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North Korea outplayed a deal-maker

Lindsey Ford

OPINION

Thursday morning's letter from President Trump to Kim Jong-un, apparently ending their nuclear negotiation bromance, should come as no surprise. But by once again catching American allies off guard and publicly antagonizing North Korea, the administration has further undermined its own leverage.

Over the past year, the president has repeatedly underestimated the importance of making real trade-offs in diplomacy. These choices appear to be anathema to his "go big or go home" style of deal-making. The Trump administration has been eager to jettison the "weak," "terrible" deals negotiated by previous presidents — including the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the Paris climate agreement, and the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action with Iran. With North Korea, he was seeking something bigger and better, "a very special moment for World Peace."

Instead, the United States may now walk away with nothing.

While it's true that deals like the Iran nuclear agreement had inherent shortcomings, they also effectively advanced America's national security. In fact, their limitations reflect a hard-nosed assessment of the risk of the alternatives, the broader geopolitical interests in play and the constraints on America's leverage. In diplomacy, every deal is an imperfect deal. The question is, how imperfect? And at what cost? Unless you can produce a better alternative, tossing out a less-than-perfect agreement that does advance some concrete goals is an exercise in peril. "Repeal" is almost always simpler than "replace."

There may still be time to avoid the all-or-nothing trap with North Korea. While it will not be easy to overcome the fallout of provoking a thin-skinned dictator, the United States might now have a chance to focus on a more credible strategy: a deal that con-

The New York Times publishes opinion from a wide range of perspectives in hopes of promoting constructive debate about consequential questions.



Green promises On Brazil's northeastern coast, the wind blows constantly and in one direction consistently, giving the nation a steady stream for wind energy production. The country is now the world's eighth-largest producer of wind power, but the technology has brought both benefits and disappointments. PAGE 3

Global tech, Europe's rules

LONDON

Companies and nations scramble to adapt to strict data privacy law

BY ADAM SATARIANO

The notices are flooding people's inboxes en masse, from large technology companies, including Facebook and Uber, and even from parent-teacher associations, children's soccer clubs and yoga instructors. "Here is an update to our privacy policy," they say.

All are acting because the European

Union is enacting the world's toughest rules to protect people's online data. And with the internet's borderless nature, the regulations are set to have an outside impact far beyond Europe.

In Silicon Valley, Google, Facebook and other American tech companies have been working for months to comply with the new rules, known as the General Data Protection Regulation, or G.D.P.R. The law, which lets people request their online data and restricts how businesses obtain and handle the information, has set off a panic among small businesses and local organizations that have an internet presence.

Brazil, Japan and South Korea are set to follow Europe's lead, with some having already passed similar data protec-

tion laws. European officials are encouraging copycats by tying data protection to some trade deals and arguing that a unified global approach is the only way to crimp Silicon Valley's power.

"We want to achieve the same level of restrictions that you have in Europe," said Luiz Fernando Martins Castro, a lawyer based in São Paulo who advises the Brazilian government on internet policy. Mr. Castro said Europe was "pushing the matter and making people realize that we have to go forward."

Europe is determined to cement its role as the world's foremost watchdog for the technology industry — and the region is only getting started. The authorities in Brussels and in the European Union's 28 member countries are

also setting the bar for stricter enforcement of antitrust laws against tech behemoths and are paving the way for tougher tax policies for the companies.

The region's proactive stance is a sharp divergence from the United States, which has taken little action over the years in regulating the tech industry. Most recently, the Trump administration has sought to cut taxes and roll back regulation, while pursuing an increasingly protectionist tack to shield American tech companies from competition from China.

"The E.U. is more advanced than the U.S. in protecting consumer privacy, and what happens there could be a harbinger of the future," said Michael

Reality hits for Trump's gamble on Kim talks

NEWS ANALYSIS WASHINGTON

President asked too much of North Korea's leader and offered nothing tangible

BY DAVID E. SANGER

President Trump attempted a revolutionary approach to North Korea — a gamble that negotiating prowess and deal-making charm in a face-to-face meeting with Kim Jong-un could accomplish what no American president or diplomat had dared to attempt in the 65 years since an uneasy armistice settled over the Korean Peninsula.

It was a bold and innovative approach, and one worth trying, to take on the related goals of a peace treaty and eradicating the North's now-substantial nuclear arsenal.

The fact that it fell before getting out of the starting gate, though, underscored how little the two men understood about each other, or how their words and maximalist demands were resonating in Washington and Pyongyang.

Mr. Trump approached Mr. Kim, the North Korean leader, as if he were a competing property developer haggling over a prized asset — and assumed that, in the end, Mr. Kim would be willing to give it all up for the promise of future prosperity. So he started with threats of "fire and fury," then turned to surprise initiatives, then gratuitous flattery of one of the world's more brutal dictators.

"He will be safe, he will be happy, his country will be rich," Mr. Trump said of the North Korean leader on Tuesday, as he met again with Moon Jae-in, the over-optimistic South Korean president whose national security adviser predicted, that same day, it was "99.9 percent" sure that the summit meeting in Singapore would go ahead.

Even before Mr. Trump on Thursday pulled out of a summit meeting in June with Mr. Kim, accusing the North Koreans of bad faith, it was already becoming clear to the president and his team that the techniques involved in negotiating real estate do not translate easily into negotiations over nuclear weapons.

Mr. Kim needs money, investment

TRUMP, PAGE 4

ASIA SHAKEN, BUT CHINA MAY BENEFIT President Trump's cancellation of a summit meeting with Kim Jong-un lets Beijing play mediator. PAGE 4

A safe pick takes a risk on rescuing 'Solo'



The director Ron Howard may not share Han Solo's addictions to seat-of-the-pants escapes, but he said he couldn't resist exploring the character's origins.

Ron Howard took the helm of the 'Star Wars' film after earlier directors were fired

BY DAVE ITZKOFF

Are you ready to have your mind blown? Sometimes Ron Howard uses swear words.

Yes, most of the time, this 64-year-old filmmaker is the wholesome, good-natured guy we saw in decades' worth of film and TV roles, the reliable director of movies like "Apollo 13" and "A Beautiful Mind" whose calm, cheerful voice narrates the manic action of "Arrested Development."

But asked a few days ago why he took over directorial duties on "Solo: A Star Wars Story," the latest entry in the Lucasfilm science-fiction franchise, many months into its shoot, after the original directors had been ousted, Mr. Howard let his mask of decency slip, if only briefly.

With some hesitation, Mr. Howard

said of his decision, "It was, a little bit, kind of a, What the — "; here he let fly an expletive, then immediately expressed contrition. "I don't know how you print that," he added softly.

If Mr. Howard can save "Solo," once a seemingly surefire summer hit now clouded by tales of behind-the-scenes disarray, it would cement his reputation for unflappability and show he can succeed on any scale, in any genre. (Early reviews for the movie, whether enthusiastic or tepid, largely agree that Mr. Howard navigated it away from outright disaster.) A box-office win would also be welcome after the so-so performance of his recent films.

A victorious outcome would also validate the understated philosophy that has guided Mr. Howard, one that he said has allowed him to "take chances, in my own way."

"Solo," which opened Friday in some countries and chronicles the early capers of Han Solo, before he became the roguish interplanetary smuggler portrayed by Harrison Ford, might not

HOWARD, PAGE 25



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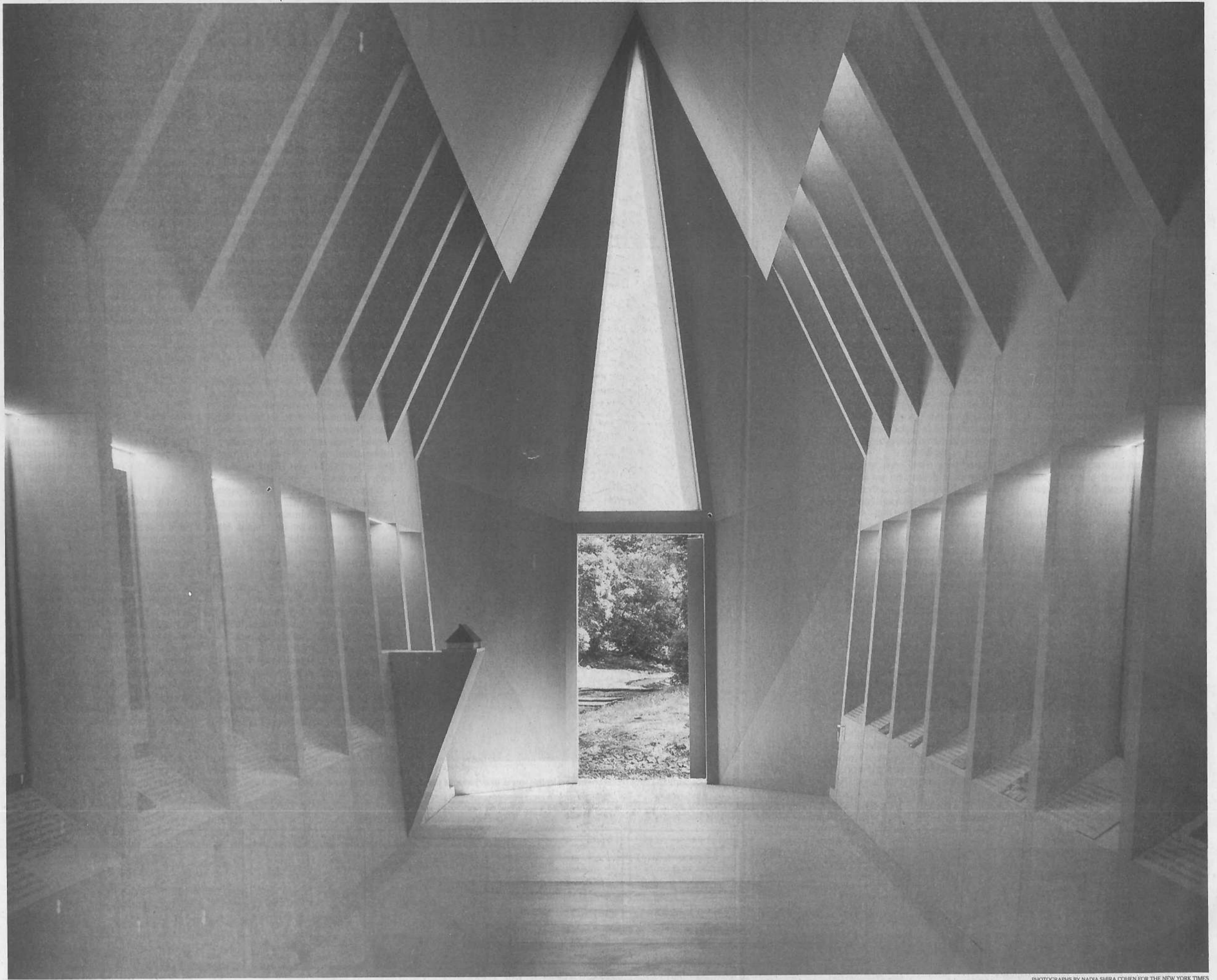
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Weekend



PHOTOGRAPHS BY NADIA SHIRA COHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Vatican shows off its spirit of competition

VENICE

Ten chapels financed by the Holy See are part of an international event

BY ELISABETTA POVOLEDO

There are six countries participating for the first time in the Venice Architecture Biennale, here through November, but the most surprising new entry, surely, is the Vatican. For centuries one of the world's great patrons of public architecture, the Holy See has never, until now, strutted its stuff as part of this global architectural exhibition.

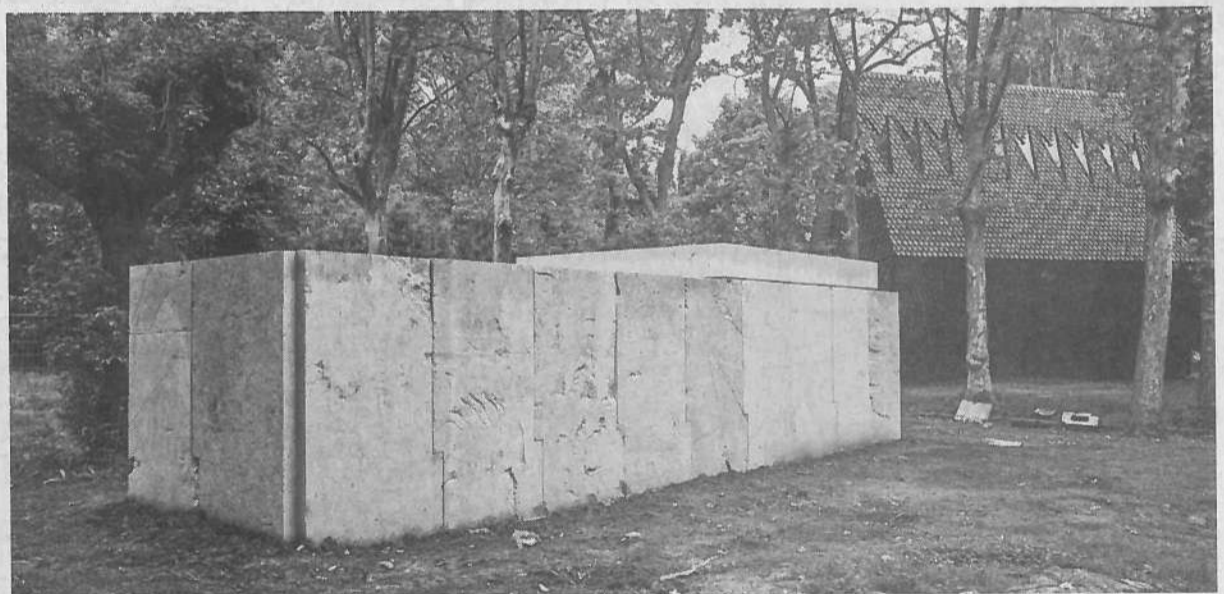
However, it should not be surprising, given church tradition, that the Vatican's pavilion consists of a pilgrimage of sorts: an installation of 10 chapels by a dozen architects in a densely wooded garden nestled on a storied island in the Venetian lagoon.

That pilgrimage was a little treacherous on a recent morning, as earth-movers leveled dirt paths made mucky by days of rain, and the loud buzz of chain saws and hammers occasionally drowned out the soothing soundtrack of birds chirping and water lapping against the shore of the island of San Giorgio Maggiore. Still, the garden felt somehow out of time, a considerable



achievement considering that just one boat stop away, hordes of tourists were swarming St. Mark's Square.

Gingerly navigating puddles and potholes, Francesco Dal Co, the curator of the pavilion, gave a tour of the site: chapels designed by an international roster of architects whom Mr. Dal Co said he chose because they "had different structural conceptions and worked in different materials." They include two Pritzker Prize winners, Norman Foster



Above, the interior of a Nordic-style hut designed by Francesco Magnani and Traudy Pelzel, the first structure encountered by visitors to "Vatican Chapels." At left, the chapel by the Portuguese architect Eduardo Souto de Moura. Below, the designs of the Spanish architects Ricardo Flores and Eva Prats, left, and Francesco Cellini of Italy.



The garden is an architectural pilgrimage route.

the project, Mr. Dal Co said he chose the chapel as a sort of spiritual example for the architects, describing it as a "small masterpiece" that is "seemingly formed by chance or natural forces inside a vast forest, seen as the physical suggestion of the labyrinthine progress of life, the wandering of humankind as a prelude to the encounter."

And in fact, the first structure visitors happen on in the garden is a Nordic-style hut designed by Francesco Magnani

and Traudy Pelzel, featuring drawings and a scale model of Asplund's chapel. "I wanted to give the public an indication of our starting point, of the reference we gave to architects," Mr. Dal Co said.

Mr. Foster created a slender timber structure, the apse facing toward the lagoon, and workers were planting jasmine on a recent visit, intended to crawl up the wooden beams to provide dappled light. **VATICAN, PAGE 24**

WEEKEND

ARTS

The Vatican shows off its spirit of competition

VATICAN, FROM PAGE 18

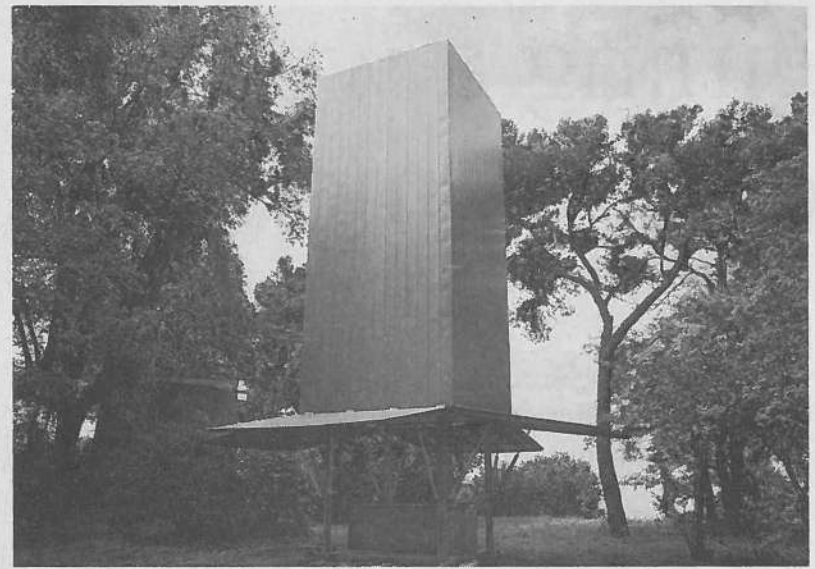
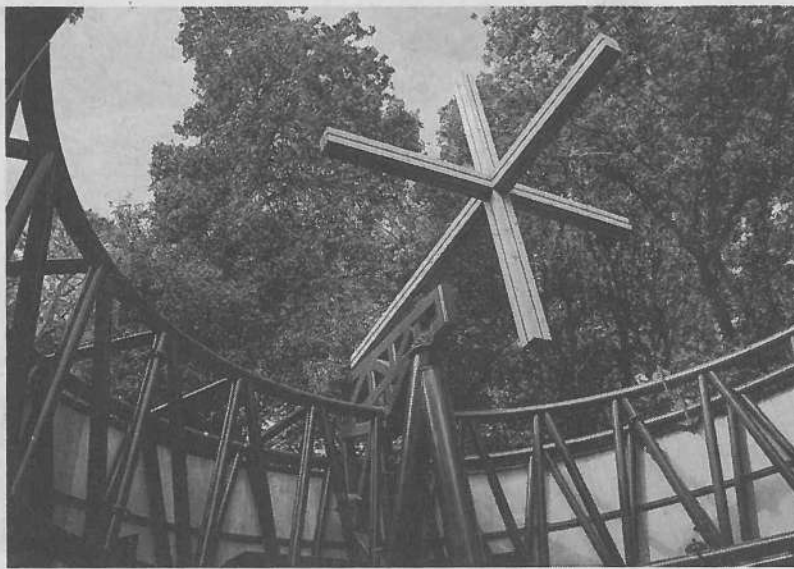
pled shade. He nestled the chapel in “a green space with two mature trees beautifully framing the view of the lagoon. It was like a small oasis in the big garden, perfect for contemplation,” he wrote in the catalog.

The Paraguayan architect Javier Corvalán Espínola's chapel is awe-inspiring, in the physical sense, for sure: Visitors stand under an enormous ring of steel tilted on a tripod.

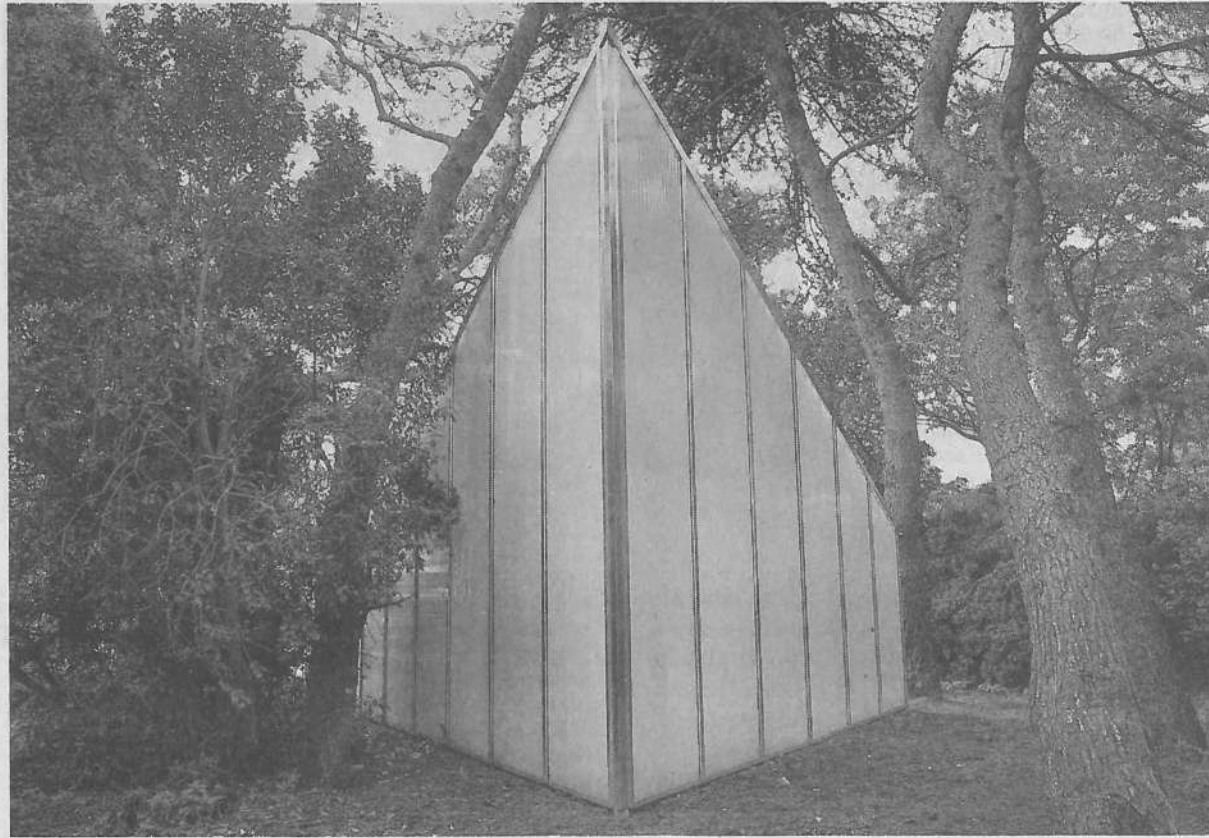
One of the few chapels with a roof is Terunobu Fujimori's “Cross Chapel.” Visitors enter through a narrow passage into a spare, traditional-looking chapel whose apse wall is pockmarked with charcoal pieces framing a wooden cross. Mr. Fujimori wrote in the catalog that he wanted people to “experience the sensation of the ascension of the Son of God when they see the cross.”

In some cases, Mr. Dal Co chose to contrast building materials: Francesco Cellini's chapel, a carefully studied intersection of slim, sleek oversized black and white ceramic slabs for example, was juxtaposed with “Morning Chapel” by the Barcelona architects Ricardo Flores and Eva Prats, made with the much earthier-looking Venetian cocciopesto, a material made of crushed tiles.

To convince Cardinal Gianfrancò Ravasi — who is the Vatican's de facto culture minister — that the Vatican should break new ground by showing finished works rather than models and



Far left, the chapel conceived by the Paraguayan architect Javier Corvalán Espínola, a ring of steel tilted on a tripod. Left, the design by Sean Godsell of Australia.



Above, Francesco Dal Co, the curator who chose the 12 architects for the project. Left, the chapel by the American Andrew Berman.

a factor. “I am not Catholic, I am not a believer, they knew that,” Mr. Dal Co said. That extended to his choice of architects, which Cardinal Ravasi approved. Mr. Dal Co said he never asked any of them about their religion.

Mr. Dal Co and Cardinal Ravasi spoke often, but the cleric did not interfere. “Never, never, never,” said Mr. Dal Co, adding, as an afterthought: “The only thing he did ask me one day, laughing, ‘But are there any crosses?’”

The cardinal needn't have worried. Crosses — some subtle, some pronounced — are elements of most of the chapels.

A looming mirrored steel cross defines the chapel of the Brazilian architect Carla Juaçaba. Depending on where you stand, and the time of day, the cross blends into the greenery or glows bright red from the setting sun.

Ms. Juaçaba's design is one of the most complex from a structural point of view, and Mr. Dal Co paired her with a Veneto company that specializes in window and door fixtures. He pointed to a joint where the base of the cross fused into a horizontal bar. “This probably says nothing to you, but the weld joint that unites this piece to that is a masterpiece, it's incredible,” Mr. Dal Co said.

There is already considerable discussion on what will happen to the chapels once the exhibition closes in November.

For nearly 70 years, the island of San Giorgio Maggiore has been home to the Giorgio Cini Foundation, a nonprofit organization devoted to scholarly and intellectual pursuits. And the garden hosting the Vatican pavilion, which the foundation manages, is normally off limits to the public.

“We still don't know what the destiny of these 10 chapels is,” Cardinal Ravasi said in March. They could remain in situ, if the foundation permits it. “We've also had requests to dismantle them and rebuild them elsewhere,” from some of the builders as well as a trade fair in Poland, he said. (Mr. Dal Co noted that it would be cheaper to build them from scratch than to transport them across Europe.)

In early May, that was still an open question. Renata Codello, the director of the Giorgio Cini Foundation, said she would be pleased if the chapels remained here. “A great park of sculptures and religious architecture would give us many themes to reflect on,” she said in an interview in her office. “Or maybe they'll leave to have another life, perhaps only as large artifacts, objects, relics, who knows.”

Mr. Dal Co has no doubts. The chapels should remain on the island and open as a continued symbol of the hospitality they represent by inviting the public inside.

The Biennale typically draws around 700,000 tourists, but unlike the millions of day trippers or cruise ship passengers who tromp through the city's streets, Biennale visitors tend to remain in Venice and spend money, he said. “If we allow the pavilion to stay, the Vatican will have done something for the city's hospitality.”

And the garden and its peacefulness deserve to be better known, he said.

Mr. Dal Co sat down on a small wood bench in the porch of the simple chapel designed by Andrew Berman, the New York architect who is the only North American among the group. He crossed his legs and looked out onto the water, where a group of children were engaged in a sailing regatta.

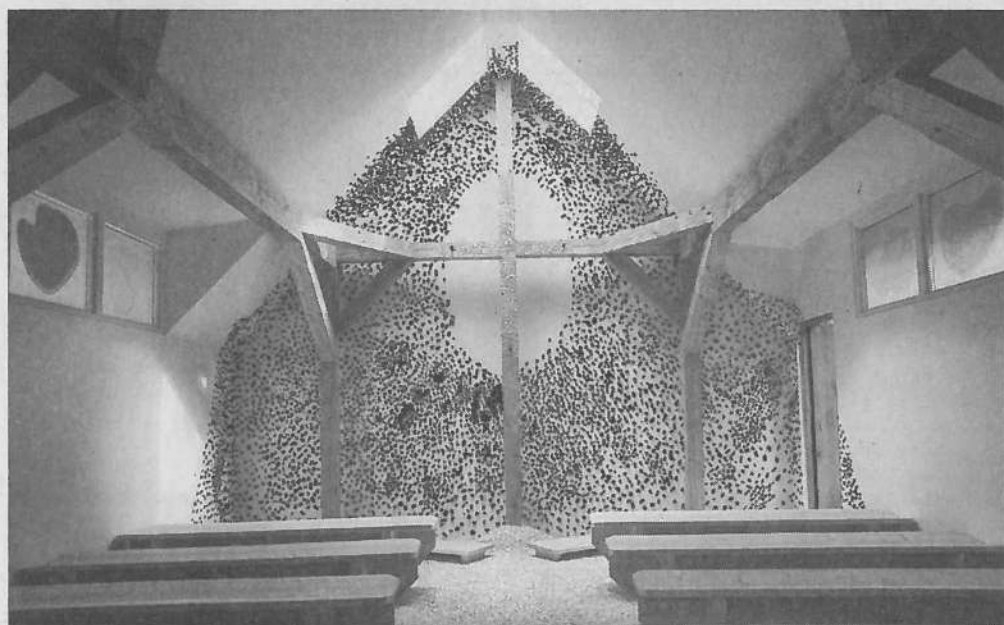
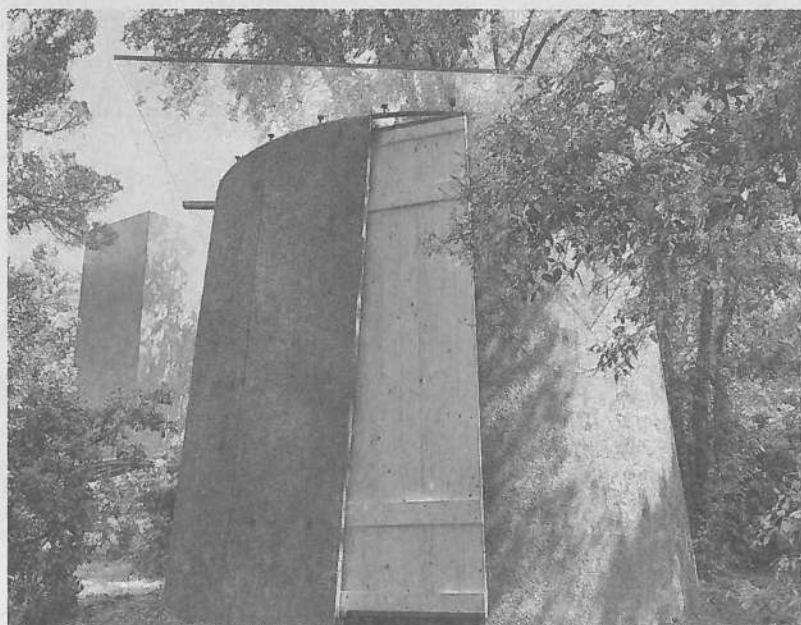
A faraway bell tolled the hour. Birds sang.

“If you're a citizen of New York or Milan, where else would you find another place that offers this silence, this peace, this beauty just from looking, sitting on a bench in a piece of architecture, made by a man from New York,” Mr. Dal Co said.

The sense of solitude here “is strong,” he said. “It's marvelous.”



Above, the chapel by Norman Foster of Britain, one of two Pritzker Prize winners among the participating architects. Right, the design by the Chilean architect Smiljan Radic. Far right, “Cross Chapel” by Terunobu Fujimori of Japan, with charcoal pieces on the wall of the apse.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY NADIA SHIRA COHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

plans, Mr. Dal Co used what he conceded might have been a “slightly vulgar example.” He told the cardinal that architecture shows normally “represent the carnal union between a father and a mother but not the creation that comes of it.”

The time had come to breathe life into those static renderings, argued Mr. Dal

Co, an architectural historian and professor, who three decades ago curated Venice's 5th Biennale International Architecture Exhibition. This year is the 16th edition, with 63 countries participating.

The Vatican agreed, and in March a small army of general contractors, construction managers, carpenters and en-

gineers descended on San Giorgio Maggiore to transform a shrubby garden into an architectural pilgrimage route “for believers and nonbeliever alike,” Cardinal Ravasi said.

Asked whether Pope Francis planned to visit, Mr. Dal Co responded with a smiling “no comment.”

Cardinal Ravasi said that he had

asked the architects only that the chapels contain two central liturgical elements: the ambo, known also as a pulpit or lectern, and the altar. “The word, and the bread and wine, which are the basis of Christianity,” the cardinal said in March.

Otherwise, Mr. Dal Co had carte blanche. Religious affiliation was never