the next decade would be difficult to attain, given the nation's shifting demographics.

Part of the downshift in the growth rate since 2000 was caused by a working-age population that has grown less rapidly than in earlier eras. And that trend is unlikely to reverse, despite Mr. Trump's criticism in his speech of ''cynicism that our labor force will keep declining.''

The Congressional Budget Office projects employment will rise by 7.1 million over current levels by 2026 amid an increase in the labor force of eight million people.

In effect, to add 25 million jobs by then, the number of people who seek to work would have to increase more than three times as much as the economists at the budget office think likely.

One way would be to encourage more prime-age Americans who neither work nor look for work to do so. This group includes stay-at-home parents and those who see few possibilities in the work force, and their numbers have risen substantially since 2008. But even if the percentage of working 25- to 54-year-olds returned to its peak of the spring of 2000, that would add only about 5.2 million more potential workers compared with current levels.

Another way would be to encourage people to retire later, extending the length of their careers. A third option would be to increase **immigration** levels sharply over the next decade so there are more potential workers born elsewhere.

Beyond promising to put many more people to work, Mr. Trump pledged to attain 3.5 percent annual growth in gross domestic product over the next decade -- versus the 2 percent that has been routine in recent years and that the Congressional Budget Office projects for the decade ahead; such growth would require a steep increase in businesses' productivity.

While not articulated in these terms, his plan imagines that the much-remarked-upon slump in productivity will reverse itself if Mr. Trump's agenda of lighter regulation and lower taxes was put into effect.

The revised version of Mr. Trump's tax plan would still substantially reduce federal taxation, replacing seven tax brackets with three and taxing most income at lower rates.

Under the plan, a married couple with $50,000 in taxable income would pay 12 percent in taxes, or $6,000, rather than 13 percent, or $6,572, under current law. Families with more income would save more. The top tax rate would drop to 33 percent from 39.6 percent.

More Americans would avoid paying taxes entirely, although not as many as under Mr. Trump's earlier proposal. Mr. Trump said he wanted a $30,000 standard deduction for married couples instead of the $50,000 in his last plan. He also proposed a new limit of $200,000 on deductions by wealthy couples.

Mr. Trump's proposals drew a friendly reception from his audience, particularly for his plan to reduce taxation on businesses.

But he also offered reminders of the distance that separates him from many of the financiers and business leaders who typically fund Republican campaigns. He repeatedly attacked foreign trade in harsh language, and for the second time this week questioned the independence and legitimacy of the Federal Reserve.

Mr. Trump charged that rather than simply doing what is right for the economy, the Fed made ''the political decision every single time.''

And there was perhaps a subtler reminder of the divisive nature of Mr. Trump's campaign: Terry J. Lundgren, the chief executive of Macy's and the chairman of the Economic Club of New York, did not attend the speech. Under Mr. Lundgren, Macy's pulled Trump-branded merchandise from its shelves last year, after Mr. Trump -- who retaliated by repeatedly taunting Mr. Lundgren from the campaign trail -- described undocumented **immigrants** from Mexico as rapists and drug smugglers.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A guy walks into a TV studio. His name is Marco Gutierrez, founder of Latinos for Trump, and he is there to defend Donald Trump's merciless **immigrant**-expulsion plan as tough but necessary, given what he knows about Mexicans.

''My culture is a very dominant culture,'' he says on MSNBC, the day after Mr. Trump's Aug. 31 **immigration** speech in Phoenix, ''and it's imposing and it's causing problems. If you don't do something about it, you're going to have taco trucks on every corner.''

Drugs, rape, murder, tacos: Leave it to the Trump crowd to frame the presidential race as a cultural death match. And leave it to Phoenix -- border-state capital and overheated epicenter of the great American **immigration** freakout -- to have gone down this road already, years ago.

Mr. Gutierrez, meet Salvador Reza.

Mr. Reza is an American of Mexican ancestry, a day-laborer organizer, military veteran and teacher, who has spent years in Phoenix being a thorn in the side of racist bureaucrats and law enforcement officials, especially Sheriff Joe Arpaio, the county's Trump-supporting, serial **immigrant** abuser.

''People don't know this,'' Mr. Reza said, ''but the precursor of all the anti-**immigration** laws in Arizona was the 1990s taco wars.''

In 1999, Mr. Reza read in the paper about plans by the city to eliminate taco trucks by enforcing an ordinance regulating traveling carnivals -- no vendor could operate for more than five days.

He recognized the danger and called the taco vendors, or taqueros, to an emergency meeting. Within 24 hours a few dozen of them had raised $5,000 for a lawyer and began a long campaign of wrangling with the city, neighborhood residents, zoning officials and the county health department. Protests led to organizing, and to victory. Taqueros who had worked out of home kitchens ended up with a commissary, where they bought supplies in bulk and used commercial-grade equipment to cook and clean.

''I think we now have about 60 trucks and hot-dog carts,'' Mr. Reza said. ''We probably give work to about 600 families. We've been at it for 15 years and we're still going.''

In a better world, Republicans would celebrate this happy ending. Taqueros are, after all, part of the small-business bedrock of America. These are women and men who accept no handouts, who would cross a burning desert to support their families, who work hard to make America a tastier place. But that wasn't the message spread in Phoenix by Mr. Trump, who likes to say that if people don't listen to him on **immigrants**, ''We're not going to have a country, folks.''

Mr. Reza knows the subtext of that argument, how Mr. Trump's vision of an America under siege is a call for cultural erasure: Let's build the border wall, deport as many of them as we can and terrify the rest, so we can finally stop pressing 1 for English and start picking our own tomatoes, minding our own children and making America great again.

Mr. Reza has a riff about how cultural genocide has always been linked to food: the extermination of buffalo devastating the Sioux, the burning of Indian cornfields. He sees eliminating taco trucks as a wishful step toward eliminating **immigrant** livelihoods -- and neighborhoods.

But the Phoenix taco wars are over, and tacos won. On Sept. 26, the night of the first presidential debate, a well-loved Mexican restaurant, El Portal -- owned by Mary Rose Wilcox, a former county official and a nemesis of Sheriff Arpaio -- is going to reopen. A truck will be parked outside selling tacos, in a rebuke to Mr. Trump, Mr. Gutierrez and nativist fearmongers everywhere. Go, if you can. Go to support the taqueros of Phoenix, and the optimistic, can-do culture Mexicans bring with them over the border. Go to support the America they are helping to build.

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook and Twitter (@NYTOpinion), and sign up for the Opinion Today newsletter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON -- On a soggy morning in late June, as Britain absorbed the staggering news that it had voted to abandon the European Union, a stone-faced Canadian took to national television to offer assurances that the world was not ending.

Mark Carney, the first foreigner to head Britain's central bank in its 322 years of existence, was suddenly a crucial figure in the improvised effort to manage the fallout of the so-called Brexit vote.

No one knew what the referendum meant, but markets worldwide were plummeting in fear and confusion. Much of the British government was in tatters. The central bank was wielding 250 billion pounds, or about $345 billion, to throw at the financial system. ''We are well prepared for this,'' Mr. Carney said that morning.

In the weeks after, Mr. Carney led the Bank of England to drop interest rates to a record low while stepping up its purchases of bonds to expand credit through the economy -- all in a bid to spur spending and investment. He vouched for the ability of the British financial system to withstand a shock.

But as the central bank held course with interest rates and bond purchases on Thursday, Mr. Carney finds himself confronting political controversy along with pointed questions over the effectiveness and legitimacy of his activist course.

Even those who lavish praise on his leadership suggest the bank may be out of ammunition. Whatever happens from here -- whether Britain slides into recession or escapes that fate -- may depend more on whether the Treasury unleashes government spending than on anything Mr. Carney may be considering.

''He's a very cool, collected person, and he indeed rose to the occasion, but there are clear limits to what he can do,'' said Richard Portes, an economist at the London Business School, who counts Mr. Carney a friend. ''They can't seriously counteract the underlying real economic effects of this.''

His detractors in the Conservative Party argue that Mr. Carney tried to scare the electorate into voting to stay in Europe with exaggerated forecasts of economic damage, then acted precipitously to cut interest rates even as the economy proved resilient.

''You begin to think that all his actions have a political spin to them, and therefore people make the criticism that he cut rates in a panic to prove himself right,'' Mr. Carney's principal critic, Jacob Rees-Mogg, a supporter of the decision to leave and a member of the House of Commons Treasury Committee, told Bloomberg News last week. ''He has undermined the perception of impartiality of the Bank of England.''

If Mr. Carney feels misgivings, he betrayed none during an appearance at a Parliamentary committee last week.

''I'm absolutely serene,'' he said. ''I absolutely feel comfortable in the decision that I supported and the committee took in August to supply monetary policy stimulus.''

Economists generally dismiss talk that Britain is safely past troubles caused by the referendum.

''It's rubbish,'' said John Van Reenen, an economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston. ''We haven't had any Brexit yet. In terms of the economic effects, we are looking at what happens when we leave the European Union.''

Stock markets and consumer spending have held up better than anticipated, but the full impact will not be known for at least several months.

A slowdown in investment is expected, as multinational companies hold off on expanding operations in Britain until its future trading relationship with Europe is clear. Major banks are actively exploring shifting parts of their businesses out of Britain, a potentially significant blow.

But one worry does seem to have been dispatched -- the threat that the vote could deliver a shock to the global financial system. Here, Mr. Carney draws plaudits for the performance art aspects of central banking.

As the referendum result reverberated on the morning of June 24, markets plunged from Tokyo to London to New York, erasing $2 trillion in global wealth. The sell-off conjured talk of another Lehman Brothers, the investment bank that collapsed in 2008, setting off the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression.

The vote ostensibly kicked off torturous divorce proceedings with Europe that jeopardized Britain's exports while threatening to send major banks scrambling to abandon London.

No one appeared to be running things. Prime Minister David Cameron would soon declare his pending resignation. The man in charge of the budget, George Osborne, disappeared from the scene. The opposition Labour Party commenced bloody recriminations.

As he stepped in front of the cameras at the Bank of England, the yellow light of a chandelier glowing in a hallway behind him, Mr. Carney appeared to be the only powerful figure in Britain who was at once awake, sober and not about to begin spending more time with the family.

He had long carried a reputation as the supreme grown-up in every room. Britain had just taken a leap into the wild unknown. Here was the one person who had remembered to pack provisions.

''There was a general need to bring about some restoration of confidence in the economy,'' said Charles Goodhart, a former member of the Bank of England's monetary policy committee, and now a professor at the London School of Economics. ''Mark Carney as governor of the Bank of England was one of the few remaining figures of authority in place who could tell people that things were not falling apart.''

That Mr. Carney operates with a North American accent appears to have lent him some immunity as politicians who supported the referendum have accused him of stoking fears.

''If he'd been a Brit, people would have been able to say, 'Oh, you would say that, because you went to that school, or belong to this club,''' Mr. Van Reenen said. ''Having someone who's a bit of an outsider, it gave him more robustness in defending what he was doing.''

Born in Canada's remote Northwest Territories (population, 44,340), Mr. Carney grew up primarily in Edmonton. He spent 13 years traveling the globe for Goldman Sachs and assumed the governorship of Canada's central bank in 2008.

If bankers expected that his Goldman ties would make Mr. Carney a pliable regulator, they were in for disappointment. His central bank forced Canadian institutions to reserve more of their capital than lenders elsewhere. That limited Canada's exposure to the global financial crisis.

In 2011, as central bankers drafted new rules aimed at preventing another financial crisis, Jamie Dimon, chief executive of JPMorgan Chase, famously excoriated Mr. Carney behind closed doors: The proposed rules discriminated against American bankers, Mr. Dimon charged.

Mr. Carney held his ground. ''If some institutions feel pressure today,'' he declared in a speech two days later, ''it is because they have done too little for too long.''

Most observers assume Mr. Carney prefers to avoid more monetary loosening, allowing the Treasury to take the lead, but will not hesitate if economic growth deteriorates.

Given that the vote was, on one level, a call for limits on **immigration**, some celebrate Mr. Carney's prominent role as a sign that British openness endures.

''The only grown-up in the room turns out to be an **immigrant**,'' said Ricardo Reis, an economist at the London School of Economics.

But if the electorate had in mind limiting the influx of Polish plumbers and Syrian **refugees**, Mr. Carney presents a different sort of **immigrant**. He bears degrees from Harvard and Oxford. He is married to the British economist Diana Carney. His pay package runs 874,000 pounds a year, or nearly $1.2 million.

Still, the presence of a Canadian heading the institution that watches the money attests to Britain's continued willingness to import high-level talent.

The English Premier League, the pinnacle of global soccer, is stocked with top players from every shore. Chefs, architects and theater directors flock to London.

''The U.K. is the epicenter of what is frequently known as the Wimbledon effect,'' Mr. Goodhart said. Before Andy Murray won the tennis tournament for the first time in 2013, no Briton had taken the trophy for 77 years, yet people cheered the winners.

''We don't care about the identity of the person,'' Mr. Goodhart said, ''as long as they are doing the right thing for us in the U.K.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In the closing days of World War II, the American publisher Alfred A. Knopf was pursuing English-language rights to Albert Camus's novel ''The Plague,'' with its powerful and clear allegorical view of Nazism. With hesitation, he also acquired Camus's first novel, ''The Stranger,'' which one reader at the company described as ''pleasant, unexciting reading'' that seemed ''neither very important nor very memorable.''

The novel went on to become, by consensus, one of the most important and memorable books of the 20th century. Alice Kaplan, in the prologue to ''Looking for 'The Stranger,''' her new history of Camus's profoundly influential debut, writes that critics have seen the novel variously as ''a colonial allegory, an existential prayer book, an indictment of conventional morality, a study in **alienation**, or 'a Hemingway rewrite of Kafka.''' This ''critical commotion,'' in Ms. Kaplan's phrasing, ''is one mark of a masterpiece.''

Ms. Kaplan sets out to tell ''the story of exactly how Camus created this singular book.'' It's a story that unfolded against one of the most dramatic backdrops in history.

In his mid-20s when we meet him in 1939, Camus was a hugely ambitious, if yet to be published, writer living in his native Algeria. He was working on a novel he would abandon titled ''A Happy Death''; a play about the emperor Caligula; and a philosophical essay, ''The Myth of Sisyphus.'' He would soon add the germinal ideas of ''The Stranger'' to that mix.

Camus, though, as is well known, was a man involved in the world, not a writer locked in his room, and his story is deeply entwined with the complex political climate in French-ruled Algeria during the time that France was occupied by the Nazis. Ms. Kaplan, a professor of French at Yale, is the acclaimed author of several previous books, including the memoir ''French Lessons'' and ''Dreaming in French: The Paris Years of Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy, Susan Sontag, and Angela Davis.'' To this new project, she brings equally honed skills as a historian, literary critic and biographer.

We learn extensively about Camus's relationships with his family and with fellow writers; about his activities as an anti-fascist; and about what led to everything in ''The Stranger,'' from the rhythm of its sentences to the conception of the unforgettable scene in which a sun-dazed Meursault murders an Arab on the beach.

Indicative of Ms. Kaplan's approach is the chapter on Camus's time as a court reporter for the anticolonial newspaper Alger-Républicain in the late 1930s. The experience gave him a front-row seat in ''a theater for the tensions and dramas of a society structured on inequality.'' It also provided him specific material for ''The Stranger,'' like the scene in which a judge waves a crucifix at Meursault and insists that he believe in Christian forgiveness.

''The Stranger'' was the first work of fiction to fully convey the icy **alienation** of existentialism. (Camus didn't like the E word, but the shoe fits, and snugly.) This slim, spartan novel's antecedents were garishly voice-driven by comparison. The unnamed narrator of Dostoevsky's ''Notes From Underground'' has an often spirited, wisecracking relationship with the reader. (''In my soul I have never been a coward, though I constantly turned coward in reality, but -- don't laugh too quickly, there's an explanation for that; rest assured, I have an explanation for everything.'') The protagonist of Sartre's ''Nausea,'' published in 1938, just four years before ''The Stranger,'' is more akin to Dostoevsky's garrulous, opinionated guide than to Camus's detached antihero. (''To think that there are idiots who get consolation from the fine arts.'')

Those books might have been fixated on the emptiness of existence, but they entertained us as they sounded our hollows. Meursault, the protagonist of ''The Stranger,'' isn't cranky, defiant or darkly funny good company. Ms. Kaplan describes him as ''incapable of empathy.'' ''That evening Marie came by to see me and asked me if I wanted to marry her,'' he recounts. ''I said it didn't make any difference to me and that we could if she wanted to.''

Meursault's blankness has continually drawn readers and critics hoping to fill him in. This fascination has been joined by increasing interest in -- and frustration with -- the blankness of the unnamed Arab stranger killed by Meursault.

The lack of a name for the Arab could be seen as simply underscoring the meaningless absurdity of his death. But such a reading would be helped if Meursault's own existence lacked a deeper meaning; harder to countenance when, for instance, Camus once described him as ''the only Christ we deserve.''

Toward the end of her book, Ms. Kaplan writes about Kamel Daoud, whose 2015 novel, ''The Meursault Investigation,'' put the Arab at center stage. It gave him a name, Musa, a family and his own experience of life in French-ruled Algeria. Then, in an epilogue, Ms. Kaplan goes a step further and looks for the identity of the Arab involved in the real-life altercation (in which no one died) that inspired the novel's pivotal scene. What she learns about him is fascinating, and how she writes about parallels between him and Camus is a lovely example of her own imaginative powers and stylish prose.

Not all of the details in this book about a book are equally gripping, but Ms. Kaplan mostly keeps momentum by adhering to her plan to write about Camus ''as though I were looking over his shoulder.''

Reading ''The Stranger'' is a bracing but somewhat bloodless experience. Ms. Kaplan has hung warm flesh on its steely bones.

Looking for 'The Stranger'

Albert Camus and the Life of a Literary Classic

By Alice Kaplan

Illustrated. 289 pages. The University of

Chicago Press. $26.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A certain menacing terror is back in the Maryland woods to wreak havoc in ''Blair Witch,'' a new sequel to the 1999 horror hit ''The Blair Witch Project,'' opening Friday. The director Adam Wingard and the screenwriter Simon Barrett send a new batch of young documentarians into the forest for new dreadful encounters. This time, the cameras are more advanced, as are some of the scares.

This scene is from the film's opening and sets the stage for the sequel. During an interview at the Toronto International Film Festival (where ''Blair Witch'' played in the Midnight Madness program), Mr. Wingard discussed making the movie a wilder ride than the first, using drone cameras for certain scenes and working from a formal screenplay rather than improvisation.

Below are edited excerpts from that conversation.

Q. Why did you want to return to the ''Blair Witch'' world?

A. I wanted to be able to reapproach what I remembered wanting out of a sequel to the original ''Blair Witch Project.'' I was very disappointed with ''Book of Shadows'' when it came out because it didn't understand what, as a fan, I wanted to get out of it. I wanted to see the ''**Aliens**'' approach to ''Blair Witch,'' where you have the first film in the ''**Alien**'' series, which is kind of a quiet build. And then a sequel where you just kind of go all-out.

The original ''Blair Witch'' is known for its low-quality video shaky-cam. Tell me how you decided what cameras would be used here?

I knew I wanted the movie to be a kind of fast-paced editing style. So it was very important that we had lots of different cameras. And then it became, what's something that we've never seen before? That's where we landed with the main camera that you see in the film, which are these Bluetooth cameras that the characters wear in their ear.

We picked that for a couple of reasons. One, it's attached to the characters' heads so you're really in their P.O.V. We wanted this to be a P.O.V. experience -- ''Blair Witch'' the ride, essentially. But also they're very discreet looking devices so you can not really be distracted by the characters filming each other.

There's a drone camera here too. Would you talk about the decision to incorporate that?

I thought, since we're going to do a bigger budget movie than we've done before, we wanted to expand the scope. I immediately started thinking about helicopter shots. But within a movie like this, you can't cut to a helicopter shot because it wouldn't fit. So I came up with the idea with Simon of adding a drone in there because it allows the film to take a departure and have a couple of moments where you can kind of fly out of the movie and have a little more quiet. It hopefully builds the scope in an organic way.

What was your approach to the screenplay? Was there improvisation like in the original?

It was a very tight script in terms of specific story beats. It was much more formalized than the original film. But the one thing we did do was when it came to the horror set pieces, it was really important that the actors experience those moments and live in them.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**SYDNEY, Australia -- Two decades ago, Pauline Hanson prompted outrage when she said that Australia was in danger of being swamped by Asians in her first speech in Parliament.

This week, she has done it again.

As a newly elected senator, Ms. Hanson, the leader of the One Nation party, called for an end to Muslim **immigration** and a ban on the burqa, and she told members of Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull's Liberal Party that she planned to ''give them a kick up the backside.''

But this time, the response from the conservative coalition, led by the Liberal Party, has been carefully calibrated. Although many disagree with Ms. Hanson's far-right stances, the coalition is treading warily: The government may need her vote, and those of her fellow party members, to ensure their bills pass through the splintered upper house.

''Pauline Hanson was elected by the people of Queensland to represent their interests in the Senate,'' said Julie Bishop, the foreign minister and one of Mr. Turnbull's most senior lawmakers. ''She is entitled to her views.''

Ms. Bishop, speaking Wednesday on ABC television after Ms. Hanson delivered her first speech in the Senate following national elections on July 2, said that Australians ''believe in open debate.''

''I understand there are people who support her views and are concerned about the issues she raised,'' Ms. Bishop said, adding that she did not agree with many of Ms. Hanson's opinions.

Ms. Hanson's address on Wednesday was her second maiden speech. She was first elected to the Parliament, in the House of Representatives, 20 years ago but left in 1998. She founded the One Nation party, and its members, along with seven other independent senators, hold enough sway in the 76-seat Senate to barter with the prime minister.

The problem for Mr. Turnbull will be corralling that bloc or working with the opposition Labor Party to pass laws.

''Turnbull's position is extremely problematic,'' said Peter Chen, a political science professor at the University of Sydney. ''His strategy, the best one he can come up with, is governing with the support of the Labor Party.''

Before the elections, Mr. Turnbull had said that Ms. Hanson was not a welcome presence in politics. But that was before he narrowly scraped back into power.

Mr. Turnbull dissolved both houses of Parliament in May, calling a double dissolution election, in which all Senate seats were open for a vote, instead of the usual half. His aim was to increase the government's majority and its chances of having legislation passed through the Senate, where he said he believed it would be harder for dissenting lawmakers to retain their seats. He was wrong.

The coalition lost three Senate seats and now holds 30, and One Nation, which previously had no Senate seats, won four. The opposition Labor Party holds 26, and the Greens party, the next biggest voting bloc, has nine.

Smaller parties, including the independent Nick Xenophon Team, Family First, the Liberal Democrats and the Jacqui Lambie Network, also secured seats in the Senate, which is home to the largest number of independents not aligned with a major political party in more than a decade.

In the 150-seat House of Representatives, the coalition has a majority of just one seat.

On Wednesday, senators from the Greens party filed out of the chamber as Ms. Hanson spoke.

''In my first speech, in 1996, I said we were in danger of being swamped by Asians,'' Ms. Hanson said. ''Now we are in danger of being swamped by Muslims, who bear a culture and ideology that is incompatible with our own.''

She said Muslims are ''prominent in organized crime, with associated violence and drug dealing.''

She added: ''I call for stopping further Muslim **immigration** and banning the burqa as they have done in many countries around the world.''

The government should prohibit the sale of infrastructure assets to overseas interests, especially Chinese buyers, cut welfare payments and change family law, she said in her wide-ranging speech, which reflected sentiments that often appeal to voters who have tired of Australia's two mainstream political parties.

When Ms. Hanson delivered her speech, Penny Wong, a senior Labor Party senator, was absent from the chamber.

''I chose not to attend,'' Ms. Wong told ABC radio on Thursday. ''We, as Australians, should reject the views she puts forward. I think she peddles prejudice and fear. There is no community that has been made stronger by prejudice and fear.''

Professor Chen said that two decades after Ms. Hanson first entered federal politics, voters were no longer as shocked by what she said.

''But does that mean she is a more serious problem?'' he said. ''She has four senators in the Australian Parliament. People voted for her. You have to take that seriously.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PHOENIX -- Arizona's attorney general on Thursday detailed limits on the authority of state and local agencies to enforce **immigration** laws, ending a six-year fight over a state law that gave local authorities broad powers to detain anyone they suspected of being in the country illegally.

In a nonbinding opinion filed in Federal District Court here, the attorney general, Mark Brnovich, recommended specific limits on the actions of state and local police officers: They are permitted to ask about **immigration** status during a traffic stop or criminal investigation, but they may not extend a stop, detention or arrest simply to verify a person's **immigration** status.

''Maybe this should have been done years ago,'' Mr. Brnovich said in an interview. ''Some folks look for answers, others look for fights. I think in this situation, we're ready for answers.''

The opinion was the first time that a Republican elected official in Arizona had moved to clarify the limits of the stringent state law, known as S.B. 1070, that was aimed at identifying, prosecuting and deporting undocumented **immigrants**.

The law required state law enforcement officials to determine the **immigration** status of anyone they stopped or arrested if there was ''reasonable suspicion'' that the person might be in the county illegally, leading to widespread claims of discrimination against Latinos.

It came as part of a settlement of a lawsuit filed by **immigrants**' rights groups in 2010, shortly after the bill was signed into law.

The opinion instructs officers not to make an arrest simply because a person lacks proper identification, and not to use race, ethnicity or national origin as a reason to stop or detain a person ''except when it is part of a suspect description.''

The opinion, Mr. Brnovich said, will serve as a guide for law enforcement agencies and officers, but it is not binding. Police departments and county sheriff's offices are free to ignore it. Nonetheless, Mr. Brnovich said that as the state's chief law enforcement official, he would share it with ''every police agency that wants to listen'' and encourage compliance.

Some departments, like those in the cities of Mesa and Tucson, have already adopted similar policies, although the American Civil Liberties Union has since documented several claims of racial profiling against the Tucson police.

The enforcement guidelines give the **immigrants** rights groups that sued the state over S.B. 1070 the ammunition to go after local law enforcement agencies that flout the law.

''The legislators who passed S.B. 1070 were envisioning an Arizona where every police officer would be able to detain people based on their **immigration** status, and the opinion by the attorney general recognizes for the first time that this is illegal,'' Cecillia Wang, the director of the A.C.L.U.'s **Immigrants**' Rights Project, said in an interview.

''While that's a victory, we're not done yet,'' she said. ''We'll be watching every police officer, every sheriff's office in the state to make sure they comply with the constitution.''

Mr. Brnovich's enforcement guidelines were part of a settlement of a lawsuit filed in 2010 by the A.C.L.U., the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund and other advocacy groups soon after Jan Brewer, then the governor of Arizona, signed S.B. 1070 into law.

The lawsuit did not stop lawmakers in two dozen states from introducing similar bills. Five states -- Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, South Carolina and Utah -- passed laws, but most have been limited by the courts.

In Arizona, Ms. Brewer and Sheriff Joe Arpaio, who built a name for himself as an unapologetic pursuer of undocumented **immigrants**, became villains to **immigration** advocates and heroes to those who believed in the need for strong **immigration** enforcement.

But the law was costly to Arizona, resulting in boycotts and loss of concerts, conventions and business.

''When the state takes such an aggressive lead on questions of **immigration** enforcement, it's not just bad for the community,'' Lisa Urias, executive board member of the Arizona Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, a plaintiff in the lawsuit. ''It's bad for business. It tarnishes the image of state.''

As part of the settlement, the state will pay the plaintiffs' $1.4 million in legal fees.

A separate lawsuit against the state over the law, filed by the Obama administration, went to the Supreme Court, where justices struck down a measure that would have subjected undocumented **immigrants** to criminal penalties if they were caught looking for work.

Mr. Brnovich's guidelines echo many of the boundaries already established by the federal courts. Among them is a ruling against Sheriff Arpaio and his deputies at the Maricopa County sheriff's office, who were found to have used racial profiling and illegal detentions to target Latinos.

The sheriff is now facing criminal contempt charges for failing to implement the court's orders.

One of the sponsors of S.B. 1070, State Senator John Kavanagh, characterized the settlement as ''a clear rejection of the notion that the law is racist'' because it does not fundamentally change anything about the provision, one of the few remaining elements of the law that still stands.

''I certainly have no problem with instructing police officers in its proper application,'' he said.

At a news conference, Salvador Reza, a community activist, said he does not see the attorney general's guidelines and the lawsuit's settlement as a victory.

Anywhere in the state, the police can still ''stop somebody, a lawful stop -- and we know what a lawful stop means here in Arizona -- and when somebody doesn't produce a driver's license, they can start an investigation on their status,'' Mr. Reza said.

''I'm glad the attorney general finally put something out. However, our community, the one I represent, I've warned them: don't let your guard down.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON -- She is known in the British civil service as Theresa May , or Maybe Not. But after months in which she has provided little clue as to how she intends to negotiate Britain's exit from the European Union , Mrs. May could soon have a harder time dodging the question.

Mrs. May, the surprising successor as prime minister to David Cameron , who said a day after losing the June referendum on membership in the bloc that he would step down, has largely kept her own counsel. Although she was a quiet and perhaps lukewarm supporter of staying in the European Union , she has made it clear that she views the vote as democratic and that there would not be a do-over.

Mrs. May got through the summer by saying, ''Brexit means Brexit,'' a gnomic statement that raised countless questions; left cabinet ministers trying to shape the debate to their own, often diverging, views; and annoyed her counterparts in Europe, who are eager to get on with the negotiations.

The leaders of the 27 other European Union nations will meet on Friday in Bratislava, Slovakia, but Mrs. May has been conspicuously excluded from the gathering, intended to begin discussing the shape and direction of the bloc after a British exit. Like much of Britain, the European leaders are still trying to discern her priorities and to size up her approach to carrying out a historic and complex rupture.

If Mrs. May has signaled any strategy, it is to play for time, giving her government -- well stocked with members who were among the most prominent supporters of an exit -- a chance to hash out a negotiating position, and perhaps to allow the political passions of the spring and summer to subside somewhat. Despite pressure from Brussels to move quickly, she has said that Britain will not invoke Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, formally notifying an intention to quit the bloc and beginning a two-year negotiation process, until the first quarter of 2017.

The choices ahead are extremely complex and contentious, and for now, Mrs. May is letting various members of her cabinet set their own priorities, while emphasizing that the government -- namely, she -- has not yet taken official positions. She has no intention, she told Parliament, of giving ''a running commentary'' of the negotiations.

In her cabinet, she put prominent advocates of leaving the European Union in central positions to manage that exit: Boris Johnson, the popular former London mayor who was the face of the campaign to leave the bloc, as foreign secretary; David Davis, a veteran Conservative lawmaker, as secretary of state for exiting the European Union ; and a former defense secretary, Liam Fox , in charge of international trade.

Mrs. May then set them, and some of their more pro-European colleagues, against one another. They have been fighting over turf, and over how many Foreign Office staff members could be sent to work at the other ministries. And she ruled that all three should share the use of Chevening House, a country mansion in Kent that is traditionally assigned to the foreign secretary, but that is now nicknamed Brexit Towers.

While Mrs. May has remained nearly mute on the subject of the path leading to a British exit, her ministers have managed to inject their views into the public debate. Mr. Johnson, for one, wrote her a ''private'' memo setting out his position, which was promptly leaked.

In it, Mr. Johnson, reflecting concern among campaigners from the ''Leave'' camp that Mrs. May would water down their victory by negotiating a less-than-full break from Brussels, laid down four red lines: control over **immigration** from European Union countries, an end to British contributions to the European budget, ceasing the application of European legislation to Britain, and removing the country from the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice .

Mr. Johnson has also thrown his support behind a new lobbying group, Change Britain, introduced over the weekend and intended to maintain pressure on the prime minister to have what is known as a ''hard exit'' from the European Union , with control over **immigration** and no attempt to bargain with it to preserve duty-free access to the single European market of 500 million people. Other supporters include prominent Conservatives like Michael Gove , the former justice minister, and Nigel Lawson, a former chancellor of the Exchequer under Margaret Thatcher .

At some point, Mrs. May's studied silence risks creating a leadership vacuum or feeding into the economic uncertainty that has hung over Britain since the referendum. The most fundamental decision may be how much to prioritize control over **immigration**, one of the clear demands from the referendum, and ending the freedom of movement and labor that membership in the European Union requires.

While those favoring a British departure promised during the referendum campaign that **immigration** could be controlled and that Britain could retain access to the single market, agreement by the other 27 countries is nearly inconceivable, as it would overthrow one of the basic tenets of the bloc: that market access and freedom of movement are inextricably linked.

While reclaiming control over the nation's borders seems to be the priority for many of the voters who favored leaving the bloc, many business interests in Britain -- not least the financial services industry in the City of London and big manufacturers -- want to retain access to the single market.

That trade-off, and the degree to which Britain would be willing to make other concessions to Europe to retain market access, is likely to be the trickiest issue confronting Ms. May. Mr. Johnson aside, would Britain be willing to pay into the European Union budget as a nonmember, as Norway does, and if not, what kind of trade deal could Britain negotiate, sector by sector, and how long would that take?

When Mr. Davis told the House of Commons this month that it was ''very improbable'' that Britain would remain in the single market, Mrs. May, through her spokeswoman, chided him and said he was only ''setting out his opinion.''

''The prime minister's view is that we should be ambitious and go after the best deal we can,'' said the spokeswoman, Helen Bower.

Britain's financial sector, which represents 10 percent of gross domestic product, wants to preserve ''passporting rights,'' the ability to offer services throughout the rest of the bloc, including in the 19 countries that use the euro. The chancellor of the Exchequer, Philip Hammond, who backed remaining in the European Union , also wants to preserve passporting rights.

But French officials like Emmanuel Macron, the former economy minister and a possible presidential candidate, are dead set against that.

In an interview in London, Mr. Macron said that financial institutions based in Britain must be prevented from selling their services in the eurozone after the country leaves the European Union . Passporting is an integral part of the single market, he said, and ''should not be seen as a technical issue but a matter of sovereignty.''

He continued: ''We have the eurozone. Could we accept to be cleared, regulated and de facto have inflows and outflows from a country that has decided to leave the E.U.? For me, definitely not.''

In the meantime, Mrs. May and her country are getting a taste of what it will mean to be outside Europe. While the summit meeting of the other European Unionleaders on Friday in Bratislava is expected to produce little of substance, its theme is ''security,'' including borders, migration, terrorism and further defense cooperation. These are issues in which Britain, still a full member of the European Union , has a considerable interest and stake.

How much cooperation will Britain after its departure want or expect from the European Union on such matters as policing, intelligence sharing, arrest warrants, extradition?

Mrs. May, Britain's home secretary for six years, will have to make some choices there, as well.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Nearly two-thirds of the six million school-age children classified as **refugees** have no school to attend, the United Nations said Thursday in a report highlighting education as an overlooked casualty of the global **refugee** crisis.

The report, issued by the United Nations **refugee** agency, also said **refugee** children are roughly five times more likely to be not in school than the global average.

It said that in 2014 alone, the **refugee** school-age population grew by 30 percent.

**Refugees** often live in regions where governments are already struggling to educate their own children, the report said, further compounding the problem.

Filippo Grandi, the United Nations high commissioner for **refugees**, said in the report that the lack of schools and teachers for children was a ''sorely neglected'' facet of the swelling population of **refugees**.

''This represents a crisis for millions of **refugee** children,'' he said.

The report was issued before the annual United Nations General Assembly meetings next week in New York, where the global crisis in **refugees** and migrants -- the worst since World War II -- will be a main theme. President Obama is to lead a special summit meeting on the crisis.

Mr. Grandi exhorted leaders to pay more attention to the education disparity confronting **refugees**, saying ''it is essential that we think beyond basic survival.''

Roughly 1.75 million **refugee** children are not enrolled in primary school and 1.95 million **refugee** adolescents are not in secondary school, the **refugee** agency report said.

Its findings were based partly on a comparison of **refugee** data with global school enrollment data compiled by Unesco, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The report said only 50 percent of **refugee** children have access to primary education, compared with a global average of more than 90 percent. As children grow older the gap widens -- 22 percent of **refugee** adolescents attend secondary school, compared with the global average of 84 percent. One percent of **refugees**attend college, compared with the global average of 34 percent.

More than half the world's not-in-school **refugee** children live in seven countries: Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lebanon, Pakistan and Turkey, according to the report.

It singled out the Syrian civil war as both a prime contributor to the **refugee** crisis and an example of how armed conflict can devastate educational progress. In 2009, 94 percent of school-age Syrian children attended school, compared with 60 percent as of June of this year, the report added.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The complex and brutal conflict in Syria has defied the best efforts of peace negotiators and humanitarian officials for more than five years, but a new group of luminaries is weighing in on a war that has cost hundreds of thousands of lives: celebrities.

More than two dozen actors, singers and other prominent people have signed a petition urging the Nobel Prize committee to award its 2016 Peace Prize to a group of volunteer rescue workers toiling in cities across the war-torn country. The move draws attention to both the horror of the conflict and the growing willingness of well-known Americans to adopt it as a cause célèbre.

The White Helmets, also known as the Syria Civil Defense, are a group of volunteer emergency workers who rush to the scene of airstrikes in civilian areas of cities like Aleppo, which was once the country's largest but is now divided between rebel groups and the regime of President Bashar al-Assad. His central government has rained bombs on citizens for years, and the White Helmets say they have pulled more than 60,000 people alive from the rubble.

The petition may have no impact on who gets the Nobel Peace Prize, which will be awarded on Oct. 7. But its organizer, an advocacy group called the Syria Campaign, said it was hopeful that the celebrities' endorsement of the rescue workers, as well as an upcoming Netflix documentary about them, were signals of growing concern for the plight of Syrian civilians, who they say have often been overshadowed in the West by concerns about **refugees** and the Islamic State.

[Video: White Helmets | Official Trailer [HD] | Netflix Watch on YouTube.]

Raed Saleh, the leader of the White Helmets, said in a statement that it was a ''huge morale boost''to see increased international support for their work, especially from people they recognized from the movies. The signatories include George Clooney, Ben Affleck, Daniel Craig, Justin Timberlake, Aziz Ansari and Zoe Saldana.

''For international stars to stand next to the White Helmets' humanitarian cause gives a morale boost for all people doing this work,'' Mr. Saleh said. "We deeply appreciate this support and remain determined to rescue as many souls as possible and create the opportunity for peace. This is our mission.''

Syria is far from the first conflict to attract celebrity attention, and stars like Angelina Jolie and Mr. Affleck have devoted considerable time to touring war zones and raising money for relief efforts. So why has it taken more than five years for celebrities to adopt Syria as a cause?

One reason may be the complicated nature of the conflict, which has involved hundreds of rebel groups, including some linked to Al Qaeda, and has set the stage for the rise of the Islamic State, analysts said. It has confounded policy makers, so movie stars and pop singers can hardly be expected to have done any better.

''For years people have been confused by the perceived complexity of the Syria conflict and have continually asked, 'Who are the good guys?' '' said Anna Nolan, the director of the Syria Campaign.

The announcement that Netflix would produce a documentary about the White Helmets, and the drive to award them the Nobel Peace Prize, answered that question for public figures who wanted to get involved.

''The White Helmets are probably one of the most inspiring stories that has come out of the Syrian conflict, so it is a very easy group to endorse and stand behind because they are real life heroes on the ground,'' said Lina Sergie Attar, a writer who founded a humanitarian organization that works with **refugees** on the Turkey-Syria border.

Celebrity activism has sometimes been controversial, but Ms. Attar said she was glad to see famous people support a local organization addressing ''the heart of the problem.''

''We've seen celebrities go to **refugee** camps, but I've always watched that and thought they were engaging with **refugees** as if they're divorced from the political and military circumstances that created the **refugee** crisis itself,'' said Ms. Attar. "That was very frustrating to watch.''

Kassem Eid is a Syrian asylum seeker in Germany who spent two years touring the United States with the Syrian-American Council campaigning for the United States to act against the Assad regime. The experience left him deeply cynical about American policy makers. But he said he believed in the work of the White Helmets, and thought that actors, writers and singers could perhaps do some good.

''I have more faith in the devil than in politicians,'' he said. ''But movie stars and celebrities don't have elections to win, so they can say whatever they want or whatever they believe is right.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**For nearly 40 years, one name had been synonymous with Lower Manhattan politics: Sheldon Silver.

Now there is a new name -- and it bears translating. Yuh-Line Niou, a 33-year-old, Taiwanese-born candidate, won Tuesday's Democratic primary to overturn Mr. Silver's hold on the Assembly district that encompasses the area. Pronounced ''You Lean New,'' her name in Chinese, she said, means ''something so pretty or so precious that you want to hide it.''

Instead, Ms. Niou has vaulted into the spotlight. Her victory in November, which is almost assured in the heavily Democratic 65th Assembly District, would double the number of Asian-American state legislators -- to two.

''I think it's a testament to how far we have come in embracing diversity in the city,'' said Assemblyman Ron Kim, a Korean-born Democrat from Queens, and the other Asian-American in the Legislature. Ms. Niou was Mr. Kim's chief of staff during his first three years in office. ''That gives the next generation, and so many young women of color, inspiration,'' Mr. Kim added, ''That 'I can have a funny Chinese name and I can run for office.'''

Ms. Niou said she did not know her opponent in the general election. It is Bryan Jung, a Republican district leader.

Ms. Niou emerged as the winner from a crowded field of six Democrats that had two other contenders of Chinese descent running. She captured the Chinatown districts, including the high-rise of Confucius Plaza, earning 32 percent of the vote. She won by 1,130 votes over Jenifer Rajkumar, a daughter of Indian **immigrants**.

Ultimately, ethnic-identity politics were not the decisive factor in the race. New York City Board of Election statistics show that Ms. Niou prevailed because she was also able to draw from the Assembly district's diverse neighborhoods -- from a sizable Orthodox Jewish community to lower-income residents off Cherry Street to voters in the well-heeled Financial District.

''Our district is asking for a change, and we are all ready,'' she said in a breathless telephone interview on Wednesday. ''It doesn't matter how long anyone has been there, we are all neighbors.''

Some of those attending her victory party, Ms. Niou said, underscored the diversity of the district's neighborhoods. Among those on hand were two modern Orthodox rabbis and three tenant association leaders, two Latino and one African-American.

''With six candidates splitting the votes, in order to win, it's essential to go beyond just Chinatown,'' said Steven Romalewski of the City University of New York's Center for Urban Research.

In Upper Manhattan, it was the opposite case. In the Senate District 31, the seat being vacated by Adriano D. Espaillat, who is running for Congress, Mr. Espaillat's endorsed candidate, Marisol Alcantara, a Dominican labor organizer, beat out Micah Lasher and Robert Jackson by galvanizing her base. It was the in the Dominican strongholds, including Washington Heights east of Broadway and parts of Inwood, where she edged out her competition. There, she had about twice the votes as her closest rival, Mr. Jackson.

''If Lasher or Jackson had been able to get support across the district, that might have tipped the scales to them,'' Mr. Romalewski said. ''Identity politics sometimes wins out.''

The candidates in the two races represent the two largest **immigrant** groups in New York City -- Dominicans and Chinese. Ms. Niou said making government services accessible to **immigrants** was a priority for her.

Ms. Niou was 6 months old when she came to the United States with her parents, settling in Moscow, Idaho, where her father studied to be an engineer and her mother was a nurse. She learned English at school and Mandarin from her grandmother, who had been a teacher in Taiwan. Ms. Niou also lived in El Paso, Texas, where she attended a Jewish community center summer day camp, and in Vancouver, Wash.

She earned a Master of Public Administration as part of the National Urban Fellows program at Baruch College in Manhattan. Soon after earning her degree, she was hired by Mr. Kim as his chief of staff. He said he would never forget the weekend before she officially started. ''She was the only one in the office on New Year's weekend, she had rolled up her sleeves, painting the walls,'' he said.

Three years later, Mr. Silver was convicted on federal corruption charges. ''It's literally one of those things, when the seat came up, I was asked by our senator, Daniel Squadron, to consider running,'' Ms. Niou said.

When the Democratic Party did not nominate her for the special election in April, she ran on the Working Families Party line. Alice Cancel, the candidate supported by Mr. Silver, won an interim term, but Ms. Niou gained name recognition in advance of the primary. Bill Lipton, the New York Working Families Party director, said that both elections were part of a ''the long game.''

Jenny Low, chairwoman of the Chinese-American Planning Council, a social services organization, and an executive with the United Democratic Organization, a Chinatown club that endorsed Ms. Niou, pointed to her ability to draw votes from across the district.

''That she won from everyone else's territory, frankly, it says a lot,'' Ms. Low said.

''On top of that, and the icing on the cake for me,'' Ms. Low said, ''is that she's one of ours.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**When Donald Trump first called for a ''total and complete'' shutdown of Muslim **immigration** into the United States last December, Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana rejected that stance as ''offensive and unconstitutional.'' But that was then.

Once he was chosen as Mr. Trump's running mate this summer, Mr. Pence instantly became one of the strongest Republican voices to echo Mr. Trump's anti-**immigrant** broadsides, pronouncing himself ''very supportive.''

And on Wednesday Indiana officials went before a federal appeals court in Chicago to defend Mr. Pence's outrageous order to block Syrian **refugees** from settling in Indiana by denying them aid for social services.

Exodus **Refugee Immigration**, a social services group that sued to stop the order, argued that under constitutional principles states may not interfere with or penalize **refugees** who are in the federal **refugee** resettlement program, which ultimately decides where to send them.

The order was struck down earlier this year by a federal district judge in Indianapolis, who rejected the state's contention that it was needed as a defense against terrorists. Judge Tanya Walton Pratt found instead that Mr. Pence's order ''clearly constitutes national origin discrimination'' in a policy of ''punishing Syrian **refugees**already in Indiana in the hopes that no more will come.''

As Mr. Trump's running mate, Mr. Pence is in no position to back down from carrying the ticket's nativist banner. So the state appealed Judge Pratt's ruling, and on Wednesday was back in court to argue that the anti-**refugee** order was similar to quarantining the contagiously ill from contaminating Indiana's residents.

Members of the Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit were highly skeptical as they grilled Indiana's solicitor general, Thomas Fisher. ''Are Syrians the only Muslims Indiana fears?'' asked Judge Richard Posner, who noted that the **refugee** families from Syria have been thoroughly screened by the State Department. ''You are so out of it! You don't think there are dangers from other countries?'' he asked.

Judge Frank Easterbrook said slyly that the state's insistence that barring Syrians has nothing to do with rank discrimination ''produces nothing but a broad smile.''

The resettlement program drew loud protests from more than 20 governors when it was announced a year ago. But despite xenophobic warnings about unknown newcomers, the governors can do little to stop the resettlements. Since last October, 11,491 Syrian **refugees** have arrived in the United States, according to the Pew Charitable Trust's Stateline, and more are likely to arrive, according to the Obama administration's plans.

But there stands Mr. Pence, on guard duty for the Trump campaign, while his pathetic anti-**refugee** position collapses in court, as more than 170 Syrians are starting new lives in Indiana.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BODRUM, Turkey -- The number of Syrians and others fleeing Turkey for Greece is growing rapidly once again as an agreement reached months ago to curb the flood of **refugees** into Europe seems to be on the verge of collapse.

Until recently, the deal between Turkey and the European Union, meant to contain the worst migrant crisis faced by the Continent since World War II, seemed to be working quite well. Departures plummeted, and the pressure on European leaders from far-right politicians opposed to migration appeared to ease.

But that has started to change. More than a thousand migrants, including Syrians, Afghans, Pakistanis and Iraqis, arrived in Greece last week, nearly double the number the previous week, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees**. That is still far below the roughly 1,700 arriving in Greece every day at the height of the crisis last year, but far more than the 50 arrivals a day in the relatively placid months after the deal was reached.

It is not clear why the number of migrants is rising now. Many of them have lived in Turkey for some time and considered making a life there, difficult though that may be, particularly after hearing of the billions of dollars in aid promised by Europe in the deal, assistance that now seems threatened.

For some, it may be the realization, after several months, that their dream of reaching Europe is still within reach because the Greek authorities are not, as promised, sending many Syrians back to Turkey. For others, it might be a matter of simple economics: From a peak of roughly $1,500 a person, the cost of the trip has dropped lately to as little as $500. It could be the approach of winter weather.

But clearly, with acrimony between Turkey and Europe rising since the Turkish government responded to a failed coup with widespread purges, the migrant deal is looking increasingly shaky, and Europe faces the prospect of a renewal of a crisis that has already roiled its politics.

Trying desperately to prevent that, European officials have engaged recently in a flurry of diplomacy with Turkish leaders. The European Union's foreign policy chief, Federica Mogherini, and its enlargement commissioner, Johannes Hahn, visited Ankara last week, the highest-level European leaders to travel to Turkey since the failed coup.

Ms. Mogherini said the two sides had agreed to ''talk more to each other and a little less about each other.''

The discord is raising hopes among a host of Syrians and others whose plans were sidetracked when the deal was cinched in March. The other day, one of them, a Syrian named Mohammad Ibrahim, drank tea in the shade of a palm tree on the Turkish coast and looked longingly at Greece, visible across a narrow stretch of the Aegean Sea. He was waiting to meet up at night with smugglers who would help him across the waters.

Like many Syrians, he said he had realized that one of the main provisions of the agreement -- that migrants who risk their lives on the sea are to be sent back to Turkey -- was rarely enforced.

''This agreement is only on paper,'' said Mr. Ibrahim, 44, who is from the war-torn city of Aleppo. ''In practice, they aren't sending us back to Turkey like they said they would. So now it is time to go.''

Under the deal, the European Union pledged more than $6 billion to improve the lives of the more than three million Syrians living in Turkey. It also agreed to renew negotiations for Turkey to join the bloc, a prospect that appears dimmer than ever given the tensions between the two sides since the coup attempt.

Turkish leaders feel that Europe should have stood in solidarity with Turkey at a difficult time rather than criticize the crackdown on tens of thousands of people the government said were followers of Fethullah Gulen, the reclusive cleric whom the Turks accused of leading the revolt.

Even before the coup, Europe had been criticized for ignoring Turkey's crackdown on freedom of expression, and the growing authoritarianism of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, in order to contain the migrant crisis. After the coup and the purges that followed, it found itself in an even tougher position.

''Instead of unequivocally condemning the coup and supporting the elected government's efforts to bring the putschists to justice, Europe chose to attack Turkey's leaders for holding the would-be junta accountable for their crimes,'' Ibrahim Kalin, Mr. Erdogan's spokesman, wrote in a recent column titled ''Brussels, You've Got a Problem.''

The main issue threatening to derail the deal is the one that is perhaps most important to Turks: visa-free travel to Europe for Turkish citizens. Turkish leaders have said that visa-free travel should be approved by October, or the deal is off. But in exchange, Turkey is supposed to narrow its broad antiterrorism laws to put them in line with European standards, something it has shown no appetite for.

Turkey cites the many security threats it faces, including Kurdish militants waging war in the southeast; the Islamic State, which has carried out numerous bombings in Turkey; and disciples of Mr. Gulen.

All along, Mr. Erdogan has threatened to unleash a new flood of **refugees** if the European Union fails to live up to its side of the deal. ''The European Union is not behaving in a sincere manner with Turkey,'' he said recently in comments published by the French newspaper Le Monde.

Mr. Erdogan says the European Union has not made good on its promises of aid money, although analysts say that is only because identifying programs worthy of funding takes time. Recently, Brussels announced that it would pay almost $400 million to support millions of Syrians living outside **refugee** camps in Turkey.

Mr. Hahn, the enlargement commissioner, expressed confidence that Turkey and the European Union could yet reach a deal on visa-free travel. ''The timing is up to our Turkish colleagues,'' he told reporters. ''But it should be possible to find a solution.''

With few migrants being sent back to Turkey, growing numbers are languishing in camps in Greece -- not a great outcome, but still on European soil.

Nevertheless, for many, Greece has proved a rude awakening. The days of being able to march easily on to other European countries, such as Germany, are long over, and new arrivals often find themselves living in horrid conditions in Greece.

''I didn't imagine I would see **refugee** families living here in schools and empty hotels,'' said Mohammed Ayman, 28, a Syrian who arrived in Greece last week. ''**Refugees** are everywhere. I was shocked by the scene.''

On Monday night, Mr. Ibrahim, a carpenter from Aleppo who was wounded this year in fighting there, tried to go to Greece with his family but was unable to do so because of bad weather. He said that he would try again on Tuesday, and that once he arrived, he would try to make it to Germany by bribing police officers and border guards along the way.

''We are waiting to leave with 40 other people,'' he said. ''God willing, we will arrive safely.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Ivana Trump, best known as the first spouse of the 2016 Republican candidate for president and the woman who coined the term ''The Donald,'' made her New York Fashion Week spring 2017 debut at Dennis Basso on Tuesday, sitting front row at Moynihan Station on the West Side of Manhattan.

Ms. Trump wore a black-and-white patterned dress and sat next to Nikki Haskell, a West Coast socialite who helped invent the weight-loss pill Star Caps and who was profiled recently in Politico in an article called ''The Real Trumpettes of Bel Air.''

When the Trumps divorced in the early '90s, after Mr. Trump's affair with Marla Maples (soon to be Wife No. 2), things were anything but cordial between them. But reporters hoping for a morsel of news that might somehow break the Twittersphere were going to walk away disappointed on this day.

Ms. Trump has already issued unequivocal support for her former husband. And as a reporter approached, she was busy telling someone else about her stance on **immigration**.

''I think the Mexican people and all the **immigrants** are perfectly fine,'' she said. ''They are good workers and good people, but they have to come here legally, they have to speak at least a little bit of English and pay their taxes.''

She was also not so inclined to discuss such issues with anyone from The New York Times.

''You are not so nice to Donald,'' Ms. Trump said, adding that she was ''not a politician'' and was here only because Mr. Basso was a ''good friend.''

Had he designed her dress, too?

''No,'' she said. ''Roberto Cavalli.''

Security guards announced that the show was about to begin, and party page fixtures like Nicky Hilton Rothschild, Somers Farkas and Elisabeth Kieselstein-Cord took their seats.

Then, electronic music blared for 15 minutes, while models showed off white fitted cocktail dresses, taupe suede skirts and luscious brown bolero-like fur coats.

In the audience was Kelly Killoren Bensimon and Luann de Lesseps -- both of whom have appeared on ''The Real Housewives of New York'' over the years.

Ms. de Lesseps and Ms. Bensimon (who referred to the crowd as ''well bred, well fed and well read'') headed backstage afterward to kiss the ring of the man who designed the collection.

Mr. Basso was dressed in a black blazer, a black-and-white tie and khaki-ish dress pants. And it was quickly clear that he has a formidable ability to show equal love for all the women in attendance, whether young or old, famous or nonfamous.

He kissed random grandmothers and squeezed their wrists. He posed for pictures with the young daughters of his more middle-aged clients.

''It's wonderful,'' he said, looking out at all his well-wishers a moment later. ''We have young women in their teens to women of a certain age. I think that's great.''

Of course, not every designer in this polarized election season would be so eager to have the supportive ex-wife of the Republican contestant for president as one of these front-row patrons, but Mr. Basso had no such quibbles.

''She's a wonderful woman,'' he said of Ms. Trump, shortly after a quick hello with her, too. ''She was at my first show in 1983. And she's actually been to every show since then. Her children come. We're friends of the family.''

But he was not about to say whom he was planning on voting for.

''I think that's a personal question,'' he said, darting off to kiss more cheeks and squeeze more wrists.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PORTLAND, Ore. -- The armed demonstrators who took over a federal wildlife **refuge** in Oregon this year were attempting to reclaim land that they believed was improperly seized by the federal government, a lawyer for one of the group's leaders told a packed courtroom on Tuesday.

Marcus Mumford, the lawyer for Ammon Bundy, one of seven defendants on trial here on federal conspiracy and weapons charges, said in an opening statement that the group was trying to draw attention to the government's mismanagement of public lands, and to protest the treatment by federal agencies of ranching families in Oregon.

His remarks came during opening statements in the trial of Mr. Bundy, his brother Ryan Bundy and five other activists who led the six-week occupation of the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge**, which began on Jan. 2, the latest flare-up in a long-running conflict over who should control millions of acres of publicly owned land in the West.

''Mr. Bundy complied with the law -- the government did not,'' Mr. Mumford told the 12-member jury. ''The federal government didn't have the right to own'' the 187,000-acre **refuge**, established in 1908 as a land preserve by President Theodore Roosevelt.

Ryan Bundy, who is acting as his own lawyer in the case, told the jury that for his part, he never sought to harm anyone, but felt a responsibility, derived from the principles of the Declaration of Independence -- from which he quoted at length -- to stand up to tyranny. ''We had no intention to do evil, and the evidence will show this,'' he said.

But federal prosecutors, in their opening presentation to the panel earlier on Tuesday, said the armed group had posed a threat of violence from the first day, when it cleared the **refuge** ''at gunpoint,'' until the final hours of the occupation, when the last holdouts told law enforcement officials that they were prepared to die.

The occupiers' words and actions were never peaceful, Geoffrey A. Barrow, an assistant United States attorney, told the court. They trained in weapons and hand-to-hand combat while living at the **refuge**, Mr. Barrow said. They used earth movers to build defensive barricades.

''They wanted the world to know that they had taken it from the federal government,'' he said.

The takeover of the **refuge**, in eastern Oregon, lasted nearly six weeks. It set off a national debate about homegrown right-wing militias, public lands, constitutional rights and police powers, especially after one of the occupiers, LaVoy Finicum, 54, was shot and killed by the Oregon State Police in late January after he raced his truck toward a police roadblock and then appeared to reach for his weapon.

In all, 26 people were indicted on felony conspiracy, weapons and theft charges -- with the government contending that the occupiers conspired to impede federal employees at the **refuge** from performing their duties by using force, intimidation or threats, and that they stole government property and took weapons into a federal property.

The trial of the Bundys and five followers is the first of two expected trials stemming from the **refuge** seizure, and on Tuesday, the lawyers and defendants -- three of whom are representing themselves -- outlined the stories they said the evidence would show.

Federal prosecutors intend to present physical evidence that suggests a threat far beyond mere words. On Tuesday, they filed a list of potential exhibits that included dozens of pistols and rifles recovered from the **refuge** site and thousands of rounds of ammunition.

Other evidence listed by the prosecution was created by the defendants themselves, including videos and photos taken of one another on their cellphones, posts on Facebook and recordings of the almost daily statements that members of the occupation group made to reporters and television cameras at the **refuge**.

Defense lawyers have said that the occupiers were legally exercising free speech rights, and that openly carrying a weapon in Oregon is also legal.

Judge Anna J. Brown of United States District Court for the District of Oregon said in her jury instructions that disagreeing with the opinions of the defendants was not enough to support a guilty verdict.

''Defendants' political beliefs are not on trial,'' she said. ''Defendants cannot be convicted based on unpopular beliefs.''

Whether unpopular or not, what the defendants believed -- and what they said about those beliefs at the time -- will define much of the case. And at least one defense strategy so far is to suggest that maybe, at least in the case of David Fry, who was the last occupier to surrender and leave the **refuge**, those beliefs might not always have made sense.

Mr. Fry's lawyer, Per C. Olson, said in his opening statement that Mr. Fry, 28, was not a leader of the group, or even really much of a participant, and had left his guns at home in Ohio before driving out to join the occupation in early January.

''He was a little bit of an oddball, if you will,'' Mr. Olson said, with patterns of thought that were ''not typical and not always rational.''

But then, after Mr. Finicum's death, Mr. Olson said, Mr. Fry changed. Fearing a police raid on the compound, he began carrying a shotgun, and said in front a camera, ''I'm prepared to make a stand -- I'm prepared to die,'' Mr. Olson said.

Mr. Olson said jurors would see in that arc of psychology a man who had not committed a crime of trying to intimidate or impede anyone. ''It was all in defense,'' Mr. Olson said.

The trial is expected to last about two months.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**While young people, poor people and Hispanics are often singled out for low voting rates, there are millions of nonvoters in every demographic group. In fact, the majority of people who didn't vote in the 2012 presidential election were white, middle-income and middle-aged. But what distinguishes voters from nonvoters can be only partly explained by demographics. Experts say individuals tend to be motivated by a combination of their priorities, their group culture, how competitive their state is, and how easy or hard it is to vote.

The richer, older and more educated you are, the more likely you are to vote.

At the individual level, education and income are still two of the strongest predictors of whether someone will turn out at the polls.

''Most of the differences between people who vote and those who don't vote can be accounted for by motivational reasons -- levels of political interest and engagement,'' said Benjamin Highton, a professor of political science at the University of California, Davis. ''And levels of political interest and engagement are strongly correlated with education and income.''

While education increases political knowledge and engagement, the factors that drive an individual to pursue education may be the same ones that lead to participation in politics.

Age is also strongly correlated to voting. One explanation is that as people get older, they tend to own homes, pay more taxes and have less residential mobility, increasing their stakes in the political system. Voting rates begin to fall when people reach their late 70s, as health obstacles make it harder to get to the polls.

Among voters with little education, African-Americans are 1.7 times more likely to vote than whites.

There are also group dynamics that influence voting rates across racial and ethnic lines. Even when statistics are adjusted for income and education, there are large gaps among rates for whites, blacks and Hispanics in the United States. Black voters, particularly women, have the highest turnout rates over all. The turnout gap with whites is most pronounced at lower levels of income and education.

Experts give several explanations for high black turnout, which has grown by nearly 20 percentage points since 1996. The presidential campaigns of Jesse Jackson and Barack Obama encouraged more AfricanAmericans to register to vote, and black churches have played a strong role in mobilization. African-Americans are also more reliable partisan voters -- more than 90 percent voted for President Obama in 2012 -- so Democrats may be more likely to target them than other groups.

Turnout rates for Hispanic voters are much lower over all. Language barriers and weaker connections to the political system are part of the explanation, said Melissa R. Michelson, a professor of political science at Menlo College in California. ''There's this idea that even if you are legally entitled to vote, you don't see it as something that matters to you and your community,'' she said.

But Hispanic voters are not a homogeneous group. For one, naturalized Hispanic citizens are more likely to vote than those born in the United States.

''Being an **immigrant** has become a politicized identity, and there's a very clear connection between your identity as an **immigrant** and what's going on in the political areas,'' Professor Michelson said.

Upper Midwesterners are model voters, while Hawaii residents regularly stay home.

In states with competitive races, people may have a sense that their vote matters more, and campaigns will pour more resources into getting out the vote. Some of the worst turnout rates in recent cycles have been in Hawaii and West Virginia, which have had some of the largest margins -- favoring Democrats in Hawaii and Republicans in West Virginia.

State voting laws like registration deadlines, early and no-excuse absentee voting, and voter identification also dictate some of the differences in turnout among states, but the effects appear to be minimal.

Experts cite same-day registration as the policy with the best potential for increasing turnout, but the true effect can be hard to measure because it is often adopted in places that already have an active voting culture, like Upper Midwestern states.

While research shows that minorities are disproportionately affected by state voter identification laws, which Republicans have fought to expand in recent years, there has been mixed evidence on whether the laws have significantly reduced turnout. Political scientists say mobilization in response to the laws may have helped to counter the effects.

Turnout in the U.S. is lower than in Canada, Mexico and most of Europe. But many experts argue that it isn't a problem.

In the 2012 United States presidential election, about 58 percent of eligible voters turned out. That rate, which was generally on par with other United States presidential elections in the modern era, trails rates for most other developed countries.

Some structural differences are at play: Several countries at the top of the list, including Belgium, Australia and Turkey, have laws requiring citizens to vote. Others automatically register, or are more active in registering, their citizens.

Some prominent studies have found that 100 percent participation would not result in significantly different election outcomes. Still, differences in preferences between voters and nonvoters could make a difference at the margins. A 2012 Pew Research Center poll found that nonvoters were more likely to support Mr. Obama, and research suggests that if lowincome voters were more proportionally represented, lawmakers would prioritize policies that favor income redistribution.

Regardless of outcomes, doesn't high voter turnout signal a healthy democracy? Even this is a hotly contested issue among experts. While some say low turnout reflects discouragement with the system, the counterargument is that it is a sign that people think our democracy is generally working well.

This is a more complete version of the story than the one that appeared in print.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PORTLAND, Ore. -- The trial of Ammon Bundy, his brother Ryan and five of their followers, antigovernment protesters charged in the armed takeover of a national wildlife **refuge** this year, will begin here on Tuesday in a federal court.

The takeover, at a remote eastern Oregon reserve, began Jan. 2 and lasted nearly six weeks, starting a national debate about homegrown right-wing militias, public lands and constitutional rights.

The defendants face conspiracy, weapons and theft charges. In all, 26 people have been indicted. One protester was shot and killed by the state police during the occupation.

How the occupation began

On Jan. 2, a small group of members of a right-wing militia group adopting the name Citizens for Constitutional Freedom -- the number grew as the occupation wore on -- seized control of administration buildings at the Malheur National Wildlife **Refuge**, about 30 miles southeast of Burns, in Harney County, a sparsely populated area in the high desert of eastern Oregon.

In daily briefings with reporters, Ammon Bundy said the group had acted against what he called unconstitutional federal land management policies that infringed on the rights of citizens. His softly spoken statements echoed terms of a simpler, earlier America, where individual effort on the land counted for all, and government's business was to stay out of the way.

But guns, on hips and in the arms of lookouts, were ever-present.

How it ended

As they were en route to a community meeting on Jan. 26, where they hoped to persuade local ranchers to join their cause, Mr. Bundy and seven others were arrested in a traffic stop about 40 miles from the **refuge**. The arrests spiraled into bloodshed when a member of the group, LaVoy Finicum, 54, raced his truck toward a police roadblock. After his vehicle went off the road, Mr. Finicum got out and was shot and killed by Oregon State Police officers as he appeared to reach for a weapon. The last four holdouts at the **refuge** surrendered peacefully two weeks later.

The road to trial

A grand jury indicted 26 members of the group on various charges, including conspiracy to impede federal employees from performance of their duties, which is punishable by up to six years in prison, as well as weapons charges and theft of government property. Eleven defendants have reached a plea deal with prosecutors; charges were dropped against one defendant this month. The trial of seven other defendants is scheduled for February.

Roots of the conflict

In Oregon, as in many Western states, most of the land is owned by the federal government -- a fact that has rankled conservative politicians and protesters like the Bundys for many years. Efforts to wrest land back into private ownership or state control have simmered in state capitols in the Rocky Mountain region for years, fueling resentment even as they have foundered. At the Malheur **refuge**, a dispute between federal officials and a local ranching family -- Dwight L. Hammond and his son Steven D. Hammond -- became a catalyst for the militants. But a long decline in the area's economic health, mainly driven by a collapse of the timber industry, compounded local frustrations.

Legal trouble for the Bundy family

Cliven Bundy, Ammon and Ryan's father, led the family into confrontation in an armed standoff in 2014 against federal officials over illegal cattle grazing on public land in Nevada. The elder Mr. Bundy has for many years refused to obtain permits to graze his cattle on public land. When federal officials said they would confiscate the cattle, an armed standoff ensued.

Cliven Bundy was arrested and indicted this year for his role in that episode, as were Ammon, Ryan and two other men who were also at the Malheur takeover. That case is proceeding separately in Nevada, with a trial scheduled for February.

For breaking news and in-depth reporting, follow @NYTNational on Twitter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Grand Central Terminal, the main building on Ellis Island and the Enid A. Haupt Conservatory at the New York Botanical Garden -- all among the greatest New York City landmarks -- look better today than they have since their earliest years.

Many hands were responsible. John Belle was the common denominator.

Mr. Belle, the retired founding partner of Beyer Blinder Belle, an architectural and planning firm that has specialized in preservation, restoration and contextual design, died last week at 84.

With his death, the city has lost an architect who conveyed a genial joy in resuscitating the masterworks of his predecessors. That made him an appealingly modest figure in a room full of big architectural egos, since he was at his best when his own interventions were least obvious.

New York has also lost a link to the intellectual crucible of the 1960s, when Jane Jacobs and others demanded that architects stop obliterating the past and, instead, take time to understand the many ways in which people were well served by older buildings and neighborhoods.

''Preservation is one of the highest forms of good citizenship,'' Mr. Belle said on his firm's website. ''As a witness to the aftermath of the urban renewal movement in New York, I was determined to find a different way.''

For her part, Ms. Jacobs held Beyer Blinder Belle in high regard.

''They were looking at the fabric of the community,'' she said in an interview in 1998. ''That was very welcome and very exciting, that there were professionals who were, at last, doing that.'' She added: ''A community can't just come by waving a wand. It has history. History was, to the modernists, an enemy. So this was a very radical realization. And an important one.''

John Belle was born on June 30, 1932, in Cardiff, Wales. His father, Arthur, was a clerk at a Lyons tea shop in Cardiff. His mother, Gladys, was a housewife. Mr. Belle received diplomas from the Portsmouth School of Architecture in England and the Architectural Association in London before moving to the United States in 1959.

Once in America, Mr. Belle worked for Josep Lluís Sert and Victor Gruen before starting his own firm in 1968 with Richard L. Blinder and John H. Beyer. Mr. Blinder died in 2006. Mr. Beyer is still active.

Mr. Belle's early work included community planning projects in Manhattan. With the addition of James Marston Fitch to the practice in 1979, Beyer Blinder Belle began moving to the forefront of preservation-oriented architecture.

The firm attracted wide attention in 1990 with its renovation and restoration of the abandoned Ellis Island **immigration** station into the Ellis Island National Museum of **Immigration**. The vaulted ceiling in the former Registry Room, made of 28,258 Guastavino tiles, was cleaned until it looked -- as Mr. Belle aptly put it -- like mother-of-pearl. Where modern interventions were needed, they were made as inconspicuous and respectful as possible.

When the Haupt Conservatory at the botanical garden in the Bronx was restored in 1997, Herbert Muschamp, who was then the architecture critic at The New York Times, said it could ''once again hold its sparkling glass head up high amid the great architectural symbols of New York.''

Though critics have faulted Beyer Blinder Belle's conservatism, it is worth recalling that the firm was associated in 1998 with the daring architect Santiago Calatrava in what proved to be a losing bid to redesign the James A. Farley Building, also known as the General Post Office, as a Pennsylvania Station annex.

Penn Station was not where Mr. Belle was to win his greatest renown. That was at Grand Central.

You almost had to have been there in the 1970s and '80s to believe how far the Beaux-Arts terminal had fallen into decrepitude, even after its status as a landmark was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1978. Travelers shared Grand Central with a large homeless population.

''The building was divided into turf claimed by different drug dealers,'' Mr. Belle and Maxinne R. Leighton wrote in ''Grand Central: Gateway to a Million Lives.'' ''Commuters were scared to take trains there at night. Parents warned their children not to use the dangerous bathrooms.''

In 1990, a design and engineering consortium led by Beyer Blinder Belle began work. Their strategic first strike was to demolish a billboard called the Kodak Colorama, which had blocked daylight into the main concourse for 40 years.

''It was as if life were being breathed back into the building,'' Mr. Belle and Ms. Leighton wrote. ''Many commuters stopped in their tracks, speechless and amazed at the change that had so instantly brought back the majesty of the space.''

Their astonishment increased as the concourse ceiling was cleaned by workers on a scaffold that was rolled slowly through the room over a nine-month period. The mud brown sky turned a startling teal, with stars, constellations and zodiac signs popping out in gold-leaf contrast.

Besides restoring the past, Beyer Blinder Belle made fundamental changes, too, starting with the construction of an entirely new marble staircase to the east balcony. It echoed, but did not replicate, the ornate western staircase. Some preservationists hated the idea.

But the firm prevailed before city and state preservation agencies after it uncovered a plan by the original architects, Warren & Wetmore, that showed a staircase to the east balcony. That proved, Mr. Belle and Ms. Leighton wrote, that the idea ''was not an ego-driven ploy to have our personal imprint on the building, but that in fact our goal was to complete the original design.''

Mr. Muschamp, the architecture critic, approved. ''The new eastern staircase, which threatened to diminish the room's amplitude, has the opposite effect of magnifying it,'' he wrote in 1998, as the $425 million renovation neared completion. He continued, ''Even more impressive is the uncovering of the ramps, located just behind the ticket windows, that lead down to the lower level and its fabled Oyster Bar.''

''Beyer Blinder Belle's greatest accomplishment,'' Mr. Muschamp said, ''has been to reveal that Grand Central is above all a monument to movement.''

Mr. Belle's first wife, Wendy Adams Belle, an artist and teacher, died in 1974. His second wife, Anne Belle, a documentary filmmaker, died in 2003. He died on Thursday in Remsenburg, N.Y., where he had a home. He also lived in Manhattan. The cause was Lewy body disease, said his son David Belle, who survives him, along with another son, Sebastian; three daughters, Amelia, Fenella and Antonia Chapman; and eight grandchildren.

Mr. Belle knew his work would never fully be done. ''The act of restoring a building to its original state is only half the battle,'' he and Ms. Leighton wrote. ''The other half is to guard against its denigration throughout its future existence.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDWASHINGTON -- A contentious visa program that allows wealthy foreigners to obtain a green card by investing in economic development projects will expire at the end of this month unless Congress acts to extend it.

The program, called EB-5, allows foreign investors to gain a quicker path to citizenship by investing from $500,000 to more than $1 million to finance a business that eventually employs, directly or indirectly, at least 10 American workers in economically depressed areas.

Developers and supporters in Congress say the program, run by the Department of Homeland Security, has brought billions of dollars to areas that would otherwise not have access to capital.

But the program has been marred by fraud and used to build large projects in wealthier areas like Manhattan and the Las Vegas Strip instead of high-unemployment or rural areas. Federal investigators have also discovered that attempts to infiltrate the program were made by people with possible ties to Chinese and Iranian intelligence, and that international fugitives who laundered money in their home countries gained citizenship through the program.

More recently, federal prosecutors in April charged two Vermont developers, Ariel Quiros and William Stenger, with defrauding investors from at least 74 countries. Federal and state officials said the two raised $350 million through the EB-5 program for an array of projects including a ski resort.

According to a 52-count civil complaint filed by the federal Securities and Exchange Commission and a 15-count complaint by Vermont, the developers engaged in a ''massive eight-year fraudulent scheme'' in which they ''systematically looted'' millions of dollars from the foreign investors. Mr. Quiros was accused of using $50 million for personal expenses including a luxury condominium at Trump Place in New York.

Mr. Stenger announced in a statement this month that he had reached a settlement with the federal government. The case against Mr. Quiros is pending.

Critics of the EB-5 program, like Senators Charles E. Grassley, Republican of Iowa, and Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, see reauthorization of the program as an opportunity to fix problems with how the money is used, increase oversight and address national security issues. They sent a letter on Thursday to Senate leaders opposing reauthorization of the program without a significant overhaul.

''The program has become plagued by fraud and abuse and, if not reformed, it should be allowed to expire on September 30th,'' they wrote.

Proponents, including the United States Conference of Mayors, have urged Congress to leave the program intact, although they say they support some of the changes lawmakers are expected to consider.

''There is a need for more oversight and transparency,'' said Ronald R. Fieldstone, a Miami lawyer who has been involved in using EB-5 funding for development projects. ''If there is no independence in the administering and the distribution of the funds, it exposes the program to instances of fraud.''

But Mr. Grassley and Mr. Leahy say other changes are needed.

The program, which was created in 1990, has expanded well beyond its original intent, they say. EB-5 requires an investment in either a rural area or a ''targeted employment area,'' which is defined as an urban area with an unemployment rate of at least 150 percent of the national average.

But Mr. Grassley and Mr. Leahy said developers had broadly defined these areas by adding a few low-income communities to wealthier neighborhoods so they could use EB-5 funding to build luxury condos, convention centers and hotels, amounting to what the senators said was economic gerrymandering.

Angelique Brunner, owner of a Washington-based center that raises capital through the EB-5 program, said many of the examples that critics point to as EB-5 investments in upscale areas failed to note that the program helped transform places that were previously economically depressed.

''One of the challenges of EB-5 investment is that people look at what an area looks like after the investment,'' she said. ''It's hard to convince them what it looked like before.''

The EB-5 program has grown rapidly. About 10,000 visas are awarded annually, primarily to wealthy Chinese citizens, who make up about 80 percent of the investors and see the program as an easier way to gain United States citizenship for themselves and their families.

Senator Dianne Feinstein, Democrat of California, said the EB-5 program has sent a terrible message to millions of **immigrants** waiting their turn to enter the United States through normal channels. A number of other members of Congress echo her concerns, in large part because while most visa applicants must meet education or work requirements, the primary requirement for the EB-5 program is a ''lawful source of investment income,'' as a Homeland Security memo put it.

Many lawmakers say there are also national security concerns. A Government Accountability Office report released last year found that the agency could not be sure that money used for the visas was not coming from ''the drug trade, human trafficking or other criminal activities.''

Officials at Homeland Security Investigations, a division of **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement, said they were concerned that those who prepare overseas documents ''may try to use increasingly sophisticated methods to circumvent'' the program. In a 2013 memo, the agency suggested that the EB-5 regional center program end because ''there are no safeguards that can be put in place that will ensure the integrity'' of the regional center model.

United States Citizenship and **Immigration** Services, the agency that oversees the EB-5 program, said it was taking additional steps to increase the vetting of applicants for the program and its oversight of the regional centers The S.E.C. said it would increase oversight as well.

Lawmakers have not said when they would take up the EB-5 reauthorization. Last year, the program was extended as part of the omnibus spending bill.

Correction: September 14, 2016, Wednesday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: An article on Monday about the EB-5 visa program referred incorrectly to one aspect of the process. The program allows foreign investors to gain permanent residency when they invest between $500,000 and $1 million in a business that creates 10 jobs directly or indirectly. They do not gain citizenship by doing so. (They can apply for full citizenship after five years.) The article also referred incorrectly to Angelique Brunner, a spokeswoman for the EB-5 Investment Coalition, which is made up of investors and developers. Ms. Brunner is the owner of a Washington-based center that raises capital through the EB-5 program; she is not a developer.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN -- Even Angela Merkel, the usually unruffled veteran of European crises after almost 11 years as chancellor of Germany, had to admit it last week: ''The world finds itself in a critical condition,'' she said, and there is no point ''in painting anything rosier than it is.''

The outlook for Ms. Merkel is not especially rosy, either.

After years of broad and deep support at home, bolstering her as she grew to become the Continent's most powerful leader, she is heading toward national elections next year more politically vulnerable than at any time since her early days in office, with implications that extend far beyond Germany's borders.

When she arrives in Slovakia on Friday for a summit meeting of leaders from 27 European Union nations -- all save Britain, which voted in June to leave the bloc -- her ability to navigate her troubles at home will hang over the gathering.

Since Britain's decision, other European governments have done little to respond to the surge in populism and nationalism across the Continent or to reassure their citizens that the European Union can be a force for good in their lives.

With Ms. Merkel's attention split between strengthening her domestic position and addressing Europe's woes, the task of developing a united and effective response could become that much harder.

Her continued defense of her decision to admit more than a million migrants to Germany last year has left her increasingly isolated from other leaders coping with anti-**immigrant**, anti-Muslim sentiment in their electorates, especially after terrorist attacks.

With growth across the eurozone still ''tilted to the down side,'' as the European Central Bank chief, Mario Draghi, said on Thursday, Ms. Merkel's new vulnerability may undercut Germany's ability to impose its austerity-based economic policy on the bloc and fuel calls for more government spending from countries still struggling with high unemployment and slow growth.

And an inward turn by Germany as it debates its response to the migration crisis and holds elections in a year's time could create a further leadership void in Europe at a critical moment.

Already, President François Hollande of France is all but a lame duck, deeply unpopular and a long shot for re-election next year, and Prime Minister Matteo Renzi of Italy remains politically fragile, struggling to push through constitutional changes and to assert himself on the European stage.

And the rift between the more pluralistic nations of Western Europe and governments in Central and Eastern Europe, some of which are increasingly authoritarian, has heightened the challenge of keeping the Continent knit tightly together.

In the middle of all this, as ever, is Ms. Merkel, whose political peril in Germany remains hard to judge -- especially, her supporters emphasize, while the country's economy remains relatively strong.

But she is under increased attack, from within her own center-right bloc and from a resurgent far-right, over her **immigration** policy. And while German officials remain aghast at Britain's lack of a plan for disengaging from the European Union, she has not offered a well-articulated vision for how to hold the bloc together.

Hostile commentators and critics in her own bloc could hardly contain their glee at her new vulnerability after the far-right, anti-**immigrant** Alternative for Germany party pushed Ms. Merkel's conservatives into third place in an election in the impoverished and sparsely populated northeastern state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern on Sept. 4.

It was the first time Ms. Merkel's bloc of Christian Democrats and their Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union, had been overtaken on the right in any such election in modern Germany. That the result came a year to the day after she threw open the country's borders to admit migrants trapped in Hungary, and that it occurred in her political home state, which shelters very few **refugees**, accentuated the loss.

''Angela Merkel is wobbling,'' said Wolfram Weimer of the news channel N-TV. ''Her aura of winner is destroyed, and her image as farseeing, clever strategist of power along with it.''

Talk of the twilight of Ms. Merkel's time in office may be exaggerated, said Tina Hildebrandt of the influential weekly Die Zeit, ''but that so much is open is spectacular enough.''

''Merkel's loss of reputation is immense,'' Ms. Hildebrandt added. ''Her situation almost reminds us of the beginning of her career,'' when the distinctly un-chic Ms. Merkel, a physicist from the Communist East, was much criticized for her style -- and much underestimated in her ability and will to get to the top.

The chancellor showed that grit on Wednesday with a spirited speech to Parliament, defending her policy at home and the controversial pact she negotiated with Turkey to stop Middle Eastern migrants from crossing to Greece and into Europe.

Since that agreement was signed, she said, almost no migrants have drowned in the Aegean Sea, compared with hundreds in the two months before.

''In that situation, you can't just loon on,'' said Ms. Merkel, the daughter of a Lutheran pastor. ''You must work with another country and find a way forward.''

Ms. Merkel has taken responsibility for the election loss on Sept. 4 and doubled down on her refusal to emulate neighboring Austria by limiting the number of asylum seekers who can come each year. (Austria, her partner last year in admitting the migrants, may elect a far-right politician as president this year.)

But as politicians scramble ahead of German national elections next fall, that limit on **immigration** is becoming a litmus test for her conservative Bavarian sister party, and even for the center-left Social Democrats, with whom Ms. Merkel governs nationally in a coalition.

Ms. Merkel has met almost every European leader ahead of the summit meeting in Bratislava, where the 27 nations are expected to agree on stronger security measures and try again to stimulate economic growth and jobs for the young.

Daniela Schwarzer, a senior director of the German Marshall Fund in Berlin, said she saw the chancellor as still very much in charge.

''I would not say that she has lost control, or the capacity to lead Germany,'' Ms. Schwarzer said. ''But she will have to take into account that there are vocal people in populist parties and critical voices in her own camp.''

The far-right Alternative for Germany party now has seats in nine of the country's 16 state legislatures and seems likely to win more when the city-state of Berlin votes on Sunday.

The chancellor might turn with relief to the next item on her calendar: a Sept. 19 summit meeting at the United Nations, hosted with President Obama, on the global crisis of up to 60 million migrants, many of them in Africa.

Ms. Merkel wants vastly more aid and action to prevent sub-Saharans from surging through Niger and Mali to Libya and then to Europe.

Mr. Obama may be more sympathetic to her challenges than many of Ms. Merkel's compatriots.

''Perhaps because she once lived behind a wall herself,'' Mr. Obama said on a visit to Germany in April, ''Angela understands the aspirations of those who've been denied their freedom and who seek a better life.''

He added, ''I know the politics around this issue can be difficult in all of our countries.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON -- Opponents of Jeremy Corbyn, the left-wing leader of Britain's Labour Party, usually claim one of two things about him: that his politics are extreme and will lead the party to electoral oblivion, or that his values are admirable but he is too incompetent to put them into effect.

These two arguments seem contradictory, but in Mr. Corbyn's handling of an anti-Semitism scandal that has hung over the Labour Party, they have converged. In April, after months of accusations of anti-Semitism among party members, particularly on social media, Mr. Corbyn ordered an inquiry and asked Shami Chakrabarti, who had just stepped down as the director of Britain's leading civil liberties organization, Liberty, to head it. So far, so good.

The aftermath of her report, however, has aggravated the very wounds it was supposed to heal. It was inauspicious that, at the news conference in June for its publication, Mr. Corbyn looked on in silence as one of his supporters accused Ruth Smeeth, a Jewish member of Parliament, of conspiring against the party leader. Ms. Smeeth left the room in tears.

Worse followed when, a few weeks later, Mr. Corbyn broke his vow not to create any new members of the House of Lords by nominating Ms. Chakrabarti for a peerage. Whatever justification there might be for this award, it gave the impression of a quid pro quo: that Mr. Corbyn was willing to compromise his lifelong hostility to Britain's system of unelected privilege in return for an inquiry that pulled its punches.

Ms. Chakrabarti's report was not without merit. Many Jews welcomed its calls on the party to outlaw ''Zio'' as a term of abuse and for members to avoid making comparisons between Nazi Germany and Israel. What was missing, though, was any broader analysis of why such language has become so prevalent on the British left. Many British Jews believe it is connected to strident anti-Israel politics with which Mr. Corbyn sympathizes.

A year into Mr. Corbyn's tenure, there is no trust and precious little dialogue between the Labour leader and Britain's Jews. The country's chief rabbi, Ephraim Mirvis, has spoken of Labour's ''severe'' problem of anti-Semitism -- a problem that Jonathan Arkush, the president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the community's leading representative body, says Mr. Corbyn is loath to tackle.

Mr. Corbyn faces a challenge in a new election for the leadership, which most analysts think he will win thanks to a large influx of left-leaning supporters into the party's ranks. But when the Jewish Labour Movement, an organization affiliated with the Labour Party for nearly a century, recently polled its members on how they would vote in the leadership election, only 4 percent supported Mr. Corbyn, while 92 percent backed his challenger, Owen Smith. (The result of the race will be announced on Sept. 24.)

Mr. Corbyn himself appears bemused. The mantra he repeats -- that he is opposed to racism, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia (he rarely speaks solely of anti-Semitism) -- suggests that he is wedded to the idea that anti-Semitism is chiefly a right-wing phenomenon. It is true that Mr. Corbyn's predecessor as Labour leader, Ed Miliband, was the target of some thinly veiled anti-Semitic slurs from Britain's tabloid newspapers. But the notion that well-meaning people on the left might also harbor bias against Jews seems to pass him by.

The insensitivity extends to Mr. Corbyn's inner circle. One senior party spokesman, Paul Flynn, said in 2011 that Britain should not appoint a Jew as ambassador to Israel, because the post should be filled by ''someone with roots'' in Britain who couldn't ''be accused of having Jewish loyalty'' -- unwittingly invoking the anti-Semitic trope of Jewish disloyalty. This year, one of Mr. Corbyn's closest aides, Seumas Milne, wanted to remove the greeting ''Chag Kasher VeSameach,'' which translates as ''A Happy and Kosher Holiday,' from the leader's Passover message to the community because he felt the use of Hebrew implied support for Zionism. (After some debate, Mr. Milne was overruled.)

For many Corbyn supporters, talk of Labour anti-Semitism is a smear intended to silence advocacy for Palestinians. This segment of party members tends also to subscribe to a worldview that blames the United States and its allies -- foremost among them, Israel -- for all that is wrong in the world.

This anti-American, anti-imperialist strain of the British left has deep roots, but the 2003 Iraq war gave it a new impetus, and opened up a broad rift in the Labour Party. On one side are supporters of the Blairite legacy that includes a warm embrace of Israel and of Labour Zionists; on the other stand Mr. Corbyn and other veterans of the Stop the War Coalition. Despite the initial mass protests against the Iraq war, the coalition was run by an activist core of far-left groups like the Socialist Workers Party allied with Islamists like the Muslim Association of Britain. For this alliance, a visceral objection to Israel's existence was a key point of unity.

The Muslim Association of Britain has been described by a government minister as the British ''representative'' of the international Muslim Brotherhoodorganization. The Palestinian branch of the Brotherhood is Hamas, the radical group that governs Gaza -- and which Mr. Corbyn has praised for its commitment to ''peace and social justice and political justice.'' This is not the only case of Mr. Corbyn's appearing to align himself with Islamism: From 2009 to 2012, he was a paid host on the Iranian state-owned Press TV.

For many British Jews and others, Mr. Corbyn thus personifies a tolerance among parts of the left for reactionary Islamists that is at best naïve, at worst malign -- not least because it overlooks Islamism's history of murderous repression toward democratic socialists in Muslim-majority countries.

Labour had once been Britain's most pro-Zionist party. This began to change when support for Palestinian statehood entered party policy. Mr. Corbyn arrived as a new member of Parliament in 1983 as a sponsor of the Labour Movement Campaign for Palestine, a new group that was pledged to ''eradicate Zionism'' from the party and saw Israel as a colonial implant in the Middle East. Rather than being a legitimate expression of Jewish national longing, Zionism was then labeled a racist ideology akin to apartheid.

At the same time, Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government included a record number of Jewish ministers. Most British Jews had long since moved on from their origins in a prewar **immigrant** working class, and many among the new suburban Jewish middle class were attracted to Mrs. Thatcher's entrepreneurial capitalism. According to the historian Geoffrey Alderman, ''Anglo-Jewish political attitudes and loyalties, which were substantially Liberal for much of the 19th century and substantially Labour in the mid-20th, are now substantially Conservative.''

This may be of little electoral consequence to Labour, since Jewish voters influence the outcome in only a handful of parliamentary seats. In any case, the Corbyn project seems more directed at molding an ideologically pure movement than winning power at the next general election in 2020.

Yet there remains a strong progressive tradition among Jews that now has no political home. Their **alienation** from Labour is an ill omen: Whether British Jews ever feel they can return to Labour will give a strong indication about the future direction and character of the party as a whole.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**VICTORICA, Argentina -- Each year on the night of June 23, they gather at the sacred outpost on the brown flatlands to celebrate New Year's on a pre-Columbian calendar. Wearing ponchos and a type of jewelry called tupu, they make offerings of food, feast on barbecued ribs and tell stories. In the morning, they march around a ceremonial wooden stake and a fire fueled through the night to honor the land.

For the indigenous Ranquel (pronounced Ran-KEL), the scene is charged with many emotions, and offers a glimpse of their resurgence amid a long struggle for recognition after centuries of hardship and loss.

Similar struggles, of course, have unfolded across both South and North America, but the sense of being excluded from the national conversation has been particularly acute for the indigenous peoples of Argentina.

While policy makers in Buenos Aires and the provinces have made reconciliation efforts, indigenous leaders were baffled when Mauricio Macri, after winning the presidential election last year, singled out the achievements of influential European **immigrants** in his victory speech. (He later sought to calm the waters by meeting with indigenous representatives.)

''No Argentine president has truly tried to repair the damage done to indigenous people,'' said Pedro Coria, 51, a trade unionist and the president of the Ranquel Chieftains Council in Santa Rosa, the capital of La Pampa Province.

That damage began after the Spanish conquest, with forced labor in mines far from ancestral homelands and the colonial masters' use of people as currency in business deals. The native tribes fought back in the 19th century with several incursions. But in the late 1870s, Julio Argentino Roca, a general and soon to be president, led a campaign called the Conquest of the Desert, which seized the pampas and northern Patagonia from them.

General Roca, long considered a hero who opened the wilderness to poor European **immigrants** and united an unruly nation, has more recently been labeled a genocidal murderer by some historians and activists. That has led to campaigns to rename boulevards dedicated to him, tear down his statues and even remove images of him and his conquest from the 100-peso note.

Yet a consensus on the past treatment of indigenous people, and on responding to their grievances now, has proved elusive. The influential and conservative newspaper La Nación, in a lengthy editorial, recently leapt to General Roca's defense.

Indigenous movements in other parts of the region have seen high-profile triumphs. Bolivia has had an indigenous president, Evo Morales, for more than a decade. In Paraguay, an indigenous language on equal footing with Spanish continues to thrive. Ecuador's government incorporated indigenous concepts in the Constitution in 2008.

In Argentina, however, the commemorations of the nation's bicentennial in July chafed, seeming to confirm suspicions among native peoples that their culture and history were being ignored.

In a statement, some groups asked rhetorically, ''What do we have to celebrate?''

But as debates about the Qom and Wichí people in the north of Argentina often hinge on child malnutrition, and as the Mapuche people in Patagonia battle the encroaching shale oil industry, Ranquel communities have emerged as patient champions of indigenous rights.

The communities have secured a string of victories, including settling land disputes and phonetically transcribing textbooks to preserve their language, which was unwritten. More broadly, they have reversed a tradition among provincial Argentines of concealing their Ranquel ancestry. An indigenous bloodline no longer elicits shame; rather, it is esteemed.

''They have toiled away largely unnoticed,'' said Graciana Pérez Zavala, a historian at the National University of Río Cuarto who has written widely on the Ranquel.

''They're ripping apart the notion that indigenous people were exterminated during the Conquest of the Desert,'' she added. ''They are showing that they are alive.''

A short distance from Victorica, a farming town of about 6,000 enveloped by forests of caldén trees, the Ranquel can point to perhaps their proudest achievement -- the return of a two-hectare site (about five acres) that was part of their largest settlement, Leuvucó, before General Roca reneged on peace treaties and sent soldiers rampaging across the central plains.

They recovered the barren stretch of land in 2001 after putting aside clan rivalries and enlisting the aid of federal and provincial authorities. That is where they celebrate New Year's, and it is where they buried the remains of a prominent 19th-century chieftain, Panguithruz Güor, that had been kept in a museum 500 miles away.

To outsiders, the patch of land and the rusting monument to several Ranquel chieftains may seem little more than symbols. But they have power.

''Symbolism is important,'' Fernanda Alonso, the social development minister for La Pampa Province, said in an interview in Santa Rosa. For the Ranquel to flourish, she said, ''they have to reconstruct their past.''

Previously, visitors to La Pampa were unlikely to learn much about the province's indigenous heritage, though they might have noticed the image of a mounted Ranquel on the provincial crest and some of the ancient trails.

Though some scholars point to earlier endeavors to advance the cause of indigenous people, 2001 is widely viewed as the year of a rebirth for the Ranquel, energizing more than 20 communities across La Pampa.

''The restitution was a landmark,'' said María Inés Serraino, 47, a science teacher in Victorica, where her neighbors announce their arrival with a rhythmic clap of hands. ''It is paving the way to rescue a culture we were always denied.''

Ms. Serraino recalled how her paternal grandmother, a Ranquel who married a Sicilian **immigrant**, regaled her with stories about indigenous values, like cherishing nature and communal life.

In recent years, she and her family have formed a Ranquel community of 14 people, recognized by the National Institute for Indigenous Affairs.

Though bolstered by a law passed in 2006, indigenous peoples across Argentina continue to struggle over land rights. But Ms. Serraino's community, named for her grandmother, has conditionally been given a six-hectare parcel by the municipal authorities. On the land, her group wants to revive the tradition of community subsistence farming. It is also putting up a small building for meetings and cultural events.

Similar success stories are being replicated across central Argentina, not just in La Pampa but in neighboring San Luis Province, too.

In western La Pampa, the authorities have supported Ranquel communities, including one called Epumer, that have been threatened with eviction because of legal battles over territory. Fears abound of an escalation in such disputes as farmers seek new frontiers beyond Argentina's agricultural heartland.

Seeking to reconnect the population with its indigenous roots, leaders also give talks to schoolchildren. And in Santa Rosa, which will host a Latin American summit meeting of indigenous peoples this month, the chieftains council moved about five years ago into modest rented headquarters that house a small library and guest rooms.

In a meeting room where a newly designed Ranquel flag is displayed, classes in the Ranquel language are taught to groups of adults. In Victorica, road signs even carry Ranquel translations of Spanish street numbers.

Still, obstacles persist. Advocates, for instance, say no community has yet been handed the deeds to reclaimed lands.

And highlighting the tentative nature of even the Ranquel's most pivotal accomplishment, Osvaldo R. Borthiry, 83, the landowner who donated the two hectares at the Leuvucó site, said his children would decide the property's future.

Others dismiss the idea of working within the system and call for a separatist stance. ''When your country does not represent who you are, what else can you do?'' said Miguel Ángel Saulo, 62, a leader of the Tehuelche people in the south of Argentina.

But the Ranquel and their supporters remain undeterred.

''It used to be embarrassing to say that you were a descendant of indigenous people,'' said Marcela Suárez, 46, a janitor, as she stamped around the wooden stake at Leuvucó. ''Now it makes you proud.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BEIRUT, Lebanon -- On the swirling battlefield in Syria in the past month alone, Turkey has sent in tanks, incendiary bombs have charred children and whole towns have been emptied in surrender deals that could change the country's demographics.

All that is a stark reminder that for all the talk of diplomacy from Geneva, the war has been accelerating and shape-shifting, as unpredictable as it has ever been in its five and a half years.

Hours after the United States and Russia announced, with great fanfare, a cease-fire to start Monday in Syria, an airstrike hit holiday shoppers in insurgent-held territory on Saturday, just another day in the government's Russian-backed air war.

The war's myriad combatants met the diplomatic developments with skepticism, as government warplanes pounded multiple areas, killing at least 85 people, insurgents declared new offensives and Turkish tanks -- which plunged for the first time into Syria just weeks ago -- rolled along the border.

While the world's attention has been diverted by elections and **refugee** crises, the underlying realities of the conflict in Syria have largely been forgotten. But the conflict there not only has not slowed, it is intensifying and growing more volatile, with more players diving in with conflicting interests and shifting allegiances.

Many of the players -- especially President Bashar al-Assad and his allies, Russia, Iran and Hezbollah -- are scrambling as the clock runs out on the tenure of President Obama, who has made clear that he will not significantly shift his Syria policy. A new president could, theoretically, usher in a more active American role in the conflict.

As the combatants rush to establish facts on the ground, often using brutal means, they could irrevocably shape Syria's future and constrain the choices of peacemakers and warmakers alike -- in ways at least as notable as the Russian-American deal, which is fraught with flaws and caveats and has at best tepid buy-in from the Syrian combatants.

These are just a few of the moves regional players have made recently -- trends that could slow if the cease-fire takes hold, or continue if it collapses or is not well enforced.

â–  Turkey is laying electric wires across the Syrian border to power villages it recently helped seize, a step toward establishing the ''buffer zone'' it has long wanted to house Syrian **refugees** and fend off Syrian Kurdish militants.

â–  Syrian Kurdish groups, angry at the Turkish incursion that blocked their ambitions of uniting territory along the border, have declared that they are moving ahead with plans to draw up a constitution for a federal semiautonomous area. The Turks, and the Syrian Arab rebels they back, consider that a provocation.

â–  The Syrian government is forcing surrenders from besieged rebel towns near the capital, Damascus, and busing residents hundreds of miles to insurgent territory, in what its opponents are calling ethnic cleansing.

â–  Those surrenders have been extracted in part after intensified aerial attacks with incendiary weapons, barrel bombs and suspected chlorine gas produced a stream of horrific images. In one strike in Homs Province, a woman's body was pancaked between the roof and ceiling of her house. In another, two children's bodies were completely charred.

â–  Rebels in the city of Aleppo have continued to indiscriminately shell populated government areas, most recently killing a doctor, many of whose patients were Syrians displaced from pro-opposition areas.

â–  Russia has been conducting airstrikes to help government forces encircle rebels in Aleppo and killing insurgents who could mount a counteroffensive. It did not agree to the cease-fire until the siege had been established.

â–  Speculation is growing in the region that Turkey, which supports the rebels, has agreed to a potentially game-changing side deal with Russia: The Syrian government gets Aleppo, and Turkey gets a nod to crush Kurdish aspirations -- moving ahead with or without the United States despite American ties to the Kurds, Aleppo rebels and Turkey alike.

In this ad hoc, fast-moving chess game, the outlines of an informal soft division of Syria into spheres of influence is continuing to take shape: a Turkish-sponsored rebel enclave in the north, Kurds restricted to the northeast, the Iran- and Russian-backed government in control of Damascus and the coast, and Hezbollah controlling large strips of territory bordering Lebanon.

The one thing the government and many of its opponents have always agreed on is that they oppose the division of Syria. But their foreign backers, pursuing their own interests, may insist on a de facto partition.

''In a global and regional proxy war, it may not be up to them anymore,'' said Ibrahim Hamidi, a Syrian journalist with the Hayat newspaper. ''Syria is gone.''

Others, like the Syrian economist Jihad Yazigi, say an informal division may be the best foundation for eventually putting Syria back together.

But in the short term, civilians are suffering as combatants adopt increasingly brutal tactics in the rush to shape the battlefield. The United States says its new deal with Russia will sharply reduce deaths from airstrikes by grounding the Syrian Air Force over much of the country, but the deal's impact has yet to be tested.

In Aleppo alone in the last month, hospitals have been hit 13 times and ambulances eight times. Rebel shelling has at times been intense as well; a third of the 160 children killed in a one-month period this summer were in government territory.

In the run-up to the cease-fire deal, the government pushed for new gains, apparently with Russian support. Russia even walked back a near-complete cease-fire deal around Aleppo last weekend when it became clear that government forces were about to make an important advance, according to opposition representatives briefed on the negotiations, who requested anonymity because of the talks' sensitivity.

But the United States has leaned hard on rebel groups it supports not to make new advances around Aleppo, and American-backed rebels in southern Syria have been quiescent for months on the orders of American, Jordanian and allied backers because the Americans believe any offensives would upset the talks.

That has aided the Syrian government's strategy of squeezing rebels out of the suburbs around Damascus, not far from the Jordanian border. The way things are going, say diplomats, analysts and humanitarian workers, by the time Mr. Obama is gone the non-Islamic State opposition groups could be reduced to besieged or isolated pockets.

That would leave them little hope of regaining enough leverage to force the power-sharing deal that is nominally the American goal. It would set up a situation closer to the endgame that Mr. Assad wants and that Russia in practice has seemed to support: something approaching military victory, without any underlying national political compromise.

The Syrian government is apparently planning to use a mix of lethal pressure and local deals to subdue most of the insurgency, leaving only a choice between Mr. Assad's continued rule and the Islamic State militant group.

But without any political deal, that seems unlikely to bring full stability, with a low-level insurgency likely to continue.

The government forces are fragmented and dependent on help from Russia, Iran, Hezbollah and Iraqi Shiite militias, as well as Syrian pro-government militias with foreign and private backers. A victory over the rebel groups could merely set the stage for a new round of infighting.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Paris, Ky. -- After Bill Bissett, the president of the Kentucky Coal Association, told me that ''President Obama cares more about Paris, France, than he does about Paris, Kentucky'' -- a sentiment that seems broadly shared around here -- I decided to check out this little town with a big name set amid the verdant undulations of picket-fenced Kentucky horse country. Soon enough I ran into Cindy Hedges, whose boot store stands on Main Street and whose hours, as described by a sign on the door, are: ''If I'm here, I'm here. If I ain't, I ain't.''

Straight talk, the way the people of this particular Paris like it, is the kind of talk they recognize in Donald J. Trump. Hedges is a garrulous woman who says she's ''never met a stranger.'' But recent times have tried her affability. Her business has been slow. Her husband, Mitch, lost his job as the coal business collapsed, she has been withdrawing money from savings, and the couple are struggling to afford health insurance. All of which has led her to the conviction that the country is off track and needs ''somebody spectacular to get us halfway straight.''

For her, that somebody is Trump. She voted for Barack Obama in 2008, and says her political choices are gut-driven rather than party-driven. ''I have never been this political,'' she tells me. ''This is the most fired-up I've ever been for a candidate.'' She believes Trump will get business going, revoke trade deals she sees as draining domestic jobs, and ''clean up the mess Obama has left us.'' But what, I ask, of Trump's evident character flaws? ''Sure, he's kind of a loose cannon, but he tells it the way it is and, if elected, people will be there to calm him down a bit, tweak a word or two in his speeches. And I just don't trust Hillary Clinton.''

Kentucky voted twice for Bill Clinton before going solidly Republican in presidential elections. Now Kentuckians are clambering aboard the Trump train -- and to heck with its destination. Obama is blamed for the collapse of coal, particularly in eastern Kentucky, and the ever more stringent standards of the Environmental Protection Agency. Beyond that, the blame is aimed at airy-fairy liberals more concerned about climate change -- often contested or derided -- than about Americans trying to make their house payments.

The number of Kentucky coal jobs has plunged to fewer than 6,500 from about 18,000 when Obama took office; the number fell 6.9 percent between this April and June alone. Hillary Clinton's words in Ohio -- ''We're going to put a lot of coal miners and coal companies out of business'' -- echo on Republican radio ads, plucked out of context from her pledge to replace those jobs with opportunities in clean, renewable energy. By contrast, Trump declared in West Virginia in May that miners should ''get ready, because you are going to be working your asses off!''

''I don't believe Obama has a white board on how he's going to torture us, but he has,'' Bissett told me at his office in Lexington. ''I cannot tell you how rabid the support for Trump is.''

That support is proving resilient. The post-convention Trump free fall has run into the obstinacy of his appeal -- an appeal that seems to defy every gaffe, untruth and insult. The race is tightening once again because Trump's perceived character -- a strong leader with a simple message, never flinching from a fight, cutting through political correctness with a bracing bluntness -- resonates in places like Appalachia where courage, country and cussedness are core values.

''Trump's appeal is nationalistic, the authoritarian shepherd of the flock,'' Al Cross, an associate professor at the University of Kentucky, told me. ''That's why evangelical Christians are willing to vote for this twice-divorced man who brags about the size of his penis. There's a strong belief here still in America as special and exceptional, and Obama is seen as having played that down.''

But the Trump magnetism goes deeper than resentment at Obama's regretful tone from Havana to Hiroshima. It seems to go beyond the predictable Republican domination in this part of the country. There's a sense, crystallized in coal's steady demise, that, as the political scientist Norman Ornstein put it to me, ''Somebody is taking everything you are used to and you had'' -- your steady middle-class existence, your values, your security. It's not that the economy is bad in all of Kentucky; the arrival of the auto industry has been a boon, and the unemployment rate is just 4.9 percent. It's that all the old certainties have vanished.

Far from the metropolitan hubs inhabited by the main beneficiaries of globalization's churn, many people feel disenfranchised from both main political parties, angry at stagnant wages and growing inequality, and estranged from a prevailing liberal urban ethos. I heard a lot about how Obama has not been supportive enough of the police, of how white lives matter, too, and of how illegal -- as in illegal **immigrant** -- means illegal, just as robbing a bank is. For anyone used to New York chatter, or for that matter London or Paris chatter, Kentucky is a through-the-looking-glass experience. There are just as many certainties; they are simply the opposite ones, whether on **immigration**, police violence toward African-Americans, or guns. America is now tribal, with each tribe imbibing its own social-media-fed ranting.

The Clintons were feted here in the 1990s, but two decades on Hillary Clinton is viewed with cool suspicion. That's because both the economy and values have moved on, too. Jobs went south to Mexico or east to Asia. Somewhere on the winding road from whites-only bathrooms to choose-your-gender bathrooms, many white, blue-collar Kentucky workers -- and the state is 85.1 percent white -- feel their country got lost. The F.D.R. Democrats who became Reagan Democrats and then Clinton Democrats could well be November's Trump Democrats.

America is no longer white enough for that to be decisive, but it is significant. To these people, Trump's ''Make America Great Again'' is not the empty rhetoric of a media-savvy con artist from Queens but a last-ditch rallying cry for the soul of a changing land where minorities will be the majority by the middle of the century.

Hazard, set in the mountains of eastern Kentucky, is a once bustling town with its guts wrenched out. On Main Street, the skeleton of a mall that burned down last year presents its charred remains for dismal contemplation. Young people with drugged eyes lean against boarded-up walls on desolate streets. The whistle of trains hauling coal, once as regular as the chiming of the hours, has all but vanished. So have the coal trucks spewing splinters of rock that shattered windshields. In the age of cheap natural gas and mountaintop removal mining, a coal town is not where you want to be.

Hazard is in Perry County, where unemployment is above 10 percent. On a bench opposite the county courthouse, on the Starbucks-free Main Street, I found Steve Smith and Paul Bush. Smith used to work underground at the Starfire mine. He earned as much as $1,500 a week, but was laid off a while ago. His unemployment has dried up and he has four children to feed. His family scrapes by on his wife's income as a nurse. He'd been in court over a traffic offense; now an idle afternoon stretched away.

''Trump's going to get us killed, probably!'' he told me. ''But I'll vote for him anyway over Hillary. If you vote for Hillary you vote for Obama, and he's made it impossible to ship coal. This place is about dried up. A job at Wendy's is the only thing left. We may have to move.''

''Yeah, another year without change and they'll be shutting Hazard down,'' Bush suggested.

He was awaiting his son, in court on a drug charge for the painkiller Percocet. A retired operator of heavy equipment for the Road Department, Bush said his son did nothing, ''just a few odd jobs.'' He continued: ''Obama's probably never known hardship. He and Hillary don't get it. At least Trump don't hold nothing back: If he don't like something, he tells you about it.''

His son's girlfriend emerged from the courthouse. ''They locked him up,'' she said.

''Why?''

''He failed one of the drug tests.''

''Well, ain't nothin' we can do about it,'' Bush said.

There are people here who are not resigned, people thinking about what can be done about a post-coal Hazard. Self-reliance remains an important Appalachian value even if many people are ''on the draw.'' An initiative backed by Congressman Hal Rogers, a Republican, to bring broadband access to rural areas in Kentucky has been announced.

Jenny Williams, an English teacher at Hazard Community and Technical College, told me it's past time to get over divisions between ''Friends of Coal'' -- a popular movement and bumper sticker -- and anti-coal environmentalists to forge a creative economy around agriculture, ecotourism, education and small-scale manufacture. Coal, she observed, was never going to last forever. ''How could any idiot support Trump?'' she said. ''But when you've been on $70,000 a year in coal mines, and your life's pulled out from under you, who else can you be mad at but the government?''

That anger simmers. It's directed at Obama, and by extension Clinton, and by further extension a Democratic Party that, as the former Democratic senator Jim Webb from Virginia told me, ''has now built its constituency based on ethnic groups other than white working people.'' The frustration of these people, whether they are in Kentucky, or Texas, or throughout the Midwest, is acute. They are looking for ''someone who will articulate the truth of their disenfranchisement,'' as Webb put it. Trump, for all his bullying petulance, has come closest to being that politician, which is why millions of Americans support him.

Bissett, the Coal Association president, made clear to me that he did not dismiss the emissions concerns about coal; what bothers him is what he sees as Obama's and the E.P.A.'s refusal to seek a reasonable balance between the economy and the environment. The administration, he argues, has moved the goal posts to kill coal. It is this that feels punitive. For example, the E.P.A.'s Clean Power Plan, first presented in 2014 with no backing from Congress, requires every state to submit proposals for reducing carbon dioxide emissions by 2018. The Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision, blocked the initiative early this year. But that was just before Justice Antonin Scalia died. ''We need Trump for a reasonable Supreme Court and an E.P.A no longer skewed against fossil fuels,'' Bissett argued. ''A lot of jobs here still depend on coal and cheap electricity. That's why Clinton is toxic right now.''

At Jabo's Coal River Grille, a popular restaurant in Hazard, I met Phillip Clemons, known as ''Jabo'' (''perhaps because I used to box''). He owns the Locust Grove mining company, with 15 employees, down from 150. As a hedge, he opened the restaurant, where he was working a shift to keep payroll down. He called the election a ''terrible choice,'' but he's with Trump, because he believes that, as a businessman, Trump will respect the need to ''balance the books,'' past bankruptcies notwithstanding. ''Obama just hates coal,'' he said. ''I don't dislike people because of their color. I liked Herman Cain a lot. I can tell you the only black person who's ever been mean to me is Barack Obama.''

What's happened to eastern Kentucky is devastating, but far from unique. At France's diner, another popular Hazard hangout, Daniel Walker, who works from home for a medical software company, told me: ''Look, I lived for a while in Mansfield, Ohio, and General Motors moved its stamping plant there to Mexico, with the loss of thousands of factory jobs. The decent middle-class life is gone.'' There are many places, here and abroad, where people feel shoved aside by technology and cheap global labor, leading them to seek radical political answers. Trump is one of those answers; Brexit, the surprise British vote to leave the European Union, was another; the fall of Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany next year could be a third, after she trailed an anti-**immigrant** party in a local election this month.

Trump can't reverse globalization. Nor is he likely to save coal in an era of cheap natural gas. His gratuitous insults, evident racism, hair-trigger temper and lack of preparation suggest he would be a reckless, even perilous, choice for the Oval Office. I don't think he is a danger to the Republic because American institutions are stronger than Trump's ego, but that the question even arises is troubling.

Still, in a climate where disruption is sought at any cost (whether political in Hazard or economic in Silicon Valley), it would be foolhardy to suggest that Trump cannot win. He can; and he can in part because of the liberal intellectual arrogance that dismisses the economic, social and cultural problems his rise has underscored. Whatever happens in November, these problems will persist, and it will take major public and private investment and an unlikely rebirth of bipartisanship in Washington to make any dent in them.

Back in Paris -- the Kentucky one -- I sit down in a coffee shop with Cindy Hedges and her husband, Mitch. He worked for more than 30 years as a welder and then a supervisor in a factory that refurbished mining equipment. It was dirty work -- coal is black, grease is black, hydraulic oil is black -- but it was a good living. He lost his job in February, before returning on a temporary contract a couple of weeks ago, and when I ask him why his full-time employment disappeared, the answer is by now familiar: the E.P.A. and Obama, for whom, like his wife, he voted in 2008. But when I turn to this political season, he springs a surprise.

''Look, there's nobody to vote for,'' he says. ''Trump is an idiot, he pisses everyone off, he's scary, he'll pump his mouth off to some foreign country and we'll be at war. He's a billionaire on a power trip with as much reason to be president as I have. If Trump had shut up, he'd win the election. So do you vote for the one who's going to lie, or the one who takes you to war? I'm leaning Hillary.''

''Oh, come on, Mitch!'' says Cindy.

''What? With Bill Clinton the economy was rolling. I was working a 50-hour week and my 401 (k) outperformed my salary. He's going to be advising Hillary, suggesting she needs to do this or this.''

''They don't get along, Mitch.''

''Well, I'm scared of Trump.''

''I guess we'll cancel each other out then,'' says Cindy.

At the boot store, Carrie McCall, a FedEx driver, appears with a package.

''I love Trump,'' she declares. ''He shoots from the hip.''

But, I ask, isn't that dangerous?

''I don't care. After all we've been through, I just don't care.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MOSCOW -- Tiger shooter, bare-chested horseman and architect of Russia's revival as a muscular global power, President Vladimir V. Putin, dressed in a somber suit and tie, sat for over an hour this past week sipping tea from a delicate porcelain cup and offering earnest advice on how to improve housing, medical care and other services in a provincial town south of here.

State television broadcast the entire encounter, in between reports of Russian airstrikes in Syria ordered by Mr. Putin and gleeful accounts of how, thanks to a stunt by a pro-Putin athlete, the Russian flag appeared during the opening ceremony of the Paralympic Games in Rio de Janeiro despite a ban on the Russian squad because of a doping scandal.

It was, in the span of just a few hours, a dizzying display of the political mastery that Mr. Putin has over his country and his own image -- a tough, can-do warrior; caring father of his people; and guarantor that no slight to Russia's pride will go unanswered.

Mr. Putin, 63, has shown an extraordinary ability to project an image of towering strength no matter what the circumstances. When he first took power, an old schoolteacher of his in St. Petersburg, Vera Malishkina, remembered her former pupil, who is below average height, as a superb basketball player because he was ''very tall.''

He has many critics, many of them now in exile outside Russia or voiceless outside the coffee shops and wine bars of cosmopolitan cities like Moscow. But as Donald J. Trump said with admiration: Mr. Putin has ''very strong control'' over Russia.

According to Mr. Trump, the Republican Party's presidential nominee, ''He has been a leader far more than our leader.''

The beauty of that is largely in the eye of the beholder, and is certainly lost on Mr. Putin's Russian opponents.

''Vladimir Putin is a strong leader in the same way that arsenic is a strong drink,'' Garry Kasparov, the former world chess champion and a fierce critic of the Russian president, said in a Facebook post. ''Praising a brutal K.G.B. dictator, especially as preferable to a democratically elected U.S. president, whether you like Obama or hate him, is despicable and dangerous.''

But what, aside from his undeniable skill at rallying the support of the Russian public, has made Mr. Putin such a potent figure, giving him a growing band of admirers like Mr. Trump and any number of right-wing populist leaders scattered across Europe?

Mr. Putin has annexed Crimea, stirred up and armed a pro-Russian rebellion in eastern Ukraine, turned a once vibrant Russian news media into an echo chamber, and restored Moscow as an indispensable player on the world stage, by turns a peacemaker and troublemaker. His peacemaking was at the fore early on Saturday when Russia and the United States agreed in Geneva to a new plan to curb violence in the Syrian conflict, in which Washington and Moscow back opposite sides but share a desire to destroy the Islamic State.

Judged by many of the yardsticks of success he set before his first presidential race in March 2000, however, Mr. Putin has often faltered.

Out With Oligarchs, in With Cronies

He has cut down to size or driven into exile some of the so-called oligarchs who made billions in murky deals under President Boris N. Yeltsin in the 1990s. But far from eliminating ''oligarchs as a class'' as he promised, he has created a new class of business moguls who still enjoy sweet insider deals and whose only real difference with those who thrived under Mr. Yeltsin is that they do not dare challenge the Kremlin.

An Economy Running on Fumes

Mr. Putin's economic record has also been mixed to poor. The economy grew rapidly during his first two terms as president, from 2000 to 2008 -- about 8 percent annually, on average, thanks largely to soaring prices for energy, of which Russia is a major exporter. But it developed none of the diversity beyond oil and gas or freedom from corruption that Mr. Putin repeatedly promised.

And with oil prices now below $50 a barrel, half what they were in 2014 and far off their peak of $145 in 2008, the economy is in the doldrums. It perked up slightly in June but has declined over all by nearly 1 percent since the start of the year. That is better than the decline of 3.7 percent last year but still a threat to what had been Mr. Putin's contract with his people: rising prosperity in return for obedience.

Winning Russian Hearts Abroad

With the economy on the ropes, the Kremlin has turned increasingly to foreign affairs to keep Mr. Putin's popularity at levels that would delight any Western leader. His ratings soared after the annexation of Crimea in 2014, which unleashed a wave of patriotic fervor across Russia -- and caused more economic pain as the United States and the European Union imposed sanctions.

The military interventions in Syria to prop up President Bashar al-Assad have been accompanied by a drumbeat of reports on state television celebrating Russia's role as a key power without which no military or political knot can be untied. This has reinforced his status at home, but also a deep wariness of his intentions among mainstream political leaders abroad.

He has inserted Russia not only into Syria but also into the even more intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with Russian diplomats working frantically to organize a meeting in Moscow between Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and the leader of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas.

''It is important for Putin to drive home the message, especially to the U.S., that Russia is a global power,'' said Dmitri Trenin, the director of the Moscow Carnegie Center, a research group, and an expert on Russian foreign policy.

Mr. Putin, he said, was ''incensed'' in 2014 when President Obama dismissed Russia as a ''regional power.'' Eager to show that Mr. Obama underestimated Russia's reach, Mr. Putin has since embarked on a whirlwind of diplomatic activity across the Middle East and in Asia, asserting Moscow's role far beyond the narrow confines of the former Soviet Union.

''You can criticize Russia for anything, but if you belittle Russia, that is a crime,'' Mr. Trenin said.

A Muffled News Media

That Russia is now a power to be reckoned with is a message drummed home relentlessly on television. Under President Yeltsin, television had a wide array of state and private channels offering a cacophony of views, but now it is largely state-controlled and entirely on message with the Kremlin.

''We interpret freedom of expression in different ways,'' Mr. Putin told three Russian journalists who were writing a book to burnish his image before the 2000 presidential election, when he was a little-known former K.G.B. officer.

One of those journalists, Nataliya Gevorkyan, has since been beaten up twice by unidentified assailants in Moscow, and her old and once freewheeling newspaper, Kommersant, was taken over by a pro-Kremlin businessman. Effectively barred from publishing in Russia, she lives mostly in France.

But He Has a Seductive Popularity

While never a fan of Mr. Putin -- ''I was sure a guy who served in the K.G.B. should never be president'' -- Ms. Gevorkyan granted the Russian president one indisputable asset, one that appalls Moscow intellectuals but enthralls admirers like Mr. Trump: ''People elected him.''

''He is popular. Maybe not 86 percent, but definitely more than 50 percent,'' she continued. ''That is democracy. I really don't know about democracy anymore.''

Mr. Putin's ratings are certainly far higher than those of Mr. Obama, and Mr. Putin should easily win the next presidential election in 2018 if he runs. But the authorities are taking no chances. In the latest strike in a sustained campaign to shut down or at least tame alternative sources of information, Russia's Justice Ministry recently announced that it would place the Levada Center, an independent and highly respected national pollster, on its official register of organizations ''operating as foreign agents,'' a listing that the center said would cripple its work.

The decision to brand the country's most reliable polling organization as an **alien** force followed the release of an opinion survey that showed declining support for Mr. Putin's United Russia Party ahead of elections for Parliament on Sept. 18.

Mr. Putin's popularity, said Peter Kreko of the Political Capital Institute, a research group in Budapest, has made him a seductive figure for Western politicians and electors, who often pine for decisive action and a more secure world, free from the uncertainties created by **immigration**, insecurity and economic globalization.

''All Western politicians that define themselves as out of the mainstream tend to have positive views of Russia and Putin,'' he said. ''They regard the Putin regime as hyper-efficient, contrary to the hesitant democratic and sometimes incompetent and paralyzed systems in their own countries.''

This efficiency, Mr. Kreko added, is mostly a myth but is widely believed. ''We used to think that because of pluralist media, checks and balances, and globalization that people could not be brainwashed,'' he said, ''but what we see in Russia and also Hungary is that people can be brainwashed.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Education scholars have long marveled at the persistence of what they call the ''grammar'' of the American high school. Practices like grouping students in grades by age, dividing the day into hourlong classes and even arranging desks in rows have endured for at least three-quarters of a century. The grammar of American adolescence sometimes seems similarly immutable. Teenagers are forever in revolt, trying to navigate the tricky transition from childhood dependence to autonomous adulthood. At the same time, they yearn for a new sense of belonging, a way of fitting in with peers.

In Boise, Idaho, about 1,300 of the city's 26,000 students last year were **refugees**, roughly a third of them in high school. The United States expects to resettle 85,000 **refugees** in 190 cities and towns nationwide this year. Like their American counterparts, Boise's student **refugees** long to fit in, but they face enormous challenges. They arrive in the United States, along with immediate family members, after fleeing persecution in Iraq, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda or other homelands that have been wracked by war, sectarian violence or ethnic cleansing. In most cases, these students have spent years, sometimes a decade or longer, in **refugee** camps or on the move in countries adjacent to their homelands, waiting for a chance at permanent resettlement through the United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees**. The agency forwards suitable applications to potential host countries, which have the final say about who will be granted residency, an opportunity less than 1 percent of **refugees** worldwide receive. The security-clearance process in the United States usually takes 18 to 24 months.

When these students land in Idaho, they may know little or no English. The bucolic landscape looks nothing like the America they say they fantasized about from glimpses of pop culture abroad. In this **alien** setting, young **refugees** may not want to assert their adolescent independence from parents or other relatives, who most likely represent teenagers' only earthly ties to the world they formerly knew or people they once held dear. ''Some struggle a lot -- that comes with these traumatic experiences,'' says Christian Lim, a school counselor who runs a program at Hillside Junior High and Borah High School in Boise for recent **immigrants**. ''But the initial couple of months, there's so much positive energy, just the euphoria to be here.''

Soon, however, a heavier reality sets in. Although **refugees** receive initial cash assistance and help finding a place to live, these benefits last only eight months. Lim says the subsequent transition for students can be difficult. ''They start dealing with financial issues, the family losing their house, and suddenly kids are having to work after school until midnight or two in the morning,'' he says.

But mostly, Lim says, he is impressed at how adaptive students are. Abdullah Salman, a Sunni Muslim who first escaped religious persecution in Iraq, only to be trapped in a disintegrating Syria, knew just three words when he arrived in Boise: ''Hi,'' ''bye'' and ''maybe.'' When people asked him his name, he replied, ''Maybe.'' Two years later, he was writing articles for the school newspaper, The Borah Senator, and volunteering to tutor classmates in math and English after school.

In Boise, all incoming **refugee** students (along with other **immigrants** with limited proficiency in English) are initially assessed to determine the level of English-language support they will require. Those whose needs are the greatest are assigned to an English Language Learners (E.L.L.) ''bridge'' program within Hillside Junior High or Borah High School. In addition to intensive English-language classes, they also take core courses that are modified to support their limited English skills before being transferred to regular high-school classes within two years. Although these teenagers come from a dizzying number of countries and speak a cacophony of different languages -- Arabic, Swahili, Dzongkha, Kinyarwanda -- they all, Lim says, ''share the same narrative: 'We had to move away from where we were. Bad things were happening. We are trying to have a happy life. This is the good part of our lives.' ''

For many students, the camaraderie among the **refugee**-filled classes at Borah begins to satisfy some of the normal adolescent pangs to belong. And many **refugees** cite the district's E.L.L. programs for seeing them through. Zahraa Naser, who is Muslim and fled to Syria from her home in Iraq after her father was kidnapped and murdered, says: ''I loved those teachers. They were always the nicest, and even after you went out of the E.L.L. program, they would always help you.''

Classmates, however, can be more of a mystery. Although some self-sorting occurs at all schools, **refugee** students express a desire to get to know their American peers better but acknowledge that closing the gap between newcomer and native can be tough. This may be especially so in the current political climate, where a debate over **refugees** -- which ones and how many to admit -- is roiling election-year politics. Language barriers can make exchanging teenage confidences hard, though technology helps. Many **refugees** are more comfortable texting, the lingua franca of adolescence, than talking anyway. Still, friendships are often forged not in school but through parties or extracurricular activities, which few **refugees** have time or money for. ''Only rich white kids can do that,'' one **refugee** says. ''I have to work.''

Boise has been resettling displaced persons since 1975, when Idaho answered President Gerald R. Ford's call to states to take in 130,000 Southeast Asians taking flight in the aftermath of the Vietnam War. Angie Smith, a photojournalist based in Los Angeles who has family in Idaho that dates back three generations, first took notice of the growing **refugee** presence on a trip to Boise five years ago. In a state whose population is more than 90 percent white, these new arrivals were sometimes hard to miss. Curious about this migration, she began photographing **refugees** in 2015. Many didn't possess a single picture of their families, and Smith would give them one. In time, she asked Hanne Steen, a journalist and an oral historian, also based in Los Angeles, to help with the interviews, including those of seniors in Boise's class of 2016, whom Smith photographed for The New York Times Magazine. Steen grew up in Africa, the daughter of American aid workers, and at one point, she and her parents were evacuated from Rwanda in the wake of genocide there. An exhibit of Smith's work, accompanied by transcriptions of interviews with **refugees**, opened in public locations around the city this month, supported in part by a grant from Boise's Department of Arts and History.

Zahraa Naser, the Iraqi **refugee**, says that she has American friends but that for now, her closest friends are those with experiences of dislocation like hers. Last year, she started wearing a hijab for the first time, as is customary for girls in her culture once they reach puberty, but she felt some friends stiffen and pull away. In her mind, the step was overdue; a younger sister had already begun to wear hers. ''I think most people, when they see me, because I'm wearing the head scarf and I'm Muslim, think that I am, like, a terrorist, but I'm not,'' she says. ''I'm just the same as them. I'm not any different.'' SARA MOSLE

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**ISTANBUL -- I was born in Atlanta and spent most of my life in Virginia, but growing up, when people asked where I was from, I'd always say Syria.

My Syrian experience was in the kitchen and at the dining table, scooping garlic and cilantro-fried broad beans with handfuls of pita bread and sneaking mouthfuls of fresh cream sweetened with orange blossom syrup. Before dinner parties, I'd taste-test every dish that came out of our kitchen -- a lick of yogurt sauce to assess the level of garlic, a dollop of hummus tested for too little tahini, a bite of spiced ground beef.

When I visited Syria for the last time, in 2010 before the civil war, food was the universal language between me and the people I met, whether they were relatives I hadn't seen since I was 3 or strangers demanding I join them for at least a cup of cardamom-spiced coffee. In the years since, I've been reporting on the war in Syria and on the people it has displaced. The **refugees** I've interviewed always insist on feeding me, even if they live in decrepit buildings missing their roofs, or in damp apartments crammed with extended families. ''There must be bread and salt between us,'' a woman in Istanbul told me.

For Syrians, to cook is to be at home, to commune over a meal and seal a bond of friendship. While most people will associate Syria with the death and destruction that is in the news -- neighborhoods reduced to rubble by government airstrikes; diabolical Islamic State fighters in black balaclavas; babies bobbing lifeless in the sea -- Syrians are so much more than this war.

Food tells Syria's history better than the volumes that chronicle rulers and wars. Syria's land was part of the Fertile Crescent, where agriculture was born. It was fought over by the ancient Sumerians, Egyptians and Babylonians (authors of what are among the world's oldest written recipes); it was ruled by Persians, Byzantines and Ottomans -- and we can taste their influence.

Aleppo, once Syria's largest city and now the site of some of the war's fiercest fighting, is situated along what used to be the Silk Road. Merchants and traders from as far away as China carried with them recipes and spices, which made their way into Aleppo's cuisine in dishes like meatballs swimming in sour-cherry sauce (lahmeh bi karaz) and a stew of quince and ground lamb stuffed into shells of bulgur (kibbeh saffarjaliyya). Sultans in the Ottoman Empire's capital would supposedly send their chefs to spy on the city's latest cooking trends.

For most women, making lunch or dinner is a full-time job. ''In Syria, we'd all get together in the afternoons to sort out what we'd make for dinner,'' said Ibtissam Masto, a Syrian **refugee** I met in Beirut. I talked to Ms. Masto, a 36-year-old mother of six, as she molded cylinders of spiced ground beef for kebab hindi. It was her shift at the small kitchenette with a dozen tables where she prepared lunch for the United Nations **refugee** agency's staff. ''I've always been told I'm a great cook,'' she said. ''I just didn't think I'd be doing it for a living.''

Neither did Rana Jebran before she founded a catering company, HoneyDoe, with her mother and son in Chicago. She moved to the city in 2015 from Damascus to join her kids. ''We used to always have people coming and going in Damascus -- they'd just show up and ring the doorbell,'' she told me. Entertaining friends and family was a part of everyday life.

As Ms. Jebran pulled out a box of intricately decorated cookies she and her mother had prepared the day before, she said, ''When I have these cookies in the oven, I think, 'This is the smell of Easter.' '' Walk through Damascus' streets on Easter and it becomes clear where the city's Christians have gathered, she explained. ''People take trays of these spice biscuits to bake at the communal ovens,'' she said, filling entire neighborhoods with their scent.

The smell of garlic and cilantro likewise reminds Ms. Jebran of her Muslim neighbors' Ramadan celebrations. ''I think of the rush of my neighbors as they make the last preparations for their iftar'' -- the fast-breaking meals. ''It is such a great smell,'' she said.

Garlic and cilantro are used to flavor many Syrian dishes, from okra stew to the nationally treasured harra bi isbaou, which translates to ''burned finger.'' This dish of stewed lentils and small pieces of pasta-like dough bursts with flavor from tamarind syrup combined with fried garlic, cilantro and crispy fried onions. ''They say it's called harra bi isbaou because the peasants who invented it couldn't wait for it to cool down to eat it, so they burned their fingers,'' said Umm Ali, a masterly home cook from the Aleppo suburbs who fled to Beirut with her family in 2013.

Obay al-Shihabi, a Syrian-Palestinian friend who now lives in Germany, noted how much celebrating Ramadan had changed since the conflict in Syria began. ''In Syria, you never ate alone for iftar,'' he recalled. There would be a rotating schedule for families: everyone gathered at the grandparents' homes the first nights, then the eldest siblings' and so on until the youngest sibling hosted dinner, after which people dined with neighbors and friends. ''Everyone always brought something -- dessert, fruit, drinks,'' Obay said. ''And if we didn't fit around a table, we'd sit on the floor.''

Obay grew up in Yarmouk, the unofficial **refugee** camp on the outskirts of Damascus that has housed Palestinians for nearly six decades. In recent years, Yarmouk has been the scene of intense fighting between rebels and forces loyal to the Syrian government. As in other contested regions, in Yarmouk food has been used as a weapon of war; government forces prevent deliveries of food supplies to the camp to break the opposition's will.

Hunger has also been used as a tool by the Islamic State and other jihadist and rebel groups. According to the United Nations, nearly 600,000 Syrians are under siege, and nearly nine million are ''food insecure.'' Even for those not under siege, everything has become more expensive: flour, cooking oil, meat. Electricity is unreliable, water is often cut off. And yet many **refugees** still yearn for home. ''At least we were all together,'' Obay said. In Germany, he and his sister are alone.

These stories, told through food, offer a far more intimate insight into Syria and its people than most news reports. By understanding the acts of everyday life -- of cooking and eating, or the inability to do so -- we understand all that's been lost in Syria's war. And just as dishes are a relic of Syria's past, as the Syrian diaspora spreads throughout the world, the story of Syria's present and future will be told in recipes and the way people cook and eat.

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This is a more complete version of the story than the one that appeared in print.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It's easy to assume that now must be a better time than ever to be a lesbian, gay or bisexual teenager. We recently celebrated the one-year anniversary of the Supreme Court's ruling in favor of same-sex marriage. Our culture has grown more accepting, too; one of the most anticipated albums of the year, Frank Ocean's, embraces his desire for men. These factors work together to create the illusion that as a society we are barreling toward a world of complete liberation, where everyone is truly free to be whoever they are.

A major study by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has revealed that, for high schoolers, that narrative simply isn't true. In August, the C.D.C. released the results of a national survey of about 15,600 students, grades nine through 12, to better understand high-risk behaviors among that demographic. It is one of the most comprehensive studies of gay and lesbian teenagers' well-being to date. (The survey does not yet include an option to identify as transgender or nonbinary.) It confirmed what had long been suspected but was perhaps lost in all the excitement over the gains being made: that sexual-minority youth still face challenges their straight peers do not. Teenagers who identify as gay, lesbian or bisexual -- they make up about 8 percent of the high-school population, or roughly 1.3 million students -- suffer from substantially higher levels of harassment and physical and sexual abuse than those who identify as straight.

The numbers are heartbreaking: Lesbian, gay and bisexual teenagers were more likely to have been in a fight; they were nearly three times as likely to skip school out of fear for their safety. About a third were bullied, both at school and online; nearly half said they had seriously contemplated suicide in the last year. Almost a third had tried it at least once in the same time frame. High school is already an academic and social pressure cooker, and the forces that make it stressful are amplified for queer students. Difference is prized, but only up to a point, and the social order determines your quality of life. Your placement within this cruel, arbitrary system can be a source of tremendous angst. Kids who don't fit in are prime targets for all sorts of inventive ridicule and torture, made all the more easy by social media.

To get a sense of the everyday high-school experience for gay and queer teenagers today, I reached out to several organizations and project leaders who work with L.G.B.T. youth, and they put me in touch with a handful of kids who were willing to talk. Zeam, a sweet-faced 18-year-old trans man with a curly undercut, is a recent high-school graduate from Minnesota. Zeam, who prefers the pronouns they and them, says their days were defined by ''accidental'' body checks in the hallway, crying fits in the guidance counselor's office and self-harm habits like cutting and eating disorders. There were only a few classmates who could really relate to what Zeam was going through. Many of Zeam's friends had experienced homelessness, kicked out by their families. One of Zeam's friends committed suicide. Even at a school that was nominally welcoming, and where Zeam's teachers and fellow students made efforts to be accepting, Zeam still felt **alienated**. ''I had this rage,'' Zeam said. ''My issues are a lot deeper and more systematic than pronouns.''

For all teenagers, the internet offers a periscope to the outside world, but it's particularly important for students who are unable to find themselves represented and understood in their immediate surroundings. For Laurel, a 17-year-old living in Minneapolis, this self-discovery happened on Tumblr. Laurel had felt **alienated** and had been hospitalized for anxiety and depression. Laurel, who prefers the pronouns they and them, told me that Tumblr helped them understand genderfluidity and learn how to talk about it. ''Our health classes don't even talk about homosexuality, let alone gender, so it's a very hard thing to talk to people who have no concept that you don't have to be the gender you are assigned,'' Laurel said. ''I would look for terms I felt like I connected with,'' like ''pansexual'' and ''nonbinary,'' which Laurel uses today. Laurel also posts on Instagram to update friends and peers about their preferred terms, and what is respectful and appropriate and what is not. In this way, social media doubles as a means for students to find solidarity outside their schools and to communicate what they're experiencing back to their peers.

Gabrielle Gladu attempted suicide before she started high school, when she was in the eighth grade. Before she came out as transgender, she despised her male body and found it disorienting, given how feminine she felt inside. Watching YouTube videos about gender helped her realize that she wasn't gay but trans. During her freshman year, she came out as trans. She asked everyone to call her Belle, a shortened version of Gabrielle, and to use female pronouns. She also began documenting her transition online in a series of popular YouTube videos. Support flowed in, giving her the courage to continue, and she began her medical transition the next year. Even though she was an anomaly at her school, the internet reassured her that she was not alone. And eventually her online popularity changed what her classmates thought of her. It made her, well, cool. Best of all, her videos offered her the perfect comeback to those with probing or invasive questions: ''If you want to know everything,'' she recalls saying, ''you can go on YouTube and follow my story.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Americans are such sticklers. Such poops. Sure, some of Vladimir Putin's political opponents wind up in jail, while some of the journalists he dislikes end up in the morgue. Yes, his government is apparently committing cybercrimes to meddle in our election. And there was that small matter of invading and annexing one of Russia's neighbors.

But look at his numbers! What's a little blood on your hands when you're polling like that?

''He does have an 82 percent approval rating,'' Donald Trump said during the special ''commander in chief'' forum last week. It's worth dwelling on that sentence, because it's the key to what drives and guides his presidential bid. It's the giveaway.

For Trump, the whole point of political office is adulation, and adulation is the entire proof of a person's worth. Rectitude pales next to ratings. Ethics are a sorry substitute for applause. And the methods by which a crowd is fired up don't matter, so long as he can bask in the clapping.

This is Trump's core -- or, rather, his terrifying lack of one.

It's why he swerves from one pronouncement to its opposite and one position to its alternate. It's why he tells lies with such ease and glee. He's not sweating the substance of what he's saying or doing, because that's a negotiable, trivial thing. He's just gauging the reaction, and a positive one -- in the form of victories in the primaries, dominance in the media or supremacy in polls -- means that his course is just. If Trump's in his heaven, all's right with the world.

He's not confused about **immigration**. He's confused about how to wring the most love from the issue.

He grew so enamored of a magnificent, impenetrable wall along the Mexican border because the primary-season voters who thronged his rallies went gaga for it. He was a rat pressing a lever and getting precisely the pellet of reverence that he sought, so he kept pressing, over and over, harder and harder: Mexico will pay for it! Meanwhile I'll round up and deport all the illegals! Let's ban Muslims while we're at it!

If he'd elicited the same orgiastic response by promising free milk to every malnourished child in the developing world, he would have built his entire campaign around a new era in lactose diplomacy and named a dairy cow as his running mate. He has no real philosophy, just an all-consuming need.

And so his **immigration** policy softened, only to harden anew. The general election is a laboratory with rules different from those of the Republican primaries, and he's still trying to figure out which lever to press.

In a sense he's a fun-house mirror of the inconstancy, vanity and insecurity in almost every politician. But the distortion is extreme. From the start of his campaign, he has exhibited a near-pathological obsession with how people and organizations fare in the fickle (and corruptible) court of public opinion. When his insults aren't about physical appearance, they're about popularity.

A newscaster is incompetent because his or her show isn't No. 1. A newspaper isn't trustworthy because its profit margin is down. Jeb Bush wasn't fit for the presidency because voters didn't swoon for him. Trump deserved the job because more people chanted his name.

Detailed policies? Those could come later. Mastery of issues? He'd bone up on them in due time. A sophisticated campaign operation? Any dweeb could put that together. Trump led the polls. None of the usual, humdrum preparations or qualifications for the job held a candle to that.

The idea of intrinsic merit is **alien** to him. Numbers render the final verdict, and numbers don't lie.

Except they do. Putin's routinely high approval ratings exist in a context of intimidation and fear. There's no way to know how many Russians feel free to speak their minds to pollsters. There's no way to overstate the amount of propaganda that they're subjected to. There's no way to adjust for the lengths to which Putin will go to stoke nationalist fervor and whip Russians into a state of Putin-worshiping pride.

Trump's possible blindness to that is scary. His probable awareness of it is scarier still.

Several Republicans who have had dealings with him tell me that they can't really determine which of his most outrageous, deplorable statements are instances of a mask falling away and which are instances of a mask being put on, because with Trump it's all about the situation and the audience, and if the audience signals an inclination to embrace him, he recites the lines that guarantee the hug. Never mind if the script is hateful. Never mind if it causes hurt.

He praises Putin in large part because Putin praises him back, or so he's convinced himself. ''If he says great things about me,'' Trump told Matt Lauer during that forum, ''I'm going to say great things about him.''

But the compliment in question is open to question. As The Times's Steven Lee Myers recently explained, the Russian word that Putin used for Trump can mean not only ''brilliant,'' which is Trump's interpretation, but also ''colorful'' or ''flamboyant.''

Trump hears only what he wants to hear. He bases his regard for people on their regard for him. He judges their actions in terms of the benefit to him. When he demeans the very Republican senators whose re-election campaigns he should be helping, it's typically on the grounds that they haven't showered him with praise or genuflected when he draws near. No sin is graver than the diminution of Donald Trump.

And no cause is nobler than his elevation.

He has long boasted of a plan to defeat the Islamic State, but has vowed not to share it because Barack Obama might implement it and take the victory lap. Follow that reasoning. He's saying that if lives are lost in the meantime, so be it. At least the bump in the polls won't be the president's.

Of course there's no plan, just a blowhard ceaselessly tooting his horn. Of course he's blasé about Putin's possible manipulation of our presidential election -- and at one point encouraged it -- because he assumes the manipulation will favor him.

He'll play a fascist if that's the path to the throne. He'll weave ludicrously tall tales if that's the route. Should he get there, he'll proclaim his arrival the very evidence that he's worthy, and then he'll do whatever it takes to continue feeling as affirmed as he wants to and as invulnerable as he'll need to. Ratings are rectitude, and he has found his role model -- in the Kremlin of all places. Eighty-two percent or bust.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**If anything is likely to pierce the seemingly impenetrable fashion week bubble, surely it has to be this wacko election season. Not even the most frivolous catwalk devotee remains untouched by a presidential race as unprecedentedly weird as this one.

That, anyway, is how Carol Lim and Humberto Leon, the designers of Opening Ceremony, felt as they surveyed the landscape of yet another fashion week, concluding that instead of the usual predictable runway presentation they would stage their show as a ''Pageant of the People.''

As the children of **immigrants** (Ms. Lim is of Korean ancestry, Mr. Leon Peruvian-Chinese), the Berkeley-educated designers grew up as ''loud and proud Americans,'' Mr. Leon said last week at the pair's Chinatown headquarters.

''We're pro-gay rights, pro-**immigrant**, pro-Black Lives Matter,'' he said. ''And we're in a place where we question a lot of what's happening and are not afraid to talk about it.''

Blending elements of a beauty pageant (minus the sashes) and a town-hall meeting, the duo envisioned a show at which some of the fascinating pals they've drawn to them in the decade and a half since they opened their influential SoHo store would appear on the runway alternating with models wearing their latest designs.

That those friends include Whoopi Goldberg, Rosario Dawson, Natasha Lyonne, Rowan Blanchard and Rashida Jones, among others, tells you something about both Mr. Leon's and Ms. Lim's politics and the crowd they run with.

Hosted by Carrie Brownstein and Fred Armisen, the creators of the show ''Portlandia,'' the ''Pageant of the People'' breaks with fashion week tradition in a number of ways. For a start, it takes place at a convention center named for Jacob Javits, a New York politician who served in Congress for 30 years as a liberal-leaning Republican in an era when that descriptor was not an oxymoron. It will be held on the evening of the 15th anniversary of the Sept. 11 attacks.

And although the designers were wary of revealing too many secrets, the show is likely to provide a forum at which the celebrity participants will answer Miss America-style questions put to them by the celebrity M.C.'s. That, in itself, is a slightly risky and unorthodox move, since if there is one thing nobody on a runway ever does, it is to speak.

Yet silence is hardly an option in the current political climate, the actress Natasha Lyonne said by telephone from Los Angeles.

''I'm not Captain Fashion over here, but when Humberto reached out to me, I said yes before he could even get out the idea,'' said Ms. Lyonne, a star of ''Orange Is the New Black.''

A fashion show staged as a theatricalized town-hall meeting ''transcends clothes and becomes about a moment in time,'' she added. ''I don't see it being a big debate forum so much as vague metaphor for maintaining personal freedom in an increasingly terrifying world.''

Hot-button issues of race, **immigration**, gender and a polarized electorate are not the usual stuff of fashion, as the ''Parks and Recreation'' actress Rashida Jones suggested. And yet, unlike many industries, the fashion business is peopled by Americans from across the racial and economic spectrum.

''A lot of questions about what it means to be an American have not been answered,'' Ms. Jones said. ''We will always be different and will always observe our differences, but it's how we talk to each other about it that has to change.''

And if the rhetoric and invective of a political season charged with old and long-dormant hatreds have had a generally destructive effect on what passes for political discourse, perhaps a ''Pageant of the People,'' she said, might symbolize a means of ''understanding each other better and getting past this ugly time.''

As Rowan Blanchard, the young star of ''Girl Meets World,'' pointed out, other Opening Ceremony shows -- like ''100% Lost Cotton,'' the spring 2015 show in the form of a satire staged at the Metropolitan Opera House and starring Dree Hemingway, Catherine Keener, Bobby Cannavale, John Cameron Mitchell and Elle Fanning -- ''have been more about smarts and less about how beautiful or skinny the models are.''

Initially apprehensive about walking a Fashion Week runway (''I was a little bit nervous about feminists tearing me apart,'' she said), the 14-year-old actress came around when informed about the stellar company she would be keeping.

''If fashion is something you can manipulate and make work for you, why not do it?'' Ms. Blanchard said.

Those sentiments were echoed by Sarah McBride, who became the first openly transgender person to address a national political convention when she spoke at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia in July. ''For me, it sounded like an opportunity to take a message I try to share of acceptance into a new place, the world of fashion,'' Ms. McBride said. ''On my worst days, I worry that we're seeing the birth of a new hateful discriminatory force in this country.''

One way to maintain optimism through an election season marred by attitudes reminiscent of some of the uglier chapters in our history may be through such seemingly silly things as a fashion show highlighting diversity and inclusion. ''Expressing the genuine, authentic feelings we all have of anger, hope, sadness, bringing that to the table and saying, 'This is how this conversation is making me feel,' is a great way to beat back bigotry,'' Ms. McBride said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**WASHINGTON -- Donald J. Trump pleaded Friday with Christian conservatives to rally to his candidacy, but in a high-profile speech to evangelicals made no mention of issues of central importance to them, like abortion, same-sex marriage and Israel.

''You didn't vote four years ago,'' Mr. Trump said in an address at a conference convened here by the Family Research Council, warning, ''this is your last chance, this is it.''

He appealed to the attendees with biting attacks on Hillary Clinton and a vow to promote religious freedom and appoint conservative judges -- holding up the late Justice Antonin Scalia as the ''ultimate example of what we're looking for.''

It was a somewhat unusual appearance for a Republican presidential nominee less than two months before the election. Most candidates are by this point seeking to find and persuade undecided voters, not beseeching the most loyal party activists.

But Mr. Trump, a twice-divorced casino operator who has boasted of his sexual exploits, is no typical Republican nominee. And it is an open question whether he can count on the votes of the sort of social conservatives who at this time in the campaign are usually hard at work volunteering for the party's standard-bearer.

So Mr. Trump, once a regular Howard Stern guest and a Playboy cover boy, momentarily stepped away from the swing states that will decide the presidential race and ventured into the basement ballroom of a Washington hotel to make his pitch. He lamented how difficult it is to raise Christian children today, quoted from Scripture and revealed a bit of news that illustrated how focused he is on turning out core Republican voters. He would, he announced to applause, travel to St. Louis on Saturday to attend the funeral of Phyllis Schlafly, the longtime conservative warrior who died this week at 92.

Mr. Trump was warmly, if not rapturously, received at the annual conference, which is billed as the Values Voter Summit, and displayed a measure of self-awareness. After pledging to undo restrictions on religious liberty, he joked, ''I figure that's the only way I'm getting to heaven.'' And he received an ovation after vowing to defend what he termed America's Christian heritage.

But this was not exactly Mr. Trump's natural habitat, and what was absent from his speech underscored why he would be compelled to speak to a Christian conservative audience so late in the campaign.

He is ill at ease discussing the issue of abortion -- and avoided it entirely when he accepted the presidential nomination in Cleveland -- and has been vocal about his hopes that Republicans can win the support of gay voters. And his unfamiliarity with evangelical Christianity makes it hard for him to articulate the importance of defending Israel.

''Support for Israel now rivals the abortion issue in the political lexicon and the hierarchy of issue concerns of evangelical voters,'' said Ralph Reed, a longtime conservative Christian leader, who had wanted Mr. Trump to incorporate talk of the Holy Land into his stump speech. ''They will not support a candidate that in their view does not support the state of Israel.''

Mr. Trump is, however, comfortable speaking in pugilistic terms and making sport of his rivals. Veering away from cultural matters, he used his speech to belittle Mrs. Clinton's foreign policy record and promise a vigorous attack on Islamic terrorism. Without reiterating his praise this week for Vladimir V. Putin, Russia's strongman president, Mr. Trump said he would gladly work with Russia to take on the Islamic State. ''If they want to join us on knocking out ISIS,'' he said, ''that is just fine as far as I'm concerned.''

The Islamic State aimed to destroy ''what it calls the nation of the cross,'' Mr. Trump said, pointing directly at his audience as he spoke.

And days after Mrs. Clinton said that Islamic terrorists were praying for Mr. Trump's victory, Mr. Trump fired back the same accusation. ''Boy, would they dream of having her as president,'' he said of the Islamic State.

Mr. Trump also accused the Obama administration of doing a poor job of accepting Christian **refugees** from Syria (though he has proposed a total halt to the admission of Syrian **refugees**.) Such talk and, even more important, the unpopularity of his Democratic opponent on the right, has helped nudge some skeptical evangelicals in Mr. Trump's direction.

But many in attendance here acknowledged that Mr. Trump is the most secular Republican presidential nominee in recent times. And they were quick to acknowledge that some Christian conservatives still are not ready to cast a vote for somebody who does not share all their values. Some doubters are even in their own families.

''My son-in-law,'' said Susan Parker, an attendee from San Antonio who has rallied behind Mr. Trump. ''He's a Republican, but he's a Christian first. He said, 'I'm looking at the qualifications of a good leader and he does not qualify.'''

It is those voters who explain why Mr. Trump is still only receiving the support of slightly more than 80 percent of those who identity as Republicans, according to polls. Boosting that number, Mr. Trump's aides explained after his speech, is why he made the trip to Washington. Mr. Trump has sought to ease conservative discomfort with vows to appoint conservative jurists. And he selected a steadfast Christian conservative, Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana, as his running mate.

But Mr. Trump has largely declined to push the issues that have defined the Christian right for decades. In doing so, he has effectively wagered that evangelicals care more about combating political correctness and safeguarding America's traditional cultural identity than resisting the tide of what they perceive as sexual permissiveness.

As a result, he has ceded the public debate on much of the culture war to Democrats, who have campaigned with enthusiasm as a party supportive of gay rights and opposed to restrictions on abortion.

The stakes are high for both Mr. Trump, who would struggle to win the presidency without the overwhelming support of evangelicals, and religious conservatives, whose political agenda has failed to gain traction during the eight years of the Obama administration.

Mr. Trump has gone to great lengths to win over evangelicals well after securing the nomination. He recently attended a meeting of evangelical pastors in Florida, and hosted an hourslong gathering of Christian conservatives late in June.

Gary Bauer, a prominent Christian activist who ran for president in 2000, said that Mr. Trump was plainly an imperfect fit with the conservative faith community. Mr. Bauer predicted that in the end, reticent conservatives would come around to support him as the best available candidate.

''This constituency prefers people that have followed various moral guidelines on a variety of issues,'' Mr. Bauer said. ''But at the end of the day, you're not getting a Sunday school preacher here, or a pastor. You're picking a president.''

David Lane, a social conservative activist who has advised several presidential candidates, said the selection of Mr. Pence was taken by religious conservatives as a friendly signal from Mr. Trump.

But Mr. Lane said he wished Mr. Trump would ''do more on the evangelical and pro-life Catholic issues'' on the campaign trail. In an email missive to his political organization earlier this summer, Mr. Lane argued that conservative Christians should support Mr. Trump as an alternative to Hillary Clinton, but acknowledged he was a cipher on important issues.

''What and how will Mr. Trump do?'' Mr. Lane wrote. ''I don't know.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Weeks after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, with bodies still being pulled from the smoldering rubble, New York's mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani, delivered an emotional address before a hushed United Nations.

He spoke with blunt force about the need for the world's countries to unite in a global battle against terrorism. But he also sounded a powerful note of inclusion and unity, reminding the delegates -- many of them Arab or Muslim -- that New York was a city of **immigrants**, within a nation of **immigrants**.

''Like the victims of the World Trade Center attack, we're of every race, we're of every religion, we're of every ethnicity, and our diversity has been our greatest source of strength,'' he said. ''It's the thing that renews us and revives us in every generation -- our openness to new people from all over the world.''

At the time, Mr. Giuliani's political promise seemed limitless. But after a calamitous presidential run in 2008, his once-outsize profile shriveled.

Mr. Giuliani is now back on the national political stage, serving as one of Donald J. Trump's most prominent advisers and most vocal defenders. Once an outspoken advocate of a bipartisan **immigration** overhaul, he is championing a candidate who has vowed to build an ''impenetrable physical wall'' on the country's southern border and severely restrict **immigration** from Muslim countries.

He has assumed his new role with apparent relish, embracing some of the most controversial tactics of Mr. Trump's campaign, including its penchant for unsubstantiated assertions: Last week, Mr. Giuliani said that Mr. Trump had abandoned his insistence that President Obama was born outside the United States, even though Mr. Trump has never done so publicly.

Mr. Giuliani has also questioned Hillary Clinton's mental and physical health, buttressing his charges with debunked internet memes. ''Go online and put down 'Hillary Clinton illness,' take a look at the videos for yourself,'' he said last month.

It has been a startling next -- and perhaps last -- act for a 72-year-old politician once nicknamed America's Mayor, and noteworthy enough for a handful of editorial pages to call him ''unhinged.''

But the Trump campaign has given Mr. Giuliani, a former federal prosecutor, the chance to mold a potential president, and to do battle with an old rival he deeply dislikes, one who he bitterly insists received special treatment from the F.B.I.

A Trump victory could open the door for Mr. Giuliani to return to public office, perhaps as head of the Department of Homeland Security or even Secretary of State.

But his ardent support for Mr. Trump could, alternatively, come at a cost to his legacy, as it has put Mr. Giuliani starkly at odds with other right-of-center Republican figures who have described the nominee as a dangerous threat to the nation and have refused to support him.

This is a source of deep concern to a large cadre of former Giuliani aides, people who recall him as the steely, compassionate leader of post-9/11 New York, and as the mayor who presided over a historic reduction in crime in the decade before -- a period when he also denounced the most extreme elements of the Republican Party, advocated stricter gun control and signed a landmark domestic partnerships bill.

''That's what makes it so painful to watch,'' said Rick Wilson, an adviser to Mr. Giuliani's 1997 re-election effort who is now advising a third-party candidate for president, Evan McMullin. ''Trump is the kind of person that Rudy in a lot of ways would have laughed off the stage.''

In a telephone interview, Mr. Giuliani acknowledged that a large segment of people who have worked with him over the last three decades have recoiled from Mr. Trump's candidacy. Among other things, his former aides have expressed concerns about Mr. Trump's questioning of the impartiality of a judge because of his Mexican heritage, and belittling the Muslim parents of a slain Army officer.

''They don't know him as well as I do,'' Mr. Giuliani said, adding, ''There's not a racist bone in his body.''

The real Donald Trump, he said, ''is a guy without these prejudices.''

Since Mr. Giuliani's speech at the Republican convention in July, when he fulminated about the dangers of a Clinton presidency in tones that struck many as over the top, he has been a frequent presence by Mr. Trump's side, trying to steady the Republican candidate's wobbly campaign.

He accompanied Mr. Trump to Mexico on Aug. 31, and then introduced him before his **immigration** speech the same night in Phoenix, even donning a white ''Make Mexico Great Again Also'' hat for the occasion. Mr. Giuliani has played a significant role behind the scenes, too, urging Mr. Trump to tone down his remarks and rethink his **immigration** plan. He also took control of a private campaign round-table discussion of national security recently, in which he addressed the room as often as Mr. Trump did, according to someone in attendance.

Former Giuliani aides discern other imprints on the Trump campaign: Mr. Trump's policy addresses about school reform and his recent outreach to black voters in Detroit, they said, contained echoes of Mr. Giuliani's mayoral re-election campaign in 1997, when he argued with black New Yorkers that Democrats had let them down.

Mr. Giuliani still has his defenders.

''Rudy Giuliani presided over the single greatest transformation of a major American city in our history,'' said Anthony V. Carbonetti, a longtime adviser. ''It sickens me to hear people diminish that simply because they disagree with his politics.''

Mr. Giuliani said that he did not share all of Mr. Trump's views, but that on the issues that mattered most, the economy and foreign policy, they were in sync. He said he believed that Mr. Trump had made adjustments in his approach, including on **immigration**.

On paper, at least, the two men have much in common. Both are relatively socially liberal and twice-divorced products of neighborhoods outside Manhattan, where they eventually gained fame. Both are pugnacious, with hearty appetites for conflict and for attention from a news media they often condemn as biased.

But there are significant differences. Mr. Giuliani is a well-read student of history who absorbs himself in the details of policy debates. Mr. Trump skims briefing books and prefers to get his information from cable news.

Mr. Giuliani waited until the New York primary to declare his support for Mr. Trump, then did so cautiously, saying he was troubled by some of the candidate's more personal attacks on his rivals. But once Mr. Trump won the nomination, Mr. Giuliani's tentative embrace became a bear hug.

The relationship between the two dates back decades, to when Mr. Trump was actively developing real estate in New York.

Mr. Trump was not a major donor to Mr. Giuliani's campaigns, but in 1999, the mayor came under fire for a deal that allowed Mr. Trump to build a 72-story condominium tower on the East Side of Manhattan, far bigger than the zoning code had contemplated. That same year, Mr. Giuliani spoke at the funeral of Mr. Trump's father, Fred, calling him ''a giant.''

Mr. Trump lent his airplane to Mr. Giuliani at least twice in the immediate aftermath of Sept. 11. He let the mayor and Gov. George E. Pataki fly to Washington for President George W. Bush's first address to Congress. There was a catch, though: The plane had been grounded at La Guardia Airport after the attacks. Mr. Trump asked Mr. Giuliani's aides to help get the restriction lifted. They did.

Mr. Trump has sat in Mr. Giuliani's box at Yankee Stadium, and each attended the other's most recent wedding: Mr. Giuliani to Judith Nathan, Mr. Trump to Melania Knauss.

Now, they share a common adversary.

Mr. Giuliani had planned to run against Mrs. Clinton for the Senate in 2000, but dropped out of the race after a prostate cancer scare.

''He didn't have a lot of use for either of the Clintons,'' said Jerome Hauer, who was Mr. Giuliani's emergency management director but later had a falling out with him. Mr. Hauer recalled having to persuade the mayor to let him give a briefing to President Bill Clinton in 1998.

''I think there's a significant animus towards Hillary, almost a vendetta,'' Mr. Hauer said.

Mr. Giuliani said he never considered running for president this year, despite a political climate that could have been more favorable to him. He also brushed aside speculation that he covets a cabinet position, saying his decision to support Mr. Trump was animated by his concern for the country's security.

Nevertheless, watching Mr. Giuliani vouch for and cheer on the divisive Mr. Trump has been jarring for those who recall the former mayor's denunciation of Patrick J. Buchanan's anti-**immigrant** presidential campaign in 1996, and his leadership of a badly shaken city in September 2001, when he grimly warned that ''the number of casualties will be more than any of us can bear, ultimately.''

It is those moments that many of Mr. Giuliani's former aides hope he will be remembered for, not his full-throated support for Mr. Trump.

''Rudy is being called on to defend the indefensible,'' John Avlon, the editor in chief of The Daily Beast and a former Giuliani speechwriter, said recently on CNN. ''It doesn't reflect his best self, but it should not define him in the totality of his career.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In their struggle to understand the Trump phenomenon, establishment pundits, political scientists and millions of flabbergasted American voters have settled on a long list of sober-sounding socioeconomic explanations: Deindustrialization. Anomie. Racial animosity. The rising up of a dislocated America.

Perhaps. Surely, Donald J. Trump is where he is because of a new force in American politics, one very different from the old politics as usual. But the difference is not just socioeconomic. It's much deeper than that. Mr. Trump has survived disasters that would have sunk an establishment politician because he and his supporters have a fundamentally different worldview. Mr. Trump isn't just the first reality-TV candidate; he is the first candidate to embrace a slice of the country that sees everything, even the fate of the nation, through the logic of cutthroat American capitalism.

The world that Mr. Trump inhabits is today's Other America, the seamy, blustering, hustling and huckstering underside of our fabled brightness and optimism. For those who can afford to idealize politics, it may seem **alien**. But for many people, it is everyday life.

The political and business worlds have always overlapped. But we used to -- and the establishment still does -- expect politicians to adhere to a minimal level of honesty and consistency. We judge business tycoons differently; within the confines of the law, more or less, we expect them to lie and cheat their way to the top, and we assess them solely on how quickly and efficiently they get there. The reputation of Ulysses S. Grant was tarnished by the mere association with the unseemly practices that earned his Gilded Age counterparts in the business world everlasting glory.

Perhaps it was only a matter of time before someone with the plutocrat's professional ethics made that leap into presidential politics. But the rest of the country had to catch up. We lauded robber barons like John D. Rockefeller and Jay Gould for their business success, but no one suggested for a second that they were statesman material. Now, in an era when the market reaches deep into our private lives and even high school students are expected to be experts in self-marketing, the door is finally open. Enter Donald Trump.

He thrives where others flail. His rivals -- including Hillary Clinton -- have had to submit to their vocation as politicians and try to sell their character and integrity. Mr. Trump has had to sell only the idea of his success, which, according to the modern law of transitive properties, will make everyone who embraces him successful, too.

No wonder, according to reports, that Mr. Trump possesses such a fondness for McDonald's, whose motto is ''I'm lovin' it.'' The pitch requires no argument, no evidence, no complex rhetoric. You're gonna love our burgers because the fact that billions of them have been sold proves the validity of the claim. You're gonna love Mr. Trump because millions of Americans already do.

Seen in the light of modern commerce, Melania Trump's lifting of lines for her convention speech from a speech by Michelle Obama had nothing improper about it. Success builds on success. There was nothing unusual about Mr. Trump's acceptance speech in Cleveland, either. People were astonished that he did not tell a touching personal story, as all politicians do, and as Ronald Reagan did to consummate effect. Products, though, have no personal past or any kind of human dimension. A winning product is a result of the seller's rigid, inflexible, even fanatical belief in the consistent quality of his merchandise.

The same goes for Mr. Trump's bald lies at this week's national security forum. He denied, despite hard evidence, that he ever supported the Iraq war. Pundits were dismayed. But his supporters love him all the more for his brazen adherence to the integrity of his ''brand'' over minor details like the truth.

Yet Mr. Trump seems to suffer from a manufacturing defect. Republican leaders seem to want to recall him as though he were a faulty airbag. And it's unlikely that enough Americans will buy his marketing pitch for him to win in November.

Imagine, though, a different figure, someone with Mr. Trump's callousness but without the thin skin, lack of self-control and fragile, oversize ego. Imagine, in other words, a demagogue who embodies the dynamics of America's pervasive commercial atmosphere, but who is smart, cunning, self-aware and self-disciplined -- so cunning that he would, say, embrace the parents of Capt. Humayun Khan with the slightest trace of a wink to his or her followers, and then, once elected, close the door to any Muslim who wished to **immigrate** to America. Imagine this same figure prefacing an insinuation that Mrs. Clinton be assassinated with a heartfelt declaration of her decency and good faith.

We had better prepare for such a person. In business, Mr. Trump might be called a beta test, or a ''proof of concept.'' To that end, he has already succeeded. Trumpism -- not the political ideology rooted in xenophobia and nationalism, but the cynical worldview that sees politics, like everything, as a market to be conquered -- is not going anywhere.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**NORTHBROOK, Ill. -- Representative Robert J. Dold, Republican of Illinois, is eager to work with Democrats to change the nation's **immigration** laws, despite Donald J. Trump's signature proposal to build a border wall and deport **immigrants** who are in the country illegally.

But he may not be around in January to act on his conviction.

Mr. Dold, who represents Chicago's northern suburbs, is one of at least a dozen House Republicans who have been weighing a push for broad **immigration**legislation as soon as next year.

Several of the most ardent Republican supporters of an **immigration** overhaul are locked in fierce election fights, potentially leaving an even more conservative party in the House that will be less willing to negotiate on fixing the **immigration** system.

For many members of Congress, being open to an **immigration** overhaul is increasingly a matter of political survival: About 27.3 million Latinos are qualified to vote in this year's election, according to the Pew Research Center, constituting a record 11.9 percent of eligible voters. Latino organizations have been focused on encouraging turnout in a year some speculate could make Hispanic voters an electoral heavyweight for years to come.

In 164 of 435 districts, the share of eligible Latino voters increased by at least one percentage point during the past four years, said David Wasserman, an editor for the nonpartisan Cook Political Report who focuses on House races. Most of the districts that have had the most growth are held by Democrats, though 70 of those 164 are in Republican hands, he said.

Representative Mike Coffman of Colorado, for instance, has seen the emerging power of the Hispanic vote. A Republican who voted in his first term against a bill to create a path to legalization for young people who came to the United States as children, he watched -- and reacted -- as redistricting abruptly dealt him a constituency in which one in five residents is Latino, compared with less than one in 10 when he was first elected. Now Mr. Coffman is among those House Republicans most engaged in conversations about the need for an **immigration** overhaul.

Yet for lawmakers like Mr. Dold and Mr. Coffman, it is increasingly difficult to put distance between themselves and Mr. Trump.

Mr. Dold has certainly been trying. Democratic leaders want to make an **immigration** overhaul a priority of the next Congress, and Mr. Dold did not conceal his enthusiasm when this fact was mentioned in an interview. ''Great,'' he said in the sunny, modernly sparse offices of TechNexus, a firm that connects entrepreneurs and corporations, perched above the Civic Opera House in Chicago.

Mr. Dold serves in perhaps the most heavily Democratic district represented by a Republican. Stretching along Lake Michigan, this relatively well-educated district sits among the affluent Chicago suburbs. Many of its Hispanic residents live in Waukegan, a blue-collar city toward the northern end of the district.

President Obama won commanding victories here in 2008 and 2012; Mr. Trump's popularity hangs dismally somewhere between lake-effect snow and ketchup on hot dogs.

About 59,000 Latinos are eligible to vote in Mr. Dold's district, making up 11.2 percent of the electorate -- a key group given that Mr. Dold beat Brad Schneider, a former Democratic congressman who is challenging him again this year, by less than 5,000 votes in 2014. That year, 7.37 percent of those who voted were Hispanic -- casting more than 13,500 votes -- according to numbers provided by Mr. Dold's staff.

Participating in an all-Republican panel discussion on a ''common-sense'' **immigration** overhaul last month at TechNexus, Mr. Dold rebuked Mr. Trump, whom he has said he will not support. He sat alongside Representative Mario Diaz-Balart of Florida and Senator Mark S. Kirk of Illinois, who is also at risk in November.

''There's no way in the world that we are going to send 11 million people out of the United States,'' Mr. Dold said. ''Many of them -- most of them, I would argue -- are more American than their next-door neighbors, because many of them are our next-door neighbors.''

But while Mr. Dold has introduced legislation that would help entrepreneurs and students with advanced degrees obtain visas, Mr. Schneider has pushed for larger changes, having been one of many sponsors on the House version of the Senate ''Gang of Eight'' **immigration** legislation in 2013 when he held the seat.

''To me, **immigration** reform could be, should be, one of the first things we pass because of the immediate impact it would have on our communities,'' Mr. Schneider said.

Some who want an **immigration** overhaul are hopeful about their prospects in the next Congress, even ascribing some credit to an unlikely source: Mr. Trump. The Republican nominee -- who last week reiterated his assertion that many **immigrants** are criminals in an address on **immigration** policy -- has shown lawmakers that many voters will recoil when a candidate adopts an extreme stance on illegal **immigration**, said Ali Noorani, the executive director of the National **Immigration** Forum.

''I think that Trump is the best thing that has happened to the **immigration** issue in a long time,'' Mr. Noorani said.

Representative Carlos Curbelo, a Florida Republican who offered his own legislation to outline a path to citizenship for children brought to the country illegally, said he had been talking to about a dozen like-minded Republicans about pushing for broader **immigration** legislation early next year. He started a leadership political action committee last year aimed at helping Republicans open to changes in **immigration** law.

''I know a lot of people, myself included -- we regret the way **immigration** has been discussed so far in this presidential election,'' Mr. Curbelo said. ''The silver lining is, the fact that it has received so much attention is going to help build momentum for solutions early in the next Congress.''

But the reality is that Mr. Curbelo, like Mr. Dold, might not be part of the new Congress. He is running in one of the country's most competitive House races, against Joe Garcia, a former Democratic congressman who introduced the House companion to the ''Gang of Eight'' legislation.

Mr. Trump's approach to illegal **immigration** is also complicating the prospects for three House Republicans in California in particular: Representatives Jeff Denham, David Valadao and Steve Knight, all of whom are locked in tight races in districts where at least 25 percent of eligible voters are Latino. While Mr. Knight takes a tougher stance that starts with border security, Mr. Denham and Mr. Valadao advocate a broader overhaul.

Stances like Mr. Trump's may cause heartburn for many Republicans, still haunted by the party's internal ''autopsy report'' after Mitt Romney lost the presidential election in 2012. ''If Hispanics think we do not want them here, they will close their ears to our policies,'' the report concluded. This election could worsen things for the Republican Party, Mr. Wasserman said.

''There will be almost no pro-**immigration** voices in this conference if all of these members lose, and so that's a big problem for the party's prospects nationally,'' he said.

For now, overhaul-minded Republicans are left to find ways to distinguish themselves from the top of the ticket as Election Day approaches. And that is no easy task, said Jill Normington, a Washington-based Democratic strategist advising Mr. Schneider.

''As much as they might want to distance themselves from their own party, it says 'Bob Dold, Republican' on the ballot,'' she said. ''And that is a liability in 2016, not an asset.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**This year, it's not the economy. And actually, there's nothing stupid about that.

In 1992, with President George Bush weakened by recession, Bill Clinton made ''It's the economy, stupid'' his campaign mantra. Since then, the phrase has stood for the idea that winning candidates focus on pocketbook concerns.

In 2016, however, neither Donald J. Trump nor Hillary Clinton has established a clear advantage when it comes to the economy. So while voters tell pollsters that the economy remains their most important issue, the candidates focus on other subjects.

That reflects the unique contours of the race this year and the middling state of the United States economy.

Businesses have added 15 million jobs since 2010, the start of the longest streak of private-sector job creation in United States history. Unemployment has fallen to 4.9 percent after peaking at 10 percent after the 2008 financial crisis and subsequent recession.

Those gains silenced the cries of ''Where are the jobs?'' that helped Republicans recapture the House of Representatives in 2010. They undercut claims of ''job killing'' consequences from the Affordable Care Act, President Obama's health care plan, which helped Republicans win the Senate four years later.

Now Republicans are focusing on lackluster economic expansion, citing the 1.1 percent annual growth rate in gross domestic product in the second quarter of this year. Government data shows that the recovery from this recession has been the most sluggish of any since World War II.

That only tells part of the story. The economists Kenneth Rogoff and Carmen Reinhart, leading experts on the effects of financial crises, say the United States economy has recovered better than those of nearly all other advanced countries since the global economic disaster of 2008, and more rapidly than the historical average after previous meltdowns.

Yet President Obama himself calls economic progress inadequate, which helps affirm the Republican critique. So did a Democratic primary campaign in which Mrs. Clinton competed with Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont over proposals to curb income inequality and lift long-stagnant wages.

The candidates' backgrounds further complicate attempts to seize the economic issue.

Mr. Trump's wealth and business career award him a presumption of economic competence from some voters. His denunciation of international trade agreements resonates with those who've lost ground in the era of globalization.

But Mr. Trump evinces little interest in economic policy specifics beyond his pledge to make ''great deals.'' He revamped his tax-cut plan in response to criticism that his first version would balloon the federal budget deficit.

Mrs. Clinton benefits from memories of prosperity during her husband's presidency. She offers detailed plans to increase infrastructure spending, expand child care for working parents and encourage companies to share profits with workers without increasing the deficit.

Yet she inherits accumulated discontent with the party that has held the White House since Mr. Obama took office in 2009. By publicly renouncing the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a trade deal she once heralded as ''the gold standard,'' she has broken with Mr. Obama and with her husband's free-trade legacy.

The result: In a Fox News poll last week, registered voters split evenly, 48 percent apiece, on whether Mr. Trump or Mrs. Clinton would handle the economy better.

So Mr. Trump emphasizes his signature issue of **immigration**. That has gained him fervent support among voters who feel most aggrieved by America's changing demography, particularly white voters without college educations.

As the self-described law-and-order candidate, Mr. Trump casts **immigration** largely as an issue of personal safety. In assailing Mrs. Clinton, he focuses on her vulnerability surrounding issues of trustworthiness.

Mrs. Clinton levels the broadest possible attack on Mr. Trump, calling him ''temperamentally unfit'' for the White House. Vowing to be ''a president for all Americans,'' she accuses him of fostering racial and ethnic ''prejudice and paranoia.''

Her invocation of race represents a landmark shift in circumstances. For her husband, economic appeals offset Democratic weakness on cultural issues within an electorate that in 1992 was 87 percent white.

The nonwhite electorate has more than doubled since then. For a Democrat in 2016, emphasizing cultural issues isn't stupid at all.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**There was not much of a contest in Wednesday night's forum with Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. Mrs. Clinton answered the questions of the moderator, Matt Lauer, in coherent sentences, often with specific details. Mr. Trump alternated between rambling statements and grandiose boasts when he wasn't lying.

Mr. Lauer largely neglected to ask penetrating questions, call out falsehoods or insist on answers when it was obvious that Mr. Trump's responses had drifted off.

If the moderators of the coming debates do not figure out a better way to get the candidates to speak accurately about their records and policies -- especially Mr. Trump, who seems to feel he can skate by unchallenged with his own version of reality while Mrs. Clinton is grilled and entangled in the fine points of domestic and foreign policy -- then they will have done the country a grave disservice.

Whether or not one agrees with her positions, Mrs. Clinton, formerly secretary of state and once a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, showed a firm understanding of the complex issues facing the country. Mr. Trump reveled in his ignorance about global affairs and his belief that leading the world's most powerful nation is no harder than running his business empire, which has included at least four bankruptcies.

Mr. Lauer seemed most energized interrogating Mrs. Clinton about her use of a personal email server while secretary of state. Focusing on it meant that other critical issues -- like America's role in Afghanistan and its ties with China -- went unaddressed. He was harder on Mrs. Clinton than on Mr. Trump, reflecting a tendency among some journalists to let Mr. Trump's deceptions go unchallenged. That certainly was the case when he let Mr. Trump attack Mrs. Clinton for voting for the Iraq war and going into Libya when Mr. Trump had supported those actions.

Disputing outright lies may actually be one of the easier challenges for a moderator. The harder task is to pierce fantasies and gibberish. That requires preparation and persistence.

Mr. Trump was asked to explain his qualifications to lead the armed forces. ''I have great judgment,'' was his response. Fortunately, despite the lack of a follow-up question to that non-answer, Mr. Trump was perfectly able to display his abysmal judgment.

He repeated his view that President Vladimir Putin of Russia, who invaded Ukraine and annexed Crimea, is a better leader than President Obama. He denigrated America's generals as having been ''reduced to rubble.'' He talked in circles about defeating the Islamic State, boasting of a secret plan that he would not share.

Mr. Trump reinforced his reputation for misogyny by defending his tweet from 2013 suggesting that sexual assaults were to be expected if women serve in the military. And, prompted by an audience question, he adjusted his **immigration** policy on the fly, suggesting that **immigrants** who join the military could avoid deportation.

Lucky for him, no one bothered to ask why he should be allowed to be commander in chief when he spent so much time attacking the parents of a Muslim Army captain killed in Iraq. Earlier in the day, Mr. Trump called for a huge expansion of the military that experts said would cost an extra $150 billion over a decade. He gave no hint where that money would come from.

At one point, Mrs. Clinton, trying to assure the audience that she would use military force judiciously, said, ''We are not putting ground troops into Iraq ever again, and we're not putting ground troops into Syria.'' This left unanswered the question of whether she had made a promise she can't keep, particularly since there are some Special Operations forces in both battlefields now.

There will be many issues to explore at the three presidential debates. For the sake of the nation, the moderators need to be fully prepared to challenge the candidates, so voters can have a clear picture of how they will lead.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**I doubt that many of us veterans had high expectations for the candidates' forum on national security on Wednesday. Our country has essentially been at war now for 15 years, yet fewer of our would-be leaders have real ties to the military.

But, in the crowd of veterans at the forum, I, and those around me, were startled more than once by Donald J. Trump's lack of understanding of how his comments would be heard by us. In his allotted 30 minutes, he made several statements that reflected a lack of knowledge of how the military works, or appeared to argue for action that would be a violation of the armed services' values.

I was a member of the class of 1980 at West Point -- the first class that admitted women -- and I served in the Army for five years. Since then, my work and life have been connected to the military. In the 1990s I worked on the failed campaign to end the ban on service by gay Americans, and a decade later I worked to get the ''don't ask, don't tell'' policy repealed. I have stayed close to West Point and mentored cadets and staff.

Now, I am seeking local office as a Democrat in New Jersey. I am not among the 55 percent of current or former members of the military who support Mr. Trump's candidacy. But I went to the forum with an open mind, interested to hear how Mr. Trump would speak directly to his military supporters, and to see his grasp of the issues that affect us all.

I was able to ask him a question. Because he has been so outspoken about **immigrants**, saying that people who have entered the country illegally would not be allowed to stay, I wanted to know whether he believed an undocumented **immigrant** who wanted to serve in the military should be allowed to do so. He said they could stay in that circumstance. I agree with him there, but I don't understand how that fits with his previous statements. Which is true?

When a Marine veteran, Rachel Fredericks, asked him about suicide statistics among veterans, he corrected her numbers -- but she was right and he was wrong.

Regarding sexual assault, he commented that a military court system to handle such cases ''practically doesn't exist,'' which is baffling. The Judge Advocate General's Corps in the Army alone constitutes one of the world's largest law firms.

But worse were those comments that fly in the face of our core values. You cannot underestimate the importance of honor, of virtuous conduct, among military people. Mr. Trump said that the United States should ''take the oil'' from Iraq, citing the adage that to the victor go the spoils. When he said this, there was a muffled gasp in the room. This is called plunder. Stealing the national resources of another sovereign country is effectively a war crime.

Given an opportunity to explain a 2013 tweet -- ''26,000 unreported sexual assaults in the military -- only 238 convictions. What did these geniuses expect when they put men and women together?'' -- he doubled down.

''It is a correct tweet,'' he said. ''There are many people that think that's absolutely correct.''

If he was banking on an innate resentment of female soldiers by their male peers, he was discounting not only the female veterans in the room, but the men who fought in Iraq and Afghanistan alongside them, who bristled at his comment.

Mr. Trump suggested that, as commander in chief, he would install different generals. From where? He would plan to fire our senior leaders and replace them with whom? Generals who fit his political viewpoint, like the 88 retired generals and admirals who recently endorsed him?

The importance of civil-military leadership is taught to all military cadets; and it runs both ways. Not only does the military take orders from civilian leadership, but smart civilian leaders respect the expertise of military leaders who are expected to give their best objective advice based on years of experience.

The biggest jaw-dropper in Mr. Trump's comments was his insult to today's military. One thing that all of us who served before 2001 know: Troops from the most recent generation have deployed more, and been at war far longer, than any of us. We know that today's generals are more seasoned, more experienced, than ever. They've spent the past 15 years commanding troops in combat.

For Mr. Trump to stand in front of a group of veterans and say, ''The generals have been reduced to rubble'' and ''Right now, we are not strong,'' was a slap in the face. We don't care if you say that you ''love the vets.'' Do not expect us to nod our heads at this denigration of our service and our profession.

As Mr. Trump left, we applauded courteously, until the signal that we were off the air. After a beat, someone yelled from the back, ''Make America great again!'' In the smattering of applause that followed, my friend, Tanya Domi, a former Army captain, growled, ''America is already great!'' to whoops and cheers. Of all the Army values Mr. Trump has flouted in this campaign -- respect, selfless service, personal courage -- perhaps the most telling is loyalty.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Gary Johnson, the former New Mexico governor and Libertarian Party presidential nominee, revealed a surprising lack of foreign policy knowledge on Thursday that could rock his insurgent candidacy when he could not answer a basic question about the crisis in Aleppo, Syria.

''What is Aleppo?'' Mr. Johnson said when asked on MSNBC how, as president, he would address the **refugee** crisis in the war-torn Syrian city.

When pressed as to whether he was serious, Mr. Johnson indicated that he really was not aware of the city, which has been widely covered during the years that Syria has been engulfed in civil war. After Mike Barnicle, an MSNBC commentator who is often part of the ''Morning Joe'' program panel, explained that Aleppo was the center of Syria's **refugee** crisis, Mr. Johnson struggled to recover.

''O.K., got it,'' he said, explaining that he thinks that the United States must partner with Russia to diplomatically improve the situation there. ''With regard to Syria, I do think that it's a mess.''

''And what is Aleppo?'' Gary Johnson asks https://t.co/po7gg7UPWi[https://t.co/po7gg7UPWi] pic.twitter.com/FnMf65IN6o -- POLITICO (@politico) September 8, 2016

The stumble could be a serious blow to Mr. Johnson's campaign, just as he is making a final push to improve his standing in the polls. His support needs to reach 15 percent in a series of major national polls to be included in the presidential debates.

Mr. Johnson's support has been hovering around 10 percent. He and his running mate, former Gov. Bill Weld of Massachusetts, have been aggressively making the case that they represent a viable alternative for voters who are not happy with the major party nominees, Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump.

Mr. Johnson and Mr. Weld are both former two-term Republican governors who are socially liberal and fiscally conservative. While Libertarians are very free-trade oriented, they are often criticized for being isolationist and lacking interest in foreign policy.

Some leading Republicans who oppose Mr. Trump have said openly that they are giving the Libertarian ticket a serious look. On Wednesday night, Mitt Romney, the 2012 Republican nominee, publicly called for Mr. Johnson and Mr. Weld to be included in the presidential debates.

I hope voters get to see former GOP Governors Gary Johnson and Bill Weld on the debate stages this fall. -- Mitt Romney (@MittRomney) September 7, 2016

The stumble could derail such hopes and it was widely mocked on social media.

On Twitter the question ''What is Aleppo?'' was trending, with many critics arguing that Mr. Johnson had disqualified himself from the presidency.

Anyone who saw Gary Johnson as an alternative to the nonsense that is 2016 politics just got a very rude awakening. #WhatIsAleppo -- stephen (@Dunfarr) September 8, 2016

Some even attributed the flub to Mr. Johnson's acknowledged use of marijuana. He is a proponent of legalizing the drug and he was previously the chief executive of a business that marketed and sold recreational marijuana products.

I'm wondering whether it was wise for Gary Johnson to stop using weed while campaigning for president #WhatIsAleppo -- Jim Aloisi (@JimAloisi) September 8, 2016

Even Hillary Clinton, Mr. Johnson's Democratic opponent, had a laugh at his expense on Thursday. Asked about the Libertarian candidate's lack of knowledge about Aleppo during a news conference, she joked, ''You can look on the map and find Aleppo.''

Thursday was not the first time that Mr. Johnson has faced such a situation. After speaking at a Politico convention in June, he was being directed to a room that was named after Harriet Tubman, the former slave and abolitionist. According to a report in The New Yorker, Mr. Johnson asked, ''Who's Harriet Tubman?''

Mr. Johnson expressed disappointment about the Aleppo lapse in a brief follow-up interview that was broadcast on MSNBC and canceled some of his other scheduled interviews that had been planned for later in the day.

''I'm incredibly frustrated with myself,'' Mr. Johnson said. ''I have to get smarter and that's just part of the process.''

He also released a statement, explaining that he is ''human'' and that as president he would surround himself with experts and receive daily security briefings to fill any gaps in his knowledge.

As for the impact the matter would have on his presidential prospects, Mr. Johnson said that would be up to the voters to decide. In a separate interview on ABC's ''The View'' program, Mr. Johnson said that he was just trying to be as forthright about the situation as possible and made no excuses.

''For those who believe this is a disqualifier, so be it,'' he said.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN -- Perhaps it was inevitable that as Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, continued his authoritarian course, relations with his Western European neighbors would worsen. Unfortunately, he's managing to ruin not just his own relationships with other governments, but also the Turkish-German community's relationship with the rest of their country.

In recent weeks, many policy makers have audibly changed their tone in addressing German Turks and those who claim to represent them in Germany, culminating in a harsh statement from Chancellor Angela Merkel in late August. ''We expect from people of Turkish descent who have been living in Germany for a long time to develop a high level of loyalty toward our country,'' she said in an interview. ''In return, we try to listen to their concerns.'' For Germans of Turkish descent who have lived in this country their entire lives, that had to sting.

And yet she wasn't lobbing wholly baseless allegations. The situation started to escalate in June, when the German Parliament adopted a resolution defining the murder of hundreds of thousands of Armenians in 1915 as genocide, a move that Mr. Erdogan protested vigorously. So did German Turks: Soon after, about 1,500 people showed up to protest in front of the Brandenburg Gate.

German Turks' public support for Mr. Erdogan's government soared after this summer's coup attempt. Many came out into the Berlin streets after Mr. Erdogan called on Turks abroad to show their solidarity with him. Some 40,000 gathered in Cologne in a roaring sea of red moon-and-star-flags.

Such outpourings only deepened suspicion of dual loyalty among the rest of Germany. When the newsmagazine Der Spiegel reported recently that Turkey had 6,000 informants and 500 intelligence agents in Germany, the image seemed complete: Germany was being systematically undercut by the Turkish government through the medium of the Turkish community in Germany.

There are roughly three million people of Turkish descent in Germany, many of whom are culturally and religiously conservative and sympathize with Mr. Erdogan's Justice and Development Party. That's their right, but it is still hard, as a German, to see them hail a ruthless autocrat who has smashed Turkey's independent news media, arrested thousands of alleged supporters of the coup and is flirting with the reintroduction of the death penalty.

But the community is not monolithic, and neither is its attitude toward Mr. Erdogan. Many feel increasingly **alienated** from the country of their ancestors. Serap Guler, a politician in Ms. Merkel's conservative Christian Democratic Party, is one. She also complained in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung that ''many in my generation and the generation that follow would rather let themselves be used as extras'' in Mr. Erdogan's ''great show than grapple with the true challenges.''

Often, the cleavages run right through families. My friend Hatice Akyun, a journalist, described the conflict with her father in an essay about a year ago, when Mr. Erdogan resumed his repression of his country's Kurdish minority. Her father supports Mr. Erdogan; she is horrified by his embrace of authoritarian violence. ''It's poisoning our relationship,'' she wrote.

To generally question this large and diverse group's ''loyalty'' to Germany, as Ms. Merkel did, is as unfair as it is counterproductive. In demanding loyalty from Turkish Germans to the German state, Ms. Merkel is playing along with Mr. Erdogan's scheme to segregate Turks from the rest of Germany, of making them a Turkish exclave on German soil, deepening the mutual feeling of **alienation**.

But Ms. Merkel also speaks for a large number of Germans, if not the majority, a fact that is as instructive as it is depressing. Despite the occasional tensions and setbacks, despite the considerably lower-than-average level of education and prosperity among Germans of Turkish descent, the country had just started to portray their integration as a success story.

Even the marches this summer, full of older and largely poor Turkish Germans, were a reminder of what that first generation of **immigrants** achieved in creating in their offspring, a generation of doctors, journalists, businesspeople -- of successful, integrated Germans. But it is harder and harder to see things that way.

The renewed feeling of mutual **alienation** also gives us a better idea of the minimal requirements for being German. While bias and distrust toward Turks in the past were often driven by criticisms of conservative practices of Islam (and, no less, by racism and Islamophobia), the excessive public support for Mr. Erdogan also repels the German left and liberals. To them, ''loyalty'' to the German state means loyalty to the German Constitution and its liberal, democratic values -- ''the decisive marker of German identity,'' according to Herfried and Marina Münkler, the authors of ''The New Germans.'' The pro-Erdogan rallies looked like a thousandfold public rejection of that identity.

All of this is instructive, not just in how Germany relates to its established **immigrant** communities, but the million **refugees** who have recently entered the country and are now attempting to build a new life. It is a reminder that, even decades from now, the process will still be continuing, with setbacks and tensions. But it should also be a reason for optimism -- that Germany can, and must, make it work.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MEXICO CITY -- One of President Enrique Peña Nieto's top ministers and closest allies resigned on Wednesday, an apparent casualty of Mr. Peña Nieto's wildly unpopular meeting last week with Donald J. Trump.

The spectacle of the Mexican president standing next to the Republican candidate who has disparaged Mexicans prompted widespread dismay and anger here, and reportedly divided Mr. Peña Nieto's cabinet. Luis Videgaray, the finance minister who stepped down on Wednesday, had championed the idea of inviting Mr. Trump to Mexico City over the objections of other ministers, according to several Mexican news media reports, though Mr. Peña Nieto insisted it was his own initiative.

Mr. Peña Nieto announced Mr. Videgaray's resignation at a news conference.

He did not give a reason for Mr. Videgaray's departure. But some analysts interpreted it as the latest, and most dramatic, effort by the president to regain the trust of the Mexican public following his meeting with Mr. Trump, the Republican presidential nominee, who has made criticism of Mexicans and Mexico an incendiary motif of his campaign.

''It will help mitigate the anger,'' said José Antonio Crespo Mendoza, a professor of politics at Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, a Mexican research and higher education center. ''President Peña Nieto realized things could not stay as they were, and that they could no longer insist that it had been a good call'' to invite Mr. Trump.

Mr. Trump cast his visit as a statesmanlike effort to reach out to a country he had **alienated**. But hours after his meeting with Mr. Peña Nieto, he gave a combative speech in Phoenix that struck many of the anti-**immigrant** themes that have defined his candidacy. The episode has left Mr. Peña Nieto and his government embarrassed at a time when his approval ratings were already at record lows over rising crime, poor economic growth and conflict of interest scandals.

In the days after the meeting, the president scrambled to contain the fallout and to repair the damage -- using a television interview, a newspaper column and a town-hall-style meeting held to mark his annual ''Informe de Gobierno,'' Mexico's equivalent of the State of the Union address. But these steps seemed to do little to mollify many Mexicans, who accused the president of humiliating the nation, first by inviting Mr. Trump and then by failing to use the opportunity to push back against the candidate's criticism of Mexico and Mexicans.

The discontent has continued to simmer on social media and in the news, and an anti-Peña Nieto demonstration has been called for Sept. 15. On Tuesday, an opposition senator -- seeking to provide the defense of Mexico that he said Mr. Peña Nieto had failed to offer -- submitted a bill that would empower the government to fight several of Mr. Trump's foreign policy proposals, including his promise to force Mexico to pay for the construction of a border wall and his threat to withdraw the United States from the North American Free Trade Agreement.

''Of all the scandals Peña Nieto has faced, this is the most devastating,'' said Alfonso Zárate, a political analyst and columnist in Mexico City.

From Mr. Trump's perspective, the trip was a risky move from the start, given the potential for embarrassment if the Mexican president were to criticize him publicly.

It came together after Jared Kushner, the son-in-law and campaign adviser to Mr. Trump, began to lay the groundwork with Mexican officials in early August. Mr. Kushner dealt with Mr. Videgaray and other government officials in negotiating how the meeting would happen, according to a close ally of Mr. Trump who was involved in the arrangements.

Mr. Trump's visit was largely incident-free, and provided his campaign with pleasing visuals of the Republican nominee standing side by side with a head of state. But any positive effect was undone by Mr. Peña Nieto's insistence afterward that he had told Mr. Trump that Mexico would not pay for a border wall, a claim that contradicted Mr. Trump's account.

Even so, the damage to Mr. Peña Nieto seems to have been far worse.

While Mr. Videgaray's resignation may have been intended to stanch the political bleeding in Mexico City and salvage the president's standing, it also shifted the odds in the contest for future leadership of the governing Institutional Revolutionary Party, or P.R.I. In addition, it left Mr. Peña Nieto without one of his closest confidantes in his administration.

Mr. Videgaray, who holds a doctorate in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, had been a rising star in the P.R.I., and his name was often mentioned as a possible presidential contender in 2018.

He had worked for the president since 2005, when Mr. Peña Nieto was the governor of the State of Mexico, helping him restructure the state's debt and coordinating Mr. Peña Nieto's 2012 presidential bid.

Mr. Videgaray became the president's closest ally and adviser in the cabinet -- ''the power behind the throne,'' Mr. Zárate said.

His reputation was tarnished by reports he had bought a house at a golf club from a government contractor, though not enough to force him out of the cabinet or out of contention for 2018. The president, who is known for his loyalty to his inner circle, stuck by him.

Indeed, Mr. Peña Nieto was accompanied by Mr. Videgaray when he made the announcement on Wednesday, and was warm and effusive toward his longtime adviser, thanking him for being ''committed to Mexico and loyal to the president of Mexico.''

Mr. Zárate said the departure of Mr. Videgaray was ''very painful for the president.'' He added, ''we all know the enormous influence that he has.''

''It leaves the president orphaned,'' Mr. Zárate said.

As finance minister, Mr. Videgaray was at the center of the administration's efforts to overhaul the country's telecommunications and energy sectors. He successfully pushed to open the nation's oil industry, which had been a state-run monopoly since the 1930s. He also championed a tax overhaul that increased tax revenue but earned him some enemies within the business community.

During his tenure, however, Mexico saw slow economic growth and a weak peso, and the country's standing with credit-rating agencies has suffered. Moody's Investors Service and S&P Global Ratings have each lowered their outlook from stable to negative in recent months.

Economic performance has been so underwhelming that some analysts believe Mr. Videgaray's departure was an inevitability discussed well before Mr. Trump's visit. Furthermore, Mr. Videgaray is rumored to be a possible P.R.I. candidate for the governorship of the State of Mexico.

''I see this as a clear electoral play,'' said Genaro Lozano, a professor of United States government and society at the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico City. ''The State of Mexico is what they are betting on, what they have their eye on. It is one of the largest states in terms of population, with a solid and powerful P.R.I. structure, electoral support base and political mobilization. Even if they would put Trump's cousin as candidate for governor, P.R.I. would win.''

The cabinet shuffle occurred a day before the Mexican government was scheduled to present its 2017 budget, a job that now shifts to the new finance minister, José Antonio Meade, whose appointment was announced at the news conference.

Mr. Meade, 47, who has a doctorate in economics from Yale University, has been a significant player in the last two administrations. He was finance minister under Mr. Peña Nieto's predecessor, Felipe Calderón, and Mr. Peña Nieto made him the foreign minister in 2012. In that post, he broke from his reputation as an apolitical technocrat when he led an angry defense of the government against a United Nations report condemning Mexico for its use of torture on suspects in detention.

Thirteen months ago, Mr. Peña Nieto appointed him to head the Social Development Ministry, a post that elevated Mr. Meade to the level of a possible presidential candidate as he traveled around the country promoting the government's programs for the poor.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**HONG KONG -- When the 42-year-old Filipino woman opened the door of her tiny Hong Kong apartment three years ago, two lawyers stood outside with a man she had never seen before. They explained that he needed a place to hide, and they introduced him as Edward Snowden.

''The first time I see him, I don't know who he is,'' the woman, Vanessa Mae Bondalian Rodel, recalled in an interview. ''I don't have any idea.''

Ms. Rodel is one of at least four residents of Hong Kong who took in Mr. Snowden, the former National Security Agency contractor, when he fled the United States in June 2013. Only now have they decided to speak about the experience, revealing a new chapter in the odyssey that riveted the world after Mr. Snowden disclosed that the N.S.A. had been monitoring the calls, emails and web activity of millions of Americans and others.

At the time, governments and news outlets were scrambling to find the source of the leaks, which were published in The Guardian and The Washington Post. In an interview recorded in a hotel room, Mr. Snowden identified himself and revealed that he was in Hong Kong. Then he went into hiding. About two weeks later he turned up in Moscow.

It was never clear where Mr. Snowden was holed up during those critical days after leaving his room at the five-star Mira Hotel, when the United States was demanding his return. As it turns out, he was staying with Ms. Rodel and others like her -- men and women seeking political asylum in Hong Kong who live in cramped, substandard apartment blocks in some of the city's poorest districts.

They were all clients of one of Mr. Snowden's Hong Kong lawyers, Robert Tibbo, who arranged for him to stay with them.

Ms. Rodel said Mr. Snowden slept in her bedroom while she and her 1-year-old daughter moved into their apartment's only other room. Not knowing what he would eat, she bought him an Egg McMuffin and an iced tea from McDonald's.

''My first impression of his face was that he was scared, very worried,'' she recalled.

Ms. Rodel said her unexpected guest ''was using his computer all day, all night.'' She said that she did not have internet service but that Mr. Tibbo provided him with mobile access.

On Mr. Snowden's second day there, he asked Ms. Rodel whether she could buy him a copy of The South China Morning Post, the city's main English-language newspaper, she said. When she picked up the paper, she saw his picture on the front page.

''Oh my God, unbelievable,'' she recalled saying to herself. ''The most wanted man in the world is in my house.''

Jonathan Man, another of Mr. Snowden's lawyers in Hong Kong, said that he had initially considered hiding him in a warehouse but that he and Mr. Tibbo quickly dismissed the idea. Instead, after taking him to the United Nations office that handles **refugee** claims in Hong Kong and filing an application, they brought him to the apartment of a client seeking asylum.

''It was clear that if Mr. Snowden was placed with a **refugee** family, this was the last place the government and the majority of Hong Kong society would expect him to be,'' Mr. Tibbo said. ''Nobody would look for him there. Even if they caught a glimpse of him, it was highly unlikely that they would recognize him.''

There are about 11,000 registered asylum seekers living in Hong Kong, mostly from South and Southeast Asia. They generally cannot work legally and receive monthly stipends that rarely cover living costs.

Mr. Tibbo said he turned to these clients for help in part because he expected them to understand Mr. Snowden's plight. ''These were people who went through the same process when they were fleeing other countries,'' he said. ''They had to rely on other people for **refuge**, safety, comfort and support.''

He noted that Mr. Snowden was not wanted by the Hong Kong police at the time and that he had advised his clients to cooperate with the police if they showed up. He said his clients had decided to come forward in the hope that the publicity would put pressure on the Hong Kong authorities to expedite their applications for **refugee** status and resettlement.

Ms. Rodel, who declined to say why she could not return to the Philippines, has been waiting nearly six years for a final decision on her application.

After a few days with Ms. Rodel and her daughter, Mr. Snowden spent a night with Ajith Pushpakumara, 44, who said he fled to Hong Kong after being chained to a wall and tortured for deserting the army in his native Sri Lanka.

Mr. Pushpakumara said he had listened to online radio broadcasts about Mr. Snowden and was surprised to suddenly find him in the dingy apartment that he shared with several men. He realized Mr. Snowden was in the same situation he was, hiding in a small room. ''I was worried about him,'' he said.

Supun Thilina Kellapatha, his wife and their toddler also sheltered Mr. Snowden, putting him up for about three days in their 250-square-foot apartment.

Mr. Kellapatha, 32, who said he sought protection in Hong Kong after being tortured in Sri Lanka, described their guest as a tired man who was unfailingly polite.

''He said, 'You are a good man,' '' when he arrived at the apartment, Mr. Kellapatha recalled. ''But I feel he is better than me, because he respected me.''

Mr. Kellapatha and his wife, Nadeeka Dilrukshi Nonis, said they were not worried about hosting Mr. Snowden. ''I don't think I take the risk,'' he said. ''He is the one who take the big risk.''

When Mr. Snowden left, he left the couple $200 under a pillow, which they said they used to buy necessities for their daughter. ''Sometimes I tell Supun, maybe he forgot us,'' Ms. Nonis said. ''I want to tell him: 'Edward, how are you? We will never forget you.' ''

After fleeing Hong Kong, Mr. Snowden was granted asylum in Russia. He has been unable to leave that country because he is wanted on espionage charges in the United States, but he routinely speaks to the press and at international conferences on government surveillance and civil liberties via video conference. A feature film about his life is set to open later this month.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON -- A camerawoman who was captured on video kicking and attempting to trip migrants near the Hungary-Serbia border in the fall was charged on Wednesday with ''breach of peace,'' Hungarian prosecutors said, adding that her actions had not been motivated by bias or racism.

Footage of the camerawoman, Petra Laszlo, who was filming migrants as they were being chased by police officers, spread quickly on social media, adding to Hungary's reputation for hostility toward the thousands of people fleeing war and poverty in the Middle East and Asia.

The charge, breach of peace, is defined in Hungarian law as antisocial, violent behavior capable of inciting indignation or alarm, and it carries a maximum sentence of two years in prison unless there are aggravating circumstances.

Ms. Laszlo was carrying a camera and wearing a surgical mask in September 2015 when she kicked two migrants and then awkwardly threw out her leg toward a man later identified as Osama Abdul Mohsen, a Syrian **refugee**, who was holding his child.

According to an indictment released by the chief prosecutor in the county of Csongrad in southern Hungary, however, she did not make contact with Mr. Mohsen and he fell as he ''wrenched himself out from the grip'' of a police officer.

The evidence did not suggest that Ms. Laszlo could have caused injury, the indictment said, and there was nothing to indicate that she was motivated by ''ethnic considerations'' or ''by the migrant status of the victims.''

Ms. Laszlo apologized but has maintained that she was used as a tool to vilify Hungary's attitude toward migrants. She was also immediately fired by her employer, N1TV, a channel affiliated with the far right.

''We are faced with a modern European folk tale,'' she told the weekly Heti Valasz after the incident. ''On one side is the Nazi witch, on the other the anguished asylum seeker, who has a furnished home waiting for him in Spain and whose child is passing with Cristiano Ronaldo,'' she said, referring to the welcome Mr. Mohsen received in Spain after the story spread. Ms. Laszlo also repeated unfounded accusations that Mr. Mohsen was a member of a terrorist organization.

It was unclear whether Ms. Laszlo, who has been avoiding publicity since the episode, would appear in court. A date for the trial has not yet been established.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BEIRUT, Lebanon -- Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, suggested that his country was ready to carry out a joint operation with the United States in northern Syria to fight the Islamic State in its de facto capital, Raqqa, Turkish news media reported on Wednesday.

The move would represent a major escalation in the two countries' interventions in Syria. But there was no immediate comment from United States officials. In the past, the United States and Turkey announced ambitious new joint policies concerning Syria that failed to materialize as disagreements emerged over what had been agreed to.

An operation in Raqqa would entail an expansion of cooperation on Syria between Turkey and the United States, NATO allies whose relations have been strained over Syria policy.

Even though both countries nominally oppose the Islamic State and President Bashar al-Assad of Syria, the United States places a greater priority on defeating the Islamic State. Turkey, at least until recently, was more intent on ousting Mr. Assad. And the countries sharply disagree over Syria's Kurdish militias, which Turkey sees as its main enemy in Syria, and the United States sees as its most effective ground partner against the Islamic State.

Mr. Erdogan gave few details of what the plan's objective would be or how it would work, but said that President Obama had suggested the possibility of a joint operation in Raqqa.

''Obama wants to do some things jointly concerning Raqqa,'' Mr. Erdogan told a group of journalists during his return flight Tuesday from the G20 summit meeting in China, local news media reported. ''We said this would not be a problem from our perspective. Our soldiers should come together and discuss, then we will do what is necessary,'' he said.

His comments came after two volatile weeks around the Syrian-Turkish border. Turkey plunged into Syria with ground forces for the first time, using tanks, artillery and air power to help a force comprising United States- and Turkish-backed Syrian rebels seize a border area from the Islamic State.

The advance robbed the Islamic State of its last access to the Turkish border, a key supply route, and it bolstered other Turkish goals. It blocked Kurdish militias from taking the same area to unite their two semiautonomous enclaves along the border with Turkey, which is fighting its own internal war with Kurdish militias, which it sees as inseparable from the ones in Syria.

And it opened the door to establishing what Turkey has long wanted, a safe zone inside the Syrian borders where Syrian **refugees** could gather and where the Syrian opposition could attempt to set up governance, presumably protected from airstrikes launched by the Syrian government and its Russian allies.

On Wednesday, several hundred Syrian **refugees** crossed into Jarabulus, a town taken by the Turkish-backed rebels, covered with fanfare by the Turkish news media. Turkey is home to three million Syrian **refugees**, more than any other nation.

But the safe zone plan, like the Raqqa plan, is an example of an ambitious-sounding United States-Turkish proposal. The safe zone plan later become bedeviled by disagreements.

Mr. Erdogan said he was renewing his request for a no-fly zone over the newly acquired border zone, but the White House has brushed off the idea.

This is a more complete version of the story than the one that appeared in print.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PARIS -- Construction of a wall to keep migrants from reaching a road that leads to the French port of Calais will begin this month, officials said this week. The wall, a joint project by Britain and France, is the latest attempt to address security concerns and local displeasure with a ramshackle camp for migrants at the English Channel port.

''We are going to start building this big new wall very soon,'' Robert Goodwill, the British **immigration** minister, told Parliament's Home Affairs Committee in London on Tuesday. ''We've done the fence, now we are doing the wall.''

The proposed wall will be four meters high, or about 13 feet, and will run for one kilometer, or about 0.6 miles, along both sides of the road that approaches the port of Calais, as an extension of the existing fence and barbed-wire barrier, according to the committee's press office.

For years, migrants trying to reach Britain have gathered in a sprawling and overcrowded camp known as the ''Jungle'' on the outskirts of Calais, which is less than 30 miles across the channel from the British port city of Dover.

Increased security around the port and the entrance to the Channel Tunnel has made it more difficult for migrants, most of them from the Middle East and Africa, to get directly onto trains or ferries.

But it has also made those who cannot afford a smuggler more desperate in their attempts to hide on trucks and other vehicles by using makeshift barriers to block traffic and climb aboard. At least eight migrants have died on the road since the beginning of the year.

François Guennoc, an activist with L'Auberge des Migrants, an organization that helps migrants in Calais, said he did not expect the wall to make the road any safer than the miles of fences, barbed wire and surveillance cameras that are already in place.

''It's a bad way of wasting British money,'' Mr. Guennoc said in a telephone interview, adding that the wall would only move the problem further inland along the road. ''Walls don't work.''

The idea of building physical barriers to keep migrants away has been raised in the American presidential race as well, with the Republican presidential candidate, Donald J. Trump, promising to build a wall between the United States and Mexico. Unlike that wall, however, the one in France has money behind it: Britain has pledged 17 million pounds, or nearly $23 million, to help France deal with the Jungle.

The French authorities dismantled the southern half of the camp in February and March, but the number of migrants there has risen to between 7,000 to 9,000 people, straining relations between communities of migrants and between the migrants and local residents.

On Monday, French truck drivers and other protesters blocked traffic on the road leading to the port, and asked that the camp be razed. The French interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve, who visited Calais last week, said the authorities would completely dismantle the camp, but did not say when.

The influx of migrants fleeing war, persecution or poverty has also affected Paris, where the mayor, Anne Hidalgo, detailed on Tuesday plans for this fall to open centers that would temporarily shelter and help migrants arriving in the French capital.

A center for single men, in northern Paris, will have room for up to 600 people; another in a southern suburb, for families, women and children, will have room for 350.

The city's authorities have taken more than 15,000 migrants off the streets of Paris since June of last year, Ms. Hidalgo said, noting that there was a ''link with what is going on in Calais'' because some migrants were on their way there.

But Ms. Hidalgo has stressed that the centers in Paris would be temporary -- they are being built on city land scheduled to be used for other projects in the coming years -- and that the migrants were expected to spend only five to 10 days there for medical and administrative help.

''The first goal of this **refugee** camp is to shelter people until they are oriented toward state-run housing,'' she said, referring to France's dedicated housing for asylum seekers.

''If other temporary shelter centers have to be created,'' they will be, she added.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**HANGZHOU, China -- Human rights barely registered on President Obama's latest visit to China, which ended Monday night with a news conference at which he made only a glancing reference to differences with Beijing over ''religious freedom.''

And as Mr. Obama moved on to Laos for a summit meeting of Asian nations, human rights advocates worried that their concerns were falling off the American agenda not only with China but also across the region, for the same reason: Beijing's continuing rise as an economic and geopolitical power.

As China challenges the United States for influence in Asia, the administration is concerned that any criticism of nations like Malaysia, Vietnam, the Philippines and Laos for backsliding on human rights could **alienate** them rather than pulling them closer. At the same time, shining a spotlight on China's own rough treatment of dissidents risks losing Beijing's cooperation on issues like trade, climate change and nuclear proliferation.

Rights advocates accused the administration of being too timid, arguing that the United States should put as much pressure on governments over how they treat their citizens as they do during trade negotiations.

''Decades of experience should make clear to Washington that Beijing responds only to the expectation of unpleasant consequences,'' said Sophie Richardson, the China director for Human Rights Watch.

''Why not threaten sanctions, cut out the pointless pomp or visibly align with peaceful critics of the government?'' she said. ''On other diplomatic, economic and security issues, governments recognize and use these points of leverage. Why not on human rights?''

Others say Mr. Obama, who speaks openly about civil rights in the United States, has been wise not to inject the issue into talks with China, even as Beijing has carried out the most sweeping crackdown on Chinese civil society in nearly 20 years. They say the president understands that a more powerful China is better able to resist American pressure on human rights than it was a decade ago.

''To its credit, the Obama administration has not exacerbated the many U.S.-China economic and security issues with a high-profile human rights policy,'' said Robert S. Ross, a professor of political science at Boston College. ''It is quite a stretch to argue that diplomacy could persuade an authoritarian, single-party government to undermine its domestic political power by allowing greater opposition to the government and tolerating greater political instability.''

The pattern is now extending beyond China's borders. During Mr. Obama's visit to Laos, a tiny country run by a repressive Communist regime, he so far has chosen not to publicly raise the case of an American-trained civil rights worker who disappeared at a police checkpoint four years ago.

He has refrained, at least in public, from criticizing the new president of the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte, who has been unapologetic about waging a violent war against drugs in the first two months of his term. On Wednesday, a day after Mr. Obama abruptly canceled a meeting with Mr. Duterte, who had unleashed a profanity-laden diatribe against him, the two men met informally.

During Mr. Obama's visit to Vietnam in May, he agreed to lift a longstanding ban on the sale of lethal weapons without winning significant concessions on human rights. And after trying to draw Malaysia closer, Mr. Obama has been embarrassed by the country's prime minister, Najib Razak, who has closed online news outlets and prosecuted opposition figures in an effort to stay in power.

The Obama administration has pressed China on human rights in a high-profile way on only a few occasions. In 2012, the American Embassy in Beijing harbored Chen Guangcheng, a blind Chinese dissident, and flew him to the United States. But the days when the White House could demand and expect the release of a few Chinese political prisoners before a summit meeting are gone, Professor Ross said.

As the Chinese Communist Party gained confidence, it began rearresting dissidents who had been released before American summit meetings. ''Since then,'' Professor Ross said, ''U.S. human rights diplomacy has been reduced to rhetoric, which, no surprise, has not improved China's human rights situation.''

Despite Mr. Obama's fleeting public reference to religious repression this week, for example, few expect the Chinese authorities to retreat from a campaign against Christian churches in the area surrounding Hangzhou, the city that hosted the Group of 20 meeting.

One of the new challenges for Mr. Obama, and one for his successor, will be how to deal with Mr. Duterte. The police in the Philippines say they have killed about 1,000 suspects in the antidrug campaign, and about 300 people have been killed by vigilantes. Rights groups have urged the United States to do something about the situation.

''It'd be difficult for us to overstate how grave the situation has become in the Philippines,'' said John Sifton, the deputy Washington director of Human Rights Watch. ''At this rate, we're talking about over 6,000 people dead by the end of the year.''

But the Philippines is an American ally and a bulwark against Chinese military gains in the South China Sea. By that calculus, the United States cannot afford to **alienate** Mr. Duterte. Philippine analysts say that Mr. Duterte is on good terms with Chinese business executives who invested in Davao, the city where he served as mayor, and that he may be open to negotiating with Beijing over the South China Sea.

Under American legislation known as the Leahy Amendment, Washington is obliged to cut off assistance to Philippines law enforcement units that are suspected of human rights abuses. But Antonio La Viña, a professor of government at Ateneo de Manila University, said the threat of such a sanction was unlikely to be effective.

''The truth is that the Philippines has the money to modernize our military,'' he said.

Mr. Obama is the first sitting American president to visit Laos, and he has sought to promote reconciliation with the nation, on which the United States dropped more than two million tons of bombs at the height of the Vietnam War.

But he is also being called on to press Laos's repressive government -- a traditional ally of China -- on the case of Sombath Somphone, a civil rights campaigner and American-trained agriculture specialist who disappeared at a police checkpoint in the capital, Vientiane, four years ago. Mr. Obama will also have to decide how hard to push concerns about human rights with other leaders at the meeting, several of whom are being wooed by China.

One of Mr. Obama's favorite Southeast Asian leaders, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi of Myanmar, is scheduled to visit the White House this month, and American officials hope to make progress on addressing the plight of the Rohingya, a persecuted Muslim minority in the predominantly Buddhist country. More than 100,000 Rohingya live in fenced-off camps in northern Myanmar, and Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi has appointed a commission that includes the former United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan to find solutions.

''She has demonstrated a recognition that this is a problem that must be solved,'' said Tom Malinowski, the United States assistant secretary for democracy, human rights and labor.

The Obama administration has been less vocal on conditions in Vietnam, which it has tried to steer closer to the United States in the face of Chinese pressure over territorial disputes in the South China Sea.

Since then, the human rights situation has only deteriorated, said Nguyen Quang A, an activist and a former member of the Vietnamese Communist Party who was invited to meet Mr. Obama in Hanoi but who was stopped by Vietnamese security forces. Political prisoners remain in jail, the news media is muzzled, and independent labor unions have not been allowed, despite promises to Washington.

''Should Obama have done more to try and influence the government of Vietnam?'' Mr. Quang A asked. ''Absolutely.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The humiliation that Germany's ruling Christian Democrats suffered in the state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, pushed to third place behind a nationalist, anti-**immigrant** party, is not good news. The results are a repudiation of Chancellor Angela Merkel's liberal **refugee** policy, and they follow a continentwide rise of far-right parties feeding on fears of terrorism and resentment of **refugees**. With such a poor showing in a state where Ms. Merkel's constituency is based, the chancellor suddenly seems vulnerable as she considers whether to run in next year's general election.

But it is far too early to cross off Ms. Merkel, who has been chancellor for 11 years and has earned great respect as a world leader. Her decision a year ago to open Germany's borders to **refugees** was courageous and just. She has weathered many political crises before with her instinct for pragmatism and compromise. Her approval rating in Germany is at a five-year low but is still 45 percent -- a strong showing on a continent in turmoil, when President François Hollande of France has been polling under 20 percent this summer.

Sunday's vote should be seen in context: Mecklenburg-Vorpommern is one of the poorest and least-populated states in Germany. It was formerly part of East Germany, and anti-**immigrant** sentiments have been strong in the former Eastern bloc. All major parties in the state lost votes to Alternative for Germany, a party that got its start opposing bailouts for Greece and then exploited the **refugee** crisis. The state will continue to be governed by a coalition of the Christian Democrats and Social Democrats, like the one Ms. Merkel heads at the federal level.

She acknowledged that the **refugee** issue was a major cause of the drubbing, but said ''the decisions made were right and we have to continue to work on them.'' They were right, and her government, which has led the European Union in managing the crisis, should continue to do so.

Ms. Merkel also acknowledged that she and her party have lost the trust of some voters. Now that the vote has raised the question of Ms. Merkel's future, it is bound to be under scrutiny, especially in municipal elections in Lower Saxony on Sunday and state elections in Berlin on Sept. 18.

No politician who has been in office for so long, even one as respected as Ms. Merkel, can or should be immune to discussion about whether a party needs to offer new faces. But a bad showing in one atypical state is not a political obituary.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HEREImmigration**, xenophobia, a **refugee** surge and a humanitarian crisis are roiling politics across Europe and the United States. It's a fray that M.I.A. is eager to plunge into, once again, on her fifth studio album, ''AIM.'' She has said it may be her last album, though she's not planning to stop making music.

From her first single in 2003, ''Galang,'' Mathangi (nicknamed Maya) Arulpragasam, a.k.a. M.I.A., has based much of her work -- music, video, graphics, public statements -- on her frontier-crossing identity as the British-born daughter of Tamil **immigrants** from Sri Lanka. She grew up in Sri Lanka during its civil war, in India and eventually in London, at first in **refugee** housing. She went on to attend art school and start recording songs.

In an exhilaratingly fractious career, M.I.A. has been a hitmaker (''Paper Planes''), a graphic artist, a political activist (particularly concerned with **immigration**, poverty and the reach of the internet), a fashion model, a video director, a label head, a social-media scrapper and, indelibly, the mass-culture provocateur who raised a middle finger to the camera and the world in her guest spot during Madonna's 2012 Super Bowl show. It's no surprise that ''AIM'' retains those ambitions, juggling social consciousness and self-assurance as M.I.A. has from the start.

''AIM'' starts with its masterpiece: ''Borders,'' which works best as a synergy of song and video clip. Its images -- fences, ships, hordes of straining bodies -- bring gravity and historical resonance to the song. The production merges the ratchety sound of trap percussion with a nasal, modal hook that points eastward; M.I.A.'s rap starts out asking: ''Freedom, 'I'dom, 'Me'dom, Where's your 'We'dom?''

[Video: M.I.A. - "Borders" Watch on YouTube.]

The song affirms M.I.A.'s gift for addressing a large issue with beats that take global input for granted, a tune that could easily be sung on a playground and splintered lyrics that tease at big thoughts. ''Visa'' returns to a border: this time the Mexican one, with a skeletal dance-hall beat, a piano hook hammering just two notes and a chorus affirming her own abbreviated slogan, ''Yala'' -- ''you always live again.''

In ''Freedun,'' an extended boast with an ardent pop chorus sung by Zayn Malik, formerly of One Direction, M.I.A. slips in lines like ''**Refugees** learn about patience.'' ''Ali R U OK,'' built on a loop that sounds like South Asian traditional music, sympathizes with an **immigrant** friend exploited by a boss: ''Ali, I haven't even seen you since we left Calais,'' M.I.A. says, alluding to the Calais ''Jungle,'' a notorious longtime **refugee** settlement.

''AIM'' is full of crisply accomplished rhythm tracks and productions that steer clear of the bombast and the abrasiveness M.I.A. has tried in the past; her collaborators include the hip-hop and dance-music experts Blaqstarr, Polow da Don and Skrillex. Her East-West hybrids, though less novel than they were in 2003, are still her own. ''A.M.P. (All My People),'' another boast, ricochets from hip-hop allusions to cyberspace -- ''Encrypt and code it/And I put it on your laptop'' -- with a mix and coproduction by Skrillex that has M.I.A. hurling nonsense syllables like stones from a slingshot.

But much of the album comes across as lightweight. Too many of the songs sound like sketches, running out of ideas midway through. ''Bird Song'' is just that, a contrived string of ornithological wordplays: ''Stayin' rich like an ostrich.'' ''Foreign Friend'' opens with the Jamaican dance-hall singjay Dexta Daps belting a soulful promise over minor chords -- ''I'mma treat you like my best friend'' -- but M.I.A.'s lyrics squander a chance to look into the ''foreign'' part of that friendship.

While it's hardly certain that ''AIM'' is really M.I.A.'s last album -- she has been known to change course at whim -- it does conclude with a kind of valedictory: ''Survivor.'' Over shimmering electronic orchestration punctuated by snappy trap percussion, M.I.A. sings more than she raps, merging self-praise with solidarity: ''Who said it was easy/Survivor, they can never stop we,'' she promises, then names some adversaries: ''G.O.D., gold and oil and dollars.'' It's neat and pointed pop phrasing, a taunt to powerful interests delivered with nonchalance and cleareyed defiance. There are still targets for M.I.A.; if she did retire, she'd be missed.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDNearly 50 million children worldwide have migrated across borders or been forcibly displaced by conflicts, the United Nations said on Tuesday in a new report meant to emphasize the trauma children face from war, climate change and poverty.

Distributed by Unicef, the United Nations Children's agency, the report said more than half of these children, roughly 28 million, have fled violence and insecurity.

Children also represent a disproportionate and growing segment of those who have sought **refuge** outside their country of birth, the report said. While children make up about a third of the global population, they account for about half of all **refugees**.

An executive summary of the report, titled ''Uprooted,'' described it as the first comprehensive presentation of global data about the affected children: ''where they are born, where they move and some of the dangers they face along the way.''

The report said that last year, two countries -- Syria and Afghanistan -- accounted for nearly half of all child **refugees** as classified by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for **Refugees**. It also showed that the number of child **refugees** has more than doubled in the past 10 years.

Unicef issued the report a few weeks before the annual United Nations General Assembly, when world leaders will converge to meet against a backdrop of the protracted conflicts in Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, South Sudan and other parts of the Middle East and Africa that together are helping to drive the global **refugee**and migrant crises.

''Children do not bear any responsibility for the bombs and bullets, the gang violence, persecution, the shriveled crops and low family wages driving them from their homes,'' the report said.

Turkey is host to the largest total number of recent **refugees**, with more than three million people fleeing the civil war in Syria. It quite likely has the largest number of child **refugees**, too, the report said. But Lebanon, relative to its population, is host to more **refugees** than any other country: Roughly one in five people in Lebanon is a **refugee**.

The report also showed that among migrant children, three out of every five live in Asia or Africa. In the Americas, home to roughly 6.3 million child migrants, four out of five live in just three countries: the United States, Mexico and Canada.

Correction: October 6, 2016, Thursday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: A headline on Sept. 7 with an article about a Unicef report on displaced children referred imprecisely to the nearly 50 million children described in the report. While all have been uprooted by conflict and poverty, not all are **refugees**. In addition, the article misstated, in some editions, the day the report was released. It was Tuesday, Sept. 6 -- not Monday, Sept. 5.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MARIETTA, Ga. -- William Stocks, a white, Alabama-born, Republican-leaning member of Johnson Ferry Baptist Church, arrived at the tiny apartment of a Syrian **refugee** family on a Wednesday night after work. He was wearing a green-striped golf shirt and a gentle smile, and he was eager to teach yet another improvised session of English 101.

Mr. Stocks, 23, had recently moved to Georgia from Alabama, states where the governors are, like him, Southern Baptists. They are also among the more than 30 Republican governors who have publicly resisted the federal government's plan to resettle **refugees** from war-ravaged Syria, fearing that the **refugees** might bring terrorism to their states.

To Mr. Stocks, such questions belonged in the realm of politics -- and he had not come that evening for political reasons. Rather, he said, he had come as a follower of Christ. ''My job is to serve these people,'' he said, ''because they need to be served.''

But politics and faith have always had the potential to conflict in the questions about resettling Syrian **refugees** in the United States.

And at a time when conservative politicians, many with ties to Christian religious groups, have aggressively sought to keep the Syrian newcomers out of their states, it is conservative people of faith who, in many cases, are serving as their indispensable support system.

Here in Marietta, the English lesson began around the donated kitchen table of Anwar and Daleen, two of the 10,000 Syrian **refugees** who have arrived in the United States in the past year only to grapple with that political reality, one as confusing as any new language.

Anwar and Daleen are Syrian Muslims who fled the bombings of their hometown, Tafas, in November 2012. They first crossed into Jordan, and, eventually, to this suburban sanctuary, where they settled in May in an apartment with their two children; a third child was born in August.

Here, thousands of miles from civil war, they were still so fearful of reprisals against family members in Syria that they declined to be identified by their full names.

Speaking through an interpreter, Anwar, 33, and Daleen, 27, said they were aware of the American politicians who oppose the arrival of Syrians here. They mentioned Donald J. Trump, the Republican presidential nominee, who had proposed temporarily barring all Muslims from entering the United States, a position he has since modified several times.

But the political issues, they said, they knew only from television. Their closest interactions with Americans have been largely with the members of Johnson Ferry Church, like Mr. Stocks. It was members of the church, most of whom are Republicans, who outfitted their tiny apartment and showed them how to navigate America's cavernous grocery stores.

They also steered Anwar through the health care system as he prepares for heart surgery.

''I have been here for four months,'' Anwar said, ''and I have seen nothing except goodness.''

Of the politicians, he said he was not afraid: ''I fear only God.''

The arrival of the 10,000th Syrian **refugee** last month fulfilled a goal for the 2016 fiscal year that President Obama announced last September. Though they are a small fraction of the millions who have fled Syria, the concern among many conservative voters that the **refugees** could incubate domestic terrorism remains potent.

Gov. Robert J. Bentley of Alabama and Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas have filed separate lawsuits challenging the Obama administration's **refugee** policy, but those efforts have sputtered in the federal courts.

The Rev. Franklin Graham, a son of the Rev. Billy Graham, has said that he agreed with Mr. Trump's idea of a ban on **immigration** by Muslims. In an interview last week, Franklin Graham said that he remained concerned about gaps in the screening process for **refugees**, and has argued that the United States should rely on aid efforts closer to the Middle East to help resolve the humanitarian crisis.

''We're not just leaving them on the side of the road, but we also care for this country and the people of this nation,'' Mr. Graham said. ''We have to put America first.''

His stance is at odds with some influential Christians, including the leaders of the Southern Baptist Convention. In June, the convention approved a resolution to ''encourage Southern Baptist churches and families to welcome and adopt **refugees** into their churches and homes as a means to demonstrate to the nations that our God longs for every tribe, tongue and nation to be welcomed at his throne.''

Dr. Russell D. Moore, the president of the group's Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission, said there was ''a clear distinction on this issue between the church and the rest of American society.''

Politicians, even those generally closely tied to religious conservatives, were often just being politicians, he said.

''It's not unusual that we have politicians timid in the face of fear,'' Mr. Moore said. ''But the task of the church is a different one. The church is called to see the image of God in all people and to minister Christ's presence to all people. That's what churches are doing.''

Officials at the nongovernment organizations that resettle **refugees** say members of the Mormon Church have been particularly helpful in resettling Syrian **refugees** in states like Utah, Texas and Arizona. Mormons historically tend to favor Republicans, but some polls in the spring showed Hillary Clinton, the Democratic presidential nominee, tied with Mr. Trump in heavily Mormon Utah, a state Democrats have not won since 1964.

Mr. Trump's position on Muslims may be a factor. In December, soon after Mr. Trump announced his idea for a Muslim ban, the Mormon Church issued a statement reasserting its commitment to religious liberty. On Monday, the church, responding to what it called ''the global **refugee** crisis,'' donated $2 million to two groups that help resettle **refugees**: the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops and the International Rescue Committee.

In Marietta, Mr. Stocks has made some strides in the three months he has been teaching Anwar and Daleen, even though he has little experience as a teacher. (Mr. Stocks is a project manager in construction.) On Wednesday, with his guidance, the couple wrote out the months of the year in English, recited their birthdays and responded to simple questions about their children. A yellow sticky note on the wall said ''wall.'' One on a door said ''door.''

Anwar was asked what he wanted to do after recovering from his heart surgery. ''Work,'' he said -- any kind of work.

''These are the most hospitable and loving people you'll ever meet, which is why it's frustrating to see the different things on the news that all these people are terrorists,'' Mr. Stocks said. ''They don't know these people personally.''

Mr. Stocks's church, Johnson Ferry, is one of 1,055 churches that in the past year worked with World Relief, an evangelical resettlement organization, to help **refugees** and **immigrants**. The Rev. Bryant Wright, the senior pastor of Johnson Ferry, acknowledged the possibility that there could be dangers in admitting the Syrians to the United States. ''I know there's risk,'' he said. ''I'm not being naïve.''

But Pastor Wright said that Jesus commanded his disciples, in the Book of Matthew, to ''make disciples of all nations.''

He also said that there were worldly reasons to help. ''Think of it from a strictly practical standpoint,'' he said. ''Would it be better for these people to see Americans reaching out with love, and showing them all of the blessings Americans can have? Or do we turn our backs on them, and make them more sympathetic to Islamic terrorism?''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Is there actually a case for the Wall?

Donald Trump's boast to build a ''big, beautiful'' wall along the southern border clearly provided a lift to his candidacy, arguably delivering him the Republican presidential nomination. Along with his promise to deport millions of **immigrants** who are living in the United States without legal authorization, it remains the leitmotif of his campaign, despite occasional bursts of softer rhetoric.

Mr. Trump is not wrong that **immigration** from Mexico and other countries in the poorer south over the last quarter-century has injured some American workers who competed with **immigrants** in the job market. It is not his concern alone; similar fears are shared by organized labor and others on the left of the political spectrum. Improbable as this may sound, the question he raises is legitimate.

But even looking at a best-case situation, the answer is still straightforward: No. Even if you care only about the workers most hurt by new **immigrant** labor, Mr. Trump's proposals simply aren't worth the cost.

In an article in the Journal of Economic Perspectives scheduled to be published this fall, Gordon H. Hanson and Craig McIntosh of the University of California, San Diego, lay out the most obvious reason walling off Mexico would be pointless: Mexicans aren't coming anymore.

Those arriving in the 1980s and 1990s were born in the 1960s and 1970s, when Mexico's fertility rate was as high as seven children per woman. Mexico was hit by repeated macroeconomic crises. To Mexicans growing up at the time, the prospect of a job in the prosperous American economy of that era was worth braving the Arizona desert and the Border Patrol.

Mexico is a different country today. It is older. Since 1970, fertility rates have declined to just above the replacement rate of 2.1. Its labor supply is growing at about the same pace as that in the United States. And though Mexico is still much poorer, it is no longer prone to crises and unemployment spikes every couple of years.

''The completion of the demographic transition in most of the Western Hemisphere leaves one to wonder whether the benefits of continued U.S. enforcement spending will justify its costs,'' Professors Hanson and McIntosh concluded.

Of course, this won't settle the argument to the satisfaction of Mr. Trump's angry base of white working-class men. And perhaps the demographic analysis has blind spots. What about unauthorized **immigrants** from Africa and the Middle East, where fertility rates remain high, conflicts frequent and job prospects poor?

They might not be stopped with a literal wall -- they are more likely to arrive legally and overstay their visa. But don't they justify spending more on **immigration**enforcement?

I can't think of anybody among the ranks of top **immigration** experts who would make for a better adviser to the Trump campaign than George J. Borjas. Over a long and prolific career, Mr. Borjas, a prominent Harvard economist, has written innumerable papers and books making a case for fewer **immigrants** and more restrictive **immigration** policies.

He has advocated a points system to favor more highly skilled migrants, arguing that the quality of **immigrants** deteriorated since national quotas were abolished in 1965. That opened the door to Mexicans and others of less schooling and skill, more likely to rely on public benefits. Perhaps most uncomfortably for those on the left, he forcefully makes the case that **immigration** hurts less-skilled Americans, those in most direct competition against low-wage **immigrants** from south of the border.

But even Mr. Borjas's dire conclusions about the damage inflicted by **immigration** on American-born workers makes a weak case for tougher border controls.

Mr. Borjas is not advising Mr. Trump. But he has waded into the political arena, once advising Pete Wilson, a Republican governor of California who ran a successful uphill battle for re-election in 1994 by proposing to bar illegal **immigrants** from schools and other government services.

Mr. Borjas acknowledges that the **immigration** surge to the United States from 1990 to 2010 produced a net benefit to the economy -- $50 billion a year, according to a report to be published one of these days by the National Academies of Science. Still, he notes, none of this went to workers. Workers who dropped out of high school, he states, lost big.

Professor Borjas's economic research, outlined in his 2014 book ''**Immigration** Economics'' (Harvard University Press) and reiterated in his coming ''We Wanted Workers'' (W. W. Norton), concluded that the two-decade **immigration** binge cut the wages of American-born high school dropouts over the long term by 3.1 percent. This penalty, which takes into account how businesses would react by investing more in enterprises that could profit from the new **immigrant** labor, amounts to about $900 a year.

This analysis has been criticized by other scholars for making assumptions that make the picture look bleaker than it really is. For instance, it assumes that undocumented **immigrants** without a high school diploma are perfect substitutes for American workers without a high school diploma, an implausible proposition on language grounds alone.

But my argument is blunter: 3.1 percent, so what?

This is not to be callous. Of course $900 makes a difference to a worker making less than $30,000 a year. Nonetheless, a pay cut of 3.1 percent for 10 percent of the American work force seems modest compared with the price tag of ramping up **immigration** enforcement. What's more, there are probably cheaper and more effective policies available than walls and police officers on the border.

Today **immigration** enforcement costs $30 billion a year and, by Mr. Trump's own account, the border still feels like Swiss cheese. Should that be doubled? Quadrupled? What about the cost of finding and deporting 11 million people who have made their lives in the United States, in many cases having children who have a legal right to stay?

More significantly, perhaps, is the immense cost to the **immigrants** themselves -- measured in lost opportunities to achieve a better life. This may be of no concern to Mr. Trump's supporters. But it is worth pondering the cost to Mexican stability -- and its knock-on effect on the United States -- had Mexico suffered through the many crises of the 1980s and 1990s without the escape valve of migration.

And for all Mr. Trump's charges about **immigrants** becoming public charges, living at taxpayers' expense, noncitizens are barred by law from most means-tested federal programs. While their children benefit from public education, most of those children are United States citizens, and their education is an investment that will pay off down the road, when they grow up to pay their share of taxes.

American **immigration** policy over the last couple of decades may look like a mess. Still, ''if we could turn back the clock,'' Mr. Hanson said, ''I'm not sure we would have done things differently.''

And if economics teaches us anything, it is that much of the money could have been better spent on something else.

Instead of a new wall, how about an expanded earned-income tax credit? Or how about more training for low-skilled workers? ''Where should **immigration** policy be among the options to help workers with stagnant wages?'' Mr. Hanson asked. ''I think it should be pretty far down the list.''

For all his skepticism about the benefits from **immigration**, this is something even Mr. Borjas might agree with.

''Maybe we have to think about **immigration** in broader terms,'' he told me. ''Maybe the discussion should not be just about who gets a green card but about how the benefits of **immigration** could be more evenly distributed. That would clarify what is at stake.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**A national poll released Tuesday shows that Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton are entering the final stretch of the presidential race essentially tied, and the survey revealed a country deeply divided on a racial and gender lines ahead of the November election.

A survey from CNN/ORC shows 45 percent of likely voters backing Mr. Trump, the Republican nominee, and 43 percent supporting Mrs. Clinton, the Democratic standard-bearer. Gary Johnson, the Libertarian Party candidate who is banking on late surge in the polls to be included in the presidential debates, sits in third place at 7 percent.

The poll suggests that the post-convention bounces have subsided and that Mr. Trump has weathered a difficult August, in which he shuffled staff members, insulted a Gold Star family and confused voters about his **immigration** policy. But Mrs. Clinton continues to face questions about her honesty, and new revelations about her email practices as secretary of state have cast a shadow over her campaign.

Mrs. Clinton was leading most national and state polls after the Democratic National Convention in late July, but Mr. Trump has gradually been gaining some ground in recent weeks. She still has the upper hand in most of the crucial swing states, such as Pennsylvania and Florida, that will likely decide the election.

The contours of the race remain relatively unchanged, according to the CNN poll. Mrs. Clinton continues to hold large leads with women, minorities and voters with college degrees. Mr. Trump does best with men, white voters and those who did not go to college.

On issues, Mr. Trump is seen as the strongest candidate to manage the economy and handle terrorism, while Mrs. Clinton wins on foreign policy and has an edge on **immigration**.

Voters view Mr. Trump as being the more honest candidate, but they prefer Mrs. Clinton's temperament when it comes to being best suited to be commander in chief. Last week, Mr. Trump engaged in a Twitter spat with the president of Mexico, raising questions about his ability to deal with other world leaders.

But Mr. Trump, who has been moderating his positions recently, has also gained an advantage over Mrs. Clinton when it comes to appealing to independent voters. Nearly half of those queried say they would vote for the Republican nominee, while 29 percent say they would vote for Mrs. Clinton.

Although the poll does not indicate whether Mr. Johnson is pulling voters from either candidate, his supporters tend to be younger and more highly educated -- suggesting that they would be more likely to be potential backers of Mrs. Clinton.

The poll had a margin of error of plus or minus four percentage points.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PARIS -- One of the most popular items on the social networks as Nicolas Sarkozy opened his new presidential bid last month was a video of an interview he gave to the French news channel BFM-TV on March 8, 2012. Still president then, Mr. Sarkozy was seeking a second five-year term, with François Hollande running against him. Asked whether he would quit politics if he lost, he firmly answered, ''Yes.'' The journalist was taken aback. ''Will you quit politics?'' he asked again, incredulous. ''You can ask me a third time,'' the president shot back. ''I'm telling you: yes.''

Four years later, ''Sarko'' is back. Just like his interviewer that day, nobody in France quite believed that this man, who admitted as early as 2003 that he thought all the time about running for president, could live without the adrenaline of a life in politics. In 2012, it took him a few months to recover from defeat, but soon enough he was maneuvering to take back his right-wing party, renaming it Les Républicains and putting his people in charge. In a book published last January, ''La France pour la vie'' (''France Forever''), a seemingly humbled Mr. Sarkozy acknowledged a few mistakes and tried to portray himself as a new man. This was the first stage of his campaign.

A second book, published last week, ''Tout pour la France'' (''All for France''), provided a springboard for formally starting his candidacy for the presidential election next April. Written in July in the privacy of the Riviera mansion owned by his wife, Carla Bruni, so hurriedly that spelling mistakes were overlooked, the book argues that Nicolas Sarkozy had to come back, for one simple reason: France needs him, just as France needed Charles de Gaulle in 1958.

In a way, this is reassuring: He has not changed. The image of a humbled, apologetic politician was short-lived -- all the more so since it did him no favors in the opinion polls. Better go back to the original. The Sarko we knew is back, with a vengeance.

It is not so easy to run again when you have been ejected from office by a clear majority of voters (he lost to Mr. Hollande by more than three percentage points). Neither is it easy to run again when every poll since you've been back in the political arena shows an intense dislike among a large group of voters and a high rate of negative opinions. But one thing Nicolas Sarkozy, 61, does not lack is political ambition. However unpopular, he will do whatever it takes to come back.

The fight will be harder this time, despite President Hollande's dismal standing in opinion polls. Mr. Sarkozy's problem is that he first needs to win a primary in November. He is no longer the champion of the right, but rather the challenger: His former foreign minister, Alain Juppé, 71, leads in the primary race. And a former prime minister, François Fillon, who is also running, is crucifying his ex-boss for comparing himself to de Gaulle. (''Can you imagine de Gaulle under investigation?'' he lashed out recently, in a reference to long-running charges against Mr. Sarkozy of illegal campaign financing.)

So why should France need Mr. Sarkozy in 2017 if it did not want him in 2012? Because, as he explains in his new book, this is not the same country. The situation created by the recent wave of terrorist attacks requires a strong, experienced man at the helm, this argument goes. ''I felt I had the strength to lead this battle at such a tormented moment in our history,'' he wrote. Some saw in the title ''All for France'' a reference to a book written by Jacques Chirac for his 1995 campaign, ''La France pour tous'' (''France for All''). By reversing the proposition, Mr. Sarkozy hopes that his new patriotic spirit will erase the worst memories he left -- of his obsessive ego, his arrogance, his bragging and his bellicosity.

Will he succeed? Convinced that next year's election will be fought on the right, rather than at the center, the former president is making a huge wager. The No. 1 issue of this campaign, he thinks, will not be the economy, which he did not have the courage to reform when he was in office, but France, war and Islam: It's the identity, stupid.

This is a risky bet. Where Mr. Juppé aims to unify and pacify, Mr. Sarkozy is unabashedly divisive. **Immigration**, he says, took a wrong turn in 1976 when President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing allowed families to join economic **immigrants** in France. Since then, he argues, things have been out of control. He advocates stopping economic **immigration** for five years, reasoning that integrating **immigrants** is an old-fashioned concept that has failed. He paints France as a country ''forced'' by ''the ideologues of multiculturalism and the sociologists of inequality'' to give up the mission of assimilating newcomers. ''Assimilate means not only acquiring French citizenship but also France's values, culture and way of life,'' he has written. ''We are not Anglo-Saxons who allow communities to live side by side, ignoring each other.''

Just as Donald J. Trump wants to ''make America great again,'' Nicolas Sarkozy wants to ''make France proud again.'' Schoolbooks, he says, should ''make our country loved, not make it feel guilty.'' He advocates ''a French Islam, not Islam in France.'' And oh, yes, of course he wants to ban the burkini.

The whole question is whether, even in such tense times, the French are ready for another dose of Sarko. Patriotism is indeed on the rise, but not in a divisive way. **Immigration** and Islam are certainly worth a debate, and will most likely dominate the campaign in the coming months, but the country needs firefighters, not arsonists. Incendiary politics is Marine Le Pen's territory; Mr. Sarkozy's plan, obviously, is to siphon off as many votes as he can from her National Front. But he has been down that road before, and it has not served him well. Indeed, the mood has changed France since the current wave of terrorist attacks began in January 2015. But the turn has not been toward confrontation, and Nicolas Sarkozy may well have misjudged it.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON -- Outlining the first, tentative details of how she intends to leave the European Union without damaging Britain's economy, Prime Minister Theresa May on Monday ruled out the type of **immigration** curbs championed by prominent supporters of withdrawal before June's referendum on quitting the bloc.

In a news conference at the Group of 20 summit meeting in China, Mrs. May said Britain would not adopt the points-based system used by Australia, a model advocated by senior Leave campaigners, including Boris Johnson, now Britain's foreign secretary. Under this system, migrants are rated according to age, education and other qualifications, with those scoring highest favored.

Mrs. May, who has said little about her strategy for Britain's exit from the European Union , or ''Brexit,'' said she would cut migration, but did so in reassuring tones. Emphasizing that Britons had opted for ''an element of control'' over the free movement of workers from the Continent, she said there were ''various ways'' that could be achieved. She also kept open the option of favoring Europeans over non-Europeans in any new migration system.

Her comments highlight the difficult balancing act she faces now that her favored sound bite -- ''Brexit means Brexit'' -- has reached the end of its shelf life. She is facing a growing clamor for clarity on issues like migration curbs and calls to maintain the unfettered access to the European market that many businesses and financial institutions prize.

She received little help on Monday in fleshing out that detail from the minister responsible for negotiating Britain's exit, David Davis. Speaking to Parliament, he provided few details, but he argued that Mrs. May had rejected a points-based **immigration** system because it was ''too open-ended.'' He added that Britain's new plans might be ''more rigorous.''

Mr. Davis said he wanted to build a ''national consensus'' around a negotiating position for Brexit but added that the government in Scotland -- where voters largely favored remaining in the European Union -- would not be given a veto over withdrawal.

''We will, by the end of this process, have left the European Union , and put the sovereignty and supremacy of this Parliament beyond doubt,'' he said.

The government's halting efforts were ridiculed by its opponents. ''This Govt really is up #Brexit creek without a paddle,'' Nick Clegg, a Liberal Democratic former deputy prime minister, said on Twitter . ''More round tables? Is that all they've come up with?''

As a member of the European Union , Britain is part of Europe's single market of around 500 million people but, as a quid pro quo, accepts the free movement of workers across national frontiers.

Many employers want to keep the right to recruit foreign workers, and one business federation, the Institute of Directors , said a points-based system, already used by Britain for non-European migrants, was ''hopelessly bureaucratic, governed by 13 different acts of Parliament and creating 1,400 categories of **immigrant**.''

But curbing **immigration** from the European mainland was one of the main demands of the Leave campaign, and on Monday, Nigel Farage, the former leader of the pro-Brexit U.K. Independence Party, criticized Mrs. May's dismissal of the points-based **immigration** system.

Other critics complain that several pledges from the Leave campaign that persuaded voters to support withdrawal -- including a promise of millions of pounds a week in health care spending -- now lie in tatters, suggesting that the British people were misled.

Yet the greater unknown is whether foreign-owned manufacturers and financial institutions will abandon Britain if Brexit restricts their access to European markets or leads to import or export tariffs with the Continent.

Those worries were underscored in a blunt warning, made public on Sunday, from Japan, which said its companies might move some operations if Brexit was mishandled.

''Japanese businesses with their European headquarters in the U.K. may decide to transfer their head-office function to Continental Europe if E.U. laws cease to be applicable in the U.K. after its withdrawal,'' said a document released by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs .

Aside from a steep fall in the British pound, the economic fallout from the vote has so far been less pronounced than critics had predicted, and on Monday there was positive survey data from the important services sector.

However, ministers are aware that these are early days and that Britain has yet to start formal negotiations on its exit, something Mrs. May has said will not happen before next year. In an interview broadcast Sunday, Mrs. May also sought to manage expectations by telling the BBC that Britain needs to be prepared for some ''difficult times'' and that the withdrawal will not be ''plain sailing.''

But while British lawmakers on Monday also discussed a petition, signed by more than four million people, demanding a fresh vote, the government adamantly opposed a second referendum.

Mr. Davis told Parliament that there must be ''no attempt to delay, frustrate or thwart the will of the British people'' and ''no attempt to engineer a second referendum because some people didn't like the first answer.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump has devoted most of the past two weeks to discussing **immigration**, even though only 8 percent of Americans rank it as ''the most important problem facing this country today,'' according to a recent Gallup poll.

But within that thin slice of the electorate reside Mr. Trump's staunchest supporters, the ''alternative right,'' or alt-right. The Southern Poverty Law Center calls the alt-right ''a set of far-right ideologies, groups and individuals whose core belief is that 'white identity' is under attack by multicultural forces using 'political correctness' and 'social justice' to undermine white people and 'their' civilization.'' Most Americans hadn't heard about the alt-right until this election, and some not until last month, when Hillary Clinton gave a speech in Reno, Nev., linking Donald Trump to it.

The term was coined in 2008 by Richard Spencer, a white supremacist whose National Policy Institute says it is ''dedicated to the heritage, identity and future of people of European descent in the United States, and around the world.'' Through his online writings and YouTube channel, Mr. Spencer is a key player in the social-media universe where this core group of Trump supporters get their ''news,'' from sources with which most people aren't familiar. A quick scan shows that **immigration** is not only their most important issue, it's pretty much their only issue.

''**Immigration** is a kind of proxy war -- and maybe a last stand -- for White Americans, who are undergoing a painful recognition that, unless dramatic action is taken, their grandchildren will live in a country that is **alien** and hostile,'' Mr. Spencer wrote in a National Policy Institute column.

Infowars is another website that puts **immigration** front and center. The site was created by the radio commentator/conspiracy theorist Alex Jones, who is the source of Mr. Trump's false claim that thousands of New Jersey Muslims celebrated 9/11, and on whose show Mr. Trump said: ''Your reputation is amazing. I will not let you down.'' Infowars called Mr. Trump's slashing anti-**immigrant** rant on Wednesday ''an excellent speech sure to win him support from those who've been conned by the lying media into thinking he's some evil demon creature when the truth is he's a man with a heart of gold.''

Mr. Trump says he isn't signaling the alt-right when he says of **immigrants**, as he did again on Wednesday: ''We have no idea who these people are, where they come from. I always say Trojan Horse. Watch what's going to happen, folks. It's not going to be pretty.'' Or when he said -- in a line widely quoted on alt-right websites -- ''There is only one core issue in the **immigration** debate and it is this: the well-being of the American people.'' Mr. Trump's white supremacist followers don't take his disavowals too seriously. After all, he has enthusiastically retweeted bogus crime statistics and incendiary imagery from these websites and hired one of their biggest lights, Stephen Bannon of Breitbart News, to manage his campaign.

There aren't enough of these people to put Mr. Trump in the White House. But his candidacy has granted them the legitimacy they have craved for years. For the first time, a candidate is using a major-party megaphone to shout the ideas they once could only mutter among themselves in the shadowy fringes of national debate.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It's probably just a piece of cosmic spam, the astrophysical equivalent of butt dialing. But nobody really knows for sure.

The attention of the world's astronomers has been riveted these last few days on a star in the constellation Hercules, wondering if the end of humanity's cosmic loneliness was finally at hand.

It was from that spot in Hercules that a team of Russian radio astronomers recorded a two-second burst of radio waves last year on May 15. But the Russians did not follow the usual protocol of alerting other observatories that could confirm the signal, and as a result nobody else knew about the pulse until a few days ago.

That putative signal had the potential to be the fantasied ''Hi there,'' from another world that practitioners of the field known as SETI, the search for extraterrestrial intelligence, have been looking for over the last century. Or it could simply be a false alarm from terrestrial interference, a stray military transmission or some rare astrophysical misunderstanding.

Astronomers already knew there was at least one planet, about 17 times the mass of Earth, circling that star, which is 94 light years from here and goes by the unheroic designation of HD164595.

But there were also problems, the Russians, led by Alexander Panov of Lomonosov Moscow State University, realized. The signal appeared only once in 39 observations, and to produce the observed signal at such a distance would take a transmitter with the power of at least a trillion watts, comparable to the total energy consumption of all humankind.

Moreover, the design of the Russian telescope, known as Ratan-600, a giant circle of antennas in the Caucasus near Georgia, leaves it susceptible, astronomers say, to radiation from unwanted directions, increasing the chances of interference from military or other terrestrial sources.

Word finally got out a few days ago. Claudio Maccone, a member of the team and chairman of the SETI committee of the International Academy of Astronautics, circulated a description of the observations in advance of a SETI meeting to be held on Sept. 27 in Guadalajara, Mexico. While the report did not claim that this was an **alien** detection, it did say, ''Permanent monitoring of this target is needed.''

In an email on Aug. 29, Dr. Maccone said he agreed. ''I certainly share the view that it is likely not an intelligent signal,'' he said. ''Nevertheless it had to be PUBLISHED, rather than being kept secret for over a year, and this is what I did: convince the Russians to publish it.''

After the astronomy writer Paul Gilster reported it on his blog Centauri Dreams, the signal went supernova on the internet.

But so far the results have been zilch. Starting on the evening of Aug. 28, astronomers from the SETI Institute of Mountain View, Calif., swung into action with the Allen Telescope Array, a set of antennas in Hat Creek, Calif., built specifically to look for **alien** broadcasts.

After two nights of observing, Seth Shostak, spokesman for the institute reported, ''We covered the frequencies observed by the Russians and more ... No dice.''

Meanwhile astronomers from Breakthrough Listen, a new SETI project funded by the Russian philanthropist and entrepreneur Yuri Milner, used the Green Bank Telescope, in Green Bank, W.Va., the world's largest steerable radio dish, to check out the star. They found nothing but noise.

Indeed, according to Tass, the Russian news agency, the researchers had also concluded that their signal was a result of terrestrial interference. The observatory, the researcher Yulia Sotnikova said, was preparing an official disclaimer of any media claims of extraterrestrial contact.

Everybody plans to keep looking, but for now the Hercules signal seems destined to join the other false alarms that have characterized the SETI endeavor, most notably the ''wow'' signal that appeared on the printout of an Ohio State radio telescope in 1977 but never reappeared.

As Dr. Maccone said: ''There were similar cases in the past, and probably there will be more in the future. The point is to PUBLISH everything and EXCHANGE DATA worldwide about the stars where they come from.''

Astronomers have been trying to tune in E.T. ever since Frank Drake, now at the University of California, Santa Cruz, aimed an antenna in 1960 at a pair of stars and thought he heard a signal -- the first false alarm.

But nothing has been able to discourage astronomers from a notion that is as powerful and simple as a poem: Radio signals can bridge the gulfs between stars more cheaply than spacecraft, allowing distant species to communicate by a sort of cosmic ham radio or galactic internet.

There are more than 100 billion stars in the Milky Way and some nine billion radio channels on which to listen -- a ''cosmic haystack'' in the vernacular, of which only a minuscule fraction has been sampled to date.

There is a lively and rich literature on what channels **aliens** might use and what kind of signals they might send, and an equally rich literature on why we haven't seen any evidence of them (outside of the racks in supermarkets).

Among the possible answers is that we are under quarantine, or that technological species kill themselves off before they get to the stage of reaching out.

Or perhaps that we simply don't have any idea what we are looking for. We know of only one example of life and intelligence in the universe, Jill Tarter of the SETI Institute once told me. That is of course our own biosphere.

''In this field,'' she said, ''number two is the all-important number. We count one, two, infinity. We're all looking for number two.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CLEVELAND -- Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump ran virtually parallel campaigns on Monday as they geared up for the final stretch of the presidential race. She made nice with the news media by opening up her campaign plane and chatting with reporters. He followed suit, inviting a smaller group of reporters onto his plane and answering questions during the 30-minute flight.

She took along her running mate, and so did he, as both focused on Ohio and nearly crossed paths in Cleveland. Their motorcades all but passed each other, and all four candidates' planes ended up on the tarmac at Cleveland Hopkins International Airport at the same time.

Mrs. Clinton moved on several fronts on Monday to confront nagging doubts about her candidacy, despite her comfortable lead in many swing-state polls. Courting labor supporters, she met with union leaders in Cleveland while her husband, Bill Clinton, appeared at a Labor Day parade in Detroit. Seeking the backing of progressive voters, she enlisted her primary opponent, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, who made his first solo appearance on Mrs. Clinton's behalf at a rally in New Hampshire.

And her outreach to reporters included her most extensive question-and-answer session with them in months. She expressed alarm ''about the credible reports about Russian government interference in our elections'' through hacking, saying, ''We've never had a foreign adversarial power be already involved in our electoral process.''

Not to be outdone, Mr. Trump used his airborne meeting with reporters to clarify his views on **immigration**, saying he opposed any path to citizenship for the 11 million **immigrants** in the country illegally. But he did not explicitly rule out a long-term path to legal status if the nation's **immigration** system is overhauled.

''We're going to make that decision into the future,'' Mr. Trump said. But, he added, ''to become a citizen, you are going to have to go out and come back in through the process. You're going to have to go out and get in line. This isn't touchback. You have to get in line.''

On the plane, Mr. Trump also told reporters that, ''as of this moment,'' he planned to attend all three debates, and that only a ''natural disaster'' could make him change his mind. He added that, while he was preparing, he was not holding mock debate sessions.

Labor Day is traditionally the beginning of a two-month sprint to Election Day, in which candidates try to seize voters' attention as summer fades and debates loom. Monday was no exception. The visits to Ohio by Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton -- along with their respective running mates, Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana and Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia -- highlighted the importance of a state that Republicans believe Mr. Trump must win to have any shot of reaching the White House.

''Labor Day comes, and it's kind of like a recalibration,'' said Beth Myers, who managed Mitt Romney's 2008 presidential campaign and served as his senior adviser in 2012. ''You see the finish line, you see that there's not too many game-changing events left, and most campaigns take a measure of where you are on Labor Day.''

This cycle, however, both candidates have eschewed traditional campaigning, albeit in divergent ways. Normally, they would already have been circling each other in swing states.

But Mrs. Clinton has spent most of the summer away from the campaign trail, focusing on fund-raising in places like the Hamptons and Beverly Hills with celebrities like Jimmy Buffett and Harvey Weinstein. Mr. Trump has also kept a languid pace, favoring large rallies, often in the evening, over several daily stops.

Mr. Trump, a political novice, and Mrs. Clinton, a veteran politician, are confronting historically low approval ratings among voters for whom they are well-known commodities.

''Labor Day used to be this big, important marker in the campaign season,'' said Amy Walter, the national editor at the nonpartisan Cook Political Report. ''A kickoff, if you will. Today, it feels like the start of the third quarter instead of the kickoff.''

''The candidates are well-defined, the ads have been running for months and TVs have been saturated with talking heads,'' she added.

Mr. Trump tried to burnish his image as a statesman last week with a hastily arranged trip to Mexico City. He has also tried to increase his outreach to minorities, from a promised ''softening'' on **immigration** that concluded with a fiery, nativist speech in Phoenix, to a stop at a black church in Detroit.

That approach was also on display on Monday. At a diner in Cleveland, Mr. Trump met Maria Hernandez, a Mexican-American who said she was supporting him. ''Mexican-American supports Trump,'' he said. ''It's so nice.'' Then he turned to the nearby reporters to emphasize his focus group of one: ''Make a note of it, guys,'' he said.

Earlier, speaking to a dozen white men and a lone white woman at an American Legion post here, Mr. Trump criticized China's treatment of President Obama: When the president landed in Hangzhou for the Group of 20 summit meeting, the host country forced him to disembark from the plane's belly. Mr. Trump said he would not have gotten off the plane, but instead would have urged his crew to ''get out of here.''

Mrs. Clinton's appearance in Cleveland was meant as a show of labor support during a campaign in which many rank-and-file union members were drawn to Mr. Sanders's promise to take on income inequality. At a Labor Day festival here, she and Mr. Kaine were joined by the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s president, Richard L. Trumka; Lee Saunders, the president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Randi Weingarten, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, one of the first unions to endorse Mrs. Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton's surrogates were also out in force. In Pittsburgh, Mr. Kaine and the man he hopes to succeed, Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., spoke at a rally before the city's Labor Day parade. Mr. Kaine assailed Mr. Trump for refusing to release his tax returns, then turned the stage over to Mr. Biden.

''My name is Joe Biden, and I work for Hillary Clinton and whatever the hell this guy's name is,'' he said.

Mr. Sanders, at a rally in Lebanon, N.H., praised Mrs. Clinton for supporting a host of progressive positions.

''I would hope and ask you all, very much, that we have got to do everything we can to make sure that Hillary Clinton is elected president,'' he said. ''But two days after the election, we have got to continue the pressure.''

Addressing an issue that has dogged the campaign, Mr. Clinton defended the Clinton Foundation. And he criticized Mr. Trump over his own foundation, referring to a Washington Post report that found that his charitable organization paid the Internal Revenue Service a $2,500 penalty this year after improperly giving a political contribution to a campaign group with ties to the attorney general of Florida, Pam Bondi.

Mr. Trump discussed the issue in his talk with reporters aboard his plane. He denied any impropriety on either his part or Ms. Bondi's concerning the $25,000 donation.

At the time of the donation in 2013, Ms. Bondi was considering whether to investigate Trump University for fraud. In the end, she did not do so.

''I never spoke to her, first of all, she's a fine person beyond reproach,'' he said when asked about the controversy. ''I never even spoke to her about it at all. She's a fine person. Never spoken to her about it. Never.''

Many attorneys general besides Ms. Bondi, he said, decided against pursuing any action regarding Trump University. ''I'll win that case in court,'' he said. ''Many turned that down.''

''I never spoke to her,'' he added, again referring to Ms. Bondi.

When asked what he expected to get out of the donation, he would only say: ''I've just known Pam Bondi for years. I have a lot of respect for her. Never spoke to her about that at all. I just have a lot of respect for her, and she's very popular.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**TAARNBY, Denmark -- Johnny Christensen, a stout and silver-whiskered retired bank employee, always thought of himself as sympathetic to people fleeing war and welcoming to **immigrants**. But after more than 36,000 mostly Muslim asylum seekers poured into Denmark over the past two years, Mr. Christensen, 65, said, ''I've become a racist.''

He believes these new migrants are draining Denmark's cherished social-welfare system but failing to adapt to its customs. ''Just kick them out,'' he said, unleashing a mighty kick at an imaginary target on a suburban sidewalk. ''These Muslims want to keep their own culture, but we have our own rules here and everyone must follow them.''

Denmark, a small and orderly nation with a progressive self-image, is built on a social covenant: In return for some of the world's highest wages and benefits, people are expected to work hard and pay into the system. Newcomers must quickly learn Danish -- and adapt to norms like keeping tidy gardens and riding bicycles.

The country had little experience with **immigrants** until 1967, when the first ''guest workers'' were invited from Turkey, Pakistan and what was then Yugoslavia. Its 5.7 million people remain overwhelmingly native born, though the percentage has dropped to 88 today from 97 in 1980.

Bo Lidegaard, a prominent historian, said many Danes feel strongly that ''we are a multiethnic society today, and we have to realize it -- but we are not and should never become a multicultural society.''

The recent influx pales next to the one million migrants absorbed into Germany or the 163,000 into Sweden last year, but the pace shocked this stable, homogeneous country. The center-right government has backed harsh measures targeting migrants, hate speech has spiked, and the anti-**immigrant** Danish People's Party is now the second largest in Parliament.

Some of the same hostilities were reflected this weekend in Germany, where voters in Chancellor Angela Merkel's home state embraced anti-**immigrant**candidates -- an emphatic rejection of her **refugee** policy.

There is new tension between Danes still opening their arms and a resurgent right wing that seeks to ban all Muslims and shut Denmark off from Europe. Mr. Christensen, the retired banker, supports emerging proposals for his country to follow Britain in exiting the European Union.

There is tension, too, over whether the backlash is really about a strain on Denmark's generous public benefits or a rising terrorist threat -- or whether a longstanding but latent racial hostility is being unearthed.

Analysts say that the public voiced little opposition after 5,000 Poles and 3,300 Americans, among other Westerners, emigrated to Denmark in 2014, but that there has been significant criticism of the nearly 16,000 Syrian asylum seekers who arrived that year and the next. They and other migrants were not invited, and many ended up here by accident, intercepted on their route to Sweden.

Critics complain that these newcomers have been slow to learn Danish -- though the **Immigration** Ministry recently reported that 72 percent passed a required language exam. Some Danes bristle at what they see as ethnic enclaves: About 30 percent of new **immigrants** lived in the nation's two largest cities, Aarhus and Copenhagen, where Muslim women in abayas and men in prayer caps stand out among the blond and blue-eyed crowds on narrow streets.

Perhaps the leading -- and most substantive -- concern is that the migrants are an economic drain. In 2014, 48 percent of **immigrants** from non-Western countries ages 16 to 64 were employed, compared with 74 percent of native Danes.

The **Immigration** Ministry has sought to avoid what it calls ''parallel societies'' of migrants living in ''vicious circles of bad image, social problems and a high rate of unemployment.'' Tightened **immigration** requirements, the ministry said in its latest annual report, weed out those ''who have weaker capabilities for being able to integrate into Danish society.''

Omar Mahmoud, 34, an Iraqi engineer who entered Denmark a year ago and lives in a **refugee** center in Randers, a city of 60,000, is trying his best to fit in. He and his wife are taking Danish classes, and their three children are learning the language and making Danish friends in school. They are Muslim, but attend church to learn about Christianity, and he said he was not opposed to his son's eating pork, a staple of the Danish diet, though it is forbidden in Islam.

Mr. Mahmoud said his family had not encountered direct insults or threats, but was frightened by the anti-**immigrant** and anti-Muslim tenor in the public discourse.

''It's like foreigners are put in a special clan, separate from the Danish people,'' he lamented. Still, Mr. Mahmoud said that ''some of the Danish people are angels'' and that he was relieved to be far from the violence of Iraq. ''I'm in my heaven now.''

Anders Buhl-Christensen, a center-right city councilman in Randers, said the influx had forced a more honest conversation about national identity. ''Our problem in Denmark is that we've been too polite,'' he said. ''No one dared talk about'' **immigration**, he added, ''because they were afraid they'd be called racist.''

'It's not racism to be aware of the difference'

Denmark is just one of many European nations grappling with the wave of migrants amid a spate of terrorist attacks across the Continent by Islamic extremists: A recent Pew Research Center survey found that at least half the citizens in eight of 10 countries polled said incoming **refugees** increased the likelihood of terrorist attacks.

The confluence of these and other factors has prompted a re-examination of the postwar promise of a unified, borderless Europe. Macedonia, Hungary and Slovenia have all built border fences. Denmark imposed new identity controls on its border with Germany in January, and for the first time since 1958, Sweden requires entering Danes to show identity papers.

Many analysts saw Britain's surprise vote to leave the European Union as an angry expression of concern that British -- or, especially, English -- identity was being diluted by the nation's growing diversity. Debate is raging anew over whether certain Islamic modes of dress -- full-body swimsuits, known as burkinis, in France and face veils in Germany -- inherently contravene countries' values.

Similar themes are seen as underpinning a wave of new measures here in Denmark.

The government has made its citizenship test more difficult and slashed by nearly half a package of integration benefits. A measure passed in January, though rarely enforced, empowers the authorities to confiscate valuables from new arrivals to offset the cost of settling them.

Last year, Denmark placed ads in Arabic-language newspapers stressing its tough new policies, essentially suggesting: Don't come here.

Muslims do not assimilate as easily as Europeans or some Asians, said Denmark's culture minister, Bertel Haarder, partly because, as he put it, their patriarchal culture frowns on women working outside the home and often constrains freedom of speech.

''It's not racism to be aware of the difference -- it's stupid not to be aware,'' Mr. Haarder said. ''We do them a blessing by being very clear and outspoken as to what kind of country they have come to, what are our basic values.''

But much of the difference remains unspoken. This is a country where pedestrians wait for a green light to cross even when no cars are in sight, a contrast to the bustling streets of Middle Eastern capitals.

Birgitte Romme Larsen, a Danish anthropologist who has studied **refugees** and asylum seekers in rural areas, mentioned an African **refugee** who did not realize that closing his curtains during the day was interpreted as being unduly secretive. Other newcomers were not aware that congregating and talking loudly at a grocery might offend Danish sensibilities.

''These implicit expectations cannot be written into an integration folder'' migrants receive, Ms. Larsen said.

'A Dane of a different color'

Sherif Sulaiman, an organic food scientist who moved to Denmark eight years ago from Egypt, said Muslims must not close themselves off in enclaves but open themselves up for interaction.

He is the manager of an Islamic center that opened in 2014 and invites Danes in for meals and for an annual ''harmony week.'' Mr. Sulaiman pushed to have the mosque complex use Scandinavian architectural style and furniture, and lends its conference room to a church for meetings.

''We should be like this glass -- transparent,'' he said, pointing to a window. ''As long as we follow the rules of the country, we are part of Danish society.''

But some dark-skinned **immigrants** who have lived in Denmark for decades say assimilation seems an elusive and ever-shifting target.

Patricia Bandak and her brother Sylvester Bbaale came to Denmark from Uganda as babies in 1989. Like their native neighbors, they are polite and punctual and ride their bicycles everywhere.

The siblings are not Muslim but said they frequently encountered racism: In school, they were called the N word, and told that they should stop eating Ugandan food like matoke, a starchy fruit. Mr. Bbaale, 27, who operates a food truck, said he was beaten on the street last year by three men who cursed at him and told him to go back to Africa.

''For a lot of people, being Danish is in your blood, so I will never be Danish,'' said Ms. Bandak, 28, who became a Danish citizen in 2010 and is studying documentary film. ''I call myself a Dane of a different color.''

Then there is Ozlem Cekic, a Turkish-born Muslim who served as a leftist member of Parliament from 2007 to 2015. Her three children were born in Denmark, she wrote a 2009 memoir in Danish, and, she said, ''I even dream in Danish.''

Yet Mrs. Cekic, 40, said she often received death threats and heard shouts of ''Go home!'' on the street. Every time terrorists strike Europe, she is bombarded by hundreds of hate messages. Lately, people have inundated her with accusations that Muslims are milking the welfare system and plotting against Danes.

While in Parliament, Mrs. Cekic held ''dialogue coffees,'' at which she would explain -- in fluent Danish -- why she is as Danish as anyone.

''They meet me for coffee and suddenly they say their problem isn't with me but with those other people,'' she recalled. ''I tell them, 'I am the other.'''

'Denmark is closing in on itself'

Karin Andersen is one of thousands of Danes trying to help the **immigrants** settle through groups formed on Facebook called Venligboerne, or Kind Citizens. She spends several days each month with Housam Mohammed Shamden, 38, his wife and two daughters, who fled Syria in 2014 and now live in Randers, with small Danish flags taped to the front door of their apartment and tucked into flower vases.

''Danes are so concerned about losing their culture,'' said Ms. Andersen, 62, a retired teacher. ''But how many help the ones who want to be part of it?''

However many, they are often drowned out by reports of Muslims being spat at and showered with racist slurs. In May, two Danes ripped the head scarves off two girls. The month before, a national controversy erupted after a public swimming pool in Copenhagen created girls-only lessons in response to Muslim requests.

''Freedom of speech is now interpreted as freedom to say anything hateful,'' said Julie Jeeg, a law student who volunteers with an antiracism group. ''Denmark is closing in on itself. People are retreating inward.''

Witness the ''meatball war.''

In January, after revelations that a Randers day care center had stopped serving pork meatballs since its Muslim students would not eat them, the Town Council narrowly passed a measure requiring that pork be served ''on equal terms with other kinds of food.''

The councilman who pushed the measure, Frank Noergaard of the Danish People's Party, said he was incensed that ''pork could be abandoned in Denmark,'' adding, ''If you give in on pork, what's next?''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN -- A day after voters in Chancellor Angela Merkel's political home state delivered what amounted to a strong rejection of her **refugee** policy, the German leader acknowledged on Monday that she was ''very dissatisfied'' with the result but insisted that she would stick with her chosen course.

Ms. Merkel, who was attending a summit meeting in China, waited 18 hours before addressing the unprecedented third-place finish of her center-right party in state elections on Sunday in the impoverished northeastern state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, where she has her own parliamentary constituency.

The nationalist, anti-migrant Alternative for Germany finished in second place, with 21 percent of the vote, behind the center-left Social Democrats, with almost 31 percent. Ms. Merkel's Christian Democrats received 19 percent.

Ms. Merkel's bloc of Christian Democrats and their Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union, had never been overtaken on the right in any state or national election in the history of modern Germany, and the result prompted the chancellor's critics from her own camp and across the spectrum to renew speculation about her future.

''Right now, the chancellor is not hitting the right tone in almost all the areas that most concern her voters -- **refugees**, Europe, public safety,'' wrote Gabor Steingart, the publisher of the main business daily Handelsblatt, which has been among her strongest critics. ''It is a remarkably pale light which is falling on the first stateswoman these days. This is what the twilight of a chancellorship looks like.''

Facing another election in two weeks in the city-state of Berlin, and three more state ballots next year before national elections in the fall, Ms. Merkel insisted that voters would eventually come to support her **refugee** policy.

Germany has taken in almost one million **refugees**, many of them Muslims fleeing war in the Middle East, over the past year. Integrating many and deporting those who have no claim on asylum is the right course, she said.

In a hasty meeting with German reporters broadcast live from China, Ms. Merkel said that national themes -- in particular migration and integration -- had been dominant in the vote and that ''many people do not have sufficient confidence in our ability to solve this.''

''Now the name of the game is to regain trust,'' she said. ''Only with time can we solve the problems,'' not just those concerning migrants but also those dealing with fears for the future in a rapidly changing world, she added.

Ms. Merkel, who has been in power since 2005 and is Europe's longest-serving head of government, indicated that she bore some responsibility for the result on Sunday because she is the leader of the Christian Democrats and chancellor in a coalition with the center-left Social Democrats.

''Everybody has to reflect on how can we win back trust, and above all, of course, me,'' the German news agency DPA quoted her as saying in an aside to reporters at the Group of 20 summit meeting in Hangzhou, China.

Her party's general secretary, Peter Tauber, was almost the only leading Christian Democrat talking to reporters in Germany on Monday after he conceded ''bitter'' defeat in Sunday's vote.

''Angela Merkel has led Germany through several crises,'' Mr. Tauber said. ''People can rely on the fact that she will this time, too.''

But Ms. Merkel, while still enjoying ratings that many leaders would embrace, has lost popularity since the weekend exactly a year ago when she threw open German borders to migrants then trapped in Hungary.

Hundreds of thousands of migrants poured in over the months that followed, prompting her conservative allies in Bavaria's Christian Social Union, in particular, to demand a limit on the number of asylum seekers.

Ms. Merkel, the daughter of a Lutheran pastor in Communist East Germany, insisted that there was no way to impose a quota on those fleeing war and oppression.

Some Bavarian conservatives used the vote on Sunday to reiterate their demands, indicating that Ms. Merkel faces a tough fight, possibly even in her own camp, if she decides next year to seek a fourth term as chancellor.

Ms. Merkel declined on Monday, as she has in the past, to say whether she would run in 2017.

The leaders of Alternative for Germany, the far-right group that finished ahead of Ms. Merkel's party, were in a jubilant mood on Monday and vowed to keep up the pressure on the chancellor.

Sunday's loss ''is even more bitter for the Christian Democrats because it comes on Merkel's home turf,'' said Frauke Petry, one of two national leaders of the far-right party. ''And we will see to it that she continues to lose that ground.''

An analysis of the vote showed that the far right was particularly attractive to people who had not voted in previous elections in the state. Turnout went from 51 percent in the last state elections in 2011 to 61 percent. But all the major parties -- the Social Democrats, the Christian Democrats, the far-left Die Linke and even the Greens -- lost voters to the Alternative for Germany.

Jörg Meuthen, another leader of the rightist party, said the group's showing proved that it had become a mainstream force. ''In the long term, we want to govern this country,'' he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Department of Homeland Security announced late last month that it is considering ending its use of private prisons, as the Justice Department has decided to do. The Homeland Security secretary, Jeh Johnson, told his department's advisory council to study the issue and report back to him by the end of November.

That gives him only a few weeks to read, review and act before everything gets bumped to the Trump or Clinton administration. To save time, Mr. Johnson could do the wise thing and end the contracts now.

There is no need to further study the failings of the private prison industry. Mr. Johnson only has to read the Justice Department inspector general's report in August about the prevalence of safety and security problems at private prisons, or a recent Mother Jones article that looks inside a brutal, mismanaged Louisiana prison run by Corrections Corporation of America, one of two companies that dominate the **immigrant**-prison business.

Whether private prison contracts should be canceled or simply not renewed, or whether Homeland Security should contract with state or county lockups, or run its own, will need to be answered. But the administration should first be asking itself why it locks up so many **immigrants** who are not safety threats, who are not there to be punished, who in many cases are **refugees** and who are the mothers of young children or are young children.

The Obama administration has spent years endorsing and enacting smart criminal-justice reforms, including pushing back against decades of useless, degrading imprisonment of nonviolent and petty offenders. But there is one huge area where it seems immune to enlightenment: **immigration** enforcement.

**Immigration** and Customs Enforcement, known as ICE, takes about 300,000 **immigrants** a year into detention; the daily population averaged about 28,000 in fiscal 2015. About 63 percent of detainees are held in private prisons under contract with Homeland Security.

The administration's deportations have ebbed in recent years, as illegal border crossings have slowed, and President Obama has used broad executive action to defer the deportations of hundreds of thousands of young **immigrants** who are the lowest enforcement priorities. He tried to expand the program to millions more, a worthy effort that was stalled by federal courts. But despite his claims of going after ''felons, not families,'' the machinery he controls still catches too many of the wrong people.

Consider two situations. Xochitl Hernandez, a 40-year-old grandmother in Los Angeles, was arrested in an anti-gang operation by the Los Angeles Police Department and ICE. She has one misdemeanor shoplifting conviction, from 2004, but has no gang record, was not in a police gang database and was not a target of the operation. She was first held on $60,000 bond, which an **immigration** judge lowered to $5,000. Advocates are trying to raise the money to get her out. She isn't a threat to the homeland.

Then there is Berks County Residential Center, in Pennsylvania, where detainees include 22 women, recent arrivals from Central America, who went on a hunger strike in August to protest their detention. Some have been detained for months, some for a year, and all are baffled and desolate.

Mr. Johnson recently defended the practice of detaining families as necessary to screen for health problems and security risks. But the administration has no answer for why it lacks a more robust set of alternatives to detention, like monitoring in the community by local organizations that would ensure people return to court for their deportation or asylum cases. More lawyers and more judicious enforcement are the answers.

There are ways to enforce the law without mistreating a population that fits no definition of a criminal threat. The job of dismantling the prison network Mr. Obama built will pass on to Hillary Clinton, if she is elected. If it's Donald Trump, who wants to make **immigration** enforcement the federal government's overriding priority, then private incarceration, industry profits and human suffering will go through the roof.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Gary Johnson, the Libertarian candidate for president, may be on track to win more votes than any third-party candidate in 20 years, if current polling holds up.

Who are his supporters?

Mr. Johnson, a former Republican governor of New Mexico, is relying heavily on the backing of young people and independent voters disillusioned with the two major parties' nominees.

More than 70 percent of his backers are younger than 50, and over three-fifths are political independents, according to a mid-August poll by the Pew Research Center.

Over all, Mr. Johnson, who will be on the ballot in all 50 states, has the backing of 10 percent of registered voters, the Pew poll found.

Mr. Johnson's coalition is relatively diverse, particularly compared with that of Donald J. Trump, the Republican presidential nominee.

Thirteen percent of Mr. Johnson's backers are black or Latino, compared with just 6 percent for Mr. Trump.

And while just 42 percent of Mr. Trump's supporters are women, the Pew center found that Mr. Johnson's are evenly divided -- 51 percent women, 49 percent men.

Republican strategists have long said that their party must do more to appeal to voters who are younger, nonwhite and women. Mr. Trump trails Hillary Clinton, the Democratic presidential nominee, by almost 20 points among women, and by far more among minority voters, Pew found.

''Something is happening where the coalition is no longer able to appeal beyond its disparate and shrinking constituencies,'' said Michael Madrid, a principal at GrassrootsLab, a Republican consulting firm. ''That's the main problem facing Republicans.''

As Mr. Trump departs from Republican orthodoxy on issues including free trade and entitlement reform, he remains burdened by the thing that may be most unpopular about the party: its own brand. More than six in 10 Americans view the Republican Party unfavorably, according to a New York Times/CBS News poll from July.

Originally an entrepreneur, Mr. Johnson has cast himself as an alternative to Mr. Trump by focusing on reducing the size of the government while embracing a hands-off approach to social issues.

He advocates abolishing the income tax, removing regulations on internet companies and moving aggressively to balance the federal budget.

But much of Mr. Johnson's message has focused on social policy. His support for abortion rights and legalized marijuana appeals to many young people, while putting him out of step with his former party.

''When you get past the rhetoric and past the primary politics that Republicans and Democrats each have to play, the real majority of Americans are essentially fiscally responsible and socially inclusive,'' said Joe Hunter, a spokesman for Mr. Johnson.

''Right now, neither of the two major parties -- particularly the Republican Party -- is representing that view,'' Mr. Hunter said.

Mr. Johnson has strongly opposed Mr. Trump's proposal for a wall along the border with Mexico, saying instead that the government should make it easier for **immigrants** to enter the United States legally.

The ascent of Mr. Johnson -- who garnered less than 1 percent of the vote as the Libertarian candidate in 2012 -- owes partly to dissatisfaction with Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton, who both receive negative ratings from most voters. It also reflects the fact that a plurality of Americans today identify as independents.

A Washington Post/ABC News poll from August put Mr. Johnson's overall support at 8 percent, but showed him earning 14 percent among independents. He is drawing support about equally from voters who would otherwise lean toward Mr. Trump or Mrs. Clinton.

Mr. Johnson is pushing to reach 15 percent in the major national polls, which would qualify him to participate in nationally televised presidential debates.

The business mogul Ross Perot ran as an independent presidential candidate in 1992, earning 19 percent of the popular vote with a platform of socially moderate and fiscally conservative policies not unlike those of Mr. Johnson. He, too, drew most of his support from younger voters. Mr. Perot ran again in 1996 and got 8 percent of the vote.

Mr. Johnson is currently nowhere near where Mr. Perot was in 1992, when he briefly led both Bill Clinton and George Bush in the polls.

And there are distinct vulnerabilities in Mr. Johnson's appeal.

He leans heavily on the Western states, drawing about a third of his support from there, according to two recent Washington Post/ABC News polls.

And the Pew survey shows Mr. Johnson polling at just 4 percent among voters 65 and older. He is doing equally poorly among those who describe themselves as very conservative.

For now, older voters and the conservative base remain crucial to the Republican Party. Despite its troubles in presidential elections over the past 25 years, the party controls both houses of Congress and most state legislatures.

But Mr. Trump faces an uphill battle, and if he loses, the Republicans will once again have to rethink how they pick their presidential nominee and how to widen their appeal to a changing electorate.

''This is likely to be the sixth election out of the last seven when Republicans lose the popular vote,'' said Richard Born, a political scientist at Vassar College who studies political polarization. ''They're going to have to moderate, and **immigration** rights will be one place they have to moderate.''

If Mr. Trump loses in November, he added, the Republican Party's 2020 nominee could be ''somewhere in between a Gary Johnson and a Mitt Romney.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN -- Voters in Chancellor Angela Merkel's political home state delivered her a stinging rebuke on Sunday, propelling a far-right party to second place in the state legislature, ahead of her center-right bloc.

It is the first time in an election in modern Germany that a far-right party has overtaken Ms. Merkel's bloc of Christian Democrats and their Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union.

Official results released early Monday showed that Ms. Merkel's Christian Democrats had received 19 percent of the vote, against 21 percent for the far-right Alternative for Germany. The center-left Social Democrats, with whom Ms. Merkel governs nationally, got 31 percent in the state, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, and are likely to continue their coalition there with Ms. Merkel's bloc.

The vote took place a year to the day after Ms. Merkel agreed with Austria that the two countries would admit thousands of mostly Syrian **refugees** then trapped in Hungary, with several hundred desperately marching on foot toward the West.

Although Mecklenburg-Vorpommern has only 1.3 million eligible voters in a country of 81 million people, Sunday's elections were seen as an indicator of Ms. Merkel's political strength and as the real start of the campaign for national elections, due by fall of next year.

Speaking just 35 minutes after polls had closed, Peter Tauber, the general secretary of the Christian Democrats, said that the result was ''bitter'' and that all democratic parties had lost out to the Alternative for Germany. The new party, he said, has paid scant heed to the record of the current state government and instead ''has made right-wing extremism something acceptable.''

''It is clear that the good work of the previous government did not concern most voters,'' Mr. Tauber told a sparse crowd at the Berlin headquarters of Ms. Merkel's party. ''Then a sizable number showed the desire to exercise their protest, especially in regards to national migration policies.''

The chancellor, whose parliamentary constituency is in the state that voted on Sunday, was in China at a Group of 20 summit meeting and had no immediate comment.

The Alternative for Germany had already captured seats in three state legislatures this year, riding strongly on fears that **refugees** will siphon funds and attention from Germans and change the country's way of life. Its local and national leaders were jubilant after Sunday's results.

''That is a slap in the face for Ms. Merkel,'' Frauke Petry, the leader of the Alternative for Germany, told the public broadcaster ZDF. ''That is a slap for the chancellor in her home state.''

Fear of **refugees** is particularly pronounced in Germany's formerly Communist east, where there are far fewer **refugees** than in the country's west.

Initial analysis in poll research undertaken for the public service broadcaster ARD indicated that the far-right party had benefited heavily from people who had not voted in previous elections, and then in drawing votes from Ms. Merkel's conservatives. The research also showed that 75 percent of voters for the far right said they wanted to deliver a protest message to the mainstream political parties.

The turnout on Sunday was 10 percentage points higher than in the last state elections in 2011, when it was at a historic low of 51.1 percent.

One consolation for the mainstream was that the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party of Germany did not clear the 5 percent barrier required to win seats. The neo-Nazis had been in the state legislature for the past decade, winning 6 percent of the vote in 2011.

The national leader of the Social Democrats, Vice Chancellor Sigmar Gabriel, appeared relieved by his party's result, which, at 30 percent, would be at least eight percentage points above polls taken two months ago. He told supporters in Berlin that Sunday's showing proved that good politics and a steadfast fighting spirit could win elections.

Mr. Gabriel faces an uphill struggle to keep the center-left above 20 percent nationwide. Courting support in the past week, he criticized Ms. Merkel for admitting so many **refugees** and angered the United States by declaring important American-European trade talks a failure.

Yet Ms. Merkel is the leader with the biggest challenge after Sunday's vote, the first of five before the national elections.

In recent weeks, her conservatives emphasized the ''homeland'' and public safety -- traditionally far-right themes -- in the northeast and in the city-state of Berlin, which votes on Sept. 18.

Asked if it had been a mistake to try to stop the far right by embracing its themes, Mr. Tauber noted that voters had clearly shown fear of losing out in globalization and were worried for their future. ''In elections, I really think you have to address the themes voters say are preoccupying them,'' he said.

Ms. Merkel defended her decision to abandon border controls a year ago and admit the **refugees** in a welcoming outburst that has since soured.

''On that weekend,'' she told the Bild newspaper on Saturday, ''it was not about opening the border for everyone -- it was about not shutting it to those who had made their way to us from Hungary, on foot and in great need of help.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**NICKELSDORF, Austria -- When darkness descends on this farming village on the border with Hungary, the only lights left shining are often at the Jazzgalerie Nickelsdorf.

Hans Falb, the owner of the cafe, has attracted music lovers to his place on the winding main street since it opened in 1976. Musicians who have played here over the years include the drummer Max Roach, the saxophonist Anthony Braxton and Irène Schweizer, the pianist.

Each summer, Mr. Falb is the host of the Konfrontationen Festival, which showcases experimental music and art. The event is a passion of his that some people in this village of 1,700 find odd. This year, an international crowd of about 500 gathered for performances at the cafe, in an old barn and in a nearby church.

''People said, 'Oh, Hans Falb, he's got a nice restaurant, nice kitchen, nice cooking, but he's crazy doing this crazy music,''' said Mr. Falb, a boyish 62-year-old with a mischievous smile.

But this year, unease over an art exhibition that was part of Mr. Falb's festival in July underscored the tensions of a small town that had been alternating between openness and fear since thousands of migrants from the Middle East began arriving, on their way to more prosperous parts of Europe.

The exhibition focused on the white truck in which 71 migrants were found suffocated on the side of the Budapest-Vienna highway near here in August last year. The grim discovery shocked Europeans, and began a kind of soul-searching over the dangers the migrants faced even in the heart of Europe.

The exhibition drew numerous complaints, evidence of how the migrant crisis has touched lives in this area.

But Mr. Falb, in his own way, tries to bring the outside world to Nickelsdorf, which for decades was isolated because of its proximity to one of the former Soviet bloc's most tightly policed barriers.

During the Cold War, Nickelsdorf welcomed **refugees** from the failed 1956 uprising in Hungary, the crushed 1968 Prague Spring reforms in Czechoslovakia and the 1981 martial law declared in Poland. East Germans fled here in 1989 just before the fall of the Berlin Wall, and in the 1990s, **refugees** from the Balkan wars often passed this way.

Last summer, local people continued to welcome the newcomers, though in some ways the experience was still more stressful than previous waves of migrants. Dozens of police officers, security troops and Red Cross volunteers worked to keep the migrants moving, from the border to Vienna and from there by train to Germany.

The art exhibition was created by Klaus Filip and Arnold Haberl of the klingt.org collective. As part of the exhibition, Mr. Haberl and Christine Schörkuber showed the white truck in which the migrants suffocated in a video installation. A man appeared in the non-narrated footage, washing the truck as clothes belonging to the dead were hanging to dry.

Word soon spread about Ms. Schörkuber's works, which were displayed inside a group of colorful tents covered in scribbles in Arabic and English, inspired by the **refugee** camp in Idomeni, on the Greece-Macedonia border.

Criticism by residents uncomfortable with the tents, was enough to make the owner of the building they were housed in, a former movie theater, decide to kick them out. Mr. Falb, defiantly, placed the tents in front of his cafe.

''It's a small country village, but it's like everywhere,'' Mr. Falb said, citing Greece, Hungary and Macedonia, where migrants experienced hardships last year. ''They don't like the Arabs, they don't like them coming here. They'd rather read in the newspapers about 2,000 to 3,000 people drowning in the Mediterranean.''

In May, an anti-**immigrant** candidate, Norbert Hofer, was narrowly defeated in a runoff election for president that was annulled. Mr. Hofer, who might still win another runoff in October, is from the country's poorest state, Burgenland, which includes Nickelsdorf.

''The big problem was that nobody knew exactly when and how many people would come'' to this year's festival, said Gerhard Zapfl, the mayor of Nickelsdorf, in an interview.

At a recent meeting with the mayor, local Red Cross volunteers, including two members of the far-right Freedom Party, agreed that last year's events had been peaceful and that there had been no issues with the few asylum seekers living in the village.

But Mr. Zapfl quietly noted the difference in **refugees** in July.

Influxes of migrants from the Cold War contained many German-language speakers who ''were like brothers and sisters,'' he said. Also, as many in the village recalled, East Germans promptly moved on to West Germany with no intention of staying.

Next to the town hall stands Das Risa, a guesthouse. There, in the shadow of an old chestnut tree, the sound of Ping-Pong games broke the stillness of a recent summer day. The players, from Iraq and Syria, were assigned to the guesthouse, which has a capacity for 25 people. They were staying there until their asylum applications were decided.

''I am a poor mother with 25 sons,'' said Marianne Falb, who is no relation to the owner of Jazzgalerie Nickelsdorf. A cheerful and pragmatic woman, she has provided a home to young asylum seekers, paid for by the state.

''I do it with pleasure,'' she said. ''I don't see it only as work, but help.''

The walls of the barn in the backyard are covered with letters from the German alphabet, and with dictionaries and exercise books. Ms. Falb proudly displayed photographs of the first two groups of her protégés who had graduated from basic German classes at the local school.

To Ms. Falb, the language is key to integration. ''They must adapt,'' she said. ''I think that they have to adapt more than we, the Austrians, do.''

When asked about the main thing that set locals and newcomers apart, she responded in one word, promptly and with a smile. ''Pünktlichkeit,'' she said, or ''punctuality'' in German.

As the migrants have changed, so has the border, a 10-minute drive away. It now has a bike trail, and lines that are longer since officials put in anti-smuggling checks last year.

A line of white office containers stands empty for now. Should **refugees** return, the offices will open, some to let people in and some to send them back. Gerhard Koller, a regional police spokesman, said fences would be built around ''hot spots'' on the border to control the flow of migrants.

But, as many in Nickelsdorf remember, people will not respect borders that they do not accept. When there was an Iron Curtain at one end of the village, there were officers ready to shoot anyone who attempted to pass. Yet people still risked their lives to cross over.

The border never stopped anyone from leaving Nickelsdorf; Mr. Falb had hitchhiked across Europe before the age of 20.

Unsurprisingly, Mr. Falb is among those who welcomed last year's migration. He now employs a **refugee** in his kitchen. And he is among those who fear that strengthening border controls will bring back Cold War-era isolation to Nickelsdorf.

''We have forgotten that there was a border, and there was no border,'' he said. ''And now it's here again.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**M.I.A., the spark-plug rapper and singer born Maya Arulpragasam, meant to be making a film about **refugees**, not a feel-good new album.

Hoping to link the plights of displaced Sri Lankans in India to the more visible **refugee** crisis in the Middle East, Africa and Europe, she came away instead with a music video, ''Borders,'' set in camps and on overcrowded boats. The video, released in November, was funded by Apple Music, but M.I.A., who moved to London from Sri Lanka as a child amid civil war, found the promotion to be lacking.

''I couldn't really get the music industry to support it as a stand-alone piece of work,'' she said. ''Singles have to be attached to albums.'' Soon after, she went through a breakup, and ''suddenly I had more time to devote to a project,'' she said.

''AIM,'' out Friday, Sept. 9, on Interscope, is M.I.A.'s fifth LP -- she has warned, somewhat unconvincingly, that it will be her last -- and the album recalls ''Arular'' and ''Kala,'' her first two genre-jumping, hook-filled releases, more than the difficult records that followed. With production from her longtime collaborator Blaqstarr, Polow Da Don and Skrillex, ''AIM'' is not only brighter and more accessible in sound, it's downright hopeful.

Now 41, M.I.A. has weathered countless mini-controversies (including that Super Bowl middle finger) and public beefs, only to become interested in fostering harmony. On the phone from Mumbai, she discussed politics in pop and her refusal to compromise. These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

Where did you find this new optimism?

Rather than just complaining all the time about what's wrong, I wanted to say, ''This is what can be right.'' After you go through so much -- and not just in a political way or a personal way or in the music industry -- how do you come out of that? You win the revolution, or you lose the revolution. Then you go to pick up the pieces -- either way. You're still left with yourself.

Around 2009, it seemed like you might become a massive pop star. Do you ever wish you went further down that path?

Not if I had to give up my politics. Everybody else gave it up. Everybody else is praised and had No. 1 hits. They got to buy the yachts and have the mansions, because they didn't include the politics in their work. That's fine. Good on them. But don't reduce my stuff and don't make erasing history O.K. I had the choice to shut my mouth and not be political in order to catapult my fame and popularity and my bank balance. But that's not the choice I made.

People wanted your rebel spirit, but they didn't want to deal with the issues.

Of course. Everything about me was the rebel spirit. When I came out, my art looked like nothing, I dressed like nobody else. And I was coming from sideways -- kids like me don't get to make it in music. Now I'm old, and I'm still here. Now you're giving people with politics Oscars and Grammys and V.M.A.s. It's become fashionable now, which is great. I'm not complaining about that. Actually, that's what I wanted.

Skrillex and Diplo [who remixed the new ''Bird Song''] have had a lot of pop success. Did that influence this album's lighter sound?

I wanted to make an album about not hating. You can build these kind of songs where you actually show sonically that people can come together. When I look at my album, it's a nice equal proportion of black people, brown people and white people. It's like United [expletive] Colors of Benetton, ideologically and religiously, philosophically. Sonny [Skrillex] believes in **aliens**. Wes [Diplo] believes in fame -- he's a capitalist. And Blaqstarr's got the Eye of Horus on his palm. Everyone's got their own thing.

What do you believe in?

I believe in knowledge. And I still believe in love, no matter what's happened to me.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CORRECTION APPENDEDThis year we decided to take our summer vacation in Amsterdam. For my family, Amsterdam is not just any destination. I lived in the city for seven years and wrote a book about it. My partner, Pamela, lived there for 23 years. We met in Amsterdam. Our son was born in the city. We have friends, family, colleagues, memories and roots there. It is, logically and in our hearts, our second home. And yet, three years after returning to the United States, we realized that it had become shockingly remote in our lives. So while the trip would be a vacation, the real motive was to spend a couple of weeks reclaiming Amsterdam.

We had been hearing and reading that the city had changed dramatically in the short time since we had moved, thanks to a number of forces. The population is growing, the city has plans to build 50,000 homes over the next 10 years, and the largest group of newcomers (both Dutch and **immigrants** from places like Turkey and Morocco) are those between the ages of 20 and 34, who are putting down roots and reshaping the urban landscape.

At the same time, real estate prices are spiking. That's partly because housing costs in top-tier European cities like London and Paris have moved into the stratosphere, while the Netherlands is one of the few places where it is possible to obtain a mortgage with no money down.

Meanwhile, a few years ago Amsterdam ramped up permits for new hotels, which began coming online at the same time the Airbnb phenomenon hit. To all of that you have to factor in the ineffable: that global hipsterism came to the conclusion that Amsterdam -- with its orderly northern languor, its human scale, its society built around coffee and beer -- was a place of relevance.

On our arrival, however, it seemed that nothing had changed. Taking the train from the airport and stepping out of Central Station, you encounter the familiar detritus, the same ragged rumble of buses and traffic and ugly shops and wayward tourists heading up the streets called Damrak and Rokin toward the city center. Also unchanged, thankfully, is the canal zone, the heart and soul of Amsterdam. Here, where gabled brick houses line the central canals, it is always the Dutch Golden Age.

When we got to our lodgings -- a canal house in the medieval city center -- we found that the past still seemed tangibly and reassuringly present. Friends of ours, Kiki Amsberg and Joost Smiers, she a journalist, he a political scientist, are a couple who for more than 30 years lived in back-to-back, his-and-hers houses that share a courtyard and look out on different canals. After all that time, they had decided to move in together, so they offered us the smaller of their homes. Thus we had a classic canal house, built circa 1600, to ourselves. Each room looked out onto the medieval and ruminative Oudezijds Achterburgwal canal. Walk a few blocks and you'd be smack in the Red Light District, but at this end of the canal all was tranquil.

Each day we ate breakfast -- croissants and coffee from the bakery around the corner -- in our kitchen. With low ceilings, enormous beams and Delft tiles lining the hearth, it seemed almost unchanged from the period when the house was built. Rembrandt lived in this part of the city, and it occurred to me one morning, mid-croissant, that the artist could conceivably have known the occupant and sat in this very kitchen.

As it turned out, the antique facade of the neighborhood -- the Binnenstad, or Inner City -- belied vigorous change. Kiki told me that wealthy foreigners, especially Russians and Chinese, were buying up many of these tilting, toylike houses, driving up the prices. The sense of community was eroding, she lamented, as neighbors left, and many buildings now stood mostly empty, no longer homes but pied-à-terres awaiting the occasional appearances of their new globalized owners.

Once we had rented bicycles (the only proper way to get around the city), other changes became apparent. Amsterdam's popularity as a travel destination has applied mostly to its center, and to some extent its long-gentrified southern districts. Venture even a short way to the eastern or western parts of the city, or across the waterfront called the IJ, into Amsterdam North, and you were likely to find yourself in humdrum working-class districts or areas colonized by recent **immigrants**: neighborhoods of women wearing headscarves, of drab social housing units clustered around proletariat playgrounds.

We now discovered that gentrification and tourism have reached into these districts. Over coffee at De Jaren, the big, modern, centrally located cafe that serves as my unofficial headquarters when I'm in Amsterdam, my friend Ruth Oldenziel, a professor at Eindhoven University of Technology, told me, ''I now see tourists in my neighborhood taking photos as if it were the city center.''

This wasn't entirely surprising. The houses along the main street in her neighborhood, Weesperzijde, were built in the 19th and early 20th centuries rather than the more evocative 17th, but since the street runs alongside the scenic Amstel River, it's a natural draw.

But I refused to believe it when Pamela's 25-year-old son, Reinier Koch, who lives in Amsterdam, insisted that the Indische Buurt, or Indies Neighborhood, had likewise been transformed. It had long been the home of Turkish and Morroccan **immigrants**, of halal butchers and poky corner groceries smelling of cumin.

Yet he was right. Here, though, it wasn't tourists but locals driving the change. Rising prices elsewhere in the city have led young families, artists and others to become pioneers. Cruising down the Javastraat, the main thoroughfare, we passed several indicators of gentrification: an olive oil boutique, a frozen yogurt shop, a women's boutique with purses arranged atop distressed wood tables and, as if to underscore the transformation, a coffee bar called Bedford-Stuyvesant.

We sat at the outdoor cafe of the way-too-cutely named Bar Basquiat and ate pork belly buns and pizza with Turkish sausage while androgynous couples and archly dressed Asian youths prowled the sidewalks. Occasionally an elderly woman in headscarf marched by, seemingly inured to the changes. Someone clapped me on the shoulder. I looked up to find an old acquaintance who works for the city government. ''Welcome to my neighborhood!'' he cried. He confirmed the rapid change we had been observing, saying that in his opinion the community now had just the right mix of new and traditional elements. But like many other Amsterdammers I talked to, he hoped the influx of tourists and new residents would slow down.

We saw similar changes in the western reaches of the city. The Spaarndammerbuurt is one of the neighborhoods where the Amsterdam School architects of the early 20th century developed their style, turning simple brick dwellings into artful and sometimes whimsical statements. It was always a workers' quarter. It's now alive with wine purveyors and vegetarian takeouts. We had a great dinner at Pikoteo, a relaxed and inventive tapas restaurant recently opened by two partners, one from Madrid and the other from Amsterdam.

Amsterdam has long had a bit of a split personality issue because the section called Amsterdam North sits across the harbor from the rest of the city. Municipal planners have worked for years to bring ''Noord'' into the fold, and that seems to be bearing results. The main barrier, besides the water, has always been Central Station. Planners have now reworked the traffic on the northern side of the train station and installed an airport-like plaza of shops. But the most significant change is a tunnel paneled with blue-and-white Dutch tiles depicting old nautical scenes. It ushers pedestrians and cyclists past the mess of the train station and delivers them right to the waterfront and the free ferries.

Not many tourists visited Noord until 2012, when the EYE Film Institute opened on the waterfront just opposite Central Station, looking like an intergalactic cruiser out of ''Star Trek.'' It has since become a cultural anchor in the area. In June, the 22-story building beside it, once the headquarters of Royal Dutch Shell, opened to the public. Inside are a hotel, performance studios and artist lofts, but we skipped all that, forking out 12.50 euros (about $14) a person to be rocketed 300 feet up to an observation platform called the A'Dam Lookout. It was the most expensive elevator ride of my life, but the sweeping, cleansing views, miles in every direction, were worth it.

There are many new restaurants dotting the waterfront, further cementing the connection between the two parts of the city. MOS, in a starkly modern building jutting out on the IJdok peninsula, is new but offers somewhat old-school ''French-international'' nouvelle cuisine, along with gorgeous water views. I had a fine meal there, but, together with several other new places where I ate, it stirred a feeling that as the city grows and changes so rapidly, it is also in danger of homogenizing. I don't doubt that the culinary landscape has improved (traditional Dutch fare being, well, you know), but several times it occurred to me that I could have been having the same dinner in Chicago.

Ruth Oldenziel made the same point in a different way, telling me that the city government had taken steps recently toward restricting houseboats on the canals, where the often quirky and makeshift residences have been a feature since just after World War II. ''What I worry about,'' she said, ''is the impulse to take out all irregularities.''

How far have the changes gone? One of the pleasures of Noord I remembered was the pastoral quiet once you leave the waterfront. During our visit, a local newspaper ran an article decrying the gentrification of Noord, saying in effect that you can't see the cows anymore for all the BMWs.

One afternoon, my daughter Eva, my son, Anthony, and I cycled out to see if that was true. But 10 minutes after getting off the ferry, we were riding through polders (land reclaimed from the sea). We saw no BMWs, only lots of farmland. We took a detour on a polder path, then stopped. The wind was the only thing we heard. On the waterways cutting between the fields were herons and geese. It was a landscape that could have been painted by Jacob van Ruisdael.

If Amsterdam's outer reaches have changed in recent years, so has the city center. The complaint we heard from friends who live in the center was about the increase in tourists. Statistics bear this out. There were 4.3 million hotel stays in the city in the first four months of 2016, an 11 percent jump over the same period in 2015, which itself was a record high. From the canalsides to central plazas like Leidseplein and Rembrandtplein, the place is packed.

But there are positive changes, too. A few years ago many of the major museums were undergoing renovation at the same time, and were either closed or only partly open. All the work has been completed, and these great cultural institutions are now glistening like jewels.

The grandest, the Rijksmuseum, the national repository of Dutch art and history, reopened in 2013, to effusive press. It is staggeringly lovely. The redesign accomplished the tricky task of keeping the integrity of its original 19th-century structure while at the same time opening it up. What might have come across, to today's tastes, as a clunky knight's castle instead feels stately and inviting. Like the city, the museum is more popular than ever. The year before it partly closed for renovation in 2003, it had 800,000 visitors; this year it is on track for two million.

Taco Dibbits, the Rijksmuseum's new director (previously the head of collections), sat down with me to discuss the museum and the city. When I asked why both were now so popular, he referred me to the time, circa 2000, when Bill Gates caused a stir by saying he didn't need to collect art because in a digital age you could have any painting appear on your screen. ''Instead,'' Mr. Dibbits said, ''what we're seeing is that in a virtual world, people want to experience real things.''

Mr. Dibbits's assumption of the directorship in July coincided with the return to Amsterdam of a pair of noteworthy former residents. Early this year, the Rijksmuseum and the Louvre jointly purchased Rembrandt's wedding portraits of Marten Soolmans and Oopjen Coppit, wealthy 17th-century Amsterdammers, for 160 million euros. The museums will take turns displaying them. (The couple are on view at the Rijksmuseum through Oct. 2.)

The paintings, which have been given pride of place, next to Rembrandt's masterpiece ''The Night Watch,'' have been in private hands since they were painted, and thus few people have had a chance to see them until now. They are the first life-size portraits Rembrandt completed.

At the time, only royalty was deemed worthy of such treatment. Rembrandt was just 28, newly arrived in Amsterdam, and eager to make his mark. By giving this wealthy but untitled couple the royal treatment, the artist was making a statement about them, about himself and the city. Amsterdam was in the midst of its rise to the status of most powerful city in the world. Its economic engine was powered by people such as the Soolmans and Coppit families: ordinary citizens who had worked their way up to the top, forging great companies whose commerce spanned the globe. The pair of paintings, so **alien** but so evocative, embody what Amsterdam is all about.

Whenever I return to Amsterdam, I make a point of visiting Frieda Menco, who, at age 91, is literally my oldest friend. As a child she lived around the corner from Anne Frank, and became friends with Anne and her sister, Margot. Like the Franks, her family was rounded up during World War II and sent to a concentration camp. Frieda and her mother met up with Anne and her mother in Auschwitz. The Franks were killed; Frieda and her mother survived. I became friends with Frieda in the process of interviewing her for my book about Amsterdam's history.

Pamela, Eva, Anthony and I went to her apartment for lunch. Frieda had last seen Anthony when he was a toddler. Now he was 6, and she and I told him some of her story. His reaction unfolded across his face: He was simultaneously fascinated and alarmed at the idea that war was not something that only happened in games or on TV. He asked questions; Frieda answered. He was interested in everything, right down to the concentration camp number tattooed on her arm.

Only after our lunch with Frieda did it occur to me that Anthony was old enough to appreciate the Anne Frank House. Unfortunately, we hadn't purchased tickets in advance, and I refused to spend half a day waiting in line. So I took him to one of my favorite smaller attractions, the Dutch Resistance Museum. It has undergone a renovation, and the children's section was so rich -- putting you in the shoes of different children when the city was under Nazi occupation, leading you through a succession of cramped 1940s parlors and bedrooms, a German soldier at the door, a defiant voice over the radio -- that after we finished Anthony wanted to do it all over again.

By now our trip had taken on a theme: my son's absorption with war, the Nazis and the fate of the Jews. A friend told me that a National Holocaust Museum had recently opened. So Anthony and I went. It is a small place, in a former school where Jewish children were shielded from the Nazis. The museum is still being developed, but the opening exhibition -- paintings by the Dutch actor and artist Jeroen Krabbé -- affected both of us. In a series of large canvases, Mr. Krabbé tells the story of his grandfather's journey from Amsterdam to his death at the Sobibor concentration camp.

We studied the paintings, then watched the documentary in which the artist explains them, then returned to the paintings. In the center of the exhibition is a scale model of the Sobibor camp. Anthony wanted to understand how it worked, what precisely was the mechanism for a factory of death. And he asked the questions of a 6-year-old. ''When they took all their clothes off, weren't they cold?'' ''Why did they shave their heads?''

The effects of Britain's vote in June to leave the European Union have not shown up yet in Amsterdam. But the topic came up in conversations I had with friends. While people had a range of opinions, nearly everyone thought it would rattle the city. There has been talk of Amsterdam, with its long history as a financial center, eventually replacing London as the unofficial economic capital of the European Union. No one I met with looked forward to such a thing. The city has always been modest in size: With 830,000 residents, its population is one-tenth that of London. ''Balance'' is what everyone frets over these days, as in how to balance growth and change against tradition and quality of life.

This gets at the core of Amsterdam's identity. It's not an accident that the city has no central, representative monument: no Big Ben or Notre Dame or Colosseum.

The closest Amsterdam has to a defining monument was the one we were staying in, thanks to our friends Kiki and Joost: the canal house. An individual family dwelling is an apt symbol for the city because Amsterdam shaped itself around the power and needs of individuals. Where other European capitals were built around the might of the church or a monarch or both, here the central forces were commerce, art and science. All are pursuits spearheaded by individuals.

In the Golden Age, the city's traders gathered the exotic goods of the wide world and brought them here, their ships sailing right up the canals to their front doors. They stored those goods -- cinammon, nutmeg, pepper -- in their attics. The canals were in effect arms extending around the globe, gathering bounty and bringing it not just into the city center but into the very homes of its residents. Dutch interior paintings of the 17th century celebrated the particular brand of domesticity that the Dutch traders fostered. ''Gezelligheid'' -- an untranslatable word that means something like ''the warm feeling that comes from being secure and in the embrace of friends and family'' -- is what animates those paintings.

Indeed, it still animates Amsterdam. We felt it, on our return to the city that has meant so much to us. And we wondered how long it would endure.

Correction: September 11, 2016, Sunday

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction: A picture caption on Sept. 4 with an article about Amsterdam misidentified the waterway into which a man was shown diving. It is the Noordhollandsch Kanaal, not the Amstel River.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**DETROIT -- Donald J. Trump, who has campaigned for president as a blunt provocateur, dismissing complaints of racial insensitivity as political correctness, took an uncharacteristic step on Saturday: He visited a black church for the first time and tried to blend in.

Flanked by a few black supporters, including Ben Carson, a former presidential candidate, and Omarosa Manigault, a former contestant on ''The Apprentice,'' Mr. Trump cut a subdued figure here at Great Faith Ministries International.

He beamed as congregants greeted him and swayed to the chords of the song ''What a Mighty God We Serve.'' Speaking softly, he invoked the civil rights movement and Abraham Lincoln. Donning a prayer shawl given to him by the church's pastor, Bishop Wayne T. Jackson, Mr. Trump proclaimed, ''I feel better already.''

Mr. Trump is deeply unpopular with black voters and perceived by many as hostile to their community. His company has faced accusations of discrimination against black tenants; he has alleged falsely in the past that President Obama was not born in the United States; and as a champion of aggressive policing, he has stirred indignation by caricaturing black neighborhoods as blighted by crime and economic despair.

In Detroit, Mr. Trump did not express regret for, or even acknowledge, the actions and remarks that had opened a gulf between him and black voters.

Instead, reading from prepared remarks, he hailed the Christian values and political contributions of black Americans and told his audience he cared about making their lives better.

''I fully understand that the African-American community has suffered from discrimination and that there are many wrongs that must still be made right,'' Mr. Trump said, adding: ''For any who are hurting: Things are going to turn around. Tomorrow will be better.''

Mr. Trump's visit to the church concluded a week of fitful outreach to black and Hispanic voters, capping off a frenzied campaign schedule that took him to Mexico's presidential palace, to a meeting in North Philadelphia with black leaders, and finally to Detroit.

Far more than a typical Republican presidential candidate, Mr. Trump faces a wall of opposition from nonwhite voters. He records virtually no support from black voters in the polls. Their resistance has emerged as one of the most important impediments to Mr. Trump's candidacy, threatening to put several major swing states, like Michigan and Pennsylvania, entirely out of reach.

Mr. Trump's appearance on Saturday, long billed by campaign aides as a pivotal opportunity to reintroduce himself to black voters, was swathed in uncertainty up to the last minute, as the Trump campaign and the pastor deliberated over whether the Republican nominee would actually speak at the church. Plans for stops in nearby neighborhoods were announced, then retracted; Mr. Trump ultimately paid a short visit to Mr. Carson's childhood home before flying out of Detroit.

And a scheduled interview with Mr. Jackson, Mr. Trump's host on Saturday, became a source of embarrassment when it was revealed that both the questions and Mr. Trump's answers had been scripted in advance. Mr. Trump taped the television appearance before the church service on Saturday, and it is expected to air in the next few days on Mr. Jackson's Christian cable network.

Mr. Jackson acknowledged offhand the unusual spectacle of Mr. Trump's presence in his church. Introducing Mr. Trump, Mr. Jackson noted with a chuckle, ''This is the first African-American church he's been in.''

Mr. Jackson had planned to let Mr. Trump speak for just one minute, but at a reception before the service, aides to Mr. Trump asked Mr. Jackson for more time, and he granted it.

''His people said, 'Mr. Trump had already written this out and he really feels that if he can say it, it would really be a blessing because this is his heart,''' Mr. Jackson said in an interview.

In his relatively muted address, lasting roughly 10 minutes, Mr. Trump did not employ his typical heated language about urban crime or illegal **immigration**.

Instead, he offered praise for black Christians and called for a ''civil rights agenda for our time,'' including support for charter schools and new job growth.

And Mr. Trump, who has not made professions of faith a regular element of his campaign, called on Americans to ''turn again to our Christian heritage to lift up the soul of our nation.''

Leaving the church, Mr. Trump made a stop at the former residence of Mr. Carson, a retired neurosurgeon who has become one of Mr. Trump's steadfast political allies. Bantering briefly with the current owner, Felicia Reese, Mr. Trump mused that the house must be a valuable property because Mr. Carson had lived there.

Ms. Manigault, who directs outreach efforts for the Trump campaign, told Ms. Reese that the campaign would send her a copy of Mr. Trump's book of business advice, ''The Art of the Deal.''

It remains to be seen if Mr. Trump will make a more sustained bid to attract black support. His campaign advisers have routinely announced changes in strategy, and promised adjustments to Mr. Trump's message and political style, only to have the candidate quickly lose interest and revert to form. On Wednesday, Mr. Trump followed up his surprise trip to Mexico City, where he expressed admiration for Mexican Americans, with an angry speech in Arizona denouncing illegal **immigration** and reiterating his pledge to wall off the southern border.

But for Mr. Trump, winning the presidency might be all but impossible without a reversal of fortune with black and Hispanic voters. While Republicans usually lose those constituencies by a wide margin, polls suggest Mr. Trump is on track for such a historic rout that he may be unable to make up the difference with white voters.

Mr. Jackson weathered some criticism for inviting Mr. Trump, and his own parishioners were split on Mr. Trump's visit, with several expressing support for Mr. Jackson's decision despite their own negative feelings about Mr. Trump's candidacy. Candice Smith, 31, of Detroit, said she had been attending the church for 20 years and considered it a welcoming environment.

''We accept anybody,'' said Ms. Smith, a cosmetologist. ''We are kind of like an open church. Everybody is welcome to come.''

Jan Counts, 55, a computer designer, expressed skepticism of Mr. Trump's intentions, and said it was too late for Mr. Trump to win his vote.

''I think he's using the church,'' said Mr. Counts, a congregant since 1993. ''You can't just change everything that you have been saying before and say something else and want me to believe that.''

If Mr. Trump found himself in an atypical environment on Saturday, so, too, did his press corps. At many Trump rallies, supporters of the candidate often jeer at reporters, sometimes walking up to the enclosure for the traveling press to fling obscenities.

On Saturday, a woman in the congregation approached the press corps in a different spirit. ''I'm glad you're here,'' she said, proceeding to hug each reporter in sight.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Berhanu Nega was once one of Bucknell University's most popular professors. An Ethiopian exile with a Ph.D. from the New School for Social Research in Manhattan, he taught one of the economics department's most sought-after electives, African Economic Development. When he wasn't leading seminars or puttering around his comfortable home in a wooded neighborhood five minutes from the Bucknell campus in rural Lewisburg, Pa., Nega traveled abroad for academic conferences and lectured on human rights at the European Parliament in Brussels. ''He was very much concerned with the relationship between democracy and development,'' says John Rickard, an English professor who became one of his close friends.

''He argued that you cannot have viable economic development without democratization, and vice versa.'' A gregarious and active figure on campus, he rooted for the Philadelphia Eagles and the Cleveland Cavaliers, campaigned door-to-door for Barack Obama in 2008 and was known as one of the best squash players on the Bucknell faculty. He and his wife, an Ethiopian-born optometrist, raised two sons and sent them to top-ranked colleges, the University of Pennsylvania and Carnegie Mellon. On weekends he sometimes hosted dinners for other Bucknell professors and their families, regaling them with stories about Abyssinian culture and history over Ethiopian food he would prepare himself; he imported the spices from Addis Ababa and made the injera, a spongy sourdough bread made of teff flour, by hand.

Nega remained vague about his past. But students curious enough to Google him would discover that the man who stood before them, outlining development policies in sub-Saharan Africa, was in fact intimately involved in the long-running hostility between Ethiopia and neighboring Eritrea, a conflict that has dragged on for half a century. By the start of the millennium, its newest incarnation, a border war over a patch of seemingly worthless ground just 250 square miles in size, devolved into a tense standoff, with the two nations each massing along the border thousands of troops from both official and unofficial armies. One proxy army fighting on the Eritrean side, a group of disaffected Ethiopians called Ginbot 7, was a force that Nega helped create, founding the movement in 2008 with another Ethiopian exile, Andargachew Tsege, in Washington. The Ethiopian government, which had previously detained Nega as a political prisoner for two years in Addis Ababa, now sentenced him to death in absentia. Bucknell students who did learn about their teacher's past were thrilled. ''It made his classes exciting,'' Rickard says.

In Ginbot 7, Tsege served as the political leader based in Eritrea; Nega was the group's intellectual leader and principal fund-raiser, collecting money from members of the Ethiopian diaspora in Europe and the United States. That all changed one day in June 2014, when Tsege, known to everyone as Andy, made a brief stopover in Sanaa, the capital of Yemen, on his way to Asmara, the capital of Eritrea. As he sat in the airport transit lounge, waiting to board his flight, Yemeni security forces, apparently acting in collusion with Ethiopian intelligence, arrested him and put him on a plane to Addis Ababa, where he was paraded on state television and currently faces a death sentence.

Days after Tsege's arrest and extradition, Nega volunteered to replace him in Eritrea. ''Was I going to remain an academic, sitting in an ivory tower criticizing things?'' he told me. ''Or was I going to do something as an engaged citizen?'' Nega put his house up for sale and took an indefinite leave of absence from the university. It was an extended sabbatical, he told his colleagues. Only a handful of close friends, his wife and his two sons knew the truth.

On a hot July afternoon in 2015, Nega packed a suitcase, bade his wife farewell and was driven by comrades to John F. Kennedy International Airport. He carried a laissez-passer from the Eritrean government, allowing him a one-time entry into the country. Nega was heading for a new life inside a destitute dictatorship sometimes referred to as the North Korea of Africa; the regime was notorious for having supported the Shabab, an Islamist terrorist group in Somalia, and for a military conscription program that condemns many citizens over age 18 to unlimited servitude. Nega also believes he has drawn the scrutiny of the Obama administration and was worried about being stopped and turned around by Homeland Security. It wasn't until the wheels on the EgyptAir jet were up and he was settling into his seat over the Atlantic Ocean, bound for one of the most isolated and repressive nations on Earth, that he was able to relax.

The lights cut out above Nega one chilly night this July, and the rebel chief sat in darkness in a bungalow in Asmara, Eritrea's 7,600-foot-high capital. Nega had spread a map on a coffee table, and he was showing me the route for a clandestine mission that he planned to undertake the following morning. At dawn, he and a comrade would drive 300 miles southwest to the mined, militarized border between Eritrea and Ethiopia to rendezvous with intelligence sources at a rebel base camp. His contacts were smuggling across the border ''highly sensitive information'' about Ethiopian troop positions and about the strength of resistance cells inside Ethiopia, whom Nega was hoping to link up with his own fighters on the Eritrean side of the border.

''They've got documents, and they insist on handing them over only to me,'' Nega told me. ''When there is sensitive material, they first want me to see it and then filter the information to the rest of the organization.'' Nega, a burly, balding 58-year-old with a rumpled facade and an appealingly unassuming manner, rubbed his forehead as the lights flickered and then returned. In recent years, Ginbot 7 has grown, and it is now guided by an 80-member council of representatives spread around the world. As commander, Nega oversees several hundred rebel fighters in Eritrea as well as an unknown number of armed members inside Ethiopia who carry out occasional attacks in the movement's name. During his frequent visits to the front lines, he spends his time meeting with fellow commanders, observing training and -- ever the professor -- leading history and democracy seminars using chalk and a blackboard in a ''classroom'' in the bush.

Nega turned back to the map and traced a straight line leading to the Tekeze River, the westernmost border between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The stream was a main crossing point for Ethiopian Army deserters fleeing to the rebels, and in recent weeks it had come under threat from advancing Ethiopian troops. ''They are moving a sizable force into this area, because we are their main target now,'' he said, referring to Ginbot 7, now known as Patriotic Ginbot 7. ''And they are pushing a large part of their army, artillery and tanks into this zone. They haven't started shelling us yet.''

The two nations, now ferocious enemies, were once joined. Eritrea, an Italian colony from 1890 until 1941, was annexed by Ethiopia after World War II; it took a three-decades-long war for the Eritreans to finally liberate themselves, in 1991. The neighbors remained at peace until 1998, when a simmering dispute over the Yirga triangle, a piece of rocky land along the border that had never been clearly demarcated in colonial maps, exploded into two years of tank and trench warfare in which 100,000 died. Today, despite a United Nations-supervised mediation that awarded the disputed territory to Eritrea, Ethiopia continues to occupy the border village Badame. Tens of thousands of troops face each other across a landscape of mines, bunkers, sniper posts and other fortifications.

Violence on the border, while infrequent, can be both sudden and brutal. In mid-June, according to the Eritrean government, Ethiopia launched a full-scale attack along the frontier at Tsorona, the first major incursion since 2012, possibly in retaliation for attacks on its forces by Ginbot 7. Eritrea claimed that it had killed 200 enemy soldiers and wounded 300, though Ethiopia downplayed its losses. ''They almost always deny it,'' Nega told me. ''As far as the Ethiopian government is concerned, nobody ever dies.''

Ethiopia, while an American ally and an economic leader by African standards, is notoriously repressive. The minority Tigrayan regime has jailed hundreds of bloggers, journalists and opposition figures, keeping itself in power by intimidating political opponents, rigging elections and violently putting down protests. Since November of last year, according to Human Rights Watch, state security forces killed more than 400 protesters in the Oromia region, which surrounds Addis Ababa. Protests have recently spread to the Amhara region, as well; in August, security forces shot dead roughly 100 demonstrators and injured hundreds more. Thousands of Oromos, a minority group that makes up about a third of the population, have been jailed without trial on suspicion of supporting the Oromo Liberation Front, a secessionist group. The Ethiopian marathoner Feyisa Lilesa, who won the silver medal at the Olympics this year, drew global attention to the government's abuses when he held his crossed arms over his head at the finish line in solidarity with his fellow Oromos; he says he fears returning home and is seeking political asylum.

Across the room in Nega's bungalow, four fellow rebel commanders, all members of the Ethiopian diaspora, were finishing their supper. The men tore off pieces of injera and dipped the bread into a thick sauce called shiro, washing down the meal with bottles of the local Asmara beer. Esat, an Ethiopian opposition satellite channel broadcast from Europe and the United States, played softly on a television in the corner. The men were part of a revolving contingent of commanders who returned to Asmara from time to time to check their email and escape the primitive conditions in the bush. ''We are five right now,'' Nega said, introducing me to his comrades from Dallas; Arlington, Va.; Calgary, Canada; and Luxembourg. ''Another, from the United Kingdom, is returning here tomorrow morning. We'll be six when he comes. Last week we were eight -- at one point we were 11.''

The house also serves as an infirmary for rebels who become ill or are wounded in combat, and it provides a temporary sanctuary for Ethiopian Army defectors who cross the front lines. One recent arrival was a former Ethiopian Air Force officer, an Oromo who had traveled north 42 hours by bus and on foot, then swum across the Tekeze River to Eritrea. He made the decision to defect while sitting in an Addis Ababa jail cell on ''false charges,'' he told me, of being a member of the Oromo secessionist movement.

''We have many like him,'' Nega said.

Nega put on his jacket to head off in search of diesel fuel for the morning journey to the border. With another rebel comrade from Virginia, we drove down the deserted, lightless streets of Asmara, searching for an open filling station, but the one we found had run out of diesel; Nega would have to return the next morning, delaying his departure for the front lines. When we returned to his home, Nega pointed to a pile of medical supplies in the hallway -- bandages, splints, antibiotics, antimalarials -- that he was planning to ferry to his fighters, and three cardboard boxes packed with solar cells that would provide some rudimentary electricity in the bush. While in the camps, Nega was dependent on his mobile phone for contact with the outside world, but even that was not guaranteed. ''They have shut off phone coverage since the incursion'' by the Ethiopians at Tsorona, he told me. ''I'll be out of touch for days.''

When I first met Nega, in late May 2016, the conditions were decidedly more comfortable. After 10 months in Asmara, Nega had flown back to the United States to attend meetings and the graduation of his younger son, Iyassu, from the University of Pennsylvania. Given his deepening involvement in a rebellion against an American ally, it was possible that this would be the last time he could visit the United States. Indeed, Nega, who is not an American citizen, had his State Department-issued ''travel document'' suspended three years ago, and his application for United States citizenship has been put on indefinite hold. He now travels on an Eritrean passport; together with his green card, it gained him entry into the country -- this time. The State Department would not comment on Nega or Ginbot 7, but Nega surmises that the Obama administration does not look favorably on his activities. Still, he insists, ''nobody is saying, 'Back off.' I think they know that this is not about being against the U.S. We are upholding the basic principles under which the U.S. was established.''

We met over Memorial Day weekend on the terrace of the upscale Café Dupont on Dupont Circle in Washington, joined by his sister Hiwot, who runs a technology start-up in New York, and Iyassu, a 21-year-old former high-school track star who was starting work at a New York investment bank in the fall. Over white wine and chicken salad, the conversation touched on Lin-Manuel Miranda's commencement address and Nega's excitement over crossing paths, after the ceremony, with Donald Trump and Vice President Joe Biden. (Trump's daughter and Biden's granddaughter were members of Iyassu's graduating class.) I asked Iyassu if he had reconciled himself to the idea of his father's new life on the front lines, and he said that he had. ''Ultimately he should continue to pursue what he believes in,'' he told me. He expressed little interest, though, in visiting his father at his Eritrean rebel camp or delving deeper into the raison d'être of the Ginbot 7 movement. ''I just got out of college -- my life has its own direction,'' he said. ''I can't take time off. ... I'm a little bit removed generationally as well.''

The elder Nega is part of a generation of Ethiopians who grew up amid violence and tumult. Over lunch, he recalled what it was like to be a high-school student when a Marxist junta, the Soviet-backed Derg, overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie and ushered in a brutal dictatorship. Nega had grown up privileged, the son of a wealthy entrepreneur, and he watched as his father's vast commercial corn and soybean farms were seized and security forces began arresting, imprisoning and executing thousands of dissidents, including many students. He and his two older sisters joined a resistance movement called the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (E.P.R.P.). They went underground, living in safe houses, eluding the police. His eldest sister was later captured and disappeared in the Derg's prisons. His family searched for her everywhere.

''We had people coming to our house and telling my parents, 'I saw her at this place.' My mother used to go out all over looking for her,'' Nega recalls. Her former cellmates later told him that she had died in prison, probably by committing suicide with a cyanide capsule that she wore around her neck. ''It was common to have cyanide with you because if you were caught, you would be tortured and executed, and through torture you might be forced to betray people,'' Nega said. As the crackdown in Addis intensified, the E.P.R.P. sent Nega north to Tigray province, the center of a growing guerrilla war against the Derg; there, he carried out attacks on government forces. In 1978 a power struggle erupted within the E.P.R.P. leadership, and Nega was thrown into prison. He was released one day before guards turned their guns on the remaining prisoners, killing 15. Nega escaped to Sudan, living as a **refugee** in Khartoum for nearly two years, then obtained political asylum in the United States in 1980.

He earned his bachelor's degree from the State University of New York at New Paltz, where he also played on the soccer team. While studying for his doctorate at the New School for Social Research, he lived in Brooklyn and wrote his dissertation on the failures of Ethiopian agriculture under the Communist regime. Meanwhile, Ethiopia was sliding deeper into calamity. When the guerrilla movements increased their attacks in Tigray in the mid-1980s, the Derg dictator, Mengistu Haile Mariam, blocked food supplies to the region, creating a devastating famine in which one million people died. Photographs of starving children, disseminated by the news media, catalyzed an international relief effort, Live Aid, and inspired the pop hit ''We Are the World,'' making Ethiopia a worldwide synonym for hunger. The famine had wound down, and the rebel war was escalating, when Bucknell hired Nega as an assistant professor in 1990. ''He never trumpeted his background, the fact that he had been a guerrilla fighter,'' says Dean Baker, a former Bucknell colleague who now heads the Center for Economic and Policy Research in Washington.

In 1991, after a decade's struggle, three rebel groups -- the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front, the Oromo Liberation Front and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front -- defeated the Derg and marched into Addis Ababa. The new government, led by the Tigrayan rebel leader Meles Zenawi, set about rebuilding the war-shattered nation. Nega finally had reason for optimism. He knew Meles well -- the prime minister had been in the same university class as his dead sister -- and after the Tigrayans consolidated power, Nega obtained a leave of absence from Bucknell and flew with his wife and two sons, both toddlers, back to Addis, determined to help rebuild the country. Nega believed that Meles ''had good intentions,'' he told me.

But Nega's enthusiasm for the new government wore off quickly. At Addis Ababa University, where he taught part-time (he had also taken over several of his father's businesses), administrators cracked down on dissent, banning the student government and the school newspaper. When Nega encouraged his students to press for academic freedoms, police assaulted them and other demonstrators; later, as unrest spread through the city, they shot 41 people dead. Nega spent a month in jail for abetting the protests. ''At night I was hearing prisoners being tortured, beaten,'' he says.

In May 2005, with the economy growing rapidly and the government's popularity appar­ently high, Ethiopia held elections, the first truly multiparty vote in Ethiopia's history, and invited international observers to attend. But the results were not to Meles's liking. Nega's Coalition for Unity and Democracy won 137 of the 138 seats on the City Council in Addis Ababa. Nega was poised to become mayor, but the government denied his party the victory and jailed him along with other C.U.D. leaders. American colleagues began a campaign to free Nega. ''The Bucknell faculty approved a motion to support him and call attention to his plight,'' Rickard says. ''We talked with journalists, ambassadors, trying to make sure that he stayed on the front burner.'' International pressure helped to secure Nega's release after 21 months, and he returned to the United States. The experience ''hardened him,'' says Samuel Adamassu, a member of the Ethio­pian diaspora who has known Nega and his family since the 1980s. ''It made him realize these people are not willing to change without being forced.''

After our lunch in Washington, I attended a fund-raising rally for Ginbot 7 at the Georgetown Marriott, attended by about 500 members of the Ethiopian diaspora. Nega stood before a backdrop of Ethiopian and American flags. It would be a fight to the death, he assured the cheering crowd. ''There is no negotiation with someone who is coming to rape you,'' Nega went on in Amharic, the principal language of Ethiopia. ''We have to stop them.'' The contrast between the mild-mannered academic I had met on the patio of the Café Dupont and the fiery rebel leader was striking. Nega announced that he had brought news from the front lines: Guerillas claiming loyalty to his movement had carried out their most significant attack to date, outside the town Arba Minch, in southern Ethiopia, formerly the site of an American drone base. ''We killed 20 soldiers and injured 50 of them,'' he said, calling it ''a new stage in the struggle.'' (The Ethiopian government claimed they foiled the attack and killed some of the gunman.)

When Nega helped found the Ginbot 7 movement in 2008, the year he returned to teaching at Bucknell, he explained that the movement would seek to ''organize civil disobedience and help the existing armed movements'' inside and outside Ethiopia and ''put pressure on the government, and the international community, to come to a negotiation.'' Yet the Ginbot 7 platform advocated destabilizing the government ''by any means necessary,'' including attacks on soldiers and police. It was a discordant message coming out of a liberal American university whose first class was held in the basement of the First Baptist Church of Lewisburg in 1846. ''It's a line that he has crossed,'' says Rickard, the English professor, who finds Nega's advocacy of violence ''troubling'' but understandable. ''He has never been a pacifist, never renounced armed struggle,'' he says. ''He has seen elections overturned, hundreds of people murdered on the streets. His sister died, and his best friend is in prison, in peril of his life. He sees violence as viable and necessary. It's kind of shocking, in a way.''

While Ginbot 7 started to foment its resistance, Ethiopia was busy rebranding itself as an economic success story. Following South Korean and Chinese models of state-directed development, Meles borrowed from state-owned banks and used Western aid money to invest heavily in dams, airlines, agriculture, education and health care. Ethiopia's economy took off, averaging nearly 11 percent growth per year for the last decade, one of the highest rates in Africa. Addis Ababa became the showpiece of the country's transformation, with a light rail system, ubiquitous high-rise construction and luxury hotels, high-end restaurants and wine bars packed with newly minted millionaires. At the same time, the country was becoming a bulwark against the spread of radical Islam in the Horn of Africa. Today Ethiopia provides 4,400 peacekeepers to an African Union force in Somalia and helps keep the peace along the tense border between North and South Sudan. In July 2015 President Obama, on an African tour, paid the first visit ever to Ethiopia by a sitting American president.

Yet in the classroom and abroad, Nega argued that Ethiopia's transformation was a mirage, created to placate Western observers troubled by the lack of democracy. ''In 2005, it became clear that legitimacy would not come through the political process, so they started this new narrative -- development,'' he told me. Nega insists that Ethiopia has ''cooked the books,'' and that its growth rate is largely attributable to huge infrastructure projects and Western development aid, with little contribution from the private sector. ''The World Bank is throwing money at Ethiopia like there's no tomorrow,'' he told me. The actual growth rate, he insists, is closer to 5 to 6 percent -- per capita income is still among the lowest in the world -- and the weakness of the country's institutions will mean that even this rate cannot be sustained.

Two months before Obama arrived, the government presided over what was widely considered a sham election, in which the ruling party won all 547 seats in Parliament, But Obama, making it clear that security trumped other concerns in the Horn of Africa, stood beside Meles's successor, Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn, and described the government as being ''democratically elected.''

''I was shocked,'' Nega told me. '' I understand the reality of power and why he supports the Ethiopian government, but to say it is 'democratically elected'? I was disgusted.''

Three days after my first meeting with Nega in Asmara, and shortly after he returned from his border rendezvous, we drove in the late afternoon in his white Hilux pickup truck through the landscape of his new life. We passed the run-down and nearly deserted Asmara Palace Hotel, formerly an Intercontinental Hotel, and a large Catholic church that Nega couldn't identify. ''I'm a lousy tourist guide,'' he said apologetically. While in Asmara, he spends most of his time hunkered down either in his residence or at a borrowed office in the center of town -- one of the few places in the city with a high-speed internet connection. Eritrea has the lowest internet penetration in the world, with only about 1 percent of the population online, and this rare broadband connection allows him to catch up regularly on Skype with his sons and his wife. ''I don't think she's very happy about my being here,'' he admitted, shifting uncomfortably. ''We have really stopped talking about it.''

Immediately following its independence in the early 1990s, under the rebel-leader-turned-president Isaias Afwerki, Eritrea was briefly considered one of the hopes of Africa. When I visited the country in 1996, five years after it won its liberation from Ethiopia, the former rebels were starting to revive the wrecked economy -- rebuilding roads, bridges and a railway to the coast, calling on the Eritrean diaspora to invest. But after the border war between 1998 and 2000, Eritrea's leadership turned inward, growing increasingly suspicious of the outside world. Afwerki suppressed dissent, expelled Western journalists and NGOs, turned down foreign aid, nationalized industries and discouraged foreign investment; according to the World Bank, per capita income is about $1,400 a year. In 2009 the United Nations Security Council imposed sanctions on Eritrea, including an arms em­bargo and a travel ban and a freeze on the assets of top Eritrean officials, for providing weapons to the Shabab, the radical Islamist group that has carried out hundreds of terrorist attacks in Somalia and neighboring Kenya. (Eritrea called the allegation ''fabricated lies.'') A June 2016 United Nations report accused the Eritrean government of committing ''crimes against human­ity,'' including torture, jailing dissidents and the open-ended military conscription program that the government justifies as preparation against another Ethiopian invasion.

With virtually no investment coming into the country, Asmara has become a city frozen in time. Two donkeys meandered down Harnet Avenue, the capital's main boulevard, stopping to nibble at a patch of grass around a palm tree. As we watched the crowds walk down the tidy avenue lined by an imposing red brick cathedral, a 1930s-era Art Deco movie theater and crumbling Italian bakeries and cappuccino bars, Nega defended his decision to turn to the dictatorship for support.

''Do we really have to discuss the kind of dictatorships that the U.S. sleeps with?'' he asked me. ''Here is a country that was willing to give us sanctuary, a country that had once been part of Ethiopia. I look at any of these people, I talk to them, and they are just like me, they are as Ethiopian as I am. Why should I not get help from them?''

Nega insisted that he saw some positives in the dictatorship. ''This is the only country that says, despite its poverty, 'We are going to chart our own course -- whether you like it or not,' '' he told me. ''They are not corrupt. You see these government officials driving 1980s cars, torn down the middle. I have seen their lives, their houses. There is some element of a David-and-Goliath struggle in this thing.'' He called the United Nations report describing crimes against humanity an ''exaggeration.'' (A Western diplomat in Asmara I talked to, who asked not to be identified because of the political sensitivities of his position, agreed with Nega's assessment of the report, saying it was based on testimony of **refugees** in Europe who had ''an interest in depicting their country as badly as possible to justify their status.'')

It goes without saying that Nega was reluctant to speak harshly about the nation that was providing his movement with a **refuge** -- and that could snatch it away at any moment. ''I don't want to butt into their personal issues,'' he said carefully. ''They've always been nice to us.'' Out of the public eye, however, the rebel leader can be more critical. ''He holds no illusions about Eritrea,'' says his friend and former Bucknell colleague Dean Baker.

I asked Nega if he was confident that pressure by the rebel groups could bring down the Ethiopian government. Nega believed that momentum was on his side. ''This resistance to the state is coming in every direction now, in all parts of the country,'' he said. He was giving himself ''four or five years'' before he and his rebel forces entered Ethiopia as part of a new democratic dispensation. ''It certainly won't be a decade,'' he told me.

Until that happens, Nega will continue planning and preparing from a precarious and lonely limbo. Back at the bungalow, he led me down the corridor and showed me where he slept: a monastic chamber furnished with a single bed, an armoire and a night table strewn with jars of vitamins and blood-pressure medication. (He lost his medical insurance when he left Bucknell, but still has American insurance coverage through his wife, and he picked up a three-month supply of the medicine on his May trip to the United States.) He retrieved from the freezer a chilled bottle of Absolut and poured two glasses. We sat in the concrete courtyard, beside a clothesline draped with Nega's laundry. The power failed again, casting us into total darkness, then returned a few seconds later. The contrast with his previous life in the States -- cheering for the Lewisburg Green Dragons, his son's high-school track team; vacationing on the beaches of Maryland and North Carolina with his extended family -- could hardly have been more extreme.

''If you like comfort, and that's what drives you, you'll never do this,'' he told me, taking a sip of the ice-cold vodka. ''But sometimes you get really surprised. Once you have a commitment to something, all these things that you thought were normal in your day-to-day life become unnecessary luxuries.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Labor Day weekend has always had a particular resonance in American politics as the official start of the sprint to Election Day, celebrated by rallies, marches and lakeside picnics.

Of course, those days are long gone in this era of the permanent campaign. Donald J. Trump, the Republican, and Hillary Clinton, the Democrat, have been sprinting to Election Day for more than a year now.

Nonetheless, it seems like a good moment to assess what political analysts say the candidates need to do in the final two months if they want to move into the White House in January. And while polls suggest that Mrs. Clinton has a clear advantage over Mr. Trump, the race is hardly over. The unpopularity of both candidates has lent this contest a volatility rarely seen at this stage of a campaign.

DONALD TRUMP

1. Focus, focus, focus.

Mr. Trump might be well advised to stop spending time in states he is not going to win and courting voters who are unlikely to support him. There are too many states where Mr. Trump needs to win, such as Florida and Nevada, to allow him to devote time and money resources to ones like Washington, which hasn't voted for a Republican since Ronald Reagan in 1984. (For that matter, he shouldn't be wasting time in states like Mississippi, which hasn't voted for a Democrat since Jimmy Carter was elected president in 1976.)

And from a strategic point of view, the time is over for trying to fake out the other side, or test to see if a longer-shot state is in play. In 2012, President Obama's campaign made a real effort in Arizona, but pulled out before the summer. ''We decided in May that we just couldn't afford to do it -- that we had to give up the dream,'' said Jim Messina, who managed Mr. Obama's 2012 campaign.

Mr. Trump might also reconsider how much time to devote to appealing to Latinos and African-Americans. Yes, it's hard to see how anyone can win the presidency on the white vote alone. And Mr. Trump's real, if unspoken, strategy here may well be making himself more palatable to moderate white voters, and holding down turnout among minority voters.

Still, few analysts give Mr. Trump much of a chance of winning support from either Latinos or African-Americans. That is all the more so after this week, when his harsh **immigration** speech was condemned by Latino leaders, and black leaders ridiculed his campaign for trying to choreograph a question-and-answer session with Mr. Trump and a black minister in Detroit, preparing lengthy answers to pre-submitted questions.

2. Seize the debates.

There are a dwindling number of opportunities for Mr. Trump to change the dynamics of the race, and the debates are Nos. 1, 2 and 3 on that list. They offer Mr. Trump a huge audience to appeal to this year's swing voters: people who don't like Mrs. Clinton but are afraid of a Trump presidency. ''Trump has to show that he is acceptable,' said Neil Newhouse, a Republican pollster. ''Right now, looking at the numbers, he is not. It's not the message but the messenger that's holding some of these voters back.''

3. It's about Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton is trying to make this a referendum on Donald Trump, and on many days Mr. Trump seems to be doing his best to help her. Instead, Mr. Trump should turn this into a discussion of Mrs. Clinton. There is a receptive audience for change among voters tired of eight years of Democratic rule and 25 years of the Clinton family.

Rather than spending two weeks wrestling with **immigration**, Mr. Trump might have been better off talking about the Clinton Foundation, or Mrs. Clinton's email troubles. Every day. Repetition, repetition, repetition can be boring, especially for someone like Mr. Trump. But that's the way to win an election.

4. Tone matters.

Mr. Trump, analysts from both parties say, needs to resist his more combative instincts and stop doubling down every time he says anything that turns into a firestorm. Every moment now should be about trying to convince voters that he has the temperament and stability to be president. If Mr. Trump can return to that point in the campaign where he seemed funny and even likable, that might serve him well against a candidate like Mrs. Clinton.

He might also be wise to take a Twitter holiday, or do whatever the digital equivalent is of putting the indignant letter in the desk drawer overnight and deciding in the morning whether to send it.

''You start with doing the simple things,'' Mr. Newhouse said. ''No more interceptions. No more miscues. String together a couple of weeks after a couple of weeks. There's not much time left. Consistency is competency.''

That goes for winning or losing: It is important, at least for the future of the Republican Party, that Mr. Trump comports himself in a way that keeps the contest close.

HILLARY CLINTON

1. Complacency, complacency, complacency.

There may no bigger foe to Mrs. Clinton than the perception that she is breezing toward a victory, reinforced daily by polls showing that she is going to win. This would be a problem for any politician, but it is a particular problem for Mrs. Clinton, given that many of her supporters cannot be described as enthusiastic.

She is in danger of losing the ''hold-your-nose'' vote, those who might choose to stay at home or cast a protest vote for Jill Stein, the Green Party candidate. This could also be a problem with prospective Clinton supporters who have a history of not turning out, including Latinos, young voters and African-Americans. She is going to need a big turnout among Latinos in particular if she wants to win Nevada, and have any hope of finally doing what Mr. Messina attempted in 2012 in Arizona.

And then there are the supporters of Bernie Sanders, the Vermont senator she defeated for the nomination, who have always been wary of her, and many of whom have watched with concern as she has reached out for support from Republican leaders and voters. ''She has to make sure Democratic turnout is strong enough,'' said David Plouffe, who managed Mr. Obama's 2008 campaign for the White House. ''It's tricky because there are clearly a whole bunch of Republicans and moderate-leaning independents available to her that she'd like to get.''

Mr. Trump's supporters certainly seem energized, and all the more so after his **immigration** speech. Ann Coulter, the conservative commentator, called it the ''most magnificent speech ever given.''

2. Trust matters.

At this point, can Mrs. Clinton turn around all those voters who don't like or trust her? Does it even matter? It might, especially if Mr. Trump crosses the acceptability hurdle at the first debate. To this end, she might hold a news conference to offer a clear explanation of what was going on with the Clinton Foundation, and her own role with it, and attempt to account for what appear to be her inconsistent responses during the email investigation.

It's not only a matter of winning the White House. ''She should do whatever she can to whittle down the suspicion that she is not honest or trustworthy, as much for governing as for winning the election,'' said Whit Ayres, a Republican pollster. ''When two-thirds of the people think she's dishonest and untrustworthy, that's a real problem.''

One force working against that is that Mrs. Clinton is a politician who has -- since her first run for the Senate in New York -- tended to play it safe. And given Mr. Trump's troubles, the temptation to coast is understandable.

But playing it safe is sometimes not the safest thing to do in a campaign. Mr. Trump has captured the imagination of voters with his bold if unconventional approach to politics, and he certainly has dominated the campaign.

''Take a risk,'' Mr. Newhouse said. ''For God's sake, hold a news conference. Disband the Clinton Foundation. They are just too timid. They're afraid of their own shadow.''

3. Seize the debates.

The debates also present an opportunity for Mrs. Clinton, though it may end up being more complicated terrain for her. Ideally for the Democrats, a strong performance by Mrs. Clinton -- or a particularly weak one by Mr. Trump -- could let the air out of this campaign. But if there is any upside to Mr. Trump's problems as a candidate, it is that expectations for his first debate performance could be low.

''The key moment is going to be that first debate,'' Mr. Plouffe said. ''Trump will be viewed as a distinct underdog, which could be dangerous. You have to make sure you dominate the first debate.''

4. Force Trump to spread himself thin.

Mrs. Clinton has the money and support to start moving into states where Democrats might normally not be competitive: Georgia, Arizona, Utah and Missouri. In some states, she might actually have a chance of winning, like Arizona. Others, like Utah, not so much.

No matter. If Mrs. Clinton puts resources into any of those on-the-margin states, it could force Mr. Trump to divert resources from states like Ohio and New Hampshire. His campaign's lack of experience is going to be tested now, when there are important split-second assessments to be made about what the other side is doing.

''What Clinton has to do is make sure Trump doesn't gain any strength or momentum,'' Mr. Plouffe said. ''You keep the battleground state map extraordinarily broad. Make him play defense.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**CHAMPAIGN, Ill. -- I had another fight with my daughter on a recent Saturday morning. It's her attitude that makes my blood boil sometimes.

''I'm not going shopping at Target,'' she announced when we were all ready for our big day out to buy school supplies.

''But we've already made plans,'' I told her, ''and I'm not going to let you ruin this special day for everyone. Your little brother's going into first grade.''

''You didn't tell me we were going to Target. They don't have North Face backpacks.''

''I'll buy you a North Face backpack the day you get into Harvard,'' I retorted. ''Now get in the car.''

''I don't want to hear about Harvard! Do you even know what Harvard is?'' she yelled, before slamming the door to her room.

''Did you have to start up with Harvard now?'' asked my wife. She handed me a list of school supplies. ''Take the boys, I'll deal with this.''

''Who am I even doing all this for?'' I mumbled to myself as I walked to the car with our two sons. I wasn't even sure what I meant by ''all this,'' or when exactly I was doing it, but it's something my father used to say. Recently, I find myself repeating lines I heard from my parents as a kid.

It's not that I'm putting pressure on my daughter. Not at all. But she is 16, after all, and she has to realize that life is no picnic, and America is no Jerusalem. So yes, Harvard. It's a legitimate request. If I'm going to pay tens of thousands of dollars I don't have for her American college education, then it might as well be Harvard. Although I'd settle for any Ivy League school.

To make things worse, last week she declared she wanted to be a historian. At first, I laughed, but when I realized she was serious, I was furious: ''History?! You must be joking. What exactly are you going to do with that? Write a thesis about unemployed historians in the 18th century? Is that what I'm doing all this for?''

As we drove off, I listened to a story on NPR about Syrian **refugees** who arrive here without a word of English and are given three months of aid from various organizations. After that, they're left to their own devices. But they are so thrilled to be in the land of opportunity. The teenage son of the family, who could already string together a few sentences in English, talked about how happy he was because now he was in the United States and he could be whatever he wanted -- an engineer, or a doctor.

''Daddy, what language do you talk with Mommy?'' My little boy has been speaking to me exclusively in English since shortly after we came to America from Israel.

''Arabi,'' I answered him, in Arabic, as I always do: I don't want him to forget his language and his Palestinian roots.

''So Daddy, you and Mommy are Arabis?''

''That's right, sweetie. Me and Mommy talk Arabi.''

''So, Daddy,'' he continued, ''that means you and Mommy 'haaave the meats!' ''

''What?'' I was baffled.

''He thinks you're saying Arby's,'' my older son explained. Then he set matters straight for his little brother: ''Mom and Dad are Arabs, not a sandwich place.''

I'd never seen the parking lot at Target so full. Parents with little kids pushed enormous red carts around, students back from summer break were doing last-minute shopping before the semester started. I managed to locate the office supplies, but my heart sank when I studied the list my wife had given me.

What on earth was a pocket folder with prongs? I thought my English was good -- after all, I can give a 90-minute lecture on racism, gentrification and Middle Eastern politics. But I was stumped by ''fine-point black felt-tip marker.''

I had no idea what I was doing. I broke into a sweat, and then, faking a smile, I pretended to text a friend while, in fact, I frantically Googled the items on the list to see their pictures. If my daughter -- God bless her -- had been with me, she would have helped me decipher the list. But I wasn't about to call her and ask for help. As it is, she makes fun of my English and my accent.

I remember once we got into a fight in a restaurant when I ordered salmon, which I'd eaten a million times in Jerusalem. She insisted that Americans drop the ''l'' and pronounce it sa-mun. I yelled that she was wrong because instead of reading T. S. Eliot and Shakespeare, she got her English from Rihanna and Drake.

It took me two hours, but I finally figured out the school supplies. The only thing left was a backpack for my little boy who doesn't know he's an Arab.

''I want the 'Star Wars' backpack,'' he demanded as we stood gazing at the rows of bags.

''But sweetie, it says here very clearly that it has to be a one-gallon Ziploc bag,'' I explained and showed him the list he couldn't even read. ''We have to get a Ziploc, that's what the teacher said.''

I couldn't find anything called Ziploc, despite inspecting every single bag. My older son was getting desperate: ''Dad, maybe we should ask someone?''

''No,'' I insisted. I wasn't going to ask anyone. I didn't want some American sales clerk knowing I couldn't understand simple, elementary-school English. We'd look for that Ziploc bag in another store. I wasn't about to let anyone think we were Middle Eastern **immigrants** coming here to steal jobs from honest Americans. I would not be responsible for a surge in Islamophobia over a Ziploc bag.

''They don't have it here,'' I declared. ''Let's go to a different store.''

''But Dad, 'Star Wars'! You promised!''

''Sorry, sweetie, it has to be a Ziploc.''

They didn't have any Ziplocs at the second store either, but I did find a North Face backpack for $160, before tax. I bought it and asked for a return receipt. My daughter doesn't understand that everything has changed since we came here. She doesn't understand that her mom and I are planning to sell our apartment in Jerusalem -- which we spent more than 20 years working for -- so that she and her brothers can go to school. That we came here to get them away from racism and interminable war, in the hopes those don't follow us here, too.

''Why is he crying?'' my wife asked when we got home.

''Because I couldn't find a Ziploc bag.''

''Dad, Ziplocs are plastic bags for the fridge,'' my daughter groaned, but her disdain gave way to a grin when I gave her the new backpack. ''Thanks!''

''Just so you know, this backpack has to last you through eight years of medical school.''

''Come on, Dad ...''

Then I handed her another gift: a biography of Abraham Lincoln.

''Did you know he was a Republican?'' she asked.

''Who? Lin-ko-len?!''

''It's Lin-con, Dad. The 'l' is silent.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**By its own historical standards, America circa 2016 is a safe place. The country's violent crime rate is about half of what it was in 1991. Cities, in particular, have become markedly less dangerous. Less than half as many police officers are killed in the line of duty today as in the mid-1970s. In 1968, Americans rated ''crime and lawlessness'' as the single most important domestic problem facing the nation. Today, according to Gallup, they rank ''crime/violence'' below issues like the economy, unemployment, racism and race relations, and dissatisfaction with government.

This would seem to be news to Donald Trump, who, speaking to voters in Michigan in August, offered a vision of a ''new American future'' in which ''law and order will be restored.'' The language echoed his convention speech, in which Trump used the phrase ''law and order'' not once, not twice but four times. After painting a bleak picture of American cities overrun by marauding gangs and murderous illegal **immigrants**, he vowed: ''When I take the oath of office next year, I will restore law and order to our country.''

We all understand, more or less, what Trump is getting at. In American politics, ''law and order'' is lock-em-up language, tough talk that is used to vilify far more than crime and criminals. It also tends to encompass the supposed disorder created by poor people, African-Americans, street protesters and **immigrants**. During the 1960s, Richard Nixon and other conservatives famously used the phrase to present ''a comprehensive critique of liberalism's failure,'' in the words of the historian Michael Flamm. Like ''the silent majority,'' another Nixonian throwback that Trump recycles from time to time, ''law and order'' conveyed which side you were on in the political and cultural wars of that era.

But there are some big differences between then and now. In the 1960s, the United States experienced rising murder rates, devastating urban riots and the assassinations of some of the era's most prominent public figures. By contrast, despite this summer's episodes of acute violence and unrest -- the mass shooting at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando in June, Micah Johnson's deadly assault on police in Dallas in July, the rioting and protests that followed a shooting by a police officer in Milwaukee in August -- American society now looks almost pacific. In this context, Trump's reheated language raises the question of why the Nixonian vision of a collapsing nation in need of ''law and order'' still has such political currency, and why, of all the shifting connotations the phrase has carried in American history, this is the one we still cling to.

The phrase ''law and order'' (''lex et ordo'' in the Latin) dates back to somewhere around the late 16th century, when modern states began to emerge. For at least two centuries after that, the words seem to have evoked only a vague sense that society should operate in an orderly and reasonable fashion. In the United States, a wide range of groups, from Whig Party offshoots to late-19th-century temperance leagues, claimed the slogan to various ends. Opponents of lynching put their own social-justice spin on the term, arguing that tolerance of mob action and gruesome violence against African-Americans constituted ''a sinister menace to all forces of law and order,'' in the words of one early-20th-century Southern activist.

The 1920 election produced the nation's first modern ''law and order'' presidential candidate in the form of the Massachusetts governor, Calvin Coolidge. Making a long-shot bid for the Republican nomination, Coolidge ran on his opposition to the Boston Police strike, a position that made him ''the protagonist of the cause of the supremacy of law and order,'' in the words of the former president William Howard Taft. At the Republican convention, Representative Frederick H. Gillett entered Coolidge's name into contention with the decidedly Trumpian promise to ''reinvigorate the homely, orderly virtues which have made America great.'' Though Coolidge lost that bid (he joined the ticket as Warren Harding's vice-presidential candidate), his campaign offered a glimpse of a future in which ''law and order'' would be about suppressing social rebellion as well as controlling crime.

Thanks partly to Coolidge's inspiration, the 1920s unfolded as the nation's first ''law and order'' decade. ''Popular demand is being heard everywhere for candidates pledged to this paramount issue,'' The Christian Science Monitor noted in 1922. Behind this embrace of the term were some of the same worries that would resurface in the 1960s, including a perception of sharply rising crime. Far from bringing a triumph of ''law and order'' as the temperance movement had hoped, Prohibition helped create a major crime wave, as organized syndicates grew fat on bootlegging and smuggling and gained footholds in major cities.

When Franklin Roosevelt entered the White House in 1933, he oversaw the repeal of Prohibition and called for a ''war on crime'' to wipe the slate clean. ''I want the backing of every man, every woman and every adolescent child in every state of the United States and in every county of every state; their backing for what you and the officers of law and order are trying to accomplish,'' he declared to attendees at a crime conference in 1934.

Even then, however, other understandings of ''law and order'' persisted. As late as 1963, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. invoked the phrase to argue on behalf of federal intervention against the Ku Klux Klan, echoing the arguments of the anti-lynching movement. He also insisted that nonviolent civil disobedience, far from violating law and order, could actually help maintain social peace. ''Law and order,'' he wrote, ''exist for the purpose of establishing justice, and ... when they fail to do this they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress.''

Conservatives of the 1960s took direct aim at this linkage of justice and order. ''Justice is merely incidental to law and order,'' J. Edgar Hoover, the F.B.I. director, told CBS News in 1968. ''Law and order is what covers the whole picture.'' Among presidential candidates, Barry Goldwater tried to bring ''law and order'' firmly into the Republican camp, but he lost badly to Lyndon Johnson, who offered his own vision of a ''war on crime'' as well as a ''war on poverty.'' It took Nixon's 1968 campaign to establish Republican ownership of the ''lawnorder issue,'' as one reporter described it in an apparent nod to Nixon's white suburban voters.

To a degree, Nixon simply benefited from the course of events. Between 1965 and 1968, the United States underwent an astonishing string of violent upheavals: deadly riots in Watts, Newark and Detroit; the assassinations of Malcolm X, King and Robert Kennedy; and the brutal police crackdown on demonstrators at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. All of this occurred in the context of rising murder rates and increasingly heated attacks on law enforcement ''pigs.'' When Nixon declared in 1968 that he would ''restore order and respect for law in this country,'' millions of Americans were primed to listen.

After Watergate, national candidates backed away from the ''law and order'' slogan, wary of too close an association with Nixon. But tough-on-crime policies remained popular, not just with Republicans but with Democrats as well. In 1988, George Bush's campaign aired its infamous ''Willie Horton'' ad, blaming his Democratic rival, the Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis, for a deadly weekend crime spree by a black convicted murderer out on furlough in Dukakis's state; Dukakis, seeking to avoid being caricatured as a soft-on-crime liberal, embraced a hawkish law-enforcement platform on the campaign trail. Four years later, Bill Clinton was determined to claim the crime issue as his own. During the 1992 campaign, he returned to Arkansas to preside over the execution of a brain-damaged African-American man named Ricky Ray Rector, and as president he signed some of the most sweeping crime bills in American history.

Trump's own ''law and order'' speechifying often seems to have been ripped directly out of these earlier eras, summoning timeworn racial stereotypes and specters of an acute urban crisis that no longer quite exists. But this anachronism serves its own purpose, as a form of nostalgia politics. ''Law and order'' may no longer reflect a pressing social reality, but it does evoke a time when national politicians spoke openly of the need to push back against urban insurgencies, liberal social policies and racial unrest. In using the phrase, Trump is hinting at his contempt for the Black Lives Matter and gun-control movements, which have staked their own claims about the urgent need to combat violence.

Like King, those movements offer a competing vision of ''law and order'' in which law enforcement and social justice go hand in hand. It's this vision that seems more of the moment in 2016, as politicians in both parties voice concerns over militarized police and overincarceration. Trump's ''law and order,'' by contrast, may have already seen its best political days. For Nixon, invoking the phrase was an expansionary political strategy, a way for the Republican Party to reach traditionally Democratic white voters, especially in the urban North. For Trump, it is just another way of preaching to the converted.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Ithaca, N.Y. -- RECENT polls put Hillary Clinton slightly ahead of Donald Trump in traditionally Republican states like Georgia and close even in South Carolina. Should she make the serious investment necessary to put those states in play for real? Or should she ignore them and invest the same money in traditional battleground states? If the only concern were to minimize Mr. Trump's chances of winning, it would be an easy call: Caution would dictate focusing exclusively on swing states.

Yet as basic economic principles make clear, caution dictates no such thing. Most people prefer not to take risks, yes, but reducing one risk sometimes creates greater exposure to another. For example, Republican congressional majorities have repeatedly blocked our rapidly dwindling opportunity to mitigate climate change, which is one of several crucial areas where they have failed us. **Immigration** reform, income inequality and civil rights also come to mind. The point is that expenditures on the presidential campaign must be weighed against those for congressional races. To get what they want, Democrats must go all in.

The Democratic Party comp seems poised to recapture its Senate majority this year, but the House is a different matter. Many warn that the current 61-seat Republican majority, much of it achieved by post-2010 gerrymandering, has made flipping the lower chamber an unrealistic goal.

But that view betrays a misunderstanding of how partisan gerrymandering actually works. One aim of the practice has been to reconfigure electoral boundaries to transfer redundant votes from safe districts into swing districts. If one district usually votes 60 percent Republican and an adjacent one votes 48 percent Republican, for example, boundaries might be redrawn so that each would vote 54 percent Republican. In a typical election year, the formerly Democratic district would flip Republican. But since each new district would have only a 4 percentage point cushion, both seats would turn blue in a Democratic wave election.

The redrawing of Pennsylvania's congressional districts in 2011 illustrates the Republicans' problem. Taken together, the state's Democratic candidates won about 3 percent more votes than their opponents in 2012, but they won only five of its 18 seats. In the process, however, Republicans created four districts in which Republican presidential candidates normally win by less than two percentage points and another six with margins of six points or less. In theory, each of those seats is now more vulnerable than before. As of last month, according to the Republican political consultant Adrian Gray, Mrs. Clinton led in 54 Republican-held districts nationwide while Mr. Trump led in only three Democratic districts.

Although few Republican House candidates seem eager to embrace Mr. Trump publicly, most have formally endorsed him. Rescinding those endorsements would **alienate** Trump supporters they need. That President Obama has exhorted them to do so would only intensify the resulting backlash if they followed his advice.

It is difficult to overstate the threat that Mr. Trump poses for down-ballot candidates. Across party lines, high-ranking current and former government officials view him as lacking the temperament, character, judgment and experience required of a president. Polls suggest that this assessment is also widely shared by ordinary voters. Although vocal minorities have held similar views about presidential candidates in the past, the current situation is without precedent.

The ads for Democratic opponents of Republican incumbents virtually write themselves. John Plumb, who's challenging my own congressman, the Trump supporter and Tea Party Republican Tom Reed, might consider an ad like the following: ''In a briefing on nuclear weapons with a foreign policy expert, Donald Trump repeatedly asked, 'If we have them, why can't we use them?' Tom Reed wants to entrust this man with the nuclear codes.'' An actual ad emphasizing the lack of daylight between her opponent's positions and those of Mr. Trump, made by LuAnn Bennett, who is challenging Barbara Comstock, a Republican in Virginia's 10th District, further illustrates Mr. Trump's potential to haunt down-ballot candidates.

Since many potentially vulnerable Republican congressional seats are in safely blue states like California and New York, a serious effort to end Republican majorities would of course require expenditures that will have no impact on the Electoral College vote. In the standard way of thinking about trade-offs like these, it would be rational to tolerate a slight increase in the risk of losing the electoral vote if doing so would sufficiently increase the odds of ending congressional gridlock.

But because a campaign's budget is not a fixed sum, the trade-off may be more apparent than real. As economists have long stressed, the amount that people are willing to pay for something depends on what they expect to get in return. Democratic donors understand that their biggest concerns can't be addressed until Republicans lose their congressional majorities. They also understand that if the House doesn't flip this year, there will be virtually no chance of it flipping in the 2018 midterm elections. And until Democrats win enough seats in state legislatures to undo Republican gerrymandering -- which could take decades -- a wave election is the only near-term hope.

The candidacy of Donald Trump offers a unique opportunity. If Mrs. Clinton made the case clearly in these terms, many donors would step up. Democrats could compete for every vulnerable Republican seat without diverting a single dollar from the Electoral College battle.

Some argue that money in politics doesn't matter. That's true in the sense that when both sides spend equally, their efforts tend to be mutually offsetting. But that's why the current opportunity is unique. Democratic donors, who have already been giving generously, have both the means and the inclination to pay for an advertising blitz that Republicans probably cannot match this time around.

If Mrs. Clinton wins the presidency, she has pledged to appoint Supreme Court justices sympathetic to laws curtailing campaign spending. But this election is governed by current laws. A certain rough justice would be served if those laws helped dislodge the Republicans who favor them.

Again, the most urgent reason for a serious effort to flip the House is that longstanding Republican hostility to climate science has blocked steps that could parry the biggest threat to our planet's survival. Estimates suggest that taxing carbon could slow greenhouse gas emissions by enough to stabilize global temperatures by the middle of this century. In a rational world, we would have long since taken that step. But Republicans have persistently refused even to discuss that possibility.

REPUBLICAN opposition to greater investment in clean energy and infrastructure refurbishment is rooted largely in their hostility to higher taxes. But supporting such investments would be less difficult than most people realize. That's because of the seemingly plausible, but essentially false, belief that higher taxes would make it harder for prosperous people to buy what they want.

To get a house with a commanding view or a choice slip in the marina, people must outbid others with similar tastes and incomes. Since tax increases leave all bidders with less to spend, the best home sites and marina slips would still go to the same people as before.

Similar logic suggests why Mr. Trump's candidacy may also facilitate action on the vexing problems that stem from growing income inequality. Most of the income gains of the last 40 years have been concentrated among top earners, who have responded as people normally do, by spending more on everything. The average new house is almost half again as large as its counterpart from 1980, and the average wedding now costs three times as much as it did then. Yet those increases have merely shifted the frames of reference that define what's considered special. If those same dollars had been channeled into productive public investment, families all along the income scale would have benefited enormously. But that won't happen if Republicans retain their congressional majorities.

David Wasserman, an analyst for The Cook Political Report, estimates that House Democrats would need to win roughly eight percentage points more votes than Republicans nationally to flip the House this year. In an increasingly polarized electorate, achieving a margin that large would be difficult, especially if a significant number of people abandon their recent tendency to cast straight party-line votes. But this is not a normal year, and Donald Trump is not a normal candidate.

Many experienced political observers have said they can easily imagine Mrs. Clinton achieving a double-digit margin in November. Substantial uncertainty remains, of course, but if Mr. Trump continues to provide vivid reminders of his unfitness for the presidency, such a margin would hardly seem surprising.

More important, trying to win big would be a prudent goal even if it fell short. Each additional seat Republicans lose this year is one less seat that Democrats will need to achieve future majorities. And if the race were to suddenly tighten, the Clinton campaign could quickly adjust its strategy.

History suggests why certain kinds of change are less improbable than they may seem. National trends often begin many years earlier in California, where **immigration**-bashing Republicans made a hash of the state's budget and did much to degrade its most cherished institutions, including the best public university system in the world. The state's voters eventually got fed up. Once the tipping point was reached, the change was remarkably rapid.

Before Mr. Trump secured the Republican nomination, it seemed naïve to imagine that the opportunity for a similar national transition would arrive this quickly. But here we are.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BURBANK, Calif. -- It was early afternoon on the set of ''The Good Place'' here, and the cast had scattered -- Ted Danson to his trailer for a costume change, Kristen Bell to hers for hair extensions -- leaving the creator of this new comedy, Mike Schur, to enlighten me on its embrace of wild and just plain weird visual effects.

Like flying shrimp.

''The Good Place,'' arriving Sept. 19 on NBC, takes place in what is essentially heaven. It's an idyllic, flower-filled town where residents are awarded soul mates and shop at a clothing store called Everything Fits. But when a newly dead woman (Ms. Bell) turns up -- by mistake, having not lived her life as a particularly good person -- really strange things start to happen. With perfect harmony upended, giraffes clomp out of nowhere, vitamin bottles the size of oil barrels roll down the streets, and a flock of wriggling prawns fills the sky.

''The shrimp are actually only about a 4 on the 10-point crazy scale,'' Mr. Schur said with a laugh. ''At one point, we had two human-sized grasshoppers dressed in outfits from 'Dangerous Liaisons' having a sword fight and yelling in French.''

Arriving during the coming TV season -- hidden among the reboots and movie spinoffs and copy-of-a-copy sitcoms -- are at least five comedies like ''The Good Place'' that break what has long been a cardinal broadcast-network rule: Go with what has worked before. Instead, as they try to break through the television glut, NBC, ABC and Fox are suddenly serving up audacious, almost experimental prime-time humor more in keeping with cable networks like FX and the risk-taking streaming services. There is an overbearing animated warrior returning to the real world, where he wreaks suburban havoc while revisiting his live-action family. Another new comedy provides Jenna Elfman with a furry, spotted, nonhuman B.F.F. with a big mouth.

These ''high-concept'' shows (to use the Hollywood term) can be difficult to execute, partly because writers must walk a fine line between inventive and gimmicky, especially given the broadcast networks' longer seasons, compared with cable. But they represent a new programming strategy for old-school prime time. Broadcasters are not quite throwing in the ratings towel, but they are trying to worry less about an immediate mass audience and more about finding, at the very least, a group of core fans attracted to a strong comedic point of view -- what Jennifer Salke, NBC's president of entertainment, calls ''not a broad and soft, trying-to-please-the-whole-world kind of show.''

''Instead of ending up in the not-so-special middle, do comedy that is specific and sophisticated,'' Ms. Salke said in an interview. ''That might mean that it's not for everybody. But a big group of people will love it, and those people will become advocates and help build a broader audience over time.'' She added, ''Dramas use what-will-happen-next to keep people coming back. More than ever, comedies rely on passionate fans.''

This coming season will bring its share of old-fashioned sitcoms -- most notably on CBS, where Kevin James (''Kevin Can Wait'') and Matt LeBlanc (''Man With a Plan'') will both headline new shows with laugh tracks and time-tested bumbling-dad story lines. Most networks, though, have struggled in recent years to find new mass-appeal comedies. NBC -- which hopes ''The Good Place'' will fill a void left by ''Parks and Recreation'' (which Mr. Schur helped create) -- has had a particularly difficult run. For part of the season in 2015, for the first time since the early 1980s, NBC abandoned comedy entirely on Thursdays. And Fox tried and failed to establish three conventional comedies last year.

So, for the new season, Fox is throwing caution to the wind. ''Son of Zorn,'' set to have a preview on Sept. 11 and its premiere on Sept. 25, mashes together 1980s-style animation and live action: An updated He-Man, voiced by Jason Sudeikis, returns to conservative Orange County, Calif., and tries to reconnect with his ex-wife, played by Cheryl Hines. ''Making History,'' headed for Fox's midseason schedule, is a time-travel comedy that finds its cast (and a ham -- don't ask) zapping among the centuries. Both series come from Phil Lord and Christopher Miller, the duo behind creatively adventurous films like ''The Lego Movie.''

ABC is readying ''Imaginary Mary,'' in which an invented childhood friend (voiced by Rachel Dratch) returns to offer sometimes misguided advice. A talking-pet show called ''Downward Dog'' is also headed to ABC, with Allison Tolman (''Fargo'' on FX) as the pooch's owner. (Both will debut this winter.) ''The minute you see that dog, and you hear his voice, which is a little acerbic and a little narcissistic, you start to laugh,'' said Jamila Hunter, ABC's vice president for multiplatform comedy development.

''The minute'' being the crucial part. High-concept comedies are not new -- consider ''Mork & Mindy,'' ''ALF,'' ''My Mother the Car,'' ''Bewitched'' -- but they are coming back, in part, because they have an immediate hook and premises explained in easy shorthand. In an age when viewers are inundated with more than 400 original scripted series annually (up from about 200 seven years ago), that's important.

''You are competing not just against what's on television right now but against everything that's been made in the history of television,'' Mr. Miller said, noting the many services that offer old shows. (''Family Ties,'' for example, is available on Amazon, iTunes, CBS All Access and Vudu.) As a result, Mr. Lord and Mr. Miller say shows must push beyond accepted boundaries. At its core, ''Son of Zorn'' is a fish-out-of-water comedy -- one of the oldest setups in the book -- but the animation-live-action mash-up lends it a freshness, or so they hope.

''We're not in as much of a big-tent landscape anymore,'' Mr. Lord added, echoing Ms. Salke's point about shifting broadcast network thinking, at least concerning comedy: Rather than aiming at everyone, find an audience -- any audience -- as long as it's a passionate one. (Consider ''Crazy Ex-Girlfriend,'' one of the more out-there shows from last year. The musical comedy series was a ratings flop, but CW gave it a second season largely because the fans it did attract were extremely vocal.)

Success is never guaranteed, of course, especially once the initial novelty wears off. ''The Last Man on Earth,'' which finds Will Forte in postapocalyptic Tucson, started strong on Fox, but has lately sputtered, although the network has renewed it for a third season. (Mr. Miller and Mr. Lord are among its executive producers.) Other recent high-concept comedies have gone down in flames, including ABC's series ''The Muppets'' and ''The Neighbors,'' set in a New Jersey suburb filled with **aliens** who show emotion by leaking green goo from their ears.

There is an important distinction between the coming crop of extra-kooky comedies and ones that have come before, network executives and writer-producers say. Most classic high-concept shows were designed to deliver easy escape. ''I Dream of Jeannie'' did not dazzle with its dopey jokes; the draw was fantasy and the thrill of theretofore unseen visual effects. The new entries are trying to distinguish themselves in the execution as well as the conceit -- to create complex characters and be about something. And that is what networks hope will give them staying power.

''Son of Zorn'' is intended to explore divorce in a new way, and maybe even **immigration**. (After all, Zorn comes from a distant island.) ''Making History'' will have an undercurrent of ''going back and addressing your regret,'' Mr. Lord said.

ABC knows that ''Downward Dog'' cannot trade for long on the talking gag -- television audiences have seen that before (horses, babies) -- and so the show is also about ''people are staying single longer, delaying having families, and family being something that you choose,'' Ms. Hunter said. The made-up friend in ''Imaginary Mary,'' said Lynn Barrie, ABC's vice president for network comedy, ''allowed us to get to the main character's inner thoughts and emotions in a fun way.''

And Mr. Schur said he has ideas about ethics that he wants to explore in ''The Good Place,'' including living life in a ''self-sacrificing, empathetic way without being preachy or soapboxy.''

Sitting inside Stage 44 on the Universal Studios lot in early August, Mr. Schur said his new show was not conceived ''as a reaction to the marketplace, or an effort to game the system.'' But Mr. Schur, who was also a creator of ''Brooklyn Nine-Nine'' and worked on ''The Office,'' conceded that his latest series springs from a category he calls ''other.''

''There are basically three kinds of comedies: workplace, family and other,'' he said in his mile-a-minute way. Tired of workplace situations, he first tried to come up with a family comedy. ''But I had nothing,'' he said. ''The best family comedies right now come from personal experience. And here's my family: White dude and white lady with two white kids live in fairly affluent area of Los Angeles. Not interesting, nothing new to say. At least for a long while, I think we're done with comedies about white dudes and their families.'' (Mr. Schur is married to J. J. Philbin, the daughter of Regis Philbin.)

So that left him with ''other.'' Mr. Schur, 40, said he began to think about a game he sometimes plays while commuting.

''It's about desperately hoping that someone is keeping score of the terrible things that people do when they are driving,'' he said. ''For instance, when people are trying to turn against traffic at a stoplight. I believe that two cars are allowed to turn as the light turns yellow. Two. When there's a third, I get annoyed. When there's a fourth, I go crazy.'' Mr. Schur said he started to meld that idea with a sketch he created in 1999 as a ''Saturday Night Live'' writer. ''It never got on the air,'' he said, ''but it was about God coming to earth and saying, 'Just so everyone knows, the correct answer is Presbyterian.'''

As ''The Good Place'' began to materialize, Mr. Schur began talking to Ms. Bell (''Veronica Mars''; the voice of Anna in ''Frozen'') about playing the female lead, which he summed up this way: ''You're the driver of that fourth car, and when the other drivers honk and get mad, you flip them off.''

Ms. Bell loved the idea of a comedy about ethical behavior.

''This topic -- being a good person, what is my ripple effect in the world -- is something that I was already spending a lot of time thinking about in my personal life,'' she said, sitting in the show's hair and makeup trailer. ''Like, sometimes to the degree that I drive myself crazy.'' She added, making a loose-screw hand gesture beside her head, ''Mike didn't know that side of me then, but he certainly does now!''

For his part, Mr. Danson, who plays a bow-tie-wearing guide to the afterlife, said ''The Good Place'' appealed to him because it was so weird. Along with flying shrimp, the pilot episode involves monster-truck-size ladybugs, Ariana Grande and a Buddhist monk -- heaven meets ''Alice in Wonderland.'' (The grasshoppers, alas, were deemed too over the top.)

''It was the strangest idea I had ever heard, and that excited me,'' said Mr. Danson, the ''Cheers'' veteran whose recent credits include the ''C.S.I.'' franchise and ''Fargo.'' ''I needed to chase the giggle again, but I didn't want to do another standard comedy. I did that for so many years that I stopped finding myself amusing.''

There is enormous pressure on ''The Good Place'' to perform, even with Ms. Salke's professed ratings patience. Based on Mr. Schur's track record, NBC decided to forgo making a pilot and speed ahead with 13 episodes. The network aggressively promoted the show during the Olympics, and has planned a high-profile rollout for it: Two new episodes will run back-to-back on Monday, Sept. 19, after the season premiere of ''The Voice,'' followed by a third new episode on Sept. 22. ''The Good Place'' will subsequently air on Thursday nights.

Mr. Schur feels the weight of NBC's expectations. But he said the network's willingness to let him complete all 13 episodes in a bubble (all will have been shot before the first airs) was essential to ironing out the wrinkles that come with such an unorthodox concept.

''This show, so far, has been a lot of trial and error,'' he said. ''What's too much, what's too little. Viewers must feel comfortable and tethered and in good hands -- that this wild stuff is happening for a reason, and it's not just crazy, willy-nilly land.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**HOW I BECAME A NORTH KOREAN

By Krys Lee

246 pp. Viking. $26.

Is leaving the world's most infamous dictatorship as easy as simply escaping? The answers -- and there are more than one -- are at the heart of Krys Lee's forceful debut novel.

''How I Became a North Korean'' begins simply, in chapters that alternate among three central characters. First we meet Yongju, the good son of elite North Korean parents, who comes home to find a strange man calmly burning their photographs and documents in the kitchen, a clear sign the family has been marked for erasure. Next up is Danny, a Christian Joseonjok from China's Korean ethnic minority, a closeted gay **immigrant** in the United States, a devout Christian and a good student -- until his first crush brutally humiliates him. And finally there is Jangmi, a young woman from North Korea's rank and file, pregnant with a powerful man's child, who sells herself into marriage to a Joseonjok willing to pay the traffickers who arrange her escape to China, where she hopes to persuade her new husband the child is his.

North Koreans typically travel north in order to go south, and so, despite these young people's three very different points of departure, they meet by chance in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, Joseonjok territory, that slim knife of land on the Chinese side of the border. Yongju, separated from his mother and sister after being smuggled out of North Korea, has joined a **refugee** gang of boys and young men living in a mountain cave. He dreams of making his way to South Korea, imagining that he might be able to find his relatives there. But such a hopeful future seems increasingly remote. ''I was starting to measure space,'' he remarks, ''by the number of people it could hide.'' While out searching for supplies, Yongju encounters Danny, who has run away from his family in the United States, intent on living as a sort of ecstatic hermit in the place where he was born, alone with his push-ups, his prayers and his job at a restaurant, experiencing ''the thrill of being out of my time line, in China, a body returning to the past to escape the past.''

When Yongju rescues him from a robbery, Danny falls in love with him and joins his gang. He sees Jangmi, who has been kicked out by her husband and his family, as a bitter rival and quickly comes to resent her. Like Yongju, she is determined to make her way to South Korea, which she imagines as a country where ''scrawny women owned rooms heaped with clothes and cars with heated seats. A safe country.'' But she intends to start a new life there with her child, apart from all who ever knew her -- especially Yongju.

With this novel, Lee has returned to some of the territory covered in ''Drifting House,'' her devastatingly cleareyed book of stories, set in contemporary South Korea. Mustering a story writer's kinetic intensity, the novel seems distracting at first as it switches, chapter by chapter, among the characters, but the spare structure gains strength from their very different voices. Yongju is lyrical, perhaps a future poet. Danny is painfully blind to himself. Jangmi is heartbreakingly ruthless, by turns funny and salty. What emerges from their observations -- of North and South Korea and China, the **refugee** and the **immigrant**, the gay Christian and the straight nonbeliever -- is not just another simplistic indictment of a country in thrall to its Dear Leader, Kim Jong-il, but a compelling vision of both North and South Korea. Lee finds other villains normally hidden in the landscape: the Christian aid workers who require **refugees** to convert in exchange for their freedom; the restaurant guests who, astonishing to a North Korean, leave behind partly eaten bowls of noodles; and, of course, those who insist they want to help North Korean **refugees** but won't let them forget where they came from. A perfect example of their predicament appears near the end, when Jangmi, having at last arrived in South Korea, assimilates so completely that she finds herself being lectured by an older woman, convinced she's too slender, on the value of food. ''I have known all kinds of hunger,'' she tells us, ''but I am tired of fighting. In my best standardized South Korean accent I just say, 'Halmeoni, you must have had a hard life.' In the steaming room I listen patiently as she begins sharing the stories she must have needed to tell.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In the first two ads for Donald J. Trump in the general election campaign, his message and style have closely followed his stump speech: a dark, ominous and fearful portrait of the future under Hillary Clinton, and proclamations of all that the country has to gain by supporting him. His first ad focused on **immigration**, and his new ad, titled ''Two Americas: Economy,'' is about jobs.

THE AD A shadowy portrait of Mrs. Clinton fills the screen, which then fades to shots of a chained-up factory and working-class men and women who look as if they have the weight of the world on their shoulders. ''In Hillary Clinton's America, families get crushed,'' a narrator says, claiming that Mrs. Clinton's tax plans will lead ''hundreds of thousands of jobs to disappear.'' The dystopian portrait of the country under Mrs. Clinton is reinforced by a syncopated piano, softly tracking along in a minor key.

Uplifting violin arrangements signal the arrival of ''Donald Trump's America,'' where ''millions of new jobs are created,'' ''wages go up'' and ''small businesses thrive,'' as the images get brighter, both in tone and in mood. A family of four embraces in its yard, a gray-bearded man in a worker's apron smiles proudly in front of a produce stand, and an African-American family hangs a flag outside its home.

The ad closes on a shot of One World Trade Center in Manhattan, panning up to its spire, as the narrator closes: ''Change that makes America great again.''

THE MESSAGE One of two Americas, but not the story of class strife and stratification that John Edwards ran on in 2004. Rather, it is one of a country on the brink, with two paths ahead: Mr. Trump's or Mrs. Clinton's.

THE TAKEAWAY Although it is without the loud and occasionally caustic style of Mr. Trump's rallies, the Trump ad campaign is following his strategy of sowing fear of a world without Mr. Trump as president. The new ad capitalizes on his economic message, centered on lower taxes and a rethinking of free-trade agreements, which helped him dominate the Republican primaries, and is more palatable to many voters than his hard-line stands on **immigration**. With it he is extending his advertising reach to new states like Colorado and Virginia, where he is behind in polls.

Changing channels ...

Battleground Arizona?

After Mr. Trump's provocative speech on **immigration** on Wednesday in Arizona, the Clinton campaign launched a six-figure ad buy in the state. It is using its ''Role Models'' ad, featuring children watching some of Mr. Trump's most caustic comments, to try to blunt any advantage the speech might have given Mr. Trump in Arizona, where illegal **immigration** is a major concern. Through Sept. 18, the campaign has reserved just under $500,000 in television time in the state, according to Kantar Media/CMAG. The candidates had been statistically tied in Arizona polls for a time, which was notable in a state that only one Democrat -- Bill Clinton in 1996 -- has won since 1948. But the most recent poll showed Mr. Trump with a five-point edge there.

Another Choice

Gary Johnson, the former New Mexico governor and the Libertarian Party candidate for president, remains short of the 15 percent support in polls he needs to make it to the debate stage. Helping him now is Purple PAC, a libertarian ''super PAC'' that has spent just over a half-million dollars airing ads on national cable to introduce the candidate to a wide audience. Its main message: With two candidates who have historically high unfavorable ratings, ''America deserves better.'' But because it is an unaffiliated super PAC that cannot legally coordinate with Mr. Johnson's campaign, the candidate himself never speaks to the camera, making it an awkward national introduction for a candidate without the same name recognition as the two major-party candidates.

Numbers

$36.3 million spent on presidential campaign ads in Florida so far.

$27 million spent in Ohio.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**''My culture is a very dominant culture, and it's imposing and it's causing problems. If you don't do something about it, you're going to have taco trucks on every corner.''

That was Marco Gutierrez, founder of the group Latinos for Trump, issuing a dire warning to the United States in an interview with Joy Reid on MSNBC on Thursday night.

America's response? Mmm, tacos!

In case you missed the source of #TacoTrucksOnEveryCorner â†’ https://t.co/4vnpZY2cQw[https://t.co/4vnpZY2cQw] #inners #reiders -- AM Joy w/Joy Reid (@amjoyshow) September 2, 2016

Though some sympathized with the message, Mr. Gutierrez's comments elicited a largely sarcastic backlash on social media. #TacosOnEveryCorner surged to the top of Twitter's list of trending topics, where it remained on Friday morning.

@allinwithchris @MarcoGutierrez That's the worst thing you can think of? What else? Invading mariachi bands? -- Corinne Marasco (@CorinneAM) September 2, 2016

#TacoTrucksOnEveryCorner sounds like the real American dream to me. FOH. pic.twitter.com/0e5Wx4lRpM -- Akilah Hughes (@AkilahObviously) September 2, 2016

It has begun pic.twitter.com/yaLdFakiC0 -- Blake Hounshell (@blakehounshell) September 2, 2016

The comment came at a sensitive time for Donald J. Trump's presidential campaign. Several members of his Hispanic advisory council withdrew their support this week, saying they had been led to believe that Mr. Trump was shifting his hard-line tone on **immigration**.

''He used us as props,'' said Jacob Monty, who resigned after Mr. Trump reverted to his fiery language on **immigration** Wednesday night after returning from Mexico, where he had struck a more measured, even subdued, tone.

During the interview with Mr. Gutierrez, Ms. Reid quickly interjected, saying, ''I don't even know what that means, and I'm almost afraid to ask.''

Mr. Gutierrez explained:

''We are a culture that -- we have a lot of good things that we bring to the United States, but we also have problems.''

Mr. Gutierrez might have spared himself some of the ridicule had he recognized America's longstanding love affair with Mexican food. Nearly 25 years ago, salsa surpassed ketchup in retail store sales, and some would argue that Mexican food has already conquered American cuisine.

Mr. Trump, for his part, has long been accused of being tone-deaf in his Hispanic outreach, including, for example, in his posting of a photo of himself and a taco bowl on May 5, proclaiming, ''I love Hispanics!''

Happy #CincoDeMayo! The best taco bowls are made in Trump Tower Grill. I love Hispanics! https://t.co/ufoTeQd8yA[https://t.co/ufoTeQd8yA] pic.twitter.com/k01Mc6CuDI -- Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) May 5, 2016

From the start, his hard-line approach to **immigration** has **alienated** Hispanics, and his accusation that Mexico was sending rapists across the border did nothing to tame the controversy.

''When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best,'' Mr. Trump said in announcing his campaign in June 2015. ''They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.''

Later that day, he added that, to keep out undocumented **immigrants**, he would ''build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me,'' a promise repeated numerous times since, including in Phoenix on Wednesday.

As a Trump surrogate, Mr. Gutierrez is not the first to offend. The African-American pastor Mark Burns has said that Hillary Clinton, the Democratic nominee, panders to African-Americans and endorses black genocide. He also apologized for retweeting images of Mrs. Clinton in blackface.

Some observers saw the taco truck remarks as code words to mine the racial resentments of white Americans.

cats and dogs, living together, a taco truck on every corner, you know, real end of the world type stuff -- Oliver Willis (@owillis) September 2, 2016

Others reacted with humor:

''We shall defend our #TacoTrucksOnEveryCorner'' whatever the cost may be...we shall never surrender.'' Winston Churchill https://t.co/CZcy1xGMn1[https://t.co/CZcy1xGMn1] -- Corinne Marasco (@CorinneAM) September 2, 2016

Here for #TacoTrucksOnEveryCorner like... pic.twitter.com/rmyBnsEuna -- Josh Shahryar (@JShahryar) September 2, 2016

Personally I'd like a taco truck on every corner of my living room. -- (((maura quint))) (@behindyourback) September 2, 2016

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PHILADELPHIA -- Amid confusion over whether he would speak at a black church this weekend, Donald J. Trump's halting attempts to win over African-American voters took him to Philadelphia on Friday, where he spoke with a small group of business owners and community leaders and had an emotional meeting with the mother of a young woman who was killed by undocumented **immigrants**.

After largely avoiding black audiences during his campaign, Mr. Trump had arranged to appear at a prominent black church, Great Faith Ministries, in Detroit on Saturday.

After a New York Times report that he would not address the congregation and would give only scripted answers to questions pre-submitted by the pastor, his campaign said Thursday that Mr. Trump would speak to the crowd for five to 10 minutes.

But on Friday afternoon, the pastor, Bishop Wayne T. Jackson, insisted that talk of Mr. Trump speaking was only ''rumors'' and that he would be allowed to offer only a short greeting to the congregation, not a pitch for why they should vote for him.

''When we have guests, whether they are a celebrity, an actress, an actor, or whether it's just somebody who is well known, we do allow them to say, 'I'm here today,''' Mr. Jackson said. ''A greeting. Thank you very much and sit down. There is not going to be a 10 minute speech from nobody. No.''

The Trump campaign did not immediately respond on Friday.

The night before, his senior communications adviser, Jason Miller, had said Mr. Trump was eager to present himself to members of the church.

''If you know anything about Mr. Trump, it's that he will want the opportunity to take his vision and message of opportunity directly to the people on Saturday,'' Mr. Miller had said.

Mr. Trump's support among black voters remains dismal, low even by Republican standards, owing to a string of slights that include his questioning of President Obama's birth certificate and his dismissive treatment of Black Lives Matter protesters.

But in swing states like Pennsylvania, winning over even a few new African-American voters could mean the difference.

Mr. Trump believes his calls to end illegal **immigration** can transcend racial lines, and on Friday, he met with a black woman, Shalga Hightower, 55, who wept as she described how her 20-year-old daughter Iofemi was murdered, along with two friends, by a group of men which included two undocumented **immigrants**.

Mr. Trump asked about the fate of the young men and Ms. Hightower said that they had all received life sentences.

''But they should have never been here,'' said Mr. Trump, looking solemn as he consoled the crying mother.

''But they should have never been here, absolutely,'' she replied.

When reporters asked about a few dozen protesters who could be heard shouting outside, Ms. Hightower's son, Jamar Hightower, 26, jumped into the discussion.

''It's way bigger than that,'' he said. ''I mean there's freedom of speech and they can think what they want. But, at the end of the day, I feel as though this man is the only one that's actually standing up to do something about it.''

The Hightowers and the 12 local leaders, most of them Republicans, who met with Mr. Trump Friday were aware that many black Americans have a dim view of the candidate.

Even so, Daphne Goggins, a local party leader, thanked Mr. Trump for coming and wept as she said: ''For the first time in my life, I feel like my vote is going to count.''

And Renee Amoore, the founder of a consulting firm, said she appreciated Mr. Trump for ''coming to the hood.''

''That's a big deal,'' she said. ''Let's be clear here, folks.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The Republican National Committee had high hopes that Donald J. Trump would deliver a compassionate and measured speech about **immigration** on Wednesday, and prepared to lavish praise on the candidate on the party's Twitter account.

So when Mr. Trump instead offered a fiery denunciation of migrant criminals and suggested deporting Hillary Clinton, Reince Priebus, the party chairman, signaled that aides should scrap the plan, and the committee made no statement at all.

The evening tore a painful new wound in Mr. Trump's relationship with the Republican National Committee, imperiling his most important remaining political alliance.

Mr. Priebus and his organization have been steadfastly supportive of Mr. Trump, defending him in public and spending millions of dollars to aid him. But the collaboration between Mr. Trump's campaign and Mr. Priebus's committee has grown strained over the last month, according to six senior Republicans with detailed knowledge of both groups, some of whom asked to speak anonymously for fear of exacerbating tensions.

There is no prospect of a full public breach between the Trump campaign and the R.N.C. because both sides rely on a joint fund-raising arrangement crucial to their election efforts.

But tensions have grown to such a point that they threaten to diminish the party's ability to work smoothly with Mr. Trump during the most critical post-Labor Day phase of the race, when the committee traditionally helps supervise an extensive voter turnout effort.

Mr. Trump, who has struggled to raise money, is dependent on his party's national committee to perform many of the basic functions of a presidential campaign. Should the partnership continue to deteriorate, it could hinder Mr. Trump's bid for a late comeback in the race.

Mr. Priebus said in a statement that there was no significant friction between his committee and the Trump campaign, describing theirs as a ''fantastic working relationship.''

''Any insinuation to the contrary is purely overblown gossip,'' Mr. Priebus said.

And Jason Miller, Mr. Trump's spokesman, said: ''Cooperation between the Trump campaign and the R.N.C. has never been better -- we are fully integrated. Everybody knows what has to be done to elect Mr. Trump and stop Hillary Clinton.''

But senior advisers to Mr. Priebus and Mr. Trump have collided over the turbulence in the campaign, the senior Republicans said. Mr. Trump's top policy adviser questioned Mr. Priebus's competence in a caustic email this week after the Phoenix speech. And Mr. Trump's son-in-law, Jared Kushner, and Mr. Priebus's chief of staff clashed in a tense meeting over the use of the committee's war chest.

Within Mr. Trump's circle, there is impatience with what advisers view as a cautious and conventional party bureaucracy, ill-equipped to accommodate Mr. Trump's improvisational style. At times, Trump aides have vented that frustration in language that was contemptuous of Mr. Priebus, a genial Wisconsin lawyer who has been chairman for five years.

When Mr. Trump's **immigration** speech this week spurred resignations from the National Hispanic Advisory Council for Trump, a party-backed group, one of Mr. Trump's top advisers lashed out at Mr. Priebus in an email to the campaign staff.

''The RNC needs to take control of this situation and quickly,'' wrote Stephen Miller, Mr. Trump's senior policy adviser, who often travels with the candidate.

Describing the Hispanic Republicans who resigned in dismay as ''professional amnesty lobbyists,'' Mr. Miller asked, ''Can Reince do his job?''

Inside the committee, top officials have lost confidence in Mr. Trump's ability to right his listing campaign, according to the senior Republicans. Complaints abound about the haphazard nature of Mr. Trump's operation, in which power is so divided among strategists and members of the Trump family that the process of making even simple decisions is laborious and unpredictable. Mr. Trump is on his third campaign leadership team, having dismissed two previous chief advisers, and he has already fired two senior staff members, Rick Wiley and Ed Brookover, whose jobs included coordinating his strategy with the R.N.C.

Mr. Priebus, who has a warm relationship with Mr. Trump and speaks with him daily, has also confided to some Republicans that he has been disappointed by Mr. Trump's failure to evolve as a candidate in the general election.

He denied in a statement that he had complained about Mr. Trump's refusal to shift course. ''I've said exactly the opposite,'' Mr. Priebus said. ''I think he's had his best three weeks.''

Robin Hayes, the chairman of the North Carolina Republican Party, said he was optimistic about the emerging relationship between his organization and the Trump campaign in his own state. But Mr. Hayes said it was widely understood within the national committee that Mr. Trump needed to make adjustments.

''There have been discussions, that we don't need to create, 'Cleanup on Aisle 3,' for ourselves,'' Mr. Hayes said. ''He's still going to be Trump -- that's important -- but Trump in a way that fits into a general election.''

Throughout the campaign, Mr. Priebus and his committee have been broadly deferential to Mr. Trump, declining to criticize many of his most provocative remarks and quickly designating him as the party's presumptive nominee in May. For Mr. Trump, Mr. Priebus has appeared to be a patient and accommodating partner, eager to promote his campaign and willing to rebuke Republicans who have declined to support him.

Recently, the committee has sent aides to work several days a week at Trump Tower to bolster collaboration with Mr. Trump's campaign. These include Sean Spicer, a close adviser to Mr. Priebus.

But the conflict has continued. At a meeting in New York late last month, Mr. Kushner, who is married to Ivanka Trump, pointedly challenged Katie Walsh, the committee's chief of staff, over the party's spending plans.

In a tone that several witnesses described as imperious and aggressive, Mr. Kushner suggested that the national committee might not be giving Mr. Trump all the support he was due.

Ms. Walsh pushed back strongly, telling Mr. Kushner, who has no background in politics, that the committee's fund-raising and spending are disclosed in detail to the Federal Election Commission, according to the witnesses who were in the room and two people briefed by them afterward.

Ms. Walsh told Mr. Kushner that the committee had a responsibility to take a broad view of its finances, mapping out a budget for the entire party and ensuring it could remain operational for the rest of the year, and could not solely focus on Mr. Trump's needs.

Mike DuHaime, a former political director for the committee, said tensions with the campaign could be harmful to both sides in the general election.

''For the field operation to be truly effective, the campaign, the R.N.C and down-ballot races need to be on the same page about goals and resource allocation,'' he said.

Rudolph W. Giuliani, the former New York City mayor who has become one of Mr. Trump's closest advisers, said he was confident that Mr. Priebus remained ''on board'' with the Trump campaign. At the same time, he acknowledged that much of the institutional Republican Party remained unfriendly to Mr. Trump.

''The R.N.C. is giving him a lot of support,'' Mr. Giuliani said. ''He doesn't have the united Republican Party behind him in the way that a more establishment candidate would.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Many people have characterized my novel, ''The Sympathizer,'' as an **immigrant** story, and me as an **immigrant**. No. My novel is a war story and I am not an **immigrant**. I am a **refugee** who, like many others, has never ceased being a **refugee** in some corner of my mind.

**Immigrants** are more reassuring than **refugees** because there is an endpoint to their story; however they arrive, whether they are documented or not, their desires for a new life can be absorbed into the American dream or into the European narrative of civilization.

By contrast, **refugees** are the zombies of the world, the undead who rise from dying states to march or swim toward our borders in endless waves. An estimated 60 million such stateless people exist, 1 in every 122 people alive today. If they formed their own country, it would be the world's 24th largest -- bigger than South Africa, Spain, Iraq or Canada.

My memories of becoming a **refugee** are fragments of a dream, hallucinatory and unreliable. Soldiers bouncing me on their knees, a tank rumbling through the streets, a crowded barge of desperate people fleeing Vietnam.

I have no guarantee these images are true. They date from the early 1970s, when I lived in the country synonymous with war. I wonder if the fact that I cannot stand the taste of milk today has to do with being a 4-year-old boy on that barge, sipping from milk a stranger shared with my family.

Perhaps this is how history becomes imprinted in the body, how fear becomes a reflex, how memory becomes a matter of taste and feeling.

My real memories began soon after we arrived at the **refugee** camp in Fort Indiantown Gap, Pa., in the summer of 1975. Only those **refugees** with sponsors could leave the camp. But no sponsor would take our family of four, so my parents went to one home, my 10-year-old brother went to another and I went to a third. My separation from my parents lasted only a few months, but it felt much longer. This forced separation, what my childhood self experienced as abandonment, remains an invisible brand stamped between my shoulder blades.

A few years later we moved across the country. My parents, merchants in their homeland, had no desire to do the menial work expected of them in Harrisburg, Pa., where we had settled.

Instead, they opened a grocery store in a depressed area of downtown San Jose, working 12- to 14-hour days, seven days a week, except for Christmas Day, Easter and New Year's Day. They became successful, at the cost of being shot in an armed robbery.

Today, when many Americans think of Vietnamese-Americans as a success story, we forget that the majority of Americans in 1975 did not want to accept Vietnamese **refugees**. (A sign hung in the window of a store near my parents' grocery: ''Another American forced out of business by the Vietnamese.'') For a country that prides itself on the American dream, **refugees** are simply un-American, despite the fact that some of the original English settlers of this country, the Puritans, were religious **refugees**.

Today, Syrian **refugees** face a similar reaction. To some Europeans, these **refugees** seem un-European for reasons of culture, religion and language. And in Europe and the United States, the attacks in Paris, Brussels, San Bernardino, Calif., and Orlando, Fla., have people fearing that Syrian **refugees** could be Islamic radicals, forgetting that those **refugees** are some of the first victims of the Islamic State.

Because those judgments have been rendered on many who have been cast out or who have fled, it is important for those of us who were **refugees** to remind the world of what our experiences mean.

I was -- I am -- the lucky kind of **refugee** who was carried along by his parents and who had no memory of the crossing. For people like my parents and the Syrians today, their voyages across land and sea are far more perilous than the ones undertaken by astronauts or Christopher Columbus. To those watching news reports, the **refugees** may be threatening or pitiful, but in reality, they are nothing less than heroic.

They will remain scarred by their history. It is understandable that some do not want to speak of their scars and might want to pretend that they are not **refugees**. It is more glamorous to be an exile, more comprehensible to be an **immigrant**, more desirable to be an expatriate. The need to belong can change **refugees**themselves both consciously and unconsciously, as has happened to me and others.

A Vietnamese colleague of mine once jokingly referred to his journey from ''**refugee** to bourgeoisie.'' When I told him I, too, was a **refugee**, he stopped joking and said, ''You don't look like one.''

He was right. We can be invisible even to one another. But it is precisely because I do not look like a **refugee** that I have to proclaim being one, even when those of us who were **refugees** would rather forget that there was a time when the world thought us to be less than human.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**AUGUSTA, Me. -- No visitor to Gov. Paul R. LePage's office suite can miss the framed message on the wall, opposite the main door: ''Don't expect to build up the weak by pulling down the strong.''

It is a quote from Calvin Coolidge, used as wall art -- and an indication of the combative philosophy of government under a Republican governor who has, time and again, generated headlines over vulgar and racially charged remarks.

This week he landed himself in the national spotlight after leaving a profane and threatening voice mail for a Democratic lawmaker and by committing to sweeping generalizations about race and the state's heroin crisis.

It is the worst crisis of his six-year tenure and Mr. LePage, with the backing of top House Republicans, has vowed to ride it out. And by Friday, it looked as though he would, with a possible special session dead in the water after House Democrats and Senate Republicans fractured over how, exactly, to call one, and what it would do.

But beyond the offensive comments, lawmakers from both parties describe confounding difficulties under Mr. LePage, who they say has instigated dramatic shifts in the state's political atmosphere, thrown wrenches into basic workings of state government, and made a habit of outbursts that even his allies concede distract from his political accomplishments.

''He's abrasive and rough on the edges and no one agrees with that,'' Kenneth Fredette, minority leader of the Democrat-controlled House and a key ally for Mr. LePage, said Tuesday, even as he announced he did not want to convene a special legislative session on the governor's behavior. ''I get so mad at him when he does that, because it takes away from the good work that we are doing.''

Mr. LePage, who has vowed this week to never speak to the press again, did not respond to a detailed request for comment.

Republicans in the state praise Mr. LePage for seeking to cut welfare costs, paying off the state's hospital debt and overseeing a considerable drop in the unemployment rate: It stands at 3.9 percent, down from 8.1 percent when he was first elected, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Yet, many say, at the same time he has elevated personal differences into political hurdles.

Mr. LePage has created rifts with even would-be ideological allies like Senate President Mike Thibodeau, a conservative Republican, avoiding meetings with him after the Senate Republicans failed to support his budget last year.

''A lot of this is about relationships, and relationships are frayed,'' Mr. Thibodeau said this week.

Mr. LePage has made no secret of his disdain for much of the Legislature, and one way he has shown it is by keeping a tight grip on the information lawmakers say they need. Legislators have banded together to act on things like the state budget despite his vetoes.

''Many of the governor's actual broad policy goals, most if not all of us in the party agree with,'' said Senator Roger Katz, a Republican who has been critical of Mr. LePage for much of his term. ''But in many ways he's been his own worst enemy.''

After the events of the last week, Democrats called for Mr. LePage's ouster. Many Senate Republicans wanted at least a censure, but balked Friday at Democrats' open-ended call for a special session. Top House Republicans are standing by the governor.

The discord will likely delay any action until the next session, in January.

Assuming he stays in office, observers say, Mr. LePage could well finish out the rest of his second term more detached than ever. (He is term-limited and cannot seek re-election.)

''His combativeness ultimately further polarizes his enemies, and pushes away his allies,'' said Bill Nemitz, a columnist for The Portland Press Herald, a newspaper Mr. LePage once jokingly said that he would like to blow up.

''As he gets deeper and deeper into his tenure, he finds himself more and more isolated and unable to accomplish anything.''

It seemed so different when Mr. LePage was elected in a three-way race during the Tea Party sweep of 2010 that gave Republicans the majority in the House and Senate here for the first time in decades. He was re-elected easily in 2014 in another three-way race.

''It was a big deal,'' said Lance Dutson, a Republican political strategist who worked to get Mr. LePage elected and then ran the conservative Maine Heritage Policy Center in the early years of his term, where he was supportive of Mr. LePage's policies. He has since come out publicly against the governor.

But ''his first foray into Augusta politics was just an utter disaster,'' Mr. Dutson said. ''There was all kinds of infighting with the Legislature. He did not want the Legislature to participate in the budget process.''

Mr. LePage's temper and erratic behavior became an open secret, shocking a State House that had long prided itself on cordial politics. He has, over the years, yelled at Democrats, held angry news conferences, **alienated** members of both parties and marched unannounced into legislative hearings. The Republican Party had a storied legacy of bipartisan deal-making, represented by elected officials like United States Senator Susan Collins and Margaret Chase Smith, a former United States senator.

''Paul LePage's tenure so far as governor of Maine has fundamentally changed the political climate in this state,'' said Mark D. Brewer, a political scientist at the University of Maine. ''It's changed how business is done in Augusta for sure.''

Lawmakers on both sides of the aisle say Mr. LePage's administration tightly controls basic information, like leaving members of the Appropriations Committee in the dark about critical spending information. He has, at times, banned agency heads from appearing before committees and instructed legislators to route any questions through his office.

''He wants to control every issue, every minute issue,'' said Linda Valentino, the lead Senate Democrat on the Appropriations Committee. ''He's micromanaging every aspect of state government.''

Mr. LePage has also been openly retaliatory. Last summer, he threatened to take away a charter school's funding if it did not rescind a job offer to the Democratic House speaker, and attempted to veto dozens of bills in an effort to punish the entire Legislature for not supporting his effort to eliminate the income tax. The courts overturned 65 vetoes.

It has created a quandary for Republicans like Senator Amy Volk, who comes from a moderate district and called this week for Mr. LePage to be censured.

''He's tried to do, and he has done, some really positive things for our state,'' Ms. Volk said in an interview. ''At other times, his unwillingness to meet even with Republicans, and his unwillingness to do things like put together a budget, have made it more challenging and have contributed to partisanship in the State House.''

Some say it has also created a climate that leaves state employees fearful of retribution.

''I represent more state employees than anybody,'' said Senator Katz, the Republican whose district includes the capital, Augusta. ''I think it's safe to say that general state employee morale is poor.''

Mr. LePage has also returned, time and again, to themes of race and **immigration**. This year, he said asylum-seekers brought diseases like the ''ziki-fly,'' and his administration has pushed to cut welfare benefits for some asylum-seekers, frustrating members of a community that has grown in Maine. And he has repeatedly linked the state's heroin crisis, especially in the last week, to black and Hispanic people from out of state.

''It seems he doesn't like **immigrants**, he doesn't like people from other parts of the world, he's always against **refugees**, and now he's against African-Americans,'' said Hassan Adan, a social services case manager who arrived in Lewiston 10 years ago as a **refugee** from Somalia. ''His comments may divide the community, because some people may believe what he says.''

In a statement released on Wednesday -- the first after a week of controversy -- Rick Bennett, the chairman of the Maine's Republican Party, called the controversies related to to Mr. LePage ''tremendously difficult and unnecessary for the people of Maine.''

No one knows that more than the Legislature's Republicans, who must now face their districts, where they all must seek re-election in November, and explain what they make of Mr. LePage.

''Let's just be honest,'' Mr. Thibodeau, the Senate president, said Thursday. ''The governor's put Republicans in a tough spot.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**BERLIN -- A year after Chancellor Angela Merkel threw open the doors to hundreds of thousands of migrants, that fateful move is haunting her politically, opening her to a strong electoral challenge from the far right this weekend and complicating efforts to forge a united response to Britain's decision to leave the European Union.

Ms. Merkel, chancellor since fall 2005 and Europe's longest serving leader, has found herself on the defensive in a round of interviews on both the anniversary of the **refugee** influx and the effective start of campaigning for next year's national elections.

''Germany will remain Germany, with all that is dear to us,'' she insisted in an interview this week with the Süddeutsche Zeitung, a leading newspaper.

With everything in flux in Europe after the stunning British vote to exit the European Union, and elections also in France and the Netherlands next year, Ms. Merkel has come under increasing fire at home.

Her approval rating in a widely regarded monthly poll for the public broadcaster ARD slipped to 47 percent in August, compared with 75 percent in April 2015, before the **refugee** challenge.

If national elections were held now, her conservative bloc would get 33 percent of the vote, according to a Forsa Institute poll of 2,503 selected respondents published on Wednesday. That compares with just over 41 percent in the last national vote in 2013.

An early indication of the political troubles ahead could arrive on Sunday, when the far-right Alternative for Germany party, which has risen largely on popular fears of the mostly Muslim newcomers, threatens to overtake Ms. Merkel's Christian Democratic Union in elections in her political home state.

Such an outcome would be a stinging rebuke of her migrant policies. Opinion polls show the two parties neck and neck, hovering just over 20 percent in a statistical dead heat in the state, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, one of Germany's poorest regions in the former East.

''The failed policy of the chancellor is a stroke of luck for our party,'' said Alexander Gauland, a leader of Alternative for Germany. ''It drives voters towards us.''

By opening Germany's borders to all last year without consulting even one member of Parliament, he added, Ms. Merkel behaved like a dictator. ''It is regarded by just about every European leader as an act of madness,'' he said.

In tacit acknowledgment of critics who say she consulted nobody on the **refugee** move, Ms. Merkel has embarked on a listening tour of Europe to try to repair relations. In Tallinn, the Estonian prime minister effusively thanked her for her leadership.

But it was plain in Warsaw, where she met the four Central European leaders who have flatly refused to take in **refugees**, that she was not among friends.

A host of other demands -- from Italy and France for looser purse strings, from Scandinavian and Dutch leaders to beware of fading support for Europe in their countries -- are tugging at Ms. Merkel as she and President François Hollande of France consult the Continent's leaders.

They will succeed, at least on paper, in sketching some grand goals for Europe to be announced at a meeting of 27 nations -- all of the bloc's members save Britain -- in mid-September.

But no one has so far explained how Europe is likely this time, for example, to reduce youth unemployment, a goal voiced for years and reiterated since Britain voted on June 23 to leave the union.

Missing goals again is not likely to enhance Europeans' faith in the bloc. ''The chief concern should be for the attractiveness of the union,'' said Guntram B. Wolff, director of the Bruegel think tank in Brussels.

Security, both internal and external, may be one area of action after terrorist attacks in Belgium, France and Germany this year. The French and German interior ministers have announced enhanced security measures that are likely to be adopted across the Continent.

With Britain, one of Europe's two nuclear powers, looking for the exit, it is no longer in a position to hamper moves toward what France, Germany and Poland defined this week as ''a European civil and military planning and command capacity.''

That will also require ''development of a strong and competitive defense economy in Europe,'' the foreign ministers of the three countries declared.

Even Viktor Orban, the prime minister of Hungary and Ms. Merkel's most implacable opponent on **refugees**, seems to agree.

In Warsaw, he bluntly said that Europe had failed to master economic challenges and that ''we have no answers to the migrant crisis.'' But, he added, ''security takes first place.''

''We want to build up a shared European army, common European forces,'' he continued.

How far any such plans progress is as uncertain as Ms. Merkel's political future.

Analysts and politicians across the board see no serious challenger to Ms. Merkel, who has coyly said only that she will announce ''at the given time'' whether she will seek a fourth term next year.

Jacqueline Boysen wrote a 2001 biography of Ms. Merkel, whom she got to know in the 1990s in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, where the chancellor has her parliamentary constituency. She doubted that Ms. Merkel would leave her giant **refugee** task half-finished, or her party in the lurch, by declining to run.

''It would be unlike her to leave the party in a mess,'' said Ms. Boysen, now a journalist in Berlin. ''She is very much aware of duty.''

She also emphasized that Ms. Merkel, a trained physicist who entered politics only as Germany unified in 1990, had constantly been underestimated. ''She was not taken seriously,'' Ms. Boysen recalled in an interview. ''The subtext was always, 'She can't do it.' ''

In defense of her decision last year, Ms. Merkel trumpets her success in forging a European Union pact with Turkey to stanch the flow of **refugees** into the Balkans. But Turkey has proved a difficult partner, purging thousands of judges, teachers, journalists and human rights campaigners after a failed coup in July.

Still, in an interview with ARD this week, Ms. Merkel could not resist a little smile as she noted that NATO began a mission to save **refugees** in the Aegean in just five days in the spring, and that the pact with Turkey was negotiated within months.

''Many people said, 'We can't do this,' and then it got done,'' she said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Friday is the first anniversary of the death of Alan Kurdi, a 2-year-old Syrian **refugee** whose drowned body was discovered on a beach in Turkey. Photos of the boy shocked the world and put a human face on the **refugee** crisis.

In the months since, thousands of **refugees** have died making the same perilous journey that ended in the death of Alan, his brother and his mother. Hundreds of other children have died in the fighting that continues to roil Syria.

Here is a look back at some of the coverage of Alan's death and of other children killed or injured in Syria or while trying to escape.

Brutal Images of Syrian Boy Drowned Off Turkey Must Be Seen, Activists Say

A sense of weary resignation at the plight of the Syrians -- and hundreds of thousands of other **refugees** and migrants taking desperate risks to reach the safety of Europe -- was briefly punctured by horrifying images of one of the young victims, a small boy whose body was discovered, face down in the sand, by a Turkish police officer. -- Robert Mackey

Syrian Family's Tragedy Goes Beyond Image of Boy on Beach

When Alan Kurdi's tiny body washed up on a beach in Turkey, forcing the world to grasp the pain of Syria's **refugees**, the 2-year-old boy was just one member of a family on the run, scattered by nearly five years of upheaval. -- Anne Barnard

How Omran Daqneesh, 5, Became a Symbol of Aleppo's Suffering

In the images, he sits alone, a small boy coated with gray dust and encrusted blood. His little feet barely extend beyond his seat. He stares, bewildered, shocked and, above all, weary, as if channeling the mood of Syria. -- Anne Barnard

One Photo of a Syrian Child Caught the World's Attention. These 7 Went Unnoticed.

Omran's picture has resonated for reasons obvious and unknowable. Here are images of seven of the many other children treated in the past week at hospitals in the same region. They are taken from among several that were posted by doctors and other residents of Aleppo on a WhatsApp group for journalists. -- Anne Barnard and Hwaida Saad

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Margarita Alberto cannot forget the tantrum her 6-year-old son threw several months ago. One afternoon he started shouting that he wanted to leave the Pennsylvania **immigration** detention center for families, where they have been held since Oct. 28, 2015, ''He said, 'It's your fault that we're here, your fault!''' Ms. Alberto said.

And then, she recalled, he tightened the lanyard holding his ID card around his neck, threatening to choke himself if they didn't get out.

Ms. Alberto and her son, migrants from El Salvador seeking asylum in the United States, are still detained, along with 65 other women and children at the Berks County Residential Center in Leesport, Pa., about 70 miles northwest of Philadelphia.

''The truth is, I'm in limbo,'' Ms. Alberto said in Spanish through a translator during a telephone interview last week from the center. ''I don't know if I'll be released here or if they'll return me to my country, which is what I don't want.''

She is one of 28 women who were denied asylum and who have filed a federal lawsuit seeking new hearings because, they said, their original ''credible fear'' hearings were conducted improperly. An appeals court rejected their claim on Monday.

On Wednesday Ms. Alberto and 21 other women who call themselves ''Madres Berks,'' or ''Berks Mothers,'' restarted a hunger strike they had conducted for 16 days in August. Their action drew renewed attention to the Obama administration's policy toward migrants from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras who have crossed the United States border in order to flee extreme violence.

As a response to an enormous influx of Central Americans in 2014, the Department of Homeland Security began putting mothers and children who crossed the border in detention, hoping that it would discourage others from coming to the United States. But under pressure from advocates, and prompted by a federal court ruling in August 2015, the agency changed course, moving to curtail the prolonged detention of most families seeking asylum.

The family detention center in Berks County is one of three in the United States; the other two are larger and in Texas.

Jeh Johnson, the Homeland Security secretary, said last month that a committee would conduct an internal review of the privately run family detention centers by November. **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement officials said that the Berks center, run by the county, would be evaluated in a separate review.

When Mr. Johnson said last month that the average length of stay at a family detention center was 20 days, that upset the women in Berks and prompted their hunger strike.

''I have been here for 320 days,'' Amparo Osorio, 26, who came from Honduras and has a 2-year-old son, said on Tuesday. Like all the women detained at Berks who spoke in telephone interviews conducted in Spanish, she asked not to be identified by her complete name, for fear of retaliation by staff members.

''What we want is for our voices to be heard,'' Ms. Osorio said.

Senator Bob Casey, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, sent a letter on Aug. 24 to Mr. Johnson about the prolonged detentions and the conditions at Berks.

''The families detained there have in many cases escaped unspeakable horrors in their countries of origin and are seeking asylum and a better life, '' Mr. Casey wrote. ''We can do better than the treatment they are receiving.''

Bridget Cambria, one of three local lawyers who represents the detainees, said there are limited services available to the families at Berks. Children, who range in age from 2 to 16, are divided into two classrooms, but are not allowed to attend an outside school. (The government said it provides five full-time teachers.) The families have access to outdoor recreation, but are prohibited from going outside a wooden fence. They can use the internet, but social media is not allowed. The detainees must clean the center themselves -- for which they get paid $1 a day.

The mothers say the monotony is hardest on their children. ''We wake up and we see the same walls, the same ceiling, and we think to ourselves, 'When will this end?''' said Estefani, 16, the oldest child at Berks. She and her sister and their mother, Maria Leiva, who came from El Salvador, had been in detention for 373 days as of Friday.

About a third of the women are plaintiffs in a federal lawsuit brought in March by the American Civil Liberties Union against the Department of Homeland Security. The suit contested the legality of their initial asylum interviews. A district court in Philadelphia said that it did not have jurisdiction in the case.

But on Monday, a federal appeals court went even further. It ruled that the women, because they had been apprehended hours after having ''surreptitiously'' crossed the border, had no right to sue. That, said several legal scholars this week, violated habeas corpus, the basic constitutional right to challenge the legality of imprisonment or detention.

Only suspended in times of rebellion or invasion, that right has been extended to slaves and, more recently, to noncitizen ''enemy combatants'' held at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba.

''It was exactly designed to protect outsiders,'' said Eric M. Freedman, a professor at Hofstra Law School who specializes in constitutional law.

''If this decision is left intact, it's going to be the first time in the history of this country in which noncitizens who enter the United States and are on U.S. soil, are not going to have the opportunity in habeas corpus to challenge their removal orders,'' said Lee Gelernt, the lead lawyer arguing the case for the ACLU.

The women are appealing the decision.

They say their acts of civil disobedience -- protests and hunger strikes -- have provoked tensions with Berks and **immigration** officials. Thomas Decker, an **immigration** field officer, met with the women in August and warned them to suspend the hunger strike because they could become too weakened to take care of their children; he said they could be sent to an ''adult jail'' without their children, three mothers said.

''We told him, 'Why would he do that?''' Ms. Leiva, 41, said. ''We weren't criminals or delinquents.''

Khaalid Walls, a spokesman for the **immigration** agency, said in a statement: ''I.C.E. fully respects the rights of all people to voice their opinion without interference. I.C.E. does not retaliate in any way against hunger strikers. I.C.E. explains the negative health effects of not eating to our residents. For their health and safety, I.C.E. closely monitors the food and water intake of those identified as being on a hunger strike.''

The women question why they cannot be released and wear ankle bracelets with tracking devices while waiting for their asylum cases to proceed.

Some women who are part of the lawsuit have already been released. Mr. Walls said, adding that ''many factors can contribute to the length of a resident's stay, including but not limited to the current disposition of their **immigration** cases.''

But Ms. Alberto's lawyers say the government is retaliating against her for speaking to the media. Last week, the government requested her emergency transfer to a more secure center in Karnes City, Tex., because of her ''disruptive'' presence at Berks. Her lawyers argued against the move in an appeal filed Wednesday, offering consistently positive conduct reports by the staff as evidence.

Dr. Alan Shapiro, the senior medical director of pediatric programs of the Children's Hospital at Montefiore in the Bronx, has made several visits to Berks to examine the children. In court documents filed last week, he said another move to a detention center would be harmful to Ms. Alberto's 6-year-old son; he diagnosed the child with chronic Post-traumatic stress disorder, from witnessing violence in El Salvador, the trip across the border and his prolonged detention.

Dr. Shapiro also confirmed that during his evaluation, the boy again simulated choking himself with his ID card lanyard -- a ''clear sign of stress and anxiety,'' he said.

The adverse psychological effects of detention on children have been subject to several reports from Human Rights First, an advocacy group, including one in 2015 on conditions at Berks.

The **immigration** agency was not able to immediately grant a request for a New York Times reporter to observe the center and to interview the residents on site.

There is yet another complicating matter: The center is operating without a license. In February, the Pennsylvania Department of Human Services revoked the county's license because it applied only to serving children -- not their mothers as well. The county appealed and has been allowed to operate while the matter is pending. The next hearing is scheduled for November.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Give me your extreme-vetted, your ideologically certified, your elite. Send only the smartest, the best-connected, the richest to our shores. No losers, no freethinkers, and no ugly people, please.

In the hate speech that Donald Trump gave on **immigration** in Phoenix on Wednesday night, he all but deported the Statue of Liberty, laying out one of the darkest visions of the American experience that any major-party nominee has ever given. Despite the media misread by some who presented the speech as a pivot, it got rave reviews from neo-Nazi and Ku Klux Klan supporters, and prompted some of Trump's few Latino advisers to resign in protest. ''Excellent speech,'' said David Duke, the former Klan leader.

In Trump's America, those working in the shadows are not the lawn cutters, Sheetrock hangers, fruit pickers or nannies we see in every community, but the criminal dregs. Under his rules, this country would have closed its doors long ago to those who made the United States the great experiment, unique to the world. He would have shut off the flow of people whose best and perhaps only asset at the time was desire for a better life.

So, the Kennedys from County Wexford, the family that eventually gave us the first Irish Catholic president -- not worthy of entry. Famine rejects! No prospects. From a nation whose people were already filling New York's jails in the 1850s. Enough with potato-panicked Paddys.

At the door into Trump's America, he would ''select **immigrants** based on their likelihood of success in U.S. society, and their ability to be financially self-sufficient,'' he said. Sorry, Sicilian peasants. Not many of them could pass a Trump screen for ''merit, skill and proficiency.'' Not many of them could even read, or speak the language, let alone operate an Industrial Age machine. And what about those secret societies that many of them belonged to?

The Republican nominee laid out a test for political correctness, in the most authoritarian sense of the term. ''I call it extreme vetting,'' said Trump. ''Right? Extreme vetting. I want extreme.'' What's he talking about? He said ''an ideological certification'' would be required.

Sorry, Albert Einstein. So, the German-born Jew knew a thing or two about physics, what with his fancy Theory of Relativity. But he had some uncertifiable political views. He could never get past Trump's extreme vetting after saying things like this: ''I am convinced that there is only one way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals.''

He sounds like nothing but trouble. On top of that, his native country accused him of treason. There's something there, folks, something going on. You have to wonder why Einstein's property was seized and his books were burned. When Germany sends its people, it's sending the treasonous, people whose ideas don't always match ours. Get him out.

That goes for Andrew Carnegie as well. What kind of man gives away all his money after making one of the great fortunes in the world? A dangerous one. Trump's political police would have turned the Scottish-born Carnegies away before they ever got anywhere near Allegheny, Pa.

Andrew Carnegie's father was a loser; couldn't hold his job as a weaver. The old man was part of Britain's Chartist Movement, a bunch of wild-eyed dreamers espousing worker rights and universal suffrage. On his mother's side, same thing -- one of the leading political radicals in Scotland was her father, Thomas Morrison.

And Trump wants to make sure that countries associated with drugs don't send their people here, either. Sorry, Colin Powell. His parents were from Jamaica, the largest illicit producer and exporter of marijuana in the Caribbean. Sure, Colin would became a four-star general and secretary of state, but the parents? Would they have been living in the South Bronx if they could show ''an ability to be financially self-sufficient?'' Not so sure about that.

Speaking of Caribbean, how did Alexander Hamilton get in? A lot of red flags with this character. Dubious parentage from an exotic island. An unemployed single mother who was locked up for violating the sexual standards of the day. Extreme vetting would have stopped this abandoned Hamilton kid before he got to New York and starting toying with the mechanics of nation-building.

We shouldn't be fooled, as the hapless Mexican president was, as much of the political press was, by Trump's stunt this week -- trying to hold his hatred back long enough to get a statesman photo op. His true feelings poured out in the rant in Phoenix.

Look around you -- at O'Shaunnessys and Riveras and Naccaratos and Goldbergs and Chens and Khans. Those families would never have left their old countries if they were living in comfort, if they could easily demonstrate ''merit, skill and proficiency.'' What forces someone to leave a home, family -- everything -- is desperation. And then, more often than not, having seen the worst that life can offer, those families become the best.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Following is a transcript of the remarks by Donald J. Trump on **immigration** in Phoenix on Wednesday, as transcribed by the Federal News Service.

TRUMP: Wow. Thank you. That's a lot of people, Phoenix, that's a lot of people.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you very much.

Thank you, Phoenix. I am so glad to be back in Arizona.

(APPLAUSE)

The state that has a very, very special place in my heart. I love people of Arizona and together we are going to win the White House in November.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, you know this is where it all began for me. Remember that massive crowd also? So, I said let's go and have some fun tonight. We're going to Arizona, O.K.?

This will be a little bit different. This won't be a rally speech, per se. Instead, I'm going to deliver a detailed policy address on one of the greatest challenges facing our country today, illegal **immigration**.

(APPLAUSE)

I've just landed having returned from a very important and special meeting with the president of Mexico, a man I like and respect very much. And a man who truly loves his country, Mexico.

And, by the way, just like I am a man who loves my country, the United States.

(APPLAUSE)

We agree on the importance of ending the illegal flow of drugs, cash, guns, and people across our border, and to put the cartels out of business.

(APPLAUSE)

We also discussed the great contributions of Mexican-American citizens to our two countries, my love for the people of Mexico, and the leadership and friendship between Mexico and the United States. It was a thoughtful and substantive conversation and it will go on for awhile. And, in the end we're all going to win. Both countries, we're all going to win.

This is the first of what I expect will be many, many conversations. And in a Trump administration we're going to go about creating a new relationship between our two countries, but it's going to be a fair relationship. We want fairness.

(APPLAUSE)

But to fix our **immigration** system, we must change our leadership in Washington and we must change it quickly. Sadly, sadly there is no other way. The truth is our **immigration** system is worse than anybody ever realized. But the facts aren't known because the media won't report on them. The politicians won't talk about them and the special interests spend a lot of money trying to cover them up because they are making an absolute fortune. That's the way it is.

Today, on a very complicated and very difficult subject, you will get the truth. The fundamental problem with the **immigration** system in our country is that it serves the needs of wealthy donors, political activists and powerful, powerful politicians. It's all you can do. Thank you. Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

Let me tell you who it does not serve. It does not serve you the American people. Doesn't serve you. When politicians talk about **immigration** reform, they usually mean the following: amnesty, open borders, lower wages. **Immigration** reform should mean something else entirely. It should mean improvements to our laws and policies to make life better for American citizens.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you. But if we're going to make our **immigration** system work, then we have to be prepared to talk honestly and without fear about these important and very sensitive issues. For instance, we have to listen to the concerns that working people, our forgotten working people, have over the record pace of **immigration** and it's impact on their jobs, wages, housing, schools, tax bills and general living conditions.

These are valid concerns expressed by decent and patriotic citizens from all backgrounds, all over. We also have to be honest about the fact that not everyone who seeks to join our country will be able to successfully assimilate. Sometimes it's just not going to work out. It's our right, as a sovereign nation, to chose **immigrants** that we think are the likeliest to thrive and flourish and love us.

(APPLAUSE)

Then there is the issue of security. Countless innocent American lives have been stolen because our politicians have failed in their duty to secure our borders and enforce our laws like they have to be enforced. I have met with many of the great parents who lost their children to sanctuary cities and open borders. So many people, so many, many people. So sad. They will be joining me on this stage in a little while and I look forward to introducing, these are amazing, amazing people.

Countless Americans who have died in recent years would be alive today if not for the open border policies of this administration and the administration that causes this horrible, horrible thought process, called Hillary Clinton.

(APPLAUSE)

This includes incredible Americans like 21-year-old Sarah Root. The man who killed her arrived at the border, entered federal custody and then was released into the U.S., think of it, into the U.S. community under the policies of the White House Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Weak, weak policies. Weak and foolish policies.

He was released again after the crime, and now he's out there at large. Sarah had graduated from college with a 4.0, top student in her class one day before her death.

Also among the victims of the Obama-Clinton open-border policy was Grant Ronnebeck, a 21-year-old convenience store clerk and a really good guy from Mesa, Arizona. A lot of you have known about Grant.

He was murdered by an illegal **immigrant** gang member previously convicted of burglary, who had also been released from federal custody, and they knew it was going to happen again.

Another victim is Kate Steinle. Gunned down in the sanctuary city of San Francisco, by an illegal **immigrant**, deported five previous times. And they knew he was no good.

Then there is the case of 90-year-old Earl Olander, who was brutally beaten and left to bleed to death in his home, 90 years old and defenseless. The perpetrators were illegal **immigrants** with criminal records a mile long, who did not meet Obama administration standards for removal. And they knew it was going to happen.

In California, a 64-year-old Air Force veteran, a great woman, according to everybody that knew her, Marilyn Pharis, was sexually assaulted and beaten to death with a hammer. Her killer had been arrested on multiple occasions but was never, ever deported, despite the fact that everybody wanted him out.

A 2011 report from the Government Accountability Office found that illegal **immigrants** and other non-citizens, in our prisons and jails together, had around 25,000 homicide arrests to their names, 25,000.

On top of that, illegal **immigration** costs our country more than $113 billion a year. And this is what we get. For the money we are going to spend on illegal **immigration** over the next 10 years, we could provide one million at-risk students with a school voucher, which so many people are wanting.

While there are many illegal **immigrants** in our country who are good people, many, many, this doesn't change the fact that most illegal **immigrants** are lower skilled workers with less education, who compete directly against vulnerable American workers, and that these illegal workers draw much more out from the system than they can ever possibly pay back.

And they're hurting a lot of our people that cannot get jobs under any circumstances.

But these facts are never reported. Instead, the media and my opponent discuss one thing and only one thing, the needs of people living here illegally. In many cases, by the way, they're treated better than our vets.

Not going to happen anymore, folks. November 8th. Not going to happen anymore.

(APPLAUSE)

AUDIENCE: Trump! Trump! Trump!

The truth is, the central issue is not the needs of the 11 million illegal **immigrants** or however many there may be -- and honestly we've been hearing that number for years. It's always 11 million. Our government has no idea. It could be three million. It could be 30 million. They have no idea what the number is.

Frankly our government has no idea what they're doing on many, many fronts, folks.

(APPLAUSE)

But whatever the number, that's never really been the central issue. It will never be a central issue. It doesn't matter from that standpoint. Anyone who tells you that the core issue is the needs of those living here illegally has simply spent too much time in Washington.

(APPLAUSE)

Only the out of touch media elites think the biggest problems facing America -- you know this, this is what they talk about, facing American society today is that there are 11 million illegal **immigrants** who don't have legal status. And, they also think the biggest thing, and you know this, it's not nuclear, and it's not ISIS, it's not Russia, it's not China, it's global warming.

To all the politicians, donors, and special interests, hear these words from me and all of you today. There is only one core issue in the **immigration** debate, and that issue is the well being of the American people.

(APPLAUSE)

Nothing even comes a close second. Hillary Clinton, for instance, talks constantly about her fears that families will be separated, but she's not talking about the American families who have been permanently separated from their loved ones because of a preventable homicide, because of a preventable death, because of murder.

No, she's only talking about families who come here in violation of the law. We will treat everyone living or residing in our country with great dignity. So important.

We will be fair, just, and compassionate to all, but our greatest compassion must be for our American citizens.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you.

President Obama and Hillary Clinton have engaged in gross dereliction of duty by surrendering the safety of the American people to open borders, and you know it better than anybody right here in Arizona. You know it.

President Obama and Hillary Clinton support sanctuary cities. They support catch and release on the border. They support visa overstays. They support the release of dangerous, dangerous, dangerous, criminals from detention. And they support unconstitutional executive amnesty.

Hillary Clinton has pledged amnesty in her first 100 days, and her plan will provide Obamacare, Social Security, and Medicare for illegal **immigrants**, breaking the federal budget.

On top of that she promises uncontrolled, low-skilled **immigration** that continues to reduce jobs and wages for American workers, and especially for African-American and Hispanic workers within our country. Our citizens.

Most incredibly, because to me this is unbelievable, we have no idea who these people are, where they come from. I always say Trojan horse. Watch what's going to happen, folks. It's not going to be pretty.

This includes her plan to bring in 620,000 new **refugees** from Syria and that region over a short period of time. And even yesterday, when you were watching the news, you saw thousands and thousands of people coming in from Syria. What is wrong with our politicians, our leaders if we can call them that. What the hell are we doing?

(APPLAUSE)

Hard to believe. Hard to believe. Now that you've heard about Hillary Clinton's plan, about which she has not answered a single question, let me tell you about my plan. And do you notice...

(APPLAUSE)

And do you notice all the time for weeks and weeks of debating my plan, debating, talking about it, what about this, what about that. They never even mentioned her plan on **immigration** because she doesn't want to get into the quagmire. It's a tough one, she doesn't know what she's doing except open borders and let everybody come in and destroy our country by the way.

(APPLAUSE)

While Hillary Clinton meets only with donors and lobbyists, my plan was crafted with the input from Federal **Immigration** offices, very great people. Among the top **immigration** experts anywhere in this country, who represent workers, not corporations, very important to us.

I also worked with lawmakers, who've led on this issue on behalf of American citizens for many years. And most importantly I've met with the people directly impacted by these policies. So important.

Number one, are you ready? Are you ready?

(APPLAUSE)

We will build a great wall along the southern border.

(APPLAUSE)

AUDIENCE: Build the wall! Build the wall! Build the wall!

And Mexico will pay for the wall.

(APPLAUSE)

One hundred percent. They don't know it yet, but they're going to pay for it. And they're great people and great leaders but they're going to pay for the wall.

On day one, we will begin working on an impenetrable, physical, tall, power, beautiful southern border wall.

(APPLAUSE)

We will use the best technology, including above and below ground sensors that's the tunnels. Remember that, above and below.

(APPLAUSE)

Above and below ground sensors. Towers, aerial surveillance and manpower to supplement the wall, find and dislocate tunnels and keep out criminal cartels and Mexico you know that, will work with us. I really believe it. Mexico will work with us. I absolutely believe it. And especially after meeting with their wonderful, wonderful president today. I really believe they want to solve this problem along with us, and I'm sure they will.

(APPLAUSE)

Number two, we are going to end catch and release. We catch them, oh go ahead. We catch them, go ahead.

(APPLAUSE)

Under my administration, anyone who illegally crosses the border will be detained until they are removed out of our country and back to the country from which they came.

(APPLAUSE)

And they'll be brought great distances. We're not dropping them right across. They learned that. President Eisenhower. They'd drop them across, right across, and they'd come back. And across.

Then when they flew them to a long distance, all of a sudden that was the end. We will take them great distances. But we will take them to the country where they came from, O.K.?

Number three. Number three, this is the one, I think it's so great. It's hard to believe, people don't even talk about it. Zero tolerance for criminal **aliens**. Zero. Zero.

(APPLAUSE)

Zero. They don't come in here. They don't come in here.

According to federal data, there are at least two million, two million, think of it, criminal **aliens** now inside of our country, two million people criminal **aliens**. We will begin moving them out day one. As soon as I take office. Day one. In joint operation with local, state, and federal law enforcement.

Now, just so you understand, the police, who we all respect -- say hello to the police. Boy, they don't get the credit they deserve. I can tell you. They're great people. But the police and law enforcement, they know who these people are.

They live with these people. They get mocked by these people. They can't do anything about these people, and they want to. They know who these people are. Day one, my first hour in office, those people are gone.

(APPLAUSE)

And you can call it deported if you want. The press doesn't like that term. You can call it whatever the hell you want. They're gone.

Beyond the two million, and there are vast numbers of additional criminal illegal **immigrants** who have fled, but their days have run out in this country. The crime will stop. They're going to be gone. It will be over.

(APPLAUSE)

They're going out. They're going out fast.

Moving forward. We will issue detainers for illegal **immigrants** who are arrested for any crime whatsoever, and they will be placed into immediate removal proceedings if we even have to do that.

We will terminate the Obama administration's deadly, and it is deadly, non-enforcement policies that allow thousands of criminal **aliens** to freely roam our streets, walk around, do whatever they want to do, crime all over the place.

That's over. That's over, folks. That's over.

Since 2013 alone, the Obama administration has allowed 300,000 criminal **aliens** to return back into United States communities. These are individuals encountered or identified by ICE, but who were not detained or processed for deportation because it wouldn't have been politically correct.

My plan also includes cooperating closely with local jurisdictions to remove criminal **aliens** immediately. We will restore the highly successful Secure Communities Program. Good program. We will expand and revitalize the popular 287(g) partnerships, which will help to identify hundreds of thousands of deportable **aliens** in local jails that we don't even know about.

Both of these programs have been recklessly gutted by this administration. And those were programs that worked.

This is yet one more area where we are headed in a totally opposite direction. There's no common sense, there's no brain power in our administration by our leader, or our leaders. None, none, none.

On my first day in office I am also going to ask Congress to pass Kate's Law, named for Kate Steinle...

(APPLAUSE)

... to ensure that criminal **aliens** convicted of illegal reentry receive strong mandatory minimum sentences. Strong.

(APPLAUSE)

And then we get them out.

Another reform I'm proposing is the passage of legislation named for Detective Michael Davis and Deputy Sheriff Danny Oliver, two law enforcement officers recently killed by a previously deported illegal **immigrant**.

The Davis-Oliver bill will enhance cooperation with state and local authorities to ensure that criminal **immigrants** and terrorists are swiftly, really swiftly, identified and removed. And they will go face, believe me. They're going to go.

We're going to triple the number of ICE deportation officers.

(APPLAUSE)

Within ICE I am going to create a new special deportation task force focused on identifying and quickly removing the most dangerous criminal illegal **immigrants**in America who have evaded justice just like Hillary Clinton has evaded justice, O.K.?

(APPLAUSE)

Maybe they'll be able to deport her.

(APPLAUSE)

The local police who know every one of these criminals, and they know each and every one by name, by crime, where they live, they will work so fast. And our local police will be so happy that they don't have to be abused by these thugs anymore.

There's no great mystery to it, they've put up with it for years, and now finally we will turn the tables and law enforcement and our police will be allowed to clear up this dangerous and threatening mess.

We're also going to hire 5,000 more Border Patrol agents.

(APPLAUSE)

Who gave me their endorsement, 16,500 gave me their endorsement.

And put more of them on the border instead of behind desks which is good. We will expand the number of border patrol stations significantly.

I've had a chance to spend time with these incredible law enforcement officers, and I want to take a moment to thank them. What they do is incredible.

(APPLAUSE)

And getting their endorsement means so much to me. More to me really than I can say. Means so much. First time they've ever endorsed a presidential candidate.

Number four, block funding for sanctuary cities. We block the funding. No more funds.

(APPLAUSE)

We will end the sanctuary cities that have resulted in so many needless deaths. Cities that refuse to cooperate with federal authorities will not receive taxpayer dollars, and we will work with Congress to pass legislation to protect those jurisdictions that do assist federal authorities. Number five, cancel unconstitutional executive orders and enforce all **immigration** laws.

(APPLAUSE)

We will immediately terminate President Obama's two illegal executive amnesties in which he defied federal law and the Constitution to give amnesty to approximately five million illegal **immigrants**, five million.

(BOOING)

And how about all the millions that are waiting on line, going through the process legally? So unfair.

Hillary Clinton has pledged to keep both of these illegal amnesty programs, including the 2014 amnesty which has been blocked by the United States Supreme Court. Great.

Clinton has also pledged to add a third executive amnesty. And by the way, folks, she will be a disaster for our country, a disaster in so many other ways.

And don't forget the Supreme Court of the United States. Don't forget that when you go to vote on November 8. And don't forget your Second Amendment. And don't forget the repeal and replacement of Obamacare.

(APPLAUSE)

And don't forget building up our depleted military. And don't forget taking care of our vets. Don't forget our vets. They have been forgotten.

(APPLAUSE)

Clinton's plan would trigger a constitutional crisis unlike almost anything we have ever seen before. In effect, she would be abolishing the lawmaking powers of Congress in order to write her own laws from the Oval Office. And you see what bad judgment she has. She has seriously bad judgment.

(BOOING)

Can you imagine? In a Trump administration all **immigration** laws will be enforced, will be enforced. As with any law enforcement activity, we will set priorities. But unlike this administration, no one will be immune or exempt from enforcement. And ICE and Border Patrol officers will be allowed to do their jobs the way their jobs are supposed to be done.

(APPLAUSE)

Anyone who has entered the United States illegally is subject to deportation. That is what it means to have laws and to have a country. Otherwise we don't have a country.

Our enforcement priorities will include removing criminals, gang members, security threats, visa overstays, public charges. That is those relying on public welfare or straining the safety net along with millions of recent illegal arrivals and overstays who've come here under this current corrupt administration.

(APPLAUSE)

Number six, we are going to suspend the issuance of visas to any place where adequate screening cannot occur.

(APPLAUSE)

According to data provided by the Senate Subcommittee on **Immigration**, and the national interest between 9/11 and the end of 2014, at least 380 foreign born individuals were convicted in terror cases inside the United States. And even right now the largest number of people are under investigation for exactly this that we've ever had in the history of our country.

Our country is a mess. We don't even know what to look for anymore, folks. Our country has to straighten out. And we have to straighten out fast.

The number is likely higher. But the administration refuses to provide this information, even to Congress. As soon as I enter office I am going to ask the Department of State, which has been brutalized by Hillary Clinton, brutalized.

(BOOING)

Homeland Security and the Department of Justice to begin a comprehensive review of these cases in order to develop a list of regions and countries from which **immigration** must be suspended until proven and effective vetting mechanisms can be put in place.

I call it extreme vetting right? Extreme vetting. I want extreme. It's going to be so tough, and if somebody comes in that's fine but they're going to be good. It's extreme.

And if people don't like it, we've got have a country folks. Got to have a country. Countries in which **immigration** will be suspended would include places like Syria and Libya. And we are going to stop the tens of thousands of people coming in from Syria. We have no idea who they are, where they come from. There's no documentation. There's no paperwork. It's going to end badly folks. It's going to end very, very badly.

For the price of resettling one **refugee** in the United States, 12 could be resettled in a safe zone in their home region. Which I agree with 100 percent. We have to build safe zones and we'll get the money from Gulf states. We don't want to put up the money. We owe almost $20 trillion. Doubled since Obama took office, our national debt.

But we will get the money from Gulf states and others. We'll supervise it. We'll build safe zones which is something that I think all of us want to see.

Another reform involves new screening tests for all applicants that include, and this is so important, especially if you get the right people. And we will get the right people. An ideological certification to make sure that those we are admitting to our country share our values and love our people.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you. We're very proud of our country. Aren't we? Really? With all it's going through, we're very proud of our country. For instance, in the last five years, we've admitted nearly 100,000 **immigrants** from Iraq and Afghanistan. And these two countries according to Pew Research, a majority of residents say that the barbaric practice of honor killings against women are often or sometimes justified. That's what they say.

(APPLAUSE)

That's what they say. They're justified. Right? And we're admitting them to our country. Applicants will be asked their views about honor killings, about respect for women and gays and minorities. Attitudes on radical Islam, which our president refuses to say and many other topics as part of this vetting procedure. And if we have the right people doing it, believe me, very, very few will slip through the cracks. Hopefully, none.

(APPLAUSE)

Number seven, we will insure that other countries take their people back when they order them deported.

(APPLAUSE)

There are at least 23 countries that refuse to take their people back after they've been ordered to leave the United States. Including large numbers of violent criminals, they won't take them back. So we say, O.K., we'll keep them. Not going to happen with me, not going to happen with me.

(APPLAUSE)

Due to a Supreme Court decision, if these violent offenders cannot be sent home, our law enforcement officers have to release them into your communities.

(APPLAUSE)

And by the way, the results are horrific, horrific. There are often terrible consequences, such as Casey Chadwick's tragic death in Connecticut just last year. Yet despite the existence of a law that commands the secretary of state to stop issuing visas to these countries.

Secretary Hillary Clinton ignored this law and refused to use this powerful tool to bring nations into compliance. And, they would comply if we would act properly.

In other words, if we had leaders that knew what they were doing, which we don't.

The result of her misconduct was the release of thousands and thousands of dangerous criminal **aliens** who should have been sent home to their countries. Instead we have them all over the place. Probably a couple in this room as a matter of fact, but I hope not.

According to a report for the Boston Globe from the year 2008 to 2014 nearly 13,000 criminal **aliens** were released back into U.S. communities because their home countries would not, under any circumstances, take them back. Hard to believe with the power we have. Hard to believe.

We're like the big bully that keeps getting beat up. You ever see that? The big bully that keeps getting beat up.

These 13,000 releases occurred on Hillary Clinton's watch. She had the power and the duty to stop it cold, and she decided she would not do it.

(BOOING)

And Arizona knows better than most exactly what I'm talking about.

(APPLAUSE)

Those released include individuals convicted of killings, sexual assaults, and some of the most heinous crimes imaginable.

The Boston Globe writes that a Globe review of 323 criminals released in New England from 2008 to 2012 found that as many as 30 percent committed new offenses, including rape, attempted murder, and child molestation. We take them, we take them.

(BOOING)

Number eight, we will finally complete the biometric entry-exit visa tracking system which we need desperately.

(APPLAUSE)

For years Congress has required biometric entry-exit visa tracking systems, but it has never been completed. The politicians are all talk, no action, never happens. Never happens.

Hillary Clinton, all talk. Unfortunately when there is action it's always the wrong decision. You ever notice?

In my administration we will ensure that this system is in place. And, I will tell you, it will be on land, it will be on sea, it will be in air. We will have a proper tracking system.

Approximately half of new illegal **immigrants** came on temporary visas and then never, ever left. Why should they? Nobody's telling them to leave. Stay as long as you want, we'll take care of you.

Beyond violating our laws, visa overstays pose -- and they really are a big problem -- pose a substantial threat to national security. The 9/11 Commission said that this tracking system should be a high priority and would have assisted law enforcement and intelligence officials in August and September 2001 in conducting a search for two of the 9/11 hijackers that were in the United States on expired visas.

And you know what that would have meant, what that could have meant. Wouldn't that have been wonderful, right? What that could have meant.

Last year alone nearly half a million individuals overstayed their temporary visas. Removing these overstays will be a top priority of my administration.

(APPLAUSE)

If people around the world believe they can just come on a temporary visa and never, ever leave, the Obama-Clinton policy, that's what it is, then we have a completely open border, and we no longer have a country.

We must send a message that visa expiration dates will be strongly enforced.

Number nine, we will turn off the jobs and benefits magnet.

(APPLAUSE)

We will ensure that E-Verify is used to the fullest extent possible under existing law, and we will work with Congress to strengthen and expand its use across the country.

**Immigration** law doesn't exist for the purpose of keeping criminals out. It exists to protect all aspects of American life. The work site, the welfare office, the education system, and everything else.

That is why **immigration** limits are established in the first place. If we only enforced the laws against crime, then we have an open border to the entire world. We will enforce all of our **immigration** laws.

(APPLAUSE)

And the same goes for government benefits. The Center for **Immigration** Studies estimates that 62 percent of households headed by illegal **immigrants** use some form of cash or non-cash welfare programs like food stamps or housing assistance.

Tremendous costs, by the way, to our country. Tremendous costs. This directly violates the federal public charge law designed to protect the United States Treasury. Those who abuse our welfare system will be priorities for immediate removal.

(APPLAUSE)

Number 10, we will reform legal **immigration** to serve the best interests of America and its workers, the forgotten people. Workers. We're going to take care of our workers.

And by the way, and by the way, we're going to make great trade deals. We're going to renegotiate trade deals. We're going to bring our jobs back home. We're going to bring our jobs back home.

We have the most incompetently worked trade deals ever negotiated probably in the history of the world, and that starts with Nafta. And now they want to go TPP, one of the great disasters.

We're going to bring our jobs back home. And if companies want to leave Arizona and if they want to leave other states, there's going to be a lot of trouble for them. It's not going to be so easy. There will be consequence. Remember that. There will be consequence. They're not going to be leaving, go to another country, make the product, sell it into the United States, and all we end up with is no taxes and total unemployment. It's not going to happen. There will be consequences.

(APPLAUSE)

We've admitted 59 million **immigrants** to the United States between 1965 and 2015. Many of these arrivals have greatly enriched our country. So true. But we now have an obligation to them and to their children to control future **immigration** as we are following, if you think, previous **immigration** waves.

We've had some big waves. And tremendously positive things have happened. Incredible things have happened. To ensure assimilation we want to ensure that it works. Assimilation, an important word. Integration and upward mobility.

(APPLAUSE)

Within just a few years **immigration** as a share of national population is set to break all historical records. The time has come for a new **immigration** commission to develop a new set of reforms to our legal **immigration** system in order to achieve the following goals.

To keep **immigration** levels measured by population share within historical norms. To select **immigrants** based on their likelihood of success in U.S. society and their ability to be financially self- sufficient.

(APPLAUSE)

We take anybody. Come on in, anybody. Just come on in. Not anymore.

You know, folks, it's called a two-way street. It is a two-way street, right? We need a system that serves our needs, not the needs of others. Remember, under a Trump administration it's called America first. Remember that.

(APPLAUSE)

To choose **immigrants** based on merit. Merit, skill, and proficiency. Doesn't that sound nice? And to establish new **immigration** controls to boost wages and to ensure that open jobs are offered to American workers first. And that in particular African-American and Latino workers who are being shut out in this process so unfairly.

(APPLAUSE)

And Hillary Clinton is going to do nothing for the African-American worker, the Latino worker. She's going to do nothing. Give me your vote, she says, on November 8th. And then she'll say, so long, see you in four years. That's what it is.

She is going to do nothing. And just look at the past. She's done nothing. She's been there for 35 years. She's done nothing. And I say what do you have to lose? Choose me. Watch how good we're going to do together. Watch.

(APPLAUSE)

You watch. We want people to come into our country, but they have to come into our country legally and properly vetted, and in a manner that serves the national interest. We've been living under outdated **immigration** rules from decades ago. They're decades and decades old.

To avoid this happening in the future, I believe we should sunset our visa laws so that Congress is forced to periodically revise and revisit them to bring them up to date. They're archaic. They're ancient. We wouldn't put our entire federal budget on auto pilot for decades, so why should we do the same for the very, very complex subject of **immigration**?

So let's now talk about the big picture. These 10 steps, if rigorously followed and enforced, will accomplish more in a matter of months than our politicians have accomplished on this issue in the last 50 years. It's going to happen, folks. Because I am proudly not a politician, because I am not behold to any special interest, I've spent a lot of money on my campaign, I'll tell you. I write those checks. Nobody owns Trump.

I will get this done for you and for your family. We'll do it right. You'll be proud of our country again. We'll do it right. We will accomplish all of the steps outlined above. And, when we do, peace and law and justice and prosperity will prevail. Crime will go down. Border crossings will plummet. Gangs will disappear.

And the gangs are all over the place. And welfare use will decrease. We will have a peace dividend to spend on rebuilding America, beginning with our American inner cities. We're going to rebuild them, for once and for all.

For those here illegally today, who are seeking legal status, they will have one route and one route only. To return home and apply for reentry like everybody else, under the rules of the new legal **immigration** system that I have outlined above. Those who have left to seek entry --

Thank you.

Thank you. Thank you. Those who have left to seek entry under this new system -- and it will be an efficient system -- will not be awarded surplus visas, but will have to apply for entry under the **immigration** caps or limits that will be established in the future.TRUMP: We will break the cycle of amnesty and illegal **immigration**. We will break the cycle. There will be no amnesty.

(APPLAUSE)

Our message to the world will be this. You cannot obtain legal status or become a citizen of the United States by illegally entering our country. Can't do it.

(APPLAUSE)

This declaration alone will help stop the crisis of illegal crossings and illegal overstays, very importantly. People will know that you can't just smuggle in, hunker down and wait to be legalized. It's not going to work that way. Those days are over.

(APPLAUSE)

Importantly, in several years when we have accomplished all of our enforcement and deportation goals and truly ended illegal **immigration** for good, including the construction of a great wall, which we will have built in record time. And at a reasonable cost, which you never hear from the government.

(APPLAUSE)

And the establishment of our new lawful **immigration** system then and only then will we be in a position to consider the appropriate disposition of those individuals who remain.

That discussion can take place only in an atmosphere in which illegal **immigration** is a memory of the past, no longer with us, allowing us to weigh the different options available based on the new circumstances at the time.

(APPLAUSE)

Right now, however, we're in the middle of a jobs crisis, a border crisis and a terrorism crisis like never before. All energies of the federal government and the legislative process must now be focused on **immigration** security. That is the only conversation we should be having at this time, **immigration** security. Cut it off.

Whether it's dangerous materials being smuggled across the border, terrorists entering on visas or Americans losing their jobs to foreign workers, these are the problems we must now focus on fixing. And the media needs to begin demanding to hear Hillary Clinton's answer on how her policies will affect Americans and their security.

(APPLAUSE)

These are matters of life and death for our country and its people, and we deserve answers from Hillary Clinton. And do you notice, she doesn't answer.

She didn't go to Louisiana. She didn't go to Mexico. She was invited.

She doesn't have the strength or the stamina to make America great again. Believe me.

(APPLAUSE)

What we do know, despite the lack of media curiosity, is that Hillary Clinton promises a radical amnesty combined with a radical reduction in **immigration**enforcement. Just ask the Border Patrol about Hillary Clinton. You won't like what you're hearing.

The result will be millions more illegal **immigrants**; thousands of more violent, horrible crimes; and total chaos and lawlessness. That's what's going to happen, as sure as you're standing there.

This election, and I believe this, is our last chance to secure the border, stop illegal **immigration** and reform our laws to make your life better. I really believe this is it. This is our last time. November 8. November 8. You got to get out and vote on November 8.

(APPLAUSE)

It's our last chance. It's our last chance. And that includes Supreme Court justices and Second Amendment. Remember that. So I want to remind everyone what we're fighting for and who we are fighting for.

I am going to ask -- these are really special people that I've gotten to know. I'm going to ask all of the ''Angel Moms'' to come join me on the stage right now.

These are amazing women.

(APPLAUSE)

These are amazing people.

(APPLAUSE)

AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

I've become friends with so many. But Jamiel Shaw, incredible guy, lost his son so violently. Say just a few words about your child.

(SPEAKER'S VOICE): My son Ronald da Silva (ph) was murdered April 27, 2002 by an illegal **alien** who had been previously deported. And what so -- makes me so outrageous is that we came here legally.

Thank you, Mr. Trump. I totally support you. You have my vote.

TRUMP: Thank you, thank you.

(SPEAKER'S VOICE): God bless you.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: You know what? Name your child and come right by. Go ahead.

(SPEAKER'S VOICE): Laura Wilkerson. And my son was Joshua Wilkerson. He was murdered by an illegal in 2010. And I personally support Mr. Trump for our next president.

(APPLAUSE)

(SPEAKER'S VOICE): My name is Ruth Johnston Martin (ph). My husband was shot by an illegal **alien**. He fought the good fight but he took his last breath in 2002. And I support this man who's going to change this country for the better. God bless you.

(APPLAUSE)

(SPEAKER'S VOICE): My name Maureen Maloney (ph), and our son Matthew Denise (ph) was 23 years old when he was dragged a quarter of a mile to his death by an illegal **alien**, while horrified witnesses were banging on the truck trying to stop him.

(APPLAUSE)

(SPEAKER'S VOICE): Our son Matthew Denise, if Donald Trump were president in 2011, our son Matthew Denise and other Americans would be alive today.

(APPLAUSE)

(SPEAKER'S VOICE): Thank you. My name is Kathy Woods (ph). My son Steve (ph), a high school senior, 17 years old, went to the beach after a high school football game. A local gang came along, nine members. The cars were battered to -- like war in Beirut. And all I can say is they murdered him and if Mr. Trump had been in office then the border would have been secure and our children would not be dead today.

(APPLAUSE)

(SPEAKER'S VOICE): Hi. My name is Brenda Sparks (ph), and my son is named Eric Zapeda (ph). He was raised by a legal **immigrant** from Honduras only to be murdered by an illegal in 2011. His murderer never did a second in handcuffs or jail. Got away with killing an American. So I'm voting for trump. And by the way, so is my mother.

(APPLAUSE)

(SPEAKER'S VOICE): My name is Dee Angle (ph). My cousin Rebecca Ann Johnston (ph), known as Becky, was murdered on January the 1st, 1989 in North Little Rock, Arkansas. Thank you. And if you don't vote Trump, we won't have a country. Trump all the way.

(APPLAUSE)

(SPEAKER'S VOICE): I'm Shannon Estes (ph). And my daughter Shaley Estes (ph), 22 years old, was murdered here in Phoenix last July 24 by a Russian who overstayed his visa. And vote Trump.

(APPLAUSE)

(SPEAKER'S VOICE): I'm Mary Ann Mendoza, the mother of Sergeant Brandon Mendoza, who was killed in a violent head-on collision in Mesa.

Thank you.

I want to thank Phoenix for the support you've always given me, and I want to tell you what. I'm supporting the man who will -- who is the only man who is going to save our country, and what we our going to be leaving our children.

(APPLAUSE)

(SPEAKER'S VOICE): I'm Steve Ronnebeck, father of Grant Ronnebeck, 21 years old. Killed January 22, 2015 by an illegal **immigrant** who shot him in the face. I truly believe that Mr. Trump is going to change things. He's going to fight for my family, and he's going to fight for America.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: These are amazing people, and I am not asking for their endorsement, believe me that. I just think I've gotten to know so many of them, and many more, from our group. But they are incredible people and what they're going through is incredible, and there's just no reason for it. Let's give them a really tremendous hand.

(APPLAUSE)

That's tough stuff, I will tell you. That is tough stuff. Incredible people.

So, now is the time for these voices to be heard. Now is the time for the media to begin asking questions on their behalf. Now is the time for all of us as one country, Democrat, Republican, liberal, conservative to band together to deliver justice, and safety, and security for all Americans.

Let's fix this horrible, horrible, problem. It can be fixed quickly. Let's our secure our border.

(APPLAUSE)

Let's stop the drugs and the crime from pouring into our country. Let's protect our social security and Medicare. Let's get unemployed Americans off the welfare and back to work in their own country.

This has been an incredible evening. We're going to remember this evening. November 8, we have to get everybody. This is such an important state. November 8 we have to get everybody to go out and vote.

We're going to bring -- thank you, thank you. We're going to take our country back, folks. This is a movement. We're going to take our country back.

Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you.

This is an incredible movement. The world is talking about it. The world is talking about it and by the way, if you haven't been looking to what's been happening at the polls over the last three or four days I think you should start looking. You should start looking.

(APPLAUSE)

Together we can save American lives, American jobs, and American futures. Together we can save America itself. Join me in this mission, we're going to make America great again.

Thank you. I love you. God bless you, everybody. God bless you. God bless you, thank you.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald J. Trump faced a backlash on Thursday from some of his top conservative Hispanic supporters, who said their hopes that he was softening his **immigration** policy had been dashed by his fiery speech Wednesday night, which they said was anti-**immigrant**.

Mr. Trump, the Republican presidential nominee, had shown signs in recent weeks that he was prepared to take a more conciliatory approach to **immigrants** who had entered the country illegally, dropping talk of a deportation force and instead speaking of treating those **immigrants** in a fair and humane fashion.

Less than two weeks ago, he held a meeting with his Hispanic advisory council in Trump Tower, leaving attendees with the impression that he was working on a new plan that included a path to citizenship.

That impression faded in Phoenix on Wednesday night.

''There was so much hope,'' said Jacob Monty, a member of the Hispanic advisory council who was at the meeting with Mr. Trump. ''He used us as props.''

Mr. Monty, a longtime Republican, said that Mr. Trump had appeared humble during the meeting, listened to their proposals, acknowledged the difficulty of deporting 11 million unauthorized **immigrants** and suggested that he was working on a new policy that included a path to legalization. Mr. Monty resigned from the council after Mr. Trump's speech.

''That was not a Republican speech, that was populist propaganda,'' Mr. Monty said. ''He must listen to whoever speaks to him last.''

Ramiro Pena, a pastor from Texas who was on Mr. Trump's advisory council, also abandoned the campaign. According to an email to the Trump campaign, obtained by Politico, Mr. Pena, who could not be reached for comment, said the group that Mr. Trump had formed was a ''scam.''

Other conservative Hispanic leaders were also disappointed.

Alfonso Aguilar, director of the American Principles Project's Latino Partnership, who backed Mr. Trump and offered advice on **immigration** policy to his campaign, withdrew his support on Thursday morning. Mr. Aguilar said that he and other conservative Hispanic leaders had gotten behind Mr. Trump because they thought he would be able to work with Congress to get something done on **immigration** reform.

''A couple of weeks ago, it sounded as if there was going to be a pivot,'' said Mr. Aguilar, who predicted that other Republican Latinos would soon renounce their support for Mr. Trump. ''If you heard the speech last night, it was either self-deport or be deported.''

Some advisers who expressed concern said they still planned to stick with Mr. Trump, hopeful that their input might make a difference in the future.

Alberto Delgado, a Florida pastor who was at the meeting with Mr. Trump, was aware of his plans to build a wall and remove criminals who are in the country illegally. But he was disappointed to hear that all unauthorized **immigrants** would have to leave the country and go through an application process to return.

''That gets me a little bit,'' said Mr. Delgado, who had been expecting to hear about a quick administrative fix that would keep families together. ''If you apply, you don't always get what you apply for.''

Still, Mr. Delgado said that he was not ready to quit the advisory group.

Mr. Trump has been trying to improve his Hispanic outreach efforts as he continues to lag behind Hillary Clinton in most national and state polls. Recently, he adjusted his pitch to minority voters to argue that his plans to restore law and order would be in their best interests and that Democrats were taking them for granted.

The Trump campaign shrugged off dissension among conservative Hispanics on Thursday.

''Mr. Trump has been consistent in advocating for an end to illegal **immigration**, and he will continue to reach out and work with voters from all communities to defeat crooked Hillary Clinton this fall,'' said Jason Miller, a spokesman for the campaign.

Mr. Trump continued to talk tough on **immigration** on Thursday at a midday rally in Wilmington, Ohio.

''Last night I outlined a bold new **immigration** reform to create prosperity and opportunity for all of our people, especially those who have the least,'' he told the crowd. ''We will treat everyone with dignity, respect and compassion, but our greatest compassion will be for the American citizen.''

Some of Mr. Trump's most ardent conservative backers, such as the commentators Rush Limbaugh and Ann Coulter, had expressed concern last week that Mr. Trump was preparing to reverse himself on **immigration**. Ms. Coulter's fears were assuaged by the speech, which she called ''the most magnificent'' ever given.

Mr. Trump, for his part, continued to spar with President Enrique Peña Nieto of Mexico over who would pay for a border wall, vowing on Twitter that Mexico would bear the cost.

Mexico will pay for the wall! -- Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump) September 1, 2016

Mr. Peña Nieto fired back in a Twitter post of his own to say that, as they had discussed in person, his country would do no such thing.

For Hispanic leaders who have been critical of Mr. Trump, his speech in Arizona was more evidence that he has not changed and most likely will not.

Javier Palomarez, president of the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, said that Mr. Trump had proven to be a ''clown'' and that it was a sad moment for the Republican Party.

''I think he's done for with the Hispanic community,'' Mr. Palomarez told MSNBC on Thursday. ''He's never going to see the White House if he doesn't get a significant portion of the Hispanic vote.''

Democrats sought to press their advantage with Hispanics on Thursday, describing Mr. Trump's remarks as offensive and racist.

''This was a dark and disturbing speech,'' Senator Tim Kaine, Mrs. Clinton's running mate, said on CBS. ''This is the kind of anti-**immigrant** language that's always had a tiny fringe support in this country, but it was a speech that's not worthy of a president.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**PHOENIX -- He had heard about Donald J. Trump's trip here on the news the night before and wondered: What if I could meet him? José Enrique Camacho had so much to tell Mr. Trump, but, ''if I could say only one thing,'' he said, ''I'd tell him about how proud I am that my children, my family, are part of this country.''

Mr. Camacho, 50, is a groundskeeper in one of the rental apartment buildings that dot the downtown skyline here, even though he has no legal papers allowing him to live or work in the United States. He ended his shift at 4 p.m. on Wednesday and, instead of waiting for his ride home, he walked seven blocks south to the Phoenix Convention Center, where Mr. Trump would soon deliver a speech on **immigration**.

Like millions in this country illegally, Mr. Camacho worries about Mr. Trump's call to deport 11 million undocumented **immigrants**.

''I don't drink. I don't steal. I go to church on Sundays,'' Mr. Camacho said. ''I don't have papers, but I'm not a delinquent.''

He planted himself in the shade of a palo verde tree across the street from the convention center and watched as protesters inflated a giant effigy of Mr. Trump, a swastika stamped on its chest. Mixing English and Spanish, Mr. Camacho talked about his daughter, who just graduated from college, and his son, who is starting high school.

''I always tell my children: This is a country where you can do a lot, si trabajan duro'' -- if they work hard, Mr. Camacho said. ''That's not possible in my country. I wish I could tell that to Donald Trump.''

Inside, Mr. Trump's supporters chanted: ''Build that wall! Build that wall!'' Mr. Trump would go on to call for a new ''deportation task force'' that would focus on rounding up only the ''most dangerous criminal illegal **immigrants**.''

Mr. Camacho said he is from an impoverished village in the Mexican state of Sinaloa, and he crossed the border illegally 24 years ago, from Nogales, Mexico, into Nogales, Ariz., before thick, tall steel plates separated the cities. He owns a home and a car, he said. He makes extra money delivering newspapers before he starts mowing grass, trimming shrubs and blowing leaves off the walkways at the apartment complex.

Mr. Trump landed in Phoenix late in the afternoon from Mexico, where, in a meeting with President Enrique Peña Nieto, he traded his tough talk on **immigration**for a more conciliatory message of cooperation between two neighbors.

Nowhere has the debate over **immigration** been more fierce than in Phoenix, where calls to deport undocumented **immigrants** have been relentless, even as those **immigrants** have become part of the fabric of the city.

Between the convention center and the airport where Mr. Trump arrived, there is a mortgage bank's billboard on Washington Street, advertising, in Spanish, ''mi casa es mi casa'' -- my home is my home. There is also a Roman Catholic Church named Inmaculado Corazón de Maria, Spanish for Immaculate Heart of Mary, where a painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe, patron saint of Mexico, beams from the facade.

At an auto repair shop on the corner of Washington and North 18th Street, Francisco Rodriguez proudly proclaimed, ''I'm illegal, but I'm a business owner.'' He came to Phoenix in 2003 from the Mexican state of Nayarit and opened the shop eight years later, on the same spot where it remains -- right along the route from the airport to downtown.

''What Trump says about Mexicans -- that we're rapists, we're criminals -- doesn't affect me,'' said Mr. Rodriguez, 54, a wrench wedged in his pant's pocket. ''I wake up every day and I work hard, Monday through Saturday, and I tune out the noise.''

For Mr. Camacho, it is not as easy to ignore some of the things Mr. Trump has said: that he will build a big wall along the border and make Mexico pay for it, that he will round up undocumented **immigrants** and send them ''right back into the country from which they came,'' starting on his first day in office.

''Mr. Donald Trump, he doesn't know that when we come here from Mexico, it's because we're hungry, we're needy,'' Mr. Camacho said. ''We come here to help ourselves and our families.''

He recalled a cousin who died three years ago after the smuggler who was guiding him across the desert, toward Arizona, abandoned him along the way.

''Mexico can't help us,'' he said. ''If it could, no one would ever leave.''

He excused himself and speed-walked toward a television reporter he recognized, Ricardo Arambarri, of the Spanish-language station Univision. He pulled out his cellphone and took a picture of them side by side, his arm draped over Mr. Arambarri's shoulder.

''I watch you on TV all the time,'' Mr. Camacho told him.

By then, the protesters had gathered around a group of men and women dressed in colorful feathered costumes, dancing indigenous Mexican dances to the sound of drums.

''The protest has turned into a party,'' he said with a chuckle.

So Mr. Camacho decided it was time to go home.

He crossed the street, walked past a huddle of Phoenix police officers, a motorcyclist in a black leather vest and a woman holding a sign that read, ''Make America great again,'' Mr. Trump's rallying cry. He kept his eyes on the ground and kept on walking.

''Imagine what would happen if all the Mexicans left this country,'' he said. ''Has Donald Trump ever thought of that?''

Follow Fernanda Santos @fernandanyt on Twitter.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**NOGALES, Ariz. -- On an embankment that runs along a towering steel fence separating this border town from its Mexican sister city, a patch of new concrete with a date carved into it stands out, marking the exit of a tunnel Border Patrol agents sealed in May.

Dozens more like it snake around town, part of a vast underground network that Mexican drug cartels have used for years to funnel hundreds of pounds of illicit drugs into the United States. When Border Patrol agents find the tunnels, they dump concrete to seal them and stamp them with the date that they are shut down.

But they struggle to stay ahead of the digging. Last Friday, the Border Patrol, in a joint operation with Mexican authorities, discovered an unfinished tunnel that started in a Mexican cemetery.

''The clock is ticking as soon as they complete a tunnel,'' said Kevin Hecht, a Border Patrol tunneling expert. ''They know that we will eventually find them. But if even one load gets through before we find it, they consider it a success.''

While Donald J. Trump, the Republican presidential nominee, has made building a wall at the border a central element of his campaign, the fence here that reaches up to 30 feet has done little to deter enterprising drug smugglers. It has simply helped push them underground.

Border Patrol agents cannot hear smugglers digging and do not know how many tunnels there are, a gap in border security that homeland security experts say renders talk of a wall moot.

''The Border Patrol has done an incredible job, given its resources,'' said Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey, the White House drug policy director in the Clinton administration. ''But it would be a stretch to say that the border and border communities are secure when the agency lacks a high-confidence ability to detect cross-border tunnels. No wall is going to fix that.''

During his **immigration** speech Wednesday in Arizona, Mr. Trump said his border security plan would use the best technology, including above- and below-ground sensors to ''find and dislocate tunnels and keep out criminal cartels.''

But no technology exists to reliably detect the tunnels, and experts say it may be years before such a system is developed.

Since the first drug tunnel was discovered in 1990 in Douglas, Ariz., border officials say they have found nearly 200 more along the nearly 2,000-mile Southwest border, mostly in Arizona and California. Tunnels are so numerous in the Nogales area that Border Patrol agents described the ground underneath the city as ''Swiss cheese.''

Mr. Hecht said smugglers dig tunnels mostly into the drainage system shared by the two cities. Others are burrowed into the basements of homes on the American side from buildings in Mexico. One tunnel was dug under a heavily guarded port of entry.

Technological advances such as ground radar to detect movement, hundreds of high-tech cameras with night-vision lenses and drones flying overhead have drastically transformed border security. These tools have helped federal investigators track and arrest hundreds of smuggling suspects, and seize tons of marijuana, methamphetamines and cocaine. Remote-controlled robots help agents explore tunnels that are too risky for humans to enter.

The American government has poured hundreds of millions of dollars into research in hopes of finding a way to detect tunnels, but most of these efforts have ended in disappointment. Most recently, the Science and Technology Directorate of the Department of Homeland Security concluded that none of the current methods used to detect underground tunnels were ''necessarily suited to Border Patrol agents' operational needs.''

In the absence of technology to detect tunnels, Border Patrol officials have worked with Mexican authorities to develop informants and patrol the border, including water and sewerage infrastructure, looking for suspicious activity. About half of the Border Patrol agents here have been trained to work underground.

''But you don't know what you don't know,'' said R. Gil Kerlikowske, the United States Customs and Border Protection commissioner, who conceded that many more tunnels might exist.

Part of the problem in detecting tunnels, say experts like Paul Bauman, a Canadian geophysicist, is the ground itself. Finding what is under the surface is not as simple as shooting radar or electromagnetic waves into the ground, he said.

With underground cracks, water tables, tree roots and caves, it is hard to tell what is and is not a tunnel, he said.

Mr. Bauman, who has worked with the Israel Defense Forces in their efforts to find tunnels, said most of the devices used for tunnel detection were developed for industries to find oil or mineral deposits, not drug tunnels.

Carey M. Rappaport, a professor of electrical and computer engineering at Northeastern University in Boston, said the depth of many tunnels also posed a technological challenge. Some can be as deep as 90 feet, beyond the reach of most ground-radar devices and sensors.

''Soil is very good at keeping secrets,'' said Mr. Rappaport, who has also worked with the United States and Israeli governments on tunnel-detection methods.

In the 2016 defense authorization bill, Congress provided about $120 million for a joint Defense Department and Israel Defense Forces tunnel-detection project. Israel is among several nations, including Egypt, Jordan and South Korea, that have had major problems with hostile groups using tunnels to stage attacks. American officials hope the technology developed in Israel can aid efforts on the Mexican border.

A spokeswoman for the Israeli Defense Ministry declined to comment.

The Science and Technology Directorate at Homeland Security is also spending several million dollars a year to fund tunnel-detection research.

In San Diego, a task force of agents from **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement, Homeland Security Investigations, the Border Patrol and the Drug Enforcement Administration has tried a variety of technologies to detect tunnels, much like their colleagues in Nogales have.

One of the tools is a ground-radar machine that looks like a large lawn mower. The device, which is intended to locate underground utility lines and flaws in road construction, shoots radar waves about 10 feet into the ground. A screen displays various shades that identify anomalies underground that could be tunnels.

But that is often not deep enough. ''We've never found a tunnel using them,'' said David Shaw, a special agent in charge of Homeland Security Investigations in San Diego.

Mr. Shaw said the task force relied mainly on old-fashioned law enforcement techniques, such as cultivating informants in cartels or getting business owners and residents to report suspicious activities.

That's how the most recent tunnel in San Diego was discovered in April. Its exit was in a fenced-off area in the heavily industrial Otay Mesa warehouse district, about 500 yards from the border.

According to Wendi Lee, a Border Patrol agent, business owners across the street alerted the agency to what they said was suspicious activity. The tunnel, hidden under a trash bin, was about 800 yards long. The authorities seized about 2,200 pounds of cocaine and 14,000 pounds of marijuana. The tunnel was one of about a half-dozen discovered in the area in recent years.

''Smugglers keep digging them because the tunnels work,'' Mr. Shaw said.

Still, some law enforcement officials say their efforts appear to be having an effect. Data from Homeland Security shows that fewer tunnels have been discovered in recent years.

However, Mr. Hecht of the Border Patrol in Nogales said the number of tunnels discovered should not be used to measure success.

''For every tunnel we find, we feel they're building another one somewhere, and they might get more creative in concealing it,'' he said. ''Next year, I could find 10. Until there is some device on the market to help us accurately detect them, we just won't know.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In Donald Trump's telling, there are places across America that have become dangerous oases for criminals, where foreign lawbreakers roam the streets without fear of the authorities.

Using the label ''sanctuary cities,'' Mr. Trump vowed in his hard-edge **immigration** speech in Phoenix on Wednesday to force such jurisdictions to abandon their policies protecting undocumented **immigrants** or face the loss of federal funding.

''We will end the sanctuary cities that have caused so many needless deaths,'' Mr. Trump said. ''No more funds!''

With his proposal, Mr. Trump is coming down on one side of a vigorous partisan debate over the degree to which local law enforcement should be involved in enforcing **immigration** laws. There is a deep split among law enforcement officials, not to mention elected officials. Just last year, after a young woman was shot by an **immigrant** here illegally with a criminal record who had been released by the authorities in San Francisco, the Republican-led House voted to withhold some federal funding from jurisdictions that shield undocumented **immigrants** from federal officials. In the Senate, Democrats this summer blocked a similar bill, which the White House had vowed to veto.

In limiting cooperation with the federal **immigration** authorities, some local law enforcement officials contend that they are making their jurisdictions safer by encouraging undocumented **immigrants** to take the risk of coming forward to report crimes. But those who see **immigration** violations as serious offenses contend that such policies lead to criminality.

The issue has bedeviled the Obama administration for years. In his first term, President Obama expanded nationwide a program allowing the Department of Homeland Security to receive the fingerprints of every person booked by the state and local police. After many **immigrant** communities rebelled, the administration canceled some of its efforts in 2014, and replaced them with a single, less intrusive one, hoping to court big cities to cooperate rather than to coerce them.

The list of cities, counties and states adopting such approaches is extensive. The State of California passed a law in 2013 limiting cooperation between the police and federal **immigration** authorities. Cities including Chicago, Philadelphia, New Orleans, New York and nearly 300 other places have adopted similar policies, according to the Center for **Immigration** Studies, a research group that supports Mr. Trump's approach.

Mr. Trump did not specify which federal funds he would cut off, saying only that ''cities that refuse to cooperate with federal authorities will not receive taxpayer dollars.''

While some cities, including New York and San Francisco, embrace the sanctuary label, none of the locales are entirely havens for **immigrants** in the country illegally. The term refers to jurisdictions that have placed limits on when local police departments will comply with federal requests to hold undocumented **immigrants** for detention. None of the cities restrain the police from pursuing or prosecuting **immigrants** who commit crimes.

While Mr. Trump said that ''countless Americans'' had lost their lives to **immigrant** criminals as a result of sanctuary policies, known cases are few. But a shocking killing happened just as Mr. Trump announced his presidential bid last year. Kathryn Steinle, a tourist, was shot while strolling with her father on a pier in San Francisco. The suspect, Juan Francisco López-Sánchez, was an undocumented **immigrant** from Mexico with a long criminal record who had been deported five times previously and had just completed a sentence in federal prison.

Mr. López-Sánchez confessed to the shooting but said it was an accident. Citing a trail of errors that led to his release by federal prison and **immigration**authorities and the San Francisco sheriff, Ross Mirkarimi, Ms. Steinle's frustrated family brought a wrongful-death lawsuit against them and the City of San Francisco in May.

Mr. Trump referred to Ms. Steinle in his speech, saying of Mr. López-Sánchez, ''They knew he was no good.''

But officials in San Francisco have argued that Ms. Steinle's case was a disastrous exception and did not reflect the results of the city's sanctuary policy, which has been in place since 1989. City officials broadly reaffirmed the policy.

But many county sheriffs support Mr. Trump's argument that the police have a duty to help deport any **immigrant** who entered the country illegally.

''If you want federal dollars, you have to obey federal law,'' said Sam Page, the sheriff of Rockingham County, N.C. ''I believe we need to remove all criminal offenders that are in this country illegally.''

In 2014, the New York City Council passed a law that sharply limited the cooperation of the police and corrections departments with the federal enforcement authorities. The departments would honor a hold request only from a federal judge, and only if the subject had been convicted of a violent or serious crime.

Were it not for that city law, one 33-year-old man might have been sent back to Honduras this summer -- for hanging a green pine tree air-freshener on his rearview mirror. In July, the man, who spoke on the condition that only his middle name, Omar, would be used since he does not have legal status, was pulled over while driving in Queens.

According to his lawyer, Su Yon Yi, of Queens Law Associates, the police stopped him for a traffic violation -- obstructing the view while driving. The police then cited him for not having a driver's license.

Omar pleaded guilty to driving without a license, paid a fine and was immediately released. Ms. Yi said that without the sanctuary policy in effect he might have been turned over to the **immigration** authorities.

''He really did benefit because he was in New York,'' Ms. Yi said. ''Instead of spending a couple of days in criminal jail and waiting for **immigration** and perhaps spending countless days in **immigration** custody -- all based on an air-freshener -- he was released and could go home to his family.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**MIDWAY ATOLL -- President Obama, taking his campaign to confront climate change to a pristine spit of land in the remote Pacific Ocean, said on Thursday that it was critical to examine the effects of the planet's warming on the seas and to protect wild areas from degradation caused by human activity.

''This is hallowed ground,'' Mr. Obama told reporters, referring to the decisive Allied victory on Midway that was a turning point in World War II.

''It is also spectacular as an ecosystem,'' the president said at Turtle Beach, as four endangered green sea turtles rested on white sand nearby, with nothing but cyan waters stretching behind him.

Mr. Obama traveled to Midway, part of the uninhabited Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, to recognize his expansion last week of Papahanaumokuakea Marine National Monument, the world's largest protected area and home to more than 7,000 species of wildlife, some of them endangered and others found nowhere else.

The area has millions of tropical sea birds, including rare albatrosses, and it teems with sea life such as endangered whales, sharks and dolphins, as well as deep-sea black coral, considered the longest-living marine species.

''For us to be able to protect and preserve this national monument, to extend it, and, most importantly, to interact with native Hawaiians and other stakeholders so that the way we protect and manage this facility is consistent with ancient traditions and the best science available, this is going to be a precious resource for generations to come,'' Mr. Obama said after touring the 2.4-square-mile atoll in a golf cart motorcade and receiving a briefing from the Fish and Wildlife Serviceofficials who manage it.

Under a blazing hot sun, white terns cruised overhead and dotted the trees, their fuzzy chicks cooling themselves in puddles by the side of the rough path Mr. Obama passed over as he took in the lush landscape.

''Spectacular,'' the president said as he gazed out at a bay so iridescent that it turned the clouds above green. ''I can't wait to get in'' added Mr. Obama, who snorkeled off the coast later in the day.

The expansion of the marine reserve and Mr. Obama's trip to the island, named for its location about halfway between Asia and North America, were part of an effort by the president to showcase his commitment to combating climate change and protecting lands and waters that can serve as **refuges** as the planet increasingly experiences the effects of global warming. After Midway, the president was scheduled to fly to China to discuss climate change.

Mr. Obama, nearing the end of his eight years in office, is reaching for lasting symbols of his achievements and seeking opportunities to check items off his must-do list while he still has the trappings and travel perquisites of the presidency.

Mr. Obama announced last week that he was vastly expanding the Papahanaumokuakea monument, created by President George W. Bush a decade ago, bringing its size to more than 580,000 square miles -- three and a half times the size of California -- from a little less than 140,000 square miles.

Scientists and environmental groups have cheered the action. But commercial fishing interests have expressed strong opposition, arguing that Mr. Obama has harmed their industry by prohibiting long-line fishing in vast waters.

''We do not believe the expansion is based on the best available scientific information,'' Kitty Simonds, executive director of the Western Pacific Regional Fishery Management Council, said in a statement. ''It serves a political legacy rather than any conservation benefits.''

Mr. Obama was concerned on Thursday with both. Midway and the surrounding islands and waters are regarded as a climate **refuge**, a place whose natural characteristics make it more resilient to climate change.

''The president has made a very bold statement that the world needs to take more tangible, bold actions to make sure that we're protecting our ecosystems from climate change,'' said Matt Rand, director of the Ocean Legacy Project at the Pew Charitable Trusts.

In visiting the island, Mr. Rand added, Mr. Obama was getting ''a view into what our oceans and our planet looked like 100 years ago, really before we had significant human degradation in the ecosystem,'' when bird life and top predatory fish were abundant and coral was healthy.

Mr. Obama is not the first American president to visit the remote island. Richard M. Nixon stopped there in June 1969, at the height of bird breeding season, for five hours of meetings with President Nguyen Van Thieu of South Vietnam, during which the two agreed on plans for the United States to begin withdrawing troops.

Mr. Obama visited during a season when most of Midway's birds have finished breeding and flown out to sea, leaving some of the island's most fervent protectors feeling that the president was missing out.

''Come back'' in June 2017, Teya M. Penniman implored Mr. Obama in a message posted on the website of Friends of Midway Atoll.

''Even though you won't be the current president, it will still give you a much better understanding of what you've just done,'' Ms. Penniman wrote. ''The birds, fish, corals, seals, algae, turtles, dolphins and whales thank you.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**With calls to end so-called sanctuary cities, create a deportation task force and maintain ''zero tolerance for criminal **aliens**,'' Donald J. Trump laid out a 10-point **immigration** plan on Wednesday in Phoenix that reverted to the tough, uncompromising talk on the issue that has powered his appeal to his strongest supporters. While he is no longer talking about immediately deporting the estimated 11 million people in the United States illegally, he also distanced himself from any notion that they could gain legal status anytime soon.

''There will be no amnesty,'' Mr. Trump said with renewed determination.

A close inspection of Mr. Trump's new **immigration** plans reveals that some are more workable than others, and some are not too different from President Obama's policies. But most would significantly expand and accelerate current enforcement practices. Mr. Trump promised to achieve the whole package, including the deportations of more than two million **immigrants**, in ''a matter of months,'' a time frame that seemed more rhetorical than realistic.

Deporting Criminals

Mr. Trump said his main focus would be on swiftly deporting **immigrants** with criminal records. ''Day 1, my first hour in office, those people are gone,'' he said.

''You can call it whatever the hell you want,'' he added. ''They're gone.''

As president, he said, he would issue an order immediately empowering enforcement agencies to be aggressive in hunting down **immigrants** with criminal records and speeding their deportation. He said that more than two million undocumented **immigrants** had some kind of criminal record and would be pursued for deportation.

In some ways, Mr. Trump's proposal is not radically different from the current policy of the Obama administration. In November 2014, President Obama established new priorities for foreigners who should be deported. The highest priority is on removing **immigrants** who pose security threats, gang members and convicted felons. Mr. Obama has said his approach is to deport ''felons, not families.''

In the past two years, however, the number of criminals deported has fallen from a peak of 199,000 in 2013. It dropped to 168,000 in 2014 and even fewer last year, according to an analysis of official figures by the Pew Research Center.

One big difference between Mr. Trump's proposal and current policy is that the Obama administration has told enforcement agents to use discretion and avoid deporting undocumented **immigrants** with families in the country who committed no crimes or minor offenses like traffic violations. Mr. Trump said he would cancel any programs based on Mr. Obama's discretionary policies, and he appears to be far more willing to deport people who have committed less serious crimes.

Another large difference is the speed and sweep of the deportation drive Mr. Trump proposes. He suggested he would find ways to deport many **immigrants** with new, expedited procedures. **Immigration** lawyers said it is within the president's authority to set aside many due-process protections to order wide sweeps and accelerated removals.

''Our **immigration** laws are set up to do mass deportation,'' said Benjamin Johnson, executive director of the American **Immigration** Lawyers Association.

''They are rigid and full of zero tolerance, and there is not a lot of fairness, humanity or due process built in,'' said Mr. Johnson, who added that he does not support Mr. Trump's plans.

But it is not clear how Mr. Trump arrived at the figure of two million **immigrants** with criminal records. According to the **immigration** enforcement agency, about 176,000 **immigrants** at large in the country have been convicted of crimes and ordered deported by judges. To reach two million, he appears to have included hundreds of thousands of **immigrants** who are longtime residents with minor offenses.

In some cases, foreign-born criminals have not been deported because the countries they came from -- notably China -- have refused to take them back. Mr. Trump said he would swiftly sanction countries that decline to receive criminal deportees.

Deportation Force

Mr. Trump added new detail to the idea of a special ''deportation force'' to carry out his plans. He once suggested that this force would be like the military units that deported more than a million **immigrants**, mostly Mexicans, during Operation Wetback in 1954. Mr. Trump has previously spoken with admiration of President Eisenhower for his carrying-out of that blitz.

Mr. Trump clarified that his primary plan is to add more agents to existing forces, including hiring an additional 5,000 for the Border Patrol and tripling **Immigration**and Customs Enforcement's staff of deportation officers. To be consistent with his earlier promise, Mr. Trump said he would create a task force within the enforcement agency to focus on the highest-priority cases of **immigrants** who have committed heinous crimes.

Sanctuary Cities

Mr. Trump said he would cancel federal funding for cities that have curtailed their cooperation with federal **immigration** authorities. He did not say which funding he meant.

According to **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement, there are about 300 cities and towns in the United States that critics like Mr. Trump -- as well as some supporters of the practice -- have labeled ''sanctuary cities.''

Those are places where the local authorities have decided not to cooperate with requests from federal agents to hold **immigrants** in custody. In most cases, local police forces or governments decided not to assist federal agents because they were concerned that cooperation would erode trust with **immigrant** communities they considered vital to police efforts to fight crime. Among those places are Denver, New Haven, New York and many counties in California.

Mr. Trump pointed to several instances in which the failure of the local police to detain an **immigrant** who was a criminal had tragic results. He mentioned the case of Kathryn Steinle, who was shot to death on a pier in San Francisco by a Mexican man who had been deported several times but returned to the country and was released by the sheriff.

Since 2014, the Obama administration has worked to court cities with sanctuary policies and bring them back to a cooperative relationship with **immigration**agents. Los Angeles is one city that has renewed its cooperation with the administration. Mr. Trump's plan would be far more coercive.

Legalization

While there had been speculation recently that Mr. Trump might be softening on legalization, he made it clear in Phoenix that his line is as hard as ever. He said there was ''one route and one route only'' for **immigrants** in the country illegally: ''to return home and apply for re-entry like everybody else.'' This self-deportation option seemed to echo a similar idea by Mitt Romney, the onetime governor of Massachusetts, when he was the Republican nominee in 2012.

In practice, **immigrants** who depart could face years of uncertain waiting outside the country. Mr. Trump said his main purpose would be to send a clear message that ''you cannot obtain legal status or become a citizen of the United States by illegally entering our country.''

But Mr. Trump said he would first work with Congress to change the **immigration** system to create new, more rigorous vetting to reduce **immigration** and determine that **immigrants** who come here are people who ''love us.'' Given the recent gridlock in Congress, it could take years for an ambitious overhaul.

That Wall

Mr. Trump's very first promise in his remarks on Wednesday night was a reiteration of his plan for a ''great wall along the southern border.'' The Mexican president, Enrique Peña Nieto, said that in their meeting in Mexico City on Wednesday afternoon, he told Mr. Trump that his country would not pay for the wall. But that did not move Mr. Trump, who said on Wednesday night, to great cheers from the Phoenix audience, that ''Mexico will pay for the wall.''

As was previously reported, that kind of border defense would be a major logistical challenge and extremely expensive for whoever pays the bill.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Don't be confused by the days of mixed messaging from Donald Trump's campaign, or the head-feint trip to Mexico, where he was polite to the president. Speaking on Wednesday in Phoenix, Mr. Trump did not retreat from, or in any way soften, his promise to make 11 million unauthorized **immigrants** targets for deportation. His speech -- in 10 points, embellished with statistics, ad-libbed asides and audience hollering and chanting -- was as clear a statement of hard-core restrictionism as any he has given.

It was a mass-deportation speech, even if he avoided that phrase. Its intent was hard to miss.

Leave aside the bit about the ''impenetrable'' wall, an applause line for an engineering fiction. To understand what's so appalling and frightening about Mr. Trump, focus instead on some things he could actually try to do, if America gives him the job and Congress gives the money:

1. ''Under my administration, anyone who illegally crosses the border will be detained until they are removed out of our country and back to the country from which they came. And they'll be brought great distances.''

2. ''We will issue detainers for illegal **immigrants** who are arrested for any crime whatsoever, and they will be placed into immediate removal proceedings.''

3. ''My plan also includes cooperating closely with local jurisdictions to remove criminal **aliens** immediately. We will restore the highly successful Secure Communities program. Good program. We will expand and revitalize the popular 287(g) partnerships.''

4. ''We're going to triple the number of ICE [**Immigration** and Customs Enforcement] deportation officers. Within ICE, I am going to create a new special deportation task force focused on identifying and quickly removing the most dangerous criminal illegal **immigrants**. ... We're also going to hire 5,000 more Border Patrol agents.''

5. ''We will immediately terminate President Obama's two illegal executive amnesties in which he defied federal law and the Constitution to give amnesty to approximately five million illegal **immigrants**.''

This isn't the full list, but it's enough to show how drastically Mr. Trump wants to remake the country.

Nos. 1 and 2 are a plan to add many tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands, of new prison beds, while also filling local jails to bursting. They're a gift to the private, for-profit prison industry and will ensure that any arrests, even false ones, can be springboards to deportation.

No. 3 is a discarded page from President Obama's playbook. Mr. Obama vastly expanded Secure Communities, a national dragnet that enlisted state and local law-enforcement officials to check the **immigration** status of everyone arrested. Many communities resisted it, calling it a tool for racial profiling that wasted resources, traumatized innocent people and got in the way of deterring crime before Mr. Obama abandoned it. Under the similarly toxic 287(g) program, local departments -- like that of the infamous Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Arizona -- became partners of ICE on street patrols and in jails.

No. 4 is a gift to an ICE union that endorsed Mr. Trump, and a plan to make the most bloated federal law-enforcement bureaucracy, Homeland Security, even bigger.

And No. 5 tells millions of **immigrants** -- who were brought here as children, or have citizen children, and pose no threat -- to be very afraid, because we will hunt you down and expel you, and we already know where you live.

The entire speech, in fact, imagines that government at all levels will be used to hunt down and remove **immigrants** from their homes, families and jobs. Mr. Trump was describing a world of lockups and surveillance and fugitive-hunting squads, a vast system of indiscriminate catch-and-punish that works as hard to catch hotel maids and landscapers as it does gang members and terrorists.

And this applies not just to **immigrants**, but to everyone who could be mistaken for one. Corrupt local police officers will pick up anyone they want, knowing Mr. Trump's agents will swiftly take suspects off their hands.

Nativists across the land were praising Mr. Trump's **immigration** speech as wonderful, potent stuff. Mark Krikorian of the Center for **Immigration** Studies, an organization that wants to restrict **immigration**, called it a ''real-world version'' of what's ''necessary to control **immigration**.'' If you saw Mr. Trump's speech, and you care about the country and values of tolerance and human rights and weren't disgusted, you were either fooled, or not paying attention.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Once, I seem to recall, we had philosophical and ideological differences. Once, politics was a debate between liberals and conservatives, between different views of government, different views on values and America's role in the world.

But this year, it seems, everything has been stripped down to the bone. Politics is dividing along crude identity lines -- along race and class. Are you a native-born white or are you an outsider? Are you one of the people or one of the elites?

Politics is no longer about argument or discussion; it's about trying to put your opponents into the box of the untouchables.

Donald Trump didn't invent this game, but he embodies it. His advisers tried to dress him up on Wednesday afternoon as some sort of mature summiteer. But he just can't be phony.

By his evening **immigration** speech he'd returned to the class and race tropes that have defined his campaign: that the American government is in the grips of a rich oligarchy that distorts everything for its benefit; that the American people are besieged by foreigners, who take their jobs and threaten their lives.

It's not that these two ideas are completely wrong. The rich do have more influence. There are indeed some foreigners who seek to harm us. It is just that Trump (like other race and class warriors) takes these kernels of truth and grows them into a lie.

Trump argues that **immigration** has sown chaos across middle-class neighborhoods. This is false. Research suggests that the recent surge in **immigration** has made America's streets safer. That's because foreign-born men are very unlikely to commit violent crime.

According to one study, only 2 or 3 percent of Mexican-, Guatemalan- or Salvadoran-born men without a high school degree end up incarcerated, compared with 11 percent of their American-born counterparts.

Trump argues that the flood of **immigrants** is taking jobs away from unskilled native workers. But this is mainly false, too. There's an intricate debate among economists about this, but if you survey the whole literature on the subject you find that most research shows **immigration** has very little effect on native wage or unemployment levels.

That's because **immigrants** flow into different types of unskilled jobs. Unskilled **immigrants** tend to become maids, cooks and farm workers -- jobs that require less English. Unskilled natives tend to become cashiers and drivers. If **immigrants** are driving down wages, it is mostly those of other **immigrants**.

Trump claims the rich benefit from **immigration** while everyone else suffers. Doctors get cheap nannies, everyone else gets the shaft.

This is false, too. The fact is, a vast majority of Americans benefit. A study by John McLaren of U.Va. and Gihoon Hong of Indiana University found that each new **immigrant** produced about 1.2 new jobs, because **immigrants** are producers and consumers and increase overall economic activity.

A report from the Partnership for a New American Economy found that **immigrants** accounted for 28 percent of all new small businesses in 2011. Between 2006 and 2012, over 40 percent of tech start-ups in Silicon Valley had at least one foreign-born founder.

The cities that are doing best economically work hard to attract new **immigrants** because the benefits are widely shared. As Ted Hesson points out in The Atlantic, New York, Chicago, Houston and Los Angeles account for about 20 percent of America's economic output, and in those places, **immigrants** can make up as much as 44 percent of the total labor supply.

Identity politics distorts politics in two ways. First, it is Manichaean. It cleanly divides the world into opposing forces of light and darkness. You are a worker or an elite. You are American or foreigner.

Seeing this way is understandable if you are scared, but it is also a sign of intellectual laziness. The reality is that people can't be reduced to a single story. An issue as complex as **immigration** can't be reduced to a cartoon. It is simultaneously true that **immigration** fuels American dynamism and that the mixture of mass unskilled **immigration** and the high-tech economy threatens to create a permanent underclass.

Second and most important, identity politics is inherently the politics of division. But on most issues -- whether it is **immigration** or the economy or national security -- we rise and fall together. **Immigration**, even a reasonable amount of illegal **immigration**, helps a vast majority of Americans. An economy that grows at 3 percent would help all Americans.

Identity politics, as practiced by Trump, but also by others on the left and the right, distracts from the reality that we are one nation. It corrodes the sense of solidarity. It breeds suspicion, cynicism and distrust.

Human beings are too complicated to be defined by skin color, income or citizenship status. Those who try to reduce politics to these identities do real violence to national life.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON -- Two Polish **immigrants** were eating takeout pizza against a brick wall on a muggy night in Harlow, a working-class town about 20 miles northeast of central London.

As they chatted in Polish, witnesses said, a group of young boys and girls attacked them. The group repeatedly pummeled and kicked one of the men, Arkadiusz Jozwik, 40, a meat factory worker, in the head. He died two days later from his injuries, in a killing that the police are investigating as a possible hate crime.

The second man, who was not identified by the police, was hospitalized with bruises and hand fractures.

Six boys from Harlow -- five 15-year-olds and one 16-year-old -- have been arrested on suspicion of murder in the attack, which occurred shortly before midnight on Saturday. All have been released on bail. The police have appealed for witnesses to come forward, and they said they were investigating reports that the attackers had hurled racist abuse at the victims.

The brutality of the killing and its apparent targeting of **immigrants** shocked many Britons and prompted soul-searching. It renewed alarm among Eastern European **immigrants** that the campaign leading to Britain's decision in a June 23 referendum to leave the European Union, known as ''Brexit,'' has unleashed a wave of xenophobia.

Before the vote, members of the far-right who supported leaving the bloc played adroitly on concerns about unchecked **immigration**, warning that the union's open borders threatened the British way of life, made the country vulnerable to terrorism and hurt workers. One poster, released during the campaign by the far-right U.K. Independence Party, showed a seemingly endless line of migrants and the words ''Breaking Point.''

The killing has shaken the close-knit multicultural community in Harlow, which has a large Polish population. Dozens of residents participated in a candlelit vigil; some held signs saying ''migrants and **refugees** welcome here.'' Others laid flowers in a makeshift memorial on the street where the attack took place. One note read, ''Not everyone in Harlow is as evil as those people.''

Poles constitute the largest number of foreign-born residents of Britain, with 831,000 of them in the country, and the assault in Harlow added to a string of attacks against them. In June, shortly after the referendum, the Polish Social and Cultural Association in the Hammersmith district of London, home to a large Polish community, was vandalized.

In early July, laminated cards with abusive messages like ''No more Polish vermin'' and ''Go home, Polish scum'' were left on cars and at several properties in Cambridgeshire, north of London.

The death of Mr. Jozwik has been devastating for his family. His brother, Radoslaw Jozwik, spoke this week outside the pizzeria with his wife, Sylwia. He said that his mother, who had worked alongside Arkadiusz at the meat factory, was struggling to cope with his death.

''My mum came back from holiday and did not know what had happened,'' Radoslaw Jozwik told reporters. ''We had to meet her at Stansted Airport and tell her, and then take her straight to the hospital. She is really struggling.''

He said his brother, who came to Britain four years ago to work, had been targeted because he was Polish. ''The police have told us he was attacked because they heard him and his friends speaking the Polish language,'' he said. ''He was standing, eating pizza, and they picked on him because of that. He does not speak much English.''

He added, ''After the Brexit vote it has got worse -- I have seen people change -- it is hard at the moment.''

Arkady Rzegocki, Poland's recently appointed ambassador to Britain, said in an interview that he feared the decision to leave the European Union had given license to xenophobia, and that more minorities were being targeted. He visited the crime scene in Harlow on Wednesday and met with Mr. Jozwik's family. He plans to participate in a ''march of silence'' organized by the Polish community on Saturday.

''This was a big tragedy, and I was very shocked,'' Mr. Rzegocki said by telephone. ''The truth, unfortunately, is that before the Brexit referendum there was less xenophobia and racism. Now, we are seeing an increase in such incidents.''

He was joined at the site of the killing by Robert Halfon, the Conservative member of Parliament for Harlow, who lamented that a ''very small minority'' was using the referendum result to exploit divisions and pursue a racist agenda. Such people, he added, ''come from the sewers.''

Mr. Halfon added that Polish **immigration** to Harlow had helped regenerate the town, which is dotted with grocery stores run by **immigrants**.

The killing has reverberated in Poland. The left-wing political party Razem posted a statement expressing solidarity with the victim's family. ''The racist and xenophobic attitudes are reaping an increasingly horrid harvest,'' it said.

Pawel Robert Kowal, a former member of the European Parliament, told the Polish news channel TVN24 BiS that the scapegoating of minorities by politicians had empowered hooligans. ''Today, those who use anti-**immigrant** rhetoric, even if innocently, are doubly guilty,'' he said.

Britain's foreign secretary, Boris Johnson, was scheduled to meet with his Polish counterpart, Witold Waszczykowski, in Potsdam, Germany, on Thursday to discuss recent attacks on Poles in Britain.

According to the National Police Chiefs' Council, the number of reported hate crimes in England, Wales and Northern Ireland has jumped 46 percent, to 1,831 in the week after the June 23 referendum from the comparable week a year earlier. More recently, in the period from July 22 to 28, reports of hate crimes had jumped 34 percent from a year earlier. The police cautioned, however, that the rise could be attributed in part to higher awareness of hate crimes.

Mr. Rzegocki, the ambassador, emphasized that there had been an outpouring of support from residents of Harlow, and from Britons of all walks of life, since the killing.

''There are two faces of Britain,'' he said.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Mexico City -- Mexico's president, Enrique Peña Nieto, had already had a terrible summer. July was the most murderous month in Mexico since he took office in 2012. Second-quarter results showed negative economic growth for the first time in three years. A survey found his approval rating slipping to 23 percent. And a news report even alleged that he plagiarized nearly a third of his law degree thesis. How could he make it any worse? Only by inviting Donald J. Trump, one of the most hated men in Mexico -- so hated that piñatas with his visage are brisk sellers across the country -- to his presidential palace.

The curious thing about Mr. Peña Nieto's latest debacle is how, unlike his other woes, it was totally self-inflicted. There is little tradition of sitting Mexican leaders meeting with American presidential hopefuls, so he was under no pressure to arrange the get-together. And it couldn't have come at a worse time: the very day of Mr. Trump's hard-hitting **immigration** speech, and the day before Mr. Peña Nieto's state of the union address. Mr. Peña Nieto had even compared Mr. Trump to Hitler.

But in a stupefying decision, last week he sent invitations out to the Democratic hopeful Hillary Clinton and Mr. Trump to come to Mexico, and then conceded, reportedly under pressure from the Trump team, to meet its candidate first, on the fateful Aug. 31.

Mr. Peña Nieto insists that his nation won something from the encounter. ''I was very clear -- in public and private -- in emphasizing that in Mexico we feel wounded and hurt by his announcements about Mexicans,'' he wrote in an opinion piece in El Universal newspaper on Thursday. ''I expressed that Mexicans deserve respect.''

But most politicians and pundits -- and the public -- read the scene differently. To them, Mr. Peña Nieto looked weak and submissive in front of a bully who is humiliating their nation. Certainly he lost the opportunity, in his own palace, and as a president to a mere candidate, to state clearly that his country would never pay for a border wall in the United States. His later tweet that he warned Mr. Trump is weak tea, a diplomatic ''he said, she said.''

Mr. Trump's staff claimed meanwhile that he looked presidential and firm in a difficult foreign country -- and may have won points with Mexican-American voters. Indeed, Mr. Peña Nieto had been a useful pawn in Mr. Trump's election campaign. Just consider Mr. Trump's Arizona **immigration** speech just hours after the meeting, when the candidate repeated his mantra, ''We will build a great wall along the southern border,'' and then left a dramatic pause before digging the knife in with, ''and Mexico will pay for the wall. One hundred percent.'' The Mexican president had failed to move Mr. Trump's position one iota.

The debacle seems so predictable that it's hard not to imagine that Mr. Peña Nieto's advisers deliberately led him to error, in a ''House of Cards''-style plot. But the truth is likely one that is harder for Mr. Peña Nieto to find a quick fix for. His problems, including the Trump caper, reflect how ill-suited he is to govern a major country like Mexico.

The president's Institutional Revolutionary Party, or P.R.I., ruled Mexico for 71 straight years until 2000, through an all-encompassing political machine that the writer Mario Vargas Llosa called ''the perfect dictatorship.'' Mr. Peña Nieto won back power for his party after 12 years in the wilderness with the promise that it had changed into a dynamic, democratic party that would modernize Mexico. And he was its telegenic leader, with a soap opera star for a first lady. After he won office, newspapers predicted a forthcoming ''Mexican miracle.''

But it gradually became apparent that Mr. Peña Nieto and his P.R.I. team were more of the same, representing entrenched interests and out of sync with much of their country. After cartel gunmen and police officers kidnapped 43 student teachers in 2014, the government failed to carry out a satisfactory investigation into the corrupt security forces, despite major protests. That same year it was revealed that Mr. Peña Nieto's wife was buying a $7 million mansion from a company that received government contracts. He apologized, and his wife gave the house back, but P.R.I. politicians have resisted effective anticorruption laws, defying the popular mood.

The Trump meeting is just par for the course, showing how out of touch he is with his country and the millions of Mexicans living in the United States. Surveys here show an enormous rejection of the Republican candidate; one, by the newspaper Reforma, found that only 3 percent of Mexicans would like to see Mr. Trump as America's president.

So what was he thinking? Maybe Mr. Peña Nieto gambled that he could change Mr. Trump's position, and lost. Maybe his low approval ratings sapped his confidence to publicly confront Mr. Trump about the border wall. Maybe he thought he could divert attention from his domestic troubles.

Whatever his motives, the Trump encounter only dug a deeper hole for Mr. Peña Nieto, whose term runs until 2018. The future will show whether his approval ratings tumble even further and how difficult the last two years of his government will be -- in a country that desperately needs smart leadership.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**HAMBURG, Germany -- Sometime during the night of Sept. 4, 2015 -- a year ago this weekend -- Chancellor Angela Merkel made a simple, historic decision. Because she didn't want to become responsible for violence and possibly death at her country's border, she ordered the German government -- and by extension, German society -- to take in thousands of **refugees** who had been sent westward by Hungary's prime minister, Viktor Orban.

When the **refugees**' trains pulled into Munich's main station, local residents did not merely greet them. Hundreds of people had come to the Hauptbahnhof to support the arriving passengers with sandwiches, water, teddy bears -- and a sense of relief. Any fear of an oncoming horde dissipated in the presence of so many tired, thankful **refugees**. They appeared puzzled as Germans applauded them as if they were marathon runners who had finally made it to the finish line.

The pictures of these arrivals, and others during the following days, became symbols of the German ''Willkommenskultur,'' the welcoming culture. Yet they did not actually express a culture. The overwhelming show of help and humanity of those hours, days and weeks, was more a spontaneous demonstration. But a demonstration of what exactly? The answer to this question might give a clue to how long this welcome will last.

In hindsight, the early days of the Willkommenskultur was more about us than them, providing Germans with relief on three fronts: relief from a sense of powerlessness amid such human misery in the Middle East at a time when Germany was finally growing comfortable with its powerful position in Europe; relief from the contemporary belief, born from the Greek debt crisis, that Germans were hardhearted; and relief from the historic suspicion that others viewed Germans as a dangerous, xenophobic people.

Consider the first point: Here was the undisputed leader of Europe, the country that had survived the financial crisis with enough strength to bail out euro partner countries who risked bankruptcy. And there was the worst humanitarian catastrophe in recent history right on Europe's periphery, ready-made, it seemed, to demonstrate the limits of German power.

The effects of the slaughter, death itself, had swept the shores of the Continent: Only two days before Ms. Merkel made her decision to open the borders, images of the drowned body of a 3-year-old **refugee** named Aylan Kurdi, washed up on a Turkish beach, had shocked the world. His body was an accusation, and it demanded action.

At the same time, the German public was emotionally strained. Although Berlin had effectively lent billions of euros to Greece, the conditions attached to the payment were assailed as the ''German diktat.'' Greek newspapers depicted Ms. Merkel in a Nazi uniform. Germany was increasingly cast as an unloved, overly strict headmistress seeking to impose her Protestant work ethic on all her charges.

When the **refugees** arrived in Munich, Germans got the chance to correct this distorted image. Look, the pictures said, we are generous! We are compassionate. Our patriotism is altruistic.

Finally, on the deepest layer, September 2015 delivered the opportunity for another defining moment in Germany's long movement from being an enemy of the free world to being the new land of the free. Yes, many migrants are attracted to Germany because of its comparatively generous welfare system. But there's more. Many Germans accepted the mass movement to their country as the strongest confirmation yet that Germany had become one of the most respected and welcoming places on earth. As naïve as it may sound, we saw ourselves as overrun not by **refugees**, but by fans.

The collective sigh of relief in Germany was palpable. As surely as the hundreds of Muslim **refugees** chanting ''Germany! Germany!'' as they boarded trains in Budapest caused anxiety around some German kitchen tables, they delivered a feeling of redemption to many others. Of course, there are those Germans who set **refugees**' temporary housing on fire. But these thugs only goaded the majority to push harder to display the helpfulness they regard as typical for their nation.

Maybe the best -- and certainly the funniest -- expression of this new, self-confident Germanness was a popular music video produced by the comedian Jan Böhmermann. In a Rammstein-esque heavy metal song, Mr. Böhmermann explains what it means to ''be Deutsch'': ''Wake up, Deutschland, Sleeping Beauty. Can you hear your call of duty? The world has gone completely nuts. That's why we're back to help, mein Schatz.''

Germany is once again a world power, he's saying -- but this time, it's a force for good; a Superman, not an Übermensch.

If you suspect that Germany has quickly moved from relief to self-righteousness, you're not wrong. If ''Deutsch Power'' should mean a hard form of soft power -- opening its doors to **refugees**, deploying humanitarian missions -- then Germany has yet to work through exactly what this entails.

Humanitarian reflexes alone are not a substitute for the demands of foreign policy, the kind of demands Germany increasingly faces. The next **refugee** crisis already looms in Africa and, with Germany's welcoming culture starting to cool, the next wave of migrants will not be greeted with the same applause. Germany changed a year ago. But, a year on, its political leaders have yet to explain exactly what the new Germany looks like.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON -- Since Britain's vote in June to quit the European Union , its government has promised repeatedly to make a success of withdrawal, known as Brexit.

More than two months later, however, it still cannot say how.

On Wednesday, Prime Minister Theresa May called cabinet ministers to a brainstorming session about the withdrawal, pledging to examine ''the next steps'' for Britain and to identify ''opportunities that are now open to us as we forge a new role'' in the world.

However, in ministerial offices, where turf wars have rapidly broken out, advocates of the withdrawal have discovered that four decades of European integration have left Britain so deeply embedded in the 28-nation bloc that there is no easy escape route.

British officials currently have neither the expertise nor the staff for the tortuous exit negotiations, which are likely to last at least three years and possibly much longer. Some analysts have even said they might take a decade.

But perhaps what they lack most of all is a game plan.

''At the moment, they haven't got a clue,'' said Charles Grant , director of the Center for European Reform, a London-based research institute. ''It is such a difficult challenge with such disparate leaders at the top of government, with such different views, that they are trying to work out how to respond.''

Beneath the fog lie fundamental questions about how much economic pain Britain should risk to restore powers to its national Parliament and to curb **immigration**from the European mainland.

For example, ministers must decide whether, to gain the restrictions they want on **immigration**, they are willing to endanger the health of London's financial center, which contributes billions in tax revenues, by sacrificing its unfettered access to European markets.

Presiding over this is Mrs. May, who argued against the withdrawal before the referendum (albeit tepidly), and who succeeded David Cameron in the political meltdown after the June 23 vote.

Perhaps to compensate for her support of European Union membership, Mrs. May installed supporters of leaving the bloc in critical, rival positions: the flamboyant Boris Johnson as foreign secretary; the more hard-nosed David Davis at a ministry created to oversee the withdrawal; and a right-wing former defense secretary, Liam Fox , at international trade.

The three men do not like one another much and, perhaps mischievously, Mrs. May has instructed them to share the use of Chevening, a 115-room country mansion in Kent, southeast of London, that is normally assigned to the foreign secretary but that is now nicknamed Brexit Towers.

Tensions stemming from the turf wars surfaced in a leaked letter in which Mr. Fox asked Mr. Johnson's Foreign Office to surrender economic diplomacy functions to the Trade Department.

Because Britain's trade deals are currently negotiated by European Union officials, the British government is chronically short on expertise and has had to call in expensive external consultants while starting to recruit its own specialists.

Mrs. May says she will not start formal negotiations on the exit before the end of the year. Once she does so -- by invoking Article 50 of the European Union 's Lisbon Treaty -- a two-year deadline will loom, putting Britain under pressure to cut a deal or risk finding itself with no foreign trade agreements and, perhaps, tariffs on its exports to Europe.

In a statement after Wednesday's meeting, Mrs. May's office said there was a clear view among ministers that there should be a ''unique'' deal for Britain, with ''controls on the numbers of people who come to Britain from Europe but also a positive outcome for those who wish to trade goods and services.''

None of the trading relationships enjoyed by neighbor nations outside the bloc, like Norway, Switzerland or Turkey, seem to fit Britain, suggesting that a tailored trade deal with the European Union -- ''enhanced third-country status'' in the jargon -- may be the best option.

Mr. Fox is also exploring possible trade deals elsewhere, though how lucrative those would be remains unclear. An analysis by Gregor Irwin of Global Counsel, an advisory firm with offices in Brussels, London and Singapore, concluded that the United States, along with China, Japan and some other Asian nations, should be top British priorities and that the country ''should not spend too much time on India or Australia and it should largely forget about Canada.''

Legally, however, no global deals can be struck until Britain leaves the European Union , a process that will create economic losers at home. As a member of the bloc, Britain has access to Europe's $19 trillion integrated economy of more than 500 million citizens.

To obtain access to that market, Britain currently accepts free movement of workers across European frontiers. The opportunity to regain control of **immigration**, however, was perhaps the most fundamental issue championed by the campaign to leave.

Britain also pays into the European Union budget, money that many advocates of withdrawal have argued should be spent at home, particularly on the hard-pressed National Health Service .

Supporters of leaving the bloc say that Britain's economic muscle will allow it to negotiate a better deal. (Mr. Johnson has said that his ''policy on cake is pro having it and pro eating it.'') But there is no sign yet that the European Union will breach its principles by allowing Britain full market access without the usual quid pro quos on issues like freedom of movement.

One British strategy would be setting political objectives -- like regaining national sovereignty, rejecting free movement and renouncing the right of the European Court of Justice to trump British law -- and fitting the economy around such aims.

The alternative tactic would be to prioritize key economic sectors -- particularly London's financial services industry -- and to try to retain as much access to the single market as possible, while compromising only the minimum over free movement, European law and budget contributions.

For the financial sector, a central issue is retaining ''passporting'' -- the right that banks and finance companies based in London currently have to offer services throughout the European Union .

British businesses, like carmakers, want to avoid export tariffs, and many employers want the flexibility to continue recruiting European workers.

''What is interesting, is how little Theresa May has said,'' said Anand Menon, professor of European politics and foreign affairs at King's College London. ''It would be good to get some sense of whether the government wants absolutely no free movement of workers or is willing to accept some free movement; do they want to retain passporting? Is the priority to avoid a situation where there are tariffs on cars?''

Some wonder how useful access to the single market would prove in the long run, even if it could be negotiated. That is because Europe's market is not written in stone but is the sum of various European laws, many of which are updated regularly.

For example, the passporting rights prized by London's financial sector are based on at least nine separate pieces of European legislation, any of which can be amended.

When Britain quits the bloc, it will have no vote on how those laws are updated or how new ones are framed, and legislation could easily be skewed to favor competitors in Dublin, Frankfurt, Milan or Paris. That fear has prompted British banks to press for legal agreements to prevent unilateral European changes to any new rules on market access -- a clear sign of the risks they face.

''The single market is dynamic and not static,'' said Mr. Grant, adding that countries like France and Germany ''would say, 'We will listen to your views, but we will write the rules.' ''

Over all, Mr. Grant said that for Britain, ''the trade-offs will be painful, and that's why the government has said very little: It doesn't want to admit that it is in a pickle.''

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**What times these are for ''work''! It's the title of a song that Rihanna and Drake have made pretty much 2016's best single, and the partial title of another that Fifth Harmony's made one of the year's naughtiest. The entire Beyoncé ''Lemonade'' experience involves the work of marriage and black womanhood. But no musician's been more literal about the work he's doing than Frank Ocean.

''Work'' because, late last month, he ended four years of obscurity with maximal creative output: new songs, a glossy 300-page magazine, one plain-old music video, one 45-minute music video-slash-carpentry tutorial, and four superbly art-directed bodegas in four cities. Compliments of Mr. Ocean, the stores gave out the magazine and a CD, whose music was available for download exclusively through Apple and only as a single, 17-track entity formerly known as an album.

The most instructive piece of Mr. Ocean's data dump is that 45 minutes. Packaged as a curio called ''Endless,'' it stars assorted Mr. Oceans (three of him) wearing sweats and sweaters, sending planks of wood through a table saw as airy, new, sporadically inviting music inhabits the soundtrack. It celebrates the making of something. By hand. In a sense, he's just crafting. He's also crafting mystique.

Were he a different artist, Mr. Ocean might have made a perfunctory appearance at the Video Music Awards on Sunday, if only to say: ''Hey -- I've got this album. Here's a song from it,'' the way Kanye West used his slot for the premiere of a new video. But ''Endless'' proves that's not what he's about. The showmanship of the V.M.A.s seems beside Mr. Ocean's point. The razzle-dazzle of his peers illuminates his indifference to it. Mr. Ocean is process-obsessed; it's ''Endless'' because the work never ends.

Mr. Ocean presents himself not as an artist, per se, but as an art student, a hermit laboring in a business that runs on extroversion. As much I might like to see him do a lap of Carpool Karaoke, I'm not going to hold my breath.

In this era of meticulous self-branding, his apparent apartness feels like something to celebrate. Sure, the randomness of the magazine's content and the vague, plaintive earnestness of some lyrics are more unfashionably adolescent -- more Tumblr -- than you'd want from a 28-year-old. But his pop-neutral, spectacle-averse melancholy is a draw. He's got the No. 1 album in the country, much to the bafflement of a music industry used to artists who want what it wants. He's both giving away and selling -- and selling himself sparingly, decorously.

Looks like him, shirtless and wet, on the cover of the new record, ''Blonde'' (spelled ''Blond'' on the cover). His head's down, his face behind his hand, his hair a Joker shade of green. Maybe he's cracking up; maybe he's breaking down. He spends ''Endless'' in long shots and a few close-ups, toiling alongside those clones of himself. Shrunk down to smartphone size, however, the black and white render him a mere design element.

It isn't just that you can't see him much. You can't always hear his natural voice, either. Technology on ''Blonde'' distorts his singing, and usually that's alluring -- like David Bowie in one of his **alien** phases. But it also sounds like self-negation, as on ''Nikes,'' the album's opening song. In the glittered short video, he sits outside in front of a car, his eyes rimmed in makeup. Elsewhere, he's lying on the ground in different jump suits -- one white and pearl-studded; one black and ablaze, eventually being extinguished. He's human on the one hand, extraterrestrial on the other -- the burning man who fell to earth.

Who knows what this sense of **alienation** and the attraction to obscurity mean? It's not Mr. Ocean's duty to explain. But some of the breathless anticipation for new Ocean music has everything to do with the singular position he occupies. His coming out, in 2012, as a man who likes men, made him queer. And in the hetero, ''no homo'' realms of 21st-century hip-hop, R&B and even pop, that admission made him an outlier. It's also made us desperate to know his next moves: How does a major queer artist stay major? Homosexuality might be normal in this country. But a gay, black, male pop star is treated like an oracle, despite nothing in his discography bespeaking the oracular. It hasn't been just music we needed from him. Unfairly or not, it's been symbolism.

What's notable about this new music is how guarded it is, against meaning too much and meeting too many expectations. You can hear pain, confusion, curiosity, dispassion, anomie, defensiveness and need, feelings that were present on his magnificent previous album, from 2012, ''Channel Orange.'' But there he housed feelings and moods within somewhat traditional song structures. He built songs around those feelings.

The approach on ''Blonde'' and in ''Endless'' is deconstructionist. The best song on ''Endless'' doesn't even belong to him. It's a dreamy electro-poetic position paper called ''Device Control,'' by the photographer Wolfgang Tillmans. Emotionally, Mr. Ocean finds loneliness instead of redemption, expressed in spare guitars, keyboards, static, noise and outsourced exasperation. For now, other people seem more interesting to him.

This year is the 25th anniversary of ''Truth or Dare,'' Madonna's landmark authorized peep show into her touring life. It's still revealing layers of its star. ''Endless'' and ''Blonde'' reject that kind of disclosure. For instance, we don't know the names of the people who've headlined Mr. Ocean's hurt. He's not Taylor Swift. He hasn't made his ''Lemonade.'' He doesn't believe in blind news items. He believes in blinds.

These are projects that prize process over persona. Unlike Beyoncé, he didn't wake up like this. Unlike Beyoncé, he offers carpentry that's literal: Mr. Ocean is grainin' on actual wood. He's all work, no play. And artistically, it makes Frank a dull guy. (Isn't it worth noting that, in 2013, he lost the best new artist Grammy to the band Fun?)

That processing is in the music: the minimalism; the rejection of straight-ahead pop; the Sonic Youth, Radiohead and Arthur Russell; the creative ranginess of Mr. West. If kicky new songs like ''Ivy,'' ''Nights'' and ''Self-Control'' let you think he was headed toward Stevie Wonder, Prince or even Bill Withers: Oops. Mr. Ocean appears to be trying out an aesthetic and, for now, that aesthetic appears to be excessive asceticism. A denial, a denial, a denial.

He didn't invent idiosyncratic independence. He's just dramatizing it. That makes the four-year gap between now and ''Channel Orange'' significant. He's been exploring vocations. What he's creating in ''Endless'' turns out to be a set of stairs. So, really, he's making a statement -- first about ascendance (he's building his way up and out), then about effort: He's doing it all himself, metaphorically declaring his independence.

The steps he's built aren't just any steps. They're like the golden spiral staircase, steps that, mathematically speaking and from a bird's-eye view, carry the climber farther away from the central axis of origin at a particularly pleasing rate. Mr. Ocean has willed himself from R&B curio to major pop star to art student. That might sound like a regression, and musically, maybe so. The songs, the magazine, the stores that gave them away feel like final projects. Obviously, he's released his first new work in a long time. But you could also say he's arrived at a different milestone: graduation.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**It's ridiculous that Donald Trump's **immigration** proposals -- not so much a policy as empty words strung together and repeated -- should have propelled him as far as they have. This confounding situation hit peak absurdity on Wednesday.

It started with Mr. Trump's meeting with President Enrique Peña Nieto of Mexico, in Mexico City. It was surreal because Mr. Trump has spent his entire campaign painting Mexico as a nation of rapists, drug smugglers and trade hustlers who would have to pay for the 2,000-mile border wall that Mr. Trump was going to build. But instead of chastising Mr. Trump, Mr. Peña Nieto treated him like a visiting head of state at a news conference, with side-by-side lecterns and words of deferential mush.

An unusually muted Mr. Trump called Mr. Peña Nieto his friend and said they had not talked about the bill for the wall; Mr. Peña Nieto later disputed that on Twitter, saying he had refused to pay. There was no friction at the photo-op, which allowed the Republican nominee to try on his calm, grown-up voice, avoid offending his nativist base and humiliate Mexico, all at the same time.

Mr. Trump then headed back over the border, shedding his decorum by the time he got to Phoenix.

In a strident speech given over a steady roar of cheers, he restated his brutally simple message: Criminal **aliens** were roaming our streets by the millions, killing Americans and stealing our jobs, and he'd kick them all out with a new ''deportation force,'' build the wall and make America safe again.

The speech was a reverie of **immigrant**-fearing, police-state bluster, with Mr. Trump gushing about building ''an impenetrable, physical, tall, powerful, beautiful southern border wall,'' assailing ''media elites'' and listing his various notions for thwarting evil foreigners. He said the **immigration** force might deport Hillary Clinton.

By now we should all know better than to take what Mr. Trump says on any given Wednesday as somehow truer than what he said the previous Wednesday, or will say the following Wednesday, and whether what he tells the Mexican president or a crowd in Phoenix is more honest than what he says at a presidential debate or in a campaign ad.

The details may change. Mr. Trump and his surrogates may talk about a real or ''virtual'' border wall, electronic workplace verification, this or that entry-exit system, an aggressive deportation force or more gradual ''attrition through enforcement.'' They may talk about legalization someday, years from now, or never. Those talking points ultimately don't matter -- a President Trump wouldn't have the resources to deport 11 million people. He has no workable plan to seal the border, build a wall or repair the economy once he destroys it by devastating the **immigrant** work force. He would, however, be able to make millions of **immigrants**miserable, and break up their families, and damage the country.

To mock him for emptiness is almost too easy. But the fear and loathing that he has tapped into, that so easily won him the nomination, are real. They are real in Arizona, home to one of the nation's worst state **immigration** laws, where the political and law-enforcement powers have been arrayed for years against Latino **immigrants**.

Which is what makes Mr. Trump's decision to speak in Phoenix so perversely appropriate. While Mr. Trump's plans for a locked-down deportation nation are largely a nativist fantasy, **immigrant** communities in Arizona have lived with the reality of what the Trump vision leads to: the brutal racial profiling and policing abuses of Sheriff Joe Arpaio, a staunch Trump ally, who echoes and inspires Mr. Trump's vicious talk about **immigrants** as criminals. As Sheriff Arpaio seeks a seventh term this fall, his opponents are pushing back, with protests and get-out-the-vote campaigns, to stop the sheriff's re-election.

Arizona, home of Minutemen vigilantes and a powerful grass-roots **immigrant**-rights movement, has long been a national bellwether on **immigration** policy. It was a fitting backdrop to Mr. Trump's hollow proposals, and his relentless lies about the dangers that **immigrants** pose to the lives of ''our American citizens.'' Tornadoes are hollow at the center, too, and they do a lot of damage.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**In the popular simulation game The Sims, players have long been able to create male and female characters -- but only up to a point. That changed this year.

In May, Electronic Arts, the publisher of The Sims, released a patch for the game that removed all gender barriers, freeing players to create virtual characters with any physical attribute.

For Blair Durkee, the shift was significant. The day after the patch was introduced, Ms. Durkee, a student at Clemson University in South Carolina, logged into The Sims and started designing her first transgender character. She named the character Amber, gave her a deep voice and broad shoulders, and made her infertile, ''which is really the only attribute that all trans people have in common,'' said Ms. Durkee, 28, who transitioned to female at 24.

''A lot of people assume that all trans men have feminine features and trans women have masculine features, but that's not the case,'' she said. She plans to make another trans character as a love interest for Amber.

This inclusive attitude toward gender and sexuality, once a rarity in video games, is becoming more common as games take on more diverse and weightier subject matter, beyond flesh-eating zombies and **alien** attacks.

In recent years, new games have emerged such as Papers, Please, by the independent designer Lucas Pope, which puts players in the role of an **immigration**officer at the border of a fictional country. The game That Dragon, Cancer caught the attention of critics and players this year for its emotional portrayal of family grief. The game was based on the experiences of two of its creators, Ryan and Amy Green, whose son died of cancer in 2014.

A yet-to-be-released game called Camp Bucca, made by five independent developers and students from New York University and Carnegie Mellon University, will put players in the shoes of an American soldier stationed at a detention center of the same name during the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Players will be able to use ''enhanced interrogation'' techniques on Iraqi detainees to draw attention to the abuses that occurred at the center.

''We want the game to provoke an emotional response and convey a deliberate message,'' said Edward John, one of its developers, who asked for his last name to be omitted, citing safety concerns from those who might oppose the game. ''In the game, there is no 'winning,' a metaphor for the current state of Iraq,'' he said.

Some of these games may raise a ruckus among gamers who operate within the toxic subcultures of the industry, kindling controversies over gender and other issues. But at their most powerful, such games can also move people to take action on their own behalf.

Dr. Robert Schloss, a former shipboard physician in the United States Navy Medical Corps, came out to his commanding officers in 2007 after playing the original Sims game. The Sims, released 16 years ago, was one of the first video games to allow characters of the same sex to have a sexual relationship.

At the time, the United States military operated under the ''don't ask, don't tell'' policy, which prohibited gay, lesbian and bisexual members of the armed forces from openly disclosing their sexual orientation. So Dr. Schloss found an outlet for his identity in the game, creating four male characters, who were in two couples, and having them live in the same virtual house.

''The more I played the game and experienced that possibility for life in an alternative universe, the more I wanted to make that a reality for myself,'' said Dr. Schloss, 41, who was granted an honorable discharge from the Navy Medical Corps in 2007 and is now an assistant professor of clinical radiology at a New York hospital.

Other games have followed the example set by The Sims. Fallout 2, in 1998, and Fable, in 2004, allowed same-sex marriage between characters. BioWare's role-playing games Mass Effect, in 2007, and Dragon Age, in 2009, introduced L.G.B.T. characters. More recently, the acclaimed PlayStation 3 action adventure game The Last of Us, released in 2013, featured a gay teenage protagonist.

Rachel Franklin, the vice president of Maxis, the Electronic Arts studio behind The Sims, said, ''It has always been important to us to provide our players with powerful ways to express themselves and tell a wide range of stories -- whether they're customizing their Sims' age, skin color or gender.''

Justin Mahboubian-Jones, 28, who lives in London, said he found that games helped him come out in 2004. While he first self-identified as gay as a teenager, the thought of telling his religious parents scared him.

At the time, he was a regular player of the game Star Wars Jedi Knight: Jedi Academy, which had an online multiplayer mode that let players customize their avatars and connect with other players from around the world, resulting in a diverse community of all ages, genders and sexual orientations. Mr. Mahboubian-Jones began talking to players who openly identified as gay.

''Just being able to talk to other gay gamers relieved a lot of that internal pressure and let me normalize walking and talking in the shoes of a gay man,'' he said.

Jesse Fox, an assistant professor in the School of Communication at Ohio State University who studies how online interactions influence people's offline attitudes, found that avatars can powerfully affect how people act in the real world. In a series of studies she conducted from 2009 through 2013, she saw that participants responded better to avatars modeled on their real appearances, as opposed to generic-looking avatars.

This is linked to what is known as the Proteus effect, a concept introduced in 2007 by the Stanford researchers Nick Yee and Jeremy Bailenson, who concluded that the appearance of a person's online avatar had a significant impact on his or her behavior, in and out of a virtual environment. In one study, participants who were assigned a more attractive avatar in a virtual environment were found to exhibit more confidence and intimacy in the real world than those assigned to a less attractive avatar.

''This tells us that avatars can change our behaviors,'' Ms. Fox said. ''They allow us to practice and test out certain behaviors in a virtual world.''

Ms. Durkee said this was true for her. Before her transition, she began playing The Sims in 2001 and found comfort in being able to live vicariously through the female characters.

''When I was younger, I always wanted to play games as a female character, even before I knew why,'' she said. ''I can't fathom how different my life would be if I were exposed to positive representation of trans people at a young age."

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump, in his much-anticipated speech on **immigration** in Phoenix on Wednesday, pressed his hard-line approach to illegal **immigration**, even as he backed off a previous pledge to forcibly remove 11 million **immigrants** here illegally.

Here's what Mr. Trump offered in a plan for fighting illegal **immigration**:

Build the wall.

End the catch and release policy for undocumented **immigrants** and instead return them to their country of origin.

Have zero tolerance for undocumented **immigrants** who have committed a crime, and deport them.

Triple the number of deportation officers at the department of **Immigration** and Customs Enforcement.

Repeal President Obama's executive orders that temporarily protected undocumented **immigrants** from deportation and authorized them to receive work permit

Stop issuing visas to any country where ''adequate screening cannot occur'' that might endanger national security;.

Ensure foreign countries take back deported **immigrants** from the United States (Mr. Trump said 23 countries refuse to do so).

Complete a biometric entry and exit visa tracking system under development. ''It will be on land, it will be on sea, it will be in the air,'' he said.

And the other highlights from his speech:

Mr. Trump made the case that Washington elites and the media have put the focus, wrongly, on the plight of an estimated 11 million undocumented **immigrants** in the country, rather than the Americans impacted by their presence.

''Anyone who tells you that the core issue is the needs of those living here illegally has simply spent too much time in Washington. Only the out of touch media elites think the biggest problems facing American society today is that there are 11 illegal **immigrants** who don't have legal status.''

Trump ticked through the names of three Americans who were killed by undocumented **immigrants**. These are staples of his speeches and familiar to his audiences at this stage of the campaign. He has held them up as examples of an **immigration** system run amok with tragic consequences.

Comparing himself to Hillary Clinton, who he maligned throughout the speech, Mr. Trump asked: ''What do you have to lose? Choose me.'' It was an echo of a much mocked question he asked black voters recently.

''Maybe they'll be able to deport her.'' Mr. Trump wondered provocatively, whether it's possible to send Mrs. Clinton out of the country.

A memorable passage from this speech: ''Our message to the world will be this: You cannot obtain legal status or become a citizen of the United States by illegally entering our country. Can't do it. This declaration alone will stop the crisis of illegal crossing. You can't just smuggle in, hunker down and wait to be legalized. Those days are over.''

Mr. Trump invited onto the stage the mothers and fathers of Americans whose children were killed by undocumented **immigrants**. He asked each to describe their children and how they died. He then kissed many of them on the cheek. It was the most emotional moment of the speech. ''If you don't vote Trump, we won't have a country,'' one of the mother told the audience.

Here are the highlights from Mr. Trump's trip to Mexico: He reached out to the Mexican president and people.

Mr. Trump, first reading slowly from a statement and then speaking more freely in response to a question, said he now considered Mr. Peña Nieto a friend and heaped praise on Americans of Mexican descent. Mexican-Americans, Mr. Trump said, were ''beyond reproach'' and ''spectacular, hard-working people.''

But Mr. Trump said he also told Mr. Peña Nieto directly that he felt Mexico had benefited disproportionately from its trade agreements with the United States, and that he had described illegal **immigration** as a problem for both countries.

He raised his plan to build a wall, but there's a dispute over whether he and Mr. Peña Nieto discussed who would pay for it.

Mr. Trump said the two did not discuss the issue of forcing Mexico to pay for a border wall -- one of the signature promises of his campaign. Mr. Peña Nieto did not challenge the idea during the news conference but later posted on Twitter that, during his meeting with Mr. Trump, he had made it clear that Mexico wouldn't pay for the wall.

Mr. Peña Nieto pressed Mr. Trump on his contentious comments and pushed back against his assertions on trade.

Mr. Peña Nieto pushed back in the gentlest of terms on several of Mr. Trump's claims on Nafta, citing U.S. Chamber of Commerce statistics to argue that free trade had been beneficial for both countries and stressing the economic importance of easy movement across the border.

Without mentioning specific remarks by Mr. Trump, Mexico's president said that hurtful comments had been made. ''Mexican nationals in the United States are honest people, working people,'' he said, adding, ''Mexicans deserve everybody's respect.''

But Mr. Peña Nieto stopped well short of scolding Mr. Trump on the international stage. On the contrary, he expressed optimism that they could work together if Mr. Trump was elected president, ''even though we do not agree on everything.''

Despite a call on social media for anti-Trump protesters, the turnout at one rally was underwhelming.

The showing was something of a surprise, considering the sense of betrayal among many Mexicans, who feel that their president sold them out to the worst possible person.

By the start time of 11 a.m., there were dozens of journalist but only a few protesters. A half-hour later, the number of protesters -- at least those being vocal and carrying anti-Trump signs -- seemed stuck at four, including a guy wearing a Mexican wrestling mask, while the number of journalists topped 50. By 12:30 p.m., there were no more than 10 demonstrators, while the journalist pack continued to balloon.

Still, the protesters did their best to represent the anger and disappointment that many Mexicans have expressed toward Mr. Trump as well as toward Mr. Peña Nieto, who is struggling with low approval ratings and a string of scandals. He has spoken out sharply against Mr. Trump in the past, saying in a television interview last month that there was ''no way'' Mexico would pay for a border wall, and earlier comparing Mr. Trump's campaign to the rise of Hitler.

''The president didn't represent the Mexican people, he didn't consult with us,'' said the demonstrator in the wrestling mask, who called himself ''Maldito Perro'' -- Damned Dog -- though later said his real name was Diego Garcia.

He admitted to being disappointed by the anemic turnout. Social media activity, he lamented, seemed to be replacing the time-honored tradition of the street protest.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald J. Trump made an audacious attempt on Wednesday to remake his image on the divisive issue of **immigration**, shelving his plan to deport 11 million undocumented people and arguing that a Trump administration and Mexico would secure the border together.

In a spirited bid for undecided American voters to see him anew, Mr. Trump swept into Mexico City to make overtures to a nation he has repeatedly denigrated, then flew to Phoenix to outline in his usual bullying tone his latest priorities on **immigration**.

Yet the juxtaposition of Mr. Trump's dual performances was so jarring that his true vision and intentions on **immigration** were hard to discern. He displayed an almost unrecognizable demeanor during his afternoon in Mexico, appearing measured and diplomatic, while hours later he took the stage at his campaign rally and denounced illegal **immigrants** on the whole as a criminally minded and dangerous group that sows terror in communities and commits murders, rapes and other heinous violence.

Mr. Trump's mixed messages on whom he would deport and when, and how the government would go about removing people from the country, were further muddled by the incendiary language in the Phoenix speech -- a deliberate effort by campaign advisers to draw attention to his criticism of illegal **immigrants**rather than the specifics of his plan.

In his speech, Mr. Trump fervently tried to depict himself as an ally of average workers, saying their economic interests were far more important than the needs of undocumented workers. But he left unclear what would happen to those millions of illegal **immigrants**, saying only that ''the appropriate disposition of those individuals'' will take place at some future date after the criminals are deported and his border wall is built.

Deporting all illegal **immigrants** had been his signature political issue for much of the presidential race, but his caustic tone and harsh approach has turned off many Republicans and independents, particularly women. His language was still fiery in Phoenix, yet he also said that the fate of most illegal **immigrants** would be handled humanely, and not right away.

''That discussion can only take place in an atmosphere in which illegal **immigration** is a memory of the past, no longer with us, allowing us to weigh the different options available based on the new circumstances at the time,'' Mr. Trump said, using the sort of vague phrasing that he once criticized.

Never had Mr. Trump gambled quite like this. Aiming to appear statesmanlike, he traveled to politically hostile territory to meet with a president who might have surprised him with a rebuke, and he also risked support from some conservatives who do not want him cozying up to Mexico or softening his **immigration** plans.

The trip to Mexico City was not without snags. Standing beside President Peña Nieto, Mr. Trump indicated that he had pulled a punch and chosen not to discuss his campaign promise to compel Mexico to pay for the wall. Yet Mr. Peña Nieto saw it somewhat differently, saying later on Twitter that at the start of their meeting, ''I made it clear that Mexico will not pay for the wall.''

Mr. Peña Nieto did not dispute Mr. Trump at their news conference, however, and Mexican officials said that the two men did not dwell on the wall and that their meeting was conciliatory. Still, campaign advisers to Hillary Clinton, the Democratic nominee, accused Mr. Trump of lying, and the Trump campaign issued a statement saying that the meeting was ''not a negotiation'' and that ''it is unsurprising that they hold two different views on this issue.''

In Phoenix, Mr. Trump responded to Mr. Peña Nieto with the hectoring language that has long been part of his strategy to whip up his crowds.

''Mexico will pay for the wall, believe me -- 100 percent -- they don't know it yet, but they will pay for the wall,'' Mr. Trump said. ''They're great people, and great leaders, but they will pay for the wall.''

Mr. Trump had billed the Phoenix speech as a major address on **immigration**, and many Republican leaders and voters had hoped for more clarity about his positions. Mr. Trump outlined several steps that he would take to deport criminals and those who overstayed their visas and end so-called sanctuary cities, while saying that ''the one route and only route'' for others to obtain legal status would be ''to return home and apply for re-entry.''

''We will treat everyone living or residing in our country with great dignity -- so important,'' Mr. Trump said, noting that the status of most illegal **immigrants** was no longer a ''core issue'' for him.

Mr. Trump also invited a group of Americans to the stage who, one by one, shared the names of relatives who they said were killed by illegal **immigrants** and insisted that only Mr. Trump could protect the country by securing its borders and moving swiftly to deport **immigrants** with criminal records.

Yet for all the fiery language and stagecraft, it was far from clear if Mr. Trump's most ardent supporters would stick by him as he moves away from his original deportation-focused policy on **immigration**, or if he would win over many undecided voters with his new approach. But Mr. Trump went to great lengths to urge voters to view the presidential race as an epochal moment.

''We are in the middle of a jobs crisis, a border crisis, and a terrorism crisis,'' he said. ''This election is our last chance to secure the border, stop illegal **immigration**, and reform our laws to make your life better. This is it. We won't get another opportunity -- it will be too late.''

The whirlwind day started after Mr. Trump accepted an invitation from Mr. Peña Nieto to meet him at the presidential palace to discuss economic and border concerns. For the most part they managed to sidestep combustible issues and ignore raging hostility from average Mexicans. Mr. Trump has called them rapists and drug dealers, and he did not apologize for those remarks during a joint news conference when a reporter pressed him for any regrets.

Instead, as an impassive Mr. Peña Nieto looked on, Mr. Trump sounded conciliatory themes about working together to improve border security. Gone, at least for this foreign trip, were the threats about American interests and superiority that have defined Mr. Trump's candidacy and electrified his supporters.

''I think it was an excellent meeting,'' Mr. Trump said.

Mr. Peña Nieto, who pointedly emphasized goals like ''mutual respect'' and ''constructive'' relations several times in his remarks, did Mr. Trump some favors with his respectful treatment: The Mexican president acknowledged that every country had a ''right'' to protect its own border, and suggested that Mr. Trump wanted to move on from his antagonistic remarks of the past.

''The Mexican people felt aggrieved by those comments,'' Mr. Peña Nieto said. ''But I am certain that he has a genuine interest in building a relationship that would lead us to provide better conditions to our people.''

Mr. Trump's unexpected trip to Mexico was timed to steer attention from his significant shifts on **immigration** policy. He flew to Mexico just hours before he was scheduled to deliver a major speech on **immigration** after more than a week of mixed signals about his **immigration** views, which he said were ''softening'' and then ''hardening'' in the space of two days last week.

On a more personal level, Mr. Trump also wanted to show undecided voters that he had the temperament and self-control of a statesman -- qualities that many doubt he has -- and also demonstrate that Americans did not need to worry every time he opened his mouth in a foreign country. He also hoped to show that he could acquit himself well on the world stage, something that is a clear strength of Mrs. Clinton, a former secretary of state, senator and first lady.

Mrs. Clinton's campaign has described Mr. Trump's trip as a hollow gesture, but it was unclear whether Mrs. Clinton herself will deliver a more pointed critique of her opponent during his travels.

Mr. Trump, who has little experience with foreign policy statecraft or news conferences with heads of state, made no obvious mistakes during his trip to Mexico, nor did he breach any protocol during his public appearance with Mr. Peña Nieto on a small stage at the presidential palace. As Mr. Peña Nieto made lengthy opening remarks in Spanish, Mr. Trump clasped his hands at times, and tapped them against his thighs as he nodded slightly at other points as he listened to a woman beside him translate the remarks into English.

Mr. Peña Nieto came across as civil and stolid, defending the North American Free Trade Agreement -- a frequent target of criticism by Mr. Trump -- and noting that weak border security also allowed weapons and cash often to flow from the United States to Mexican gangs and drug cartels. But for the most part the president took a position of neutrality, neither chastising Mr. Trump nor indicating that he favored one American presidential candidate over another.

Yet Mr. Trump, who is known for insisting that only he can fix America's problems, also suggested that he wanted Mexico to be a partner on border security.

''I really believe that the president and I will solve those problems,'' Mr. Trump said. ''We will get them solved. Illegal **immigration** is a problem for Mexico as well as for us. Drugs are a tremendous problem from Mexico as well as us. I mean it's not a one-way street.''

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**He did not mock. He did not scold. He did not blunder.

Instead when Donald J. Trump showed up for a hastily assembled statelike visit at the presidential palace in Mexico City on Wednesday, he managed to accomplish something that he had failed to do throughout the campaign: communicate his provocative political ideas with something resembling diplomacy.

Standing beneath a Mexican flag, Mr. Trump lamented the crimes committed by **immigrants**, but without his usually harsh, insulting and alarmist language.

He described undocumented Mexican **immigrants**, but not in the ugly, racially charged ways he has in the past.

And he talked about building a wall on America's southern border, but in newly measured, less belligerent terms.

''We recognize and respect the right of either country to build a physical barrier,'' he said, before adding, almost sheepishly, ''a wall.''

It was Trumpism in an unfamiliar but somehow still recognizable form: shorn of its most offensive elements but faithful to its essential message.

In many ways, it was Mr. Trump's most successful performance of the summer, after weeks of agonizing gaffes, missed opportunities and flagging poll numbers.

Of course, as with so much surrounding Mr. Trump, the day was immediately dogged by questions of candor. Mexico's president, Enrique Peña Nieto, claimed that in their meeting he had told Mr. Trump his country would never pay for the wall, while Mr. Trump declared that the two men had never touched on who would shoulder the cost of its construction.

It was not clear whether the discrepancy was the result of the language barrier or Mr. Trump's tendency to spin the facts in his favor.

Still, by the end of Mr. Trump's 20-minute news conference beside Mr. Peña Nieto, it was clear that despite his struggling campaign, the Republican nominee retains a showman's instincts.

Breaking protocol, Mr. Trump, a guest in the home of a foreign president, called on reporters himself, seemingly ignoring the head of state standing a few feet to his right.

''Say it!'' Mr. Trump declared as he pointed at reporters he knew from the United States. ''Yes?'' he called to another journalist.

When an ABC reporter asked both men about the hurtful words that Mr. Trump had used in the past to describe Mexico, the candidate did not bother to wait for the president to speak first.

It might have been Mexican soil, but the stage was still Mr. Trump's.

''We'll, I'll start,'' he said. He leaned in and offered his reply.

Still, at times, especially during the starch exchange of formal statements, Mr. Trump seemed out of his element.

As Mr. Peña Nieto spoke at length, Mr. Trump appeared uncomfortable and almost sullen, swiveling slightly side to side, crossing his arms and looking down, rather than at the president. He seemed incapable of maintaining the polite expression of interest that is customary for such occasions.

Mr. Trump occasionally nodded as his translator whispered in his ear as Mr. Peña Nieto delivered his prepared remarks in Spanish. (Mr. Trump does not speak Spanish.)

The tableau itself was startling: Mr. Trump, who has mercilessly maligned Mexico, standing inside the Mexican's president's home surrounded by the pomp and ceremony of a formal summit meeting. The grand house sits amid open fields, trees, foliage and a large complex of buildings that drown out noise from the surrounding city.

An air of improbability hovered over Mr. Trump's entire trip to Mexico. Much of the country was astonished that the New York real-estate developer had pounced on a seemingly perfunctory invitation from its president.

''I think it's unlikely that the Mexican government really expected Donald Trump to take them up on this invitation,'' said Christopher Wilson, the deputy director of the Mexico Institute at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

But take up the invitation Mr. Trump did.

It is the kind of dramatic, last-minute development and plot twist that Mr. Trump relishes.

It was Mr. Trump, after all, who theatrically boycotted an all but mandatory Republican presidential debate in Iowa in January, commandeering an auditorium a few blocks away to put on a one-man show taunting his rivals. ''Where's Trump?'' he asked, mischievously imitating the rest of the Republican presidential field across town.

Despite predictions that his absence would prove disastrous, he finished second in the state's caucuses and continued to roll up big victories.

In the hours before Mr. Trump landed in Mexico, there were similar predictions of doom.

And with reason. This was the same man who, after Britain voted to leave the European Union, bragged on his golf course in Scotland that the rupture would be good for business there.

In Mexico, his rougher edges seemed sanded down as he offered flattery and solicitousness in place of crudeness and brickbats.

The Mexicans-Americans he knew, he said, ''were beyond reproach.'' He described generations of their hard-working families as ''amazing people.''

Even as Mr. Peña Nieto seemed to subtly criticize him -- by reminding Mr. Trump that illegal **immigration** had fallen significantly over the past decade and vigorously defending the North American Free Trade Agreement -- Mr. Trump suppressed any urge to trade fire.

Instead, he looked over at the president of a country he has denounced for over a year and told him what an honor it was to meet him.

''I call you a friend,'' Mr. Trump told Mr. Peña Nieto.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**The United States admitted its 10,000th Syrian **refugee** this week in a resettlement program announced by President Obama last fall, according to The White House.

Under pressure from Europe and other countries confronting the global migration crisis last fall, Mr. Obama had raised the number of Syrian **refugees** who would be offered legal status to at least 10,000 in the 2016 fiscal year.

Where **Refugees** Were Placed

600

300

Number of **refugees**

placed, 2012-16

Seattle

100

Spokane

10

Beaverton

Richland

Portland

Portland

Fargo

Concord

Syracuse

Albany

Boise

Minneapolis

Rochester

Oshkosh

Boston

Grand

Rapids

Buffalo

Providence

Rochester

Sheboygan

New Haven

Dearborn

Madison

Erie

Allentown

New York

Rockford

Des Moines

Cleveland

Elizabeth

Sacramento

Philadelphia

Pittsburgh

Chicago

Salt Lake

City

Fair Oaks

Omaha

Oakland

Baltimore

Columbus

Indianapolis

San Jose

Denver

Cincinnati

Charlottesville

Kansas

City

Turlock

Salinas

Colorado

Springs

Newport News

Louisville

Lexington

St. Louis

Raleigh

Wichita

Las Vegas

Durham

Winston-Salem

Nashville

Victorville

Charlotte

Los Angeles

Springdale

Tulsa

Glendale

Santa Ana

Irvine

Memphis

Columbia

Albuquerque

Phoenix

Atlanta

San Diego

Savannah

Dallas

Fort Worth

Tucson

Tallahassee

Midland

Jacksonville

Baton Rouge

Pensacola

Orlando

Austin

Houston

New Orleans

Kissimmee

Clearwater

San Antonio

Palm Beach

Tampa

Delray Beach

Miami

The **refugees** who have arrived from Syria since 2012 have been placed in 231 towns and cities.

Some of them have reached large cities like Chicago and Houston, but most have been sent to more affordable, medium-size cities. Boise, Idaho, has accepted more **refugees** than New York and Los Angeles combined; Worcester, Mass., has taken in more than Boston.

**Refugees** placed each year

2013

2014

2015

2016

With the 10,000 admitted this fiscal year, the United States has now accepted nearly 12,000 Syrian **refugees** since the civil war began five years ago.

Before the recent surge in admissions, Syrians were just a small percentage of all **refugees** allowed into the United States. In the 2015 fiscal year, just 2 percent of the 70,000 **refugees** admitted were from Syria. The majority were from Myanmar, Iraq and Somalia.

In the past, the United States has admitted far larger numbers of **refugees**. In 1979, it provided sanctuary to 111,000 Vietnamese **refugees**, and in 1980, it added another 207,000. Around the same time, the country took in more than 120,000 Cuban **refugees** during the Mariel boatlift, including around 80,000 in one month alone.

To ease integration, Syrian **refugeeshave** been placed in communities wherethere are other Syrian **immigrants**.

More than 150,000 Syrians already live in the United States, according to census figures, and **refugees** who have relatives in the country are likely to be resettled with or near them.

Those who do not have family in the United States are placed where jobs are more plentiful and the cost of housing is low.

People with Syrian ancestry, per 100,000 residents

10

50

100

200

Town or city with at least one

Syrian **refugee** placed since 2012

**Refugees** receive help finding work and housing, but they are expected to become self-sufficient within a year.

Nadim Fawzi Jouriyeh, a former construction worker from Syria, is among the latest group of **refugees** to be accepted, according to The Associated Press. Mr. Jouriyeh, his wife and four children are headed to San Diego, which has accepted more Syrian **refugees** since 2012 than any other city.

Mr. Jouriyeh, 49, and his children. Raad Adayleh, The Associated Press

Most of the **refugees** have beenadmitted in the past three months.

While Mr. Obama's resettlement program got off to a slow start, the administration reached its 10,000-**refugee** goal a month ahead of schedule. Eight months into the program, the United States had accepted only a quarter of the target.

One challenge was that the Syrian **refugees** were subjected to an additional layer of background checks, which extended a lengthy vetting process.

This is a more complete version of the story than the one that appeared in print.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald Trump is the internet troll of presidential politics. When he's securely removed from the objects of his scorn, he's tough as nails; when he's in their presence, he quivers like a bowl of Jell-O.

Such is the way of a bully.

Furthermore, when he is surrounded by supporters who cheer his base nature, he amplifies the enmity. When the applause of hostility is out of earshot, he tones down his vitriol to a whimper.

He is not only a bully, it seems to me, but also something of a coward, who lacks the force of his convictions -- or who lacks basic convictions at all. He seems to be simply playing to the audience, whatever that audience may be. He's amenable to the mood of any particular room.

This is the most frightening type of man, whose basic character is vile but not inviolable, who springs from darkness and bends toward anything that casts light, even if that light is, as the internet loves to say, a dumpster fire.

Case in point: Trump has spent the whole of his campaign maligning Mexican **immigrants**, people of ''Mexican heritage'' and the country of Mexico itself.

The Hillary Clinton campaign was quick to remind voters of the horrid things Trump has tweeted about Mexico and Mexicans, and the list was a doozy.

They included calling the Mexican government ''totally corrupt'' and the Mexican court system ''dishonest'' and saying that ''Mexico is not our friend'' and ''I want nothing to do with Mexico other than to build an impenetrable WALL and stop them from ripping off U.S.''

Indeed, one of Trump's main focuses has been the wall -- which he has insisted from the beginning that he would make Mexico pay for -- and a ''deportation force'' to round up and deport all of the approximately 11 million **immigrants** who are in this country illegally.

These are the Mexican **immigrants** who Trump initially described this way: ''When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.''

And yet, when he made the quick decision to visit Mexico Wednesday and meet with that country's president, Enrique Peña Nieto, Trump was much more contrite in his comments. Indeed, for most of the subsequent news conference, Trump looked lost and confused.

As Trump put it:

''I happen to have a tremendous feeling for Mexican-Americans not only in terms of friendships, but in terms of the tremendous numbers that I employ in the United States and they are amazing people, amazing people. I have many friends, so many friends and so many friends coming to Mexico and in Mexico. I am proud to say how many people I employ. And the United States first, second and third generation Mexicans are just beyond reproach. Spectacular, spectacular hard-working people. I have such great respect for them and their strong values of family, faith and community.''

Huh? Who is this guy? Of course, this time he was reading a speech. This is no doubt some soft-pedal written by his aides to make him sound more human and less monstrous.

Kellyanne Conway, you are one of the best ventriloquists in politics, the way you put words in this man's mouth. But I'm not buying it. You can repackage your bigot if you choose, but the basic contours of the man betray your efforts to remake him. And, your support and promotion of him makes you one of the most dangerous, though soft-spoken, people in America at this moment.

According to Trump, he didn't even discuss with Peña Nieto that he would demand that Mexico pay for the Southern border wall. But Peña Nieto disputed that account, tweeting in Spanish: ''At the start of the conversation with Donald Trump, I made it clear that Mexico will not pay for the wall.'' If you believe Peña Nieto, Trump, the self-proclaimed tough negotiator, not only choked but openly lied about choking.

And this is the supposedly brassy billionaire people support because he's tough and tells it like it is? Trump is a paper tiger if ever there was one.

And then, a few hours later in Arizona, at what was billed as a major policy speech on his now muddled stance on **immigration**, and before his jeering acolytes, he gave a speech full of fear, about murderous **immigrants**, and reiterated that he would build a southern border wall and, you guessed it, Mexico would pay for it.

Trump was back to his hate. He was back to his hyperbolic histrionics.

This is what every voter must remember: Trump has two faces and two sets of facts and too much latitude to spread his animus, anti-intellectualism and lies, and he must never see the inside of the Oval Office.

I invite you to join me on Facebook and follow me on Twitter (@CharlesMBlow), or email me at chblow@nytimes.com.

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**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Julian Assange was in classic didactic form, holding forth on the topic that consumes him -- the perfidy of big government and especially of the United States.

Mr. Assange, the editor of WikiLeaks, rose to global fame in 2010 for releasing huge caches of highly classified American government communications that exposed the underbelly of its wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and its sometimes cynical diplomatic maneuvering around the world. But in a televised interview last September, it was clear that he still had plenty to say about ''The World According to US Empire,'' the subtitle of his latest book, ''The WikiLeaks Files.''

From the cramped confines of the Ecuadorean Embassy in London, where he was granted asylum four years ago amid a legal imbroglio, Mr. Assange proffered a vision of America as superbully: a nation that has achieved imperial power by proclaiming allegiance to principles of human rights while deploying its military-intelligence apparatus in ''pincer'' formation to ''push'' countries into doing its bidding, and punishing people like him who dare to speak the truth.

Notably absent from Mr. Assange's analysis, however, was criticism of another world power, Russia, or its president, Vladimir V. Putin, who has hardly lived up to WikiLeaks' ideal of transparency. Mr. Putin's government has cracked down hard on dissent -- spying on, jailing, and, critics charge, sometimes assassinating opponents while consolidating control over the news media and internet. If Mr. Assange appreciated the irony of the moment -- denouncing censorship in an interview on Russia Today, the Kremlin-controlled English-language propaganda channel -- it was not readily apparent.

Now, Mr. Assange and WikiLeaks are back in the spotlight, roiling the geopolitical landscape with new disclosures and a promise of more to come.

In July, the organization released nearly 20,000 Democratic National Committee emails suggesting that the party had conspired with Hillary Clinton's campaign to undermine her primary opponent, Senator Bernie Sanders. Mr. Assange -- who has been openly critical of Mrs. Clinton -- has promised further disclosures that could upend her campaign against the Republican nominee, Donald J. Trump. Separately, WikiLeaks announced that it would soon release some of the crown jewels of American intelligence: a ''pristine'' set of cyberspying codes.

United States officials say they believe with a high degree of confidence that the Democratic Party material was hacked by the Russian government, and suspect that the codes may have been stolen by the Russians as well. That raises a question: Has WikiLeaks become a laundering machine for compromising material gathered by Russian spies? And more broadly, what precisely is the relationship between Mr. Assange and Mr. Putin's Kremlin?

Those questions are made all the more pointed by Russia's prominent place in the American presidential election campaign. Mr. Putin, who clashed repeatedly with Mrs. Clinton when she was secretary of state, has publicly praised Mr. Trump, who has returned the compliment, calling for closer ties to Russia and speaking favorably of Mr. Putin's annexation of Crimea.

From the outset of WikiLeaks, Mr. Assange said he was motivated by a desire to use ''cryptography to protect human rights,'' and would focus on authoritarian governments like Russia's.

But a New York Times examination of WikiLeaks' activities during Mr. Assange's years in exile found a different pattern: Whether by conviction, convenience or coincidence, WikiLeaks' document releases, along with many of Mr. Assange's statements, have often benefited Russia, at the expense of the West.

Among United States officials, the emerging consensus is that Mr. Assange and WikiLeaks probably have no direct ties to Russian intelligence services. But they say that, at least in the case of the Democrats' emails, Moscow knew it had a sympathetic outlet in WikiLeaks, where intermediaries could drop pilfered documents in the group's anonymized digital inbox.

In an interview on Wednesday with The Times, Mr. Assange said Mrs. Clinton and the Democrats were ''whipping up a neo-McCarthyist hysteria about Russia.'' There is ''no concrete evidence'' that what WikiLeaks publishes comes from intelligence agencies, he said, even as he indicated that he would happily accept such material.

WikiLeaks neither targets not spares any particular nation, he added, but rather works to verify whatever material it is given in service of the public, which ''loves it when they get a glimpse into the corrupt machinery that is attempting to rule them.''

But given WikiLeaks' limited resources and the hurdles of translation, Mr. Assange said, why focus on Russia, which he described as a ''bit player on the world stage,'' compared with countries like China and the United States? In any event, he said, Kremlin corruption is an old story. ''Every man and his dog is criticizing Russia,'' he said. ''It's a bit boring, isn't it?''

Since its inception, WikiLeaks has succeeded spectacularly on some fronts, uncovering indiscriminate killing, hypocrisy and corruption, and helping spark the Arab Spring.

To Gavin MacFadyen, a WikiLeaks supporter who runs the Center for Investigative Journalism at the University of London, the question for Mr. Assange is not where the material comes from, but whether it is true and in the public interest. He noted that intelligence services had a long history of using news organizations to plant stories, and that Western news outlets often published ''material that comes from the C.I.A. uncritically.''

Recent events, though, have left some transparency advocates wondering if WikiLeaks has lost its way. There is a big difference between publishing materials from a whistle-blower like Chelsea Manning -- the soldier who gave WikiLeaks its war log and diplomatic cable scoops -- and accepting information, even indirectly, from a foreign intelligence service seeking to advance its own powerful interests, said John Wonderlich, the executive director of the Sunlight Foundation, a group devoted to government transparency.

''They're just aligning themselves with whoever gives them information to get attention or revenge against their enemies,'' Mr. Wonderlich said. ''They're welcoming governments to hack into each other and disrupt each other's democratic processes, all on a pretty weak case for the public interest.''

Others see Mr. Assange assuming an increasingly blinkered approach to the world that, coupled with his own secrecy, has left them disillusioned.

''The battle for transparency was supposed to be global; at least Assange claimed that at the beginning,'' said Andrei A. Soldatov, an investigative journalist who has written extensively about Russia's security services.

''It is strange that this principle is not being applied to Assange himself and his dealings with one particular country, and that is Russia,'' Mr. Soldatov said. ''He seems to think that one may compromise a lot fighting a bigger evil.''

Support From Moscow

WikiLeaks was just getting started in 2006 when Mr. Assange, an Australian national, sent a mission statement to potential collaborators. One of his goals, he said, was to help expose ''illegal or immoral'' behavior by governments in the West.

Mr. Assange made clear, though, that his main focus lay elsewhere. ''Our primary targets are those highly oppressive regimes in China, Russia and Central Eurasia,'' he wrote.

Shortly after releasing the war logs in 2010, Mr. Assange threatened to make good on that promise. WikiLeaks, he told a Moscow newspaper, had obtained compromising materials ''about Russia, about your government and your businessmen.''

But Mr. Assange's life was soon upended. On Nov. 20 of that year, an international warrant was issued for his arrest in connection with allegations of sexual assault in Sweden, which he denies. Eight days later, WikiLeaks' release of a cache of State Department cables cast unvarnished -- and unwelcome -- light on the United States' diplomatic relationships.

As Mr. Assange pointed out in the interview with The Times, many of the cables involved blunt judgments on Russia; one called it a ''mafia state.'' But the documents proved far more damaging to the United States' interests than to Russia's, and officials in Moscow seemed unperturbed. Russia's foreign minister, Sergey V. Lavrov, dismissed Mr. Assange as a ''petty thief running around on the internet.''

Mr. Assange, asked soon after by Time magazine whether he still planned to expose the secret dealings of the Kremlin, reiterated his earlier vow. ''Yes indeed,'' he said.

But that promised assault would not materialize. Instead, with Mr. Assange's legal troubles mounting, Mr. Putin would come to his defense.

In late November 2010, United States officials announced an investigation of WikiLeaks; Mrs. Clinton, whose State Department was scrambled by what became known as ''Cablegate,'' vowed to take ''aggressive'' steps to hold those responsible to account.

The next month, Mr. Assange was arrested by the London police to face questioning by the Swedes, who he feared would turn him over to the Americans. Out on bail, he holed up and fought extradition at a Georgian country house owned by a supporter, Vaughan Smith, who said in an interview that he believed Mr. Assange to be the victim of an ''intense online bullying and disinformation'' campaign.

One day after Mr. Assange's arrest, the Russian president appeared at a news conference with the French prime minister. Brushing off a questioner who suggested that the diplomatic cables portrayed Russia as undemocratic, Mr. Putin used the opportunity to bash the West.

''As far as democracy goes, it should be a complete democracy. Why then did they put Mr. Assange behind bars?'' he asked. ''There's an American saying: He who lives in a glass house shouldn't throw stones.''

It was the first of several times that Mr. Putin would take up Mr. Assange's cause. He has called the charges against Mr. Assange ''politically motivated'' and declared that the WikiLeaks founder is being ''persecuted for spreading the information he received from the U.S. military regarding the actions of the U.S.A. in the Middle East, including Iraq.''

In January 2011, the Kremlin issued Mr. Assange a visa, and one Russian official suggested that he deserved the Nobel Peace Prize. Then, in April 2012, with WikiLeaks' funding drying up -- under American pressure, Visa and MasterCard had stopped accepting donations -- Russia Today began broadcasting a show called ''The World Tomorrow'' with Mr. Assange as the host.

How much he or WikiLeaks was paid for the 12 episodes remains unclear. In a written statement, Sunshine Press, which works as his spokesman, said Russia Today ''was among a dozen broadcasters that purchased a broadcasting license for his show.''

But on June 19, 2012, Mr. Assange's narrative quickly took a different turn. He broke bail after losing an appeal against extradition to Sweden and was granted asylum in the tiny embassy of Ecuador in London, overlooking the back of Harrods department store.

A World Divided

One year later, a man who would soon eclipse Mr. Assange in terms of whistle-blowing fame boarded a plane in Hong Kong. His name was Edward J. Snowden, and he was a National Security Agency contractor-turned-fugitive, having stunned the world and strained American alliances by leaking documents that revealed a United States-led network of global surveillance programs.

Mr. Snowden had not given his thousands of classified documents to WikiLeaks. Still, it was at the suggestion of Mr. Assange that the flight Mr. Snowden boarded on June 23, 2013, accompanied by his WikiLeaks colleague Sarah Harrison, was bound for Moscow, where Mr. Snowden remains today after the United States canceled his passport en route.

In fact, worried that he would be seen as a spy, Mr. Snowden had hoped merely to pass through Russia on his way to South America, Mr. Assange later recounted, a plan he had not fully endorsed. Russia, he believed, could best protect Mr. Snowden from a C.I.A. kidnapping, or worse.

''Now I thought, and in fact advised Edward Snowden, that he would be safest in Moscow,'' Mr. Assange told the news program Democracy Now.

Years earlier, during a November 2010 meeting with New York Times journalists negotiating for access to the diplomatic cables, Mr. Assange had mused about seeking **refuge** in Russia. Anticipating the likely fallout from the cables' release, Mr. Assange spoke of relocating to Russia and setting up WikiLeaks there. His associates were openly skeptical of the idea, given the Kremlin's ruthless surveillance apparatus and tight control over the news media.

That Mr. Assange would now advise Mr. Snowden to travel that path is a measure not just of his worldview, but also of his circumstances and personality, friends and former colleagues say.

Suelette Dreyfus, a longtime friend of Mr. Assange's and an academic who studies whistle-blowing, says his sole motivation is a deep-seated belief that governments and other large and powerful institutions must be held in check to safeguard the rights of individuals.

''This is not an East-West fight,'' she said, though ''it is being presented as such by people with an agenda.

But even as other longtime supporters continue to see Mr. Assange as a courageous crusader -- ''a moral individual in a world of mass societies,'' as one put it -- they say he can be vain and childlike, with a tendency to see the world as divided into those who support him and those who do not.

During his time isolated in the Ecuadorean Embassy, under constant surveillance, his instinctive mistrust of the West hardened even as he became increasingly numb to the abuses of the Kremlin, which he viewed as a ''bulwark against Western imperialism,'' said one supporter, who like many others asked for anonymity for fear of angering Mr. Assange.

Another person who collaborated with WikiLeaks in the past added: ''He views everything through the prism of how he's treated. America and Hillary Clinton have caused him trouble, and Russia never has.''

The result has been a ''one-dimensional confrontation with the U.S.A.,'' Daniel Domscheit-Berg, who before quitting WikiLeaks in 2010 was one of Mr. Assange's closest partners, has said.

And the beneficiary of that confrontation, played out in a series of public statements by Mr. Assange and strategically timed document releases by WikiLeaks, has often been Mr. Putin. While the release of the Democratic Party documents appears to be the first time WikiLeaks has published material that United States officials assert was stolen by Russian intelligence, the agendas of WikiLeaks and Mr. Putin have repeatedly dovetailed since Mr. Assange fled to the embassy.

Mr. Assange has at times offered mild criticisms of the Putin government. In a 2011 interview, for instance, he spoke of the ''Putinization'' of Russia. On Twitter, he has also called attention to Pussy Riot, the punk band whose members were jailed after taking on Mr. Putin.

But for the most part, Mr. Assange has remained silent about some of the Russian president's harshest moves. It was Mr. Snowden, for instance, not Mr. Assange, who took to Twitter in July to denounce a law giving the Kremlin sweeping new surveillance powers. Mr. Assange, asked during Wednesday's interview about the new law and others like it, acknowledged that Russia had undergone ''creeping authoritarianism.'' But he suggested that ''that same development'' had occurred in the United States.

Mr. Assange has also taken a decidedly pro-Russian view of hostilities in Ukraine, where the Obama administration has accused Mr. Putin of supporting the separatists. The United States, Mr. Assange told an Argentine newspaper in March of last year, has been the one meddling there, fomenting unrest by ''trying to draw Ukraine into the Western orbit, to pluck it out of Russia's sphere of influence.'' After the annexation of Crimea, he said Washington and its intelligence allies had ''annexed the whole world'' through global surveillance.

Like Mr. Trump, who stood to gain from the Democratic Party leak, Mr. Assange supported Britain's vote to leave the European Union, and he has repeatedly gone after NATO -- taking on two organizations that Mr. Putin would like nothing more than to defang or dismantle.

In September 2014, for instance, Mr. Assange wrote on Twitter about what he called the ''corrupt deal'' that Turkey engineered to force the suppression of a pro-Kurdish television station in Denmark in return for allowing that country's prime minister, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, to take the helm of NATO.

The timing of his Twitter post was curious on two fronts. It relied on a diplomatic cable that had garnered headlines when WikiLeaks released it four years earlier. And it followed a monthslong tit for tat between Mr. Rasmussen and Mr. Putin, with the Russian president taking the NATO chief to task for secretly recording their private conversation, and Mr. Rasmussen accusing Mr. Putin of playing a ''double game'' in Ukraine by issuing conciliatory statements while massing troops on the border and shipping weapons to the separatists.

Mr. Assange again recycled the story this past June -- days after President Petro O. Poroshenko of Ukraine named Mr. Rasmussen a special adviser -- this time via a video appearance at a Russian media forum attended by Mr. Putin and timed to coincide with the 75th anniversary of the Soviet Information Bureau.

A Matter of Timing

Then there are the leaks themselves. Some, such as hacked Church of Scientology documents, are of no obvious benefit to the Russians. But many are.

The organization has published leaks of material from Saudi Arabia and Turkey, which are United States allies, but also to varying degrees from authoritarian regimes. The leaks came during times of heightened tension between those countries and Russia.

The Saudi documents, for instance, which highlighted efforts to manipulate world opinion about the kingdom, were published months after Mr. Putin accused the Saudis of holding down oil prices to harm the economies of Russia and its allies Iran and Venezuela.

Another set of leaks indirectly benefited Rosatom, Russia's state-owned atomic energy company. Those documents detailed a ''corrupt multi-billion-dollar war by Western and Chinese companies'' -- including Rosatom's chief competitors -- to obtain uranium and other mining rights in the Central African Republic.

WikiLeaks seems aware of a perception problem when it comes to Russia.

When Russia Today began broadcasting Mr. Assange's television program, he joked in a statement that it would be used to ''smear'' him: ''Assange is a hopeless Kremlin stooge!''

And Sunshine Press, the group's public relations voice, pointed out that in 2012 WikiLeaks also published an archive it called the Syria files -- more than two million emails from and about the government of President Bashar al-Assad, whom Russia is supporting in Syria's civil war.

Yet at the time of the release, Mr. Assange's associate, Ms. Harrison, characterized the material as ''embarrassing to Syria, but it is also embarrassing to Syria's opponents.'' Since then, Mr. Assange has accused the United States of deliberately destabilizing Syria, but has not publicly criticized human rights abuses by Mr. Assad and Russian forces fighting there.

Many of the documents WikiLeaks has published are classified, such as a C.I.A. tutorial on how to maintain cover in foreign airports. But what may be WikiLeaks' most intriguing release of secret documents involved what is, on the surface, a less sensational topic: trade negotiations.

From November 2013 to May 2016, WikiLeaks published documents describing internal deliberations on two trade pacts: the Trans-Pacific Partnership, which would liberalize trade between the United States, Japan and 10 other Pacific Rim countries, and the Trade in Services Agreement, an accord between the United States, 21 other countries and the European Union.

Russia, which was excluded, has been the most vocal opponent of the pacts, with Mr. Putin portraying them as an effort to give the United States an unfair leg up in the global economy.

The drafts released by WikiLeaks stirred controversy among environmentalists, advocates of internet freedom and privacy, labor leaders and corporate governance watchdogs, among others. They also stoked populist resentment against free trade that has become an important factor in American and European politics.

The material was released at critical moments, with the apparent aim of thwarting negotiations, American trade officials said.

WikiLeaks highlighted the domestic and international discord on its Twitter accounts.

Putin attacks #TPP, #TTIP, #TISA at UN https://t.co/cg2lyzboiL[https://t.co/cg2lyzboiL]. More: https://t.co/gqyWldsWbJ[https://t.co/gqyWldsWbJ] -- WikiLeaks(@wikileaks) October 4, 2015

American negotiators assumed that the leaks had come from a party at the table seeking leverage. Then in July 2015, on the day American and Japanese negotiators were working out the final details of the Trans-Pacific Partnership, came what WikiLeaks dubbed its ''Target Tokyo'' release.

Relying on top-secret N.S.A. documents, the release highlighted 35 American espionage targets in Japan, including cabinet members and trade negotiators, as well as companies like Mitsubishi. The trade accord was finally agreed on -- though it has not been ratified by the United States Senate -- but the document release threw a wrench into the talks.

RELEASE: "Target Tokyo": #NSA spied on Japanese PM and major corps such as #Mitsubishi https://t.co/2SobMKvbYo[https://t.co/2SobMKvbYo] #Japan pic.twitter.com/puHp9t0l9c -- WikiLeaks (@wikileaks) July 31, 2015

''The lesson for Japan is this: Do not expect a global surveillance superpower to act with honor or respect,'' Mr. Assange said in a news release at the time. ''There is only one rule: There are no rules.''

Because of the files' provenance, United States intelligence officials assumed that Mr. Assange had gotten his hands on some of the N.S.A. documents copied by Mr. Snowden.

But in an interview, Glenn Greenwald, one of the two journalists entrusted with the full Snowden archive, said that Mr. Snowden had not given his documents to WikiLeaks and that the ''Target Tokyo'' documents were not even among those Mr. Snowden had taken.

The same is true, Mr. Greenwald said, of another set of N.S.A. intercepts released by WikiLeaks that showed that the United States bugged conversations of United Nations officials and European allies, including private climate-control talks between Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany and the United Nations secretary general, Ban Ki-moon. On Wednesday, Mr. Assange said he had his own separate sources for N.S.A. material.

That raises the question of whether another, still-secret, N.S.A. whistle-blower is leaking documents to WikiLeaks, or whether the files were obtained from the outside via a sophisticated cyberespionage operation, possibly sponsored by a state actor. That question was underscored by Mr. Assange's statement a few weeks ago that he would release the codes that the United States uses to hack others.

And that has some former collaborators questioning just who is giving Mr. Assange his information these days.

''It's not in his temperament to be a cat's paw, and I don't think he would take anything overtly from the F.S.B.,'' said one, referring to the Russian intelligence agency. ''He wouldn't trust them enough. But if someone could plausibly be seen as a hacker group, he'd be fine. He was never too thorough about checking out sources or motivations.''

The Panama Papers

In April of this year, the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists unleashed a torrent of articles that reverberated around the world.

Based on 11.5 million leaked documents from a Panamanian law firm that specialized in creating secretive offshore companies, the ''Panama Papers'' offered a look inside a shadowy world in which banks, law firms and asset management companies help the world's rich and powerful hide wealth and avoid taxes.

It was the largest archive of leaked documents that journalists had ever handled, and so it was no surprise that WikiLeaks initially linked to the consortium's work on Twitter. But what shocked some of the journalists involved was what WikiLeaks did next.

Among the biggest stories was one showing how billions of dollars had wound up in shell companies controlled by one of Mr. Putin's closest friends, a cellist named Sergei P. Roldugin. Nearly a dozen news organizations, including two of Russia's last independent newspapers, Vedomosti and Novaya Gazeta, had collaborated in tracing the money.

But WikiLeaks seized on the contribution of just one: the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project. In a series of Twitter posts after the revelations about Mr. Roldugin, WikiLeaks questioned the integrity of the reporting, noting that the project had received grants from the Soros Foundation and the United States Agency for International Development.

#PanamaPapers Putin attack was produced by OCCRP which targets Russia & former USSR and was funded by USAID & Soros. pic.twitter.com/tgeKfLuROn -- WikiLeaks (@wikileaks) April 5, 2016

The US OCCRP can do good work, but for the US govt to directly fund the #PanamaPapers attack on Putin seriously undermines its integrity. -- WikiLeaks(@wikileaks) April 5, 2016

Claims that #PanamaPapers themselves are a 'plot' against Russia are nonsense. However hoarding, DC organization & USAID money tilt coverage -- WikiLeaks(@wikileaks) April 6, 2016

Mr. Assange, in an interview with Al Jazeera, reiterated the suggestion that the consortium, with a pro-Western agenda, had cherry-picked the documents it chose to release. ''There was clearly a conscious effort to go with the Putin bashing, North Korea bashing, sanctions bashing, etc.,'' he said.

In fact, the consortium's opening salvo featured many hard-hitting articles with Western targets, including one on the use of offshore companies in tax havens by the father of then-Prime Minister David Cameron of Britain. Another focused on an offshore company set up by the Ukrainian president, Mr. Poroshenko, a Putin enemy.

Nevertheless, Mr. Putin seized on WikiLeaks' take on the controversy to defend himself. He declared that while the articles suggested that ''there is this friend of the Russian president, and they say he has done something, probably corruption-related, in fact there is no corruption involved at all.''

''Besides,'' he added, ''we now know from WikiLeaks that officials and state agencies in the United States are behind all this.''

Gerard Ryle, the consortium's director, chalked Mr. Assange's actions up to professional jealousy. The leaker, who remains anonymous, said in a manifesto in May that the Panama Papers had first been offered to WikiLeaks, but that multiple attempts to contact the organization had gone unanswered. (Mr. Assange said he had no knowledge of that.)

But Mr. Soldatov, the Russian investigative journalist, was so furious that he confronted Ms. Harrison, Mr. Assange's associate, at a journalism conference in Italy the next day. ''Many journalists at Novaya Gazeta were killed'' after reporting on Mr. Putin's Russia, he told her, ''and now their integrity is questioned by WikiLeaks?''

It is striking, Mr. Soldatov said in an interview, that Mr. Snowden, who is stuck in Moscow, is far more willing to criticize Mr. Putin than is Mr. Assange, whom he sees as an apologist.

Roman Shleynov, who worked on the project first at Vedmosti and then as an editor at the Organized Crime and Reporting Project, said that he, too, was ''at a loss'' to explain Mr. Assange's attack on the Panama Papers.

''For me it was a surprise that Mr. Assange was repeating the same excuse that our officials, even back in Soviet days, used to say -- that it's all some conspiracy from abroad,'' Mr. Shleynov said.

''I understand his struggle with the United States,'' he added, ''but I never thought he'd use our work, the work of Russian journalists, to make such a statement. I respected and still respect what Julian Assange has done, but I have changed my opinion of him as a person.''

Public Spats

Mr. Assange has always insisted, ''I am WikiLeaks,'' and it seems truer now than ever.

Four years into his time at the Ecuadorean Embassy, he is increasingly isolated. Now 45, he lives in two small rooms: an office equipped with a bed, sunlamp, phone, computer, kitchenette, shower, treadmill and bookshelves, and a conference room where he can meet with visitors and oversee the operation with the help of a few dozen employees, mostly in Berlin. One person familiar with the setup called it ''a gas station with two attendants.''

Melinda Taylor, one of Mr. Assange's lawyers, said that he needed dental work and a magnetic resonance imaging scan for a painful shoulder, but that those procedures could not be done inside the embassy for practical and insurance reasons. He also has a vitamin D deficiency from a lack of sunlight, she said, and ''severe depression exacerbated'' by his legal travails.

Mr. Smith, who still supports and visits Mr. Assange, said, ''Julian's a big bloke, with big bones, and he fills the room physically and intellectually.''

''It's a tiny embassy with a tiny balcony,'' he added, ''small, hot and with not great air flow, and it must be jolly difficult for everyone there.''

And public spats with would-be allies are not uncommon.

One involves Mr. Assange's insistence that document troves should be published in their entirety, not curated by journalists who might have agendas.

In his interview with The Times on Wednesday, Mr. Assange criticized the Panama Papers consortium for not making all the documents in its possession public, calling it censorship. ''It is not the WikiLeaks model,'' he said. ''In fact, it is the anti-WikiLeaks model.''

WikiLeaks did collaborate with journalists on the war logs and diplomatic cables. But Mr. Assange's decision to abandon that approach in the name of total transparency is what led Mr. Snowden to work with Mr. Greenwald and another journalist on the N.S.A. revelations. Mr. Snowden felt openness should be balanced with concern for people's privacy and safety.

After the release of the Democratic Party documents this summer, Mr. Snowden criticized WikiLeaks on Twitter for not redacting the Social Security numbers and credit card information of private individuals named in the trove.

Democratizing information has never been more vital, and @Wikileaks has helped. But their hostility to even modest curation is a mistake. -- Edward Snowden (@Snowden) July 28, 2016

WikiLeaks shot back on Twitter: ''Opportunism won't earn you a pardon from Clinton & curation is not censorship of ruling party cash flows.''

Mr. Greenwald said of Mr. Assange, ''He's **alienated** a lot of people.''

''It's often hard for me to separate my personal views of Julian with my views of WikiLeaks'' he added. ''I do think on balance WikiLeaks is a force for good.''

Friends can differ, Mr. Assange said in the interview. Still, some of his staunchest supporters, like the heiress Jemima Goldsmith Khan, have turned on him, troubled by what they see as a double standard. In an opinion piece for the New Statesman, Ms. Khan wrote that WikiLeaks, which was created to produce a more just society, ''has been guilty of the same obfuscation and misinformation as those it sought to expose.''

In February, Mr. Assange received legal news that he hoped would be a game changer. The United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention ruled that he was being arbitrarily detained and should be released freely and with compensation for the violation of his rights. But the opinion was nonbinding and has been rejected by British and Swedish courts.

''The U.S. and the West will hold out a U.N. working group decision when it is in their favor,'' said Jennifer Robinson, one of his lawyers. ''But when it's about Julian Assange, they criticize and undermine.''

A few weeks ago came a possible breakthrough: an agreement for Swedish prosecutors to question Mr. Assange about the rape allegations. But Ms. Taylor said that even if the Swedes declined to prosecute, Mr. Assange still feared being held by Britain on bail-jumping charges and turned over to the United States, where an investigation into his leak activities remains open. ''The uncertainty gets to him,'' she said.

Mr. Assange tries to keep his mind off his troubles with his guitar and a cat given to him by his children, but what really lifts his spirits is publishing new leaks like the Democrats' files. ''The work keeps him going,'' said his colleague, Ms. Harrison.

Is there an October surprise in his back pocket?

''Julian loves misinformation; it's his passion,'' Mr. Greenwald said. ''He'd likely say this just to make the Clintons uncomfortable.''

For his part, Mr. Assange is looking a bit further on.

''Let's leap forward a couple of years,'' he said in the interview. ''Let's imagine that rival intelligence services -- in the U.S., in China -- went to settle their conflicts about who is right, who's the good actor, who's the bad actor, on a particular situation by presenting the public the truth.

''That's the most amazing advance I can think of.''

Follow Jo Becker, Steven Erlanger and Eric Schmitt on Twitter.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**LONDON -- The burkini has become perhaps the most potent symbol in France's long-running battle over its vaunted secular identity. This summer's heated debate over bans on the full-body swimwear by beach towns on the French Riviera has reverberated around the world, with widely different reactions.

In Britain and the United States, the modest outfits are being seen as part of a multicultural model of integrating minorities. In China, where face-covering swimwear has long been popular among wrinkle-fearing beachgoers, many do not understand what the fuss is about.

The swimsuit's Lebanese-Australian inventor, Aheda Zanetti, said in an interview last week that the French and others have ''misunderstood the burkini swimsuit,'' which she said she created after her young niece found it cumbersome to play sports in a regular Islamic head scarf.

''The burkini swimsuit is freedom and happiness and lifestyle changes -- you can't take that away from a Muslim, or any other woman, that chooses to wear it,'' Ms. Zanetti said.

''I wanted to introduce a full range of clothing to suit a Muslim woman -- or any woman -- that wanted a bit of modesty and wanted to participate in any sporting activities,'' she added. ''It was also my aim for them not to be judged for who they are, or where they're from, and who people think they're representing.''

Here is a look at how the battle over the burkini has played out in various places.

Britain

Last week, the populist tabloid The Sun published an article showing Muslim women dressed in body-covering garments playing joyously on the beach in the seaside city of Brighton. ''British Muslims enjoy day at the beach in Islamic dress ... while Frenchwomen face arrest for doing the same,'' the headline proclaimed.

The swimsuit has become so popular that it recently sold out at the retailer Marks & Spencer. Sales may also have been given a lift thanks to the popular television chef Nigella Lawson, who wore a burkini while on vacation in Australia five years ago.

Ismail Sacranie, a founder of Modestly Active, the Islamic sportswear manufacturer that designed Ms. Lawson's burkini, said 35 percent of his clients were non-Muslim. ''It is primarily driven by the desire to protect against the sun,'' he said in a phone interview, ''but the other reason is that some women of all sizes just don't want to wear something tiny, and feel more comfortable being covered.''

After the former French president Nicolas Sarkozy called the outfit ''provocation for the service of a project of radicalized political Islam,'' the best-selling author J. K. Rowling retorted: ''So Sarkozy calls the burkini a 'provocation.' Whether women cover or uncover their bodies, seems we're always, always 'asking for it.'''

Not everyone in Britain is wild about the burkini, of course.

Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, a Muslim, wrote in The Daily Mail that burkini sellers were ''complicit in a version of Islam that believes women must be subjugated in public.''

North Africa

This summer a Facebook page was created with the apparent aim of shaming women wearing bikinis on the beaches of Morocco, a majority-Muslim kingdom and former French protectorate. ''Our slogan is: No to vice in an Islamic Moroccan nation,'' the country's news media quoted the creator of the page, identified as Aicha Amal, as saying. The page has been taken down.

On his own Facebook page, Omar al-Kazabri, the imam of the Hassan II Mosque in Casablanca, condemned the ''obscene nudity'' of women on the beaches.

Long before the French ban, many private hotels and pools in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia -- all governed by France in the past -- had put up signs banning the burkini, or variations of it, some citing hygiene. But the bans did not come from the government.

''Unlike France, the ban on burkini in Morocco comes from a few private institutions,'' the Moroccan tourism minister, Lahcen Haddad, recently told the magazine Jeune Afrique. ''We are in a Muslim country that also respects individual freedoms and private initiative.''

Burkinis caused a stir years ago in Algeria when they started appearing on beaches. ''Just walk along the Algerian coast to find that most Algerian women shun the swimsuit,'' the website Algeria Focus reported in 2014. ''The general trend is modesty, so we see more and more women dressed in a burkini.''

West Africa

On the beaches of Dakar, the mostly Muslim capital of the overwhelmingly Muslim country of Senegal, no one seems to notice or care what anyone wears.

One recent hot afternoon, male bathers wore jeans, white briefs or board shorts into the water. Women were soaking in long dresses, burkinis, bikinis and one-piece swimsuits.

Nordpresse, a Belgian website of political satire, created a stir this week with an article that falsely linked the origin of burkinis to Burkina Faso.

The article claimed that a member of the French Parliament had said that women wearing burkinis ''should be sent back to their country, Burkina Faso.''

The story, even though it was satire, prompted outrage. In the region, jokes by Western politicians or news publications are sensitive, especially when the butt of the joke is a former French colony.

Germany

In anything-goes Berlin, which is as comfortable with intellectuals, nudists and clubbers with body piercings as it is with newly arrived Syrian **refugees**, the burkini is just another outfit.

There are no national regulations governing religious dress, and the German government has indicated that it will not support bans on burkinis.

In the bustling working-class and multicultural Wedding district of Berlin, Julia Friese, a journalist, showed up at one pool in a burkini and said she felt ''invisible.''

Writing in Die Welt, she said that no one looked askance at her, curious children chatted with her respectfully and some men pretended not to see her. She said the pool's management -- told that she was writing a column on the burkini -- had encouraged her to inform readers on how to buy one.

As in any country, there are naysayers. In June, the mayor of Neutraubling, a small town in Bavaria, banned the wearing of burkinis in public pools. In the state of Brandenburg, the parliamentary group of Alternative for Germany, the populist nationalist party, has demanded that burkinis be banned.

But such views seem to be in the minority. After the parents of a Muslim girl in Frankfurt asked that she be exempted from swimming classes that included boys, the Federal Administrative Court in September 2013 ruled that she could wear a burkini as a compromise.

Italy

In Italy, which has a sizable population of Muslim **immigrants**, the French burkini bans have elicited strong reactions.

Izzeddin Elzir, the imam of a mosque in Florence and the president of the Union of Islamic Communities in Italy, posted on his Facebook page a photo of nuns frolicking in the waves at a beach.

Some interpreted Mr. Elzir's post as suggesting that nuns should be banned from wearing their habits at the beach. But Mr. Elzir countered that he had merely posted a photograph that spoke for itself.

''I just wanted to get people to stop and think,'' he said. ''That's why I posted the photo alone, without writing a single word. I didn't want to take sides but rather to spur a healthy debate.''

Russia

In Russia, the burkini has been banned or rebuked in some quarters as an affront to hygiene and local culture.

The Rus health resort in Yessentuki, a city at the base of the Caucasus Mountains, banned women this month from wearing full-body swimsuits, saying that guests had complained; the resort's head doctor called the swimsuit unhygienic.

A correspondent for the newspaper Moskovsky Komsomolets showed up on a Moscow beach wearing a burkini to see how locals would react, and found that while most people were not bothered, some objected rudely.

''If you're bundling yourself up in a burkini, it's better to stay home, to sit in warmth, in a comfy chair, to enjoy life,'' one observer told the interviewer. ''Here, you should undress and sunbathe.''

Still, others called for a live-and-let-live attitude. ''Let her swim,'' another Moscovite told the newspaper. ''She's not scaring anyone.''

The prominent opposition figure Aleksei A. Navalny endorsed a column by the editor in chief of Deutsche Welle, the German broadcaster, that framed the decision to ban the burkini as an example of ''a liberal constitutional state decisively acting against the enemies of liberalism.''

Muslims have not raced to the swimwear's defense. Al'bir Rifkatovich Kurganov, a mufti, or Islamic legal scholar, in Moscow, has said that a French-style ban would be irrelevant for Russians, since practicing Muslims would not be visiting secular beaches in the first place.

The United States

American Muslims have greeted France's burkini ban with bemusement and dismay.

In northern New Jersey, which has a vibrant Muslim population, the newspaper The Record reported that the burkini ban had ''mystified'' many locals. The newspaper talked to two Muslim sisters, Sara and Sondos Elnakib, who said they wore yoga pants and long-sleeve shirts to show modesty at the beach.

The sisters have sold burkinis at a pop-up store -- one is called The Hepburn -- to appeal to fashion-conscious women. Women interviewed by the newspaper rejected the notion that burkinis encouraged radicalism, and compared it to the conservative attire of Orthodox Jews or Catholic clergy.

**NEW\_DOCUMENT\_HERE**Donald J. Trump's campaign was teetering early last month, with an increasingly isolated candidate and a downcast staff that seemed to lurch from crisis to crisis. Having fired his campaign chairman and retooled his message, Mr. Trump was still far behind Hillary Clinton in the polls, and Republicans were running away from him.

Under those desperate conditions, Mr. Trump's closest allies last month pressed him to approve a daring plan: Go to Mexico and meet with President Enrique Peña Nieto, presenting himself to the world as a statesman and earning a new look from millions of American voters.

But the political gymnastics involved in Mr. Trump's gambit will likely be difficult to sustain: His approach involves avoiding discussion of his former campaign pledges without renouncing them, and making ostentatious gestures of conciliation toward Hispanic voters and Mexicans without withdrawing -- and at times actually repeating -- remarks that have offended them in the past.

In the space of a few hours on Wednesday, Mr. Trump veered from avoiding a clash with Mr. Peña Nieto over his proposal for a border wall to goading an Arizona crowd into chants about constructing the barrier.

If winning over people who view him as a racially divisive or reckless candidate would seem to require a dizzying political reinvention, it is far from certain that Mr. Trump is prepared to transform himself so thoroughly.

He appeared solicitous, even pleading, in his visit to Mexico City, shirking confrontation with Mr. Peña Nieto and reading slowly from a cautious, tightly phrased statement that described his admiration for Americans of Mexican descent.

''Spectacular, spectacular, hard-working people,'' Mr. Trump said of Mexican-Americans. ''I have such great respect for them and their strong values of family, faith and community.''

In Arizona, Mr. Trump made his most brazen attempt yet to back away from his pledge to deport all 11 million undocumented **immigrants**, denouncing illegal **immigration** in vehement terms, while at the same time revising his policy agenda. Where he has, in the past, suggested creating a special force to achieve that goal, Mr. Trump said on Wednesday that a new ''deportation task force'' would focus on rounding up only the ''most dangerous criminal illegal **immigrants**.''

Underscoring the new approach, Mr. Trump was introduced in Phoenix by a pair of loyal supporters, Rudolph W. Giuliani, the former mayor of New York, and Senator Jeff Sessions of Alabama, who took turns wearing a baseball cap bearing the slogan: ''Make Mexico Great Again Also.''

Mr. Trump has already sought several times to reboot his campaign and reintroduce himself to general-election voters, many of whom hold him in low regard. He has periodically reworked his message to conform more closely to conventions of political discourse, briefly earning praise from Republicans and critics in the media, only to lapse soon after into old, unrestrained habits.

On Wednesday night, as the crowd in Phoenix grew more energized, he could not resist returning to his fiery form, even as he outlined his new approach to **immigration** control.

He repeated at high volume his harsh denunciations of illegal **immigration** as a threat to public safety. Mrs. Clinton's plan, he said, was ''open borders and let everybody come in and destroy our country.''

At one point, referring to Mrs. Clinton, he told the crowd that perhaps he should ''deport her.''

And Mr. Trump, as is his pattern, created confusion for even his closest supporters as he appeared to embrace opposite sides of important issues as the day unfolded.

He told reporters in Mexico that he and Mr. Peña Nieto had not discussed forcing that country to pay for a border wall, suggesting the delicate question would be explored in the future by the two leaders. But hours later, Mr. Trump thundered in Phoenix that his mind was made up: Mexico would foot the bill.

Mr. Trump's course adjustment emerged in an atmosphere of growing urgency and alarm within his campaign. Over the last week, close associates have told both Mr. Trump and members of his family that he is in real danger of losing the race, according to a half-dozen people close to the Trump campaign and briefed on its activities, who spoke on condition of anonymity to avoid angering the nominee.

Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey, who lobbied in favor of the trip to Mexico, has told Mr. Trump that he must make immediate changes to regain his footing, associates said. And on Monday, Mr. Trump's son Eric met with senior officials at the Republican National Committee in Washington and heard a grim prognosis of his father's campaign, according to people briefed on the meeting.

Without a major shake-up of the electoral map, strategists indicated to the younger Mr. Trump, his father's already narrow path to the 270 electoral votes he needs to win could vanish. Going through the swing states one by one, party officials showed Eric Trump that his father was drastically underperforming other Republicans in the polls.

Ahead of his travels on Wednesday, Trump aides told his political allies that the campaign hoped to provide a new template for talking about **immigration** for the remainder of the race: One that would continue to stress law-and-order themes and nationalistic passions, while abandoning his specific commitment to quickly deport 11 million migrants.

The idea of a trip to Mexico had been under consideration for weeks: Melania Trump, Mr. Trump's wife, endorsed the move earlier in August and Jared Kushner, Mr. Trump's son-in-law, had raced to open talks with the Mexican foreign ministry. Yet Mr. Trump himself had been hesitant, fearing a fiasco if Mr. Peña Nieto attempted to embarrass him.

Mr. Giuliani, who has become one of Mr. Trump's chief counselors, and Mr. Christie urged him to make the trip and ultimately helped craft the statement he delivered in Mexico City.

There were holdouts in Mr. Trump's inner circle: Roger Ailes, the former chairman of Fox News who is now advising Mr. Trump, saw the idea as needlessly risky.

By Monday morning, however, Mr. Trump decided that his political circumstances demanded bold action.

Dan Senor, a former adviser to Mitt Romney's 2012 campaign who has been critical of Mr. Trump, said the trip to Mexico likely helped elevate Mr. Trump in the eyes of some voters. ''The expectation was so low that simply showing up on the stage next to a head of a state was a win for him,'' Mr. Senor said.

Still, with his decision to seek reinvention in a whirlwind trip, Mr. Trump signaled on Wednesday that any effort to run a cautious or conventional general-election campaign is clearly behind him. And with less than 10 weeks to go in the race and a darkening political landscape confronting him, Mr. Trump's brand of disruptive spectacle may increasingly come to define his candidacy.

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