

Erdogan Vows He'll Reveal All On Saudi Case

Pledging to Lift Lid on Khashoggi's Killing

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK

Turkish officials have been leaking lurid details for weeks about the assassination and reported dismemberment of the Saudi dissident Jamal Khashoggi in the kingdom's consulate in Istanbul. But President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, keen to maintain good relations with Saudi Arabia, has until now mostly held his tongue.

On Sunday, Mr. Erdogan broke his silence, promising that within 48 hours he would remove the lid completely from what his spokesmen are now calling a Saudi cover-up.

"We will reveal it," he said in a televised speech. "It will be revealed in full nakedness."

With international outrage at Mr. Khashoggi's killing increasingly focused on the potential culpability of Saudi Arabia's de facto ruler, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, Mr. Erdogan appears to sense an opportunity.

Mr. Khashoggi's status as a United States resident and a Washington Post columnist, along with the Saudis' clumsy handling of the scandal, have presented Mr. Erdogan with an unexpected chance to inflict damage on the crown prince — a cordial ally in public but a fierce rival in private.

The Turkish president may now risk antagonizing a country that is among the richest and most influential in the region. But he may have concluded that risk is worth the chance to strike a blow in a broader regional conflict.

Crown Prince Mohammed is the linchpin of a coalition of Middle Eastern states hostile to Mr. Erdogan and his Islamist allies. Mr. Erdogan has cast himself as a champion of the Arab Spring revolts and the election-minded Islamists who hoped to ride them to power.

By hinting that he might reveal Continued on Page A6



Erdogan



PEDRO PARDO/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Moving On, Defiantly

Migrants, mostly from Honduras, who had reached Ciudad Hidalgo in southern Mexico ignored orders from the Mexican and American governments on Sunday and continued to head for the United States. They have been traveling for more than a week. Page A4.

Indifference Is a Powerful Foe For Democrats Wooing Latinos

By JOSE A. DEL REAL and JONATHAN MARTIN

LAS VEGAS — Children ripped from their parents' arms and held in sweltering tent cities. Immigration raids outside hospitals, schools and courthouses. An onslaught of ads and speeches delivering insults and racist remarks.

With the hard-fought midterm elections less than three weeks away, Democratic Party strategists hope Latino voters who are angered by the Trump administration's policies and divisive language will help deliver resounding victories in many of the races that will decide political control in Washington. If ever there were a time to cast protest ballots, they reason, it would be with President Trump in the White House.

But interviews with dozens of Hispanic voters in Nevada and

California, two key battleground states, showed a more complicated picture that is deeply alarming to Democratic Party officials. Away from campaign rallies and candidates, many voters said they felt disempowered rather than emboldened; they expressed feelings of cynicism, apathy and fear fueled by the highly fraught political moment. Others said that messaging about immigration policy alone is not enough to motivate them.

And some have simply lost faith Continued on Page A14

MONEY RACE Democrats have raised more, but Republicans have more left in the bank to spend on ads. PAGE A13

Leader of an Office in Turmoil Looks for a New Job: Senator

By DANNY HAKIM

ST. LOUIS — Josh Hawley's tenure as Missouri's attorney general has been brief. And turbulent.

Mr. Hawley, a Republican who is now trying to unseat Senator Claire McCaskill in one of the most closely watched races in the country, took up the job less than two years ago. A former law professor and clerk for Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., he brought a conservative intellectual pedigree but little management experience to the attorney general's office, where his campaign says he has gained "a reputation for taking on the big and the powerful."

But reviews of public records and internal documents, as well as interviews with current and former employees, reveal a chaotic tenure as attorney general that

has been costly for state taxpayers. Judges have criticized the office over its slow pace of discovery, and Mr. Hawley's staff had to renege on a settlement in a high-profile civil case.

Mr. Hawley also quietly closed the environmental division and failed to fully vet one of his top supervisors, who departed after a female lawyer in the office complained about his conduct. And his deputies took an unusual approach in an investigation of the governor's office, largely acceding to demands for documents. Continued on Page A15

CONSERVATIVE APPS Republicans have found a workaround to Facebook's restrictions: their own digital universe. PAGE B1

A Vital Mineral, a Toxic Metal and Fears of a Russian Power Play

By MATT APUZZO

BRUSSELS — The trade group Safer Phosphates would seem to have a pitch-perfect message for an environmentally conscious European Union. It advocates cleaner soil and healthier food, with a website showing pristine fields of wheat. It is also supporting legislation that would place tighter regulations on fertilizer.

But the group is not run by environmentalists. Its driving force is a Russian fertilizer giant that has ties to the Kremlin. And the environmental legislation it is backing would reset regulations in a way that could help the company, PhosAgro, push aside rivals and give it greater influence over the European food supply.

Fertilizer might not seem an obvious source of geopolitical tension. But with Moscow working openly and covertly to widen its sphere of power, the prospect of a politically connected Russian company cornering a key part of the European agricultural market has raised sharp concerns. Russia already wields tremendous clout as the European Union's dominant provider of natural gas and as a growing source of nuclear fuel.

After years of lobbying, European officials could move forward on new regulations as early as this week, when representatives of the



ANDREY RUDAKOV/BLOOMBERG NEWS

A warehouse for PhosAgro, a Russian fertilizer giant that could benefit from tighter E.U. rules.

three governing bodies of the European Union meet in Strasbourg, France. A debate that was supposed to be about environmental standards is now overshadowed by questions of whether the lines between Russian private business and the Kremlin's political agenda are blurred beyond distinction.

"It's all part of the same effort," said Frank Montoya Jr., a former top F.B.I. counterintelligence official. "The businesses develop relationships, and through those relationships, they try to leverage policy."

For years, European officials have been hospitable toward Rus-

sian business and Kremlin-connected investors, particularly in the energy industry. But trust has frayed. First came revelations about state-sponsored Russian hacking efforts to undermine elections in the United States and Europe. More recently, Western in-

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Pregnant Workers Seek Respite And Are Denied, at a Cruel Cost

By JESSICA SILVER-GREENBERG and NATALIE KITROEFF

MEMPHIS — If you are a Verizon customer on the East Coast, odds are good that your cellphone or tablet arrived by way of a beige, windowless warehouse near Tennessee's border with Mississippi.

Inside, hundreds of workers, many of them women, lift and drag boxes weighing up to 45 pounds, filled with iPhones and other gadgets. There is no air-conditioning on the floor of the warehouse, which is owned and operated by a contractor. Temperatures there can rise past 100 degrees. Workers often faint, according to interviews with 20 current and former employees.

One evening in January 2014, after eight hours of lifting, Erica Hayes ran to the bathroom. Blood drenched her jeans. She was 23 and in the second trimester of her first pregnancy. She had spent much of the week hoisting the warehouse's largest boxes from one conveyor belt to the next. Ever since she learned she was pregnant, she had been begging her supervisor to let her work with lighter boxes, she said in an interview. She said her boss repeatedly said no.

She fainted on her way out of the bathroom that day. The baby growing inside of her, the one she

had secretly hoped was a girl, was gone.

"It was the worst thing I have ever experienced in my life," Ms. Hayes said.

Three other women in the warehouse also had miscarriages in 2014, when it was owned by a contractor called New Breed Logistics. Later that year, a larger company, XPO Logistics, bought New Breed and the warehouse. The problems continued. Another woman miscarried there this summer. Then, in August, Ceadria Walker did, too.

The women had all asked for light duty. Three said they brought in doctors' notes recommending less taxing workloads and shorter shifts. They said supervisors disregarded the letters.

Pregnancy discrimination is widespread in corporate America. Some employers deny expecting mothers promotions or pay raises; others fire them before they can take maternity leave. But for women who work in physically demanding jobs, pregnancy discrimination often can come with even higher stakes.

The New York Times reviewed thousands of pages of court and other public records involving Continued on Page A12

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Gorbachev Criticizes Trump

Mikhail S. Gorbachev said the president's move to withdraw from a nuclear treaty with Russia was reckless and not the work of "a great mind." PAGE A4

Getting Tough on School Lunch

New rules on qualifying for subsidized lunches from the mayor of Lodi, a city in northern Italy, fall especially hard on immigrant families. PAGE A8

South African Speaks Out

In his first extensive interview since leaving the country, Ajay Gupta says charges in a graft case anger him, but he won't yet return to testify. PAGE A5



NATIONAL A10-16

Ex-Rodeo Star on Ballot

Billie Sutton thinks he can become governor of red-state South Dakota as a conservative Democrat. PAGE A10

Storm Victims Fear Apathy

Residents hit by Hurricane Michael wonder if officials are moving on before a recovery has taken hold. PAGE A16

BUSINESS DAY B1-5

News Cycle Forgot the Families

Algorithms that drive social media move on, but the families who were separated along the Rio Grande remain so, writes Jim Rutenberg. PAGE B1

Interim CBS Chief Steps Down

Richard D. Parsons, who took the job a month ago to stabilize the company, is leaving because of illness. PAGE B1

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Return of a Legal Hell-Raiser

After imprisonment on tax charges, a freewheeling lawyer is back on the job, and Hamas is on the phone. PAGE A18



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Magnificence Onstage

"The Ferryman" is a play to feast on, Ben Brantley says. Above, Paddy Considine and Laura Donnelly. PAGE C1

Well, She Is Superbusy

A sociologist, poet and Marvel Comics writer, Eve Ewing of Chicago denies any superpowers herself. PAGE C1

SPORTSMONDAY D1-8

Clinging to a Bit of Arsenal

The club's owner is gobbling up its outstanding shares, much to the dismay of the fans who treasure them. PAGE D4

N.B.A.'s Soft Response to Fight

The punches in the Lakers-Rockets game on Saturday deserve more than a wrist slap, Marc Stein writes. PAGE D1

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Charles M. Blow

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