

With an Oath, Complications In a Hotel Deal

Ethical 'Minefield' for the President-Elect

By ERIC LIPTON
and SUSANNE CRAIG

WASHINGTON — With sirens blaring, a fleet of limousines and security personnel raced down Pennsylvania Avenue twice in less than the last 24 hours to deliver Donald J. Trump to inauguration events.

But he was not heading to the White House. He was going to Trump International Hotel.

It was a telling destination for those visits Wednesday night and Thursday afternoon. Perhaps more than any other location in Mr. Trump's real estate empire, this 263-room hotel epitomizes the convergence of Donald Trump the global businessman and Donald Trump the president-elect.

Conflicts that for months have been theoretical are now about to become real — most immediately a possible challenge by the federal government. It owns the building that houses Mr. Trump's hotel and has granted him a 60-year lease. From the moment he is sworn in as president at noon Friday, Mr. Trump may be in violation of that lease, given a provision that appears to prohibit federal elected officials from renting the Old Post Office building, the Pennsylvania Avenue landmark that houses the hotel, from the government.

Guests at the hotel include foreign diplomats and politicians who could be looking to curry favor with Mr. Trump — but even the act of paying their bills as they check out after the inauguration may open Mr. Trump to a challenge that he has violated the United States Constitution, which

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WIRETAPPED DATA USED IN INQUIRY OF TRUMP AIDES

EXAMINING RUSSIAN TIES

Business Dealings of Campaign Advisers Are Investigated

This article is by Michael S. Schmidt, Matthew Rosenberg, Adam Goldman and Matt Apuzzo.

WASHINGTON — American law enforcement and intelligence agencies are examining intercepted communications and financial transactions as part of a broad investigation into possible links between Russian officials and associates of President-elect Donald J. Trump, including his former campaign chairman Paul Manafort, current and former senior American officials said.

The continuing counterintelligence investigation means that Mr. Trump will take the oath of office on Friday with his associates under investigation and after the intelligence agencies concluded that the Russian government had worked to help elect him. As president, Mr. Trump will oversee those agencies and have the authority to redirect or stop at least some of these efforts.

It is not clear whether the intercepted communications had anything to do with Mr. Trump's campaign, or Mr. Trump himself. It is also unclear whether the inquiry has anything to do with an investigation into the hacking of the Democratic National Committee's computers and other attempts to disrupt the elections in November. The American government has concluded that the Russian gov-

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TRUMP ARRIVES, SET TO ASSUME POWER



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump and his wife, Melania, arriving at Joint Base Andrews on Thursday.

Issues of Riches Trip Up Picks, But Few, if Any, May Be Denied

By ALAN RAPPEPORT

WASHINGTON — Steven T. Mnuchin, President-elect Donald J. Trump's pick to head the Treasury Department, came under withering fire on Thursday for foreclosing on homes in California, managing an offshore investment account and initially failing to disclose almost \$100 million in assets.

During five hours of contentious questioning, Democrats on the Senate Finance Committee pressed Mr. Mnuchin to explain how he could fail to disclose \$95 million of real estate assets, including property in New York, Los Angeles and Mexico, on his initial committee ethics questionnaire. The former Goldman Sachs banker also did not initially disclose that he is the director of Dune Capital International, an investment fund incorporated on the Cayman Islands, an offshore tax haven. And he belatedly disclosed that his children own nearly \$1 million in artwork.

Such problems of fabulous wealth seem almost part and parcel to the confirmation struggles of a Trump government that would be filled with billionaires and multimillionaires. Mr. Trump's pick for commerce secretary, Wilbur Ross, admitted this week that he had fired an undocumented immigrant — one of the "dozen or so" housekeepers the

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GEORGE Etheredge for The New York Times

Three for the Road

Scott Hayes and Dianna Ploss, at a McDonald's with a Donald Trump cutout, took a road trip to the inauguration. Page A14.

Beyoncé? Concertgoers Prefer the President-Elect

By SOPHIE DEB
and KATIE ROGERS

WASHINGTON — No Beyoncé. No Jon Bon Jovi. No U2. But no matter: For many of the thousands gathering at the Lincoln Memorial on Thursday afternoon for the preinaugural concert, the artists in the lineup were secondary to the chance to celebrate the coming presidency of Donald J. Trump.

The day's programming was heavy on country music, "God Bless America," and a hefty num-

ber of bagpipes. Two friends, Kim Shourds and Susan Perkins Lovelady, drove in from Norfolk, Va., to attend the evening's concerts. They danced and sang along to "God Bless Texas," but as they took a break, they said the volatile political climate wasn't far from their minds.

"This is a celebration of America," Ms. Perkins Lovelady, 53, said. "After all of the negativity of the past year, all of the positivity is a good thing. It's a heartsore country."

Kenny and Katherine Dunham decided to make the four-hour

drive from Kinston, N.C., after hearing that Representative John Lewis of Georgia would boycott Mr. Trump's inauguration. The Dunhams were not fazed by the lack of top-flight entertainers.

"I think if they don't want to perform, they shouldn't perform," Mr. Dunham, 60, said. "But at the same time, my understanding is they weren't asked to. Toby Keith is going to perform. Lee Greenwood is going to perform."

Some of the loudest cheers of the evening were for Jon Voight, the only high-profile Hollywood

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INVOCATION Paula White will be the first female clergy member to pray at an inauguration. PAGE A20

REVERSAL Rick Perry regrets saying the Energy Department should be abolished. PAGE A22

New Details of C.I.A. Torture, and a New Clash

A Classified Report Is in Legal Limbo Ahead of Trump's Presidency

This article is by Sheri Fink, James Risen and Charlie Savage.

When C.I.A. interrogators in a Thai prison sent a cable to agency headquarters recounting that they had been slamming Abu Zubaydah, a terrorism suspect captured in early 2002, against a wall, they emphasized that they were obeying instructions to take steps to prevent his injury, like putting a rolled-up towel behind his neck, and described the practice in detached terms.

"Subject was walled with the question, 'What is it that you do not want us to know?'" reported a cable from Aug. 5, 2002, part of a trove of newly disclosed docu-

ments about the agency's now-defunct "enhanced interrogation" program. "Subject continued to deny that he had any information."

From the perspective of Mr. Zubaydah — whom interrogators eventually conceded had no additional information, contrary to their suspicions at the time — the experience felt far different.

"He kept banging me against the wall," Mr. Zubaydah told his

lawyer in 2008, in a narrative that has now been declassified. "Given the intensity of the banging that was strongly hitting my head I fell down on the floor with each banging. I felt for few instants that I was unable to see anything, let alone the short chains that prevented me from standing tall. And every time I fell he would drag me with the towel which caused bleeding in my neck."

Batches of newly disclosed documents about the Central Intelligence Agency's defunct torture program are providing new details about its practices of slamming terrorism suspects into walls, confining them in coffinlike boxes and subjecting them to wa-

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INTERNATIONAL A3-12

Senegal Acts in Gambia Crisis

Senegal invaded its tiny neighbor to dislodge a longtime dictator and install Gambia's newly elected leader, Adama Barrow, left. PAGE A3

High-Rise Collapses in Iran

At least 20 firefighters died when a fire brought down a prominent 17-story building in downtown Tehran. PAGE A4

Drug Kingpin Extradited

In an about-face, the Mexican government turned over Joaquín Guzmán Loera, known as El Chapo, to United States officials. PAGE A12

NEW YORK A26-29

Climate Clues in the Bronx

Scientists got a glimpse of New York's perilous path from rising sea levels in an ancient patch of salt marsh in the Bronx. PAGE A26

NATIONAL A13-24

'Justice Nightmare' in Texas

A Texas appellate court found that a man imprisoned for decades after his murder conviction was voided had been denied a speedy trial. PAGE A24

Ticks Are Decimating Moose

In New England, moose are being killed by droves of ticks that thrive when the fall is warm and winter is late. PAGE A24

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Joining the Women's March

Wall Street professionals, who usually shun political protests, are set to march in Washington on Saturday. PAGE B1

WEEKEND ARTS C1-28

Revisiting a Master Poet

A show at the Morgan Library & Museum offers a fresh take on Emily Dickinson. A review by Holland Cotter. PAGE C17

SPORTSFRIEDAY B8-12

Djokovic Is Upset in Australia

The six-time Australian Open champion Novak Djokovic fell to the 117th-ranked Denis Istomin, the latest dent to his armor. On Tennis. PAGE B8

Raiders Flirt With Las Vegas

Oakland bids to move to Las Vegas, a city long snubbed by the N.F.L. PAGE B8

OBITUARIES B12-14

A Diva by Surprise

Roberta Peters, who sang publicly for the first time when a Met Opera star was taken ill in 1950, was 86. PAGE B12

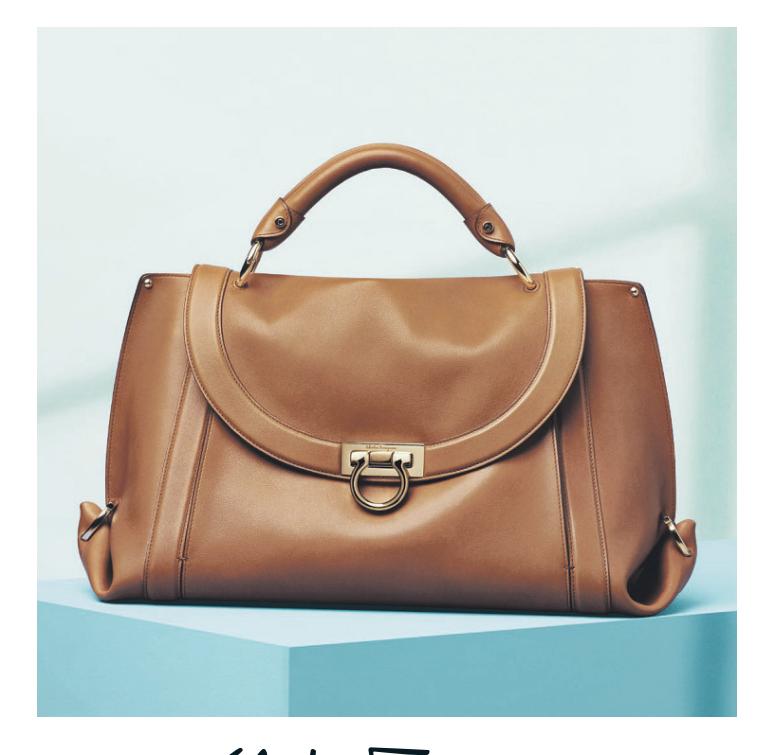
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David Brooks

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