



# The New York Times

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## Trumpism after all the dust settles



Roger Cohen

### OPINION

**LOS ANGELES** If the United States escapes a disaster Nov. 8, it will have done so narrowly. Donald Trump, a dictator-in-waiting with a brat's temper and a prig's scowl, has won the support of tens of millions of Americans. It's fortunate that we are less than a month from the election because we are running out of words to describe him: this phony, this liar, this blowhard, this cheat, this bully, this misogynist, this demagogue, this predator, this bigot, this bore, this egomaniac, this racist, this sexist, this sociopath. I will not go on. It's pointless. Everyone knows, not least his supporters.

Trump slashed and burned his way through the second debate, taking no prisoners, loosing the dogs of war, hovering over Hillary Clinton like

**If the American anger and dread that fed Trump's rise are not addressed, the consequences will be dire.**

some dyspeptic Mafia boss, and threatening to put her behind bars if he becomes president. At times, watching was like rubbernecking a hideous accident. Trump's was a good performance, performance being the operative word. It was also shot through with viciousness and ignorance. Trump invokes but does not understand the Constitution; he understands a business and a TV show where he can fire anybody, anytime. He knows no other modus operandi, which is why debate is really a misnomer for anything in which he is involved.

"You're jailed!" Maybe that will be Trump's next TV act. Call it "The Warden." He has demonstrated beyond doubt that the human inclination to bow to an all-powerful master endures.

This has been one long, strange trip for the Republican nominee. I don't think that he can fool all Americans all of the time. Still he's come a very long way with a single idea: I, and I alone, can channel your anger into an American renaissance. Policies have never really come into the Trump phenomenon. Saviors don't have policies. They have energy.

It now behooves America, whatever the outcome next month, to address that anger mixed with fear. It is widespread. Trump understood this and **COHEN, PAGE 21**



**Dreams halted** The ruins of a home destroyed by Hurricane Matthew in Jérémie, Haiti. The isolated coastal city had recently gotten its first decent road link to the rest of the country and cellphone service, and saw an uptick in tourism and agriculture. But the city's proud march into the 21st century has been shattered. **PAGE 3**

## Is America endangered by iron-man rhetoric?

THE INTERPRETER

Trump's promise of jail for Clinton undermines democracy, scholars say

BY MAX FISHER AND AMANDA TAUB

When Donald J. Trump told Hillary Clinton at Sunday's presidential debate that if he were president, "you'd be in jail," he was threatening more than just his opponent. He was suggesting that he would strip power from the institutions that normally enforce the law, investing it instead in himself.

Political scientists who study troubled democracies abroad say this is a tactic typical of elected leaders who pull down their systems from within: former President Hugo Chávez of Venezuela, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, the fascist leaders of 1930s Europe.

Today's United States, unlike the countries in those cases, has strong institutions and norms that prevent any president from going that far, these experts stress. But Mr. Trump's threat to jail his opponent for her deletion of thousands of emails sent from a private server while she was secretary of state, they warned in interviews on Monday, would chip away at the things that make American democracy so resilient.

Mr. Trump's comment was "a threat to the rule of law, a threat to the stability of our institutions, a threat to basic agreements that are necessary for democracy to function," said Adrienne LeBas, a political scientist at American University.

"For those of us who work on authoritarian regimes and hybrid regimes," she added, referring to a kind of government midway between democracy and dicta- **INTERPRETER, PAGE 4**



STEPHEN CROWLEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

**EMAILS DISCLOSE STRAIN WITH MESSAGE** The hacking of a Clinton operative's account offers a look into a campaign that misread the electoral mood. **PAGE 4**

**TWITTER CALL SPURS PROTEST MOVEMENT** A writer asked women to share their stories of sexual harassment. As of Monday, millions had replied. **PAGE 4**

## Russia's sleight-of-hand arsenal

MOSCOW

The military uses decoys of tanks, jets and missile launchers for deception

BY ANDREW E. KRAMER

Deep in the Russian countryside, the grass sways in a late-summer breeze. In the distance, the sun glistens off the golden spires of a village church. It is, to all appearances, a typically Russian scene of imperturbable rural tranquility.

Until a sleek, slate-gray MIG-31 fighter jet suddenly appears in a field, its muscular, stubby wings spreading to reveal their trademark red star insignia. A few moments later, a missile launcher pops up beside it.

Cars on a nearby road pull over, the drivers gaping in amazement at these fearsome weapons, encountered so unexpectedly in this serene spot. And then, as quickly as they appeared, the jet and missile launcher vanish into the ground. "If you study the major battles of his-



**A full-size mock-up of a Russian MIG-31 fighter jet being inflated in a field near Moscow. Many such replicas are manufactured by Rusbal, a hot-air balloon company.**

tory, you see that trickery wins every time," Aleksei A. Komarov, the military engineer in charge of this sleight of hand, said with a sly smile. "Nobody ever wins honestly."

Mr. Komarov oversees army sales at Rusbal, or Russian Ball, a hot-air balloon company that also provides the Ministry of Defense with one of Russia's lesser-known military threats: a grow-

ing arsenal of inflatable tanks, jets and missile launchers.

At a factory behind high concrete walls not far from here, workers toiling in secret with little more than sewing machines and green fabric are churning out the ultimate in soft power: decoys that appear lifelike from as close as 300 yards and can pop up and then vanish in mere minutes.

As Russia under President Vladimir V. Putin has muscled its way back onto the geopolitical stage, the Kremlin has employed a range of stealthy tactics: silencing critics abroad, hitching the Orthodox Church to its conservative counterrevolution, spreading false information to audiences in Europe and even, according to the Obama administration, meddling in American presidential politics by hacking the Democratic Party's computers.

One of the newer entries to that list is an updating of the Russian military's longtime interest in operations of deceit, a repertoire known as maskirovka, or masking. It is a psychological warfare doctrine that's becoming an increasingly critical element in the country's geopolitical ambitions. **RUSSIA, PAGE 6**



**Pets on pot** Little Kitty, 12, who suffers from arthritis, has returned to her former self after being treated with edible oils derived from cannabis. **PAGE 16**

### LETTER TO OUR READERS FROM THE PUBLISHER

The newspaper you're holding has a new name, The New York Times International Edition. More importantly, it has been updated to bring you more of what you've come to expect from us, with a particular focus on deep reporting and analysis that help make sense of a rapidly changing world.

We know that in this digital era you get your news from many sources. But we also know that our international readers still crave the depth and breadth of a newspaper.

We've redesigned this one not just to give you more news and in-depth enterprise stories from our correspondents on the ground around the world, but also more from our unparalleled roster of opinion writers — you will notice an opinion piece on the front page each day — as well as expanded coverage of culture, travel, technology and style.

The redesigned paper is a rich complement to our digital presence at nytimes.com, now the single

destination for all our digital readers, no matter where they are in the world.

Starting today, we're taking the first steps in our plan to personalize what global readers see on their phones and computers with morning briefings tailored for, and highlighted in, Europe and Asia. There is much more to come on this front.

The commitment of The New York Times to cover the world remains steadfast. Unlike many other news organizations, we continue to add reporters and editors to our network of bureaus around the world and have more international correspondents reporting from more locations than ever before.

Thank you for reading The New York Times, and I invite you to deepen your relationship with us.

Sincerely,

Arthur Sulzberger Jr.  
Publisher, The New York Times



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