



The New York Times

INTERNATIONAL EDITION | WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7, 2019

Exploiting the power of a racist past

James Comey

OPINION

America has long had a radioactive racist soup in the center of our national life. Donald Trump thinks he is stirring it for political benefit. He's actually doing something more dangerous.

For much of our history, the soup was deadly and uncontained, spewing radiation that led to the enslavement, terrorization, murder and oppression of African-Americans. One hundred years ago this summer, it erupted on the streets of Washington, leaving dozens dead. A dean of Howard University narrowly escaped being lynched. The murders, beatings and threats erupted in countless places during the first 200 years of American life. To visit the National Museum of African American History and Culture is to discover that the violence and mistreatment is beyond count, but not beyond imagination.

Yet something good happened over the last 50 years. America started to get control over the dangerous radiation. We erected a containment building made up of laws; we passed statutes making the abuse and mistreatment of

people by virtue of their race a crime. More important, we began enforcing the laws we already had. It was long a statutory crime to kill another human being; it just wasn't against the law in practice to kill a black person in many places. The rights to vote and to equal treatment sounded muscular on paper, but they were weaklings in much of America. Slowly, slowly that began to change, through progress at ballot boxes and jury boxes, in police squad rooms and classrooms.

But the containment building of law was only part of the solution. Radioactivity lasts for centuries and it can still blow the lid off the building; true safety lies in control rods, pushed down into the soup to calm it, to cool it. Those control rods in America were cultural.

The dean of organizational culture, Edgar Schein, teaches that culture has three layers: the artifacts of a culture — our symbols and signs; its espoused values — the things we say we believe; and, most important, its underlying assumptions — the way things really are.

America's artifacts and espoused values were always impressive. We displayed across the land our inspiring Declaration that all men are created equal and endowed by their creator

COMNEY, PAGE 11



What dreams are made of Tzuchi Lin and his fiancée, Yingting Huang, traveled to the Greek island of Santorini from Taiwan for the perfect wedding photograph. They were not alone. Pre-wedding pictures have become a multibillion-dollar business in the Instagram age — particularly for Asian couples. PAGE 3

Trade fight raises fears of another 2008 crisis

THE UPSHOT

Global stock markets drop as China lets currency slip after U.S. adds more tariffs

BY NEIL IRWIN

To most people, Aug. 9, 2019, was an ordinary enough summer day. The American stock market fell about 3 percent, enough to lead the major newspapers, but hardly anything that would generate panic in the streets.

Yet to many people who work in economic policy or financial markets, that day was the beginning of what would eventually be called the global financial crisis. It was the day that lending froze up among banks within Europe, set off by the breakdown in the market for bonds backed by American home mortgages, and central banks first intervened to try to keep money flowing.

Monday felt eerily similar, and not just because it was another August day in which the United States stock market fell by nearly identical amounts: The drop in the S&P 500 stock index was 2.96 percent in 2007 and 2.98 percent Monday.

Markets in the Asia-Pacific region followed suit on Tuesday, led by a 2.4 percent decline in Australia. Indexes in China and South Korea fell about 1.5 percent, while indexes in Hong Kong and Japan were down about 0.7 percent.

For months, people who study economic diplomacy between the United States and China have warned that the world's two biggest economies are on a collision course, that the trade war between the two will have no easy resolution and that this tension could spill into other areas of policy and create dangerous ripple effects for the world economy.

In the last several days, that pessimistic story has become more real.

On Thursday, President Trump said he would place 10 percent tariffs on \$300 billion in Chinese goods, ending a period in which there seemed to be some easing of tensions between the two nations. On Monday, the Chinese government allowed its currency, the renminbi, to fall below a symbolically important level of 7 renminbi to the dollar, an apparent retaliatory move that amounts to trade tensions spreading into another arena. The United States returned fire by formally naming China a currency manipulator.

The drops in financial markets are hard to justify in narrow terms. A slightly weaker Chinese currency shouldn't have huge consequences for the global economy. Rather, investors are coming to grips with the reality that the trade war is escalating and spreading into the global currency market.

While the drop in the American stock market gets the attention — the S&P 500 was down 5.8 percent in the last week —

MARKETS, PAGE 8

Illness sleuths hit a wall

Inquiry into infections from pork is blocked by a powerful industry

BY MATT RICHTER

It was 7 a.m. on July 4, Independence Day, when a doctor told Rose and Roger Porter Jr. that their daughter could die within hours. For nearly a week, Mikayla, 10, had suffered intensifying bouts of fever, diarrhea and stabbing stomach pains. That morning, the Porters rushed her to a clinic where a doctor called for a helicopter to airlift her to a major medical center.

The gravity of the girl's illness was remarkable given its commonplace source. She had gotten food poisoning at a pig roast from meat her parents had bought at a local butcher in McKenna, Wash., and spit-roasted, as recommended, for 13 hours.

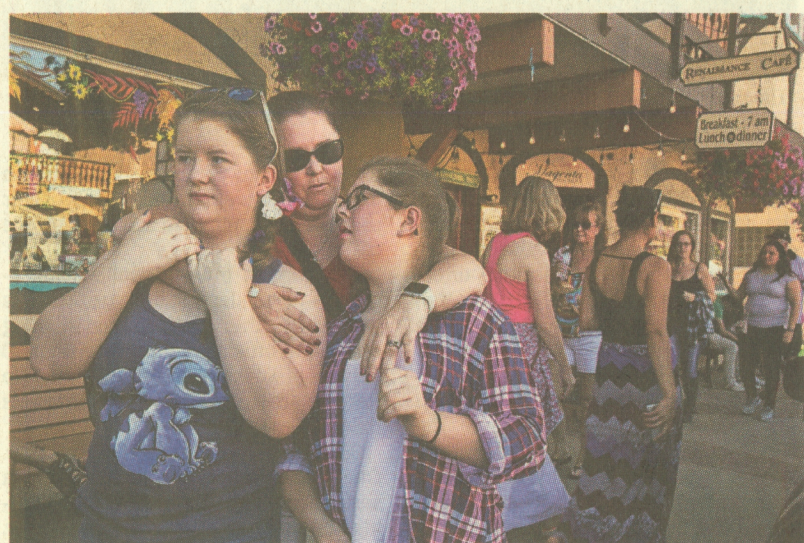
Mikayla was one of nearly 200 people reported ill in the summer of 2015 in Washington State from tainted pork — victims of the fastest-growing salmonella variant in the United States, a strain that is particularly dangerous because it is resistant to antibiotics.

What followed was an exhaustive detective hunt by public health authorities that was crippled by weak, loophole-ridden laws and regulations — and ultimately blocked by farm owners who would not let investigators onto their property and by their politically powerful allies in the pork industry.

The surge in drug-resistant infections is one of the world's most ominous health threats, and public health authorities say one of the biggest causes is farmers who dose millions of pigs, cows and chickens with antibiotics to keep them healthy — sometimes in crowded conditions before slaughter.

Overuse of the drugs has allowed germs to develop defenses to survive. Drug-resistant infections in animals are spreading to people, jeopardizing the effectiveness of drugs that have provided quick cures for a vast range of ailments and helped lengthen human lives over much of the past century.

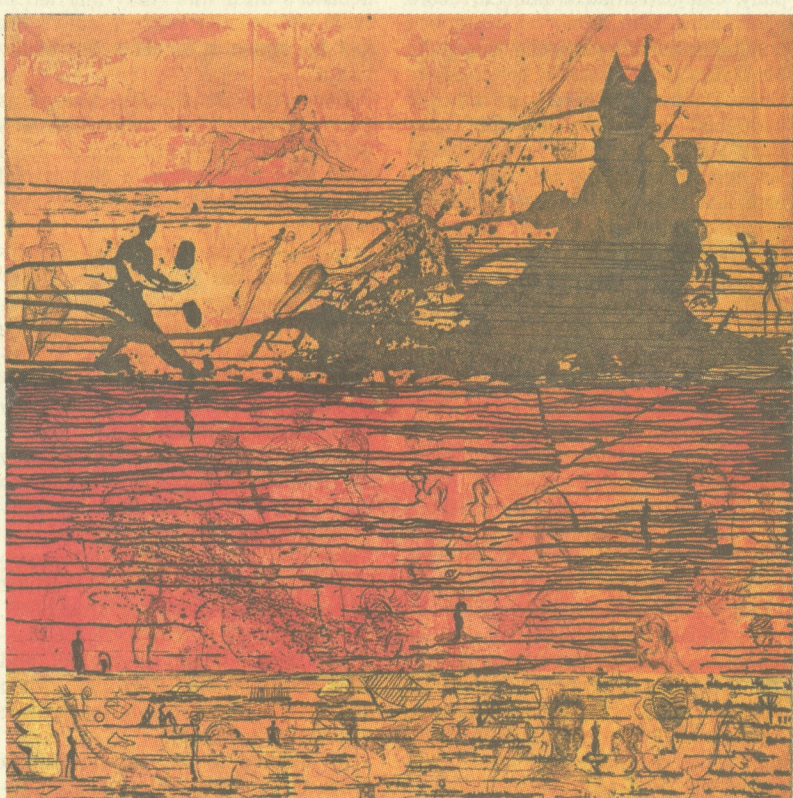
But public health investigators at times have been unable to obtain even the most basic information about practices on farms. Livestock industry executives sit on federal Agriculture Department advisory committees, pour money into political campaigns and have had a seat at the table in drafting regulations



Mikayla Porter, left, with her mother, Rose Porter, center, and sister, Maliya. In 2015, Mikayla was sickened by a tainted pork roast in Washington State that nearly killed her.

for the industry, helping to ensure that access to farms is generally at the owners' discretion. Dr. Parthapratim Basu, a former chief veterinarian of the Agriculture Department's Food Safety and Inspection Service, said the pork industry

regularly thwarted access to information on antibiotic use. "When it comes to power, no one dares to stand up to the pork industry," he said, "not even the U.S. government." PORK, PAGE 6



INGESTALT/MICHAEL EHRTT; CORNELIA SCHLEIME

East German art gets its due, long after uprising

LEIPZIG, GERMANY

New exhibition captures grim mood that prevailed at the fall of the Berlin Wall

BY CATHERINE HICKLEY

A young woman and man are submerged in dry, cracked earth. Only their hands and faces are visible; they seem to be trying to pull themselves out.

That 1990 painting by Norbert Wagenbrett, called "Aufbruch" ("Awakening"), is part of a sweeping new exhibition staged for the 30th anniversary of

"o.T." by Cornelia Schleime. After 1989, the art of East Germany was often dismissed in the West as the product of a totalitarian regime.

the peaceful uprising that culminated in the fall of the Berlin Wall. The show, running through Nov. 3 at the Museum of Fine Arts in Leipzig, is just a few hundred yards from the church where activists began regularly gathering in 1989 to push for change in the stifling, authoritarian East Germany, officially known as the German Democratic Republic, or G.D.R.

The exhibition, "Point of No Return," is billed as the biggest so far of East German art, featuring 300 works by more than 100 artists, including dissidents who defied the communist regime and established figures who taught in its institutions.

The range of perspectives on the fall of the Berlin Wall is correspondingly diverse. But the mood is almost universally somber — far removed from the fireworks and self-congratulatory speeches that usually accompany official anniversary celebrations.

GERMANY, PAGE 2

Athens Democracy Forum
October 9-11, 2019

IN ASSOCIATION WITH
The New York Times

**Reinventing Democracy:
New Models for Our Changing World**

Register to attend: athensdemocracy.org

In Cooperation With:

UNEP CITY OF ATHENS KATHIMERINI

Printed by: Webprint UK
Unit 81 Eastern Approach
Alders Way
Barking IG11 0AG
Tel: 020 8591 9454
Fax: 020 8591 9552



SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION
+44 20 7061 3529
Email: nytimes@nytimes.com
ADVERTISING INQUIRIES
Tel: +44 20 7061 3500
Fax: +44 20 7061 3529

NEWSSTAND PRICE £ 2.20
Andorra € 3.70
Antilles € 4.00
Australia € 3.50
Austria € 3.50
Bahamas \$ 5.00
Belgium € 3.50
Bolivia € 3.50
Canada Cdn \$ 5.50
Croatia Kn 22.00
Cyprus € 3.50
Czech Rep. € 2.20
Denmark Dkr 30
Egypt EGP 50.00
Estonia € 3.50
Finland € 3.50
France € 3.50
Gabon CFA 2700
Germany € 3.50
Great Britain £ 2.20
Greece € 2.50
Hungary HUF 950
Israel NIS 13.50
Italy € 3.50
Japan ¥ 11.50
Jordan JD 2.00
Lebanon LBP 5,000
Luxembourg € 3.50
Malta € 3.50
Mauritania € 3.40
Mexico MEX 30
Norway Nkr 33
Oman OMR 1.40
Poland Zl 13
Portugal € 3.50
Qatar QR 12.00
Republic of Ireland € 3.40
Reunion € 3.50
Saudi Arabia SR 15.00
Senegal CFA 2700
Serbia Din 280
Slovakia € 3.50
Slovenia € 3.40
Spain € 3.50
Sweden Swk 30
Switzerland CHF 4.80
Syria US\$ 3.00
The Netherlands € 3.50
Tunisia Din 5.200
Turkey TL 17
U.A.E. AED 14.00
United States \$ 4.00
United States Military (Europe) \$ 2.00

Issue Number
No. 42,423

Printed by:
Webprint UK
Unit 81 Eastern Approach
Alders Way
Barking IG11 0AG
Tel: 020 8591 9454
Fax: 020 8591 9552

