

# International New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13, 2016

## May faces huge tasks, but also a big opportunity

LONDON

BY STEPHEN CASTLE

Theresa May prepared on Tuesday to take over as Britain's prime minister facing a nation in such flux that she has a historic chance to leave a lasting imprint.

But her relatively low-profile career so far, and her swift, almost unchallenged ascent in the wake of the political chaos set off by the country's stunning decision to leave the European Union, has left supporters and opponents alike lacking a clear sense of whether she is up to it.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

The task before her is daunting. She must negotiate the terms of the country's withdrawal from the bloc in a way that minimizes the economic damage but lives up to the spirit of the vote, especially in limiting immigration, while at the same time seeking to maintain British influence on the global stage.

She is confronting strains on the continued existence of the United Kingdom as currently constituted, with Scotland again agitating for independence and some Catholics in Northern Ireland trying to use the Brexit vote as reason to advance the cause of unification with the Irish Republic.

And like other leaders on both sides of the Atlantic, she is facing populist political forces that are challenging traditional ideologies and electoral coalitions, introducing a volatile new element into governance.

But the circumstances also provide her with a fair amount of room to maneuver. Nearly every other senior figure in the governing Conservative Party was either wiped out, sidelined or put in political peril by the vote on **BRITAIN, PAGE 3**

### BRITAIN'S MURKY ECONOMIC FUTURE

The finance minister has underscored a commitment to free trade, but some are skeptical of Britain's prospects. **PAGE 14**



**Show of unity** After months of clashes, Bernie Sanders gave Hillary Clinton a long-awaited endorsement for the Democratic presidential nomination on Tuesday. **PAGE 5**

## Bitter feud rages over jihadism in France

PARIS

BY ADAM NOSSITER

What propels Islamist terrorism and attacks against France is more than an academic debate: The answer shapes policy toward blunting the threat.

So it is no trivial matter in a culture under attack, and one that so cherishes its intellectual debates, that France's two leading scholars of radical Islam —

former friends — have become bitter rivals over their differing views.

"Ass," "madman," "thug," "illiterate," "paranoid," "not a thinker" — those are just some of the choicer insults they have hurled at each other in a peculiarly personal quarrel with far larger stakes that has reverberated in France for months.

The two distinguished academics, Olivier Roy and Gilles Kepel, have long lists of books to their names, and years

of fieldwork in the Middle East, Central Asia and the troubled French suburbs. They are both eagerly consulted by the French news media and by government officials.

But with France on edge and the continued target of terrorist attacks, their clashing analyses of the origins, development and future of jihadism have now broken out of academic circles to present an important question for France and all of Europe: Which man holds the key to

understanding the phenomenon?

Mr. Kepel, 61, a professor at the Paris Institute of Political Studies, or Sciences Po, finds much of the answer inside France — its suburbs and their dysfunctional sociology — and in the role of Islam, angering many on the left.

Mr. Roy, 66, who as a bearded young man roamed Afghanistan with the mujahedeen in the 1980s and now teaches at the European University Institute in **FRANCE, PAGE 3**

## Beijing vows to defy ruling on South China Sea

BEIJING

Claims of sovereignty are without legal basis, international panel finds

BY JANE PERLEZ

An international tribunal in The Hague delivered a sweeping rebuke on Tuesday of China's behavior in the South China Sea, including its construction of artificial islands, and found that its expansive claim to sovereignty over the waters had no legal basis.

The landmark case, brought by the Philippines, was seen as an important crossroads in China's rise as a global power and in its rivalry with the United States, and it could force Beijing to reconsider its assertive tactics in the region or risk being labeled an international outlaw. It was the first time that the Chinese government had been summoned before the international justice system.

In its most significant finding, the tribunal rejected China's argument that it enjoys historic rights over most of the South China Sea. That could give the governments of Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Taiwan and Vietnam more leverage in their own maritime disputes with Beijing.

The tribunal also said that China had violated international law by causing "irreparable harm" to the marine environment, endangering Philippine ships and interfering with Philippine fishing and oil exploration.

"It's an overwhelming victory. We won on every significant point," said the chief counsel for the Philippines in the case, Paul S. Reichler.

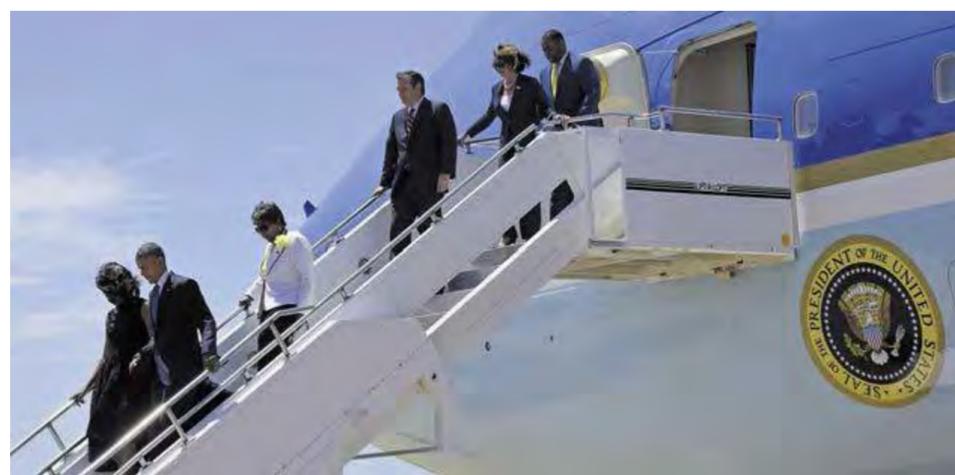
But while the decision is legally binding, there is no mechanism for enforcing it, and China, which refused to participate in the tribunal's proceedings, reiterated on Tuesday that it would not abide by the finding.

Speaking at a meeting with European leaders, President Xi Jinping was defiant, reasserting China's claim to sovereignty over the South China Sea "since ancient times," the state-run People's Daily reported. His remarks echoed a statement from the Foreign Ministry. The tribunal's decision "is invalid and has no binding force," the ministry said. "China does not accept or recognize it."

The foreign secretary of the Philippines, Perfecto Yasay Jr., welcomed the ruling as "significant" and called on "all those concerned to exercise restraint and sobriety."

The five judges and legal experts on the tribunal ruled unanimously, and the decision was so heavily in favor of the Philippines that there were fears about how the Chinese leadership would react. Many in the region worry that Beijing will accelerate its efforts to assert control over the South China Sea, which includes vital trade routes and fishing waters as well as possible oil and mineral deposits.

"Xi Jinping has lost face here, and it will be difficult for China to do nothing," said Bonnie S. Glaser, a senior adviser for Asia at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "I expect a very tough reaction from **SOUTH CHINA SEA, PAGE 4**



**Seeking the right words** President Obama arrived in Dallas on Tuesday to speak at a memorial for the five white police officers gunned down by a black Army veteran, his latest effort to help bridge a stark divide in American society. **nytimes.com**

### INSIDE TODAY'S PAPER

#### Plugging a leak in gas production

Southwestern Energy is leading an industry group that aims to cut methane leakage to less than 1 percent of American gas production, reducing the fuel's impact on the climate. **BUSINESS, 14**

#### Cubans fear return to darker days

Amid grim economic forecasts, recent calls to cut energy usage have stoked bitter memories of fuel shortages and blackouts. **WORLD NEWS, 5**

#### Head-on train collision in Italy

At least 20 people were killed on Tuesday in a crash in the Puglia region, along a stretch of track with no automatic braking technology. **WORLD NEWS, 3**

#### Britain's last gasp of empire

The "Brexit" vote will unravel the role that England has played since the 16th century as a great power, Ben Judah writes. **OPINION, 11**



**UNEASE IN TURKEY** A nearly empty ferry in Istanbul. While the nation contends with rising violence and an increasingly autocratic leader, it also faces existential questions. **PAGE TWO**

#### Inside the trans-Atlantic data deal

The European Union has agreed to allow thousands of companies to move digital data to the United States. **BUSINESS, 14**

#### New claim emerges against Paterno

Joe Paterno was told about Penn State abuse allegations in 1976, according to documents released Tuesday. **SPORTS, 12**

### ONLINE AT INYT.COM

#### A planet with better sunsets

Astronomers have discovered a world with an exotic sight on its horizon: a triple sunset. The planet, HD 131399Ab, is a gas giant with three stars some 320 light-years away. **nytimes.com/science**

#### If everyone is 'queer,' is anyone?

The word has gone from a slur to a radically inclusive term — but if anyone can join, does the identity lose its potency? **nytimes.com/magazine**

#### Letting kids avoid the dentist's drill

An antimicrobial liquid, an alternative to a filling, can be brushed on a decaying tooth — a painless and cheaper solution for dental patients. **nytimes.com/health**

#### Cinderella story at Wimbledon

A journalist's last-minute invitation to the Wimbledon champions dinner yielded a missing dress, a trip to the losers' table and all the halibut she could eat. **nytimes.com/tennis**

FOR SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION, CALL: 00800 44 48 78 27 or e-mail us at [inysubs@nytimes.com](mailto:inysubs@nytimes.com)



### NEWSSTAND PRICES

France € 3.20	Morocco MAD 30
Andorra € 3.50	Senegal CFA 2,500
Antilles € 3.80	Tunisia Din 4,500
Cameroon CFA 2,500	Reunion € 3.50
Gabon CFA 2,500	Ivory Coast CFA 2,500

### IN THIS ISSUE

No. 41,470
Business 14
Crossword 13
Culture 7
Opinion 10
Science 6
Sports 12

### CURRENCIES NEW YORK, TUESDAY 12:30PM

		PREVIOUS
▲ Euro	€1=	\$1.1070 \$1.1060
▲ Pound	£1=	\$1.3240 \$1.2990
▼ Yen	¥1=	¥104.660 ¥102.790
▼ S. Franc	\$1=	SF0.9870 SF0.9820

Full currency rates Page 17

### STOCK INDEXES TUESDAY

▲ The Dow 12:30pm	18,349.35	+0.67%
▼ FTSE 100 close	6,680.69	-0.03%
▲ Nikkei 225 close	16,095.65	+2.46%

### OIL NEW YORK, TUESDAY 12:30PM

▲ Light sweet crude	\$46.60	+\$1.61
---------------------	---------	---------

**RICHARD MILLE**

CALIBER RM 037

RICHARD MILLE BOUTIQUES

GENEVA PARIS LONDON MILAN MONACO MUNICH PORTO CERVO

ABU DHABI DUBAI DOHA BEIRUT

[www.richardmille.com](http://www.richardmille.com)

## PAGE TWO

## IN YOUR WORDS

### Upsetting the Saudi social order

Saudi Arabia is a land of contradictions to the extreme. When I lived there, I found the Saudi people to be among the more warm and generous of any country I've ever visited. In fact, I found that most Saudis were very open to trying to understand my background and where I came from. But the permeation of theology in daily life made it difficult to find common ground (i.e., women's rights, religious freedom, family roles) because there was no precedent for critical thinking.

ZAIN, DENVER

I was born and raised and lived about 25 years in Saudi. What saddens me the most is that the majority of the people are too afraid to change.

MARWAN, D.C.

I hope our political and military leaders understand that there is no quick method to end societies struggling to align their religious belief systems with a world that has outgrown mystical solutions to complex social, economic and political problems.

ACJ, CHICAGO

### Theresa May to lead Britain

All the influential Brexit-men left the sinking ship. Now Britain is in need for a woman with realistic views to clean up the mess.

RENATE, WASHINGTON STATE

One of Ms. May's three agenda items is to take the U.K. out of Europe. A second is to unite the people of the U.K. Good luck with that. Leaving the E.U. will result in the breakup of the U.K. Maybe she means uniting a much smaller, insular, less diverse England after the U.K. breaks up.

PAUL, CHICAGO

She is the face of anti-immigration and anti-refugee in the U.K. It is because of her that the U.K. did not take any new refugees from Syria, who are forced to camp at Calais.

BDD, SAN FRANCISCO

See what readers are talking about and leave your own comments at [inyt.com](http://inyt.com).

## IN OUR PAGES

International Herald Tribune

### 1916 Germany Shells English Town

LONDON The following communiqué is issued by Viscount French, Commander-in-Chief of the Home Forces. Last night [July 11] at half-past ten o'clock a German submarine appeared off the small defenceless port of Seaham, Durham. It approached to within a few hundred yards of the town and opened fire. About thirty shells were fired from a three-inch gun. Twenty shells fell in the direction of Dalton Dale and ten around the Seaham coal mine. A woman who was walking in the neighborhood of the mine was seriously wounded and succumbed this morning [July 12]. A house was struck by a shell.

### 1966 Johnson Foresees Long War

WASHINGTON President Johnson told the American people tonight [July 12] that they would have to carry "perhaps for a long time the burden of a confusing and costly war in Vietnam." At the same time, Mr. Johnson appealed to Communist China to open its closed doors to the world. Specifically, he urged that Peking allow in American scholars, newsmen, health experts and other specialists. It was a tough speech, reflecting the chief executive's apparently increasingly firm commitment to the war.

Find a retrospective of news from 1887 to 2013 at [iht-retrospective.blogs.nytimes.com](http://iht-retrospective.blogs.nytimes.com).

## John Brademas, congressman and head of N.Y.U., dies at 89

BY ROBERT D. MCFADDEN

John Brademas, a political, financial and academic dynamo who served 22 years in Congress and more than a decade as president of New York University in an all-but-seamless quest to promote education, the arts and a liberal agenda, died

## OBITUARY

on Monday in New York. He was 89. His death was announced by N.Y.U. Mr. Brademas liked to say that being a university president was not much different from being a congressman: You shake hands, make speeches, remember names and faces, stump for a cause and raise money relentlessly. The difference, he said, is that you do not have to depend on voters to renew your contract every two years.

As a Democratic representative from Indiana from 1959 to 1981, Mr. Brademas became known as Mr. Education and Mr. Arts. He sponsored bills that nearly doubled federal aid for elementary and secondary education in the mid-1960s and that created the National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities. He was also instrumental in annual financ-



A nearly empty restaurant in the Taksim neighborhood of Istanbul last month. Business has fallen sharply over the past year, as bomb attacks have dissuaded tourists from coming.

## Uncharted waters for Turks

ISTANBUL

### Many watch with unease as Erdogan tries to sculpt a new national identity

BY SABRINA TAVERNISE

Umit Engin, the owner of a small bookstore in the tangle of back streets in this city's ancient Beyoglu district, sat in his tidy shop reading on a quiet afternoon recently.

Business has fallen sharply over the

## MEMO FROM ISTANBUL

past year, since the bomb attacks started and the flow of tourists slowed, and Mr. Engin, 42, who is deeply worried about Turkey's future, spends his days glancing up at the street, hoping for customers.

"We feel lost," he said. "There's no energy now. Where it will go from here, we do not know. We are waiting for something, but we don't know what it is."

He paused, adding wryly, "it's like 'Waiting for Godot,'" referring to the existentialist play by Samuel Beckett. "Waiting for Turkey."

Turkey is living through strange days. Bombings are now regular events in its large cities. Its society is so polarized that some people speak darkly of armed civil conflict. An old war with Kurdish separatists has been reignited, inflaming the country's southeastern border region at a time when countries just south of it, Syria and Iraq, are convulsing with violence and existential questions.

But the most profound changes have been in the shape of society itself. And for that, the country has its bombastic president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, to thank.

Mr. Erdogan is tearing up the rigid secularist system imposed by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in the 1920s, empowering the long-oppressed Islamic underclass

and making Turkish society far more equal by carrying out economic policies that lifted poorer areas. But along the way, Mr. Erdogan has grown increasingly autocratic and his inner circle increasingly rich, and many Turks, including some from his own base, are worried about what he is erecting in place of the old system he is dismantling.

"It's like 'The Lord of the Rings': We have the ring now, but we have become slaves to it," said one young Islamic activist, referring to money and power, who shut down her Twitter account after being attacked by pro-government bloggers for criticizing the crackdown on street demonstrations in 2013 that grew into a major protest movement against Mr. Erdogan. "It's not about Kemalists, it's not about secular protesters — it's our own test. And mostly, we are not passing."

Liberals like Mr. Engin say they feel hopeless. Mr. Erdogan crushed the 2013 street protests. Opposition swelled again after his party lost its majority in Parliament in an election in June 2015, but he outmaneuvered everybody by calling a snap election.

In the protests, "we tried everything, but we got nothing," Mr. Engin said. "In fact, we lost many things. We lost friends. Now it's impossible to organize such protests. People think the result will be the same."

As Turkey drifts further into uncharted waters, some Turks are wondering where their country is going — and what it will look like when it arrives.

The changes have been so profound that some argue that the nation — founded by the elite as a project that papered over ethnicity and religion to create the concept of a modern Turk — will have to pass through a period of uncertainty and possibly chaos to find itself again.

"Who are we, and what are we doing here together?" said Cengiz Candar, a Turkish intellectual, explaining his country's predicament. "We used to be the secular republic. Now, we don't

know what we are. What project brings us together? What social contract?"

Mr. Erdogan is offering a narrative. He speaks with swagger and soaring statements about the glory of Turkey's Ottoman past, playing down the eight-decade secular interlude called Kemalism. He talks in rapid-fire speeches about what he plans to achieve by 2023 — Turkey's centennial — and sometimes seems to want to replace Ataturk himself.

In some ways, a search for a new Turkish identity was inevitable. Kemalism is a rigid, early 20th-century revolutionary ideology that forged a modern state. But it also repressed pious peasants from the heartland, along with ethnic minorities like Kurds. The fact that the Turkish identity is evolving is natural.

So far, Turkish society looks about the same. Women have not been required to wear head scarves, and while an order to do so seems unlikely, some liberals like Mr. Engin worry that it could happen, particularly in light of Mr. Erdogan's recent exhortation for Turkish women to have more children. Pious Turks like his vision, perhaps more for the combative stance he takes against the West than for his references to the Ottoman past.

"Europe is cracking, but Turkey is still on its feet," said Mahmoud Atlas, a 47-year-old cleaning company owner from Mersin who attended a large Ramadan dinner in Istanbul where Mr. Erdogan spoke last month. "Sorry, but the U.S. and Europe can't break him," he said of the president.

Mr. Erdogan's working-class roots also have broad appeal. "He's coming from below, like us," Emre Bozkurt, 22, said. "He can sit and have tea with poor people. These things make us love him. When people look at him, they see themselves."

Mr. Erdogan and his party have reliably received 40 percent to 50 percent of the vote for most of his nearly 15-year tenure. Much of that support comes from pragmatic voters who are more inter-

ested in their pocketbooks than politics.

"They fear an economic crisis more than anything else," Hakan Altınay, the director of the European School of Politics at Bogazici University in Istanbul, said of the government. "The deal is: You don't mess with how I govern you, and I deliver you the goods. But if I don't deliver, you send me an overdue bill with compounded interest."

There were signs of discontent at a Ramadan dinner late last month in Bakacak, a suburb far from Istanbul's ancient center that has long been a bastion of support for Mr. Erdogan and his Justice and Development Party.

Emine Akarsu, 48, an architect, praised the party for helping to transform the district from a trash-strewn field into rows of pastel high-rises and landscaped parks, complete with artificial streams, a lake and a nearby subway stop. But as the party has become visibly wealthier and corruption allegations have surfaced, Ms. Akarsu said she had stopped voting for it. "They have changed, and so has my view of them," she said, packing up her thermos of tea. "I don't believe they are telling us the truth about things anymore."

Kurtulus Turan, a textiles businessman, said he used to like Mr. Erdogan's party for its pro-business stance. But now the president seems to speak exclusively for Sunni Turks, Mr. Turan said, adding that as a member of Turkey's Shiite minority, he feels discrimination. "It wasn't like this at the beginning," he said.

Mr. Engin compared these days to a storm that is buffeting Turkish people. He said there would be damage, but how much remained to be seen.

"We have to wait for it to finish, for the air to clear," he said.

He said he did not know whether that would take a month or a decade, but he believed change would come because "things can't go on like this."

Safak Timur contributed reporting.

## Elite college takes on its painful past

## Letter From America

RACHEL L. SWARNS

MARINGOIN, LA. The rental car sped past acres of farmland and across a muddy bayou to an old plantation rippling with sugar cane. Stepping out was John J. DeGioia, the president of Georgetown University, who was on the most unusual journey of his tenure.

Nearly two centuries ago, scores of slaves were shipped here in a sale that helped save Georgetown from financial ruin. Last month, Mr. DeGioia stood in the cane fields where they once labored, visited the cemetery where they buried their dead and met for hours with their descendants.

Mr. DeGioia oversees one of the elite universities in the United States, managing more than 17,500 degree-seeking students; campuses in Washington and Doha, Qatar; and an endowment of about \$1.5 billion. But on this scorching summer day, his mission was to help Georgetown begin the uneasy process of reckoning with its past.

"I think all of us need to get it right this time," Mr. DeGioia said as he stood beside Maxine Crump, whose great-grandfather was sold in 1838.

College presidents are increasingly grappling with the legacy of slavery as student protests and scholarly research

illuminate how many universities participated in and profited from the domestic slave trade.

At Georgetown, founded by Jesuit priests in 1789, Mr. DeGioia contends that his university

will not overcome its past without making amends for its role in slavery.

Over the past several weeks, he has traveled to Spokane, Wash.; New Orleans; Baton Rouge, La.; and the rural Louisiana community of Maringouin to meet with dozens of descendants of the slaves who were sold.

He has also addressed alumni on the subject, convening a panel to discuss the efforts of his working group on slavery. The group spent months studying the university's history and weighing whether Georgetown should apologize for profiting from slavery, create a memorial to the slaves and offer scholarships to their descendants, among other options. Historians believe this is the first time that the president of an elite university has met with the descendants of slaves who had labored on a college campus or were sold to benefit one.

Several faculty members and administrators described the reaction to Mr. DeGioia's efforts as overwhelmingly positive, pointing out that he is also creating the university's first department of African-American studies and a center for researching racial injustice.

"I think he's a very moral man, and I think he sees a moral obligation in this," Maurice Jackson, a historian at the university and a member of the working group on slavery, said of Mr. DeGioia, who is a practicing Catholic. "He wanted us to get together, to effect change and to use the past to make the present better."

But some alumni have voiced concern that by focusing on the wrongs of the 19th century, Mr. DeGioia is unnecessarily besmirching the reputation of a venerable institution. His decision to support student protesters and the members of his working group who called for renaming two buildings on campus raised eyebrows among some graduates.

Mr. DeGioia, who at age 59 is Georgetown's longest-serving president, said he knew there were lingering doubts among some alumni.

But he said that the nation's racial divisions, highlighted by the string of killings of black men by the police and persistent racial disparities, suggested that Americans had yet to come to terms with their roots in legalized discrimination and slavery.

"I don't think we can say we've sufficiently moved beyond it," Mr. DeGioia said.

Last month, dozens of descendants gathered to meet in Maringouin with Mr. DeGioia, who said he was just beginning the process of engaging with families and addressing their concerns. He told the descendants that he hoped Georgetown could help reknit families torn apart by the sale, providing them with access to records about the Jesuit slaves in the university archives and possibly hosting a gathering of descendants on campus.

Jessica Tilson wanted something more. She asked Mr. DeGioia to issue a declaration of posthumous manumission, granting the slaves their freedom. Then she handed him several jars of soil from the old plantation here — symbols of her enslaved forbears — and asked him to help her ancestors get back home.

Before he boarded his flight back to Washington, Mr. DeGioia shipped the jars to Georgetown.

# World News



Theresa May leaving 10 Downing Street in London on Tuesday. She must deal with populist political forces that are challenging Britain's traditional ideologies and electoral coalitions.

## May faces a daunting new role

BRITAIN, FROM PAGE 1

Europe, leaving a leadership vacuum that she is now filling with support from across the party's fractious elements. The opposition Labour Party is in disarray and at risk of splitting.

In her one substantive campaign appearance before the rapid sequence of events on Monday that cleared the way for her to take power, she set out a vision of a Conservative government intent on doing much more than decoupling from Europe and eager to seize the political center. Seeking to address the underlying causes of the vote to leave the European Union, she suggested that she would address the anxieties and frustrations of Britons who feel left behind or imperiled by globalization and its effects, including inequality.

"Within the Conservative Party some of her obvious foes have either been undermined or have undermined themselves, so she does have a clear opportunity," said Philip Cowley, professor of politics at Queen Mary College, London, who added that the Labour Party "is almost in an existential crisis, and those who are talking about it possibly splitting are not too far off."

Mr. Cowley said that Ms. May faced formidable challenges, but added that there was a golden rule of sorts in British politics: "Don't underestimate Theresa May."

Her transition moved ahead rapidly on Tuesday. Prime Minister David Cameron chaired his 215th and final cabinet meeting, and planned to go to Queen Elizabeth II with his resignation after a final appearance before Parliament on Wednesday. He was already preparing to move out of 10 Downing Street to make room for Ms. May.

She will take office on Wednesday little known internationally and never having held an economic or foreign policy position in government.

Quite how she will approach the role of prime minister is only starting to

emerge because, despite her years in the cabinet, she has done just one job dealing with issues such as security and policing. On Monday, Ms. May outlined some wider ambitions, positioning her to the left of many of her colleagues on economic issues, calling for new mechanisms to curb executive pay and warning big multinational companies that they must pay their share of taxes.

Though Ms. May has sometimes been compared to Britain's previous female prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, Monday's centrist-sounding speech provoked comparisons to the agenda of the former Labour Party leader, Ed Milliband. One former Labour adviser, Tom Baldwin, tweeted: "Tory PM-elect steals Ed Milliband's slogan."

Ms. May is expected to make big changes in the current cabinet. Among

**"Within the Conservative Party some of her obvious foes have either been undermined or have undermined themselves."**

those at greatest risk is the chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne, who was once a rival and the leading contender to succeed Mr. Cameron but whose prospects were wrecked by his aggressive campaigning for Britain to remain in the European Union.

Ms. May's speech on Monday hinted that Mr. Osborne had presided over an economy that contributed to a referendum result that many see as the consequence of a broader malaise in Britain. "There is a gaping chasm between wealthy London and the rest of the country," she told the Birmingham audience.

The daughter of a clergyman, and a committed churchgoer, Ms. May was regarded as a modernizer in the Conservative Party before taking over at the Home Office, where her focus was on security and immigration. In 2002, she told

Conservative Party activists that they risked being known as members of the "nasty party."

Yet the issue of the European Union, which destroyed Mr. Cameron's premiership, and which delivered his job to Ms. May, will almost inevitably define her, too, because her primary task is to negotiate a new relationship with the bloc.

No supporter of Britain's exit, or "Brexit," survived a toxic leadership campaign in the Conservative, or Tory, Party. The prospects of the former London mayor Boris Johnson were undermined by his fellow Leave campaigner Michael Gove, the justice secretary, who challenged him for the top job, only to see his campaign flop.

On Monday, another "Brexit" supporter, Andrea Leadsom, the energy minister, pulled out when it became clear that her campaign was in terminal trouble after an interview in which she suggested that she was the best candidate because she is a mother and Ms. May is not.

Yet the "Brexit" backers will not disappear completely and are likely to be given senior jobs in government as Ms. May seeks to show that she can reunite the Conservatives around British withdrawal. Hard-liners will be watching closely, ready to cry betrayal.

One key issue is when the government begins negotiating formally by invoking Article 50 of the European Union's Lisbon Treaty, which effectively gives a two-year deadline for a deal on withdrawal to be struck.

Ms. May does not plan to do this quickly because it would put Britain's negotiators under time pressure, and at a disadvantage.

But some supporters of an exit want to move fast to lock in the referendum result. Nigel Farage, who recently announced his resignation as leader of the pro-Brexit U.K. Independence Party said in a statement that "to hold faith with over 17 million voters who opted for

Leave she must trigger Article 50 at the earliest realistic opportunity," adding that "UKIP will be watching like a hawk to ensure that there is no backsliding."

Though Ms. May now says that "Brexit means Brexit," this is little more than a slogan because those who choose to leave in the referendum voted against European Union membership, but not in favor of any specific plan to replace it.

"The problem is that nobody knows what Brexit means," said Mr. Cowley, the politics professor. "Almost anything she can deliver is going to disappoint somebody — perhaps by being insufficiently restrictive on immigration. Some of those who voted for Brexit expecting big cuts in immigration — or even repatriation — are going to be disappointed."

Exit talks are likely to come down to a trade-off between the amount of access Britain wants to the European Union's single market of goods and services, and the extent to which it curbs the free movement of workers that this normally entails. While big business will press for access to the single market, Ms. May will be under pressure from "Brexit" supporters to deliver cuts to immigration.

And the longer things drift, the greater the uncertainty for businesses, which may postpone investment decisions until things are clearer, potentially pushing Britain into recession.

The financial markets have been encouraged by Ms. May's appointment but are not celebrating yet.

"The speed at which the Conservative party has rallied around May is heartening and promises greater clarity around upcoming negotiations," wrote Eric Lascelles, chief economist at RBC global asset management. "This is probably the most important political development, and a positive one."

"On the other hand, tangential Brexit risks have become more dangerous," he added, citing Britain's commercial real estate market, where there are fears that foreigners will relocate abroad.

## Train collision kills at least 20 in Italy

ROME

Head-on crash occurred on stretch of track lacking automatic braking system

BY GAIA PIANIGIANI

Two passenger trains collided head-on in the Puglia region of southern Italy on Tuesday morning, killing at least 20 people and injuring dozens, many of them critically.

The crash occurred around 11:30 a.m. on a track running through an olive grove between the towns of Corato and Ruvo di Puglia, according to Luca Cari, a spokesman for the Vigili del Fuoco, a part of the Interior Ministry that handles fire and rescue services. The closest major city is Bari, about 20 miles east of Ruvo di Puglia.

Prime Minister Matteo Renzi, who was attending the opening of a new science museum in Milan, announced that he would return immediately to Rome and that he had ordered an investigation.

"We won't stop until we clarify what happened," he told reporters in Milan. "There is an absolute need to understand who is responsible and to shed total light" on what happened, he added.

Mr. Renzi sent the infrastructure and transportation minister, Graziano Delrio, and the head of the civil protection agency, Fabrizio Curcio, who oversees emergency response in Italy, to the site of the crash. "It's an incident of enormous proportions," Mr. Delrio said upon reaching the site of the crash Tuesday afternoon.

The circumstances that led to the collision were unclear, but Mr. Delrio confirmed that the crash was "very violent."

A team of inspectors from the Transportation Ministry will work with local prosecutors to determine the causes of the accident.

Throughout the afternoon, teams of rescuers worked to separate the two trains and to extricate victims and search for survivors, working in intense July heat. One exhausted policeman, who appeared barely able to walk, was escorted from the scene by another officer.

The front cars of both trains were smashed, and both trains derailed. Television images showed heavily damaged rail cars. At least one was still on the tracks, its windows blown out; another was off to the side at an odd angle, with twisted metal and its undercarriage facing upward.

News agencies also broadcast images of rescue officials taking wounded pas-

sengers on stretchers under the burning sun. The sound of cicadas could be heard as firefighters searched for survivors among the wreckage.

The news agency ANSA reported that emergency workers had extricated a young boy from the site of the crash and had taken him by helicopter to a hospital. The lack of access roads made it difficult for search-and-rescue teams to reach the crash site.

Giuseppe Corrado, deputy head of the Barletta-Andria-Trani province, which is part of the Apulia region, put the death toll at 20 and made an appeal for blood donations. Local health officials put the number of injured at 60 and said that most were in serious or critical condition.

Stefania Gnesi, an information technology staff researcher at Italy's National Research Council, said in a telephone interview that there was no automatic braking system in the stretch of track where the crash occurred.

Ms. Gnesi said that the train conductors involved most likely relied on directions given by dispatchers over the telephone.

"It's probable that there was some human error in this chain, in a section of train track that has no automatic control or automatic brake system," she said.

Most of Italy's railways have automatic braking systems in place, but in some areas — particularly in southern Italy, which is less developed and prosperous than the north — the technology is not yet in place.

"Of course, when humans interact, passengers are more exposed to this kind of accidents," she said.

The track involved in the crash links the city of Andria with Bari, on the Adriatic coast, about 60 kilometers, or 37 miles, to the east, and serves around 10,000 passengers a day, according to Riccardo Amirante, a deputy dean at Politecnico University in Bari. The average speed on that track is around 90 kilometers an hour.

"The double track has been built along almost all of that distance — but unfortunately not that stretch," Mr. Amirante said in a phone interview.

It appeared to be one of the most deadly rail disasters in Italy since June 29, 2009, when a 14-car freight train carrying liquefied petroleum gas derailed and exploded in Viareggio, on the west coast of Italy in the Tuscany region. The disaster killed 32 people.

Italy's president, Sergio Mattarella, expressed "deep pain" over the crash, which he called an "unacceptable tragedy," Mr. Mattarella said in a statement: "We need to ascertain immediately and precisely responsibilities and possible flaws."



Wreckage from the train collision in the Puglia region of southern Italy on Tuesday. A lack of access roads made it difficult for search-and-rescue teams to reach the crash site.

### CORRECTIONS

• An article on June 14 about a long-running dispute between an American businessman, Manuel Mouron, and Canadian officials over his efforts to build a second bridge to Windsor, Ontario, from Detroit next to one he already owns erroneously attributed a distinction to the existing bridge. At least one other bridge linking Canada and the United States is privately owned; Mr. Mouron's is not the only one.

• An article in the June 4-5 issue, about Nguyen Quang A, a longtime critic of the Communist government in Vietnam and one of several dissidents blocked from meeting President Obama during his recent trip there, referred incorrectly to Nguyen Huu Vinh, a friend of Mr. Quang A's who was jailed for five years for posting anti-state writings on the internet. Mr. Vinh is a former police officer, not the son of one. A reader alerted The Times to the error shortly after the article was published online, but editors failed to follow up with a correction.

• The Mediator column on July 5, about misinformation in the news coverage of American and British politics, referred imprecisely to a comment by Nigel Farage, a leader in the British movement to leave the European Union. While Mr. Farage characterized as "a mistake" the pro-exit claim that savings from the British contribution to the European Union would be dedicated to the National Health Service, he was referring to statements by the VoteLeave campaign of which he was not officially a part; he was not speaking about his own statements.

## Bitter, personal feud colors debate over jihadism in France

FRANCE, FROM PAGE 1

Florence, Italy, places greater emphasis on individual behavior and psychology in a jihadism he considers strictly marginal to Islam.

Mr. Kepel sees people as cogs in a system — a view in line with a classically French, structuralist tradition that minimizes the role of individual agency.

Mr. Roy, on the other hand, sees mostly troubled individuals in the jihadist ranks who act out their fantasies of violence and cruelty.

The terrorists who have carried out recent attacks, he notes, were mostly marginalized young men and petty criminals who have used Islam as a cover to pursue extreme violence.

"They haven't had a militant past," Mr. Roy said in a telephone interview, referring to many of the recent terrorists. The problem they represent, he says, is the "Islamicization of radicalism."

It is a signature phrase that enrages Mr. Kepel, who leans toward its opposite: the radicalization of Islam. "That ignoramus," Mr. Kepel grumbled in an interview this month in his book-lined office, offering some choice gibes about his onetime friend's lack of Arabic.

Mr. Kepel testified for an influential 2015 parliamentary report, wrote a best

seller on terrorism after the attacks in Paris in November, and has been omniscient in television and radio studios.

"At the ministry, they tell me, 'I saw Kepel yesterday,'" said Mr. Roy, himself a favorite of the country's dominant left-leaning news media. His arguments, for the moment at least, appear to be winning in government circles.

As the jockeying has intensified in of-

**A quarrel between two leading scholars has framed efforts to understand the origins and future of Islamist terrorism.**

ficial circles, so has the falling-out between the old friends.

They say they cannot stand each other and, with the passion that typifies intellectual fights in a country where nothing short of war is more serious, they contemptuously dismiss each other's views.

"The king is naked," read the headline on Mr. Kepel's attack on Mr. Roy in the newspaper *Libération*, in a play on the French meaning of Mr. Roy's name.

In turn, while acknowledging a long and now broken friendship, Mr. Roy offers his own less-than-friendly critique

of Mr. Kepel as a cloistered intellectual. "We were friends for 20 years," he said in the interview. "I traveled with him in Istanbul. But I was very struck by his incapacity to talk to anybody."

"He's sincere the way a madman is," he added. "He's not a thinker, he's not a philosopher."

The debate has echoes of Republican criticism in the United States of President Obama for his reluctance to use the word Islam in connection with terrorism. But as is often the case in contemporary France, the heart of the dispute here is a disagreement about the country's relationship with Islam.

Mr. Roy sees a Muslim population that is relatively well integrated.

But for Mr. Kepel, the murderous jihadism that struck France in 2015 is the expression of a slow-burning Islamist radicalization that took shape over decades because of a failure of integration.

The year 2005 is the dividing line for Mr. Kepel. After riots in the Paris suburbs that year, Muslim youth felt a "need to disassociate from France, and leave it," he wrote in his book "Terreur dans l'Hexagone," which appeared not long after the Nov. 13 Paris attacks and sold tens of thousands of copies to a public hungry for explanation.

Mr. Kepel calls this the "third genera-

tion" of Islam in France, after a first generation of immigration and a second of unsatisfied political restiveness.

Around 2005, a text appeared online that Mr. Kepel says founded what he calls the "third generation" of jihadism abroad.

This 1,600-page text — "Appeal to Global Islamic Resistance," by a Syrian-born engineer, Abu Musab al-Suri — calls for "civil war in Europe" fomented by "unintegrated" Muslim youth.

For Mr. Kepel, this was the playbook for the atrocities of the Islamic State jihadists that have bedeviled France.

"If you want to comprehend their functioning, you have got to understand their background," Mr. Kepel said. "You have got to understand the intellectual resources of Salafism," he said, referring to the ultraconservative, sometimes militant, movement in Islam.

But Mr. Roy scoffs at his rival's reliance on the text by Mr. Suri, the onetime Qaeda functionary who broke with Osama bin Laden. "Nobody is interested in al-Suri," Mr. Roy said. "It's absurd."

When Mr. Kepel "talks of a 'third generation in 2005,' that's false," Mr. Roy added. "It's exactly the same profile as in the second generation — petty delinquency."

"There is no proof that shows the

young men go from Salafism to terrorism. None of the terrorists were Salafists," Mr. Roy said, pointing out that the planner of the Nov. 13 attacks last year, Abdelhamid Abaaoud, ate at McDonald's, which is not halal.

"They are on the margins," Mr. Roy said of the recent wave of terrorists. "They have trajectories that are profoundly individual."

French commentators have avoided picking sides in this fight, though Mr. Kepel's more cold-blooded approach has generally found less sympathy.

"The Islamicization of radicalism, this is more of an intuition, but it is a humanist intuition," Leyla Dakhli, a researcher at the C.N.R.S., a research institute, said in an interview.

"It is a hypothesis that has the merit of not isolating the Muslim world," added Ms. Dakhli, who analyzed the quarrel recently in the *Revue du Crieur*. Others find the two points of view not necessarily mutually exclusive. But there is little chance that the two men will reconcile and co-write a book, in the great French tradition.

"He insulted me," Mr. Roy said. "It's unacceptable. He's been insulting me for six months, at all the conferences. He's been waging a personal campaign. It's totally unacceptable."

## WORLD NEWS ASIA AMERICAS

## Taliban's new chief remains a mystery

KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

Disciplinarian scholar struggles to impose his rule amid internal strife

BY MUJIB MASHAL AND TAIMOOR SHAH

The early tenure of the Taliban's new leader, a low-key religious scholar seen as a potential unifier, has been notable for lacking the drama his predecessor seemed unable to shake.

But even after two months in the role, Mawlawi Haibatullah Akhundzada remains something of a mystery to the Taliban rank and file, according to analysts and insurgent commanders. And he has yet to make any high-profile mark on an insurgency that is stretched by internal divisions.

Many view him as lacking the grip and influence that his predecessor, Mullah Akhtar Muhammad Mansour, had amassed before being killed in an American drone strike in May. Mullah Mansour's tenure was marked by purges and open rebellion that have receded into the background.

Despite that, some commanders have refused to pledge allegiance to Mawlawi — a title reserved for Islamic scholars — Haibatullah, according to interviews with Taliban commanders and officials.

From the first days of the hasty leadership meetings that elevated Mawlawi Haibatullah, it was clear that the Taliban's decision-making power was returning to the insurgency's senior council based in Quetta, Pakistan — a politburo of about two dozen clerics and commanders split between the older generation that founded the Taliban and newer members who were empowered more recently.

Mawlawi Haibatullah's perceived strengths, and the very traits that made him attractive as a potential unifier, lie



A photograph of Mawlawi Haibatullah Akhundzada released by the Taliban in May.

in a slower kind of influence: his shunning of the limelight and his deep ties to the radical religious schools that for years have provided the Taliban with an ideological core of committed fighters.

"Mawlawi Haibatullah's area of influence is with the mullahs and the religious leaders, not the management and the commanders," said Borhan Osman, a researcher with the Afghanistan Analysts Network who has written extensively about the Taliban.

How Mawlawi Haibatullah fares will depend on the space he can carve with the dozen influential members of the senior council, or shura, who "call the shots," Mr. Osman said. "I don't think he will be left to his own ideals — maybe to express, but not to enforce."

In some ways, Mawlawi Haibatullah's selection is a return to the roots of the Taliban insurgency. In those years, little was known about the Taliban's top echelon. Rarely photographed or filmed, they amounted to myths, their vague identities exploited by local warlords and politicians to report rivals as insurgents.

"Mawlawi Haibatullah is calm and understanding, a symbol of politeness who has always led a humble lifestyle," said Hajji Saifidat Aka, an elder from

the new leader's birth village of Rigi, in Kandahar Province.

Both for his modest upbringing and for his quiet ways, Mawlawi Haibatullah, now in his 50s, is sometimes compared to the movement's founding leader, Mullah Muhammad Omar, who abhorred publicity.

That differed greatly from the style of Mullah Mansour, who became a vastly more public and pragmatic figure in the months after he made his bid for power in 2015. He deeply alienated many commanders with his close political ties to Pakistan, his violent pursuit of commanders who would not bend the knee to him, and, especially, his lavish lifestyle and grip on both a personal drug fortune and the Taliban's overall finances.

"Mansour was the money man; that was his key strength. What other insurgency makes their accountant the top guy?" said Franz-Michael Mellbin, the European Union's ambassador and special representative to Afghanistan.

Some of the individual financing streams may have been disrupted after Mullah Mansour's death, but Afghan and American officials say they believe that the larger flow will remain unaffected because there is a robust bureaucracy overseeing it.

In addition to his enjoyment of a rich lifestyle, Mullah Mansour showed contradictory impulses.

He indicated that he might lead the Taliban to the negotiating table, yet on the eve of the first round of talks with the Afghan government he disappeared, his phones turned off. (His travel records, leaked after his death and subsequently confirmed by Pakistani officials, showed him leaving Quetta for Dubai, in the United Arab Emirates, during that time.)

Mawlawi Haibatullah, on the other hand, has been seen as a more constant personality: a disciplinarian, scholar and judge who has lived a modest life of religious studies and court appointments, according to details pieced together from interviews with friends and fellow Taliban.

Mawlawi Haibatullah's father was a village imam in the Panjwai district of Kandahar. Not owning any land or orchards of their own, the family depended on what the congregation paid the imam in cash or crops. Young Haibatullah began his studies under the gaze of his father, and when the family migrated to Quetta after the Soviet invasion, he continued at one of the first seminaries established in the Sarban neighborhood, according to villagers and Taliban figures who know him.

After the Taliban swept to national power in 1996, one of his first jobs was in Farah Province, as part of the feared "vice and virtue" police who doled out punishments to those who had short beards or long hair, for example. But Mawlawi Haibatullah was soon moved to Kandahar and was made an instructor at the Jihadi Madrasa, the seminary of about 10,000 students that Mullah Omar personally looked after.

As a shaper of the Taliban ideology in Quetta, Mawlawi Haibatullah had a high enough profile to be targeted for assassination. Mullah Ibrahim, a student of Mawlawi Haibatullah, recalled an attempt on his life about four years ago, for which the Taliban later blamed the Afghan intelligence agency.

"During one of his lectures in Quetta one day about four years ago, a man stood among the students and pointed a pistol at Mawlawi Haibatullah from a close range, but the pistol stuck," Mullah Ibrahim recalled. "He was trying to shoot him, but he failed, and the Taliban rushed to tackle" the man, he said, adding that Mawlawi Haibatullah did not move in the chaos.

Mujib Mashal reported from Kabul, and Taimoor Shah from Kandahar, Afghanistan. Zahra Nader contributed reporting from Kabul.



A crew member of a Philippine fishing boat watching a Chinese Coast Guard speedboat that was following the ship as it left Scarborough Shoal, which China has been rigorously defending.

## Beijing's South China Sea claims rejected

SOUTH CHINA SEA, FROM PAGE 1

China, since it has lost on almost every point. There is virtually nothing that it has won."

The Philippines filed its case in 2013, after China seized a reef over which both countries claim sovereignty. There has been speculation that Beijing might respond to the decision by building an artificial island at the reef, Scarborough Shoal, a move that could set off a conflict with the Philippines and its treaty ally, the United States.

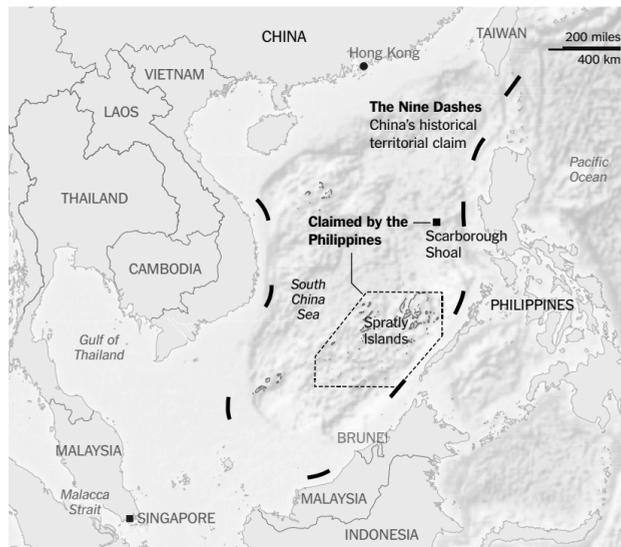
The main issue before the panel was the legality of China's claim to waters within a "nine dash line" that appears on official Chinese maps and that encircles as much as 90 percent of the South China Sea, an area the size of Mexico. The Philippines had asked the tribunal to find the claim to be in violation of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which both China and the Philippines have ratified.

In its decision, the tribunal said any historic rights to the sea that China had previously enjoyed "were extinguished" by the treaty, which lays out rules for drawing zones of control over the world's oceans based on distances to coastlines. The panel added that while China had used islands in the sea in the past, it had never exercised exclusive authority over the waters.

The panel also concluded that several disputed rocks and reefs in the South China Sea were too small for China to claim control of economic activities in the waters around them. As a result, it found, China was engaged in unlawful behavior in Philippine waters, including activities that had aggravated the dispute.

The tribunal cited China's construction of a large artificial island on an atoll known as Mischief Reef. China has built a military airstrip, naval berths and sports fields on the island, but the tribunal ruled that it was in Philippine waters.

The judges also said that Beijing had violated international law by causing "severe harm to the coral reef environment" and by failing to prevent Chinese fishermen from harvesting endangered sea turtles and other species "on a substantial scale."



In an early indication of the regional response, Vietnam — which has fraternal Communist ties to China but also significant territorial disputes with it, including over oil exploration rights — quickly issued a statement endorsing the tribunal's decision.

China has argued that the tribunal has no jurisdiction in the case. Because the sovereignty of reefs and islands in the sea is disputed, Beijing asserted, the tribunal could not decide on competing claims to the surrounding waters. The treaty covers only maritime disputes, not land disputes.

In a tough speech in Washington last week, a former senior Chinese official, Dai Bingguo, said that the findings would amount to no more than "waste paper" and that China would not back down from its activities in the South China Sea even in the face of a fleet of American aircraft carriers.

But with the geopolitical stakes high, Mr. Dai also counseled moderation, say-

ing that the situation in the South China Sea "must cool down."

The issue could have ramifications for domestic politics in China. Mr. Xi has made defense of maritime claims a central part of the governing Communist Party's narrative that it has restored the nation to global greatness after long periods of humiliation by bigger powers. Any challenge to that narrative is seen in Beijing as a challenge to the party's rule.

Some Chinese commentators have said in recent days that the leadership may respond with immediate military maneuvers in the South China Sea. "Whether it will be significant or large scale I cannot say," said Shi Yinong, a professor of international relations at Renmin University in Beijing.

China is hosting the Group of 20 summit meeting in September, a major international forum that it hopes will proceed without the distraction of conflict. But Mr. Shi said he was not sure the government had "that kind of patience" to

wait until after the gathering before taking some sort of action in the South China Sea.

Still, some in China have counseled moderation in recent days.

In an opinion article on the India Today website over the weekend, a professor of international relations at Fudan University in Shanghai, Shen Dingli, wrote that Beijing needed to "revise its stance" and "employ a more effective approach" that maintained China's "long-held 'smiling' image."

The new president of the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte, has signaled that he would be more accommodating toward China than was his predecessor, Benigno S. Aquino III, and he was reported to have met last week with the Chinese ambassador in Manila, Zhao Jianhua.

The case before the tribunal was filed at the initiative of Mr. Aquino, whose term ended June 30. Soon after the case was filed, China began building artificial islands in the Spratly archipelago, much of which is claimed by the Philippines, in a move that many saw as a demonstration of contempt for the international court system.

Experts in international law said that negotiations could be the most positive outcome of the case.

In 1986, some noted, the United States ignored a ruling from the International Court of Justice that declared its mining of the harbors of Nicaragua to be illegal. Washington had not ratified the Convention on the Law of the Sea, and it still has not.

But the unanimous ruling 30 years ago by the judges in The Hague emboldened congressional critics to cut funds for the Reagan administration's campaign against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, and it galvanized countries in Central America to seek a settlement of the conflict.

China is not expected to vacate or dismantle the artificial islands it has built. That makes the legal arguments important, analysts said.

Yufan Huang contributed research from Beijing. Marlise Simons contributed reporting from Paris.

## G.O.P.'s brightest stars not in the mix as Trump picks a running mate

BY ALEXANDER BURNS

For Mitt Romney, Gov. Nikki R. Haley of South Carolina was a natural ally — perhaps even an ideal running mate. A young, conservative woman of Indian descent, Ms. Haley endorsed Mr. Romney early in the 2012 race and campaigned alongside him in the run-up to his choice of a vice-presidential candidate.

This year, Ms. Haley is not even in the hunt for a spot on the Republican ticket. As Donald J. Trump prepares to select a running mate, he has whittled the list of potential partners to a slim few, including Newt Gingrich, a former House speaker, and Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana, with whom he was to campaign on Tuesday.

Entirely absent are virtually all of the Republicans who were seen, as recently as a few months ago, as the bright stars of the party: young officeholders who by virtue of their background or political biography, or the states they represented, seemed primed to expand the party's electoral horizons.

By dismissing much of the party's next-generation talent — people who would probably have been on the vice-presidential short list for a different nominee, like Jeb Bush — Mr. Trump has reaffirmed his determination to go his

own way, ignoring the conventional impulses of the Republican establishment.

It is a mark, too, of Mr. Trump's extraordinary isolation within the party, even as he is poised to claim its nomination, that there is no clamor among its most popular and diverse young officeholders to enlist one of their own in the race against Hillary Clinton, the presumptive Democratic presidential nominee.

Tim Pawlenty, a former Minnesota governor, said Mr. Trump's short list was notable for the absence of virtually all of the people regarded in Washington as the Republican Party's most electable figures.

"In their private moments, candidates acknowledge that the pick has a lot to do with who they think could help them win," said Mr. Pawlenty, a Republican vice-presidential contender in 2008 and 2012. "That's the traditional analysis, but I'm not sure that will apply in the nontraditional Trump campaign."



Donald J. Trump has whittled his list of potential running mates to a slim few.

for vice president.

He has skipped over leaders who might have delivered a crucial state in the Electoral College: Gov. John Kasich and Senator Rob Portman, Ohio politicians with deep experience in Washington, are not under consideration, according to aides. Nor is Gov. Scott Walker of Wisconsin, who became a hero to conservatives for his clashes with organized labor.

Mr. Trump has also overlooked prominent Republican women, including Senator Kelly Ayotte of New Hampshire, a foreign policy hawk who is well regarded by national party leaders. Neither she

nor Ms. Haley is being vetted.

Rob Godfrey, a spokesman for Ms. Haley, said the governor declared in May that she did not want the job and has not budged. "Since the governor made it clear that she was not interested in serving as anyone's vice president, there was no reason for her to participate in the vetting process," he said.

But the mutual estrangement between Mr. Trump and many of the party's rising leaders is more than a matter of individual job preferences.

Mr. Trump has mainly considered people who can be made to fit his political mold, like Mr. Gingrich and Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey, who have been publicly solicitous of him, as well as Mr. Pence and Senator Joni Ernst of Iowa, low-key Midwestern conservatives with little demonstrated appeal to Democratic-leaning groups.

His top criterion, Mr. Trump has said, is someone who can help him navigate the legislative branch. His advisers have been dismissive of suggestions that he seek to broaden his appeal with a female or nonwhite running mate.

Depending on his ultimate choice, Mr. Trump's vice-presidential selection may put the lie to what had been an article of faith for many Republicans: that the party's bench was meaningfully

deeper heading into 2016 than at any point in recent memory, with an array of diverse personalities and talents that would help Republicans recover from back-to-back electoral thrashings by President Obama.

The brightest prospects who went up against Mr. Trump in the primaries were soundly defeated. Nearly all of the rest appear to have been sidelined heading into the general election.

Yet there is little sense of chagrin

**The presumptive nominee has mainly considered people who can be made to fit his political mold.**

among those excluded from consideration for the vice presidency. Several who would probably have been finalists in another nominee's vetting process have withheld their support from Mr. Trump, as Ms. Martinez and Mr. Kasich have done; others have given him only grudging or limited support.

For these Republicans, many of whom are popular in their home states and have their own political futures to consider, being asked to join Mr. Trump's ticket would have forced them to balance

the pressures of party loyalty in the near term against the risks of being shackled for many years to the most divisive figure in modern Republican politics.

Already, mainstream Republicans who have aligned themselves with Mr. Trump have suffered by association: Mr. Christie's dismal poll numbers in New Jersey plunged again after his embrace of Mr. Trump. Senator Bob Corker of Tennessee, an early vice-presidential prospect who recently withdrew from consideration, suffered through multiple embarrassing television interviews in the spring, when he struggled to defend Mr. Trump's ideas and readiness for the presidency.

Mr. Kasich, whose state will host the Republican convention next week, has had no such trouble.

His top political adviser, John Weaver, said there had never been any possibility that Mr. Kasich would join forces with Mr. Trump. The governor has opted instead to defend his own brand of Republicanism, and has leveled pointed criticism at Mr. Trump since the last round of contested primaries in the spring.

"We made sure there were no expectations back in May," Mr. Weaver said. "No avenue. No way. Not happening. Forget about it."

## Sanders declares his support for Clinton's bid

PORTSMOUTH, N.H.

BY AMY CHOZICK, PATRICK HEALY AND YAMICHE ALCINDOR

After 14 months of policy clashes and moments of mutual disdain, Bernie Sanders endorsed Hillary Clinton for the Democratic presidential nomination on Tuesday, clearing away the last major obstacle to a united Democratic front heading into the party's convention this month and the general election this fall.

Entering the high school gymnasium together and waving and shaking hands along the rope line and from the stage, Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Sanders stood before a giant American-flag image flanked by Mrs. Clinton's motto, "Stronger Together." They appeared to chat briefly before Mr. Sanders spoke, and he patted her on the back — yet no hug — before Mr. Sanders stepped forward to cheers of "unity!"

"Secretary Clinton has won the Democratic nominating process," Mr. Sanders said, as cheers erupted and Mrs. Clinton broke into a wide smile. "And I congratulate her for that. She will be the Democratic nominee for president, and I intend to do everything I can to make certain that she will be the next president of the United States."

"I have come here to make it as clear as possible why I am endorsing Hillary Clinton and why she must become our next president."

Mr. Sanders, the fiercely independent senator from Vermont, who portrayed Mrs. Clinton as a captive of big-money interests during their race, was in a bitersweet but resolute mood, according to Sanders advisers, as he took the stage with her at Portsmouth High School. He was back in a state that once filled his campaign with hope, after he crushed Mrs. Clinton by 22 percentage points in the February primary, and he came around grudgingly to supporting her, the advisers said. But he was also determined to make a strong case against Donald J. Trump, the presumptive Republican nominee, and to champion Mrs. Clinton as the only chance to defeat him.

Whether Mrs. Clinton can also win over the 12 million Sanders voters will be one of her biggest challenges at the convention July 25-28 in Philadelphia and in the weeks ahead. About 85 percent of Democrats who backed Mr. Sanders in the primary contests said they planned to vote for her in the general election, according to a Pew poll released last week. Yet she has struggled to appeal to the independents and liberals who rallied behind the senator's call for a "political revolution" to topple establishment politicians, Mrs. Clinton included.

She is counting on Mr. Sanders to help bring his supporters into her camp, and Sanders advisers said he would try. In a text message on Tuesday before this campaign event, Michael Briggs, a spokesman for Mr. Sanders, said the senator and his wife, Jane, felt as if their voters should feel encouraged.

"They feel like the millions of people who were the heart and soul of the campaign have a lot to be proud about," Mr. Briggs wrote as he drove from Vermont with Senator Sanders and Mrs. Sanders to the New Hampshire event.

One person close to Mr. Sanders said the senator and his wife were "putting on a good face" on Tuesday but were disappointed that his campaign did not succeed after he gave it so much of his energy and rallied millions of people around his ideas.

The person — a longtime top political adviser to Mr. Sanders who spoke on condition of anonymity to share the private views of the couple — also said

### After 14 months of clashes, a chance for Democratic unity.

that the senator was resolved to keep his word that he would endorse the Democratic nominee, and that he had been told by some high-ranking Democrats that he could become chairman of the committee that will work on trying to carry out a proposed \$15 federal minimum wage.

On the campaign trail, Mrs. Clinton has been focused on winning over independents and Republican-leaning women who are turned off by Mr. Trump, excluding confidence that the young voters and liberals who backed Mr. Sanders would get in line and support her when faced with the prospect of a Trump presidency instead.

But behind the scenes, her senior campaign aides have tried to build bridges to a wing of the party skeptical of Mrs. Clinton and the brand of centrist politics her husband advanced. Since she clinched the number of delegates needed to secure her party's nomination on June 7, the campaign has reached out to Mr. Sanders's supporters, dispatching the campaign manager, Robby Mook the director of states and political engagement, Marlon Marshall and the top policy adviser, Jake Sullivan to states where Mr. Sanders defeated Mrs. Clinton, including New Hampshire, Wyoming, Vermont and Washington.

For many Sanders supporters, voting for Mrs. Clinton is still hard to fathom: Recent polls show that only a small fraction of them would support her enthusiastically.



Baracoa, Cuba, in January. The island's economy minister, Marino Murillo, said last week that Cuba would have to cut fuel consumption by nearly a third during the second half of the year.

## Cubans start to fear return to darker days

MEXICO CITY

### Calls to cut energy use stoke bitter memories of shortages and blackouts

BY VICTORIA BURNETT

During the economic turmoil of the early 1990s, power cuts in Havana were so routine that residents called the few hours of daily electricity "lightouts."

Now, grim economic forecasts; the crisis in Cuba's patron, Venezuela; and government warnings to save energy have stoked fears among Cubans of a return to the days when they used oil lamps to light their living rooms and walked or bicycled miles to work because there was no gasoline.

Addressing members of Parliament last week, Cuba's economy minister, Marino Murillo, said the country would have to cut fuel consumption by nearly a third during the second half of the year and reduce state investments and imports. His comments, to a closed session, were published by the state news media on Saturday.

Cuba's economy grew just 1 percent in

the first half of the year, compared with 4 percent last year, as export income and fuel supply to the island dropped, Mr. Murillo said.

"This has placed us in a tense economic situation," he said.

Weak oil and nickel prices and a poor sugar harvest have contributed to Cuba's woes, officials said. Venezuela's economic agony has led many Cubans to wonder how much longer their oil-rich ally will continue to supply the island with oil — especially if the government of President Nicolás Maduro falls.

"We all know that it's Venezuelan oil that keeps the lights on," said Regina Coyula, a blogger who worked for several years for Cuban state security. "People are convinced that if Maduro falls, there will be blackouts here."

President Raúl Castro of Cuba acknowledged those fears on Friday but said they were unfounded.

"There is speculation and rumors of an imminent collapse of our economy and a return to the acute phase of the 'special period,'" Mr. Castro said in a speech to Parliament, referring to the 1990s, when Cuba lost billions of dollars' worth of Soviet subsidies.

"We don't deny that there may be ill effects," he added, "but we are in better

conditions than we were then to face them."

Mark Entwistle, a business consultant who was Canada's ambassador to Cuba during the special period, said that despite its dependency on Venezuelan fuel, the island's economy is more sophisticated and diversified than it was before the Soviet collapse.

Besides, he said, Cuba has "this phenomenal social and political capacity to absorb critical changes."

Still, some are perturbed at the prospect of power cuts. None of the Havana residents interviewed over the weekend had experienced power shutdowns in their neighborhoods.

In an unusually blunt speech to journalists this month, Karina Marrón González, a deputy director of Granma, the official Communist Party newspaper in Cuba, warned of the risk of protests like those of August 1994, when hundreds of angry Cubans took to the streets of Havana for several hours.

"We are creating a perfect storm," she said, according to a transcript of her speech that was published in various blogs. She added, "Sirs, this country cannot take another '93, another '94."

One worker at a bank said that employees had been told to use air-condi-

tioning for two hours each day and work a half-day. Fuel for office cars had been cut by half, she said. A university professor said that she had been given a fan for her office and told to work at home when possible.

Under an agreement signed in 2000, Venezuela supplies Cuba with about 80,000 barrels of oil a day, a deal worth about \$1.3 billion, said Jorge Piñon, an energy expert at the University of Texas. In return, Cuba sends thousands of medical and other specialists to Venezuela. On Friday, Mr. Castro said there had been a "certain contraction" of that oil supply.

If Venezuela did halt oil exports to Cuba, it would not necessarily precipitate a political crisis, experts and bloggers said.

The United States might offer help in order to prevent instability or a mass exodus of desperate Cubans. The Cuban government might speed reforms and open the door wider to foreign investment, Mr. Entwistle said.

"To extrapolate some dire political consequence is unwise," Mr. Entwistle added. "There are so many levers that they have to push and pull."

Hannah Berkeley Cohen contributed reporting from Havana.

## Police chief, calm face in Dallas crisis, sees demands rising

DALLAS

BY RICHARD FAUSSET, ALAN BLINDER AND MANNY FERNANDEZ

He was hurting, self-effacing and, as he put it, a little fried. At a news conference, he spoke about the crisis facing law enforcement, his experience as a black man in Texas, guns and division, and what kept him going — "God's grace and his sweet, tender mercies, just to be quite honest with you."

On Monday, the day before President Obama was scheduled to arrive here, David O. Brown, Dallas's African-American police chief, was putting a human face, tinged with humor and pathos, on the exhaustion and torment fueling this precarious American moment.

Four days earlier, a black man, intent on killing white officers, fatally shot five police officers in downtown Dallas while the nation was reeling from the deaths of two black men at the hands of the police in Louisiana and Minnesota.

Asked about how to bridge the gap between the two brotherhoods — black and blue — that he belongs to, Chief Brown said, "I've been black a long time, so it's not much of a bridge for me," his delivery as deadpan as a police report of a stolen bike.

To protesters in the streets, he suggested channeling frustration into public service: "We're hiring. Get off that protest line and put an application in. And we'll put you in your neighborhood, and we will help you resolve some of the problems you're protesting about."

Of the impossible demands on American police officers, he said: "Every societal failure, we put it off on the cops to solve. Not enough mental health funding, let the cop handle it. Not enough drug addiction funding, let's give it to the cops. Here in Dallas we got a loose dog problem. Let's have the cops chase loose dogs. Schools fail, give it to the cops. Seventy percent of the African-American community is being raised by single women. Let's give it to the cops to solve that, as well."

"Policing was never meant to solve all those problems," he said.



Chief David O. Brown at a news conference in Dallas on Monday. He has long focused on defusing tensions between the police and minorities.

Lee P. Brown, a former mayor of Houston who was also the city's first African-American police chief, said the shooting had forced Chief Brown to find a way to appeal to an array of constituencies.

"First and foremost, he has to represent his police agency and represent the City of Dallas," Mr. Brown said. "And in many ways he's representing American law enforcement."

In truth, Chief Brown's whole career, from the reasons he got into policing to the crosscurrents that have buffeted his tenure, reflects just how much pressure the police are under.

Chief Brown, 55, is one of 20 black police chiefs among the 68 who are members of the Major Cities Chiefs Association — a number that is "probably as high as it's ever been," said Darrel W. Stephens, its executive director.

about the attack, Chief Brown commended the success of the "community policing" model he favors, which has given him a national reputation as a reformer focused on defusing tensions between the police and minorities.

He said that 2015 was "the 12th consecutive year of crime reduction" in Dallas, with the city's fourth-lowest murder rate since 1930.

This year, however, crime has been on the rise, and Chief Brown has been battered by local critics. The Black Police Association of Greater Dallas has called for his resignation, and the Dallas Police Association, which represents many of the city's police officers, declared that his department was adrift. News outlets reported in March that the groups had been upset about the chief's plans to put a large number of officers on overnight shifts to curb rising crime. Some civilian critics, meanwhile, see

### "He has to represent his police agency and represent the City of Dallas. And in many ways he's representing American law enforcement."

him as a man intent on protecting officers and burnishing his own reputation, even if it threatens prospects for improving the relationship between the police and minorities.

Chief Brown's shaved head and thick-rimmed glasses suggest rigor and precision — and, perhaps, a carefully cultivated public image. He was not always known for being voluble. In 2010, the year he became chief, The Dallas Morning News described him in a profile as "a private man in a most public job." In the article, a friend said Chief Brown had once described himself as a "loner."

BRIEFLY

## International



KABUL

### U.S. loosens reins on strikes against Taliban in Afghanistan

The senior American commander in Afghanistan will have greater freedom to strike at the Taliban under broad new powers approved last month by President Obama, Defense Secretary Ashton B. Carter said on Tuesday.

Mr. Carter, during an unannounced visit to Afghanistan, said the powers granted to Gen. John W. Nicholson Jr. would allow "much more efficient use and effective use of the forces we have here as well as the Afghan forces."

General Nicholson said the broader authorities were being used "almost daily" in support of Afghan forces, pointing to a significant pickup in the pace of American operations, 18 months after the end of the main NATO combat mission. (REUTERS)

JERUSALEM

### Israel tightens regulations on human rights groups

Israel's Parliament has passed a law to increase the regulation of many Israeli human rights organizations.

The measure, the subject of fierce debate between leftist and rightist politicians and activists, was approved late Monday by a vote of 57 to 48. It applies to groups that receive more than half their financing from foreign governments or political organizations.

The new law requires the organizations to state in all communication with public officials, as well as in newspapers and on television, billboards and the internet, that they rely on foreign financing. Rightist organizations receive much of their financing from private individuals and philanthropies and do not have to disclose their identities.

VIENNA

### Austria moves to take over house where Hitler was born

The Austrian government has drawn up a draft law that would dispossess the owner of the house where Adolf Hitler was born, the Interior Ministry said Tuesday.

The measure follows steadfast refusal by the house's owner, Gerlinde Pommer, to sell the empty building in the town of Braunau am Inn, on the German border. The government has sought ownership so it can take measures to lessen its attraction as a shrine for admirers of the Nazi dictator.

The draft law still has to be approved by Parliament, where the government is in the majority and can rely on the support of most opposition parties.

Karl-Heinz Grundboeck, the Interior Ministry spokesman, said he expected a vote in Parliament sometime this year. The government's plans range from tearing down the house to turning it into a museum documenting Nazi horrors. (AP)

But in the Police Department here, and long before he ran it, Chief Brown earned a reputation as an officer who was not afraid to boldly criticize conventional wisdom and policing tactics. In meetings where "everyone else was kind of afraid to comment," a former chief recounted on Monday, Chief Brown had been outspoken.

"He's willing to challenge the status quo in a big way," said David Kunkle, the former chief.

But from the beginning of his tenure as chief, his private life has seemed fated to mesh with his public role. Shortly after he became chief, his son shot and killed a police officer and another man before being killed in a confrontation with the police.

"My family has not only lost a son, but a fellow police officer and a private citizen lost their lives at the hands of our son," he said in a statement at the time. "That hurts so deeply I cannot adequately express the sadness I feel inside my heart."

Today, he is steering the department through one of the most challenging crises. He admitted that it has not been easy and that he and his family had received death threats after the shooting. He lamented the low starting salaries of his officers, said that he was worried about their mental health and that he was "at the point" of mandating counseling — "because we want to be superman and superwoman, and we're not, and we are the last to say we need help."

And if the divide can seem daunting, he said there was hope in the long view of where Dallas has been and is now.

"I grew up here in Texas," he said. "I'm third-generation Dallasite. It's my normal to live in a society that had a long history of racial strife. We're in a much better place than we were when I was a young man here, but we have much work to do, particularly in our profession. And leaders in my position need to put their careers on the line to make sure we do things right and not be so worried about keeping their job. That's how I approach it."

David Montgomery contributed reporting.

## HEALTH + SCIENCE

BRIEFLY

## Science

MARINE LIFE

**A secret to the speed of swordfish is found: Grease**

Swordfish are among the fastest fish in the ocean, and scientists may have found at least one reason: The fish secrete a performance-enhancing grease. Dutch researchers examining two frozen swordfish report that there is an oil-producing gland at the base of the sword, connected by capillaries to pores in the skin of the head. The oil is secreted only on the head of the fish, not on its body.

"This isn't ordinary fish slime," said the report's lead author, John J. Videler, a professor of marine zoology at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands. He said the waterproof lubrication may give the swordfish a smooth, water-resistant head covering that helps it achieve impressive speeds.

"No one knows how fast a swordfish can go," he said. They may be able to swim at 100 kilometers per hour, but no one has ever measured one at full speed. NICHOLAS BAKALAR

MENTAL HEALTH

**Explaining the behavior of Mary Todd Lincoln**

Could pernicious anemia, a disease caused by a vitamin B12 deficiency, have explained the many strange behaviors of Mary Todd Lincoln? Historians have had a field day describing her violent temper, wild shopping sprees (she owned 300 pairs of kid gloves), depressed moods and all-consuming fears. Late in life, at her son's urging, she was committed to a mental hospital for several months.

Plenty of possible diagnoses, none proved, have been floated. The latest addition comes from John G. Sotos, a cardiologist, technology executive and one of the medical consultants on the television show "House."



Mary Todd Lincoln in a photo from around 1863.

Pernicious anemia could explain many of her problems, he reported in Perspectives in Biology and Medicine. Deficiencies in vitamin B12 impair the ability to make red blood cells and can affect every organ, including the brain and nervous system. Dr. Sotos said he hoped the diagnosis would lead historians to look more kindly on Mrs. Lincoln as "simply a woman with a biochemically injured mind." DENISE GRADY

BRIEFLY

## Health

DISEASE

**Gut bacteria brings answers about fatigue syndrome**

A study has identified a bacterial blueprint for chronic fatigue syndrome, or C.F.S., offering further evidence that it is a physical disease with biological causes and not a psychological condition. The syndrome causes extreme and lasting fatigue, preventing people from taking part in even the most routine daily activities. There are no tests to confirm the diagnosis.

In a report published in Microbiome, researchers said they recruited 48 people with C.F.S. and 39 healthy controls. They found that stool samples of those with C.F.S. had significantly lower diversity of bacteria species than the healthy people's. The scientists also discovered that people with C.F.S. had higher blood levels of lipopolysaccharides, inflammatory molecules that may indicate that bacteria have moved from the gut into the bloodstream, where they can produce various symptoms of disease.

The researchers were able to accurately identify more than 83 percent of C.F.S. cases. NICHOLAS BAKALAR

PREGNANCY

**A mother's flu vaccine briefly protects her baby**

Unborn babies are temporarily protected by their mothers' flu shot, but that immunity fades within weeks after birth, a study found.

In a randomized, double-blind, placebo-controlled study, researchers measured the efficacy of the flu vaccine on the unborn children of vaccinated pregnant women by comparing rates of disease and levels of antibodies in 1,026 infants born to vaccinated women and 1,023 controls born to unvaccinated mothers. The study, which was paid for by the Gates Foundation, is online in JAMA Pediatrics. The vaccine was about 86 percent effective until the babies were 8 weeks old. But between 8 and 24 weeks, its power dropped rapidly, and the effect of the vaccine became statistically insignificant.

The lead author, Marta C. Nunes, a researcher at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, stressed that vaccination during pregnancy was nevertheless essential. N.B.

## Differences on how to fight climate change

Something must be done, but arguments arise over exactly what and how

BY JOHN SCHWARTZ

By just about any measure, the movement to battle climate change has grown so large that the truths of Al Gore's decade-old movie now seem more mainstream than inconvenient.

In Paris in December, 195 nations agreed to reduce greenhouse gases. In the United States, 70 percent of Americans say that climate change is real. Pope Francis has joined the call for action. Hundreds of thousands of people have marched in Paris and New York, and demonstrators recently held fossil-fuel protests on six continents.

"That's what I call momentum," Daniel R. Tishman, the chairman of the board of the Natural Resources Defense Council, said in its recent annual report. "This isn't just the wind at our backs; these are the winds of change."

But the movement that started with a straightforward mission — to get more people to appreciate the dangers of climate change as a precursor to action — is feeling growing pains. What may seem like a unified front has pronounced schisms, with conflicting opinions on many issues, including nuclear power and natural gas, that are complicating what it means to be an environmentalist in this day and age.

The factional boundaries are not hard and fast, with groups shifting their positions as the science and waves of activism evolve. The environmental movement has always been a congregation of many voices, and some disagreement should be expected on such complex and intractable problems as saving the planet. Still, the tensions remain strong.

Consider some of the biggest points of contention:

**NUCLEAR POWER**

There are sharp disagreements over whether nuclear plants should be part of the energy mix to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Disasters like the one at the Fukushima plant in Japan have undercut confidence in the technology, but it remains attractive to the Obama administration and many in the environmental movement, including James E. Hansen, a retired NASA climate scientist.

Supporters argue that nuclear plants can produce enormous amounts of power without the carbon dioxide that burning coal and natural gas produce. They also point out that the energy sources replacing existing plants tend to come from natural gas, causing greenhouse emissions. That was the case in New England when the Vermont Yankee plant was shut down, and in California after the closing of the plant at San Onofre.

California has decided to wind down the Diablo Canyon reactors by 2025, a lengthy transition that could allow a buildup of renewable energy sources to replace the lost power. The nuclear power debate extends to questions of whether to develop a new generation of plants that supporters say would be less expensive and safer, or whether to extend the lives of existing plants.

Opponents of nuclear energy argue that the move to renewable energy sources would not require a new generation of nuclear plants. Naomi Oreskes, a

Harvard historian who has written about the tactics of those who spread doubt about climate change, said proponents of nuclear power had not proved that the risks of operating the plants, and the waste they produce, could be managed.

She has called the pronuclear arguments from environmentalists "a new, strange form of denial," using a word associated with those who have disputed the validity of climate science itself.

**NATURAL GAS**

Burning natural gas produces less carbon dioxide and smog-producing pollutants than burning coal, so environmental groups like the Sierra Club praise it as a "bridge" to renewable fuels: that natural gas plants could replace coal plants until alternate sources like solar and wind power could take over.

But the environmental effects of hydraulic fracturing, or fracking, which is used to extract fossil fuels, and growing worries about the greenhouse gas methane, which often leaks when natural gas is produced and transported, have led many to call natural gas a "bridge to nowhere." (The Sierra Club now has a "Beyond Natural Gas" campaign.)

Climate campaigners like Bill McKibben have argued that the potency of methane as a greenhouse gas, especially in the short term, might make it worse than coal. He has described those who favor natural gas as a way to reduce greenhouse emissions as believers in "painless environmentalism, the equivalent of losing weight by cutting your hair."

The fight has made its way into the Democratic campaign for the presidency: Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont called for a national ban on fracking, while Hillary Clinton has suggested that the technology should be carefully regulated and that, if natural gas is a bridge to alternate energy sources, "we want to cross that bridge as quickly as possible." Those putting together the Democratic Party platform rejected the call for a ban.

**FOSSIL-FUEL COMPANIES**

Two distinct camps have emerged on the best strategy for dealing with companies like Exxon Mobil. One wants to attack their very existence, and to hurt their businesses and reputations as a way of accelerating the transition to renewable technologies like wind and solar. Universities and institutional shareholders like pensions and church endowments are being pressed to sell their stock in fossil-fuel companies, to fight projects like the Keystone XL pipeline and to disrupt construction of fossil-fuel facilities.

This approach animates the "keep it in the ground" campaign led by groups like Mr. McKibben's 350.org, which argues that many of today's fuel reserves are "unburnable" if climate change is to be slowed, and so must be considered "stranded assets" — a notion that giants like Exxon Mobil and Chevron reject.

On the other side is the camp that wants to engage with the companies, particularly through shareholder proxies, to push for action on climate change.

Groups recently presented at Exxon Mobil's annual shareholder meeting proposals that would require the company to assess the business risks of meeting the Paris climate goals and to "acknowledge the moral imperative" to keep global temperatures from rising by more than two degrees Celsius (3.6 degrees Fahrenheit) since the start of the industrial era; they also helped to

pass a resolution giving shareholders greater say in corporate governance.

Shareholder action has improved corporate responsibility on many fronts, said Sister Patricia Daly, a Dominican sister of Caldwell, N.J., who is the executive director of the Tri-State Coalition for Responsible Investment. "Companies know the work we have put on their desk is beneficial," she said in an interview, citing the emergence of sustainability directors and efforts by many companies to reduce their emissions. "I'm confident we have really initiated that over the decades," she said.

**INSIDERS VS. OUTSIDERS**

More fundamentally, a split is growing between the large, traditional environmental groups that try to work with companies and the scrappy campaigners who stand proudly outside.

Naomi Klein, an author on environmental and economic issues, has sharply criticized what she called "a very deep denialism in the environmental movement among the big green groups," like the Environmental Defense Fund, which has worked with fossil-fuel companies to research methane leaks and to pursue market-based solutions to the climate crisis, like putting a price on carbon.

Ms. Klein argues that capitalism inherently worsens climate change. Working within the system as the institutional players do, she has said, is "more damaging than the right-wing denialism in terms of how much ground we've lost."

Mr. McKibben said the kind of noisy activism that characterizes the work of organizations like 350.org helps correct what he sees as the institutional inertia of the established groups. He said the lack of mass-movement activism was a key reason behind the failure of legislation

like the 2010 effort to develop a system to limit and put a price on greenhouse gas emissions. "If we're going to win the climate fight, it will come with a change in the zeitgeist," he said. "And that — not particular pieces of legislation — is the ultimate point of building movements."

Fred Krupp, the president of the Environmental Defense Fund, disagreed. Working with industry, he said, had helped deepen the understanding of such issues as methane leakage, which could produce remedies. "More and more businesses want to be part of the solution," Mr. Krupp said. Collaborative efforts helped lead to last month's bipartisan passage of an overhaul of toxic substances legislation, he said, adding, "And we're getting close to being able to do it with climate change."

Given these fault lines on various issues, a question naturally arises: Are they hurting the overall environmental movement? Even on that question, there are disagreements.

For Matthew Nisbet, an expert in environmental communications at Northeastern University, there is a risk that differences of opinion within the movement could lead to greater enmity over time, resulting in a lack of focus. Progress could be lost, he said, "if they start to see each other as rivals and opponents, and they lose sight of broader climate goals and their true opponents."

But many in the various factions of the movement say that there is more agreement than it may seem from afar. Mr. Krupp said that although tactics and technologies may differ, consensus has emerged on many points. "We have to keep most of the fossil fuels in the ground," he said. "We all agree with that. The math dictates that. We all agree that the conversion to clean energy should be

as quick as possible." Of natural gas, he said, "it's an exit ramp, not a bridge."

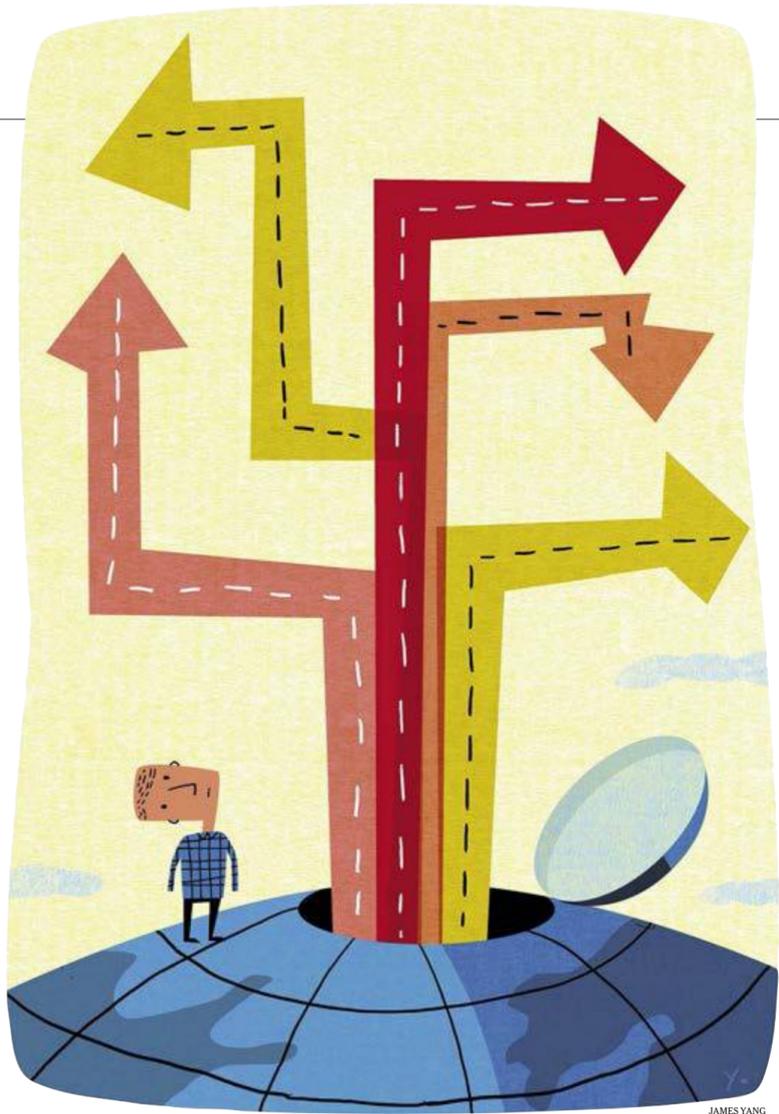
The movement to combat climate change is building an even bigger tent as more nations, businesses, religious groups and even conservatives have committed to dealing with the threat of rising seas and changing weather.

The number of Republicans speaking out in favor of climate action is growing, with the emergence of climate-oriented conservative groups like R Street and the efforts of Jay Faison, a philanthropist who has pledged millions of dollars to support candidates willing to buck the party's orthodoxy on climate change.

Ellen Dorsey, the executive director of the Wallace Global Fund, which has promoted the divestment of fossil-fuel holdings and investment in cleaner technologies, has called disagreements within the green camp "noises around the margin." She predicted that a combination of high-level collaboration and street-level activism would hold governments to their Paris pledges and push back against recalcitrant business interests.

Ultimately, Mr. Gore said in a telephone interview, economics may accomplish much of what governments have failed to do. Plunging costs of renewable energy make it more competitive than ever with fossil fuels. Similarly, he said, the biggest obstacle for nuclear power could be the expense of building new reactors. "I don't have a theological opposition to nuclear power," he said. "It's simply not cost competitive."

Mr. Gore said tensions among activists follow the traditions of the civil rights movement, abolition, women's suffrage and gay and lesbian rights: "In all such movements, there have been schisms, and minor splits as well. It's just a natural feature of the human condition."



JAMES YANG

## Working hard to stem obesity in children

Controlling body fat may have to start before mothers are pregnant

BY JANE E. BRODY

To stem the current epidemic of obesity, there's no arguing with the adage that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. As every overweight adult knows too well, shedding excess pounds and keeping them off is far harder than putting them on in the first place.

But assuring a leaner, healthier younger generation may often require starting even before a baby is born.

The overwhelming majority of babies are lean at birth, but by the time they reach kindergarten, many have acquired excess body fat that sets the stage for a lifelong weight problem.

Recent studies indicate that the reason so many American children become overweight is far more complicated than consuming more calories than they burn, though this is certainly an important factor. Rather, preventing children from acquiring excess body fat may have to start even before their mothers become pregnant.

Researchers are tracing the origins of being overweight and obese as far back as the pre-pregnancy weight of a child's mother and father, and their explanations go beyond simple genetic inheritance. Twenty-three genes are known to increase the risk of becoming obese. These genes can act very early in development to accelerate weight gain in infancy and during middle childhood.

In the usual weight trajectory, children are born lean, get chubby during infancy, then become lean again as toddlers when they grow taller and become more active.



PAUL ROGERS

Then, at or before age 10 or so, body fat increases in preparation for puberty — a phenomenon called adiposity rebound.

In children with obesity genes, "adiposity rebound occurs earlier and higher," said Daniel W. Belsky, an epidemiologist at Duke University School of Medicine. "They stop getting leaner sooner and start putting on fat earlier and put on more of it." Still, twin and family studies have shown that many children with these genes remain lean. Furthermore, these same genes were undoubtedly around in the 1960s and 1970s when the obesity rate in children was a fraction of what it is today.

So what is different about the 2000s? Children today are surrounded by a surfeit of unwholesome, easy-to-consume calorie-dense foods and snacks accompanied by a deficit of opportunities to expend those extra calories through regular physical activity. And countering a calorie-rich, sedentary environment is

now harder than it should be, with the current heavy emphasis on academics, parental reluctance to let children play outside unattended, and intense competition from electronics. All these circumstances may give obesity genes a greater chance to express themselves.

"There is no going back to a world in which calories are scarce and obtaining them is physically demanding," Dr. Belsky wrote in an editorial in JAMA Pediatrics. "And governments and their publics have shown little enthusiasm for regulations restricting access to palatable, calorie-dense foods."

Curbing consumption of sugared beverages and keeping calorie-dense junk food out of the house and other settings where young children spend time is crucial. This is especially important for infants and children with large appetites that are not easily satisfied. It's also essential that parents model good eating habits, experts

agree. "If you do it, they'll do it," said David S. Ludwig, an obesity specialist at Boston Children's Hospital. "Young children are like ducklings, they want to do what their mothers do."

Equally important, Dr. Belsky said, is "allowing children in institutional settings — in day care, preschool and elementary school — to be as active as they choose to be rather than forcing them to sit quietly in chairs most of the day. Being physically active encourages a healthy metabolism. Active children are not constantly hungry."

He added, "In the face of the obesity epidemic, eliminating the handful of opportunities for kids to be active during the day is a shame. Sedentary behavior becomes a life pattern."

Another critical issue is the vicious cycle of overweight that starts with future mothers and fathers who are overweight or obese. "If we want healthy kids, we need healthy moms before pregnancy and during pregnancy," Dr. Belsky said. "There are multiple pathways by which unhealthy levels of weight before and during pregnancy can influence a child's weight going forward."

As Dr. Ludwig explained, "Although genes are not modifiable, the weight of the mother before and during pregnancy is. Excessive weight gain during pregnancy predicts not just the baby's birth weight but also the likelihood of obesity in middle childhood."

The father's weight is also turning out to be important, Dr. Ludwig said. "Accrued factors influence gene expression," he said. "Being heavy alters DNA in the father's sperm that changes gene expression and can be passed down to the next generation."

Most, though not all, studies have linked a longer duration of breast-feeding to a reduced risk of being overweight

in children. Although Dr. Ludwig said that the effect "is not dramatic," a more important benefit of breast-feeding may be "exposing the baby to a wider range of tastes based on what a mother is eating. If a breast-feeding mom eats a large variety of nutritious foods, the child is more likely to like them."

Antibiotics given early in life, however, may counter any potential benefits of breast-feeding for weight gain, a new study found. Researchers at the University of Helsinki in Finland reported that when breast-fed infants are treated with antibiotics, the antibiotics kill off health-promoting bacteria that live in the gut. "The protective effects of breast-feeding against infections and overweight were weakened or completely eliminated by early-life antibiotic use," the team wrote in JAMA Pediatrics last month.

Even if children have already started on a path of poor eating habits and excess weight gain, Dr. Ludwig said it is not too late to make healthful changes. As the founder of the Optimal Weight for Life program and the author of "Ending the Food Fight: Guide Your Child to a Healthy Weight in a Fast Food/Fake Food World," he advocates an authoritative, but not an authoritarian, parenting style that eliminates stress and conflict over what and when a child eats.

"Never force food on a child," he insists. "Stand your ground in a gentle but firm way and be prepared to do a little negotiating. When a child refuses to eat the dinner that's served, put it away in the fridge to be eaten later. If the child says 'I'm not going to eat it,' the response should be, 'Fine, just go to bed,' not 'O.K., I'll make you mac and cheese.'"

"Children should be allowed to control their bodies, but parents have to provide the guidance and control the environment," Dr. Ludwig said.

# Culture

## MUSEUMS FILM



Clockwise from top left: The entrance of the García Lorca Center in Granada; a portrait of the poet and playwright; the García Lorca family's summer home in Granada; and Laura García Lorca, who leads the foundation that bears her uncle's name. The writer was executed by a nationalist firing squad during the Spanish Civil War.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LAURA LEON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## García Lorca's family battles Spain

GRANADA, SPAIN

Foundation is in standoff over the poet's enormous archive of 20,000 items

BY DOREEN CARVAJAL

The legacy of Federico García Lorca's hostilities with government lives on these days through his family, whose members are tangling with Spanish officials over control of a new \$25 million center built to honor the playwright and poet who was executed by firing squad during the Spanish Civil War.

Opened in this historic city last summer, the center was supposed to house

an enormous archive of nearly 20,000 items — manuscripts, drawings, musical compositions and artworks valued at more than 20 million euros, about \$22 million — to be preserved in a huge steel strongbox suspended within a white tower of concrete.

But that earthquake-proof container hangs empty.

The poet's family and its García Lorca Foundation, which owns the archives, have refused to move them to the new center from storage in Madrid until they are given what they said was promised power from local government officials over the direction and programming of the center.

"From the start, there was never an enthusiastic approach to this project from government institutions," said

Laura García Lorca, the writer's niece, who leads the foundation. She was born in New York while her family lived there in exile after her uncle was gunned down by nationalist forces 80 years ago, in August 1936.

The center, which opened last summer in reduced form, was expected to add an international literary attraction in the heart of Granada, near its Renaissance cathedral.

Government officials have plans to organize a special tourist route leading to all the landmarks in the writer's life that spread through his native Andalusia.

On the route, within walking distance of the center, is García Lorca's summer home, where he wrote "Blood Wedding" — his classic 1932 play about love,

murder and greed — at a bare wooden desk.

But today the center is embroiled in a drama worthy of a García Lorca work, with accusations of corruption.

It lacks a director. Without the archive, officials have canceled plans for almost a year of events, featuring international writers, poets and artists, including Patti Smith, which had been scheduled to coincide with the opening last July.

A former adviser to the foundation is facing trial on charges of forgery and embezzlement relating to the loss of more than €2.5 million from a construction loan for the building.

In April, the Culture Ministry in Madrid put special protections on the archive, effectively barring the sale of

any part of the trove abroad.

Officials said that they feared parts could be sold off to resolve the center's financial problems, though family members have insisted that they have no intention of breaking up García Lorca's work.

The new mayor of Granada, Francisco Cuenca, is seeking an arrangement that would settle the disagreements between the foundation and certain regional and national government institutions that make up the consortium overseeing the center and that are supposed to contribute to its financing. But it has not been easy to resolve the disputes, including determining who is responsible for covering the money lost.

"Over the years, the poet became one

of the city's leading cultural exports to the world," said Christopher Maurer, a professor of Spanish at Boston University who specializes in García Lorca's work. But "there has also existed an undeniable vein of hostility and resistance."

The conflict has been apparent for decades. García Lorca is buried somewhere on the outskirts of Granada in the field where he was executed at age 38, yet no one is clear just where. Archaeologists and researchers are seeking for a third time to locate his grave, against the wishes of family members, who include six nieces and nephews.

A 1965 police report that surfaced last year revealed that the writer was shot on orders of military authorities who

GARCÍA LORCA, PAGE 9

## Women rule in uncomplicatedly funny 'Ghostbusters' reboot

Ghostbusters. Directed by Paul Feig.

BY MANOHLA DARGIS

Sliding into theaters on a river of slime and an endless supply of good vibes, the new, cheerfully silly "Ghostbusters" is that rarest of big-studio offerings — a lot of enjoyable, disposable fun. And enjoy it while you can because this doesn't

MOVIE REVIEW

happen often, even in summer, which is supposed to be our season of collective moviegoing happiness. The season when everyone jumps onboard (whee!) and agrees that, yes, this great goof is exactly what you were thinking when you wondered why they didn't make summer movies like they used to.

Oh, wait, because whatever else you

can say about the new "Ghostbusters," it's a lot like the old "Ghostbusters," except that it stars four funny women instead of, you know, four funny men. In other words, it doesn't have a lot of XY chromosomes and basso profundo voices, though its token hottie, played by a game, nimbly funny Chris Hemsworth, pulls his weight on both those counts. Otherwise, the redo is pretty much what you might expect from Paul Feig, one of the best things to happen to American big-screen comedy since Harold Ramis.

Mr. Ramis helped write the old "Ghostbusters" and played one of its "professional paranormal eliminators" — as Larry King describes them in the movie — alongside Dan Aykroyd (the co-writer), Ernie Hudson and Bill Murray. A triumph of casting and timing, the first "Ghostbusters" remains mem-



Chris Hemsworth, left, Kate McKinnon, Leslie Jones, Kristen Wiig and Melissa McCarthy.

orable for Ray Parker Jr.'s inane, dementedly catchy theme song ("Who you gonna call?") and for Mr. Murray, who dominates it even more than its Godzilla-sized Marshmallow Man monster does. It's peak Bill Murray with a minimalism that exerts a powerful gravitational force and a deadpan that recast Mad Magazine's what-me-worry grin with the sickness-unto-death laughter of National Lampoon.

No one performance dominates the new "Ghostbusters," which is for the most part democratically comic (a Paul Feig signature), though Kate McKinnon's magnificent, eccentric turn comes close. She plays Holtzmann, the in-house mad-hatter who whips up the ghost-busting hardware (proton packs included) with a crazy leer and page after script page of playful-sounding gobbledegook. Ms. McKinnon makes

for a sublime nerd goddess (she brings a dash of the young Jerry Lewis to the role with a glint of Amy Poehler) and, in an earlier age, would probably have been sidelined as a sexy, ditsy secretary. Here, she embodies the new "Ghostbusters" at its best: Girls rule, women are funny, get over it.

Written by Mr. Feig and Katie Dippold, the redo follows much of the original's shambling arc and even revs up with a haunted-house boo, except that this time the scares happen in a mansion, not a library. After the usual narrative table setting, Holtzmann and her partner in kook-science, Abby (Melissa McCarthy), join forces first with another scientist, Erin (Kristen Wiig), and then a transit worker, Patty (Leslie Jones). Voilà, the new Ghostbusters are in business, complete with a vintage GHOSTBUSTERS, PAGE 8