

Civil Servants Sense 'Dread' In Trump Era

Frustration Is Stirring Talk of Resistance

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR
and ERIC LICHTBLAU

WASHINGTON — Across the vast federal bureaucracy, Donald J. Trump's arrival in the White House has spread anxiety, frustration, fear and resistance among many of the two million nonpolitical civil servants who say they work for the public, not a particular president.

At the Environmental Protection Agency, a group of scientists strategized this past week about how to slow-walk President Trump's environmental orders without being fired.

At the Treasury Department, civil servants are quietly gathering information about whistleblower protections as they polish their résumés.

At the United States Digital Service — the youthful cadre of employees who left jobs at Google, Facebook or Microsoft to join the Obama administration — workers are debating how to stop Mr. Trump should he want to use the databases they made more efficient to target specific immigrant groups.

"It's almost a sense of dread, as in, what will happen to us," said Gabrielle Martin, a trial lawyer and 30-year veteran at the Denver office of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, where colleagues share daily, grim predictions about the fate of their jobs under Mr. Trump's leadership.

"It's like the movie music when the shark is coming," Ms. Martin said, referring to "Jaws," the 1975 thriller. "People are just wary — is
Continued on Page 16

ECONOMIC COUNSEL A Goldman Sachs veteran visits the president up to five times a day. PAGE 13

SUPREME COURT Judge Neil M. Gorsuch is not easy to pigeonhole on gay rights. PAGE 16

TRUE BELIEVER Stephen Miller, once seen as a gadfly, is now a shaper of Trump policy. PAGE 20

'Israel wasn't a political discussion for him;
it was his family, his life, his people.'

HIRSCHY ZARCHI, rabbi at Harvard's Chabad House, on Jared Kushner



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jared Kushner, left, with Ivanka Trump, his wife, and Stephen K. Bannon, the president's chief adviser, on Friday.

Kushner and Israel: A Personal Bond

Shaping Mideast Policy, Adviser Fuels Hope and Skepticism

By JODI KANTOR

When Jared Kushner was 17 years old, he stood where a million Jews had been murdered and listened to Israel's prime minister stress the country's importance.

"The Holocaust could have been prevented. We know it could not have taken place had the Jewish state been established a few years earlier," the prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, said in 1998, standing amid the ruins of an Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory. He had just led Mr. Kushner and thousands of other teenagers waving Israeli flags in a procession through the camp's gates and past the barracks. As part of the commemora-

tion, the group would soon leave Poland and fly to Israel, to complete the journey from slaughter to Zionist rebirth.

Back then, Mr. Kushner was a high school basketball player, a Billy Joel fan, a quiz team manager and no one's guess to become a negotiating partner with Mr. Netanyahu. But unlike other students on the trip, he knew the prime minister, who was friendly with his father, a real estate developer and donor to Israeli causes. Mr. Netanyahu had even stayed at the Kushners' home in New Jersey, sleeping in Jared's bedroom. (The teenager moved to the basement that night.)

On Wednesday, when the Israeli prime

minister visits the White House, Mr. Netanyahu and Mr. Kushner will reunite on far different terms from before — and yet their meeting will be imbued with some of the shared ideas of those old encounters. Mr. Netanyahu is on his second stint as prime minister; Mr. Kushner, now 36, is President Trump's son-in-law and a leading adviser on Middle Eastern affairs with a daunting assignment. Mr. Trump has said that Mr. Kushner will try to "do peace," which the president has called "the ultimate deal."

Mr. Kushner, on something of a crash course in diplomacy, has been speaking

Continued on Page 12

G.O.P.-LED STATES RACE TO CEMENT THEIR PRIORITIES

A SURGE OF NEW POWER

Ambitious Quest to Curb Unions, Abortion and Spending

By ALEXANDER BURNS
and MITCH SMITH

When Republicans in Kentucky seized total control of the state government last year, Damon Thayer, the majority leader in the State Senate, began asking around for advice from counterparts in other capitals where the party already dominated both the legislative and executive branches.

How should we handle all this power? he wanted to know.

One answer impressed him, Mr. Thayer said, from a senior Republican lawmaker in Wisconsin: "Move quickly."

Kentucky Republicans have done just that, swiftly passing laws to roll back the powers of labor unions and restrict access to abortion. But they are only getting started, Mr. Thayer said in an interview: They also plan to make sweeping changes to the education and public pension systems this year.

And they have plenty of company.

While Republicans in Washington appear flummoxed by the complexities of one-party rule, struggling with issues from repealing the Affordable Care Act, known as Obamacare, to paying for President Trump's promised wall on the Mexican border, rising party leaders in the states seem far more at ease and assertive. Republicans have top-to-bottom control in 25 states now, holding both the governorship and the entire legislature, and Republican lawmakers are acting with lightning speed to enact longstanding conservative priorities.

In states from New England to the Midwest and across the South, conservative lawmakers have introduced or enacted legislation to

Continued on Page 14

With More Women Fulfilled by Work, Retirement Has to Wait

By CLAIRE CAIN MILLER

Kay Abramowitz has been working, with a few breaks, since she was 14. Now 76, she is a partner in a law firm in Portland, Ore. — with no intention of stopping anytime soon. "Retirement or death is always on the horizon, but I have no plans," she said. "I'm actually having way too much fun."

The arc of women's working lives is changing — reaching higher levels when they're younger and stretching out much longer — according to two new analyses of census, earnings and retirement data that provide the most comprehensive look yet at women's career paths.

Over all, the paths look much more like men's careers than they used to. Women are more likely than in previous generations to work at almost every point in their lives, including in their 20s and 30s when they often used to be home with children. Now, if mothers take breaks at all, it's often not until their late 30s or early 40s — and those who leave are likely to return to the labor force.

Most striking, women have become significantly more likely to work into their 60s and even 70s, often full time, according to the



MATT NAGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Helen Young Hayes, 54, with her family. Like many women, she has returned to the work force.

analyses. And many of these women report that they do it because they enjoy it.

The data adds a bright chapter to the narrative of women's progress in the world of work. Even though their participation in

the labor force in the United States has flattened in recent years, and as mothers especially face serious challenges, women are working more than ever and getting fulfillment, not just income, from their jobs.

Nearly 30 percent of women 65 to 69 are working, up from 15 percent in the late 1980s, one of the analyses, by the Harvard economists Claudia Goldin and Lawrence Katz, found. Eighteen per-
Continued on Page 4

Invasive Spyware's Odd Targets: Mexican Advocates of Soda Tax

By NICOLE PERLROTH

SAN FRANCISCO — Last summer, Dr. Simón Barquera's phone started buzzing with a series of disturbing text messages from unknown numbers. One said his daughter had been in a serious accident. Another claimed to be from a friend whose father had died — with a link to funeral details.

Yet another message informed Dr. Barquera, the director of nutrition policy at Mexico's National Institute of Public Health, that a Mexican news outlet had accused him of negligence, again with a link. And in more menacing messages, someone claimed to be sleeping with Dr. Barquera's wife. That included a link to what the sender claimed was photo evidence of their affair.

That same week, Luis Manuel Encarnación, then the director at Fundación Midele, a foundation in Mexico City that battles obesity, also started receiving strange messages with links. When he clicked, Mr. Encarnación was ominously redirected to Gayosso, Mexico's largest funeral service.

The messages Mr. Encarnación received were identical to a series of texts sent to Alejandro Calvillo, a mild-mannered activist and founder of El Poder del Consumidor, yet another Mexico City organization that has been at the forefront of battling childhood obesity in the country.

What the men had in common was this: All were vocal proponents of Mexico's 2014 soda tax, the first national soda tax of its kind. It is aimed at reducing consumption of sugary drinks in Mexico, where weight-related diseases kill more people every year than violent crime.

The links sent to the men were laced with an invasive form of spyware developed by NSO Group, an Israeli cyberarms dealer that sells its digital spy tools exclusively to governments and that has contracts with multiple agencies inside Mexico, according to company emails leaked to The New York Times last year.

NSO Group and the dozens of other commercial spyware outfits
Continued on Page 10

NATIONAL 11-20

Unpublished Black History

Tommy Hunt, a regular at the Apollo Theater in the 1960s, was one of soul music's biggest stars. A Times photographer caught him backstage. PAGE 11

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Immigrant-Free Japan

Some politicians are cautiously rethinking the tough stance on immigration in Japan, where severe labor shortages are dimming economic growth. PAGE 1

SUNDAY STYLES

'Girls,' 'Geeks' and Trolls

Lena Dunham and Judd Apatow talk about their HBO hit, the creative process and bonding over the outsider experience. Table for Three. PAGE 1

THE MAGAZINE

The Preacher and the Sheriff

After a young black man is shot to death, an inquiry pits the victim's father, a minister, against the most powerful man in New Iberia, La. PAGE 28

SUNDAY REVIEW

Maureen Dowd

PAGE 11



WHEN WE SAY DOUBLE WE MEAN DOUBLE.



1% WHEN YOU BUY + 1% AS YOU PAY

The Citi® Double Cash card.
Double means double.

citi.com/doublecash

