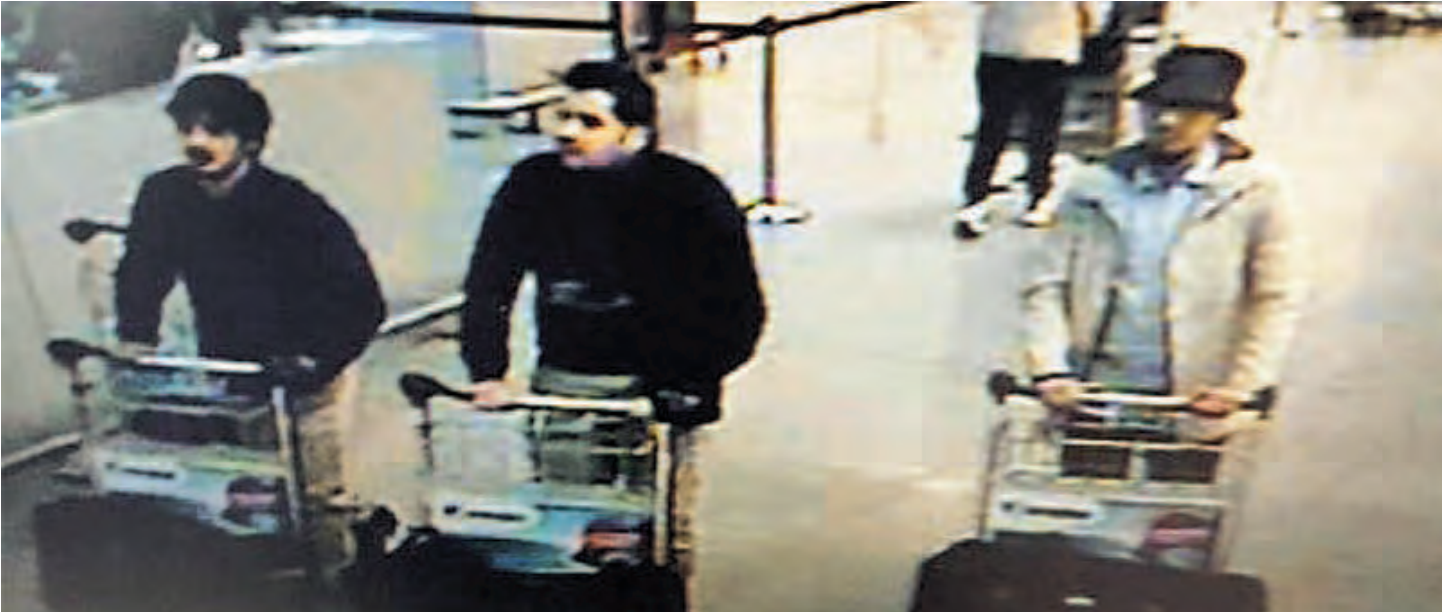


BRUSSELS ATTACKS SHAKE EUROPEAN SECURITY



TOP, KETEVAN KARDAVA/GEORGIAN PUBLIC BROADCASTER, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS; BELGIAN FEDERAL POLICE, VIA AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES
Aftermath at the Brussels airport, top. Surveillance video, above, showed suspects and may hold clues to ISIS tactics. Page A8.

In Campaign, Walking a Tightrope Over the Fight Against ISIS

By DAVID E. SANGER and MAGGIE HABERMAN
WASHINGTON — Ten hours before terrorists struck Brussels, Donald J. Trump was on television describing his strategy for confronting the Islamic State: He would pound it with airstrikes, but any ground action must be taken by the United States’ partners in the region. He did not mention, if he knew, that this was a pretty close approximation of President Obama’s approach. But then Mr. Trump went further, saying that the American

contribution to NATO — whose headquarters is in Brussels, smack between the airport and the subway station bombed by the Islamic State on Tuesday — should be scaled back. It was a surprising signal to Europe at a moment when it is under attack, and a vivid reminder of the risks of running for president in an age of terrorism: What sounds reasonably cautious in the evening can ring weak or strategically incoherent by morning. Most presidential candidates, with rare exceptions, are tempt-

ed to adopt far more hawkish stances on the campaign trail than presidents do in the Oval Office, where they must confront the realities of building coalitions, sorting through conflicting intelligence and pursuing comprehensive counterterrorism programs. But in the current atmosphere, a strike like the one on Tuesday in Brussels rekindles every debate about whether the United States should use diplomacy, isolation or military might. Indeed, within hours of seeing images of the carnage in Belgium, Mr. Trump renewed his

calls for a ban on Muslims entering the United States and for legalized torture to extract information from an Islamic State operative captured last week in Brussels. Senator Ted Cruz of Texas went beyond his promise of “carpet-bombing” to demand that the United States “empower law enforcement to patrol and secure Muslim neighborhoods before they become radicalized.” Even Gov. John Kasich of Ohio, who objected to Mr. Cruz’s idea, called on Mr. Obama to abandon his trip to Cuba and Argentina, Continued on Page A7

Heightened Fear of Intelligence Failures

By ADAM NOSSITER
PARIS — Since the November attacks in Paris, the Belgian authorities have conducted dozens of raids, combed whole neighborhoods for well-known militants and even locked down the capital for days, all part of promises to step up efforts to root out jihadists. Yet none of that evidently disrupted plans for the attacks on Tuesday at Brussels’s main international airport and a subway station in the heart of the capital of the European Union. The new attacks again underscored not only the weaknesses of Belgium’s security services, but also the persistence and increasingly dangerous prospect of what several intelligence experts described as a sympathetic milieu for terrorist cells to form, hide and operate in the center of Europe. The attacks have set off a new round of soul-searching about whether Europe’s security services must redouble their efforts, even at the risk of further impinging on civil liberties, or whether such attacks have become an unavoidable part of life in an open European society. At the very least, they have exposed the enduring vulnerability of Europe to terrorism in an age of easy travel and communications and rising militancy. Even before the Belgian authorities captured Salah Abdeslam on Friday for his suspected role in the Nov. 13 Paris attacks, which killed 130 people, they had detained or arrested scores of suspects directly or peripherally connected to what they described as a terrorist network linked to the Islamic State. But despite the success in arresting Mr. Abdeslam, Belgium continues to present a special security problem for Europe. The country of just 11.2 million people faces widening derision as being the world’s wealthiest failed state — a worrying mix of deeply rooted terrorist networks; a government weakened by divisions among French, Dutch and German speakers; and an overwhelmed intelligence service in seemingly chronic disarray. It is also home to what Bernard Squarcini, a former head of France’s internal intelligence, described as “a favorable ecosystem: an Islamist milieu, and a family milieu,” which played an important role in sheltering Mr. Abdeslam and also perhaps in Tuesday’s attacks. “It shows that they were in a neighborhood that can shelter Continued on Page A8

Bomb Blasts Sow Carnage and Mayhem

This article is by Alissa J. Rubin, Aurelien Breeden and Anita Raghavan.
BRUSSELS — Bombs packed with nails terrorized Brussels on Tuesday in the deadliest assault on the European heartland since the Islamic State’s attacks on Paris four months ago, hitting the airport and subway system in co-ordinated strikes that were also claimed by the militant extremist group. The bombings paralyzed Brussels, the headquarters of the European Union and NATO, prompted international travel warnings to avoid Belgium and reverberated across the Atlantic to the United States, where New York and other major cities raised terrorism threat levels. Anxieties intensified about the inability to prevent mass killings at relatively unprotected places. At least 30 people were killed by two blasts at the Brussels airport departure area around 8 a.m. and one in a subway station shortly after 9. The police found at least one other unexploded bomb in a search of a Brussels house hours later. And Europe’s most wanted person suddenly became an unidentified man in a white coat and dark hat seen pushing a luggage cart in an airport surveillance photo taken just before the bombings. Two other men in the photo, each wearing a black glove on his left hand, were identified by Belgian prosecutors as suspected suicide bombers who appeared to have died in the explosions. “To those who have chosen to be the barbaric enemies of liberty, of democracy, of fundamental values, I want to say with the greatest strength that we will remain assembled and united,” the Belgian prime minister, Charles Michel, said at a news conference Tuesday evening, declaring a three-day mourning period. Francis Vermeiren, the mayor of Zaventem, the Brussels suburb where the airport is located, was quoted by Agence France-Presse late Tuesday as saying all three men had arrived in a taxi, putting suitcases that contained the bombs on luggage carts. CNN reported on Tuesday night that the police removed bags of evidence from an apartment in the northeast Brussels neighborhood of Schaerbeek, after a taxi driver who saw the photograph of the men told the authorities that he had taken them from the building to the airport that morning, with many large bags. Passengers who had been in Continued on Page A6

SECURITY LAPSE Porous borders and a calcified security apparatus have helped the Islamic State do harm in Europe, experts say. PAGE A8
FAMILIAR HORROR Witnesses to the blasts in Brussels said they immediately thought about last year’s terrorist attacks in Paris. PAGE A9
FUELING A DEBATE The attacks in Brussels were quickly injected into the bitter debate about the influx of migrants into Europe. PAGE A7

Town’s Anti-Drug Plan: Safe Site to Use Heroin

By LISA W. FODERARO
ITHACA, N.Y. — Even Svante L. Myrick, the mayor of this city, thought the proposal sounded a little crazy, though it was put forth by a committee he had appointed. The plan called for establishing a site where people could legally shoot heroin — something that does not exist anywhere in the United States. “Heroin is bad, and injecting heroin is bad, so how could supervised heroin injection be a good thing?” Mr. Myrick, a Democrat, said. But he also knew he had to do something drastic to confront the scourge of heroin in his city in central New York. So he was willing to take a chance and embrace the



HEATHER AINSWORTH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Mayor Svante Myrick seeks to curb drug abuse in Ithaca, N.Y.

radical notion, knowing well that it would provoke a backlash. And it has. Ever since Mr. Myrick, 29, unveiled a plan last month for what he called a “supervised injection facility,” critics have pounced on it as a harebrained idea that would just enable more drug abuse. A Republican state legislator, Tom O’Mara, called it “preposterous” and “asinine,” and a Cornell law professor, William A. Jacobson, said it would be a “government-run heroin shooting gallery.” But others, including workers Continued on Page A17

Why Hackers Might Help F.B.I. and Not Apple

By NICOLE PERLROTH and KATIE BENNER
SAN FRANCISCO — After a third party went to the F.B.I. with claims of being able to unlock an iPhone, many in the security industry said they were not surprised that the third party did not go to Apple. For all the steps Apple has taken to encrypt customers’ communications and its rhetoric around customer privacy, security experts said the company was still doing less than many competitors to seal up its systems from hack-



ANDREW BURTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Security flaws in Apple devices are prized by hackers.

Twitter, Mozilla and many other tech companies all pay outside hackers who turn over bugs in their products and systems. Uber began a new bug bounty program on Tuesday. Google has paid outside hackers more than \$6 million since it announced a bug bounty program in 2010, and the company last week doubled its top reward to \$100,000 for anyone who can break into its Chromebook. Apple, which has had relatively strong security over the years, has been open about how security is a never-ending cat-and-mouse Continued on Page B4

NATIONAL A12-15

Trump and Clinton Win

Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton won decisive victories in the Arizona primaries, extending their leads in the presidential campaign. Turnout was unusually high. PAGE A14

Advisers Have Low Profiles

When Donald J. Trump finally began to reveal the names of his foreign policy advisers, the Republican foreign policy establishment generally had one reaction: Who? PAGE A14



BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Rollout of Chip Cards Lags

Even for some retailers who made the expensive upgrades, the transition to credit cards embedded with security chips has been troublesome. PAGE B1

Elusive Gas Mileage Targets

With gas prices low and S.U.V. sales high, automakers want to relax future fuel-economy targets. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

Hamlet’s Traveling Players

Shakespeare’s Globe theater sent a pared-down version of the play on a two-year tour to 200 countries. PAGE C1

NEW YORK A16-18

Illicit Diversions as Revenue

New York State lawmakers are legalizing or easing the rules on gambling, mixed martial arts bouts and alcohol as a way to raise revenue. PAGE A16

INTERNATIONAL A3-11

Grave Warning of Climate Shift

Leading climate scientists said that nations were not moving fast enough to reduce global warming. PAGE A11

Love Me Don’t

Female burying beetles use chemical signals to curb the desires of males and get them to protect their eggs. PAGE A10

INTERNATIONAL

A Call for Change in Cuba

President Obama urged Cuba’s government to loosen its grip on the economy and political expression. PAGE A4

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B9-13

Cubans Applaud a U.S. Win

President Obama and Rachel Robinson, the widow of Jackie Robinson, were spectators at a landmark exhibition game in Cuba that featured the Tampa Bay Rays. PAGE B10



FOOD D1-8

Rise, Fluffy, Rise!

For many Americans, sourdough starter is like a pet: Adopt it, protect it, keep it fed and it will love you back. PAGE D1

Living the Lowlife

Lowlife on Stanton Street opened in November featuring the talents of the chef Alex Leonard. A review. PAGE D6

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A23

