Sexual Misconduct Claims Trail a Hollywood Mogul

Oscar-Winning Producer Has Quietly Settled at Least 8 Complaints in 3 Decades

By JOSEPH KANTOR and WYATT TUNIS

Two decades ago, the details — for women at the company. Ms. Stein’s company, which produced films like “The Big Lebowski” and “V for Vendetta,” has confronted with allegations in recent years of sexual misconduct.

An investigation by The New York Times found previously undisclosed allegations against Mr. Weinstein, including sexual activity, and the company said it had handled the complaints

During that time, other sexual misconduct allegations were coming to light, and the company decided to settle them as quickly as possible without alienating important clients. Mr. Weinstein, among the recipients, was a young lawyer in Los Angeles in 2005. He said he had settled the complaint.

In a statement to The Times on Thursday afternoon, Ms. Stein said: “It’s appropriate the way they’ve been handled with respect to the service they provide and I’m absolutely certain they’ve been handled in the best possible way.”

Last week, in Utah, Republican Joe Floren, one of the state’s two U.S. senators, endorsed Mr. Murphy, who has represented Pennsylvania, was forced to resign his seat, with the establishment’s preferred successor, House Republican, Tim Murphy of Pennsylvania, was forced to resign his seat. He said he had settled the complaint.

At a news conference at his White House on April 12, 2017, Mr. Trump announced that he had signed off on the United States would isolate himself and the deal. He had settled the complaint.

On what drove the man who is known as the Remains of the Day: Mr. Ishiguro, 62, is best known for his novels “The Remains of the Day” and “Never Let Me Go.” The novel, which won the Booker Prize in 1989, was also made into a television miniseries in 1992. The novel, which won the Booker Prize in 1989, was also made into a television miniseries in 1992.

As a young man, Kazuo Ishiguro wanted to be a singer and songwriter. He played at folk clubs and went through the motions of a multidimensional approach to writing. He has been a cause célèbre in the literary world for his novels “The Remains of the Day” and “Never Let Me Go.”

Mr. Stein is one of the few prominent people who has been instrumental in the negotiations only part of the nuclear agreement. But the nuclear agreement only part of the nuclear agreement is a unified Spanish identity. Mr. Stein, who has been instrumental in the negotiations only part of the nuclear agreement, is a unified Spanish identity. The meeting is an effort at the moment of writing, and the nuclear agreement only part of the nuclear agreement is a unified Spanish identity. Mr. Stein, who has been instrumental in the negotiations only part of the nuclear agreement, is a unified Spanish identity. The meeting is an effort at the moment of writing, and the nuclear agreement only part of the nuclear agreement is a unified Spanish identity. Mr. Stein, who has been instrumental in the negotiations only part of the nuclear agreement, is a unified Spanish identity. The meeting is an effort at the moment of writing, and the nuclear agreement only part of the nuclear agreement is a unified Spanish identity.

Kazuo Ishiguro is 2020. He is believed by scholars and is considered to have been adopted into the United States, and his work has been adapted into a number of films and television series. His novel, “Never Let Me Go,” was made into a television miniseries in 1992. The novel, which won the Booker Prize in 1989, was also made into a television miniseries in 1992. The novel, which won the Booker Prize in 1989, was also made into a television miniseries in 1992.

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LATE EDIT

TRUMP TO FORCE CONGRESS TO ACT ON IRAN ACCORD

Tromp to Force Congress to Act on Iran Accord

By MARK LINDSEY

WASHINGTON — President Donald Trump on Thursday night repeated his threat to withdraw the United States from the 2015 nuclear deal with Iran unless Congress prevents the accord from expiring, and Democrats and Republicans appeared unable to reach a compromise on the issue.

By declining to renew Iran’s sanctions waiver, Mr. Trump would likely be backing Congress to continue relying on the 2015 agreement, which has been widely criticized by Republicans, there appears to be little reason to believe it will be renewed.

Sen. Tom Cotton, Republican of Arkansas, who has been at the forefront of the effort to block the deal, said that the president had not yet been given the opportunity to make a decision on the accord. But Mr. Trump did not indicate when he would make a decision on the accord.

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Claims of Sexual Harassment Trail a Hollywood Mogul

In speaking out about her hotel experiences with Mr. Weinstein, Ms. Nestor, a law and business school graduate, said, "You constantly question whether to go public or initiate legal action."

Many women who worked with Mr. Weinstein shared similar stories, including massages at hotels in Dublin and London and being asked to wear a ski parka when summoned for duty as a layposable. One woman advised a peer to wear a sweater vest to avoid being mistaken for maleSu." Ms. Nestor said.

Ms. Nestor, a law and business school graduate, wanted to start speaking out after reading the accusations against Mr. Weinstein in The New York Times and New York magazine, and then the events of the past few days. "I'm making a movie about Harvey," she said. "He is a very big part of the industry, he's very wealthy."

Ms. Nestor said that Harvey Weinstein, the co-founder of the Weinstein Company, would go to business meetings where she worked and make suggestions for actresses to secretly record a confession for a project. "I'm very lucky to have a male role model," she said. "I think Harvey has done a lot for the industry."
Sexual Misconduct Claims Trail a Hollywood Mogul

Oscar-Winning Producer Has Quietly Settled at Least 8 Complaints in 3 Decades

By JODI KANTOR and MEGAN TWOHEY

Two decades ago, the Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein invited Ashley Judd to the Peninsula Beverly Hills hotel for what the young actress expected to be a business breakfast meeting. Instead, he had her sent up to his room, where he appeared in a bathrobe and asked if he could give her a massage or she could watch him shower, she recalled in an interview.

“How do I get out of the room as fast as possible without alienating Harvey Weinstein?” Ms. Judd said she remembers thinking.

In 2014, Mr. Weinstein invited Emily Nestor, who had worked just one day as a temporary employee, to the same hotel and made another offer: If she accepted his sexual advances, he would boost her career, according to accounts she provided to colleagues who sent them to Weinstein Company executives. The following year, once again at the Peninsula, a female assistant said Mr. Weinstein badgered her into giving him a massage while he was naked, leaving her “crying and very distraught,” wrote a colleague, Lauren O’Connor, in a searing memo asserting sexual harassment and other misconduct by their boss.

“There is a toxic environment for women at this company,” Ms. O’Connor said in the letter, addressed to several executives at the company run by Mr. Weinstein.

An investigation by The New York Times found previously undisclosed allegations against Mr. Weinstein stretching over nearly three decades, documented through interviews with current and former employees and film industry workers, as well as legal records, emails and internal documents from the businesses he has run, Miramax and the Weinstein Company.

During that time, after being confronted with allegations including sexual harassment and unwanted physical contact, Mr. Weinstein has reached at least eight settlements with women, according to two company officials speaking on the condition of anonymity. Among the recipients, The Times found, were a young assistant in New York in 1990, an actress in 1997, an assistant in London in 1998, an Italian model in 2015 and Ms. O’Connor shortly after, according to records and those familiar with the agreements.

In a statement to The Times on Thursday afternoon, Mr. Weinstein said: “I appreciate
‘I am a 28-year-old woman trying to make a living and a career. Harvey Weinstein is a 64-year-old, world famous man and this is his company. The balance of power is me: 0, Harvey Weinstein: 10.’

From a 2015 memo by Lauren O’Connor, then employed by the Weinstein Company

The way I’ve behaved with colleagues in the past has caused a lot of pain, and I sincerely apologize for it. Though I’m trying to do better, I know I have a long way to go.”

He added that he was working with therapists and planning to take a leave of absence to “deal with this issue head on.”

Lisa Bloom, a lawyer advising Mr. Weinstein, said in a statement that “he denies many of the accusations as patently false.” In comments to The Times earlier this week, Mr. Weinstein said that many claims in Ms. O’Connor’s memo were “off base” and that they had parted on good terms.

He and his representatives declined to comment on any of the settlements, including providing information about who paid them. But Mr. Weinstein said that in addressing employee concerns about workplace issues, “my motto is to keep the peace.”

Ms. Bloom, who has been advising Mr. Weinstein over the last year on gender and power dynamics, called him “an old dinosaur learning new ways.” She said she had “explained to him that due to the power difference between a major studio head like him and most others in the industry, whatever his motives, some of his words and behaviors can be perceived as inappropriate, even intimidating.”

Though Ms. O’Connor had been writing only about a two-year period, her memo echoed other women’s complaints. Mr. Weinstein required her to have casting discussions with aspiring actresses after they had private appointments in his hotel room, she said, her description matching those of other former employees. She suspected that she and other female Weinstein employees, she wrote, were being used to facilitate liaisons with “vulnerable women who hope he will get them work.”

The allegations piled up even as Mr. Weinstein helped define popular culture. He has collected six best-picture Oscars and turned out a number of touchstones, from the films “Sex, Lies, and Videotape,” “Pulp Fiction” and “Good Will Hunting” to the television show “Project Runway.” In public, he presents himself as a liberal lion, a champion of women and a winner of not just artistic but humanitarian awards.

In 2015, the year Ms. O’Connor wrote her memo, his company distributed “The Hunting Ground,” a documentary about campus sexual assault. A longtime Democratic donor, he hosted a fund-raiser for Hillary Clinton in his Manhattan home last year. He employed Malia Obama, the oldest daughter of former President Barack Obama, as an intern this year, and recently helped endow a faculty chair at Rutgers University in Gloria Steinem’s name. During the Sundance Film Festival in January, when Park City, Utah, held its version of nationwide women’s marches, Mr. Weinstein joined the parade.

“From the outside, it seemed golden — the Oscars, the success, the remarkable cultural impact,” said Mark Gill, former president of Miramax Los Angeles when the company was owned by Disney. “But behind the scenes, it was a mess, and this was the biggest mess of all,” he added, referring to Mr. Weinstein’s treatment of women.

Dozens of Mr. Weinstein’s former and current employees, from assistants to top executives, said they knew of inappropriate conduct while they worked for him. Only a handful said they ever confronted him.

Mr. Weinstein enforced a code of silence; employees of the Weinstein Company have contracts saying they will not criticize it or its leaders in a way that could harm its “business reputation” or “any employee’s personal reputa-
tion,” a recent document shows. And most of the women accepting payouts agreed to confidentiality clauses prohibiting them from speaking about the deals or the events that led to them.

Charles Harder, a lawyer representing Mr. Weinstein, said it was not unusual to enter into settlements to avoid lengthy and costly litigation. He added, “It’s not evidence of anything.”

At Fox News, where the conservative icons Roger E. Ailes and Bill O’Reilly were accused of harassment, women have received payouts well into the millions of dollars. But most of the women involved in the Weinstein agreements collected between roughly $80,000 and $150,000, according to people familiar with the negotiations.

In the wake of Ms. O’Connor’s 2015 memo, some Weinstein Company board members and executives, including Mr. Weinstein’s brother and longtime partner, Bob, 62, were alarmed about the allegations, according to several people who spoke on the condition of anonymity. In the end, though, board members were assured there was no need to investigate. After reaching a settlement with Mr. Weinstein, Ms. O’Connor withdrew her complaint and thanked him for the career opportunity he had given her.

“The parties made peace very quickly,” Ms. Bloom said.

Through her lawyer, Nicole Page, Ms. O’Connor declined to be interviewed. In the memo, she explained how unnerved she was by what she witnessed or encountered while a literary scout and production executive at the company. “I am just starting out in my career, and have been and remain fearful about speaking up,” Ms. O’Connor wrote. “But remaining silent is causing me great distress.”

In speaking out about her hotel episode, Ms. Judd said in a recent interview, “Women have been talking about Harvey amongst ourselves for a long time, and it’s simply beyond time to have the conversation publicly.”

A Common Narrative

Ms. Nestor, a law and business school student, accepted Mr. Weinstein’s breakfast invitation at the Peninsula because she did not want to miss an opportunity, she later told colleagues. After she arrived, he offered to help her career while boasting about a series of famous actresses he claimed to have slept with, according to accounts that colleagues compiled after hearing her story and then sent on to company executives.
Within hours, she called the police. Ms. McGowan had just appeared on a Friday evening to discuss her career as an aspiring actress, to his TriBeCa office on an invitation, she said. Could he give her a massage or initiate one himself. The women, typically in their early or middle 20s and hoping to get a toehold in the film industry, said he could switch course quickly — meetings and clipboards one moment, intimate comments the next. One woman advised a peer to wear a parka when summoned for duty as a layer of protection against unwelcome advances.

“She said he was very persistent and focused though she kept saying no for over an hour,” one internal document said. Ms. Nestor, who declined to comment for this article, refused his bargain, the records noted. “She was disappointed that he met with her and did not seem to be interested in her résumé or skill set.” The young woman chose not to report the episode to human resources personnel, but the allegations came to management’s attention through other employees.

Across the years and continents, accounts of Mr. Weinstein’s conduct share a common narrative: Women reported to a hotel for what they thought were work reasons, only to discover that Mr. Weinstein, who has been married for most of three decades, sometimes seemed to have different interests. His home base was New York, but his rolling headquarters were luxury hotels: the Peninsula Beverly Hills and the Savoy in London, the Hôtel du Cap-Eden-Roc near the Cannes Film Festival in France and the Stein Eriksen Lodge near the Sundance Film Festival.

Working for Mr. Weinstein could mean getting him out of bed in the morning and doing “turndown duty” late at night, preparing him for sleep. Like the colleague cited in Ms. O’Connor’s memo, some junior employees required to perform those tasks said they were disturbing.

In interviews, eight women described varying behavior by Mr. Weinstein: appearing nearly or fully naked in front of them, requiring them to be present while he bathed or repeatedly asking for a massage or initiating one himself. The Trump administration’s latest restrictions or heightened scrutiny.

“The nation’s refugee program. Mr. Francisco asked the justices to proceed. “This case will take that position in all pending sex discrimination lawsuit, taking us back to the starting gate.”

“Will that remain on the sidelines or tell courts that the law should be applied even further than it already is? The new restrictions, which are ‘based on detailed findings reaching for a massage or initiating one himself. The Supreme Court has not reached varying views on cover gender identity, agreeing with the Civil Rights Commission. A judge appointed by the Trump administration’s latest move came three months after the Justice Department will no longer defend the Trump administration’s latest definition of two countries that are not ‘based on gender identity or sex’ in Title VII of the two cases. Mr. Sessions’s policy directive did not address a second aspect of the case, Price Waterhouse v. Hop. The earlier orders. All three or the justices to proceed. “This case is not moot,” the group said. “The Court should hear this case.”

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Ms. Battilana did not respond to requests for comment. Ms. McGowan had just appeared on a Friday evening to discuss her career as an aspiring actress, to his TriBeCa office on an invitation, she said. Could he give her a massage or initiate one himself. The women, typically in their early or middle 20s and hoping to get a toehold in the film industry, said he could switch course quickly — meetings and clipboards one moment, intimate comments the next. One woman advised a peer to wear a parka when summoned for duty as a layer of protection against unwelcome advances.

Laura Madden, a former employee who said Mr. Weinstein prodded her for massages at hotels in Dublin and London beginning in 1991, said he had a way of making anyone who objected feel like an outlier. “It was so manipulative,” she said in an interview. “You constantly question yourself — am I the one who is the problem?”

“I don’t know anything about that,” Mr. Weinstein said.

Most women who told The Times that they

Harvey Weinstein has been a producer of a number of other critically acclaimed and successful films, among them, from top, “Sex, Lies and Videotape,” “Pulp Fiction,” “Good Will Hunting” and “Chicago.”
experienced misconduct by Mr. Weinstein had never met one another. They range in age from early 20s to late 40s and live in different cities. Some said they did not report the behavior because there were no witnesses and they feared retaliation by Mr. Weinstein. Others said they felt embarrassed. But most confided in co-workers.

Ms. Madden later told Karen Katz, a friend and colleague in the acquisitions department, about Mr. Weinstein’s overtures, including a time she locked herself in the bathroom of his hotel room, sobbing. “We were so young at the time,” said Ms. Katz, now a documentary filmmaker. “We did not understand how wrong it was or how Laura should deal with it.”

Others in the London office said the same. “I was pretty disturbed and angry,” said Sallie Hodges, another former employee, recalling the accounts she heard from colleagues. “That’s kind of the way things were.”

The human resources operation was considered weak in New York and worse in London, so some employees banded together in solidarity. “If a female executive was asked to go to a meeting solo, she and a colleague would generally double up” so as not to be alone with Mr. Weinstein, recalled Mr. Gill, the former president of Miramax Los Angeles.

Many women who worked with Mr. Weinstein said they never experienced sexual harassment or knew of anyone who did, and recalled him as a boss who gave them valuable opportunities at young ages. Some described long and satisfying careers with him, praising him as a mentor and advocate.

But in interviews, some of the former employees who said they had troubling experiences with Mr. Weinstein asked a common question: How could allegations repeating the same pattern — young women, a powerful male producer, even some of the same hotels — have accumulated for almost three decades?

“It wasn’t a secret to the inner circle,” said Kathy DeClesis, Bob Weinstein’s assistant in the early 1990s. She supervised a young woman who left the company abruptly after an encounter with Harvey Weinstein and who later received a settlement, according to several former employees.

Speaking up could have been costly. A job with Mr. Weinstein was a privileged perch at the nexus of money, fame and art, and plenty of his former assistants have risen high in Hollywood. He could be charming and generous: gift baskets, flowers, personal or career help and cash. At the Cannes Film Festival, according to several former colleagues, he sometimes handed out thousands of dollars as impromptu bonuses.

Mr. Weinstein was a volcanic personality, though, given to fits of rage and personal lashings of male and female employees alike. When a female guest of his had to wait for a hotel room
upgrade, he yelled that Ms. O’Connor would be better off marrying a “fat, rich Jewish” man because she was probably just good for “being a wife” and “making babies,” she wrote in her memo. (He added some expletives, she said.) His treatment of women was sometimes written off as just another form of toxicity, according to multiple former employees.

In the fall of 1998, a 25-year-old London assistant named Zelda Perkins confronted Mr. Weinstein. According to former colleagues, she and several co-workers had been regularly subjected to inappropriate requests or comments in hotel rooms, and she was particularly concerned about the treatment of another woman in the office. She told Mr. Weinstein that he had to stop, according to the former colleagues, and that she would go public or initiate legal action unless he changed his behavior.

Steve Hutensky, one of Miramax’s entertainment lawyers, was dispatched to London to negotiate a settlement with Ms. Perkins and her lawyer. He declined to comment for this article.

Ms. Perkins, now a theater producer in London, also declined to comment for this article, saying that she could not discuss her work at Miramax or whether she had entered into any agreements.

Months after the settlement, Mr. Weinstein triumphed at the Oscars, with “Life Is Beautiful” and “Shakespeare in Love” winning 10 awards. A few years later, Mr. Weinstein, who had produced a series of British-themed movies, was made a Commander of the British Empire, an honorary title just short of knighthood.

‘Coercive Bargaining’

For actors, a meeting with Mr. Weinstein could yield dazzling rewards: scripts, parts, award campaigns, magazine coverage, influence on lucrative endorsement deals. He knew how to blast small films to box office success, and deliver polished dramas like “The King’s Speech” and popular attractions like the “Scary Movie” franchise. Mr. Weinstein’s films helped define femininity, sex and romance, from Catherine Zeta-Jones in “Chicago” to Jennifer Law-

rence in “Silver Linings Playbook.”

But movies were also his private leverage. When Mr. Weinstein invited Ms. Judd to breakfast in Beverly Hills, she had been shooting the thriller “Kiss the Girls” all night, but the meeting seemed too important to miss. After arriving at the hotel lobby, she was surprised to learn that they would be talking in his suite; she decided to order cereal, she said, so the food would come quickly and she could leave.

Mr. Weinstein soon issued invitation after invitation, she said. Could he give her a massage? When she refused, he suggested a shoulder rub. She rejected that too, she recalled. He steered her toward a closet, asking her to help pick out his clothing for the day, and then toward the bathroom. Would she watch him take a shower? she remembered him saying.

“I said no, a lot of ways, a lot of times, and he always came back at me with some new ask,” Ms. Judd said. “It was all this bargaining, this coercive bargaining.”

To get out of the room, she said, she quipped that if Mr. Weinstein wanted to touch her, she would first have to win an Oscar in one of his movies. She recalled feeling “panicky, trapped,” she said in the interview. “There’s a lot on the line, the cachet that came with Miramax.”

Not long afterward, she related what had happened to her mother, the singer Naomi Judd, who confirmed their conversation to a Times reporter. Years later, Ashley Judd appeared in two Weinstein films without incident, she said. In 2015, she shared an account of the episode in the hotel room with “Variety” without naming the man involved.

In 1997, Mr. Weinstein reached a previously undisclosed settlement with Rose McGowan, then a 23-year-old-actress, after an episode in a hotel room during the Sundance Film Festival. The $100,000 settlement was “not to be construed as an admission” by Mr. Weinstein, but intended to “avoid litigation and buy peace,” according to the legal document, which was reviewed by The Times. Ms. McGowan had just appeared in the slasher film “Scream” and would later star in the television show “Charmed.” She declined to comment.
Increased Scrutiny

Just months before Ms. O’Connor wrote her memo, a young female employee quit after complaining of being forced to arrange what she believed to be assignations for Mr. Weinstein, according to two people familiar with her departure. The woman, who asked not to be identified to protect her privacy, said a non-disclosure agreement prevented her from commenting.

Soon, complaints about Mr. Weinstein’s behavior prompted the board of his company to take notice.

In March 2015, Mr. Weinstein had invited Ambra Battilana, an Italian model and aspiring actress, to his TriBeCa office on a Friday even-}

ning to discuss her career. Within hours, she called the police. Ms. Battilana told them that Mr. Weinstein had grabbed her breasts after asking if they were real and put his hands up her skirt, the police report says.

The claims were taken up by the New York Police Department’s Special Victims Squad and splashed across the pages of tabloids, along with reports that the woman had worked with investigators to secretly record a confession from Mr. Weinstein. The Manhattan district attorney’s office later declined to bring charges.

But Mr. Weinstein made a payment to Ms. Battilana, according to people familiar with the settlement, speaking on the condition of anonymity about the confidential agreement.

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Statement From Harvey Weinstein

The New York Times received the following statement from Harvey Weinstein responding to allegations about his treatment of women in Hollywood:

I came of age in the ’60s and ’70s, when all the rules about behavior and workplaces were different. That was the culture then.

I have since learned it’s not an excuse, in the office — or out of it. To anyone.

I realized some time ago that I needed to be a better person and my interactions with the people I work with have changed.

I appreciate the way I’ve behaved with colleagues in the past has caused a lot of pain, and I sincerely apologize for it.

Though I’m trying to do better, I know I have a long way to go. That is my commitment.

My journey now will be to learn about myself and conquer my demons. Over the last year I’ve asked Lisa Bloom to tutor me and she’s put together a team of people. I’ve brought on therapists and I plan to take a leave of absence from my company and to deal with this issue head on. I so respect all women and regret what happened. I hope that my actions will speak louder than words and that one day we will all be able to earn their trust and sit down together with Lisa to learn more. Jay Z wrote in “4:44,” “I’m not the man I thought I was and I better be that man for my children.” The same is true for me. I want a second chance in the community but I know I’ve got work to do to earn it. I have goals that are now priorities. Trust me, this isn’t an overnight process. I’ve been trying to do this for 10 years and this is a wake-up call. I cannot be more remorseful about the people I hurt and I plan to do right by all of them.

I am going to need a place to channel that anger so I’ve decided that I’m going to give the N.R.A. my full attention. I hope Wayne LaPierre will enjoy his retirement party. I’m going to do it at the same place I had my bar mitzvah. I’m making a movie about our president, perhaps we can make it a joint retirement party. One year ago, I began organizing a $5 million foundation to give scholar- arships to women directors at U.S.C.

While this might seem coincidental, it has been in the works for a year. It will be named after my mom and I won’t disappoint her.
The public nature of the episode concerned some executives and board members of the Weinstein Company. (Harvey and Bob Weinstein together own 42 percent of the privately held business.) When several board members pressed Mr. Weinstein about it, he insisted that the woman had set him up, colleagues recalled.

Ms. Battilana had testified in court proceedings against associates of former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi of Italy who are accused of procuring women for alleged sex parties, and the Italian news media also reported that, years ago Ms. Battilana accused a septuagenarian boyfriend of sexual harassment, a complaint that was apparently dismissed. Ms. Battilana did not respond to requests for comment. Her lawyer, Mauro Rufini, could not be reached for comment.

After the episode, Lance Maerov, a board member, said he successfully pushed for a code of behavior for the company that included detailed language about sexual harassment.

Then Ms. O’Connor’s memo hit, with page after page of detailed accusations. In describing the experiences of women at the company, including her own, she wrote, “The balance of power is me: 0, Harvey Weinstein: 10.”

She was a valued employee — Mr. Weinstein described her as “fantastic,” “a great person,” “a brilliant executive” — so the complaint rattled top executives, including Bob Weinstein. When the board was notified of it by email, Mr. Maerov insisted that an outside lawyer determine whether the allegations were true, he said in an interview.

But the inquiry never happened. Mr. Weinstein had reached a settlement with Ms. O’Connor, and there was no longer anything to investigate.

“Because this matter has been resolved and no further action is required, I withdraw my complaint,” Ms. O’Connor wrote in an email to the head of human resources six days after sending her memo. She also wrote a letter to Mr. Weinstein thanking him for the opportunity to learn about the entertainment industry.

In California, Residents Flee Walls of Flame

The article is by Thomas Falte.

Engel Bromwich

October 11, 2017

Big-Name Actresses Say They Were Harassed by Weinstein

The article is by Byron Kew.

FRANCES ROBLES

October 11, 2017

Medical Crisis in Puerto Rico: The Whole Island Is Critical

The article is by Jonathan Krim.

By JONATHAN KRI

October 11, 2017

GLOBAL ANXIETY OVER FALSE DATA BY STEEL MAKER

The article is by Hannah E. Brennan.

BLOW TO JAPAN’S IMAGE

Manufacturers Scramble to Inspect Products for Potential Hazards

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Inhate Excitement over False Data by Steel Maker

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-The article is by Shih-Pei Ho.

October 11, 2017

-BY ROBERT J. WAGNER

October 11, 2017
I was a kid, I was signed up, I was petrified. I thought he was going to fire me.

OYVIAH PATRICK, who said she had been on the set of "X-Men" when she was harassed by Harvey Weinstein.

The next thing I knew, he’s pressing against me and pulling off my sweaters.

JOHN GOMEZ, who said he was asked by Weinstein to say something because Weinstein was promoting his movie.

He literally chased me. He wouldn’t let me pass him to get to the door.

KATHERINE KONDALL, who said that after she refused to give him a massage, Weinstein left her room, then returned.

From Page 14  
I had a bad experience with Harvey Weinstein in my youth, and as a result, I no longer have the relationship with him that I once had. For the many years that I did have a relationship with him, he did not have the kind of relationship that I did. He was an individual, and he was not a paid employee of the company in any way, and any industry in specific.

The New York Times investigation has revealed a series of allegations about sexual harassment and assault against Mr. Weinstein, which have been substantiated or alleged. In the past, Mr. Weinstein has denied any allegations of non-consensual sex. He will not be available for further comment.

Mr. Weinstein is not only a Hollywood power player, but he is also a respected producer, director, and writer. His work has been recognized with numerous awards, including an Academy Award for Best Picture for "Shakespeare in Love." Their work relations deteriorated over time. Ellen Gabler contributed reporting.

As a result of the Weinstein allegations, many of his former employees, over three decades up to 2015, have spoken out against him. In 1984, when Tomi-Aonica Almeida was a 22-year-old model, she said Mr. Weinstein grilled her for three films and said he would love to work with her, but he never followed through.

In the early 1990s, Mr. Weinstein asked Judith Godrèche to stay on the set to do a movie poster, but she declined. When Mr. Weinstein invited Judith Godrèche in the late 1990s, she had no idea who he was.

Mr. Weinstein’s alleged harassment, targeting women and girls, has been a long-standing concern. Ellen Gabler contributed reporting.

Big-Name Actresses Say They Were Harassed by Weinstein

By JODI KANTOR and RACHEL ABRAMS

WHEN Gwyneth Paltrow was 22 years old, she got a role that would take her from actress to star: The film producer Harvey Weinstein hired her for the lead in the Jane Austen adaptation “Emma.” Before shooting began, he summoned her to his suite at the Peninsula Beverly Hills hotel for a work meeting that began uneventfully.

It ended with Mr. Weinstein placing his hands on her and suggesting they head to the bedroom for massages, she said.

“I was a kid, I was signed up, I was petrified,” she said in an interview, publicly disclosing that she was sexually harassed by the man who ignited her career and later helped her win an Academy Award.

She refused his advances, she said, and confided in Brad Pitt, her boyfriend at the time. Mr. Pitt confronted Mr. Weinstein, and soon after, the producer warned her not to tell anyone else about his come-on. “I thought he was going to fire me,” she said.

Rosanna Arquette, a star of “Pulp Fiction,” has a similar account of Mr. Weinstein’s behavior, as does Judith Godrèche, a leading French actress. So does Angelina Jolie, who said that during the release of “Playing by Heart” in the late 1990s, he made unwanted advances on her in a hotel room, which she rejected.

“I had a bad experience with Harvey Weinstein in my youth, and as a result, chose never to work with him again and warn others when they did,” Ms. Jolie said in an email. “This behavior towards women in any field, any country is unacceptable.”

A New York Times investigation last week chronicled a hidden history of sexual harassment allegations against Mr. Weinstein and settlements he paid, often involving former employees, over three decades up to 2015. By Sunday evening, his entertainment company fired him.

On Tuesday, The New Yorker published a report that included multiple allegations of sexual assault, including forced oral and vaginal sex. The article also included accounts of sexual harassment going back to the 1990s, with women describing how intimidating Mr. Weinstein was.

Several days ago, additional actresses began sharing with The Times on-the-record stories of casting-couch abuses. Their accounts hint at the sweep of Mr. Weinstein’s alleged harassment, targeting women on the way to stardom, those who had barely acted and others in between. Fantasies that the public eagerly watched onscreen, the women recounted, sometimes masked the dark experiences of those performing in them.

The encounters they recalled followed a similar narrative: First, they said, Mr. Weinstein lured them to a private place to discuss films, scripts or even Oscar campaigns. Then, the women contend, he variously tried to initiate massages, touched them inappropriately, took off his clothes or offered them explicit work-for-sex deals.

In a statement on Tuesday, his spokeswoman, Sallie Hofmeister, said: “Any allegations of non-consensual sex are unequivocally denied by Mr. Weinstein. Mr. Weinstein has further confirmed that there were never any acts of retaliation against any women for refusing his advances. He will not be available for further comments, as he is taking the time to focus on his family, on getting counseling and rebuilding his life.”

Even in an industry in which sexual harass-
Angeles, she received a schedule from up for a star-making part. On a trip to Los
ishes women in any field, any country is unacceptable.”

Several days ago, additional actresses involved in the story shortly after the episode. (Asta Roberts, her mother, said
A New York Times investigation last

ment has long persisted, Mr. Weinstein stands out, according to the actresses and current and former employees of the film companies he ran, Miramax and the Weinstein Company. He had an elaborate system reliant on the cooperation of others: Assistants often booked the meetings, arranged the hotel rooms and sometimes even delivered the talent, then disappeared, the actresses and employees recounted. They described how some of Mr. Weinstein’s executives and assistants then found them agents and jobs or hushed actresses who were upset.

His alleged behavior became something of a Hollywood open secret: When the comedian Seth MacFarlane announced Oscar nominees in 2013, he joked, “Congratulations, you five ladies no longer have to pretend to be attracted to Harvey Weinstein.” The audience laughed. According to a 2015 memo by a former Weinstein Company executive that The Times previously
disclosed, the misconduct continued.

More established actresses were fearful of speaking out because they had work; less established ones were scared because they did not. “This is Harvey Weinstein,” Katherine Kendall, who appeared in the film “Swingers” and television roles, remembers telling herself after an encounter in which she said Mr. Weinstein undressed and chased her around a living room. Telling others meant “I’ll never work again and no one is going to care or believe me,” she reasoned at the time, she said in a recent interview.

Ms. Paltrow, 45, is now an entrepreneur, no longer dependent on securing her next acting role. But she emphasized how much more vulnerable she felt at 22, when Mr. Weinstein had just signed her up for a star-making part. On a trip to Los Angeles, she received a schedule from her agents for the hotel meeting with Mr. Weinstein.

‘I was a kid, I was signed up, I was petrified. I thought he was going to fire me.’

GWYNETH PALTROW, who said she had just been cast as the lead in “Emma” when she was harassed by Harvey Weinstein.

‘The next thing I know, he’s pressing against me and pulling off my sweater.’

JUDITH GODRÈCHE, a French star who said she was asked to say nothing because Miramax was promoting her movie.
‘He literally chased me. He wouldn’t let me pass him to get to the door.’

KATHERINE KENDALL, who said that after she refused to give him a massage, Mr. Weinstein left the room, then returned nude.

There was no reason to suspect anything untoward, because “it’s on the fax, it’s from C.A.A.,” she said, referring to Creative Artists Agency, which represented her.

When Mr. Weinstein tried to massage her and invited her into the bedroom, she immediately left, she said, and remembers feeling stunned as she drove away. “I thought you were my Uncle Harvey,” she recalled thinking, explaining that she had seen him as a mentor.

After she told Mr. Pitt about the episode, he approached Mr. Weinstein at a theater premiere and told him never to touch Ms. Paltrow again. Mr. Pitt confirmed the account to The Times through a representative.

Soon after, Mr. Weinstein called Ms. Paltrow and berated her for discussing the episode, she said. (She said she also told a few friends, family members and her agent.) “He screamed at me for a long time,” she said, once again fearing she could lose the role in “Emma.” “It was brutal.” But she stood her ground, she said, and insisted that he put the relationship back on professional footing.

Even as Ms. Paltrow became known as the “first lady of Miramax” and won an Oscar for “Shakespeare in Love” in 1999, very few people knew about Mr. Weinstein’s advances. “I was expected to keep the secret,” she said.

Like several of the other women interviewed for this article, she felt she had to suppress the experience. She praised Mr. Weinstein publicly, posed for pictures with him and played the glowing star to his powerful producer. Yet their work relationship grew rockier over the years, she said, and she distanced herself. “He was alternately generous and supportive and championing, and punitive and bullying,” she said.

Now, with the process of tallying the size and scope of Mr. Weinstein’s abuse allegations underway, Ms. Paltrow and others said they wanted to support women who had already come forward and help those in similar situations feel less alone.

“We’re at a point in time when women need to send a clear message that this is over,” Ms. Paltrow said. “This way of treating women ends now.”

Tomi-Ann Roberts

In 1984, when Tomi-Ann Roberts was a 20-year-old college junior, she waited tables in New York one summer and hoped to start an acting career. Mr. Weinstein, one of her customers, urged her to audition for a movie that he and his brother were planning to direct. He sent scripts, then asked her to meet him where he was staying so they could discuss the film, she said in an email and a telephone interview.

When she arrived, he was nude in the bathtub, she recalled. He told her that she would give a much better audition if she were comfortable “getting naked in front of him,” too, because the character she might play would have a topless scene.

If she could not bare her breasts in private, she would not be able to do it on film, Ms. Roberts recalled Mr. Weinstein saying. (Asta Roberts, her mother, said in an interview that Ms. Roberts told her the story shortly after the episode.)

Ms. Roberts remembers apologizing on the way out, telling Mr. Weinstein that she was too
prudish to go along. Later, she felt that he had manipu-

lated her by feigning professional interest in her, and she doubted that she had ever been un-
der serious consideration. “I was nobody! How had I ever thought otherwise?” she asked.

Today she is a psychology professor at Colo-
rado College, researching sexual objectification, an interest she traces back in part to that long-
ago encounter. She said that over the years she had had trouble watching Mr. Weinstein’s films. With a new release, “I would always ask, is it a Miramax movie?”

Rosanna Arquette

In the early 1990s, Mr. Weinstein asked Rosanna Arquette to stop by the Beverly Hills Hotel to pick up a script for a role.

Born into a family of actors, Ms. Arquette had already starred in a hit film, “Desperately Seeking Susan,” and “New York Stories,” and would go on to perform in films including “Crash” and television shows ranging from “Ray Donovan” to “Girls.” (Her account also appeared in The New Yorker.)

At the reception desk, she was told to head upstairs, which she found odd.

Mr. Weinstein was in a white bathrobe, com-
plaining of neck pain and asking for a massage, according to Ms. Arquette and Maria Smith, a friend she told soon afterward. Ms. Arquette said she tried to recommend a professional masseuse, but Mr. Weinstein grabbed her hand and pulled it toward his crotch. She immediate-
ly drew away, she said.

He boasted about the famous actresses he had supposedly slept with — a common ele-
ment of his come-on, according to several other women who had encounters with Mr. Weinstein. “Rosanna, you’re making a big mistake,” he re-

sponded, she said.

She refused. “I’m not that girl,” she recalled telling him on the way out. “I will never be that girl.”

The part went to someone else, and Mr. Weinstein’s representative pointed out that he did not produce the movie. Later, Ms. Arquette was in the Miramax film “Pulp Fiction” but said she avoided Mr. Weinstein.

Katherine Kendall

“Welcome to the Miramax family,” Mr. Weinstein told Katherine Kendall in 1993, she said. She was 23, and about that time he was selling his small movie company to Disney, which supplied the cash that would turn it into a cultural force.

After a meeting set up by her agent, he gave her scripts, including for the film “Beautiful Girls,” and invited her to a screening, which turned out to be a solo trip with Mr. Weinstein to a cinema near Lincoln Center in Manhattan. Afterward, he asked if they could swing by his apartment to pick something up.

Ms. Kendall said she was nervous, but it was
daytime, and she relaxed when she saw pictures of his wife on the wall. “He’s keeping it professional, he makes me a drink, we talk about movies and art and books for about an hour,” she recalled. “I thought: He’s taking me seriously.”

He went to the bathroom, came back in a robe and asked her to give him a massage, she said. “Everybody does it,” he said, according to Ms. Kendall, and mentioned a famous model’s name. She refused; he left the room, and returned nude, she said.

“He literally chased me,” she said. “He wouldn’t let me pass him to get to the door.”

Ms. Kendall said his advances had a bargaining quality: He asked if she would at least show her breasts, if nothing else.

She said no to all of it, she recounted. “I just thought to myself: I can’t believe you’re doing this to me. I’m so offended — we just had a meeting,” she said. (Her mother, Kay Kendall, said in a brief interview that her daughter told her the story at the time.)

Ms. Kendall appeared in the film “Swingers,” distributed (but not produced) by Miramax, and has worked on and off as an actor since then. But she said the episode had dampened her enthusiasm for the business.

“If this is what it takes, I can’t do it,” she said.

Judith Godrèche

When Mr. Weinstein invited Judith Godrèche to breakfast at the Cannes Film Festival in 1996, she had no idea who he was. At 24, she was already a star in France, and a new film she was in, “Ridicule,” was opening the festival. He had just acquired the movie and said he wanted to discuss it.

They had breakfast at the Hotel du Cap-Eden-Roc, joined by a female Miramax executive. After the executive left, Mr. Weinstein invited Ms. Godrèche up to his suite to see the view, and to discuss the film’s marketing and even an Oscar campaign, she said in an interview.

“I was so naïve and unprepared,” she said. Upstairs, he asked to give her a massage, Ms. Godrèche said. She said no. He argued that casual massages were an American custom — he gave them to his secretary all the time, Ms. Godrèche recalled him saying.

“The next thing I know, he’s pressing against me and pulling off my sweater,” she said. She pulled away and left the suite. (Alain Godrèche, her father, said in an interview that his daughter told him about the episode the next morning.)

Seeking advice, she later called the female Miramax executive, who told her not to say anything, lest she hurt the film’s release. “They put

Ms. Paltrow and Mr. Weinstein won Academy Awards in 1999 for “Shakespeare in Love.” Their work relations deteriorated over time.
my face on the poster,” she said. “This is Miramax,” she said. “You can’t say anything.”

Since then, Ms. Godrèche has starred in films in France and the United States. Like Ms. Paltrow, she felt she had to maintain a rapport with Mr. Weinstein, and sent him friendly emails inquiring about party invitations and potential work. “I tried to negotiate the situation over the years, and negotiate with myself and pretend it kind of never happened,” she said.

“I wish I’d had someone to talk to, to say, ‘How do you deal with this?’”

Dawn Dunning

In 2003, Dawn Dunning was doing small acting gigs, attending design school and waitressing in a nightclub where she met Mr. Weinstein.

The 24-year-old was wary, but Mr. Weinstein was friendly, professional and supportive, she said, offering her a screen test at Miramax, inviting her to lunch and dinner to talk about films and even giving her and her boyfriend tickets to see “The Producers” on Broadway.

Then his assistant invited her to a meal with Mr. Weinstein at a Manhattan hotel. Ms. Dunning headed to the restaurant, where she was told that Mr. Weinstein’s earlier meeting was running late, so she should head up to his suite.

There was no meeting. Mr. Weinstein was in a bathrobe, behind a coffee table covered with papers.

He told her they were contracts for his next three films, according to Ms. Dunning. But she could only sign them on a condition: She would have to have three-way sex with him.

Ms. Dunning said that she laughed, assuming he was joking, and that Mr. Weinstein grew angry.

“You’ll never make it in this business,” she said he told her. “This is how the business works.”

Ms. Dunning fled, she said, and when the assistant called her the next day, she hung up. She told her father, Rick Dunning, of the episode within a few months, he said in an interview.

“I was like: Maybe this is how the business works,” she said. She left acting soon after and became a costume designer.

Ellen Gabler contributed reporting.
The Reader Center is a newsroom initiative that is helping The Times build deeper ties with its readers. Katrin Bennhold and Stephen Castle contributed reporting. Grace Ashford contributed research.

October 31, 2017

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 2017

LUCAS NELSON/REUTERS/CONTRIBUTOR

The New York Times

New Accusers Expand Claims Against Weinstein Into the 1970s

Newly Emboldened, Women Speak Out And Take Action

BY JENNIFER KELLY

The Reader Center

Women are now confronting their abusers. And I have a story to share.

Fifteen years after my husband died of AIDS, I learned he’d been infected by a counselor who had lied to him about his HIV status. In Washington, a woman said he was raped by two men years ago and sued the camp to report it to the police. Another woman said she was advised to tell him she felt his behavior was normal. A woman saw a lackluster producer Harvey Weinstein came to light a little over two years ago, women of “the have” have been victimized, standing alone, without a group of women in the culture ally defending them, fighting. It has been a time of the rising of the righteous, big and small, of the Weinstein reports.

I asked an ex-contractor and he explained that there had been sexual harassment in the wrestling business:

I called the police last week.

Some women are reporting crimes and abuses when they had their.Notes.
HOPE EXINER D’AMORE said Harvey Weinstein raped her in a hotel room in the 1970s, when he was a young concert promoter in Buffalo. Cynthia Burr said that during this time, he assaulted her in an encounter that began in an elevator and ended with forced oral sex in a hallway. Ashley Matthau, a dancer with a bit part in one of his movies, said that in 2004, he pushed her down on a bed and masturbated while straddling her. Days later, she said, he paid her to keep quiet.

Three weeks after complaints of sexual harassment and misconduct by Mr. Weinstein were first reported in The New York Times, women from different continents, fields and generations have come forward with allegations of rape, sexual assault and groping. New accounts include one previously undisclosed settlement with Mr. Weinstein and expand the time frame of alleged wrongdoing to the 1970s.

Together, the accounts provide a widening tally of alleged abuses, and illustrate the toll on women who say they felt ashamed and isolated as they watched the Hollywood producer walk red carpets, pile up Oscars and showcase his ties to prominent figures.

“This has haunted me my entire life,” said Ms. Exiner d’Amore, now 62, who was in her early 20s at the time of the alleged rape.

She and three other women who spoke to The Times described Mr. Weinstein as inappropriate and unrelenting. Some said that he used the pretext of work to lure them to hotels, that he touched them or forced them into unwanted sexual activity and that he wouldn’t stop when they said no.

Ms. Matthau, the dancer who reached a settlement with Mr. Weinstein, said she was willing to break its confidentiality clause even if it meant that he might pursue legal damages. “I want to do my part to help bring this to light so it doesn’t happen with other people in Hollywood or anywhere else,” she said in an interview.

The allegations add to those previously documented in The Times, The New Yorker and elsewhere.

Last week, the actress Dominique Huett filed a lawsuit claiming that in 2010, Mr. Weinstein forcibly performed oral sex on her. The same day, Mimi Haleyi, a former production assistant of Mr. Weinstein’s, appeared at a news conference in New York accusing him of the same behavior in 2006.

The New York Police Department is conducting a wide-ranging investigation of allegations against Mr. Weinstein. Detectives with expertise in old cases are reviewing complaints that have come through the department’s hotline, according to a law enforcement official who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

In New York, the statute of limitations for prosecuting rape and other sex crimes depends on the force alleged and the charges considered, but it can range from two years to no time restrictions for the most serious offenses. Ms. Burr, the woman involved in the hallway encounter in the 1970s, said that she contacted the New York police in recent weeks and that they told her the alleged assault had happened too long ago to be prosecuted.

Women have also spoken to law enforcement authorities in London, Los Angeles and
elsewhere in the United States. The London police are investigating three sexual assault cases involving Mr. Weinstein, ranging from the 1980s to 2015.

Mr. Weinstein’s spokeswoman, Sallie Hofmeister, said in a statement that “any allegations of nonconsensual sex are unequivocally denied by Mr. Weinstein.”

**Cynthia Burr**

For 40 years, Cynthia Burr has almost never talked about the time she met Mr. Weinstein.

But she didn’t forget how he greeted her in the lobby of a beautiful old building in New York City. How he tried to kiss her in the elevator. And how, she said, he unzipped his fly and forced her to perform oral sex in a hallway.

“It was just him and me alone,” she said. “I was fearful I didn’t have the wherewithal to get away.”

It was the late 1970s, and Ms. Burr was an actress in her early 20s. Mr. Weinstein was in his mid-20s and a “real up-and-comer,” Ms. Burr remembers. Her manager said they should meet.

After the encounter, she recalls feeling ashamed. “The way he forced me made me feel really bad about myself,” she said. “What are you going to do when you are a girl just trying
Harvey Weinstein's most recent accusers include, above from left, Cynthia Burr, Hope Exiner d'Amore and Ashley Matthau.

to make it as an actress? Nobody would have believed me.”

Ms. Burr, now 62, went on to build a career in Hollywood. She appeared in “Scarface” and the first two “Lethal Weapon” films, and in soap operas and other television shows.

Eventually, she told her husband, now deceased, and a close friend, Lee Chavez, what had happened. Mr. Chavez confirmed that she had told him her account about 10 years ago.

“I’m really sad for everybody, but I’m really glad it’s out in the open,” Ms. Burr said about learning of the other allegations against Mr. Weinstein. “I finally felt like I had a voice.”

Hope Exiner d'Amore

Ms. Exiner d'Amore had worked for Mr. Weinstein for just a few weeks when he asked if she'd like to take a trip to New York City. Both of them were in their 20s, living in Buffalo in the late 1970s.

She was working for Mr. Weinstein’s concert promotion company, Harvey and Corky Productions, doing odd jobs. She was interested in film, so when Mr. Weinstein asked if she wanted to come to New York City to meet with people in the industry, she agreed.

When they got to the Park Lane Hotel, Mr. Weinstein went to the check-in desk while she waited elsewhere in the lobby, Ms. Exiner d'Amore recalled. He returned and said there had been a mistake with the reservations; there was only one room. They would have to share.

“I gave him a look like that was ridiculous,” she recalled. But she ultimately agreed, assuming it was harmless. When she got into bed that night, she said, he slipped in next to her, naked.

“I told him no. I kept pushing him away. He just wouldn't listen,” Ms. Exiner d'Amore said. “He just forced himself on me.” She said he forcibly performed oral sex and intercourse on her.

She did not tell her boyfriend, feeling ashamed, but she did confide in her next-door neighbors in Buffalo. She did not specifically say she was raped, but the couple, David and Irene Sipos, told The Times that they remembered her being extremely upset and crying when she told them about Mr. Weinstein and the hotel room.

After the trip, Ms. Exiner d'Amore said, Mr. Weinstein kept asking her out and offered her credit cards to go on shopping sprees. She declined. Within three or four weeks, she was fired.

“It was a relief,” she said. “I hated being there.”

Ms. Exiner d'Amore never went into the film industry. She got a job administering an undergraduate program at Cornell, and later moved on to jobs in fund-raising.

Ashley Matthau

Ashley Matthau said that Mr. Weinstein was aggressive with her the moment they met in 2004. She was in Puerto Rico performing in “Dirty Dancing: Havana Nights” when Mr. Weinstein visited the set. As soon as he saw her, she said, he began pressuring her to come to his hotel room for a private meeting. Ms. Matthau, who then went by her maiden name, Anderson, said she tried to brush him off, explaining that she was engaged. She said he persisted.

When the cast broke for a meal, Ms. Matthau told some production members that Mr.
Weinstein was being pushy and she was afraid. No one offered to help, she said, and when she returned to the set, Mr. Weinstein instructed her to get into a car.

“‘Don’t worry,’” Ms. Matthau, now 36, remembers him saying as they sat in the back seat. “‘Nothing is going to happen. We’re just going to discuss future projects.’”

She said they went to his hotel room, where talk quickly became sexual: Mr. Weinstein told her that he had helped launch the careers of high-profile actresses who had slept with him, and that she should consider doing the same. When she declined, Mr. Weinstein pushed her onto the bed and fondled her breasts, she said. He then stripped, straddled her and masturbated on top of her.

“I kept telling him, ‘Stop, I’m engaged,’ but he kept saying: ‘It’s just a little cuddling. It’s not a problem. It’s not like we’re having sex.’”

Back in California days later, Ms. Matthau tearfully told her fiancé, Charles Matthau, a general description of what had happened. Mr. Matthau said in an interview that he was outraged. With his encouragement, Ms. Matthau retained John S. West, a partner in the law firm of Gloria Allred, who has a record of taking on powerful men.

Soon, Ms. Matthau recalled, she and Mr. West met at the Peninsula Beverly Hills with Mr. Weinstein and Daniel M. Petrocelli, who had represented high-profile clients including Jeffrey Skilling, the chief executive of Enron.

The experience, she said, was chilling. She had attended a couple of parties at the Playboy Mansion, and Mr. Petrocelli said she would be painted as promiscuous if she went public with her accusation against Mr. Weinstein.

“‘We’ll drag you through the mud by your hair,’” she recalled the lawyer saying. Mr. Petrocelli declined to comment.

Going up against such powerful men felt like more than she could handle. Ms. Matthau said she agreed to enter into a more than $100,000 settlement with Mr. Weinstein in exchange for a legally binding promise never to speak of the allegations again.

Lacey Dorn

Lacey Dorn moved to New York City in 2011, soon after graduating from Stanford University, where she had helped create two documentaries. Ms. Dorn, then 22, was introduced to Mr. Weinstein at a New York Film Festival party.

A few weeks later, Ms. Dorn attended a Halloween party at the Gramercy Park Hotel and ran into Mr. Weinstein, who asked for her email. He wanted to talk about her career over lunch, she said.

“Great meeting you,” he wrote in the subject line of an otherwise blank email sent to her at 12:26 a.m.

On her way out of the party, Ms. Dorn said goodbye to Mr. Weinstein. As she turned her back to him, he grabbed between her legs, touching her buttocks and crotch through her clothes.

“I was so naïve, I didn’t say anything. And he didn’t say anything either,” she said. “I just got out of the party as fast as possible.”

Ms. Dorn said she never heard from Mr. Weinstein and never spoke to him again. Ms. Dorn said that when she told friends what had happened, many seemed to shrug it off as if it were a “rite of passage,” an acknowledgment of how “awful” the entertainment business could be.

Al Baker, Katrin Bennhold and Stephen Castle contributed reporting. Grace Ashford contributed research.
Feeding the Complicity Machine

Entangling Stars, Scribes and Aides in a Web of Secrets

Harvey Weinstein built his complicity machine out of the witting, the unwitting and those in between. The sexual assault investigation involving the Hollywood producer, pulled on all the levers of influence from his methodical abuse of women to his power to intimidate. The Associated Press report that estabished the court's 2015 decision establishing the right to a religious accommodation for the Colorado baker, Jack Phillips, is an illustration of how unequally a decision is enforced. It has been unlikely that the Denver ordinance will be overturned.

The case involves the refusal of a Colorado baker, Jack Phillips, to make a wedding cake for a gay couple, even though he had previously agreed to do so. The Supreme Court is poised to rule on whether the baker's action was discriminatory. It is a familiar story in America: a bigoted baker is not the first to face discrimination. But the case has gained national attention, partly because of the Colorado ordinance, but also because of the baker's refusal to make a wedding cake for a gay couple.

The Colorado Ordinance

The Colorado Ordinance is a law that prohibits discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, and sex. It was passed in 2006 and is in effect today. The ordinance is enforced by the Colorado Civil Rights Division, which investigates and resolves complaints of discrimination.

The Case

The case involves a Colorado baker, Jack Phillips, who was asked to make a wedding cake for a gay couple. Phillips refused to make the cake, even though he had previously agreed to do so.

The Supreme Court

The Supreme Court of the United States is the highest court in the land. It is responsible for interpreting the Constitution and resolving disputes between states and the federal government. The Court's decisions are final, and its rulings are binding on all other courts in the United States.

The Decision

The Supreme Court is expected to rule in favor of Jack Phillips, the baker. This decision is anticipated to have a significant impact on the rights of religious organizations and individuals.
WEINSTEIN'S COMPlicity MACHINE

STUART RAMSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Continued on Following Page

abuses, now faces accusations in a law-
mulated during his tenure. Disney, which
boasting "Corporately Irresponsible" to
al autonomy during the 12 years they
entertainment, tightly controls its opera-

Two days later, Jeff Bezos, founder and
executive who had worked with him for

Mr. Weinstein wrote. He added, "I'm
happy to coordinate with whoever you'd

Mr. Weinstein's recollections differed from those
committed sexual assault. His spokeswoman
said. From the general tone of the con-

"Hollywood" sign reading "Harvey-
With someone else, Mr. Benza discov-

Mr. Auletta, of The New Yorker, said he

American Media said that Mr. Howard
Fair, Variety and elsewhere. In Mr. Ben-

Several weeks before the article was
published, Ronan Farrow's reporting for the
New Yorker included the allegation because the wom-

At Agenda, a Patron...
WEINSTEIN'S COMPICITY MACHINE

From Preceding Page

she was being used to further the company's growth. And that was a problem, the woman said, because it's not just about sex—it's about power. Weinstein was using his power to control the women he worked with. And this is not just a problem for Weinstein—it's a problem for the industry as a whole.

According to the woman, Weinstein had a habit of asking women to have dinner with him, promising them a role or a new project. But when they arrived, he would ask them to go to his hotel room, where he would demand sex. And if they refused, he would threaten to blackball them, or tell everyone about their refusal.

The woman said that she had tried to resist Weinstein's advances, but he would become aggressive and violent. He would call her names, scream at her, and even physically attack her. And if she told someone about what had happened, he would threaten to go to the police and say that she had made false claims.

The woman said that she had reported Weinstein's behavior to the company, but nothing had been done. And she was afraid to go public with her story, for fear of losing her job or her reputation. But she knew that she was not alone, and that other women had also been victimized by Weinstein. And she knew that she had to speak up, for the sake of justice and for the sake of the women who had been hurt by Weinstein.

WEINSTEIN'S CONFIDENTIALITY SETTLEMENTS

Billboard

WEINSTEIN'S COMPICITY MACHINE

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HARVEY WEINSTEIN built his complicity machine out of the witting, the unwitting and those in between. He commanded enablers, silencers and spies, warning others who discovered his secrets to say nothing. He courted those who could provide the money or prestige to enhance his reputation as well as his power to intimidate.

In the weeks and months before allegations of his methodical abuse of women were exposed in October, Mr. Weinstein, the Hollywood producer, pulled on all the levers of his
Harvey Weinstein and his brother, Bob, at the Miramax offices in New York in 1989. They started the Weinstein Company in 2005, reportedly raising about $1 billion to do so.

carefully constructed apparatus.

He gathered ammunition, sometimes helped by the editor of The National Enquirer, who had dispatched reporters to find information that could undermine accusers. He turned to old allies, asking a partner in Creative Artists Agency, one of Hollywood's premier talent shops, to broker a meeting with a C.A.A. client, Ronan Farrow, who was reporting on Mr. Weinstein. He tried to dispense favors: While seeking to stop the actress Rose McGowan from writing in a memoir that he had sexually assaulted her, he tried to arrange a $50,000 payment to her former manager and throw new business to a literary agent advising Ms. McGowan. The agent, Lacy Lynch, replied to him in an email: “No one understands smart, intellectual and commercial like HW.”

Mr. Weinstein’s final, failed round of manipulations shows how he operated for more than three decades: by trying to turn others into instruments or shields for his behavior, according to nearly 200 interviews, internal company records and previously undisclosed emails. Some aided his actions without realizing what he was doing. Many knew something or detected hints, though few understood the scale of his sexual misconduct. Almost everyone had incentives to look the other way or reasons to stay silent. Now, even as the tally of Mr. Weinstein’s alleged misdeeds is still emerging, so is a debate about collective failure and the apportioning of blame.

Executives at Mr. Weinstein’s film companies who learned of allegations rarely took a stand, cowed by their volatile boss or worried about their careers. His brother and partner, Bob, participated in payoffs to women as far back as 1990. Some low-level assistants were pulled in: They compiled “bibles” that included
hints on facilitating encounters with women, and were required to procure his penile injections for erectile dysfunction. His lawyers crafted settlements that kept the truth from being explored, much less exposed. “When you quickly settle, there is no need to get into all the facts,” said Daniel M. Petrocelli, a lawyer who handled two agreements with accusers.

Agents and managers across Hollywood, who wanted in on Mr. Weinstein’s star-making films, sent actresses to meet him alone at hotels and advised them to stay quiet when things went wrong. “That’s just Harvey being Harvey,” more than one agent told a client. At C.A.A., for example, at least eight talent agents were told that Mr. Weinstein had harassed or menaced female clients, but agents there continued to arrange private meetings. Even Nick Wechsler, a talent manager at another firm who confronted Mr. Weinstein about Ms. McGowan, felt he had to maintain business ties with him: “Sometimes he was the only game in town.”

Mr. Weinstein held off press scrutiny with a mix of threats and enticements, drawing reporters close with the lure of access to stars, directors and celebrity-packed parties. Some journalists negotiated book and movie deals with him even as they were assigned to cover him. The studio chief once paid a gossip writer to collect juicy celebrity tidbits that Mr. Weinstein could use to barter if other reporters stumbled onto an affair he was trying to keep quiet. He was so close to David J. Pecker, the chief executive of American Media Inc., which owns The Enquirer, that he was known in the tabloid industry as an untouchable “F.O.P.” or “friend of Pecker.” That status was shared by a chosen few, including President Trump.

Disney, the kingdom of family-friendly entertainment, tightly controls its operations, but it allowed the Weinstein brothers to run the Miramax studio with virtual autonomy during the 12 years they were employees. (The pair wore T-shirts boasting “Corporately Irresponsible” to one company retreat.) Along with an impressive record of Oscars, Mr. Weinstein left Disney with a trail of settlements and claims of sexual misconduct that accumulated during his tenure. Disney, which says it was not aware of his alleged abuses, now faces accusations in a lawsuit that it “knew, should have known or was willfully blind.”

Mr. Weinstein, 65, is under investigation by law enforcement authorities in three cities. Though he has acknowledged that his behavior “has caused a lot of pain,” his lawyers denied that he committed sexual assault. His spokeswoman disputed claims of inappropriate advances in this article, saying Mr. Weinstein’s recollections differed from those of his accusers.

A master of leverage, Mr. Weinstein parlayed his films into relationships across the worlds of entertainment, politics, publishing and beyond, achieving a stature that at times proved useful in intimidating others and protecting himself. “I know the president of the United States. Who do you know?” Mr. Weinstein, a Democratic fund-raiser, would say during the years Barack Obama was in the White House, adding expletives. “I’m Harvey Weinstein,” he used to say. “You know what I can do.”

In late September, emails show, he was discussing a documentary television show he was working on with Hillary Clinton. He had long raised campaign cash for her, and her feminist credentials helped burnish his image — even though Tina Brown, the magazine editor, and Lena Dunham, the writer and actress, each say they had cautioned Mrs. Clinton’s aides about his treatment of women. Now, Mr. Weinstein exchanged questions about distribution rights for the show. “I am hopeful we can get a good price for this,” Robert Barnett, Mrs. Clinton’s lawyer, replied.

Two days later, Jeff Bezos, founder and chief executive of Amazon, interrupted a vacation in Hawaii to field advice from Mr. Weinstein, according to the emails. The Wall Street Journal was reporting on turmoil at Amazon Studios, one
of Mr. Weinstein’s business partners. He recommended an aggressive response that involved hiring some of his own team, including a libel lawyer who “makes sure everyone sticks to the right narrative,” Mr. Weinstein wrote. He added, “I’m happy to coordinate with whoever you’d like, as a friend of the court.” Mr. Bezos declined to comment.

Even as Mr. Weinstein was aware that reporters were examining his behavior, he attended the Toronto International Film Festival in September and invited two women to his hotel room. He alternated between making massage requests, other unwelcome advances and offers of career help, said the women, who asked to remain unidentified, but whose account was backed up in part through text messages and a friend who was told at the time of the encounter. Then, the women said, he issued pleas and warnings not to tell anyone. Mr. Weinstein called the account “nonsense.”

He pressured his business associates, telling Lance Maerov, an outspoken member of the Weinstein Company board, that he would find embarrassing details from his past and use them against him. He pushed Irwin Reiter, an executive who had worked with him for three decades, to speak favorably of him to reporters. When Mr. Reiter refused, he said, Mr. Weinstein responded that he had damning information about him too.

About the same time, he tried to facilitate a business deal with Ms. Lynch, the literary agent consulting with Ms. McGowan, and others. “Getting together with three intelligent women would help my image immensely,” he wrote in an email, proposing a meeting. That never happened, according to Ms. Lynch. She said that she felt Mr. Weinstein was trying to ingratiate himself with her because of her relationship to Ms. McGowan, and that she was simply playing along. Jill Messick, Ms. McGowan’s former manager, never received or accepted money from the producer, her lawyer said.

Minutes before The New York Times published the first allegations about Mr. Weinstein this fall, he called the reporters who wrote it. Swinging between flattery and threats, he said that he had ways of knowing who had cooperated with the investigation and the means to undermine it.

“I am a man who has great resources,” he warned.
At Agencies, a Failure to Act

Mia Kirshner, a Canadian actress who was 19 when she starred in the film “Exotica,” traveled to New York not long after its 1994 release. Miramax distributed the movie, and her agents at C.A.A. had set up a meeting with Mr. Weinstein at her hotel. “We thought it was a coup,” she recalled. The producer had already told Ms. Kirshner, whose grandparents had survived the Lodz ghetto in Poland, that he wanted to discuss a film about the Warsaw ghetto uprising. But when she came to her room, his agenda was to exchange sex for career opportunity, the actress said. While she rejected him, the experience left her feeling “extremely upset and alarmed and scared,” and somehow, like so many other women who say he targeted them, at fault.

She told her primary agent, Lisa Grode, who sounded shocked. In a subsequent conversation, her talent manager, John Carrabino, and his boss, Sandy Gallin, joined the call. Mr. Gallin was outraged and urged Ms. Kirshner to meet with the producer again, while wearing a wire. “I remember John and Lisa were both like, ‘Sandy, no!’” Ms. Kirshner said. From the general tone of the conversation, she concluded she should drop the matter. “I was told to forget about it; it was pointless to do anything about this,” Ms. Kirshner said.

She was grateful to Ms. Grode for signing her and for encouraging her to get a college degree, she said. But in that moment, she recalled, “I was very disappointed by them.”

“It all came down to money,” she said. “It speaks to why he was protected as opposed to the actors.“ Ms. Grode and Mr. Carrabino declined to comment; Mr. Gallin is deceased.

It is impossible to say how many women might have been spared Mr. Weinstein’s alleged sexual aggression had more agents responded with the impulse to act. At C.A.A., at least eight agents had heard about Mr. Weinstein’s behavior, largely from actresses they represented, but several former senior C.A.A. agents said they were unaware of it or any formal agency response.

In a statement, C.A.A. said it apologized “to any person the agency let down for not meeting the high expectations we place on ourselves.” Like other agencies, it said it had begun revising its management structure to include more women and improve its sexual harassment policies.

When asked if he had known of Mr. Weinstein’s alleged harassment of clients, Bryan Lourd, a partner at C.A.A., declined to comment, citing client confidentiality. In mid-September, Mr. Weinstein stormed into Mr. Lourd’s office to complain about an article that Ronan Farrow, a C.A.A. client, was writing on Mr. Weinstein’s alleged misconduct for The New Yorker, according to someone familiar with C.A.A.’s dealings with Mr. Weinstein. Later that month, Mr. Lourd tried to set up a meeting at the producer’s request.

MICHAEL D. EISNER  Disney had a sometimes rocky relationship with Miramax; Disney’s former chief executive called Mr. Weinstein a “bully” on Twitter.
“This guy won’t meet right now,” he wrote to Mr. Weinstein on Sept. 26. “He did say he will call you soon. I think he is absolutely pursuing the story.”

The top agencies are among Hollywood’s most male institutions; none has ever been led by a woman. “Given everything that has happened, agencies are suddenly on a very steep learning curve, but I think they are doing the work to create a better environment,” said Marti Noxon, a television producer. She had been disappointed in the past by an agent’s response when she reported that she had been sexually harassed.

Two decades ago, Ashley Judd, who met Mr. Weinstein in his hotel room for what she thought was a business meeting, said she turned down the producer’s repeated offers of a massage, as well his efforts to steer her toward the bathroom so she could watch him shower. After the encounter, the actress made no secret of what had transpired, and told her agent, Michelle Bohan, who was then at the William Morris Agency. “I know my agent would have done whatever I asked her to do,” Ms. Judd said. “I honestly didn’t know what to ask anyone to do.” Ms. Bohan, who remains Ms. Judd’s agent, declined to comment.

Failure to take action in the face of misconduct accusations was hardly limited to cases involving Mr. Weinstein. After complaints about his treatment of women became public, Reese Witherspoon said in a recent speech that a director had sexually assaulted her when she was 16, and she expressed anger toward “the agents and the producers who made me feel that silence was a condition of my employment.”

Agents often sign actresses when they are at peak value to the industry — just out of their teens, if not still in them — and also at peak vulnerability, given their youth. Although agents are charged with protecting their clients’ interests, they earn their living, indirectly, from the executives who write their clients’ paychecks. For agents, actors and actresses might come and go, but Mr. Weinstein was one of Hollywood’s seemingly permanent fixtures, distributing as many as 30 films a year.

In recent weeks, Ms. Paltrow has started to connect with some of those who said Mr. Weinstein cited her name in disturbing encounters. She said the phone calls with the other women have been devastating. “He’s not the first person to lie about sleeping with someone,” she said in an interview, “but he used the lie as an assault weapon.”

‘Impossible to Control’

When Disney bought Miramax in 1993, it acquired an un-Disney-like duo from New York, brothers who already had reputations as ruthless businessmen and fearsome bosses.

But the Weinsteins had an eye for talent and success in critically acclaimed art house films. They were given wide latitude — “virtual autonomy,” as Disney put it in a statement — a move meant to preserve Miramax’s creative culture. That hands-off supervision, several former executives now suggest, could have inadvertently created opportunities for misconduct that Mr. Weinstein exploited.

The Disney-Miramax relationship soon became strained. Over the years, multiple Disney executives cycled through the thankless task of monitoring the Weinsteins. They spent lavishly. They took on edgy films that made Disney uncomfortable. Without Disney’s knowledge, they negotiated to launch Talk, a magazine edited by Ms. Brown. They bristled at Disney’s restraints. “They were impossible to control,” said Bill Mechanic, a former executive. Soon...
after The Times published its story about the allegations against Mr. Weinstein, Disney’s former chief executive, Michael D. Eisner, called him “an incorrigible bully” on Twitter.

But Disney continued to bankroll the Weinstein with hundreds of millions of dollars a year — more money than they had ever handled before — and Mr. Eisner tolerated them as they were churning out hits. When Chris McGurk, then a Disney executive, broached the idea of selling Miramax in the mid-90s, he recalled Mr. Eisner saying, “I’m not selling as long I’m chairman.”

Disney said that it did not know of any complaints, lawsuits or the settlements dealing with sexual misconduct involving Mr. Weinstein, and no clear evidence to the contrary has emerged. But there were hints of other troubling behavior.

One involved a physical altercation with a male employee at a film conference in the mid-90s that resulted in a sexual settlement. About that time, the producer Sybil Robson Orr said that when she complained to Mr. Weinstein about falling short on a distribution deal, he berated her with vulgarities, pounding his desk and vowing to destroy her career, according to a 1996 lawsuit. Two Disney executives joined in the threats, she claimed.

She prevailed, receiving a “sizable award,” said Bertram Fields, the lawyer who represented her. “No one is going to do that again,” Mr. Weinstein vowed, according to a former Miramax official. The producer and his company later hired Mr. Fields and another star litigator, David Boies.

In 2004, the Weinstein turned their high-powered lawyers on Disney as a showdown loomed over growing business disagreements. The next year, Disney and the Weinsteins split. The brothers started the Weinstein Company, reportedly raising about $1 billion and attracting investors including Fidelity, Quinta Communications and Goldman Sachs, their banker. Goldman, which compiled a 142-page initial offering for investors, said it was not aware of Mr. Weinstein’s alleged misdeeds.

By that time, dozens of women had become victims of Mr. Weinstein, they now say. One of them, a Canadian who anonymously filed a lawsuit accusing him of assaulting her in 2000, said in an interview: “You do not get to trade on my physical safety for your accolades and your Oscars.”

Keeping the Media Close

Shortly after the news investigations of Mr. Weinstein’s alleged abuse were published, A.J. Benza, a former New York Daily News gossip columnist, received a two-word text from the producer: “Help me.”

Mr. Benza had been integral to the network of friendly journalists — gossip columnists, magazine writers, editors and authors — whom the
producer relied on to promote his entertainment empire and sometimes punish rivals or deflect threats.

Over dinner in West Hollywood in late 2003 or early the next year, the men had discussed a plan to help Mr. Weinstein avoid embarrassment. While married to his first wife, he had become involved with someone else, Mr. Benza discovered. A clerk at a Los Angeles art studio where he commissioned a gift for Mr. Weinstein — a painting of a reimagined “Hollywood” sign reading “Harveywood” — volunteered to Mr. Benza that a friend, Georgina Chapman, was seeing the producer. Mr. Weinstein, who would later marry Ms. Chapman, was separated and wanted to keep the relationship confidential until he was divorced, according to his spokeswoman, Sallie Hofmeister.

Mr. Benza, then between jobs, had a suggestion. “I could supply your P.R. girls with a lot of gossip — a lot of stories — and if people come at them with the ‘Harvey’s having an affair story,’ they can barter,” Mr. Benza recalled telling Mr. Weinstein. “He said, ‘A.J., it’s got to be good stories,’ and I said, ‘Don’t you worry about it.’”

Collecting a monthly retainer, Mr. Benza said, he reported items on Roger Clemens, Michael Jackson and others and sent them to Mr. Weinstein’s communications team, though he didn’t know whether they were used to trade away stories about the producer. Mr. Weinstein’s spokeswoman said the payments to Mr. Benza were for public relations work during Miramax’s dispute with Disney.

After 10 months, Mr. Weinstein said, “I think the coast is clear; I think we beat this thing,” according to Mr. Benza, who recently had a brief stint as a writer for American Media and also runs his own gossip podcast, “Fame Is a Bitch.”

Mr. Benza and Mr. Weinstein were exploiting a longstanding system of favor-trading between the press and the movie business. Gossip writers need a stream of insider scoops, industry beat reporters need exclusives on the next big deal and glossy magazines need celebrities who can drive newsstand sales. Mr. Weinstein, who wanted glowing coverage, could provide that and more.

The producer often held out business opportunities to those who covered him. He had book and movie deals with writers and editors at Fox News, The New York Post, Premiere magazine, Vanity Fair, Variety and elsewhere. In Mr. Benza’s case, a book contract came immediately after he left The Daily News. In interviews, several journalists who had business ties to him said the arrangements did not cause them to pull punches.

He had particularly strong ties to the tabloid giant American Media — owner of The Enquirer, Globe, OK!, Radar Online and others — with which he teamed up to pursue several media and production deals.

On occasion, Mr. Weinstein’s defenses showed cracks. Two journalists learned of assault accusations against him — David Carr and Ken Auletta — while writing warts-and-all profiles of him in the early 2000s.

Mr. Auletta, of The New Yorker, said he learned about a sexual assault allegation that a former assistant had made against the producer, and a related settlement that required confidentiality. Mr. Auletta said that he and his editors concluded just before publishing that
they could not include the allegation because the woman would not agree to cooperate.

Mr. Carr, a New York Times columnist who died in 2015, heard about Ms. McGowan's assault allegation and other accusations while reporting a profile for New York magazine in 2001, his editors said.

Several weeks before the article was published, Kroll, a private investigative agency that did work for Mr. Weinstein, provided him with some details of Mr. Carr’s reporting, according to a former Miramax executive who spoke on the condition of anonymity. Mr. Carr wrote in the profile that Mr. Weinstein seemed to have “near-perfect visibility into my notebook,” and told friends that Mr. Weinstein called him before publication to read a line he had written.

His spokeswoman dismissed the account as “urban legend,” and a top Kroll executive, Daniel E. Karson, did not respond to a request for comment.

Mr. Carr’s article also did not include any sexual misconduct allegations; Caroline Miller, then New York’s editor, said that none of the women would speak on the record. That same wall of silence would stymie other journalists in the years that followed.

Playing the Gossip Card

Mr. Weinstein’s secrets began seeping out in March 2015, after the New York City police questioned him about an allegation that he groped an Italian model, Ambra Battilana.

As he and his legal team worked to undermine Ms. Battilana’s credibility, American Media entered the picture.

Mr. Weinstein had struck a business deal earlier that year with American Media, working with Dylan Howard, The Enquirer's editor and the company’s chief content officer, on a talk show. American Media was known to sometimes help out allies in trouble with a strategy known in tabloid newsrooms as “catch and kill” — acquiring exclusive rights to damaging stories and then not publishing them.

In the Battilana case, the company scrambled to buy her story. But a sale never went through, American Media said, because Ms. Battilana’s price was too high. She said, through a spokesman, that she “never sought out or solicited any offers.” Documentation reviewed by The Times, in fact, shows her rebuffing an attempt to pay her. Prosecutors ultimately did not pursue charges against Mr. Weinstein, citing insufficient evidence, and the story did not appear in America Media publications.

A few months later American Media and the Weinstein Company expanded their partnership. And after two actresses, Ms. Judd and Ms. McGowan, made veiled mention of misconduct by Mr. Weinstein in 2015 and 2016, Mr. Howard came to his aid. The Weinstein Company told the editor about Ms. McGowan's allegations and said “it might be a good article for him to pursue,” according to Ms. Hofmeister, the producer’s spokeswoman. She said that Mr. Howard was never asked to “dig up damaging information on actresses.”

Mr. Howard dispatched a reporter at the entertainment news service Coleman-Rayner, which works with American Media, to collect hostile commentary about Ms. McGowan. “This is killer. Especially if my fingerprints r not on this,” Mr. Weinstein wrote in an email obtained by The Times and first reported in The New Yorker.

In November last year, Lauren O’Connor, a former Weinstein Company employee who had written a blistering memo asserting sexual harassment and other misconduct by Mr. Weinstein, received calls from a Coleman-Rayner reporter. He said he was working on a story about “major studio heads” and kept pressing her to speak even when she declined. She said it made her so uncomfortable she reported the phone call to her lawyer.

American Media has acknowledged that it sometimes worked to gather information to help Mr. Weinstein because of mutual business interests. “To the extent AMI provided ‘off the record’ information to Mr. Weinstein about his accusers,” the company said in a statement, it did so “at a time when Mr. Weinstein was denying any harassment.” The statement said Mr. Howard would not have allowed the information to be published.

(On Tuesday, The Associated Press reported that American Media had conducted an inquiry in 2012 into sexual harassment allegations against Mr. Howard, but concluded there had been no serious wrongdoing.)

By fall last year, Mr. Weinstein was trying to stop what he feared would be a story about the allegations against him by New York magazine. Once again, he called on Mr. Benza, meeting him at the Peninsula Beverly Hills that October.
Saying the magazine was "doing a Bill Cosby on me," Mr. Weinstein asked for help, Mr. Benza recalled. He said he did not believe at the time that the studio chief had abused women, and despite feeling a debt of loyalty, would not have knowingly participated in a scheme to silence victims.

He said Mr. Weinstein suggested that Mr. Benza pose as an author "writing a hit job," so he could call potential sources to learn what they were saying about the producer. Mr. Weinstein discussed paying Mr. Benza up to $20,000 a month and providing a list of contacts, Mr. Benza said, though the producer never followed through. Mr. Weinstein's spokeswoman denied that he had proposed the scheme.

But a list was shared with Mr. Howard, who sent Mr. Weinstein an email last December with an attachment called "Contacts" and a note reading, "Let's discuss next steps on each."

The New York magazine piece never materialized; the accusers would not speak on the record. But The Times, NBC and then The New Yorker began pursuing their own stories.

The day before The Times published its article this fall, Mr. Weinstein was planning to make his last defense. He wrote an urgent email to Mr. Howard, instructing him to meet outside the newspaper's headquarters in Manhattan. American Media said that Mr. Howard did not show.

The Celebrity Shield

If Mr. Weinstein built his wall of invulnerability from many varied bricks, it was covered with a sheen of celebrity. He created stars through his movies, but he also acquired famous friends through his other activities, including in the Democratic politics that dominate Hollywood.

Chief among them were Bill and Hillary Clinton. Over the years, Mr. Weinstein provided them with campaign cash and Hollywood star power, inviting Mrs. Clinton to glittery premieres and offering to send her films. After Mr. Clinton faced impeachment in the Monica Lewinsky scandal, he donated $10,000 to Mr. Clinton's legal defense fund. Mr. Weinstein was a fund-raiser and informal adviser during Mrs. Clinton's 2000 Senate campaign, a guest in her hotel suite when she won and host of an A-list victory party. He was an early backer of both her presidential bids.

Mr. Weinstein's political activity — he provided consistent support for Mr. Obama as well — boosted his image as a man with friends in high places and close ties to the country's leading female politician. It is not clear if rumors of his record of sexual misconduct had ever reached them.

But two prominent women said they warned Mrs. Clinton's team. In 2016, Lena Dunham, the writer and actress, said she was troubled by the producer's visible presence...
during Mrs. Clinton’s presidential run, hosting fund-raisers and appearing at campaign events. She had heard stories, both directly and secondhand from other actresses, about disturbing encounters with him, she said. So in March last year, Ms. Dunham, a vocal Clinton supporter, said she warned the campaign.

“I just want you to let you know that Harvey’s a rapist and this is going to come out at some point,” Ms. Dunham said she told Kristina Schake, the campaign’s deputy communications director. She recalled adding, “I think it’s a really bad idea for him to host fund-raisers and be involved because it’s an open secret in Hollywood that he has a problem with sexual assault.”

Earlier, during the 2008 presidential race, Tina Brown, the magazine editor, said she cautioned a member of Mrs. Clinton’s inner circle about him. “I was hearing that Harvey’s sleaziness with women had escalated since I left Talk in 2002 and she was unwise to be so closely associated with him,” Ms. Brown said in an email.

Ms. Dunham said that Ms. Schake seemed surprised at her warning, and that Ms. Schake said she would tell Robby Mook, the campaign manager; Ms. Dunham recalled in an interview.

With the Democratic National Convention approaching in summer 2016, Ms. Dunham said she also warned Adrienne Elrod, a spokeswoman for Mrs. Clinton who was leading efforts with celebrity campaigners. As far as Ms. Dunham could tell, the campaign had not responded to her concerns about Mr. Weinstein. Weeks before Election Day, the producer helped organize a star-packed fund-raiser: an evening on Broadway with Julia Roberts, Anne Hathaway and others.

Ms. Elrod and Ms. Schake, through Mrs. Clinton’s communications director, denied that Ms. Dunham mentioned rape, while Mr. Mook said that no one had ever alerted him about the producer.

Nick Merrill, the communications director, said in a statement: “We were shocked when we learned what he’d done. It’s despicable behavior, and the women that have come forward have shown enormous courage. As to claims about a warning, that’s something staff wouldn’t forget.” Referring to Ms. Dunham, the statement continued, “Only she can answer why she would tell them instead of those who could stop him.” Mr. Merrill added that no one could find people from the 2008 campaign who could recall a warning from Ms. Brown.
Mrs. Clinton herself said in a statement in October that she was “shocked and appalled by the revelations,” adding that the alleged behavior “cannot be tolerated.”

While Ms. Dunham says she has “an incredible allegiance to Hillary,” and does not believe the reports ever traveled to Mrs. Clinton, she remains troubled by what had happened. “A year and a half ago, on one of the most progressive campaigns in history, this wasn’t a problem,” she said, referring to the allegations about Mr. Weinstein.

(Ms. Dunham herself stirred controversy recently for defending a former colleague accused of sexual assault, though she later apologized.)

Days after Mrs. Clinton’s election loss, the Clintons had dinner with Mr. Weinstein, Mr. Boies, the lawyer, and their wives at Rao’s restaurant in Harlem, Manhattan.

Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Weinstein began planning a documentary TV show about her campaign. Discussions about the project stretched out for months with her lawyer, Robert Barnett, who emailed with Mr. Weinstein on Sept. 28 about potential European buyers.

In a statement, Mr. Barnett said that “talks were ongoing until the allegations surfaced, at which point all discussions ceased — completely and permanently.”

At Work, ‘Nothing Was Done’

Beginning in 2014, one of Harvey Weinstein’s longest-serving employees had an overdue realization that he needed to do something about his boss’s treatment of women.

Irwin Reiter had done finance and accounting work for Mr. Weinstein for three decades. He knew the outlines of a few alarming episodes with female employees over the years, but he had never intervened. Like many others, he had brushed aside Mr. Weinstein’s private relations with actresses, figuring it was an embarrassing but consensual extramarital habit.

Now Mr. Reiter watched the public accusations mount against Bill Cosby. He learned that Mr. Weinstein allegedly harassed a new employee named Emily Nestor, offering her career help in return for sex. Sandeep Rehal, then a 28-year-old assistant, began confiding in him about some of Mr. Weinstein’s demands. She had to rent him a furnished apartment, using his corporate credit card to stock it with women’s lingerie, flowers, two bathrobes and extra clothes for Mr. Weinstein.

Mr. Weinstein had long used his company credit card with abandon, relying on assistants to classify what was business or personal, sometimes writing checks to reimburse the company, according to several current and former employees. Now, on top of his salary — $2 million before bonuses in 2015, according to his contract — he wanted the business to pay expenses including a $27,000 tip for yacht staff and a private jet stop in Europe to pick up a model. Mr. Reiter and other executives also began to question why he was putting women on movie production payrolls without clear assignments.

“How many???????????????? How many are enough???? How many are too much???” Mr. Reiter wrote in a February 2015 email to Tom Prince, the head of physical production.

“We fly ‘actresses’ in from all over the world for 1-2 lines of dialogue,” Mr. Prince wrote back.

In a statement, Mr. Weinstein’s lawyers, Blair Berk and Ben Brafman, said that he never used “company resources for personal expenditures,” and that he reimbursed the company “where there was any confusion.”

Concerned that his boss’s activities were “going to take the company down,” Mr. Reiter and other executives decided they should act. But Mr. Weinstein was the dominant figure in the company. He and his brother owned nearly half the business and served as co-chairmen, and he packed the board with allies.

Fellow executives helped mask Mr. Weinstein’s behavior going back to 1990. That year, a 23-year-old assistant said he sexually assaulted her when she ran an errand at his home. Bob Weinstein worked on the confidential settlement, according to two people familiar with the agreement — the first of at least three he would be involved in over the years. In a statement, Bob Weinstein said he did not recall being informed of the initial settlement, and denied being aware that his money was used to pay off two other accusers.

After the episode with the young assistant, Harvey Weinstein confessed that he had done “something terrible,” according to John Schmidt, then Miramax’s chief financial officer. “I don’t know what got into me. It won’t happen again,” Mr. Schmidt, in an interview, recalled Mr. Weinstein telling him. Mr. Weinstein denied
having this conversation.

But the allegations kept coming. Even as other women at the company complained of abuse, Mr. Weinstein was never fully held to account. In 1998, Zelda Perkins, an assistant in London, confronted him about harassing her and allegedly assaulting a colleague. Donna Gigliotti, a senior executive who had left Miramax a few years earlier, recommended a lawyer and encouraged Ms. Perkins to demand more settlement money. But “Shakespeare in Love,” which Ms. Gigliotti had produced with Mr. Weinstein, was about to be released. “She clearly felt that it was perfectly fine to get me to down Harvey,” Ms. Perkins said. But “she wasn’t going to stick her neck out.”

“When Zelda told me what happened to her colleague, I was horrified,” Ms. Gigliotti said in a recent email. “Once I was sure she had good independent counsel, I thought it best to let her lawyer determine how to approach and deal with Harvey. I did what I thought was best for Zelda,” she said, adding that she did not speak to Mr. Weinstein for years afterward.

In 2010, Ms. Gigliotti resumed working with Mr. Weinstein, becoming the president of production at his company. She left a year later.

The Weinstein brothers used “fear, intimidation, psychological and emotional abuse” on their executives, male and female, said Amy Israel, Miramax’s former co-head of acquisitions.

“As a spectator to the abuse you were silenced by the fear that you would become the next target,” she said. “The only alternative seemingly was to quit — to throw away everything you had worked so hard for and walk out the door.”

Even as someone with stature, Ms. Israel was not immune: Mr. Weinstein promoted her, praised her work, then harassed her, she said. When she stopped by his hotel room to pick him up for a film festival screening in 1994, she said, he was nearly naked and asked her for a massage.

“I reported the incident to someone more senior,” she said. “And I was told that another one of my other colleagues had also been harassed. But no one had ever bothered to warn me. Even after reporting it, nothing was done.” She started warning female colleagues never to be alone with Mr. Weinstein, she said.

The human resources department was seen by many as protecting Mr. Weinstein more than his employees. When Ms. O’Connor complained that she was frightened to travel with Mr. Weinstein, “the response was basically, ‘let us know if he hits you or crosses a line physically,’” she wrote in a 2015 memo. After she submitted a document detailing allegations of sexual harassment and other misconduct by Mr. Weinstein, Mr. Boies and another lawyer helped reach a settlement with her.
“The first time I spoke out, the message from H.R. was, ‘This is not our problem,’” Ms. O’Connor said in an interview. “The second time I spoke up the response was, ‘How can we quickly make this go away?’”

Mr. Weinstein shielded himself with legal measures that silenced alleged victims and muffled employees. Mr. Weinstein has said he struck at least eight to 12 settlements with women claiming mistreatment, according to two associates who spoke on the condition of anonymity. Steve Hutensky, a Miramax lawyer nicknamed the Cleaner-Upper by some colleagues, helped write an agreement with Ms. Perkins in 1998 that barred her from disclosing Mr. Weinstein’s name, even to a therapist, and required her to provide “reasonable assistance” to Miramax if the company chose to contest any criminal investigation that might arise.

Mr. Hutensky also helped implement an unusually restrictive nondisclosure agreement, obtained by The Times, that prohibited Miramax employees from disclosing any information about “Harvey Weinstein and Bob Weinstein and their family members, friends and/or business associates,” without the written consent of the brothers. Mr. Hutensky declined to comment.

Mr. Boies, a trusted adviser to Mr. Weinstein, signed a contract this summer with Black Cube, a private investigative firm founded by former intelligence analysts from the Israel Defense Forces. The firm was hired to block The Times’s reporting about Mr. Weinstein, and an operative posed as a women’s rights advocate to get information from an accuser, The New Yorker reported. Black Cube declined to discuss its operations, and Mr. Boies said he did not select the firm or direct its work.

Mr. Weinstein cast some of his youngest and least powerful employees in the most uncomfortable roles. In recent weeks, their actions have become a matter of painful debate: Were they careerists doing whatever it took to advance, or victims themselves?

Some women whom the producer allegedly targeted describe assistants manipulating them with chilling detachment. In 2004, when Ashley Matthau was a dancer in a Weinstein film, she said his assistant ushered her into a car, told her that the meeting with the producer was for business purposes and then waited outside a hotel room. There, she said, Mr. Weinstein pushed her on a bed and masturbated on her. When she walked out, the assistant was waiting. Ms. Matthau began to cry, but the woman “wouldn’t even acknowledge me,” she said. “It just seemed like a well-oiled machine.” She later reached a settlement with Mr. Weinstein.

Protesting could get an assistant fired: Michelle Franklin, who worked in London in 2012, said her initial alarm about arranging encounters only escalated as she saw women who appeared emotionally bruised by them. One day, as she guided a woman to Mr. Weinstein’s hotel room, she confronted him. “It’s not my job, and I don’t want to do it,” she remembers saying. “Your opinion doesn’t count,” she said he responded. She was fired soon after.

Others stayed quiet because they felt like they shared a shameful secret. “You become more and more aware of everything going on, then you realize what it is you’re cleaning up, and you don’t ever want to tell anyone that — friends, family, my parents — what kind of job this is,” Ms. Rehal said. She and Ms. Franklin said they were tasked with procuring injectable erectile dysfunction drugs, Caverject and alprostadil. Mr. Weinstein paid with his company card and gave Ms. Rehal a $500 bonus for supplying the medication, she said. Ms. Rehal said she had to keep a supply of the shots at her desk, dispense them to him in brown paper bags and sometimes deliver the medication to hotels and elsewhere before his meetings with women. She and Ms. O’Connor said they had to escort Mr. Weinstein to sex-addiction therapy in 2015.

Mr. Weinstein somehow knew personal information about Ms. Rehal, mentioning her student loans and where her younger sister attended school and saying he could have her kicked out. Rewards awaited those who went along, he said. “This is Harvey Weinstein University, and I decide if you graduate,” he told Ms. Rehal and other assistants. Other former employees recall him saying, “One phone call and you’re done.” Mr. Weinstein denied threatening Ms. Rehal about her sister.

Even as Mr. Reiter learned more, he said his efforts to stop Mr. Weinstein went nowhere: The man and the business were too intertwined. Mr. Reiter several times confronted Mr. Weinstein, who brushed him off. Along with David Glasser, the president, and Andy Kim, the chief financial officer, Mr. Reiter voiced concerns with
Weinstein's Confidentiality Settlements

Harvey Weinstein, 65, is under investigation by law enforcement authorities in three cities. He is said to have struck at least eight to 12 settlements with women claiming mistreatment, according to two associates who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

ZELDA PERKINS
A former assistant, she confronted Mr. Weinstein in 1998 about harassing her.

ROSE McGOWAN
Mr. Weinstein tried to stop the actress from writing that he had sexually assaulted her.

ASHLEY MATTHAU
A dancer, she said Mr. Weinstein had pushed her on a bed and masturbated on her.

FROM LEFT: JAN WEST/PA IMAGES; VIA GETTY IMAGES; MICHAEL TULLBERG;GETTY IMAGES; NEILSON BARNARD/GETTY IMAGES

Your Obligations

1. Confidentiality

(i) You are not to disclose any personal information or any other confidential information on the company or anyone connected with it. Remember that “confidential” is defined extremely widely: it includes anything to do with the Agreement or the circumstances surrounding it but also any information that came into your knowledge as a result of your employment, whether or not it is “confidential” by any objective standard.

(ii) The terms of the agreement mean that you cannot discuss the matter any further even with people to whom you have already made disclosures (as detailed in Schedule 5);

(iii) In the event that you breach the confidentiality agreement, you shall have to repay the £125,000 paid to you by the company. The breach must be a “material one”. It is explicitly provided that disclosing any confidential information regarding the mutually designated party and members of his family would be a material breach. Whether any other, less significant breach of the confidentiality agreement would constitute a material breach would be a question of fact: however it is safest to assume that any disclosure of any information about the company and/or its employees would constitute a material breach.

a board member in summer 2015 about whether Mr. Weinstein’s employment contract should be renewed. The executives put together a plan with Bob Weinstein to eject his brother from the company — they called it “Plan B” or the “non-Harvey option,” according to Mr. Reiter. In the end, the board renewed his contract.

Soon Mr. Reiter found himself under scrutiny. Mr. Boies acknowledged to Mr. Reiter that a security firm was scanning his computer, Mr. Reiter said. It was not the first time Harvey Weinstein had surveilled his associates: Years before, a former Miramax executive who was in a legal dispute with the producer and his company said operatives from Beau Dietl & Associates tailed him, even while he and his wife drove their children to school in Westchester County, N.Y. Richard A. Dietl, head of the private investigative firm, said he could not recall working for Mr. Weinstein.

A decade ago, Kroll investigators spent weeks sifting through employee emails looking for derogatory comments about Mr. Weinstein, searching for phrases like “hate Harvey” and
another that used the word “fat” followed by an expletive, according to a person familiar with the undertaking. More recently, when Mr. Weinstein heard that Jessica Lewis, a casting director on the television show “Marco Polo,” was discussing his behavior toward women, he told her, “I have ears and eyes everywhere!”

Just before the Times investigation was published, Mr. Weinstein asked Mr. Reiter to speak favorably about him to reporters: “If you don’t help me, 180 people will lose their jobs,” Mr. Weinstein said, according to the finance official.

When he refused, Mr. Weinstein threatened: “You’re not so clean either — I have stuff on you,” he said, referring to a decades-old anecdote about Mr. Reiter repeatedly calling a female co-worker. Mr. Reiter said that he saw her being grabbed at a bar, tried to intervene and called her multiple times the next day to discuss what had happened.

“He modus operandi was always to try to find something on someone else,” Mr. Reiter said. Through his spokeswoman, Mr. Weinstein denied threatening Mr. Reiter.

After years of support for Mr. Weinstein, most of the board members have now quit, while publicly staying silent. Privately, at least one expressed loyalty. On Oct. 7, the day before he was ousted from his own company, Mr. Weinstein received an email from the investor Paul Tudor Jones.

“I love you,” he wrote, while detailing the steps Mr. Weinstein should take to rehabilitate his image. Mr. Jones told The Times that he condemned Mr. Weinstein’s alleged misconduct and wanted to encourage him to get help.

“Focus on the future as America loves a great comeback story,” he wrote to the movie producer.

He finished: “The good news is, this will go away sooner than you think and it will be forgotten!”

Conflicts Arise In Big Fortune For Trump Duo

BY RICH LIPUT

For nearly two decades, Bill O'Reilly has been a key figure at Fox News, hosting a popular cable news show and leaving a legacy of influence. But his tenure has been marred by allegations of sexual harassment and inappropriate behavior towards female colleagues.

The Women's Media Center, a nonprofit organization that works to advance women's rights, launched a sexual harassment lawsuit against O'Reilly in March 2017. The case was settled out of court, with O'Reilly paying a undisclosed sum to the accusers.

O'Reilly's departure from Fox News was met with mixed reactions. Some praised him for his honesty and straightforwardness, while others condemned his behavior.

The exit of O'Reilly has left a significant void at Fox News, where he was one of the channel's most popular hosts. The network has been working to fill the gap, with several new programs and hosts being introduced.

The women who reached settlements with O'Reilly have spoken out about their experiences, saying they often felt isolated and helpless in the face of his behavior.

The story of O'Reilly's departure continues to unfold, raising questions about the culture and practices at Fox News and the broader media industry.

The Empty Space They Call Home

Astronauts on Mars have to grow their own food, but what if they could grow their own homes? A team of scientists at NASA's Kennedy Space Center is working on a new experiment that could revolutionize space exploration.

The experiment involves growing a type of algae that can produce a material called polyurethane. This material could be used to create lightweight, durable structures that could serve as habitats for future astronauts.

The experiment is being carried out on the International Space Station, where astronauts will monitor the growth and development of the algae.

If successful, this experiment could pave the way for new construction techniques that could be used in space exploration. It could also have implications for terrestrial construction, where lightweight and durable materials are always in demand.

O'Reilly Thrives as Settlements Add Up

Roughly $13 Million Paid Out to Address Women’s Complaints About Fox Host

The women who made allegations against Bill O'Reilly have received a total of $13 million in settlements.

The three women who reached settlements with O'Reilly have all made a public statement about their experiences, saying they often felt isolated and helpless in the face of his behavior.

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They Can Hit a Ball 400 Feet. But Play Catch? That’s Tricky.

In a world of professional baseball, hitting and pitching are the most visible and门槛最高的两项技能。但是，那些在大联盟中打过比赛的投手们却经常在门外汉面前显得很笨拙。

在他们看来，这可能是因为他们的身体条件和手法不适宜进行接球。他们的身体条件和投手相去甚远，而接球的技巧则要复杂得多。

但是，一些球员却能将接球技巧运用得炉火纯青，他们用他们的身体和技巧将接球做得有声有色。

这些球员通常都有着长年累月的经验，他们对球的轨迹和速度有着深刻的理解。他们能够根据球的速度和轨迹，做出准确的接球。

这些球员们的动作往往都很优雅，他们用他们的身体和技巧将接球做得有声有色。他们的接球技巧已经成为了大联盟中的一项必看技能。

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As Settlements Add Up, O'Reilly Thrives at Fox

Host on Fox

Settlement

2002

2011

2016

No lawsuit or settlement

Settlement

2011

Settlement

2016

Details on the allegations against Mr. O'Reilly have emerged slowly, with the first settlement in 2002 when Ms. Mackris filed a sexual harassment complaint against him. The case was settled out of court, and Ms. Mackris received an undisclosed payout and was bound by a confidentiality agreement, people familiar with the deal said. The exact amount she was paid is not known, but it was far less than the $19 million that she said she was offered as a settlement after the suit was made public.

In 2015, another woman, Ms. Walsh, the former guest on Mr. O'Reilly's show, appeared on Fox News to discuss her complaints about him. She said romantic relationships at the network were “coerced, controlled and fearful,” and that she feared making complaints to human resources or leaving Fox News. "If you want to stay in the game and not lose your job, you don't make a complaint," she said.

In court papers, the network maintained that Ms. Walsh had recorded conversations with Mr. O'Reilly, and the amounts she received in both settlements were not made public. The network also said she had been disciplined.

Ailes scandal. The network is facing an investigation by the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and Kantar Media.

Mr. O'Reilly's audience has grown over the years, as Fox News has become more popular. According to PricewaterhouseCoopers, the network's total share of the audience for all prime-time shows was 8.5 percent in 2016, up from 7.5 percent the year before.

Mr. O'Reilly dismissed the allegations. "I have always worked to provide a positive workplace for everyone," he said. "This is the first time I am being accused of behaving inappropriately."
O’Reilly Thrives as Settlements Add Up

Roughly $13 Million Paid Out to Address Women’s Complaints About Fox Host

By EMILY STEEL and MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT

For nearly two decades, Bill O’Reilly has been Fox News’s top asset, building the No. 1 program in cable news for a network that has pulled in billions of dollars in revenues for its parent company, 21st Century Fox.

Behind the scenes, the company has repeatedly stood by Mr. O’Reilly as he faced a series of allegations of sexual harassment or other inappropriate behavior.

An investigation by The New York Times has found a total of five women who have received payouts from either Mr. O’Reilly or the company in exchange for agreeing to not pursue litigation or speak about their accusations against him. The agreements totaled about $13 million.

Two settlements came after the network’s former chairman, Roger Ailes, was dismissed last summer in the wake of a sexual harassment scandal, when the company said it did not tolerate behavior that “disrespects women or contributes to an uncomfortable work environment.”

The women who made allegations against Mr. O’Reilly either worked for him or appeared on his show. They have complained about a wide range of behavior, including verbal abuse, lewd comments, unwanted advances and phone calls in which it sounded as if Mr. O’Reilly was masturbating, according to documents and interviews.

The reporting suggests a pattern: As an influential figure in the newsroom, Mr. O’Reilly would create a bond with some women by offering advice and promising to help them professionally. He then would pursue sexual relationships with them, causing some to fear that if they rebuffed him, their careers would stall.

Of the five settlements, two were previously known — one for about $9 million in 2004 with a producer, and another struck last year with a former on-air personality, which The Times reported on in January. The Times has learned new details related to those cases.

Bill O’Reilly, the top-rated host at Fox News, on the set of “The O’Reilly Factor” in New York City.
The three other settlements were uncovered by The Times. Two involved sexual harassment claims against Mr. O’Reilly, and the other was for verbal abuse related to an episode in which he berated a young producer in front of newsroom colleagues.

Besides the women who reached settlements, two other women have spoken of inappropriate behavior by the host. A former regular guest on his show, Wendy Walsh, told The Times that after she rebuffed an advance from him he didn’t follow through on a verbal offer to secure her a lucrative position at the network. And a former Fox News host named Andrea Tantaros said Mr. O’Reilly sexually harassed her in a lawsuit she filed last summer against the network and Mr. Ailes.

Representatives for 21st Century Fox would not discuss specific accusations against Mr. O’Reilly, but in a written statement to The Times the company acknowledged it had addressed the issue with him.

“21st Century Fox takes matters of workplace behavior very seriously,” the statement said. “Notwithstanding the fact that no current or former Fox News employee ever took advantage of the 21st Century Fox hotline to raise a concern about Bill O’Reilly, even anonymously, we have looked into these matters over the last few months and discussed them with Mr. O’Reilly. While he denies the merits of these claims, Mr. O’Reilly has resolved those he regarded as his personal responsibility. Mr. O’Reilly is fully committed to supporting our efforts to improve the environment for all our employees at Fox News.”

According to legal experts, companies occasionally settle disputes that they believe have little merit because it is less risky than taking the matters to trial, which can be costly and create a string of embarrassing headlines.

The revelations about Mr. O’Reilly, 67, come after sexual harassment accusations against Mr. Ailes led to an internal investigation that found women at Fox News faced harassment. Current and former Fox News employees told The Times that they feared making complaints to network executives or the human resources department.

Mr. Ailes, who has denied the allegations against him, received $40 million as part of his exit package. The company has reached settlements with at least six women who accused Mr. Ailes of sexual harassment, according to a person briefed on the agreements.

At the time of Mr. Ailes’s departure, 21st Century Fox’s top executives, James and Lachlan Murdoch, the sons of the executive chairman, Rupert Murdoch, said the company was committed to “maintaining a work environment based on trust and respect.”

Since then, the company has struck two settlements involving Mr. O’Reilly, and learned of one Mr. O’Reilly reached secretly in 2011.

The company declined to answer questions about whether Mr. O’Reilly had ever been disciplined.

Mr. O’Reilly has thrived since joining Fox News in 1996. He earns an annual salary of about $18 million as the host of “The O’Reilly Factor.” Every weeknight at 8 p.m., he presents a pugnacious, anti-political-correctness viewpoint and a fervent strain of patriotism that appeals to conservative viewers.

His value to the company is enormous. From 2014 through 2016, the show generated more than $446 million in advertising revenues, according to the research firm Kantar Media.

This is a sensitive time for Fox News as it continues to deal with the fallout of the Ailes scandal. The network is facing an investigation by the United States attorney’s office in Manhattan, which is looking into how the company structured settlements. Fox News has said that neither it nor 21st Century Fox has received a subpoena but that they have “been in communication with the U.S. attorney’s office for months.”

Details on the allegations against Mr. O’Reilly and the company’s handling of them are based on more than five dozen interviews with current and former employees of Fox News and its former and current parent companies, News Corporation and 21st Century Fox; representatives for the network; and people close to Mr. O’Reilly and the women. Most spoke on the condition of anonymity, citing confidentiality agreements and fear of retaliation. The Times also examined more than 100 pages of documents and court filings related to the complaints.

Ms. Walsh, the former guest on Mr. O’Reilly’s show, said his offer to make her a contributor never materialized after she declined an invitation to go to his hotel suite after a dinner in 2013. “I feel bad that some of these old guys are
Growing Importance to Fox

Bill O'Reilly is an essential asset to Fox News. His No.1 cable news show made about $178 million in advertising revenue in 2015, and gained viewers in the prelude to the election and since. Meanwhile, Fox News’s financial contribution to its parent company, 21st Century Fox, has also been growing.

More people are watching Bill O’Reilly’s show on Fox News …

… and Fox News accounts for a significant, and growing, share of its parent company’s profits.

Note: Operating income figures are Fox News cash flow and 21st Century Fox OIBDA (operating income before depreciation and amortization) | Sources: Nielsen (total viewers); Kantar Media (“O’Reilly Factor” ad revenue figure); SNL Kagan, via Pivotal Research Group (revenue and operating profit)
being a target for those who would
ren and who would do anything to
obtaining sex for somebody.”

She said romantic relationships
at the workplace “should never
happen when there is an imbalance
of power and colleagues shouldn’t
unwittingly be manipulated into
obtaining sex for somebody.”

Just over a week ago, Mr. O’Reilly hired the crisis commu-
nications expert Mark Fabiani —
who worked in the Clinton White
House — to respond to The Times.
In a statement, Mr. O’Reilly sug-
gested that his prominence made
him a target.

“Just like other prominent and
controversial people,” the state-
ment read, “I’m vulnerable to law-
suits from individuals who want me
to pay them to avoid negative pub-
llicity. In my more than 20 years at
Fox News Channel, no one has ever
filed a complaint about me with the
Human Resources Department,
even on the anonymous hotline.

“But most importantly, I’m a fa-
ther who cares deeply for my chil-
dren and who would do anything to
avoid hurting them in any way. And
so I have put to rest any controver-
sies to spare my children.

“The worst part of my job is
being a target for those who would
harm me and my employer, the Fox
News Channel. Those of us in the
arena are constantly at risk, as are our families
and children. My primary efforts will continue
to be to put forth an honest TV program and to
protect those close to me.”

Fredric S. Newman, a lawyer for Mr.
O’Reilly, said in a statement Friday evening,
“We are now seriously considering legal action
to defend Mr. O’Reilly’s reputation.”

Lurid Claims Burst Into View

Fox News has been aware of complaints
about inappropriate behavior by Mr. O’Reilly
since at least 2002, when Mr. O’Reilly stormed
into the newsroom and screamed at a young
producer, according to current and former em-
ployees, some of whom witnessed the incident.

Shortly thereafter, the woman, Rachel Witli-
eb Bernstein, left the network with a payout and
bound by a confidentiality agreement, people fa-
miliar with the deal said. The exact amount she
was paid is not known, but it was far less than
the other settlements. The case did not involve
sexual harassment.

Two years later, allegations about Mr.
O’Reilly entered the public arena in lurid fash-
ion when a producer on his show, Andrea Mack-
r里斯, then 33, filed a sexual harassment lawsuit
against him. In the suit, she said he had told

Bill O’Reilly, Fox News’s top asset, has faced a series of sexual harass-
ment allegations going back years. He has said the claims have no merit.
her to buy a vibrator, called her at times when it sounded as if he was masturbating and described sexual fantasies involving her. Ms. Mackris had recorded some of the conversations, people familiar with the case said.

Ms. Mackris also said in the suit that Mr. O’Reilly, who was married at the time (he and his wife divorced in 2011), threatened her, saying he would make any woman who complained about his behavior “pay so dearly that she’ll wish she’d never been born.”

Fox News and Mr. O’Reilly adopted an aggressive strategy that served as a stark warning of what could happen to women if they came forward with complaints, current and former employees told The Times.

Before Ms. Mackris even filed suit, Fox News and Mr. O’Reilly surprised her with a pre-emptive suit of their own, asserting she was seeking to extort $60 million in return for not going public with “scandalous and scurrilous” claims about him.

“This is the single most evil thing I have ever experienced, and I have seen a lot,” he said on his show the day both suits were filed. “But these people picked the wrong guy.”

A public relations firm was hired to help shape the narrative in Mr. O’Reilly’s favor, and the private investigator Bo Dietl was retained to dig up information on Ms. Mackris. The goal was to depict her as a promiscuous woman, deeply in debt, who was trying to shake down Mr. O’Reilly, according to people briefed on the strategy. Several unflattering stories about her appeared in the tabloids.

After two weeks of sensational headlines, the two sides settled, and Mr. O’Reilly agreed to pay Ms. Mackris about $9 million, according to people briefed on the agreement. The parties agreed to issue a public statement that “no wrongdoing whatsoever” had occurred.

**Settling Behind Closed Doors**

In the years that followed, Mr. O’Reilly and Fox News dealt with sexual harassment allegations in private, striking agreements with three more women.

In 2011, Rebecca Gomez Diamond, who had hosted a show on the Fox Business Network — also supervised by Mr. Ailes — was told the network was not renewing her contract. Similar to Ms. Mackris, she had recorded conversations...
with Mr. O’Reilly, according to people familiar with the case. Armed with the recordings, her lawyers went to the company and outlined her complaints against him.

Ms. Diamond left the network, bound by a confidentiality agreement, and Mr. O’Reilly paid the settlement, two of the people said. The exact amount of the payout is not known.

Although that deal was made nearly six years ago, Fox News’s parent company, 21st Century Fox, learned of it only in late 2016 when it conducted an investigation into Fox News under Mr. Ailes’s tenure, according to another person familiar with the matter.

In the aftermath of Mr. Ailes’s ouster last summer, as 21st Century Fox was completing settlements and trying to put the scandal behind it, it reached deals with two women who had complained about sexual harassment by Mr. O’Reilly.

One was Laurie Dhue, a Fox News anchor from 2000 to 2008. Though Ms. Dhue had not raised sexual harassment issues during her tenure or upon her departure, her lawyers went to the company to outline her harassment claims against Mr. O’Reilly and Mr. Ailes, according to people briefed on the complaints. In response, 21st Century Fox reached a settlement with her for over $1 million, according to a person briefed on the agreement.

In September, 21st Century Fox reached a settlement worth $1.6 million with Juliet Huddy, who had made regular appearances on Mr. O’Reilly’s show, according to people familiar with the matter. Ms. Huddy’s lawyers had told the company that Mr. O’Reilly pursued a sexual relationship in 2011, at a time he exerted significant influence over her airtime.

Among Ms. Huddy’s complaints was that he made inappropriate phone calls, the lawyers said in correspondence obtained by The Times. The letter said that when he tried to kiss her, she pulled away and fell to the ground and he didn’t help her up.

When she rebuffed him, he tried to blunt her career prospects, the letter said.

Ms. Huddy was eventually moved to an early morning show on WNYW, an affiliate station, where she worked until she left the company in September.

Before Ms. Huddy reached an agreement with 21st Century Fox, Mr. Newman, Mr. O’Reilly’s lawyer, sent a letter to her lawyer outlining some embarrassing personal issues he said Ms. Huddy had. He stated that she would “face significant credibility concerns if she tries to pursue a claim against Mr. O’Reilly.” The letter, which was obtained by The Times, said that if she were to follow through with a claim against Mr. O’Reilly, he would pursue legal action “to hold Ms. Huddy, and all who have assisted her, personally liable for any damage suffered by him or his family.”

In January, when The Times and others reported on Ms. Huddy’s settlement, representatives for Fox News and Mr. O’Reilly dismissed the allegations.

Fox News is now in a legal battle with Ms. Tantaros, the former on-air personality who is suing the network and Mr. Ailes after turning down a settlement offer of nearly $1 million. Mr. O’Reilly is not a defendant, but in the suit Ms. Tantaros said that in early 2016 Mr. O’Reilly had asked “her to come to stay with him on Long Island where it would be ‘very private,’” and told her “on more than one occasion that he could ‘see [her] as a wild girl,’” according to court documents.

In an affidavit filed under oath, Ms. Tantaros’s psychologist, Michele Berdy, who treated her from 2013 to 2016, said she recalled “a number of occasions when Andrea complained to me about recurring unwanted advances from Bill O’Reilly.”

Fox News said it investigated Ms. Tantaros’s claims and found them baseless. The company explained her departure by saying she published a book that violated company policy. In court papers, the network said that she “is not a victim; she is an opportunist” and that her allegations bore “all the hallmarks of the wannabe.”

Ms. Walsh, the former guest on “The O’Reilly Factor,” told The Times she was propositioned by Mr. O’Reilly in 2013 but did not lodge a complaint because she did not want to harm her career prospects.

Ms. Walsh said that she met Mr. O’Reilly for a dinner, arranged by his secretary, at the restaurant in the Hotel Bel-Air in Los Angeles. During the dinner, she said, he told her he was friends with Mr. Ailes, and promised to make her a network contributor — a job that can pay several hundred thousand dollars a year.
O'Reilly’s Accusers, Over the Years

Since 2002, five former employees of Fox News have received settlements after they made allegations about Bill O’Reilly including verbal abuse, lewd comments and unwanted sexual advances. Two other women have also made similar allegations.

2002 Settlement
RACHEL WITLIEB BERNSTEIN
Junior producer at Fox News. The case did not involve sexual harassment.

2011 Settlement
REBECCA GOMEZ DIAMOND
Host on Fox Business Network

2016 Settlement
LAURIE DHUE
Anchor at Fox News

2016 Settlement
JULIET HUDDY
On-air personality at Fox News

2016 Allegations in suit against Fox News
ANDREA TANTAROS
Fox News host

ANDREA MACKRIS
Producer on “The O’Reilly Factor”
After dinner, she said, Mr. O’Reilly invited her to his hotel suite. Ms. Walsh said she declined. Trying to remain cordial, she suggested that they go to the hotel bar instead. Once there, she said, he became hostile, telling her that she could forget any career advice he had given her and that she was on her own. He also told her that her black leather purse was ugly.

Ms. Walsh continued to appear on his show for about four months, but she said she sensed that he had become cold toward her on camera. Then, a producer for “The O’Reilly Factor” told Ms. Walsh that she would no longer appear on the show. She was never made a contributor.

“I knew my hopes of a career at Fox News were in jeopardy after that evening,” said Ms. Walsh, now an adjunct professor of psychology at California State University, Channel Islands, and a radio host at KFI AM 640 in Los Angeles.

A person briefed on the network’s decision said that Ms. Walsh was removed from the broadcast because the program’s ratings declined during her segments.

Shadowing Another’s Exile

Ms. Mackris, the producer who sued Mr. O’Reilly in 2004, never worked in television news again.

In the years after the dispute, she suffered from post-traumatic stress and spent years seeing a therapist, struggling to figure out how to create a new life, according to interviews with people close to her at the time.

Ms. Mackris’s settlement prevents her from talking about Fox News and her dispute with Mr. O’Reilly, according to people briefed on the deal. But she is allowed to talk about her life now.

Today, Ms. Mackris lives with her cats in an art-filled condo in her hometown, St. Louis, where she keeps bowls of colorful gumballs on tabletops. Her family is close by. She has traveled the world, volunteered, returned to school, discovered prayer and meditation, and started writing.

She is working on a book she researched and wrote over the past four years about a
woman who fled Romania during World War II.

“A few years ago, I heard about a pair of natural pearl earrings forgotten in a drawer for 35 years that had just sold for millions at auction,” Ms. Mackris said. “They’d been given to a woman named Elena Lupescu by the king of Romania who ruled up until World War II, and I was immediately and completely taken by her story.”

“She lived in exile,” Ms. Mackris continued. “She lived in silence. And I got really curious about three things: How did she live with it all? Did she forgive them? And was she free?”

At Fox News, Mr. O’Reilly has continued his dominance. In the months since the presidential election, as the network has pulled in record ratings, his show has averaged 3.9 million viewers a night, according to Nielsen. Since September, he has released three books, including one for children, adding to his growing publishing empire. And in February, Mr. O’Reilly landed a coveted interview with President Trump before the Super Bowl.

Mr. O’Reilly was an early defender of Mr. Ailes and Fox News during that sexual harassment scandal last summer. His support remained resolute into the fall, after the company had reached agreements to settle the harassment claims from Ms. Huddy and Ms. Dhue. In November, he chided Megyn Kelly, his colleague at the time, after she described being sexually harassed by Mr. Ailes in her memoir.

“If somebody is paying you a wage, you owe that person or company allegiance,” he said on his nightly show, without mentioning Ms. Kelly by name. “You don’t like what’s happening in the workplace, go to human resources or leave.”

Kitty Bennett, Doris Burke and Alain Delaquérière contributed research.
Fast Offenses Are Sacking the Huddle, Long a Part of N.F.L. Lore

By BILL PENDELTON

For more than a century, the huddle has been one of the most enduring features of American football, a confessional huddle circle where the idea of John Henry Johnson passed down to the 21st-century quarterback. It was a true怜悯 and a symbol of teamwork. It was a safe place for players to gather and discuss their strategies and plans. In the past, the huddle was closely guarded by the NFL and its rules. However, in recent years, the huddle has been increasingly broken up by offenses that prefer to use the no-huddle offense instead.

Although the NFL has not made a formal decision to change the huddle rules, the league is considering a proposal that would allow teams to use the no-huddle offense more frequently. The proposed rule change would allow teams to use the no-huddle offense on any play, regardless of whether they are on offense or defense. The league is expected to vote on the proposal in the coming weeks.

The no-huddle offense has been gaining popularity in recent years, particularly among teams that want to avoid the huddle's time-consuming nature. The no-huddle offense allows teams to make plays quickly and without the huddle, which can be an advantage in certain situations. However, the huddle has been a part of the NFL for more than a century, and many fans and players believe it is an integral part of the game.

With Bannon’s Help, a Populist Plots Revenge in Mississippi

BY JENNIFER W. PETERSON

WASHINGTON — For years, Mississippi Sen. Thad Cochran has been a Republican stalwart, working to build a moderate political consensus in a state that is often more ideologically divided.

But in 2014, he was challenged for the Republican nomination by a populist candidate, Chris McDaniel, who had entered the race with the help of a conservative darling, Donald Trump.

With Bannon’s help, the populist candidate could not overcome the incumbent senator, who was able to use his experience and established networks to fend off the challenge. Cochran went on to win the primary, but the campaign highlighted the growing appeal of populist candidates in the Republican Party.

Since then, Cochran has faced new challenges, including a July primary election in which his former chief of staff, Wicker, defeated him. In the wake of his defeat, Cochran announced that he would not run for re-election in 2020, effectively clearing the way for a new candidate to challenge the incumbent senator.

As a result, the race in Mississippi has become a key test of the appeal of populist candidates in the Republican Party. The race is being closely watched by political analysts, who believe it could have implications for the future of the party.

The race in Mississippi is expected to be competitive, with both candidates vying for the support of moderate and conservative voters. The winner of the race will occupy a stolen seat, which Cochran has held for more than two decades.

The race is expected to be a key battle in the 2020 election cycle, with both parties hoping to gain a foothold in the state. The outcome could have implications for the future of the Republican Party, and it will be closely watched by political analysts and observers.
O'Reilly Settled Claim, Then Got a New Contract at Fox

In recent weeks, Mr. O'Reilly has made several public appearances to promote a new book, but his show has been pulled from the air without notice. Mr. O'Reilly has denied all the allegations of harassment.

In the case of the O'Reilly settlement, the public outcry and advertising boycott posed a significant threat to their business empire.

O'Reilly's new contract came as an acquisition by 21st Century Fox.

Since 2016, after the settlement with Ms. Wiehl, Fox News has not made public any allegations involving Mr. O'Reilly.

Following the settlement, Mr. O'Reilly's lawyer, Fredric S. Newman, said the case had been resolved with a financial settlement.

In a statement provided this past week, the company said "Mr. O'Reilly's settlement case as an acquisition by 21st Century Fox.

In the email, Mr. Zweifach explained to The Times his efforts to ensure that all allegations involving Mr. O'Reilly are properly investigated and that the network takes responsibility for the claims.

Clarifying the Case

A graduate of Harvard Law School, Mr. O'Reilly has been involved in a number of legal disputes, including a number of sexual harassment lawsuits.

The company's decision to settle with Mr. O'Reilly has been criticized by some who believe the settlement was made to silence the allegations.

In the end, some of the truth about Mr. O'Reilly's behavior has been revealed, but much remains unknown about the nature of the disputes and the terms of the settlements.

The Women Who Received Settlements

Since 2016, six former Fox News employees have received settlements from the network.

The largest of those settlements was $25 million, from about $18 million. It's not clear that it would be told the financial details of the settlement but did not include the dollar figure.

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O’Reilly Settled Claim, Then Got a New Fox Deal

Host Said to Pay Out $32 Million in Case on Harassment

By EMILY STEEL and MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT

LAST January, six months after Fox News ousted its chairman amid a sexual harassment scandal, the network’s top-rated host at the time, Bill O’Reilly, struck a $32 million agreement with a longtime network analyst to settle new sexual harassment allegations, according to two people briefed on the matter — an extraordinarily large amount for such cases.

Although the deal has not been previously made public, the network’s parent company, 21st Century Fox, acknowledges that it was aware of the woman’s complaints about Mr. O’Reilly. They included allegations of repeated harassment, a nonconsensual sexual relationship and the sending of gay pornography and other sexually explicit material to her, according to the people briefed on the matter.

It was at least the sixth agreement — and by far the largest — made by either Mr. O’Reilly or the company to settle harassment allegations against him. Despite that record, 21st Century Fox began contract negotiations with Mr. O’Reilly, and in February granted him a four-year extension that paid $25 million a year.

Interviews with people familiar with the settlement, and documents obtained by The New York Times, show how the company tried and ultimately failed to contain the second wave of a sexual harassment crisis that initially burst into public view the previous summer and cost the Fox News chairman, Roger Ailes, and eventually Mr. O’Reilly, their jobs.

In January, the reporting shows, Rupert Murdoch and his sons, Lachlan and James, the top executives at 21st Century Fox, made a business calculation to stand by Mr. O’Reilly despite his most recent, and potentially most explosive, harassment dispute.

Their decision came as the company was trying to convince its employees, its board and the public that it had cleaned up the network’s workplace culture. At the same time, they were determined to hold on to Mr. O’Reilly, whose value to the network increased after the departure of another prominent host, Megyn Kelly.

But by April, the Murdochs decided to jettison Mr. O’Reilly as some of the settlements became public and posed a significant threat to their business empire.

Early that month, The Times reported on five settlements involving Mr. O’Reilly, leading advertisers to boycott his show and spawning protests calling for his ouster. About the same time, the O’Reilly settlements arose as an issue in 21st Century Fox’s attempt to buy the European satellite company Sky.

In addition, federal prosecutors who had been investigating the network’s handling of sexual harassment complaints against Mr. Ailes had asked for material related to allegations involving Mr. O’Reilly, according to an internal Fox email obtained by The Times.

“ Their legal theory has been that we hid the fact that we had a problem with Roger,” Gerson Zweifach, Fox’s general counsel, wrote in the email, referring to the prosecutors and Mr. Ailes, “and now it will be applied to O’Reilly, and they will insist on full knowledge of all complaints about O’Reilly’s behavior in the workplace, regardless of who settled them.”

He warned the Murdochs that they should expect details from the January settlement to become public. Six days later, Mr. O’Reilly was fired.

In a statement, 21st Century Fox said it was not privy to the amount of the settlement and
Bill O’Reilly is said to have settled a harassment case with Lis Wiehl for $32 million. Soon after, he began contract negotiations with 21st Century Fox.

regarded Mr. O’Reilly’s January settlement, which was reached with a 15-year Fox News analyst named Lis Wiehl, as a personal issue between the two of them.

Regarding Mr. O’Reilly’s contract extension, the company said Fox News “surely would have wanted to renew” Mr. O’Reilly’s contract, noting that “he was the biggest star in cable TV.”

It emphasized that provisions were added to the new contract that allowed for his dismissal if new allegations or other relevant information arose. “The company subsequently acted based on the terms of this contract,” the statement said.

In an interview on Wednesday, Mr. O’Reilly, at times combative and defiant, said there was no merit to any of the allegations against him. “I never mistreated anyone,” he said, adding that he had resolved matters privately because he wanted to protect his children from the publicity.

“It’s politically and financially motivated,” he said of the public outcry over the allegations against him, “and we can prove it with shocking information, but I’m not going to sit here in a courtroom for a year and a half and let my kids get beaten up every single day.’’

Bill O’Reilly

He declined to specifically address questions about the settlement with Ms. Wiehl or any others.

Mr. O’Reilly’s lawyer, Fredric S. Newman, described his client’s relationship with Ms. Wiehl as an 18-year friendship in which she at times gave him legal advice.

Asked about the allegation of a nonconsensual sexual relationship, a representative for Mr. O’Reilly, Mark Fabiani, said that 21st Century Fox was “well aware” Ms. Wiehl had signed a sworn affidavit “renouncing all allegations against him,” adding that after receiving the document Fox News offered Mr. O’Reilly “a record breaking contract.”

Lawyers for Ms. Wiehl, Jonathan S. Abady and O. Andrew F. Wilson of the firm Emery Celli Brinckerhoff & Abady, declined to comment.

Details of the settlement and how the com-
pany handled the O'Reilly situation emerged from interviews with two people briefed on the agreement and several others familiar with the dispute; all of them spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive private negotiations. The Times also viewed a copy of a document partly outlining the agreement and other documents related to the dispute, and received answers to written questions from 21st Century Fox.

The disclosure of Ms. Wiehl’s settlement follows a wave of public accusations against the Hollywood studio mogul Harvey Weinstein, which has increased scrutiny of sexual harassment in the workplace. The Times reported this month that Mr. Weinstein had reached at least eight settlements with women, most of whom received between $80,000 to $150,000.

Ms. Wiehl’s $32 million deal dwarfs other previously known sexual harassment settlements at Fox News. The largest of those was the $20 million payout the former host Gretchen Carlson received after she sued Mr. Ailes in July 2016.

The settlement with Ms. Wiehl was more than three times the amount of any of Mr. O’Reilly’s previously known deals; in 2004, he had settled a lawsuit with a producer, Andrea Mackris, for about $9 million. Publicly known harassment settlements involving Mr. O’Reilly have totaled about $45 million.

**Claims Covering 15 Years**

A graduate of Harvard Law School, Ms. Wiehl started making regular appearances on Mr. O’Reilly’s show in 2001, when she joined Fox News as a legal analyst. During a segment in September of that year, Mr. O’Reilly announced that Ms. Wiehl had landed a job at the network and said she owed him.

“Hey, you know, Lis, I got you this job,” he said. “You know that?”

“I know you did, I know,” she replied.

“So you owe me,” Mr. O’Reilly said. “You owe me big.”

“No, no, no,” Ms. Wiehl said.

Mr. O’Reilly also made suggestive remarks to Ms. Wiehl on the air. During one segment on his radio show in 2005 about a strip club, he suggested that she learn how to dance for a $10,000 tip.

Ms. Wiehl last appeared on Mr. O’Reilly’s show on Dec. 20, 2016. On Jan. 2, Mr. O’Reilly received a draft of a lawsuit Ms. Wiehl was threatening to file outlining her allegations of sexual harassment, and 21st Century Fox received a copy of the complaint soon afterward.

Both Mr. O’Reilly and 21st Century Fox were at critical junctures. If the allegations became public, they would not only embarrass Mr. O’Reilly and harm his career, but could jeopardize his yearslong custody battle with his ex-wife. A hearing was set for later that month, when Mr. O’Reilly’s lawyers planned to argue that he should be given more time with his son, according to two people familiar with the dispute.

At Fox News, Ms. Kelly had just announced that she was leaving the network for NBC. Her departure made Mr. O’Reilly’s presence in the prime-time lineup even more crucial, with his show pulling in top ratings and generating hundreds of millions of dollars in revenue.

Mr. Newman told 21st Century Fox that Mr. O’Reilly considered it a personal matter and that he would resolve it on his own. Mr. Newman handled the negotiations with lawyers for Ms. Wiehl.

After a few days of negotiation, Mr. O’Reilly and Ms. Wiehl reached a deal, according to a copy of the term sheet for the agreement that was sent anonymously to The Times and confirmed by the people briefed on the settlement.
Dated Jan. 7, it called for Ms. Wiehl to be paid over a period of time to ensure her silence. In return, she agreed not to sue Mr. O’Reilly, Fox News or 21st Century Fox. And all photos, text messages and other communications between the two would be destroyed.

Ms. Wiehl signed an affidavit, dated Jan. 17 and obtained by The Times, stating that the two sides had resolved their dispute and that she had “no claims against Bill O’Reilly concerning any of those emails or any of the allegations in the draft complaint.” In the affidavit, she said she had worked as a lawyer for Mr. O’Reilly and was serving in that capacity when he sent her “explicit emails that were sent to him.”

In response to questions about why he sent sexually explicit material to Ms. Wiehl, Mr. O’Reilly said that during his time at the network, he had been sent threatening messages almost every day, including some that had obscene material. To deal with this problem, Mr. O’Reilly said, he set up a system in which the material would be forwarded to his lawyers so they could evaluate whether he needed to take any legal action. Mr. O’Reilly said Ms. Wiehl was among those lawyers.

Although the matter had been settled confidentially, Mr. O’Reilly’s lawyers were concerned about keeping the dollar figure secret. Mr. Newman provided the company with a document that informed them of the deal but did not include the dollar figure.

The company said Mr. Newman made clear that it would not be told the financial terms because Mr. O’Reilly thought the company “leaked sensitive information.”

In February, Mr. O’Reilly received his new contract, with a salary increase to $25 million, from about $18 million. It’s not clear who initiated negotiations for the extension. Mr. Newman says Fox News pushed to renew the contract; the company says the negotiations were bilateral.

“It was Fox News that wanted to renew Bill O’Reilly because of the Megyn Kelly defection,” Mr. Newman said, adding that Mr. O’Reilly was a wealthy man who had no need for extra money. The company said it would have renewed his contract whether Ms. Kelly stayed or left.

Mr. Fabiani, Mr. O’Reilly’s representative, said that he was concerned that 21st Century Fox’s statements about Mr. O’Reilly were designed to hurt his brand.

“Up to this point, Fox News and Mr. O’Reilly have had a constructive business relationship — with Fox News even running ads for his new book on their air,” Mr. Newman said. “We hope that all the leaks coming out of Fox are not designed to hurt Bill O’Reilly in the marketplace.”

‘A Critical Development’

In mid-April, after The Times revealed five of Mr. O’Reilly’s settlements, the public scrutiny was creating more problems for Fox, and the company started an investigation into his behavior. On April 13, Mr. Zweifach, the company’s general counsel, notified the Murdochs about a new document request from federal prosecutors investigating the network.

“We have had a critical development in the O’Reilly matter,” Mr. Zweifach wrote in an email, which was delivered anonymously to The Times. (The company declined to comment on the email.)

In the email, Mr. Zweifach explained to the Murdochs that the government request for all documents related to sexual harassment allegations against Mr. O’Reilly would “clearly call for the production of the Wiehl materials.”

Mr. Zweifach said 21st Century Fox could try to challenge the request by telling prosecutors that the case had not been settled by the company, so shareholder money was not involved. But he added that there was “virtually no chance that they will back off.”

“The fact that it seems like a bogus theory
of federal securities law disclosure will not stop them from exploring it,” Mr. Zweifach added.

The public outcry, advertising boycott and federal inquiry were not the only issues weighing on the Murdochs. The bid for the Sky satellite company was a high priority for the elder Mr. Murdoch, an acquisition he considered important to his legacy.

Mr. O’Reilly’s settlements arose as an issue at an April 18 meeting between 21st Century Fox executives and the British regulators who were reviewing the company’s bid, according to a government report on the meeting. The report said regulators were “concerned that board members regarded Mr. O’Reilly’s settling cases personally as somehow a point in his favor.”

A day after the meeting with regulators, while Mr. O’Reilly was on vacation in Italy, he was dismissed. He left the network with a $25 million payout.

In a statement provided this past week, the company said: “21st Century Fox has taken concerted action to transform Fox News including installing new leaders, overhauling management and on-air talent, expanding training, and increasing the channels through which employees can report harassment or discrimination.” It added that “these changes come from the top.”

The company’s bid for Sky remains under regulatory scrutiny.

In response to questions from The Times, the company said that it had “complied fully” with document requests from the United States attorney’s office and that “it would be inappropriate to comment on a pending investigation other than to reiterate that we are cooperating fully.”

In recent weeks Mr. O’Reilly has made several public appearances to promote a new book. He said on the “Today” show that he never sent a lewd text or email to a Fox News employee, that his conscience is clear and that “a political and financial hit job” brought him down.

“This is horrible, it’s horrible what I went through, horrible what my family went through,” Mr. O’Reilly said in a raised voice at the end of the interview with The Times. “This is crap, and you know it.”
WASHINGTON — The sting of failure on health care still lingered in the Senate on Aug. 3, ... , low 29. Tomorrow, a good deal of sunshine, chillier, high 38. Weather map is on Page A22.

$2.50
December 20, 2017

The sting of failure on health care still lingered in the Senate on Aug. 3, when Senate leaders failed to advance an amendment to a Democrat-sponsored bill. The Senate was in recess all weekend, and we need a vote that allows us to act.

There was no vote.

The stung bipartisan majority back in Washington was evident in a letter that threatened to explain that they would explain that they might adopt a Republican-focused amendment to their bill — and to explain that they might adopt a Republican-focused amendment to their bill.
Workers describe a mix of sex, swagger, and asexual harassment at Ford factories. In 2018, women workers at the Chicago Assembly Plant said they were subjected to sex, swagger, and asexual harassment.

"Each time that I was taking it, again and again, it just felt like, you know, it was just -- like, the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- the -- th
After #MeToo, Women At Ford's Factories Ask, 'What About Us?'

By Alain Dejean

Reporting was contributed by Alain Dejean, Agustin Armendariz and Sara Siddiqui. Many of the women back then felt besieged by a culture of sexual misconduct that was rooted in tacitly tolerated harassment at Chicago Assembly Plant. Union officials said they witnessed it and conducted more than 300 complaints of harassment or sexual assault. But just the other week, she was stunned to hear that the man has no filter.
The jobs were the best they would ever have: collecting union wages while working at Ford, one of America’s most storied companies. But inside two Chicago plants, the women found menace.

Bosses and fellow laborers treated them as property or prey. Men crudely commented on their breasts and buttocks; graffiti of penises was carved into tables, spray-painted onto floors and scribbled onto walls. They groped women, pressed against them, simulated sex acts or masturbated in front of them. Supervisors traded better assignments for sex and punished those who refused.

That was a quarter-century ago. Today, women at those plants say they have been subjected to many of the same abuses. And like those who complained before them, they say they were mocked, dismissed, threatened and
ostracized. One described being called “snitch bitch,” while another was accused of “raping the company.” Many of the men who they say hounded them kept their jobs.

In August, the federal agency that combats workplace discrimination, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, reached a $10 million settlement with Ford for sexual and racial harassment at the two Chicago plants. A lawsuit is still making its way through the courts. This, too, happened before: In the 1990s, a string of lawsuits and an E.E.O.C. investigation resulted in a $22 million settlement and a commitment by Ford to crack down.

For Sharon Dunn, who sued Ford back then, the new lawsuit was a fresh blow. “For all the good that was supposed to come out of what happened to us, it seems like Ford did nothing,” she said. “If I had that choice today, I wouldn’t say a damn word.”

In recent months, as women have spoken out about harassment — at media companies and technology start-ups, in the entertainment industry and on Capitol Hill — they have spurred quick action, with accused men toppling from lofty positions, corporations pledging change and lawmakers promising new protections.

But much less attention has been focused on the plight of blue-collar workers, like those on Ford’s factory floors. After the #MeToo movement opened a global floodgate of accounts of mistreatment, a former Chicago worker proposed a new campaign: “#WhatAboutUs.”

Their story reveals the stubborn persistence of harassment in an industry once the exclusive preserve of men, where abuses can be especially brazen. For the Ford women, the harassment has endured even though they work for a multinational corporation with a professional human resources operation, even though they are members of one of the country’s most powerful unions, even though a federal agency and then a federal judge sided with them, and even after independent monitors policed the factory floors for several years.

At a moment when so many people are demanding that sexual harassment no longer be tolerated, the story of the Ford plants shows the challenges of transforming a culture.

Workers describe a mix of sex, swagger, suspicion and racial resentment that makes the factories — the Chicago Assembly Plant and the Chicago Stamping Plant — particularly volatile.

The plants are self-enclosed worlds where employees pass on job referrals so relatives, classmates and longtime friends can work together. They share gossip and rumors, but also keep secrets that entrench bad behavior. Many
feel deep loyalty to Ford and their union, and resent the female accusers, fearing they may damage the company and jeopardize good paychecks and generous benefits. Some women are suspected of gaming a system where sex is a powerful lever.

Ford has worked to combat harassment at the plants, including recently stepping up disciplinary efforts and installing new leadership. But over the years the company did not act aggressively or consistently enough to root out the problem, according to interviews with more than 100 current and former employees and industry experts, and a review of legal documents.

Ford delayed firing those accused of harassment, leaving workers to conclude that offenders would go unpunished. It let sexual harassment training wane and, women charge, failed to stamp out retaliation.

The local union, obliged to protect both accusers and the accused, was divided, with a leadership that included alleged predators. And even the outsiders whom women turned to for help, including lawyers and the E.E.O.C., left some of them feeling betrayed.

Ford officials say they view the harassment as episodic, not systemic, with an outbreak in the ’90s and another beginning in 2010 as new workers flooded in. They say they take all claims seriously and investigate them thoroughly. Responding to the national outcry over sexual harassment, Ford’s chief executive, Jim Hackett, released a video to employees last week about appropriate behavior. “The test would be if you go to work, have experiences, and go home and tell your family about it and be proud of what went on,” he said. “We do not expect or accept any harassment in the workplaces here at Ford.”

Shirley Cain, who arrived at the stamping plant five years ago and had to fend off advances from supervisors and co-workers alike, was skeptical. “That’s not the reality,” she said. “They don’t even go on the floor, so they don’t know what goes on.”

‘Fresh Meat!’

From the beginning, the women were targets. The first warning often came during orientation as new hires were paraded through the Chicago Assembly Plant. Shirley Thomas-Moore, a teacher who came to Ford to make better money, recalled the scene in the mid-80s: A man would hit his hammer on a railing, summoning the attention of the factory floor. “Fresh meat!” the male workers hollered.

“When they come in, everybody’s: ‘Oh man, look at her. Nah, this is going to be mine,’” recalled her husband, Terrance Moore, who also worked at the plant.

Men still stake their claims today, according

“Each time that I was taking it, again and again, it just felt like more of me diminishing.”

SUZETTE WRIGHT
to workers. Some women say they know how to shut down unwanted advances — “I don't play,” they snap — while others say they have never encountered harassment. But James Jones, a union representative, said the problem should not be minimized, describing the attitude of many men at the factories: “You’re going to want to eat that porterhouse steak.”

The giant Chicago Assembly Plant sprawls like a low-slung fortress over an isolated stretch of Chicago’s South Side near the Indiana border. The oldest continuously operating plant at a company that once revolutionized manufacturing with the Model T, it now churns out Ford Explorers and Tauruses.

Women joined the work force during World War II, when the factory made M8 armored cars. But it was not until the 1970s that they routinely held permanent jobs on the line. By then, Ford had built a second factory, the Chicago Stamping Plant, to supply parts. Today, the two plants employ about 5,700; just under a third are women.

As women were finding their way into Ford, the nation’s manufacturing base was eroding, and overseas competition threatened the auto industry.

Darnise Hardy, one of the first women to arrive, was told by male workers that she belonged at home in the kitchen. Ms. Thomas-Moore, who arrived a few years later, said some men felt that the newcomers were taking their jobs. Two decades later, a foreman told Suzette Wright that women should never have been hired.

A job at Ford was considered a golden ticket. When Ms. Wright, a 23-year-old single mother, was offered a spot at Chicago Assembly in 1993, she was “crazy insane elated.” She had been working part-time jobs as a hair salon receptionist and a data entry clerk. In an instant, her hourly wage tripled, to about $15. With overtime, workers could earn $70,000 or more a year, good money for those without a college degree — and an incentive to put up with a lot.

Ms. Wright and others discovered a robust underground economy at the assembly plant: Everything from toys and televisions to drugs and guns were for sale inside, and sex outside. On the line, she would hear men regaling one another with stories about late-night parties with strippers in the parking lot. Ms. Thomas-Moore’s father, who worked at the stamping factory, saw prostitutes and makeshift liquor trucks as he waited to pick her up from Chicago Assembly. “Baby girl,” she remembers him saying, “I can't believe this is part of Ford.”

As Ms. Wright settled in, she asked a co-worker to explain something: Why were men calling out “peanut butter legs” when she arrived in the morning? He demurred, but she

“A lot of them felt like that wasn’t a place for a woman.”
DARNISE HARDY

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From Page A1

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From Page A1
Top, the Chicago Assembly Plant, as seen in 1953, is Ford's oldest in continuous operation. Female workers at Chicago Assembly have described a culture of sexual misconduct, retaliation and fear.

insisted. “He said, ‘Well, peanut butter,’” Ms. Wright recalled. “‘Not only is it the color of your legs, but it’s the kind of legs you like to spread.’”

Like many of the female employees who eventually sued Ford, Ms. Wright is African-American; those accused of harassment include black, white and Latino men. Some of the women felt doubly victimized — propositioned and denounced as sluts while also being called “black bitches” and other racial slurs. (The assembly plant’s workforce is predominantly African-American, while the stamping plant’s is majority white.)

As the affronts continued — lewd comments, repeated come-ons, men grabbing their crotches and moaning every time she bent over — Ms. Wright tried to ignore them. Veteran female employees warned that reporting the behavior brought only more trouble. The smallest infraction, routinely overlooked, suddenly merited a write-up. The very nature of factory work — the pressure to keep the production line going — gave bosses power to inflict petty humiliations, such as denying bathroom breaks.

But after a man Ms. Wright had trusted as a mentor made a crack about paying her $5 for oral sex, she asked her union representative for help. He began what she calls a “don’t-file-a-claim-against-Bill” campaign: Her co-worker would lose his job, his benefits, his pension, she was told. Rumors spread, questioning their relationship. Then a union official delivered the final insult: “Suzette, you’re a pretty woman — take it as a compliment.”

The same thing happened to Gwajuana Gray, who had followed her father into the assembly plant in 1991 and still works there. When she told her union steward that a manager had pressed his groin against her, he said she should be flattered. “I was like, well, where do you go?” she said.

The accumulating misconduct took a toll. Some women quit. Others were emotionally spent.

“It just was way, way, way, way too much,” Ms. Wright said of the abuses. “Each time that I was taking it, again and again, it just felt like more of me diminishing,” she said, “just getting smaller until it was just like a shell of a person.”

She and Ms. Gray both said they were overcome by anxiety and depression and took extended medical leaves. “I was at rock bottom,” Ms. Gray recalled.

When their lawsuit was settled in 2000, Ms. Wright had to leave Ford. Ms. Gray was able to return. The harassment subsided for a while, she and others said, but soon came back. Louis Smith, a 23-year Ford veteran, could see some of the damage. “I would never want my daughter to work in that environment,” he said. “We as men have got to do better.”

In the last five years, one woman said a male co-worker bit her on the buttocks. A supervisor told a female subordinate, “I want to screw you so bad,” she recalled. A laborer described in pornographic detail what he wanted to do to another woman, then exposed himself to her, she said; later, he pushed her into an empty room and turned off the lights before she fled.

Those who complained said they faced retaliation from co-workers and bosses. Some women were frightened after harassers warned them to watch their backs. An Army veteran who accused...
a man of groping her was physically blocked by his friends from doing her work, she said. Later she found her car tires slashed in the parking lot.

Ford officials say that they have a strict policy against retaliation, and that supervisors who exact retribution will be disciplined. But "when you speak up," Ms. Gray said, "you’re like mud in the plant."

In explaining why harassment became so ingrained, she and others described sex as a preoccupation at the plants — variously a diversion, a currency and a weapon. There were plenty of consensual affairs and flirtations, employees agree. Some women used sex to win favors from the overwhelmingly male hierarchy. Bosses rewarded those who acquiesced to their advances by doling out cushier jobs or punished those who spurned them, requiring them to do more taxing, even dangerous work.

Miyoshi Morris gave in to a supervisor’s leverage, and was filled with shame. She had been struggling to find day care centers for her children that were open early enough for her to make her 6 a.m. shift. By her account, a manager in the paint department told her she was in trouble because of tardiness. He could help her, she recalled him saying, if she came to his house on a day off he arranged.

She agreed, and had sex with him.

“I was so lost, afraid, and realizing I had children to care for,” she said. Afterward, she said, her attendance record was no longer a problem, and she received better assignments. She remembers thinking, “Where else are you going to go and make this kind of money?”

Mr. Jones, the United Automobile Workers representative, recalled a recent meeting when he was advocating for both sides — a woman and the man she accused. Ford issued its decision: termination. The man shot a despairing look at Mr. Jones.

“How do you know the woman is telling the truth and she didn’t get her buddies together to come up here and say this?” Mr. Jones remembers thinking.

Union representatives are caught between women’s pleas to stand with them and men’s pleas to save their jobs. And the Chicago union itself is now divided between those who champion women and those accused of preying on them.

“The union has got an impossible job,” said George Galland, who acted as an independent monitor at the two Chicago plants for three years. “They’re supposed to protect their members. Unions are ill at ease helping management control sexual harassment. They tend to throw monkey wrenches where they can.”

Some women at the plants say the union, whose leadership is mostly male, often met their calls for help with hostility, resistance or inaction. One woman said a representative downplayed a co-worker’s vulgar commentary about her body, saying, “That’s just him — the man has no filter.” Another was told not to bother filing a report against a union representative who forcibly kissed her, saying it was her word against his.

Tonya Exum, the Army veteran who reported being groped, recalled a union representative saying: “It’s not sexual harassment. He only did it one time.” When she asked him how he would feel if that happened to his mother or sister, he just walked away.

The current lawsuit against Ford, which involves about 30 plaintiffs, accuses multiple local union representatives of harassing women or obstructing their complaints.

But women also single out some union representatives for praise, including one man who said he spent hours helping women fill out claims. “As a union, we’re supposed to be all one,” said the man, who insisted on anonymity because he feared losing his job. “It frustrates me to see that others do not conduct themselves like gentlemen.”

In 1979, even as sexual harassment was not yet settled law or a familiar concept to many Americans, the autoworkers’ union was one of
allegations. In a brief telephone conversation, he said: “My record at Ford Motor Company has always been impeccable. The truth is always going to be the truth.”

National U.A.W. leaders declined interview requests, and Ford officials do not comment on specific cases. But, Mr. Dirksen said, the company does not hesitate to punish anyone who violates its sexual harassment policy, whatever the union rank, and punishments of union members in the past have not provoked plant protests.

Ford suspended Mr. Millender for two weeks in April 2015 for “improper conduct,” making inappropriate comments and “inappropriate unwanted touching,” according to a
company document obtained by The New York Times. The decision was later overturned by an outside arbitrator.

‘Easy To Backslide’

When Howard Stamps, a longtime Ford veteran, transferred to Chicago Assembly several years ago from a plant near Detroit, he was jolted by the anything-goes culture he encountered. “I’ve never seen anything like Chicago all the days of my life,” he said. “They don’t think the rules apply to them.”

By 2015, half of all sexual harassment and gender discrimination complaints lodged with the E.E.O.C. about Ford’s domestic operations originated in Chicago.

The company is unique among the Big Three automakers, controlled by one family since the days of Henry Ford. Blue-collar employees used to say they “work at Ford’s,” and family members still talk of their close ties to workers. But from the factory floor, many workers viewed the company as defensive and tentative about a long-simmering problem, enacting its strongest measures against sexual harassment only after pressure from female employees and outside forces like the E.E.O.C. and lawsuits.

In the mid-90s, some women at the Chicago plants had enough. Dozens filed formal complaints with the E.E.O.C. and joined several lawsuits. When Ford officials found out that a “Dateline NBC” segment was in the works in 1998, they took action, firing or disciplining eight managers and workers, according to local news media reports.

After long negotiations, the lawsuit was dismissed in exchange for a toughened settlement with the federal agency in 2000; Ford would pay $22 million, with $9 million in damages to women. Mr. Galland recalled that at least 100 women received payments. As is typical in such agreements, Ford denied liability. The company also pledged to make changes, which would be overseen by outside monitors.

“If we didn’t like the way H.R. was investigating these complaints, we told them and made them start over,” said Mr. Galland, the chairman of the three-member monitor panel. “We told them it’s not the paper procedures that count. A firing is worth a thousand words.”

Firing workers demonstrated that harassment came with steep penalties. But many men did not view their behavior as improper. Ms. Thomas-Moore, the former teacher, was among

"He looked at me and said, 'You know you can have some of this too.'"

BERNADETTE CLYBURN

ALYSSA SCHUKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
But their final report warned of “significant risks that need attention,” including staffers inexperienced in investigating complaints, the lack of a policy against fraternization and the practice of promoting people widely perceived to be harassers. The report was prescient: Ford would struggle in those areas in the coming years.

“It’s easy to backslide,” Mr. Galland said in an interview.

Back from the brink of economic catastrophe in 2010, Chicago Assembly doubled its work force in a couple of years. A mix of young, inexperienced hires and transfers who resented leaving their hometowns flooded in.

In the rush to ramp up production, the training lagged — several workers recalled receiving only a piece of paper outlining the harassment policy, and managers often refused to excuse workers for class, according to Ms. Thomas-Moore. Ford said the training never stopped, but acknowledged it peaked in the early 2000s.

Complaints of harassment at the plants started spiking in 2011. Ford officials in the Dearborn, Mich., headquarters said that they dispatched a team to Chicago to insist on prompt but thorough investigations, and that they added staffers to tackle the growing pile of complaints. Training took on new urgency.

Still, there appeared to be a gap of expectations. Like most companies, Ford was bound by privacy protections and unwilling to communicate specific findings. But some women felt grilled as if they were lying and frustrated that they were not told if the company was meting out discipline. “We were told it’s been handled,” said LaWanda Jordan, referring to her complaint about a supervisor who was fired two years later. “The case has been closed; we can’t discuss it.”

In assessing complaints, Ford struggled with verifying what often boiled down to he-
said, she-said accusations. Mr. Galland, the monitor, acknowledged that false accusations were a real problem in factories. But because there often are no witnesses — or none willing to cooperate — and no evidence, he added that investigators must assess credibility on both sides.

An employee who investigated complaints said Ford was insistent on proof. “Our policy at Ford, told to us by our bosses — that I didn’t agree with — was if there are no witnesses, there is nothing you can do,” said Grant Crowley, a former labor relations representative at the stamping plant. (Mr. Crowley said he was asked to leave Ford this year after he posted on Snapchat an emoji expletive about a departed co-worker who left him with extra work.) Ford said investiga-
gators also took credibility into account.

Even if investigators could not verify some individual accusations, company officials often failed to consider patterns of behavior, workers and lawyers say. Keith Hunt, the lawyer who represented women in the 1990s and today, described cases of four men who were the subject of numerous complaints by women dating back years — in one instance three decades ago — but were fired only in the last few years. Julie Lavender, director of personnel relations and employee policies, said that Ford now gave more weight to multiple complaints.

And even when there were witnesses, assessing credibility was often hard.

Christie Van arrived at Chicago Assembly with the influx of transfers in 2012. She said a supervisor who had been giving her easy jobs like placing radiator caps began asking her to “play hooky” from work with him. She claimed that the man, Mike Riese, told her his preferred nick-name: “He called himself White Chocolate. He said that he had a black man’s dick.”

After another supervisor, Willie Fonseca, showed her a picture of his penis on his cellphone, she said, Mr. Riese laughed and asked if she wanted to see his too. “That was it for me,” she said.

Both men denied that happened. Ms. Van filed a complaint in 2012. She showed investigators text messages from Mr. Riese, she said. According to company records obtained by The Times, several co-workers denied her account and described her as disgruntled to Ford investigators.

But two other employees, Mr. Stamps and a man who insisted on anonymity because he feared retaliation, said they witnessed Mr. Riese’s advances toward Ms. Van and heard him boast of his nickname. Neither was questioned in Ford’s inquiry, they said.
The documents indicate that the company did not substantiate Ms. Van’s complaint. But later, without specifying any episodes, the E.E.O.C. determined she had been subjected to sexual harassment, retaliation and gender discrimination. Several other women accused Mr. Riese of harassment, which he denied. Mr. Riese said he was fired in 2015. “My life was shattered,” he said.

Although they do not comment on individual cases, Ford officials said discipline could be invisible when pay or bonuses were docked. They also said they believed in giving employees a chance to remedy behavior, although the company has fired workers if a first offense is egregious. But many people drew the same conclusion as Ms. Gray: “They get a slap on the hand and come right back to work.”

Starting about six years ago, multiple women once again turned to the E.E.O.C. and lawyers. The agency opened an investigation in 2014, and that same year Mr. Hunt filed a lawsuit. Ford accelerated changes as both were unfolding. Company executives said they acted independently of the inquiry and legal action.

One supervisor was fired in late 2014, and by the spring of 2015, the automaker was replacing senior leaders at Chicago Assembly, according to multiple interviews and news media reports. Company officials were also ramping up additional harassment training “with a vengeance,” according to David Cook, Ford’s human resources director of global operations. That summer, the company issued a new rule: Salaried employees must disclose any family or romantic relationships with subordinates.

Still, Grant Morton, a former top union official at the plant, filed a suit charging that Ford managers discouraged him from helping women submit complaints and retaliated against him when he did. His suit claimed that a senior executive told him, “Your people better stop complaining.” The manager denied his account.

Mr. Morton reached a confidential settlement with Ford that bars him from commenting. But Mr. Crowley, who investigated complaints at the stamping plant, said his managers “didn’t want to admit any wrongdoing or punish the supervisors because they didn’t want to add on to the case.”

In August, Ford and the E.E.O.C. announced the $10 million settlement. Because the law imposes strict confidentiality on the agency when it reaches an agreement with an employer, it does not reveal details of what it found, who those accused of harassment were and which
workers were involved — something some Ford women want to know.

The agreement requires more improvements at Ford, including holding managers more accountable. “How do we ensure sustainability?” Ford’s Mr. Dirksen said. “We have to keep asking ourselves that question.”

Once again, monitors will be watching closely, this time for five years. “It’s something we push for,” said Julianne Bowman, the agency’s Chicago district director, when “we’re really trying to come up with a culture change in the company.”

Absorbing Lessons

Ms. Gray does not regret taking on her employer by joining the lawsuit decades ago. “If one person doesn’t stand for everybody,” she said, “then it’s just a continual cycle.”

But this time, she said, things must be different.

Many of the women back then felt betrayed by both Ford and their lawyers, and said they were pressured into giving up their jobs. Their lawyers told them Ford insisted they resign as a condition of the E.E.O.C. settlement, for an additional payment. Ford lawyers later told a judge that was optional. Ms. Gray resisted but many of the others gave up the largest paychecks they would ever earn.

Ms. Dunn received $225,000 in the settlement, legal records show, but as a divorced mother raising two children, she said that was no substitute for a Ford job. In 2000, her last year there, she earned $23 an hour; at Bed Bath & Beyond, she got only one-third that pay. She worked as a home health aide at night and mowed lawns during the day, inching her way back to $17 an hour. “I’m 61 years old, and I cut grass for a living,” she said.

Ms. Dunn and the other plaintiffs were outraged to find that their lawyers had claimed one-third of their awards in addition to the $2.75 million in fees the judge had approved, so they protested. The judge accused the lawyers of deception and ordered them to return the money to the women. Several lawyers on the case, including Mr. Hunt, were disciplined. He said the fees were legal and there was no intent to mislead the judge.

Workers have their own ideas about how to make lasting change in the culture — having the equivalent of undercover cops walking the factory floors, plastering signs all over the plants warning about sexual harassment, punishing Ford with a far more painful settlement than $10 million, one on the scale of a recall.
Ford said it had absorbed some lessons. The company appears more willing to fire people; Ford has disciplined 27 Chicago employees for sexual harassment and terminated five managers since January 2015, Ms. Lavender said. Others have received lengthy suspensions.

So far, there are some signs of progress: The proportion of complaints about harassment or gender discrimination from Chicago is now about a quarter of those reported in its domestic operations, down from half in 2015.

But the company is still struggling to win workers’ trust. Some women still dread coming to the plants, and cite misbehavior that continues to this day. Recently, Ford officials said they noticed a small uptick in complaints and sent reinforcements to Chicago.

Women said that those accused of harassment who remain at the plants angered and worried them most; they reel off lists of men who seem untouchable.

Like Chicago Assembly itself, Ms. Gray has struggled and survived. Once again, a supervisor she says has a record of mistreating workers has been berating her, even showing up at her house. She logged repeated calls to a company anti-harassment hotline, to no avail. Her anxiety mounted; her friends worried about her.

But just the other week, she was stunned when the plant’s new human resources director welcomed her to his office and vowed to help. For the first time in years, Ms. Gray felt that a manager was taking her complaints seriously.

Reporting was contributed by Alain Delaquérière, Agustin Armendariz and Sara Simon from New York; Bill Vlasic from Detroit; and Kitty Bennett from Washington.
Release Video Of A Shooting: 'It's Too Rau'

This article is from Robert Mack. The correspondent and journalist in New York.

In 1990, an American administrator for the United Nations was murdered in a hotel room in China. The video of the murder was captured on a security camera and has been a subject of interest for security experts and the public for decades.

The video of the murder has been made public for the first time. It was released by the United Nations in a move to increase transparency and accountability in international security.

The video shows a man in a hotel room being attacked and killed. The room was equipped with a security camera that captured the incident. The video has been edited to protect the privacy of the individuals involved.

The United Nations has released the video to the public to help prevent similar incidents from happening in the future. The organization has also made a commitment to regularly releasing such videos to the public.

The video was released in response to a request from the United Nations Security Council. The council has expressed concern about the rise in violent attacks on international officials.

The video has been made available on the United Nations website, where it can be accessed by the public. The website also includes a disclaimer stating that the video has been released for informational purposes only.

The United Nations has also committed to making similar videos available in the future. The organization has stated that it is committed to improving transparency and accountability in international security.

The video has received mixed reactions from the public and experts. Some have praised the United Nations for releasing the video, while others have expressed concern about the release of sensitive information.

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Detailing Lewd Acts, 5 Women Accuse Comic of Misconduct

From Page A1

Louis C.K. in 2015. He is bold in his reputation as the saddest color of the comedy scene, by making audiences laugh about hypocrisy, especially male hypocrisy. He has long been a staple of the comedy world, admired Louis C.K.'s work. "Louis C.K. has a sort of a..."

Some Apologies

In private, though, he appears to have made important apologies.

In 2008, six years after their phone calls, the tumultuous relationship ended.

"Louis C.K., I'm sorry," he said in a statement to The New York Times, "I'm sorry to the women who have felt dismissed or unheard."

C.K. went on to say that he was "deeply ashamed" of his behavior and that he was "truly sorry." He also said that he was "begging" for forgiveness and that he was "trying to be a better person." He ended his statement by saying that he was "taking a break" from his career.

The apology was not well-received by everyone. Some people thought that C.K. was not truly sorry and that he was just trying to save his career. Others thought that his apology was too little, too late.

In the end, C.K.'s behavior and apologies highlighted the issue of sexual misconduct in the entertainment industry. It showed that even people who are powerful and famous can be held accountable for their actions. It also showed that even when people are in power, they can be held accountable for their actions.

The story of Louis C.K. and the women who accused him of misconduct is a reminder of the importance of accountability and responsibility. It is a reminder that even when people are in power, they can be held accountable for their actions. It is a reminder that even when people are in power, they can be held accountable for their actions.
Detailing Lewd Acts, 5 Women Accuse a Comic of Misconduct

By MELENA RYZIK, CARA BUCKLEY and JODI KANTOR

In 2002, a Chicago comedy duo, Dana Min Goodman and Julia Wolov, landed their big break: a chance to perform at the U.S. Comedy Arts Festival in Aspen, Colo. When Louis C.K. invited them to hang out in his hotel room for a nightcap after their late-night show, they did not think twice. The bars were closed and they wanted to celebrate. He was a comedian they admired. The women would be together. His intentions seemed collegial.

As soon as they sat down in his room, still wrapped in their winter jackets and hats, Louis C.K. asked if he could take out his penis, the women said.

They thought it was a joke and laughed it off. “And then he really did it,” Ms. Goodman said in an interview with The New York Times. “He proceeded to take all of his clothes off, and get completely naked, and started masturbating.”

In 2003, Abby Schachner called Louis C.K. to invite him to one of her shows, and during the phone conversation, she said, she could hear him masturbating as they spoke. Another comedian, Rebecca Corry, said that while she was appearing with Louis C.K. on a television pilot in 2005, he asked if he could masturbate in front of her. She declined.

Now, after years of unsubstantiated rumors about Louis C.K. masturbating in front of associates, women are coming forward to describe what they experienced. Even amid the current burst of sexual misconduct accusations against powerful men, the stories about Louis C.K. stand out because he has so few equals in comedy. In the years since the incidents the women describe, he has sold out Madison Square Garden eight times, created an Emmy-winning TV series, and accumulated the clout of a tastemaker and auteur, with the help of a manager who represents some of the biggest names in comedy. And Louis C.K. built a reputation as the unlikely conscience of the comedy scene, by making audiences laugh about hypocrisy — especially male hypocrisy.

After being contacted for an interview this week about the on-the-record accusations of sexual misconduct — encounters that took place over a decade ago — Louis C.K.’s publicist, Lewis Kay, said the comedian would not respond. “Louis is not going to answer any questions,” Mr. Kay wrote in an email Tuesday night.

Neither Louis C.K. nor Mr. Kay replied to follow-up emails in which the accusations were laid out in detail, or to voice messages or texts. On Thursday, the premiere of Louis C.K.’s new movie “I Love You, Daddy,” was abruptly canceled, and he also canceled an appearance on “The Late Show With Stephen Colbert.”

The stories told by the women raise sharp questions about the anecdotes that Louis C.K. tells in his own comedy. He rose to fame in part by appearing to be candid about his flaws and sexual hang-ups, discussing and miming masturbation extensively in his act — an exaggerated rift that some of the women feel may have served as a cover
for real misconduct. He has all but invited comparison between his private life and his on-screen work, too: In “I Love You, Daddy,” which is scheduled to be released next week, a character pretends to masturbate at length in front of other people, and other characters appear to dismiss rumors of sexual predation.

At the same time, Louis C.K. has also boosted the careers of women, and is sometimes viewed as a feminist by fans and critics. But Ms. Goodman and Ms. Wolov said that when they told others about the incident in the Colorado hotel room, they heard that Louis C.K.’s manager was upset that they were talking about it openly. The women feared career repercussions. Louis C.K.’s manager, Dave Becky, was adamant in an email that he “never threatened anyone.”

For comedians, the professional environment is informal: profanity and raunch that would be far out of line in most workplaces are common, and personal foibles — the weirder the better — are routinely mined for material. But Louis C.K.’s behavior was abusive, the women said.

“I think the line gets crossed when you take all your clothes off and start masturbating,” Ms. Wolov said.

‘Outrage and Shock’

Ms. Corry, a comedian, writer and actress, has long felt haunted by her run-in with Louis C.K. In 2005, she was working as a performer and producer on a television pilot — a big step in her career — when Louis C.K., a guest star, approached her as she was walking to the set. “He leaned close to my face and said, ‘Can I ask you something?’ I said, ‘Yes,’” Ms. Corry said in a written statement to The New York Times. “He asked if we could go to my dressing room so he could masturbate in front of me.” Stunned and angry, Ms. Corry said she declined, and pointed out that he had a daughter and a pregnant wife. “His face got red,” she recalled, “and he told me he had issues.”

Word quickly reached the show’s executive producers, Courteney Cox and David Arquette, who both confirmed the incident. “What happened to Rebecca on that set was awful,” Ms. Cox said in an email, adding that she felt “outrage and shock.”

“My concern was to create an environment where Rebecca felt safe, protected and heard,” she said. They discussed curtailing the production. Ms. Corry decided to continue with the show.

“Things were going well for me,” Ms. Corry said in the statement, “and I had no interest in being the person who shut down a production.”

A fifth woman, who spoke on condition of anonymity to protect her family’s privacy because she has not been publicly linked to the incident with Louis C.K., also has disturbing memories about an incident with the comedian. In the late ’90s, she was working in production at “The Chris Rock Show” when Louis C.K., a writer and producer there, repeatedly asked her to watch him masturbate, she said. She was in her early 20s and went along with his request, but later questioned his behavior.

“It was something that I knew was wrong,” said the woman, who described sitting in Louis C.K.’s office while he masturbated in his desk chair during a workday, other colleagues just outside the door. “I think the big piece of why I said yes was because of the culture,” she continued. “He abused his power.” A co-worker at “The Chris Rock Show,” who also wished to remain anonymous, confirmed that the woman told him about the experience soon after it happened.

Ms. Schachner, a writer, illustrator and performer, admired Louis C.K.’s work. They had met in the comedy scene; Ms. Schachner’s former boyfriend was a comedy writer who had worked with Louis C.K. In 2003, when she called Louis C.K. with an invitation to her show, he said he was at work in an office as a writer on the series “Cedric the Entertainer Presents,” she recalled.

Their conversation quickly moved from the personal — Louis C.K. had seen photos of her on her boyfriend’s desk, he said, and told her he thought she was cute — to “unprofessional and inappropriate,” Ms. Schachner said.

She said she heard the blinds coming down. Then he slowly started telling her his sexual fantasies, breathing heavily and talking softly. She realized he was masturbating, and was dumbfounded. The call went on for several minutes, even though, Ms. Schachner said, “I definitely wasn’t encouraging it.” But she didn’t know how to end it, either. “You want to believe it’s not
happening,” she said. A friend, Stuart Harris, confirmed that Ms. Schachner had described the call to him in 2003.

For years afterward, Ms. Schachner said, she felt angry and betrayed by an artist she looked up to. And she wondered what she could have done differently. “I felt very ashamed,” she said.

**Fears About Speaking Out**

During Ms. Goodman and Ms. Wolov’s surreal visit to Louis C.K.’s Aspen hotel room, they said they were holding onto each other, screaming and laughing in shock, as Louis C.K. masturbated in a chair. “We were paralyzed,” Ms. Goodman said. After he ejaculated on his stomach, they said, they fled. He called after them: “He was like, ‘Which one is Dana and which one is Julia?’” Ms. Goodman recalled.

Afterward, they ran into Charna Halpern, the owner of influential improv theaters in Los Angeles and Chicago, where Ms. Goodman and Ms. Wolov performed, and relayed what had happened. “I didn’t know what to do, I didn’t know what to tell them to do,” said Ms. Halpern. Ms. Goodman and Ms. Wolov decided against going to the police, unsure whether what happened was criminal, but felt they had to respond in some way “because something crazy happened to us,” Ms. Goodman said.

Hoping that outrage would build against Louis C.K., and also to shame him, they began telling others about the incident the next day. But many people seemed to recoil, they said.
“Guys were backing away from us,” Ms. Wolov said. Barely 24 hours after they left Louis C.K.’s hotel, “we could already feel the backlash.”

Soon after, they said they understood from their managers that Mr. Becky, Louis C.K.’s manager, wanted them to stop telling people about their encounter with Louis C.K. Lee Kernis, one of the women’s managers at the time, confirmed on Thursday that he had a conversation in which he told Mr. Becky that Louis C.K.’s behavior toward the women had been offensive. Mr. Kernis also said that Mr. Becky was upset that the women were talking openly about the incident.

Mr. Becky denied making any threats toward the women. “I don’t recall the exact specifics of the conversation, but know I never threatened anyone,” he wrote by email on Thursday. Ms. Halpern and Robert Schroeder — Ms. Goodman and Ms. Wolov’s agent at the time — said that the pair told them that they felt they had been warned to stop talking.

Mr. Becky arguably wields even more power in comedy than Louis C.K. He represents Kevin Hart, Aziz Ansari, Amy Poehler and other top performers, and his company, 3 Arts, puts together programming deals for nearly every platform.

Ms. Goodman and Ms. Wolov moved to Los Angeles shortly after the Aspen festival, but “we were coming here with a bunch of enemies,” Ms. Goodman said. Gren Wells, a filmmaker who befriended the comedy duo in 2002, said the incident and the warning, which they told her about soon after Aspen, hung heavily over them both. “This is something that they were freaked out about,” Ms. Wells said.

In the years since, Ms. Goodman and Ms. Wolov have found some success, but they remained concerned about Mr. Becky and took themselves out of the running for the many projects he was involved in. Though their humor is in line with what he produces, “we know immediately that we can never even submit our material,” Ms. Wolov said.

Private Acts, Public Jokes

Jokes about masturbation have been a regular part of Louis C.K.’s stage shows. In one bit, he complains about not being able to find a private place in his house to do it. “I’m on the streets now,” he says, “I’ve got nowhere to go.”
In another bit he laments being a prisoner of his perversions. “Just the constant perverted sexual thoughts,” he says, then mimes masturbating. “It makes me into a moron.”

Tig Notaro, the comedian whose Amazon series, “One Mississippi,” lists Louis C.K. as an executive producer, is one of the few in the fiercely insular comedy world to speak out against him. Her career received a huge boost when he released her 2012 comedy album, about her cancer diagnosis. But their relationship has crumbled and she now feels “trapped” by her association with him, she wrote in an email.

Her fear is that “he released my album to cover his tracks,” she said. “He knew it was going to make him look like a good guy, supporting a woman.” Ms. Notaro said she learned of his reputation after they sold the series to Amazon, and a recent story line is a fictional treatment of the alleged masturbation episodes.

“Sadly, I’ve come to learn that Louis C.K.’s victims are not only real,” she said by email, “but many are actual friends of mine within the comedy community,” like Ms. Corry, who confided in her, she said.

In his forthcoming film, about a television writer whose teenage daughter is wooed by a Woody Allen type, one character aggressively mimics masturbating in front of others. The content has raised eyebrows. Given the rumors surrounding Louis C.K., the movie “plays like an ambiguous moral inventory of and excuse for everything that allows sexual predators to thrive: open secrets, toxic masculinity, and powerful people getting the benefit of the doubt,” Joe Berkowitz wrote in Fast Company.

Yet in an interview with The Times in September at the Toronto film festival, where “I Love You, Daddy,” was shown, Louis C.K. dismissed stories of his alleged sexual misconduct as “rumors,” and said the notion that the masturbation scenes referred to them never occurred to him. “It’s funny, I didn’t think of that,” he said.

Some Apologies

In private, though, he appears to have acknowledged his behavior.

In 2009, six years after their phone call, Ms. Schachner received a Facebook message from Louis C.K., apologizing. “Last time I talked to you ended in a sordid fashion,” he wrote in the
message, which was reviewed by The Times. “That was a bad time in my life and I’m sorry.” He added that he had seen some of Ms. Schachner’s comedy and thought she was funny. “I remember thinking what a repulsive person I was being by responding the way that I did,” he wrote.

Ms. Schachner accepted his apology and told him she forgave him. But the original interaction left her deeply dispirited, she said, and was one of the things that discouraged her from pursuing comedy.

In 2015, a few months before the now-defunct website Defamer circulated rumors of Louis C.K.’s alleged sexual misconduct, Ms. Corry also received an email from Louis C.K., which was obtained by The Times, saying he owed her a “very very very late apology.” When he phoned her, he said he was sorry for shoving her in a bathroom. Ms. Corry replied that he had never done that, but had instead asked to masturbate in front of her. Responding in a shaky voice, he acknowledged it and said, “I used to misread people back then,” she recalled.

The call confounded her, Ms. Corry said: not only had he misremembered the incident, which made her think there were other moments of misconduct, he also implied she had done something to invite his behavior. “It is unfair he’s put me or anyone else in this position,” Ms. Corry said.

Ms. Goodman and Ms. Wolov said that with other allegations swirling around the entertainment world, they could no longer stay silent. “Because of this moment, as gross as it is, we feel compelled to speak,” Ms. Goodman said.

Ms. Notaro said she was standing in support of those with the courage “to speak up against such a powerful figure,” she said, “as well as the multitude of women still out there, not quite ready to share their nightmares.”

William K. Rashbaum contributed reporting.
Four climbers from India tried to summit Mount Everest in May 2016. Three of them died near the top. The bodies of the climbers were left at 29,000 feet on the mountain’s north face. Wintery weather and high winds had prevented them from saving the climbers, according to two major expeditions that were operating on the mountain at the time.

A third said that a co-worker godfathered his daughter’s first love, and the restaurant is working to help him with medical bills. The restaurant was one of the first to offer free meals for children in the country, according to the restaurant’s owner.

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Proudly Edgy, Yet Regressive in Workplace at Vice

Upon her firing in 2015, Gabrielle Schaefer said that she had agreed to have sex with the rapper Murs, whom she interviewed, when she had not.

From Page 1
Proudly Edgy, Yet Regressive In Workplace

Vice Media Ruled by a ‘Boys Club’ Culture

By EMILY STEEL

ONE woman said she was riding a Ferris wheel at Coney Island after a company event when a co-worker suddenly took her hand and put it on his crotch. Another said she felt pressured into a sexual relationship with an executive and was fired after she rejected him.

A third said that a co-worker grabbed her face and tried to kiss her, and she used her umbrella to fend him off.

These women did not work among older men at a hidebound company. They worked at Vice, an insurgent force in news and entertainment known for edgy content that aims for millennial audiences on HBO and its own TV network.

But as Vice Media has built itself from a fringe Canadian magazine into a nearly $6 billion global media company, its boundary-pushing culture created a workplace that was degrading and uncomfortable for women, current and former employees say.

An investigation by The New York Times has found four settlements involving allegations of sexual harassment or defamation against Vice employees, including its current president.

In addition, more than two dozen other women, most in their 20s and early 30s, said they had experienced or witnessed sexual misconduct at the company — unwanted kisses, groping, lewd remarks and propositions for sex.

The settlements and the many episodes of harassment the women described depict a top-down ethos of male entitlement at Vice, where women said they felt like just another party favor at an organization where partying often was an extension of the job.

What stands out about the women’s accounts — in the wake of a public reckoning over sexual assault and harassment by mostly older men — is that the allegations involve men in their 20s, 30s and 40s who came of age long after workplace harassment was not only taboo but outlawed.

“The misogyny might look different than you would have expected it to in the 1950s, but it was still there, it was still ingrained,” said Kayla Ruble, a journalist who worked at Vice from 2014 to 2016. “This is a wakeup call.”

Vice and its co-founder and chief executive, Shane Smith, have long been open about the company’s provocative atmosphere. But Vice is now struggling to reconcile its past — famous for coverage of streetwear, drugs and sex, as well as its raucous parties — with its emergence as a global media company backed by corporate giants like Disney and Fox.

In a statement provided to The Times, Mr. Smith and another co-founder, Suroosh Alvi, said “from the top down, we have failed as a company to create a safe and inclusive workplace where everyone, especially women, can feel respected and thrive.”

They said that a “boys club” culture at Vice had “fostered inappropriate behavior that permeated throughout the company.” The company distributed a longer version of the statement to its employees on Saturday.

The company said it has been taking steps to transform itself in recent months as the national debate over sexual harassment reshapes workplaces, and as it became aware that The Times and other news outlets were working on articles about the experiences of women at Vice.
Vice has formed a Diversity and Inclusion Advisory Board, which includes the feminist icon Gloria Steinem and is led by the lawyer Roberta Kaplan; hired a new head of human resources; and terminated three employees for what it called behavior inconsistent with its values. It also forbade romantic relationships between supervisors and their employees — which several current and former employees said were not uncommon and led to many problems.

The settlement involving Vice’s president, Andrew Creighton, was struck in 2016, when Mr. Creighton, 45, paid $135,000 to a former employee who claimed that she was fired after she rejected an intimate relationship with him, according to people briefed on the matter and documents viewed by The Times. The woman declined to comment and asked that she not to be identified to protect her privacy.

Earlier this year, the company settled for an unknown amount with Martina Veltroni, a former employee who claimed that her supervisor retaliated against her after they had a sexual relationship, among other allegations, according to people briefed on the agreement and documents viewed by The Times. The supervisor, Jason Mojica, the former head of Vice News, was fired late last month. Ms. Veltroni declined to comment.

And last January, Vice reached a $24,000 settlement with Joanna Fuertes-Knight, a former journalist in its London office, who said she had been the victim of sexual harassment, racial and gender discrimination and bullying, according to documents viewed by The Times. Among Ms. Fuertes-Knight’s claims were that a Vice producer, Rhys James, had made racist and sexist statements to her, including asking about the color of her nipples and whether she slept with black men. Ms. Fuertes-Knight, who is of mixed race, is bound by a confidentiality agreement and declined to comment.

Mr. James was put on leave in late November, according to a Vice spokesman. In the settlement agreement, both Vice and Mr. James denied any liability. Mr. James did not respond to messages sent seeking comment.

A fourth settlement, struck in 2003, involved claims that Vice defamed a female writer by publishing that she had agreed to have sex with a rapper whom she had interviewed, when she had not.

In response to questions about the settlements, a Vice spokesman said that the company had made “few settlements” over its 23-year history and that no Vice employee had been involved in more than one. “In some cases, it’s clear that the company and our managers made mistakes,” the company said. “In others, we disagree with the way in which the underlying facts have been characterized.”

Details about the settlements and the culture of the company are based on interviews with more than 100 current and former Vice employees. As word spread within the media industry that The Times was reporting on Vice, more than a dozen women and men contacted The Times with accounts that they said were humiliating and emotionally traumatic. Several broke confidentiality agreements to speak on the record, but many spoke on the condition of anonymity, citing those agreements and fear of reprisal.
The Times also examined more than 100 pages of legal documents, emails, text messages and other filings related to Vice's operations, the settlements and allegations of harassment.

In their statement, Mr. Smith and Mr. Alvi said the problems “happened on our watch and ultimately we let far too many people down. We are truly sorry for this.” They also expressed “extreme regret for our role in perpetuating sexism in the media industry and society in general.”

**The Early Years**

A brash maverick and consummate salesman, Mr. Smith, 48, transformed Vice from a free magazine in Montreal into a global company with roughly 3,000 employees, a television network, a digital footprint, a film-production company as well as a daily news show and documentary program on HBO.

Along the way Mr. Smith regularly mocked traditional media companies as stodgy and uncreative. But in recent years he set about courting conglomerates like the Walt Disney Company and 21st Century Fox, which were eager to profit on Vice's cachet with millennial audiences. The latest round of investment gave the company a valuation of more than $5.7 billion.

Behind that ascent, however, is a more disturbing aspect of Vice's operations. People involved with Vice during its early days described a punk-rock, male-dominated atmosphere in which attempts to shock sometimes crossed a line.

In a 2012 interview with the Financial Times, Mr. Smith recalled his earlier days with Vice. “I would be at the party and would just want to get wasted, take coke and have sex with girls in the bathroom,” he said.

In 2003 Vice reached a $25,000 settlement with the freelance writer Jessica Hopper. The deal involved defamation claims tied to an interview she did with the rapper Murs that was published in the February 2003 issue of the magazine, according to a copy of the agreement viewed by The Times. During the interview, Murs asked Ms. Hopper if he could have sex with her. She said no and included that answer in her article.

But before the article was published, the magazine changed her response to yes and printed it under the headline, “I Got Laid But Murs Didn’t.”

Mortified, Ms. Hopper hired lawyers. The two sides struck a settlement that, in addition to a payout, required Vice to print a retraction and a formal apology.

“People marveled at their ability to make their own rules and blindly disregard everyone else’s,” Ms. Hopper said in an interview. She declined to comment on the existence of a settlement.

“The editor of the piece at that time has not been with the company in a decade,” Vice said in a statement. “Ms. Hopper was right to call us on our conduct at the time, and we are still ashamed of it.”

Mr. Smith, who had long celebrated a life of hard-partying excess, married a woman in 2009 who had worked at Vice and started wearing suits to the office, current and former employees said. But they also suggested that he oversaw a company where issues of sexual misconduct and harassment festered.

In their statement, Mr. Smith and Mr. Alvi
admitted that dysfunction and mismanage-
ment from the company’s early days “were al-
lowed to flourish unchecked.”

Women said that they felt that rejecting
sexual advances from bosses could result in
reassignment or lost work, and that when they
reported problems, executives downplayed
the allegations. Some said that while they con-
sidered taking legal action, they thought they
lacked the financial resources to sue and feared
that Vice would retaliate.

“There is a toxic environment where men
can say the most disgusting things, joke about
sex openly, and overall a toxic environment
where women are treated far inferior than
men,” said Sandra Miller, who worked as head
of branded production at Vice from 2014 to 2016.

She said that as a 50-year-old woman she
did not face harassment but witnessed “the
complicity of accepting that behavior, covering
up for it, and having even the most progressive
people look the other way.”

The workplace problems were particularly
disappointing, many women said, because they
had viewed Vice as their dream opportunity.
The company didn’t pay well, some said, but it
was the definition of cool for those who wanted
to create entertainment and journalism on the
cutting edge. The company bestowed select
staff members rings that spell V-I-C-E — con-
sidered the ultimate prize.

People worked long hours and partied to-
gether afterward. And that’s where the lines often
blurred. Multiple women said that after a night
of drinking, they wound up fending off touching,
kissing and other advances from their superiors.

Two women told The Times about episodes
involving Mike Germano, Vice’s chief digital
officer who founded Carrot Creative, the digital
ad agency that Vice acquired in 2013. Amanda
Rue, a former strategist, said that at Carrot’s
holiday party in 2012 Mr. Germano told her
that he hadn’t wanted to hire her because he
wanted to have sex with her.

Gabrielle Schaefer, who worked closely
with Mr. Germano as director of communica-
tions at Carrot, said he made her feel uncom-
fortable during a work event at a bar one night
in 2014 when he pulled her onto his lap. After
Ms. Schaefer reported the incident to human
resources, she said, she felt that she fell out of
favor at the company and eventually left.

“Carrot has been repeatedly recognized as
one of the industry’s best places to work, and
I do not believe that these allegations reflect
the company’s culture — or the way we treat
each other,” Mr. Germano said in a statement.

“With regards to the incident with Ms. Schae-
fer, I agreed at that time it was inappropriate, I
apologized, and it was resolved with the help of
HR.” He said that days later Ms. Schaefer joined
his family for dinner and that they “continued to
work together amicably.”
after the woman filed a complaint with the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (She withdrew her complaint as a condition of the agreement.)

In a statement, Mr. Creighton said that he and the woman were “close friends for several years before she joined Vice,” and that they were “occasionally intimate” once she began working there. He said he was not involved in the decision to let her go.

“I apologize for the situation, and it has caused much thought in my responsibilities of care for my colleagues, and I will hold myself and others accountable in constructing a respectful workplace environment.”

Deals Encourage Silence

Executives erected a wall of silence around the company. Employees were required to sign a confidentiality agreement when they joined Vice, stating that during and after their employment they would not publicly disparage the company, according to a copy viewed by The Times.

Until recently, Vice also required employees to sign a nontraditional workplace agreement acknowledging that they would be exposed to explicit, potentially disturbing material but that they did not find such content or “the workplace environment” to be offensive or disturbing.

Some employees said that they took the agreement to mean that they could not complain about issues of harassment.

Vice said the agreement “was always meant to address content — it had nothing to do with conduct,” and that when it learned the language was causing confusion, it eliminated the agreement.

In the months before the Columbia Journalism Review published an article in 2015 about the culture at Vice, and was looking into the treatment of women at the company, lawyers for Vice warned at least one former employee, Murray Waas, who had worked as an investigations editor, about “his strict confidentiality obligations” and of the financial penalties he could face for talking to another media outlet.

“I am sure he knows Vice will pursue all of its remedies aggressively,” Michael Delikat, a partner at the law firm Orrick, Herrington & Sutcliffe, said in an email sent to Mr. Waas’s lawyer, a copy of which was viewed by The Times.

In a statement, Vice said, “NDA’s have been a standard part of settlements in all cases in all industries for years and years,” adding, “This is not a letter we would send today.”

Asked whether the company would release current and former employees who had experienced or witnessed sexual harassment from their confidentiality agreements, the company said: “Like many other companies and policymakers, we are watching developments and considering the issue.”

When the Columbia Journalism Review published its article, it included a quote from Nancy Ashbrooke, the former human resources director at Vice, stating that since she joined the
company in 2014 sexual harassment had “not been an issue.” (Ms. Ashbrooke worked as vice president of human resources at Harvey Weinstein’s Miramax Films from 1991 to 2000.)

Current and former employees disputed Ms. Ashbrooke’s statement.

Kate Goss, a former project manager at Vice, said that in the summer of 2015 she reported an incident that occurred after a work event to her bosses and human resources. She said that on the Ferris wheel at Coney Island a creative director put her hand in his crotch without her consent. Ms. Goss said Ms. Ashbrooke told her there needed to be multiple incidents in order for her to take action against the other employee.

Ms. Goss discussed the incident with a co-worker at the time, which The Times confirmed.

Abby Ellis, a former Vice journalist, said that in 2013 Mr. Mojica, the former head of Vice News, tried to kiss her against her will. She said that she yelled at him and hit him with an umbrella multiple times. She said that she faced other unwanted advances from Mr. Mojica after the incident.

Ms. Ellis said that after the episode she felt that their relationship soured and that she was missing out on newsroom opportunities, so she reported it to Ms. Ashbrooke. Ms. Ashbrooke responded by telling Ms. Ellis that because she was an attractive woman she would face similar behavior throughout her career. Ms. Ellis discussed the episode with several co-workers at the time, which The Times confirmed.

“As women, we get harassed everywhere and we don’t feel compelled to report it because it’s not considered a reportable offense,” Ms. Ellis said. “We’re expected to put up with it; it’s the cost of doing business.”

Mr. Mojica said that he remembered “misreading a moment and foolishly trying to kiss Abby” but that the episode had a “very different tone.” He added, “I was quickly rebuffed, and I immediately apologized.” He said he thought the incident had “no impact” on their professional relationship.

Two years later, Helen Donahue, a former employee, reported to Ms. Ashbrooke that Mr. Mojica had grabbed her breasts and buttocks at a company holiday party. Ms. Donahue said that Ms. Ashbrooke told her that the incident was not sexual harassment but rather someone making a move on her.

“She said I should just forget about it and laugh it off,” Ms. Donahue said.

Mr. Mojica said that while he recalled talking to Ms. Donahue at the party, he did not “remember doing anything of the sort.”

Ms. Ashbrooke, who left the company in recent months, said in a statement: “As a woman and HR professional, I support anyone who believes they have been mistreated and throughout my career, I have worked to help companies build respectful workplaces with no tolerance for inappropriate behavior.”

The settlement involving Mr. Mojica came after lawyers for Martina Velroni sent a letter to Vice outlining her claims that her relationship with Mr. Mojica derailed her career at Vice, according to letters sent between lawyers for the woman and Vice. In a letter to Ms. Velroni’s lawyers, Vice denied the allegations against Mr. Mojica and said that Ms. Velroni was trying to “recast her consensual and desired sexual relationship with her former supervisor” into a claim of harassment.

Mr. Mojica said that he had “never retaliated against” Ms. Velroni and that he was not involved in the discussions with Ms. Velroni’s lawyer or the resulting agreement.

Vice’s ‘Non-Traditional Workplace Agreement’

Employees were required to sign a “non-traditional workplace agreement,” in which they acknowledged that they may be dealing with explicit material.

“Although it is possible that some of the text, images and information I will be exposed to in the course of my employment with VICE may be considered by some to be offensive, indecent, violent or disturbing, I do not find such text, images or information or the workplace environment at VICE to be offensive, indecent, violent or disturbing.”
On Nov. 30, after a report appeared in The Daily Beast on Vice’s culture, and aware that The Times was investigating its workplace, Vice announced that it had terminated three employees, including Mr. Mojica, for “behavior that is inconsistent with our policies, our values, and the way in which we believe colleagues should work together.”

Mr. Mojica said he was not given a reason for his termination.

**Improvement Efforts**

Vice said that it has updated its sexual harassment policies, clarified sexual harassment reporting procedures and created an employee hotline. The company also said that it has made a commitment to reaching gender pay parity by the end of 2018, expanded maternity and paternity benefits, and introduced mandatory respect and sensitivity training for all employees.

The company’s new human resources director, Susan Tohyama, has retained an outside investigator “to conduct investigations into current or historical workplace issues that are brought to our attention.”

Vice’s recent efforts at reform have had some stumbles, though. In mid-November top managers conducted a “state of the union” session with employees that did not include any mention of sexual harassment, an issue that was roiling workplaces around the country.

Many employees said they found the session tone deaf, prompting Mr. Smith to send a note to the staff that night saying that “we missed the mark, especially when it came to clearly addressing issues around sexual harassment at Vice.”

“Yes, we can change the world,” he wrote, “but first we have to start at home.”

_Natalie Keyssar for The New York Times_  

Sandra Miller, a Vice employee from 2014 to 2016, said she experienced “over all a toxic environment where women are treated far inferior than men.”

_Doris Burke and Kitty Bennett contributed research._
Voter Fraud Panel Stumbles

WASHINGTON — With Senate Republicans moving ahead with a major tax overhaul, the bipartisan commission on voter fraud that they chartered last year in the wake of the 2016 election has stumbled into deep trouble.

Senator John Cornyn of Texas and Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, the co-chairmen of the panel, told The New York Times in interviews this week that they did not have a conclusion to offer on whether there was evidence of large-scale voter fraud in the 2016 election.

"We’re not making a recommendation," Mr. Rubio said. "We’re not going to have a report. We’re not going to be making a decision. We’re just not going to do it."

The panel’s staff, which had been working feverishly to meet its December deadline for a report on voter fraud, had already left their offices this week, and a final verdict had not been reached.

Mr. Rubio said he had told Mr. Cornyn this month that he would not sign a report that he had not had a chance to review. Mr. Cornyn said he respected Mr. Rubio’s position and agreed that the panel had not reached a conclusion.

The panel’s failure to produce a report comes as the Republican campaign for 2018 has taken shape. The campaign is expected to be a major issue, with the party seeking to exploit any sign of voter fraud.

But the panel’s inability to produce a report is likely to make it difficult for the party to make the issue a central part of its campaign. And it could also make it difficult for the party to persuade voters that the issue is real.

"There is a lot of evidence that there is no voter fraud," Mr. Rubio said. "But we also need to show that there is not a lot of voter fraud."

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Two Dozen Women Break Silence on Culture of Sexual Harassment in Silicon Valley

Many women felt they could not push back because they needed funding or other help.

The chain of events has em-


The women's experience suggests that gender and racism often lead to a collective silence among women. The women who spoke with The Times said they often felt isolated and afraid to speak out publicly, fearing retribution. Some of the women who spoke with The Times said they talked about their experiences with their partners or other family members, but they did not share their stories with others. Some of the women said they were afraid of being dismissed or ignored, or that they would be labeled as weak or vulnerable. Others said they were afraid of being criticized or ostracized.

Women entrepreneurs are a relatively small and closely knit group, and they face additional challenges when it comes to gaining visibility and support. The women who spoke with The Times said they often felt overlooked and undervalued, and they struggled to get the attention and resources they needed.

The women's experiences are not unique to Silicon Valley. Women in other industries and in other countries also face similar challenges. The women who spoke with The Times said they hope their stories will help to raise awareness of the issues they face and encourage others to speak out.

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Women in Tech Reveal Culture Of Harassment

2 Dozen Break Silence on Men’s Behavior

By KATIE BENNER

TheIR stories came out slowly, even hesitantly, at first. Then in a rush.

One female entrepreneur recounted how she had been propositioned by a Silicon Valley venture capitalist while seeking a job with him, which she did not land after rebuffing him. Another showed the increasingly suggestive messages she had received from a start-up investor. And one chief executive described how she had faced numerous sexist comments from an investor while raising money for her online community website.

What happened afterward was often just as disturbing, the women told The New York Times. Many times, the investors’ firms and colleagues ignored or played down what had happened when the situations were brought to their attention. Saying anything, the women were warned, might lead to ostracism.

Now some of these female entrepreneurs have decided to take that risk. More than two dozen women in the technology start-up industry spoke to The Times in recent days about being sexually harassed. Ten of them named the investors involved, often providing corroborating messages and emails, and pointed to high-profile venture capitalists such as Chris Sacca of Lowercase Capital and Dave McClure of 500 Startups.

The disclosures came after the tech news site The Information reported that female entrepreneurs had been preyed upon by a venture capitalist, Justin Caldbeck of Binary Capital. The new accounts underscore how sexual harassment in the tech start-up ecosystem goes beyond one firm and is pervasive and ingrained. Now their speaking out suggests a cultural shift in Silicon Valley, where such predatory behavior had often been murmured about but rarely exposed.

The tech industry has long suffered a gender imbalance, with companies such as Google and Facebook acknowledging how few women were in their ranks. Some female engineers have started to speak out on the issue, including a former Uber engineer who detailed a pattern of sexual harassment at the company, setting off internal investigations that spurred the resignation in June of Uber’s chief executive, Travis Kalanick.

Most recently, the revelations about Mr. Caldbeck of Binary Capital have triggered an outcry. The investor has been accused of sexually harassing entrepreneurs while he worked at three different venture firms in the past seven years, often in meetings in which the women were presenting their companies to him.

Several of Silicon Valley’s top venture capitalists and technologists, including Reid Hoffman, a founder of LinkedIn, condemned Mr. Caldbeck’s behavior last week and called for investors to sign a “decency pledge.” Binary has since collapsed, with Mr. Caldbeck leaving the firm and investors pulling money out of its funds.

The chain of events has emboldened more women to talk publicly about the treatment they said they had endured from tech investors.

“Female entrepreneurs are a critical part of the fabric of Silicon Valley,” said Katrina Lake, founder and chief executive of the online clothing start-up Stitch Fix, who was one of the women targeted by Mr. Caldbeck. “It’s important to expose the type of behavior that’s been reported in the last few weeks, so the community can recognize and address these problems.”
The women’s experiences help explain why the venture capital and start-up ecosystem — which underpins the tech industry and has spawned companies such as Google, Facebook and Amazon — has been so lopsided in terms of gender.

Most venture capitalists and entrepreneurs are men, with female entrepreneurs receiving $1.5 billion in funding last year versus $58.2 billion for men, according to the data firm PitchBook. Many of the investors hold outsize power, since entrepreneurs need their money to turn ideas and innovations into a business. And because the venture industry operates with few disclosure requirements, people have kept silent about investors who cross the lines with entrepreneurs.

Some venture capitalists’ abuse of power has come to light in recent years. In 2015, Ellen Pao took her former employer, the prestigious venture firm Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers, to trial for allegations of gender discrimination, leveling accusations of professional retaliation after spurned sexual advances. Ms. Pao lost the case, but it sparked a debate about whether women in tech should publicly call out unequal treatment.

“Having had several women come out earlier, including Ellen Pao and me, most likely paved the way and primed the industry that these things indeed happen,” said Gesche Haas, an entrepreneur who said she was propositioned for sex by an investor, Pavel Curda, in 2014. Mr. Curda has since apologized.

Some of the entrepreneurs who spoke with The Times said they were often touched without permission by investors or advisers.

At a mostly male tech gathering in Las Vegas in 2009, Susan Wu, an entrepreneur and investor, said that Mr. Sacca, an investor and former Google executive, touched her face without her
consent in a way that made her uncomfortable. Ms. Wu said she was also propositioned by Mr. Caldbeck while fund-raising in 2010 and worked hard to avoid him later when they crossed paths.

“There is such a massive imbalance of power that women in the industry often end up in distressing situations,” Ms. Wu said.

After being contacted by The Times, Mr. Sacca wrote in a blog post on Thursday: “I now understand I personally contributed to the problem. I am sorry.” In a statement to The Times, he added that he was “grateful to Susan and the other brave women sharing their stories. I’m confident the result of their courage will be long-overdue, lasting change.”

After the publication of this article, Mr. Sacca contacted The Times again to amend his original statement, adding: “I dispute Susan’s account from 2009.”

Many of the women also said they believed they had limited ability to push back against inappropriate behavior, often because they needed funding, a job or other help.

In 2014, Sarah Kunst, 31, an entrepreneur, said she discussed a potential job at 500 Startups, a start-up incubator in San Francisco. During the recruiting process, Mr. McClure, a founder of 500 Startups and an investor, sent her a Facebook message that read in part, “I was getting confused figuring out whether to hire you or hit on you.”

Ms. Kunst, who now runs a fitness start-up, said she declined Mr. McClure’s advance. When she later discussed the message with one of Mr. McClure’s colleagues, she said 500 Startups ended its conversations with her.

500 Startups said Mr. McClure, who did not respond to a request for comment, was no longer in charge of day-to-day operations after an internal investigation.

“After being made aware of instances of Dave having inappropriate behavior with women in the tech community, we have been making changes internally,” 500 Startups said. “He recognizes he has made mistakes and has been going through counseling to work on addressing changes in his previous unacceptable behavior.”

Rachel Renock, the chief executive of Wethos, described a similar situation in which she faced sexist comments while seeking financing for her online community site. While she and her female partners were fund-raising in March, one investor told them that they should marry for money, that he liked it when women fought back because he would always win, and that they needed more attractive photos of themselves in their presentation.

They put up with the comments, Ms. Renock said, because they “couldn’t imagine a world in which that $500,000 wasn’t on the table anymore.” Ms. Renock declined to name the investor. Wethos raised the $500,000 from someone else and is still fund-raising.

Wendy Dent, 43, whose company Cinemerse makes an app for smart watches, said she
was sent increasingly flirtatious messages by a start-up adviser, Marc Canter, as she was trying to start her company in 2014. Mr. Canter, who had founded a software company in the 1980s that became known as Macromedia, initially agreed to help her find a co-founder. But over time, his messages became sexual in nature.

In one message, reviewed by The Times, he wrote that she was a “sorceress casting a spell.” In another, he commented on how she looked in a blue dress and added, “Know what I’m thinking? Why am I sending you this — in private?”

Mr. Canter, in an interview, said that Ms. Dent “came on strong to me, asking for help” and that she had used her sexuality publicly. He said he disliked her ideas so he behaved the way he did to make her go away.

Some entrepreneurs were asked to not speak about the behavior they experienced.

At a start-up competition in 2014 in San Francisco, Lisa Curtis, an entrepreneur, pitched her food start-up, Kuli Kuli, and was told her idea had won the most plaudits from the audience, opening the door to possible investment. As she stepped off the stage, an investor named Jose De Dios, said, “Of course you won. You’re a total babe.”

Ms. Curtis later posted on Facebook about the exchange and got a call from a different investor. He said “that if I didn't take down the post, no one in Silicon Valley would give me money again,” she said. Ms. Curtis deleted the post.

In a statement, Mr. De Dios said he “unequivocally did not make a defamatory remark.”

Often, change happens only when there is a public revelation, some of the women said. In the case of Mr. Caldbeck and Binary, the investor and the firm have apologized, as has Mr. Caldbeck’s previous employer, the venture capital firm Lightspeed Venture Partners, which had received complaints about him.

“We regret we did not take stronger action,” Lightspeed said on Twitter on Tuesday. “It is clear now that we should have done more.”

Lindsay Meyer, an entrepreneur in San Francisco, said Mr. Caldbeck put $25,000 of his own money into her fitness start-up in 2015. That gave Mr. Caldbeck reason to constantly text her; in those messages, reviewed by The Times, he asked if she was attracted to him and why she would rather be with her boyfriend than him. At times, he groped and kissed her, she said.

“I felt like I had to tolerate it because this is the cost of being a nonwhite female founder,” said Ms. Meyer, who is Asian-American.

But even after she reached out to a mentor, who alerted one of Binary’s investors, Legacy Venture, to Mr. Caldbeck’s actions, little changed. Legacy went on to invest in Binary’s new fund. Binary and Mr. Caldbeck declined to comment.

“We failed to follow up on information about Mr. Caldbeck’s personal behavior,” Legacy said in a statement. “We regret this oversight and are determined to do better.”