

Added Charges Raise Pressure For Manafort

Indictment Focuses on Bank and Tax Fraud

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT
and MATT APUZZO

WASHINGTON — Even as he was managing Donald J. Trump's campaign for president, Paul Manafort lied to banks to secure millions of dollars in cash loans as part of a decade-long money laundering scheme, according to charges unsealed by the special counsel on Thursday.

Mr. Manafort exaggerated his income by millions of dollars to take out mortgages on homes in SoHo and the Hamptons that he had purchased years earlier in part with income illegally funneled through offshore bank accounts, according to the indictment. The laundered money — which totaled \$30 million — came from Mr. Manafort's work as a lobbyist and political consultant to Viktor F. Yanukovich, the Russia-aligned former Ukrainian president.

But after Mr. Yanukovich was ousted in 2014 and fled to Russia, Mr. Manafort's income quickly dwindled. The 32-count indictment describes a complex plot that Mr. Manafort then undertook to leverage money from his real estate with the help of his long-time business partner and campaign deputy, Rick Gates.

The charges do not involve Mr. Trump or his campaign and are not significantly different from ones filed against the men in October. But they outline new criminal behavior and appear to be the latest attempt by the special counsel,



SHAWN THEW/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY
Paul Manafort has been accused of filing false tax returns.

Robert S. Mueller III, to pressure Mr. Manafort and Mr. Gates to cooperate with his inquiry to avoid a lengthy prison sentence. The men have said they have nothing to offer Mr. Mueller on the central question of the investigation: whether any associates of Mr. Trump coordinated with Russia's attempts to disrupt the 2016 election.

Mr. Manafort and Mr. Gates have pleaded not guilty, and a spokesman for Mr. Manafort denied wrongdoing.

Continued on Page A13



PETE MAROVICH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Wayne LaPierre, the chief of the National Rifle Association, criticized Democrats on Thursday for calling for more gun control laws.

Amid Gunfire, School Guard Sought Cover

By ALAN BLINDER
and PATRICIA MAZZEI

FORT LAUDERDALE, Fla. — The only armed sheriff's deputy at a Florida high school where 17 people were killed took cover outside rather than charging into the building when the massacre began, the Broward County sheriff said on Thursday. The sheriff also acknowledged that his office received 23 calls related to the suspect going back a decade, including one last year that said he was collecting knives and guns, but may not have adequately followed up.

The deputy, Scot Peterson, resigned on Thursday after being suspended without pay after Sheriff Scott Israel reviewed surveillance video.

"He never went in," Sheriff Israel said in a news conference. He said the video showed Deputy Peterson doing "nothing."

"There are no words," said Sheriff Israel, who described himself as "devastated, sick to my stomach."

Two other deputies were placed on restricted duty on Thursday because they may have mishandled tips called in to the sheriff's office over the past two years warning that the suspect, Nikolas Cruz, appeared intent on becoming a school shooter, Sheriff Israel said.

Continued on Page A17

Why This Gun Debate Is Different From the Rest

By PETER BAKER
and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — Around 2:30 p.m. on Valentine's Day, President Trump was in the study off the Oval Office when John F. Kelly, his chief of staff, arrived with news of a school shooting in Florida. Mr. Trump shook his head, according to an aide, and muttered, "Again."

Mark Barden was visiting a playground named for his 7-year-old son killed in 2012 at Sandy Hook Elementary School when a friend texted him: Be careful watching television. It's happening. Again.

His senator, Christopher S. Murphy, Democrat of Connecticut, heard about the Florida shooting while he was on his way to the

Angry Teenagers Infuse a Stale Fight With New Passion

Senate floor and ripped up his speech to declare that through inaction, "we are responsible" for a mass atrocity. Again.

Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the Republican whip and gun rights supporter who was himself grievously wounded last year when a man opened fire at a congressional baseball practice, huddled with colleagues on the House floor, reliving his horror. He knew what was coming: the activists who in his view would exploit

tragedies like his to advance their anti-gun agenda. Again.

Within hours of the blood bath in Parkland, Fla., where 17 students and adults were killed on Feb. 14, the machinery of the American gun debate began grinding into motion.

By evening, one anti-gun group had mobilized and already sent out its first email: "RESOURCES + EXPERTS AVAILABLE: Florida High School Shooting." Another group, Everytown for Gun Safety, founded and financed by Michael Bloomberg, the billionaire former New York mayor, activated the 1,500 members of its "survivors network," and soon paid \$230,000 for an advertisement in The New York Times

Continued on Page A15



CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

After 20 Years, Even Sweeter

The U.S. beat Canada in a shootout to claim its first gold in women's hockey since 1998. Page B7.

Supreme Court Battle Over Fees Could Cripple Labor Stronghold

By ADAM LIPTAK

CHESTER, Ill. — Randy Clover is something of an anomaly — the president of a union local here that represents Illinois state employees, and a Republican precinct leader who voted for President Trump. But he has no doubt about what will be at stake next week at the Supreme Court: the financial and political clout of one of organized labor's last strongholds.

The court will hear arguments on Monday about whether the government employees represented by Mr. Clover's union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, must pay the union a fee for

representing them in collective bargaining. Conservative groups, supported by the Trump administration, say the First Amendment bars forcing government workers from having to pay anything, and the court has sent strong signals that it agrees with that argument.

If it does, unions like Mr. Clover's stand to lose fees not only from workers who object to the positions they take in negotiations but also from anyone who chooses not to join a union but benefits from its efforts. To hear Mr. Clover tell it, the case is the culmination of a decades-long assault against

Continued on Page A13

A Prisoner's Death in Iran Inspires Middle-Class Cries for Change

By THOMAS ERDBRINK

TEHRAN — When the call finally came, Maryam Seyed Emami's heart leapt. Except for one brief phone call, she had heard nothing from her husband, Kavous Seyed Emami, a professor and prominent environmentalist, since he was arrested and accused of spying more than two weeks before. Now, she was being told to

come to the offices of the Tehran prosecutor, where she could see her husband at last.

She rushed off, but upon arrival quickly sensed that something was wrong. Instead of being taken to see her husband she was closeted in a room with a prosecutor and four intelligence agents from the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps and interrogated for several hours. Cooperate, they told

her, or you, too, will end up in prison.

In recounting the experience for their two sons, Ramin and Mehran, Ms. Seyed Emami said that the agents had asked about the couple's friends and parties they had attended. They showed her family pictures and asked her to describe who and what were in them. They inquired about her husband's environmental work,

she told her sons. Did you know, they asked at one point, that he was a spy?

When the agents finally ran out of questions, she was informed she could see her husband. There was just one thing, they said. He was dead, having committed suicide in his cell.

"They should have built a statue to him, not let him die in prison."
Continued on Page A10



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

A Trump Son's Business Trip

He is in India to sell property, but Donald Trump Jr. fueled critics with a plan to speak on foreign policy. PAGE A4

U.S. at Taiwan's Side

Concern about Taiwan seems to be rising, even as President Trump seeks China's help on other issues. PAGE A9

NATIONAL A12-17

Charter School Leader Is Fired

KIPP, one of the country's largest charter school chains, said it found a claim that its co-founder had sexually abused a student in the 1990s credible. PAGE A17

Tough Task for Depleted A.T.F.

Although it has been hobbled by the gun lobby, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives is getting a key role in fighting gun crime. PAGE A12

Missouri Governor Is Indicted

The felony charge says Eric Greitens photographed and transmitted a nude or partially nude picture of a person who did not know of or consent to it. PAGE A13



BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Nursing Home Evictions

Regulators are looking into rising discharges, which often coincide with Medicare coverage ending. PAGE B1

How Disparity Persists

The jobless rate for black workers hit its lowest point on record. And yet it's still twice that for whites. PAGE B1

SPORTSFRIDAY B7-17

'Rejects' Reach Curling Final

The United States had never beaten Canada in the Olympics. Now the U.S. team — once called The Rejects — has done it twice in four days. PAGE B13

NEW YORK A18-20

Two Cities, Side by Side

The questioning of potential jurors in the trial of a nanny accused of murdering two children in her care has laid bare different sides of the city. PAGE A18

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

David Brooks

PAGE A23



WEEKEND C1-32

Keeping the Jokers in Line

Marianne Ways books the lineups for many comedy nights, a job that requires connections, persistence and, yes, a good sense of humor. PAGE C1



0 354613 9