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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 2018

Today, a good deal of sunshine, windy, colder, high 39. Tonight, mainly clear skies, low 28. Tomorrow, sunny to partly cloudy, cold, high 42. Weather map, Page A20.

\$3.00

Russian Election Effort Focused on Influencing African-American Vote Reports Produced for Senate Panel Cite

Social Media Drive to Divide U.S.

By SCOTT SHANE and SHEERA FRENKEL

The Russian influence campaign on social media in the 2016 election made an extraordinary effort to target African-Americans, used an array of tactics to try to suppress turnout among Democratic voters and unleashed a blizzard of activity on Instagram that rivaled or exceeded its posts on Facebook, according to a report produced for the Senate Intelligence Committee.

The report adds new details to the portrait that has emerged over the last two years of the energy and imagination of the Russian effort to sway American opinion and divide the country, which the authors said continues to this day.

"Active and ongoing interference operations remain on several platforms," says the report, produced by New Knowledge, a cybersecurity company based in Austin, Tex., along with re-searchers at Columbia University and Canfield Research LLC. One continuing Russian campaign, for instance, seeks to influence opinion on Syria by promoting Bashar al-Assad, the Syrian president and a Russian ally in the brutal conflict there.

The New Knowledge report is one of two commissioned by the Senate committee on a bipartisan basis. They are based largely on data about the Russian operations provided to the Senate by Face-

book, Twitter and other companies whose platforms were used.

The second report was written by the Computational Propaganda Project at Oxford University along with Graphika, a company that specializes in analyzing social media. The Washington Post first reported on the Oxford report on Sunday.

The Russian influence campaign in 2016 was run by a St. Petersburg company called the Internet Research Agency, owned by a businessman, Yevgeny V. Prigozhin, who is a close ally of President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia. Mr. Prigozhin and a dozen of the company's employees were indicted last February as part of the investigation of Russian interference by Robert S. Mueller III, the special counsel.

Both reports stress that the Internet Research Agency created social media accounts under fake names on virtually every available platform. A major goal was to support Donald J. Trump, first against his Republican rivals in the presidential race, then in the general election, and as president since his inauguration.

Among the services the Russians have provided Mr. Trump is to join in and amplify his regular attacks on Mr. Mueller. Posing as

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RECALCITRANCE Tech companies dragged their feet when asked to provide data on Russian interference, two Senate reports say. PAGE B1

THE TAKEAWAYS Five major points in the Senate Intelligence Committee's report on the Russian social media campaigns. PAGE A14





Bijan Kian, left, and Ekim Alptekin were business associ-

ates of Michael T. Flynn.

2 Are Charged In Crackdown Over Lobbying

By ADAM GOLDMAN and MARK MAZZETTI

ALEXANDRIA, Va. - Two former business associates of Michael T. Flynn, President Trump's first national security adviser, have been indicted as part of a federal investigation into Turkey's secret 2016 lobbying campaign to pressure the United States to expel a rival of President Recep

Tayyip Erdogan. Charges against the two former associates, Bijan Kian and Ekim Alptekin, were unsealed on Monday in an Alexandria, Va., courtroom. The two men were indicted last week as part of a conspiracy to violate federal lobbying rules, and Mr. Alptekin was also charged with making false statements to F.B.I. investigators.

The indictment is further evidence of a broad crackdown on unregistered foreign lobbying growing from the inquiry by Robert S. Mueller III, the special counsel who has investigated foreign flows of money from Ukraine, Turkey and other countries devised to manipulate decision-making in

Continued on Page A9

Malaysian Case Sinks Goldman Deeper in Mire

By MATTHEW GOLDSTEIN

Since becoming a symbol of Wall Street greed during the financial crisis, Goldman Sachs has tried to recast its image as an investment bank that cares as much about ethics as it does its bottom

Now, that makeover is being undone by the bank's work for an obscure investment fund in Malaysia, which has entangled it in civil and criminal investigations around the world. Goldman recently received subpoenas from New York regulators, held talks with federal prosecutors and is likely to incur billions of dollars in penalties. It is one of the most serious crises in the bank's 149-year

The international legal assault on Goldman intensified on Monday, with prosecutors in Malavsia filing criminal charges against the bank, accusing it of defrauding investors by raising more than \$6 billion for the fund, which was supposed to benefit the Malaysian public but ended up enriching Goldman and others.

And that is just the start of the bank's troubles.

Lawyers for Goldman met this fall with federal prosecutors in what appeared to be an early step in settlement negotiations, according to three people familiar with those talks. Two of its senior employees have already been

charged. The bank and some of its employees recently received subpoenas from regulators in New York, who are investigating the circum-

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A fishing port in Aden, Yemen. At least six Yemeni fishing boats were fired upon in the southern Red Sea in August and September.

Yemen's Seas Become Deadly For Fishermen in a War Zone

By DECLAN WALSH

KHOKHA, Yemen — The first sign of trouble was the helicopter that hovered over the small Yemeni fishing trawler as it cut across the Red Sea. Then a warship appeared, its guns pointed at the

Bullets thumped into the water around the boat, the Afaq, then rippled through its flimsy wooden hull. One fisherman was shot in the eye, another in the head. The engine caught fire. Crew members leapt overboard, including Bashar Qasim, 11.

Moments earlier, the boy had been hauling nets from the stern. Now, he paddled for his life amid the flaming debris and floating corpses, with survivors clinging to empty water drums. As the Afaq sank, he said, the warship stopped firing.

"It circled several times, watching us, to make sure the boat had sunk," Bashar said. "Then it was

The stinging criticism of Saudi Arabia's role in Yemen's grinding conflict has, for the most part, focused on the air war. Fighter jets with the Saudi-led coalition, armed with American weapons and bombs, have hit weddings, funerals and a school bus. Thou-

sands of civilians have died.

As outrage over the murder of Saudi dissident Jamal Khashoggi in Istanbul by Saudi operatives fused with concern about Yemen, a wave of disquiet swept Washington amid accusations that the United States military could be complicit in war crimes. Last week, the Senate voted to end American military assistance for the Saudi-led war, in a symbolic yet stinging rebuke to President Trump, who has stood by Saudi Arabia.

But the Yemen war is also unfolding at sea, with even less ac-

Trump Parkland Inquiry Attacks Protections for Minority Students

By ERICA L. GREEN and KATIE BENNER

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration is planning to roll back Obama-era policies aimed at ensuring that minority children are not unfairly disciplined, arguing that the efforts have eased up on punishment and contributed to rising violence in the nation's schools, according to documents obtained by The New York Times.

The decision culminates a nearly yearlong effort begun by the Trump administration after the massacre at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Fla. The deaths of 17 students and staff members on Feb. 14 prompted lawmakers in both parties to demand tougher gun laws, but after a brief flirtation with gun control, President Trump abandoned that focus and instead empowered a school safety commission, led by Education Secretary Betsy DeVos.

Almost immediately, the com-

and instead scrutinized the Obama administration's school discipline policies, though none of the most high-profile school shootings were perpetrated by black students. The commission's focus was part of a broader effort to reject the previous administration's race-conscious education efforts, which have included siding with Asian students suing Harvard to end affirmative action and delaying an Obama-era rule to prevent disproportionate numbers of minority children from being funneled into special educa-

tion classes. The documents obtained by The Times — a draft letter and a draft chapter of the safety commission's research — focus significantly on race and promote the idea that the federal crackdown potentially discriminatory practices has made schools more dangerous.

A New Google Campus Accelerates Tech's March Into New York

This article is by Jack Nicas, Win-

nie Hu and J. David Goodman. As West Coast companies storm into New York, they are reshaping the city's neighborhoods and changing its identity from a hub of finance, fashion and media to one increasingly centered on

Google said on Monday that it planned to create a \$1 billion campus just south of the West Village. The internet company's push into one of Manhattan's most famous neighborhoods positions it to become one of New York's biggest occupants of office space, allowing it to double its work force in the city to more than 14,000 over the next decade.

Google follows Amazon, which said last month that it planned to open a new office in Queens that will house as many as 25,000 employees. Apple, Facebook, Linked-In and Uber have also embarked on recent New York expansions much of it driven by a hunt for talent. Each is creating hundreds or thousands of high-paying jobs and leasing or building millions of square feet in commercial real es-

"Law, medicine and finance have been superseded by infortechnologies," mation Mitchell Moss, an urban-planning



The St. John's Terminal building near the Holland Tunnel is the centerpiece of Google's plan.

professor at New York University who studies the city's economy.

Google's new campus selection of Hudson Square, once an industrial district just south of the West Village, strengthens its grip on Manhattan's West Side, likely ac-

celerating the neighborhood's changes. That would mirror how Google transformed Manhattan's Chelsea neighborhood, where it has had an office since 2006. The company bought Chelsea Market for \$2.4 billion earlier this year

and an adjacent building in 2010, and it leases other space in the area, about a 20-minute walk from its new offices.

The centerpiece of the new 1.7million-square-foot campus will Continued on Page A21

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Shooting Protesters in the Back

A review of video from a deadly Nigerian protest shows the military opening fire on unarmed people.

A Very Special Delivery

A remote South Pacific nation is the first to make its childhood vaccine program drone-dependent.

NEW YORK A18-21

A Move for Legal Marijuana

Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo said he would push to legalize recreational marijuana, a move that could generate more than \$1.7 billion in sales annually. PAGE A18

NATIONAL A12-17

Arrest After a Call for Help

Police have prosecuted people who expose them to opioids. Doctors say risk in such exposure is low. PAGE A17

A Contraception Dividend

Delaware is betting its bid to offer one-stop shopping for birth control will help women escape poverty. PAGE A12



BUSINESS B1-6

Moonves Loses \$120 Million

Les Moonves, forced out as CBS chief executive over accusations of sexual misconduct, won't get exit pay. PAGE B1

Wall Street Hits 2018 Lows

Stocks on Wall Street slumped, with the S&P 500 at its lowest point for the year, and Asian markets followed.

It's a Lousy 'Wonderful Life'

Millions have found Frank Capra's movie to be a gem, but our critic did not in 1946. We have a history of giving holiday favorites bad reviews. PAGE C6

SPORTSTUESDAY B7-10

Paul Krugman

From Extinction to Excellence

The football program at the University of Alabama-Birmingham shut down in 2014. Now, with the help of business leaders, the team is thriving.

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

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The Earth's Bedrock Principles The theory of plate tectonics explains

much about earthquakes, volcanoes and our planet's general behavior. Above, Mount Sinabung in Indonesia. PAGE D1

