

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition

Today, clouds, rain in the late morning, high 60. Tonight partly cloudy, breezy, low 49. Tomorrow, windy, times of clouds and sun, high 58. Weather map appears on Page B16.

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TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kurdish fighters killed in 2014 in Kobani were buried last month in Qamishli. Recovery of the bodies had been impossible before.

Life After ISIS and Assad: A Journey in a Free Syria

In a Border Enclave Carved Out by Kurds, a Better Life Is the Newest Struggle

By BEN HUBBARD

RMEILAN, Syria — After boiling crude oil from the ground near here all day in a metal tank to refine it into diesel, Ali Mohammed braved the fumes to bang the tank's drain open with a shovel. He stepped back as the dregs oozed into the dirt and burst into flames.

As a column of putrid smoke rose into the sky, he pulled a cigarette from his oil-soaked shirt and explained how the Syrian civil war had turned him into a diesel bootlegger.

He had once worn clean scrubs as a nurse in a state-run hospital, but was fired after rebels took over his village, making all residents suspect, he said. Later, stretched by the war, the government had left the area, leaving its oil up for grabs.

"Before, we saw the wells, but we never saw the oil," Mr. Mohammed said. Now, although its fumes made them sick, the oil helped hundreds of families like his scrape by.

"My wife doesn't complain about the smell as long as there's money," Mr. Mohammed said.

Such scenes dotted the map during a recent 10-day visit in northeastern Syria, along the Turkish border. Everyone here, it seems, has an angle to work, scrambling to fill the void left by the collapse of the Syrian state.

The Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL, saw this crossroads as a prime place to expand its so-called caliphate. It was far from the major interests of the Syrian government in Damascus

and along good river and road networks to allow the quick movement of fighters and contraband.

But as Kurdish fighters pushed the Islamic State jihadists out, they sought to stamp their vision of a better life onto northern Syria: an autonomous enclave built on the principles — part anarchist, part grass-roots socialist — of a Kurdish militant leader whose face now adorns arm-bands and murals across the territory.

Others, like Mr. Mohammed, are just trying to get by: the farmers, herders and smugglers, or those just trying to piece their communities back together after months under the black flag and public punishments of the Islamic State.

The police are gone and militias have flourished, snarling traffic with checkpoints and covering lampposts with pictures of dead fighters. Shuttered gas stations stand near shacks where fuel is sold in plastic jugs. And abandoned government offices house ad hoc administrations that struggle to keep the lights on.

The Kurdish militia that grew to become the dominant power in this part of Syria over the past

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Offensive Against ISIS

Backed by American air power, Kurdish fighters have begun a major operation in Iraq, Page A6.

G.O.P. Fight Is Now a Battle Over What Defines a Conservative

By JONATHAN MARTIN

MILWAUKEE — For months, the Republican presidential race has been animated by the party's inchoate anger about the state of the country and an equally undefined hope that a candidate would emerge who could usher in an era of civic renewal. But the debate here and its aftermath marked an abrupt transition from vague promises about making America

"great again," in Donald J. Trump's phrase, to a new season of the campaign shaped more by the glaring policy fissures that are dividing Republicans over what exactly to do about the nation's problems.

From immigration and bank regulation to taxes and national security, the robust seminar on the issues that began Tuesday night and continued Wednesday exposed a contentious dispute over what it means to be a con-

servative and offered a preview of the contours of the battle for the Republican nomination.

Years' worth of arguments conducted at issues forums and in the pages of policy journals and newspapers are now coming to life. The Republican hopefuls are sparring over such high-fiber fare as tax policy: whether to adhere strictly to the party's supply-side creed or move at least modestly toward policies aimed at bolstering lesser earners. They

are clashing over the role America plays in the world, and whether fiscal conservatism is compatible with a drastically enlarged military.

Most vividly, and perhaps consequentially, they are staking out their ground on immigration, clarifying the divide between restrictionists and pragmatists on an issue that could determine who is the party's nominee.

"The conservative movement

Continued on Page A24

E.U. Move Fans Fear of Boycott Aimed at Israel

By JODI RUDOREN
and SEWELL CHAN

JERUSALEM — In a stinging rebuke to Israel, the European Union insisted on Wednesday that some goods produced on land seized in the 1967 war must be labeled "made in settlements," a mandate that added to Israel's deep unease over a growing international boycott.

European officials tried to play down the decision, saying the guidelines merely clarified existing rules. But the move exacerbated already simmering tensions between Israel and Europe as Israeli politicians condemned it as an echo of the Holocaust-era

Public Housing May Be Subject To Smoking Ban

By MIREYA NAVARRO

Smoking would be prohibited in public housing homes nationwide under a proposed federal rule to be announced on Thursday, a move that would affect nearly one million households and open the latest front in the long-running campaign to curb unwanted exposure to second-hand tobacco smoke.

The ban, by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, would also require that common areas and administrative offices on public housing property be smoke-free.

But the restriction on smoking inside dwellings would pose chal-



KRISTEN LUCE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

An Exclamation, Any Way You Look at It

A sculpture yells "YO" if you look from Manhattan, but from the Brooklyn side . . . Page A28.

Black Students See a University Riven by Race

By JOHN ELIGON

COLUMBIA, Mo. — At first, Briana Gray just chatted up the comments and questions from her new roommate at the University of Missouri to innocent ignorance: How do you style your hair? What do you put in it? But then her white roommate from rural Missouri started playing a rap song



Briana Gray

with a racial slur and singing the

Oy or Yo? A Sculpture With a New York Accent

By JONAH BROMWICH

The rude interjection is a staple of New York life. Now, the landscape of the city will itself heckle residents and tourists, with a brash new sculpture in Brooklyn Bridge Park that yells “YO” if you are looking at it from Manhattan or “OY” if you are gazing out from Brooklyn.

The sculpture, “OY/YO,” is the first of this size from the artist Deborah Kass, who describes herself as a “total, absolute, 100 percent provincial New Yorker.” It was commissioned by a Brooklyn developer, Two Trees Management Company, and was placed in the park on Monday.

“The fact that this particular work resonates so beautifully in so many languages to so many communities is why I wanted to make it monumental,” Ms. Kass said.

Ms. Kass said she first created “OY” as a painting in 2011, as a homage or spoof of Edward Ruscha’s 1962 painting “OOF.”

The work also took shape in prints and sculptures — the “YO” was added as a separate painting at a friend’s suggestion — before eventually finding its way to its current larger-than-life dimensions. (The sculpture is about 8 by 17 and a half feet.)

Ms. Kass was tickled when asked about the language choice.

“When doesn’t it occur to me to use the word ‘Oy’?” she said, laughing.

Ms. Kass is well known for her loving takes on the modern art canon. Much of her work makes reference to that of other artists, including Gertrude Stein, Andy Warhol, Jackson Pollock and Frank Stella.

The Brooklyn Bridge Park sculpture, along with the reference to Mr. Ruscha, is reminiscent of Picasso’s 1901 painting “Self-Portrait: Yo Picas-so” and Robert Indiana’s iconic “LOVE” sculpture.

Ms. Kass’s new sculpture is made of simple aluminum and paint. It will sit on the park’s renovated Main Street Lawn and stand until August.

Ms. Kass said the sculpture might reflect Brooklynites’ “exasperation” with the neighboring borough that many older residents still refer to simply as “the city.” But she quickly recanted, saying that the sculpture was best left open to interpretation.

“It’s an open-ended question that people need to answer for themselves,” she said.

Peter Sokolowski, the editor at large of Merriam-Webster, said that both words had long histories, though “oy” only became “a naturalized citizen of English” in the 1890s. He dated the use of the English word “yo” to as far back as the 15th century, when it was in use in Middle English.

Mr. Sokolowski was enthusiastic about both words. “I love dictionary definitions of monosyllabic interjections,” he said.



KIRSTEN LUCK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Deborah Kass’s sculpture, which is 8 by 17 and a half feet, was put in Brooklyn Bridge Park on Monday and will stay until August.

Two Trees has commissioned several other works of art for Brooklyn, by artists including Grayson Cox, Allen Glatter and Tom Otterness.

Lisa Kim, the development group’s cultural affairs director, who commissioned the piece, said Ms. Kass was a perfect fit

given her combination of fine art bona fides and popular appeal.

“She has a great art-world following, but her work can really translate in the public sphere,” Ms. Kim said.

And, she added, “How much more succinct and iconic of a New York and Brooklyn phrase

can you get than ‘oy’ or ‘yo’?”

Ms. Kim would not comment on the price of the commission but did say that “we had a good budget for the project.”

Ms. Kass said that the sculpture was relevant to any diverse setting in America, particularly cities with large populations of

blacks, Latinos and Jews, groups she called the “heart and soul of this country.” But she could not help but remark upon how fine a home Brooklyn made for the piece.

“This is New York, baby. We’ve got it all. And the sculpture covers it all,” she said.