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A smuggler taking Palestinian workers over the West Bank separation barrier into Israel. The 400-mile wall has unfinished segments and gaps in the concertina wire that tops it.

A way to slip into Israel, to work or fight

DAHIYAT AL BARID, WEST BANK

Thriving industry allows West Bank residents to get past security barrier

BY JAMES GLANZ AND RAMI NAZZAL

At 4:15 a.m. on a dead-end street, a 33-year-old Palestinian man came running from the shadows between buildings with a rickety wooden ladder. He slapped it against the hulking concrete wall and

climbed up, hoisting himself the last six feet because the ladder was too short. The wall, which Israel began building more than a decade ago to thwart suicide bombers, is supposed to prevent Palestinian residents of the occupied West Bank from entering into Israel outside military checkpoints where their papers can be examined. But the Palestinian man perched in a gap in the concertina wire that tops much of the snaking 400-mile route of the wall. He motioned to a white Daewoo sedan that had lurched to a stop below, and one by one, four young men stepped

out of the car, climbed the 13-rung ladder, and slid down a rope on the other side. Within minutes, another car was speeding the men to construction sites in Israel, where they did not have permits to work, and the man with the ladder was leaving to look for more job seekers willing to pay to scale the wall. “In the West Bank, you have hustlers,” said the man, who, like more than two dozen other Palestinians interviewed for this article, spoke on the condition of anonymity because he was breaking the law. “You can either call them hustlers, or you can call them brokers.”

This furtive predawn crossing is part of a thriving smuggling industry that allows untold numbers of people to pass over, under, through or around what Israelis call the security barrier — for a price. The industry offers economic benefits for everyone involved: Palestinian workers earn double or quadruple the wages they can in the West Bank; Israeli contractors and restaurant owners pay less for illegal labor than for Palestinians with permits; and the smugglers collect \$65 to \$200 for each person who passes. ISRAEL, PAGE 8



José Manuel González Navarro at a tainted area near Palomares, Spain. He recalls the day 50 years ago when four undetonated hydrogen bombs fell on the village after a midair collision.

Crash of U.S. bomber in 1966 left scars on a Spanish village

PALOMARES, SPAIN

BY RAPHAEL MINDER

José Manuel González Navarro, a mechanic, headed out of this seaside village on his motorbike one morning 50 years ago when he heard explosions overhead and looked up to see a ball of fire in the sky. Debris started to shower down, some “falling very slowly, like if a giant tree was shedding shiny metal leaves,” he recalled. Mr. González Navarro turned around and sped home to check that his house had not been hit. He later drove back to where he had seen debris land and found an undetonated bomb attached to

a parachute. He cut off the straps of the parachute and took them home, along with some work tools and bolts that he found scattered on the ground. “I was just thinking about what objects might prove useful,” he said. “I liked fishing, and those parachute straps, thin but very solid, were clearly perfect to be turned into a weight belt for diving.” Like many in Palomares, Mr. González Navarro, now 71, figured he had witnessed a military air crash. But he was unaware that a United States Air Force bomber and a refueling jet had collided, accidentally sending four hydrogen bombs hurtling toward Palomares. Though no warheads detonated, two of SPAIN, PAGE 4

‘Brexit’ risk is a problem of Cameron’s own making

LONDON

Devised as fix for dispute within Tory party, vote could prove his downfall

BY STEVEN ERLANGER AND STEPHEN CASTLE

David Cameron, the British prime minister, has no one to blame but himself. In 2013, besieged by the increasingly assertive anti-European Union wing of his Conservative Party, Mr. Cameron made a promise intended to keep a short-term peace among the Tories ahead of the 2015 general election: If re-elected, he would hold an in-or-out referendum on continued British membership in the bloc. But what seemed then like a relatively low-risk ploy to deal with a short-term political problem has metastasized into an issue that could badly damage Britain’s economy, influence the country’s direction for generations — and determine Mr. Cameron’s political fate. As the country prepares to vote on Thursday, the betting markets are signaling that Britain will choose to remain in Europe, but polls suggest that the outcome is too close to call. On Tuesday, speaking in front of Downing Street with the outcome in the balance, Mr. Cameron warned that a decision to leave would be an “irreversible” choice. Appealing to older voters, many of whom tend to favor leaving Europe, Mr. Cameron urged that they think about what they would bequeath to the next generation. “Above all it is about our economy,” he said.

Mr. Cameron is famously lucky, having pulled out last-minute victories in numerous other scrapes. But in this case, many analysts say, he is damaged goods even if he wins, with rivals circling. CAMERON, PAGE 5



Prime Minister David Cameron on Tuesday urged voters to stay in the European Union.

‘BREXIT’ THREAT PUTS DEALS ON HOLD Investors are reluctant to invest in new stocks, and companies have delayed I.P.O. plans until after the vote. PAGE 17

STAY OR GO? REFERENDUM SPLITS BRITAIN The coming “Brexit” vote has prompted deep, sometimes bitter, divisions, even between parents and children. PAGE 5

THE UNION’S FLAWS, LAID BARE Europe’s leaders must find ways to overcome the national interests that hobble it, Eduardo Porter writes. PAGE 15

INSIDE TODAY’S PAPER

- Fed may defer rate increases**
In testimony on Capitol Hill, Janet L. Yellen, the central bank’s chairwoman, suggested that there was little chance of a rate increase at the Federal Reserve’s meeting in July. BUSINESS, 15
- Congolese sentenced for war crimes**
A former vice president of the Democratic Republic of Congo led a militia that committed the crimes in the Central African Republic. WORLD NEWS, 5
- I.O.C. chief calls for doping review**
Thomas Bach, president of the International Olympic Committee, called for a “full review of the antidoping system” on Tuesday. SPORTS, 14
- Britain’s pro-‘Brexit’ media**
Led by Boris Johnson, the country’s news media have been smearing the European Union for decades, writes Martin Fletcher. OPINION, 6



AMERICAN NIGHTMARE Eric Rollings, left, with David Velez at a fund-raiser for victims of the Orlando massacre, which laid bare Americans’ grievances and divisions. WORLD NEWS, 3

ONLINE AT INYT.COM

- With little money and big dreams**
Inside the Spanish enclave of Melilla, bordered by Morocco and the sea, desperately poor young Africans wait to hop on a freighter and make their way to Spain and a new life. nytimes.com/lens
- A healthy smoker? Don’t be sure**
Smokers who think they are escaping the lung-damaging effects of inhaled tobacco smoke may have to think again. nytimes.com/well
- History as seen through the internet**
Preserving online media is a growing ethical question. Doing so may completely transform the way we remember the past. nytimes.com/magazine
- How to survive as an Airbnb host**
A writer learns in her stint as an Airbnb host that the hospitality business is one long, grinning, love-me-please tap dance, more easily disparaged than done. nytimes.com/travel

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CURRENCIES NEW YORK, TUESDAY 12:30PM PREVIOUS			
▼ Euro	€1=	\$1.1260	\$1.1310
▼ Pound	£1=	\$1.4670	\$1.4690
▼ Yen	¥1=	¥104.550	¥103.920
▲ S. Franc	₣1=	SFO.9590	SFO.9620
Full currency rates Page 19			

STOCK INDEXES TUESDAY		
▲ The Dow 12:30pm	17,827.10	+0.12%
▲ FTSE 100 close	6,226.55	+0.36%
▲ Nikkei 225 close	16,169.11	+1.28%
OIL NEW YORK, TUESDAY 12:30PM		
▼ Light sweet crude	\$48.33	-\$0.95

Identifying future killers out of a sea of suspects

MAGNANVILLE, FRANCE

From Paris to Orlando, the struggle to single out terrorists before they act

BY RUKMINI CALLIMACHI

The first time Larossi Abballa appeared on the radar of French terrorism investigators, the only act of violence they could pin on him was killing bunnies. Then 19, he joined a small group of men, all bent on waging jihad, on a trip to a snowy forest in northern France five years ago. There, they videotaped themselves slaughtering the rabbits, bought so that the men could get used to the feel of killing. When he and seven others were later arrested, the authorities found that several of them had saved the video of the slaughter on their cellphones, alongside footage of soldiers being beheaded, according to French court records. Mr. Abballa was eventually convicted on a terrorism charge, spending more than two years in prison. In hindsight, it is not hard to see that that first act of brutality foreshadowed what happened last week: Armed with a knife, Mr. Abballa attacked a couple in northern France and left them to bleed to death in the name of the Islamic State. But at the time of his initial arrest in 2011, investigators were not able to definitively show that he was a permanent threat to the homeland. After his jail stint, he was placed under surveillance. The wiretaps stopped just months before he committed last week’s double murder. Across Europe and the United States, law enforcement officials are struggling to reckon with attackers like Mr. Abballa and Omar Mateen, who killed 49 in a gay nightclub in Orlando, Fla., this month. They are men who clearly seemed to be building toward violent acts, and whose names had surfaced in terrorism investigations, but who had crossed no existing legal boundary allowing them to be permanently locked away until it was too late. With thousands of terrorism surveillance files running at any given time, the European authorities say they are swamped and put in the difficult position of trying to head off attacks where the only forewarning is often in the form of what someone thinks, or what they are overheard saying. “A man is in a shop and thinks about stealing an object. What do you do? You put him in jail?” said Georges Sauveur, a Paris lawyer who has defended several terrorism suspects, including one of the men who accompanied Mr. Abballa to the forest in 2011 to slaughter rabbits, part of their preparation for carrying out jihad. “You can’t put him in jail unless he takes the next step and attempts to steal something.” In late 2010, France’s domestic intelligence agency began watching Mohamed Niaz Abdul Raseed, a 33-year-old living in the Val d’Oise region of northern France, whom they suspected was a recruiter for Al Qaeda. The investigation revealed that he had lured sev-

A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER

WIDEN YOUR WORLD | TURKISH AIRLINES

HAVE YOU BEEN EVERYWHERE YET?

Cappadocia, Turkey

TURKISHAIRLINES.COM

PAGE TWO

IN YOUR WORDS

🇻🇪 Venezuelans turn to pillaging
The socialist government of Chávez and Maduro has completely lost the ability of ruling the country and delivering basic public services, and it also completely ruined the private sector. That's why there's no education, no health services, no security and no food in Venezuela today.

WOLFGANG SCHANNER, SAO JOSE DO RIO CLARO, BRAZIL

One of the problems with their government is it was set up with no checks and balances to favor Chávez's party. The legislature's reform laws keep getting vetoed by Maduro's supreme court at midnight sessions.

MIKE, CHILE

Venezuela is what happens when your entire economy is based on one commodity — oil in this case. During the booms, you are fat and happy. But during the busts, you are starving and desperate. Maybe what we all need to learn, yet again, is that, during the booms, plan for the busts.

TJJ, ALBUQUERQUE

🇺🇸 Shattering a sanctuary in Orlando
The bottom line is that the U.S. collectively is O.K. with mass shootings. How else to explain something horrific that happens year after year, decade after decade, with no policy changes, no nothing, ever. Collectively, we've decided it's no biggie. A very sorry statement about this country.

MBS, INTERIOR ALASKA

It does not bode well that our supposedly representative Senate is completely unresponsive to its constituents, turns a blind eye to mass slaughter, and fails to pass even one law to improve our safety. It is exhausting to be on this roller coaster pleading for a tiny bit of sanity such as closing the terrorist loophole, only to have the effort fizzle and die on the Senate floor.

SHERRY JONES, WASHINGTON

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IN OUR PAGES

International Herald Tribune

1891 Zola Passes on Parliament
PARIS M. Emile Zola, the great moral regenerator of society, has declined an invitation to be a candidate for Parliament as representative of the Fifth Circumscription of Paris. His reason, expressed in writing, is that his literary labors take up too much of his time to allow him to do justice to a constituency. His modesty is worthy of commendation. He would feel irresistibly impelled to defend with his tongue the principles that he has upheld with his pen, but is doubtful whether he possesses the gift of eloquence, and he is as much opposed to reading a speech as the staunchest Scotchman.

1941 Damascus Falls to Allies
LONDON Capture of Damascus, the capital of French-mandated Syria, was announced officially by British headquarters at Cairo tonight [June 21] thirteen days after British imperial and Free French forces invaded the country to forestall its occupation by German troops. An official statement issued at Beirut on behalf of Gen. Henri Dentz, Vichy High Commissioner for Syria and the head of the defending forces, said evacuation of Damascus had been ordered "in face of enemy pressure and in order to avoid street fighting."

👁 Find a retrospective of news from 1887 to 2013 at [inyt-retrospective.blogs.nytimes.com](https://www.nytimes.com/inyt-retrospective.blogs.nytimes.com).

Desmond Heeley, ‘alchemist’ of theater design, dies at 85

BY BRUCE WEBER

Desmond Heeley, a celebrated designer for the theater, the opera and the ballet, whose costumes dressed the likes of Laurence Olivier, Beverly Sills and Margot Fonteyn, and whose sets were used in major productions throughout the world,

OBITUARY

died on June 10 in Manhattan. He was 85. The cause was cancer, said Philip Caggiano, a friend.

With a painterly eye for beauty and the resourcefulness to create the impression of elegance from the most mundane materials — a glittering chandelier for a 1993 production of “La Traviata” at the Lyric Opera of Chicago was made from plastic spoons — Mr. Heeley was a designer of both grandeur and witty panache.

His long career — on Broadway alone it covered more than half a century and three Tony Awards — began when he was a teenager in England, and early on he worked with the innovative director Peter Brook.

Mr. Heeley was a skilled painter and a hands-on designer who concerned himself with every detail of a production's



From left, Timbo Molyneux, Ian Woodcock and Ormie Molyneux, all volunteers, with the coffin of Valerie Van Emmerik on the dance floor at a bowling club in Lightning Ridge, Australia.

Undertakers of the outback

LIGHTNING RIDGE, AUSTRALIA

In a dusty mining town with no funeral home, amateurs do the honors

BY MICHELLE INNIS

An opal miner with a bushy beard and muddy boots, Ormie Molyneux lifted the dead woman's thick body and placed it gently in a satin-lined coffin. His son, Timbo, helped. Then they picked up the polished lid and carefully pressed it shut.

LIGHTNING RIDGE JOURNAL

Mr. Molyneux was not one to complain. But there were problems on the horizon for the all-volunteer Lightning Ridge Funeral Advisory Service, the town's only undertakers.

The first was the woman before him, Valerie Van Emmerik, a thrice-married, rabbit-hunting miners' cook who had once knocked a man down in a fistfight. She had to be buried, but heavy rains had turned the cemetery to mud and left her grave two-thirds full of water.

And a veterans' club is kicking the group out of a property it used to house its two hearses, a shed needed to keep them in good condition in the extreme temperatures here.

“It was a kick in the guts,” Mr. Molyneux said.

Lightning Ridge, an opal-mining town on the edge of Australia's outback, has never had a professional undertaker. The nearest one, an hour's drive away, sometimes refused to come, and hauling a body in a van as it bounced along potholed roads and swerved to avoid kangaroos was a dicey proposition.

So more than 20 years ago, a group of locals decided to do the job themselves, becoming amateur undertakers. Since then, they have buried 450 of their friends and neighbors.

Mr. Molyneux pulled a soft rag from the pocket of his miner's shorts and polished faint fingerprints from the coffin's glossy surface. “Ninety-nine percent of the people we bury, we know,” he said. “It's not easy. Val was a good woman.”

“Everyone knew Val,” said Ian Woodcock, 78, the Funeral Advisory Service's manager. “She had a hard life. Her second husband wore her out.”

Mrs. Van Emmerik was loaded into the back of a black hearse and delivered to the Lightning Ridge Bowling Club, where her coffin was wheeled to the center of the faux parquet dance floor. With the cemetery a mud pit, the lawn bowling clubhouse would have to suffice for the funeral service.

Mrs. Van Emmerik and her third husband, Peter, ran a rough miners' pub, sardonically named the Glangarry Hilton, near a cluster of opal mines. “Peter was the love of her life,” said her son Garry Horley, 61. The eldest of her six children, he had flown across the country from Western Australia for the funeral.

“Val was a terrific painter,” said Paddy Ellis, 67, a miner. “And she was great at making pies.”

“She married a lot of people,” said Barbara Moritz, the manager of the Lightning Ridge Historical Society. “She was a slow learner.”

Nine days earlier, Mrs. Van Emmerik was felled by a heart attack at age 79.

This was Mr. Molyneux's 15th funeral in five months. At 57, he is a third-generation opal miner and the second Molyneux to work as a volunteer undertaker, a service his late uncle Bob founded. No one is exactly sure when.

Lightning Ridge, with its small-scale, high-stakes opal mining, attracts a certain type — loners who come to escape society and find their fortune. Miners peg and register claims, stipulated by law at 160 feet by 160 feet, and fiercely guard those claims against thieves.

“You can have the arse out of your pants in the morning and be a millionaire by the afternoon,” said Tony O'Bri-

en, 79, a miner attending Mrs. Van Emmerik's funeral.

There are 900 houses in the township of Lightning Ridge, but an additional 1,750 camps on the opal fields, where miners often live alone in tents or trailers, unconnected to the town's water and electricity supply.

They often die alone, and sometimes penniless, another reason undertakers from the town of Walgett refused to come to Lightning Ridge.

The volunteers collect bodies from cottages in town, from canvas tents on the dusty pink opal fields and from trailers parked beside pebbly mine shafts. Sometimes they retrieve bodies from the scrubby saltbush brush, where out-of-luck miners retreat to end their lives.

“Summer is the worst,” Mr. Molyneux said. Temperatures rise above 112 degrees and stay there for days. “It doesn't take long for a body to fall apart in that heat,” he said, recalling a dead miner whose arm fell off as he tried to pick up the body.

Mr. Woodcock has buried a murderer and miners killed in collapsed shafts.

But mostly, “it's about heart disease and heat up here,” said Sandra Kuehn, who manages the local doctors' office. “It's the smokes and drink that kill them.”

As the service for Mrs. Van Emmerik began, mourners started to fill the bowling club. The Rev. Neville Parish, a retired minister who had been called back for the funeral, asked whether anyone wanted to speak.

Mr. Horley talked about his mother's love for Lightning Ridge. Jerry Lomax, a former president of the Lightning Ridge Miners' Association, told the story of the time he had been punched to the floor at a miners' meeting in a dispute over mining rights. Mrs. Van Emmerik, the group's secretary, had leapt to her feet “and taken the miner out” who hit him.

“She was a marvelous woman,” he said.

Mr. Woodcock, known as Woody, had

in 1996 raised \$33,000 to build a morgue, a sparse three-room building with a linoleum floor, where a dozen silver-handled coffins stand upright in two rows.

There is an air-conditioner, a shower, three narrow steel trolleys to carry bodies, and a refrigerator that once stored beer for the local Lions Club. Now it sometimes holds club members.

Mr. Woodcock learned the trade from a friend who ran a funeral home closer to Sydney.

“I did a beautician's course and can do hair and makeup,” he said. “That was important for one burial. The children wanted their mother to look nice.”

There is no embalming service.

If a minister cannot officiate, sometimes Mr. Woodcock's wife, Yvonne, 73, does.

One of the town's doctors or police officers certifies the death. When there is doubt over the cause, the body is sent to a coroner in Newcastle, 420 miles to the southeast.

The undertakers charge about \$2,600 for a complete service, including \$600 for the cemetery plot and the gravedigger.

“It costs a lot of money to set up the infrastructure to run a funeral business,” said Gillian Manson, a divisional executive officer from the Australian Funeral Directors Association, in Melbourne. “What they've got in Lightning Ridge is rare. It's unlikely to be replicated elsewhere.”

“Time to Say Goodbye” played over the club's loudspeakers as Mr. Horley and other pallbearers carried Mrs. Van Emmerik's coffin back to the black hearse to be driven to the mortuary. Her body would be returned to the refrigerator until the ground dried out.

By 9 p.m., some 10 hours after the service began, only a small cluster of family and friends remained. Television sets above the bar blared out weekend sports news.

Mr. Molyneux made his way into the cold night air and smiled. Mrs. Van Emmerik had been given a good send-off.

California has a lesson for Trump



John Harwood

LETTER FROM AMERICA

This is the nightmare that has Republicans bolting upright: Donald J. Trump damages their party's reputation so severely that its national competitiveness is crippled — not just in 2016, but for years.

Anti-Trump sentiment among Latino, Asian and African-American voters flashes clear warning signs. Because nonwhite voters keep growing as a share of the electorate, lingering impressions could haunt a generation of Republican candidates.

The Sacramento-based strategist Rob Stutzman warns Republicans elsewhere about what he calls the “soft racism” of Mr. Trump's campaign: “Stand up against it now, or pay the price for decades.”

That's precisely what has happened to the party in California for 22 years, since a landmark race for governor in 1994.

The Republican incumbent, Pete Wilson, seeking a second term, faced Kathleen Brown, the daughter and sister of former Democratic governors.

Amid rising anxiety and anger about Latino immigrants, Mr. Wilson embraced a ballot measure denying some taxpayer-financed services to those who crossed the border illegally.

A television ad dramatized his stance with grainy footage of immigrants dashing into the U.S. as a narrator intoned, “They keep coming.”

It worked in the short run. Mr. Wilson won re-election handily.

Yet California Republicans have struggled ever since. The signal Mr. Wilson and his party sent in 1994 alienated Latino and other nonwhite voters as their political clout was swelling.

Before 1994, Republican nominees had carried California in six of seven presidential contests. Since then, they've lost all five, averaging 40 percent of the vote.

Before 1994, Republicans had won three consecutive elections for governor. Since then, they've lost four of five regularly scheduled contests.

In the meantime, Republicans have lost all six Senate elections. In four of those races, Republican candidates failed to muster 40 percent of the vote.

The surge by Democrats in the nation's largest state is not difficult to explain. Mr. Wilson won in 1994 by dominating among white voters, who exit polls conducted by the Voter News Service showed represented 78 percent of the electorate. Latinos were 9 percent, blacks 7 percent and Asians and other minorities 6 percent.

By the 2014 election, whites had declined to 59 percent of the vote, according to exit polls conducted by Edison Research. Latinos swelled to 18 percent, Asians and other minorities to 14 percent, and blacks edged up to 8 percent. Those nonwhite constituencies disproportionately backed the incumbent governor, the Democrat Jerry Brown, Ms. Brown's brother.

“Republican leaders and candidates were just too slow to understand what their demographic destiny was,” said Mr. Stutzman.

Lately, California Republicans have worked to lure back Asian-American voters, who at one time were attracted to the Republicans' economic and national security policies. And they have seen an increasing number of younger Latinos register with no party preference, rather than as Democrats.

Enter Mr. Trump, with his call for a temporary ban on entry of Muslims into the United States, his description of some Mexican immigrants as “criminals” and “rapists,” and his remarks about the “Mexican heritage” of a federal judge who was born in Indiana.

Now Mr. Stutzman fears Mr. Trump may set Republicans back just as the Wilson campaign did in 1994, in California and elsewhere.

The demographic shifts that have undercut California Republicans are reshaping the nation, too. Nationally, presidential exit polls showed the share of white voters in 2012 fell to 72 percent, from 87 percent 20 years earlier.

The Census Bureau projects that whites will become a minority of America's population by 2044. The Republican National Committee itself, following its 2012 presidential defeat, called expanding Hispanic support “imperative.”

Mr. Trump, who flourished in Republican primaries by appealing to working-class whites, has not changed course since securing the party's nomination. He insists he can compete even in Democratic strongholds such as California, where Mitt Romney in 2012 drew just 37 percent of the vote.

“It's an absurdity,” Mr. Stutzman said. “Republicans will do better in California if he stays out.”

It’s a small, terrifying world after all

ORLANDO, FLA.

Orlando massacre turned sanctuary of escape into sobering image of U.S.

BY DAN BARRY

The corner of Kaley Street and South Orange Avenue offers a tableau of American déjà vu, a sprawl of Subways and 7-Elevens so common in communities across the continent. This one just happens to include a gay nightclub popular with Latinos called Pulse, where gaping holes in the gray-painted exterior now reflect the infliction of a national traumatic injury.

It’s easy to see Orlando as a place apart, our sanctuary of fantasy and escape, where fun trumps work and mouse ears are an accepted fashion accessory. But when a deeply aggrieved, heavily armed man burst into this unremarkable nightclub planted beside a carwash, the ensuing mayhem did not seem to occur in some distant, disconnected place. Instead, it became a sobering mash-up of so much that is contentious in American life.

Guns. Gay rights. Islamic extremism. Immigration. Latinos. Guns. Playing out just 20 miles from where George Zimmerman shot Trayvon Martin, in a state slowly receding into the rising seas, it felt like Disney Dystopia — just in time for Election 2016. Orlando is more than the country’s preferred family vacation destination. Orlando is these fractured United States.

Past tragedies tended to unify Americans, said Gary R. Mormino, a retired historian at the University of South Florida with a particular expertise in his state’s experience. Here in Florida — “where roots are as shallow as Australian pines,” he wrote in an email — some people will recall how, after Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s calm but assertive radio talks bonded the country, elevating hopes. Many more will remember the feeling of shared grief as the newscaster Walter Cronkite wiped a tear while reporting the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

“But 2016 brings together the toxic elements of an election year, presidential candidates who polarize the electorate, voters who are afraid and angry, and a press eager to exploit the spectacle of division and disaster,” Mr. Mormino wrote.

“Alas,” he added, “we live in a Balkanized state and nation.”

On some level, there’s a chaotic, only-in-Florida quality to the calamity at Pulse. On the previous Friday night, a young singer named Christina Grimmie — famous for having appeared on “The Voice” — was shot dead by a stalker as she signed autographs. On the following Tuesday, an alligator killed a toddler at a Disney resort.

But when Omar Seddique Mateen, 29, a security guard with thwarted law-enforcement ambitions, entered the nightclub with a handgun and a military-style rifle — both legally and swiftly purchased — he was not coming from some foreign land. He was a first-generation American, born to Afghan Muslim parents in New York and educated in the public schools of Florida.

And the community he was about to devastate was not some foreign place — not some stereotypical city of rednecks, snowbirds and Disney-besotted hordes. It was Tomorrowland today, a booming and diverse city of 250,000, in which the Hispanic share of the population has grown to 25 percent.

“I don’t even know that I’d characterize it as a Southern city anymore,” said State Senator Darren M. Soto, a Democrat who was born to Italian-American and Puerto Rican parents in New Jersey. “It’s much more of a transplant, Hispanic kind of vibe in the city.”

Another impasse on gun bills, another win for hyperpolitics

WASHINGTON

BY CARL HULSE

This week’s failed gun control votes in the Senate encapsulate much of what is wrong with and most frustrating about Congress.

Not one senator in either party believes that someone who presents a se-

NEWS ANALYSIS

rious terrorism risk should be able to waltz into a gun shop and legally buy powerful firearms. Yet partisanship, a reluctance to compromise and the influence of powerful special interests again prevented lawmakers from achieving a consensus objective, as four separate plans went down on Monday to an entirely predictable defeat.

It was just the latest instance in which lawmakers agreed that something needed to be done on an issue of national importance, but were unable to find a way to do it in Washington’s hyper-political atmosphere.

Democrats, holding new political leverage after the killings of 49 people by a gunman in Orlando, Fla., were eager to press their advantage and were not



A vigil for victims of the mass shooting in Orlando, Fla. The attack has stirred up much that is contentious in American life and doesn’t seem to have had a unifying effect.

“We’re an all-American town, but we’re the new America,” he said. “We have people from all backgrounds and walks of life.”

That diversity includes gay men like Eric Rollings, 47, chairman of the Orange County Soil and Water Conservation District. He recalled moving to Orlando from Michigan in 1989 and finding a small, sleepy-town L.G.B.T. community still reeling from the AIDS epidemic. At the city’s first gay pride parade, a quarter-century ago, he said, Ku Klux Klan members gathered at the corner of Magnolia and Pine to “greet” the marchers.

Now, he said, the gay pride festival is a popular signature event in the city. And on the January day that same-sex marriage became legal in Florida last year, he noted, Mayor Buddy Dyer of Orlando of-

The nightmare unleashed by Omar Mateen is a continuation of the shared nightmare Americans keep reliving.

ficiated the marriages of dozens of same-sex couples on the steps of City Hall.

Mr. Rollings recalled much of this while decompressing in a local restaurant called Santiago’s Bodega. He wore a T-shirt with slogans of determination — #OneOrlando, #OneHeart, #OnePulse — and an expression that changed by the minute. Now grief, now exhaustion, now disbelief, now hope, now grief again.

The nightmare unleashed by Mr. Mateen is a continuation of the shared nightmare Americans keep reliving — from Virginia Tech to Newtown to Aurora to Charleston. The names of the victims may change, but the Greek Chorus reaction is all too familiar. Shock and grief, candlelight vigils and calls for unity, vows for change and legislative paralysis, finger-pointing and vitriol, and, in the end, nothing much different

— except, say, South Carolina’s vote to remove the Confederate flag from the State House grounds after the Charleston shooting.

It took a 15-hour filibuster by Senator Chris Murphy, a Democrat from Connecticut with searing memories of the slaughter of 26 schoolchildren and educators in Newtown, to get modest gun-control measures to the Senate floor. Yet they had no more success Monday than similar proposals did after Newtown, with the Senate, largely along party lines, failing to advance bills that called for an expansion of background checks for all gun sales and a delay in selling guns to suspected terrorists (consider that phrase, by the way).

Add to that the profound displays of support for the grieving L.G.B.T. community here, offset by flashes of intolerance — a pastor in Sacramento lamenting that more hadn’t died — and statements by more than a few politicians that somehow managed not to mention that many of the victims were gay, or Latino, or both.

Finally, the Pulse massacre provided more rhetorical fodder for Donald J. Trump. He suggested that President Barack Obama was to blame. He trumpeted the positive aspects of racial profiling and reiterated his call for a temporary ban on Muslims entering the United States.

Mr. Trump also said the massacre showed the need for more guns, not fewer, and imagined a scene in which some in the nightclub had been armed. “And this son of a bitch comes out and starts shooting, and one of the people in that room happened to have it, and goes boom, boom — you know what, that would have been a beautiful, beautiful sight, folks,” said Mr. Trump, the presumptive Republican candidate for the presidency.

It was too much, all this death and grief and discord, as if the horrors unleashed at the club were just another ex-



At the “American Adventure” attraction at Disney’s Epcot theme park, animatronic likenesses of Benjamin Franklin and Mark Twain waved from the torch of the Statue of Liberty.

cuse to display our grievances and divisions. So respite was sought at one of the many Orlando-area theme parks: Epcot. The \$121.41 cost of admission was paid, as well as the \$20 for parking.

Then began a slog in 90-degree heat through this permanent world’s fair. Past the margarita stands of fake Mexico, the pastries of fake Norway, the orange chicken with rice of fake China, the bratwurst of fake Germany, the tiramisu of fake Italy. On to the air-conditioned comfort of a colonial building featuring the “American Adventure” attraction.

An a cappella group called the Voices of Liberty serenaded visitors with a song that gave a shout-out to every American state. Then guests were directed to some closed white doors and instructed to remain on the blue carpeting and off the gold — at least until these doors opened to the auditorium.

Soon, an animatronic Benjamin Franklin and Mark Twain were leading a half-hour tour of American history, beginning with the Mayflower and ending with a montage of famous American faces and moments: Marilyn Monroe and Magic Johnson, Elvis Presley and Albert Einstein, Walt Disney and Sally Ride, the “I Have a Dream” speech of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and firefighters raising the American flag at ground zero.

The music swelled, a singer urged America to “spread your golden wings,” and the lights came on. With the show over, the audience was directed to exit to the left, past white doors and into the hot glare of what seemed like another country entirely.

Campbell Robertson contributed reporting from New Orleans, and Nick Madigan from Orlando.

Trump’s cash for campaign is far behind Clinton’s

BY NICHOLAS CONFESSORE AND RACHEL SHOREY

Donald J. Trump enters the general election campaign laboring under the worst financial and organizational disadvantage of any major party nominee in recent history, placing both his candidacy and his party in political peril.

Mr. Trump began June with just \$1.3 million in cash on hand, a figure more typical for a campaign for the House of Representatives than the White House, and trailed Hillary Clinton by more than \$41 million, according to reports filed late Monday with the Federal Election Commission.

He has a staff of around 70 people — compared with nearly 700 for Mrs. Clinton — suggesting only the barest effort toward preparing to contest swing states this fall. And he fired his campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, on Monday, after concerns among allies and donors about his ability to run a competitive race.

The Trump campaign has not aired a television advertisement since he effectively secured the nomination in May and has not booked any advertising for the summer or fall. Mrs. Clinton and her allies spent nearly \$26 million on advertising in June alone, according to the Campaign Media Analysis Group, pummeling Mr. Trump over his temperament, his statements and his mocking of a disabled reporter. The only sustained reply, aside from Mr. Trump’s gibes at rallies and on Twitter, has come from a pair of groups that spent less than \$2 million combined.

During an interview on Monday on CNN, Mr. Lewandowski defended the candidate’s bare-bones approach.

“We are leaner, meaner, more efficient, more effective. Get bigger crowds. Get better coverage,” Mr. Lewandowski said. “If this was the business world, people would be commending Mr. Trump for the way he’s run this campaign.”

But the shortfall is leaving Mr. Trump extraordinarily dependent on the Republican National Committee, which has seen record fund-raising this campaign cycle and, long before Mr. Trump even declared his upstart candidacy, had begun investing heavily in a long-range plan to bolster the party’s technical and organizational capacity.

In a first for a major-party nominee, Mr. Trump has suggested he will leave the crucial task of field organizing in swing states to the Republican National Committee, which typically relies on the party’s nominee to help fund, direct and staff national Republican political efforts. His decision threatens to leave the party with significant shortfalls of money and manpower: On Monday, the party reported raising \$13 million during May, about a third of the money it raised in May 2012, when Mitt Romney led the ticket.

Mr. Trump’s cash crunch is a stark reversal from the 2012 presidential campaign, which seemed to inaugurate a

Donald J. Trump began June with just \$1.3 million in cash on hand, trailing Hillary Clinton by more than \$41 million.

new era of virtually unlimited money in American politics, buoyed by the Supreme Court’s Citizens United decision two years earlier. By the same point that year, President Obama and Mr. Romney were raising tens of millions of dollars per month with their parties. And while Mr. Romney faced a larger deficit over all against Mr. Obama in June 2012, he was raising far more money than Mr. Trump is now, with big donors flocking to his cause.

“The campaign has got to be the entity that’s out there driving the fund-raising car,” said Austin Barbour, a lobbyist who served as national finance co-chairman of the Romney campaign. “And it better be a big old Cadillac.”

Mr. Trump has defied conventional wisdom before, clinching the Republican nomination with a small organization and modest outlays on television. And Republican officials believe they are well prepared to compensate for Mr. Trump’s late start. The Republican National Committee has more than 500 field staff members on the ground in swing states, far more than in 2012, and a robust digital and data operation.

Allies of Mr. Trump say they believe the tide is already turning. On Tuesday, Mr. Trump will appear at a high-dollar fund-raiser in New York City hosted by some of the most prominent names on Wall Street.

Fund-raisers for Mr. Trump, who asked for anonymity to speak about internal discussions, said they were now hoping to raise up to \$500 million in joint efforts with the Republican National Committee, or an average of \$100 million a month from June through October. He is now reliably raising between \$5 million and \$7 million in each city where he raises money, those donors said.

Agustin Armendariz and Nick Corasaniti contributed reporting.

WORLD NEWS EUROPE

Crash of U.S. bomber left scars in Spain

SPAIN, FROM PAGE 1
the bombs shattered, spreading plutonium over the village.

Whereas American service members are complaining that the hurried cleanup effort carried out by the military jeopardized their health, many in Palomares lament the damage the accident has done to their community.

“Living in a radioactive site that nobody really has wanted to clean has brought us a lot of bad publicity and has been something hanging over our head like a sword of Damocles,” said Juan José Pérez Celdrán, a former mayor of Palomares. For years after the crash, local tomatoes, lettuce and watermelons did not carry any Palomares label because of the stigma associated with the place.

And the cleanup effort continues half a century later.

In 1966, American troops removed about 5,000 barrels of contaminated soil after the accident and called the cleanup complete. But about a decade ago, the Spanish authorities found elevated levels of plutonium over 99 acres. Some of the areas of elevated radioactivity almost touched private homes, as well as fields and greenhouses. Scientists from Ciemat, the Spanish nuclear agency, fenced off the most hazardous sections and began pressuring the United States to remove about 65,000 cubic yards of radioactive soil — far more than was removed right after the accident.

In 2009, Foreign Minister Miguel Ángel Moratinos of Spain sent a confidential note to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton warning that Spanish public opinion could turn anti-American if Spain disclosed a Palomares contamination study, according to a note contained in the WikiLeaks documents and published at the time by the newspaper El País. In early 2011, Spain’s foreign minister at the time, Trinidad Jiménez, told the Spanish Senate that cleaning up Palomares was a priority.

In October, Secretary of State John Kerry signed a memorandum of understanding in Madrid promising to finally return Palomares to its pre-1966 state.

Spain and the United States agree that about half a kilogram, or about 1.1 pounds, of plutonium remains in the area — a significant amount since less than a microgram can cause cancer —

“Living in a radioactive site that nobody really has wanted to clean has brought us a lot of bad publicity.”

and the American Energy Department has agreed to remove the soil and take it to a nuclear storage facility in the United States. A formal agreement on the size of the cleanup, when it will start and who will pay is still in the works.

The long-term health consequences of the accident for Palomares residents remain murky.

Many inhabitants consider the warnings of radiation overblown, but others take a cynical view of why the American and Spanish authorities have let them live in a contaminated area for decades. “They’re just using us as guinea pigs, to see what happens to people who live in a contaminated area,” Francisco Sabiote, a plumber, said. “They tell us all is fine, but also that more soil needs to be taken away. So if that is really needed, why all this waiting?”

The day of the crash, another bomb was found by Martín Moreno, now 81, who headed toward the cemetery with a friend after seeing the collision overhead. They first spotted an American pilot apparently sitting on the ground. When they got closer, however, the pilot turned out to be dead.

Mr. Moreno then climbed on top of the bomb to figure out what it was. “It looked like a strange and yellowish cassette, with a gash on the side,” he said. Using a screwdriver, he tried to cut it open, to no avail. “We wanted to take out a chunk, but it was just too hard to break off,” said Mr. Moreno, who added that he was in good health.

Of the 11 crew members on the two American planes, seven were killed. But for most villagers, what prevailed was not a sense of tragedy but a mix of bewilderment and relief at having been



Tomato fields in Palomares, Spain. For years after the crash, local tomatoes did not carry a Palomares label because of the stigma.



Francisco Sadaño herding his sheep near the Zone 6 contaminated area. He remembers the crash, which happened when he was 10.

spared a direct hit. And once American service members took charge in Palomares, sharing their cigarettes and beers with the villagers, “this almost became a party atmosphere,” Mr. González Navarro said.

American officials feared that evacuating the area would create what the lead Atomic Energy Commission scientist on the ground at the time called a “psychological monument” to the accident, so they let villagers stay, assuring them that no radiation had been released. They issued vague instructions and warnings to residents while offering words of reassurance and financial compensation to farmers for their lost harvests. The villagers, in any case, were just too poor to prioritize health concerns over economic issues.

“We were told that we should perhaps get rid of what we had been wearing that day, or at least wash it thor-

oughly, but of course nobody here could afford to throw away clothing,” Mr. González Navarro said.

Since the crash, a sample of the 1,700 residents of Palomares has been checked each year for radioactivity in Madrid, under the supervision of the federal nuclear agency. Maribel Alarcón, a town hall official, said that the recommendation from Madrid was that each resident be tested every three years. She last got checked three years ago, testing negative.

Many residents, however, said they had stopped getting tested over a decade ago. Mr. Sabiote, 27, said he last traveled to Madrid for a medical examination when he was 12 and had no plans to return. “We all have to die one day of something,” he said, shrugging his shoulders.

Some Spanish scientists have carried out their own studies on the Palomares population, but also without finding evidence that should raise the alarm. After

struggling to get access to the relevant data, Pedro Antonio Martínez Pinilla, an epidemiologist, published a study in 2005 that found higher incidences of cancer, but he concluded because of the small sample size that no correlation could be drawn between living in Palomares and incidences of cancer.

José Herrera Plaza, a Spanish journalist who recently published a book about Palomares, said the accident had a profound psychological “hibakusha impact,” the term used to refer to survivors of the American nuclear bombs dropped on Japan in 1945.

“All the communities that deal with contamination, independent of whether we can prove actual health problems or not, suffer and live with a permanent paranoia,” he said.

Dave Philipps contributed reporting from New York.

Identifying killers in sea of suspects

TERROR, FROM PAGE 1
en adherents, the youngest of whom was Mr. Abballa.

Under the older man’s instruction, the young men met in a public park to do calisthenics, they enrolled in a kung fu class and they gathered for lessons on extreme Islam. They also took their day trip to the forest in Corneilles en Parisis with the rabbits they had pooled their money to buy.

By the spring of 2011, two members of the group went to Pakistan, where they were housed by the same Al Qaeda facilitator who had provided refuge to the Bali bomber, according to French court records obtained by The New York Times.

As the most junior member of the group, Mr. Abballa was not chosen to go, and that frustrated him. “I’m thirsty for blood, Allah is my witness,” he said in one email intercepted by authorities. In another, he begged: “Please let me go, pls, pls, pls.”

When it appeared that he would not be sent, he turned his rage toward France, writing on Feb. 19, 2011: “With Allah’s will, we will find a way to raise the flag here.” A week later, he wrote that they would “wipe away the infidels.”

He was arrested on May 14, 2011. Like the other members of the cell, he was

“It’s very easy retrospectively, with hindsight, to say that law enforcement, or government, should have known about someone’s intent.”

charged with belonging to a criminal or terrorist organization, carrying a maximum sentence of 10 years, said Sébastien Bono, the lawyer representing the ringleader of the group.

Considered the group’s least influential member, Mr. Abballa spent over two years in jail and was out in 2013. He was kept under surveillance until the end of 2015.

“It’s very easy retrospectively, with hindsight, to say that law enforcement, or government, should have known about someone’s intent. But obviously there’s a big difference between motivation — someone being radicalized — and then going out and actually acting on that,” said Cmdr. Richard Walton, who was the head of counterterrorism for the London Metropolitan Police during the 2012 Olympics. “At any one time, in any country, there will be many hundreds if not several thousand suspects that fit this profile.”

Among the difficulties for authorities in 2011 was that Mr. Abballa aggressively denied any connection to terrorism. He told investigators that he was an atheist. He denied having taken part in the practice-beheadings of rabbits — he was not one of the men seen on the video — even though the seven other men in the cell all said he had participated. And the members of the group contradicted each other. When pushed, one of Mr. Abballa’s accomplices explained that they had slaughtered the animals in order to have halal meat to eat during the Islamic holiday Eid al-Adha.

It took investigators time to spot the hole in that claim: The forest slaughter was in January, and Eid had already been celebrated two months before, in November.

NEEDLES IN A HAYSTACK

While the legal systems may be different, the United States faced many of the same issues in their interactions with Mr. Mateen, who when questioned by authorities about earlier threats to commit violence insisted he had said those things because he was angry after facing discrimination.

After Mr. Mateen’s massacre, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, James Comey, said that the existing file on Mr. Mateen was one of “hundreds and hundreds of cases all across the country,” and compared the task of weeding out those who are simply expressing extremist ideas from those who may act on those ideas to “looking for needles in a nationwide haystack.”

For France, a nation that has one of the largest numbers of citizens fighting in the ranks of the Islamic State, the haystack is at least as big, and some say the caseload has become unmanageable.

“We are in fact drowning in intelligence,” says Alain Bauer, professor of criminology at the National Conservatory of Arts and Crafts in Paris.

He and others say that there are structural problems, including the fact that France’s so-called S List, a database of radicalized individuals, contains over 10,000 names, and is not ranked according to threat level.

Though most on the list never commit violence, others turn out to be the worst of the worst. Eight of the 10 men who staged the deadliest European terror attack in over a decade — the Nov. 13 Paris killings — were on the S List. Another suspect on the list, Amedy Coulibaly, had also spent time in prison on a terrorism conviction. His electronic bracelet was removed by the French authorities eight months before he opened fire inside a kosher supermarket in Paris in 2015, killing five people in the Islamic State’s name.

“If you take your daily agenda, and you were to note down the birthday of

every single person you know, it would be unmanageable” to try to wish them all a happy birthday, Mr. Bauer said. “You need to make a selection. We don’t know how to do that with the profiles of these people.”

Those kinds of suspects have created an awkward middle ground for the French authorities, and the urgency to find new legal tools has rapidly increased after the series of Islamic State attacks in recent months.

After Mr. Abballa killed the couple in Magnanville, France, last week, a deputy in the French Parliament, Éric Ciotti, introduced a bill creating the status of “administrative detention” for those representing a security threat. He explained that it would be aimed at immediately detaining hundreds of the most severe cases on the S List, placing them either under house arrest or else in a detention facility in France.

He called the measure necessary, specifically because the penal code is based on proving that an individual is not just talking or thinking about committing an act of terrorism, but has actually taken steps to carry out the act.

“These people are known to us,” he said. “I want to be able to take preventive action.”

On June 14, Prime Minister Manuel Valls said that he would consider the proposal, but that there would be “no Guantánamo” in France, the French newspaper Libération reported.

Jean-Charles Brisard, head of the French Center for the Analysis of Terrorism in Paris, categorized the idea as “absurd,” and said that the country could not jettison civil liberties.

He also said that putting everyone on the S List under surveillance was impossible, given that there are over 10,000 names and fewer than 5,000 agents. It takes 20 agents per suspect to provide 24-hour surveillance, he said, meaning France could at most provide round-the-clock surveillance to only one-quarter of the people deemed radicalized.

“My profound conviction is that unfortunately we need to get used to living with this new threat,” Mr. Brisard said. “It’s permanent, it’s diffuse and it can erupt at any moment.”

JIHAD AND VENGEANCE

The streets in the town of Magnanville, a community of 5,586 people less than 40 miles from Paris, are lined with neatly trimmed hedges. It was here that Mr. Abballa waited for an off-duty police officer, Jean-Baptiste Salvaing, to come home last week. As neighbors watched in horror, he stabbed Mr. Salvaing in the street and left him bleeding in the driveway, then forced his way inside the house. There he stabbed to death Jes-



A photo taken from Facebook on June 14 showed an undated image of Larossi Abballa.



Jessica Schneider and Jean-Baptiste Salvaing were killed at their home on June 13.

sica Schneider, the officer’s longtime partner, while the couple’s 3-year-old son watched.

In the time it took for police to close in and shoot him dead, he paused to upload a Facebook Live video. He had taken time to prepare a speech running several pages long, and the sound of flipping pages can be heard while he speaks.

“First of all, I pledge allegiance to Emir al-Mumineem Abu Bakr al-Badghadi,” he begins, uttering the pledge of allegiance to the leader of the Islamic State, using a similar formula to that uttered by Mr. Mateen, who called 911 from inside the nightclub to dedicate his violence to the terrorist group.

In a long rant on the video, Mr. Abballa’s thoughts returned to the frustration he felt in 2011, when he begged to be allowed to go abroad to wage jihad. “I address this also to the French infidel authorities. This is the result of your work. You closed the door to my Hijrah,” he said, using an Arabic term for a pilgrimage that for some ISIS devotees has come to mean traveling to Syria and Iraq to join the group. “You closed the door toward the lands of the Caliphate? Well, good then, we have opened the door of jihad onto your territory.”

Alissa J. Rubin, Adam Nossiter and Lilita Blaise contributed reporting from Paris.

Sweden toughens rules for refugees seeking asylum

BY DAN BILEFSKY

Sweden, once one of the most welcoming countries for refugees, introduced tough new restrictions on asylum seekers on Tuesday, including rules that would limit the number of people granted permanent residency and make it more difficult for parents to reunite with their children.

The government said the legislation, proposed by the Social Democrat minority government and enacted by a vote of 240 to 45, was necessary to prevent the country from becoming overstretched by the huge surge of migration to Europe that began last year.

The country, which has a population of 9.5 million people, took in 160,000 asylum-seekers last year.

The government said that under the new rules, individuals who want to bring over family members but do not apply to do so within three months of arriving in Sweden, would have to prove they can financially support them; current regulations require sponsors to demonstrate only that they can support themselves. Permanent residency for asylum-

seekers under the age of 25 would be restricted to those who have completed high school and can support themselves.

People who are formally granted refugee status would be able to bring over family members from abroad, but the legislation would circumscribe the family members who are eligible.

As elsewhere in Europe, the far right in Sweden has been railing against immigration, a stance that is increasingly resonating with voters. The Sweden Democrats, a far-right anti-immigrant party, won almost 13 percent of the vote in a 2014 general election, and recent polls show it gaining in strength.

Morgan Johansson, Sweden’s justice and migration minister, said in a heated parliamentary debate on the issue on Monday that the country’s “system would completely collapse” if 200,000 asylum-seekers came to Sweden this year, according to Radio Sweden.

Wealthy countries across Northern Europe, including Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Britain, are increasingly pushing back against calls to accept more refugees amid fears that they

could undermine stretched welfare systems, national integration and quality of life. The issue has become acute ahead of Britain’s vote this week on whether to leave the European Union, with those in favor of an exit from the bloc arguing that membership has left the country unable to control its borders and defend itself against an immigrant influx.

The proposed legislation in Sweden quickly came under criticism from human rights groups, which accused the

The country’s far right has railed against immigration.

country of passing rules harmful to children as a way to deter refugees.

“Long a leader in promoting the rights of asylum seekers and refugees, Sweden is now joining the race to the bottom,” said Rebecca Riddell, Europe and Central Asia fellow at Human Rights Watch. “Sweden should not sacrifice the well-being of vulnerable children in an effort to make the country less attractive for asylum seekers.”

Congolese gets 18-year sentence for war crimes

PARIS

Former vice president led militia that stormed Central African Republic

BY MARLISE SIMONS

A former vice president of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Jean-Pierre Bemba, was sentenced on Tuesday to 18 years in prison for crimes against humanity and war crimes committed by militiamen under his command during a four-month rampage of looting, rape and murder in the Central African Republic.

The sentence, handed down by an international panel of judges in The Hague, is considered significant for a number of reasons. Notably, Mr. Bemba was convicted even though he was far away from the militia fighting under his orders and was not present during any of the war crimes; the court said he was culpable because of his command responsibility. He should have halted or prevented the crimes, the judges said.

Mr. Bemba, who is now 53, was a businessman and scion of a prominent Congolese family before rising to the vice presidency — successful, rich and believed to be untouchable.

In 2002, he sent an expeditionary force of his political party, the Congolese Liberation Movement, into the Central African Republic to help put down a military coup there. Though Mr. Bemba rarely visited the troops, the judges at the International Criminal Court in The Hague found that he closely monitored their activities, and convicted him in March.

Sylvia Steiner, the presiding judge in the case, read out a summary of the court's reasoning at the sentencing on Tuesday, saying that Mr. Bemba's "knowledge of the crimes was unquestionable." He did more than tolerate them — he deliberately "encouraged attacks on civilians," the judge said.

The force, comprising about 1,500 militiamen, rampaged through towns on its path; the militiamen claimed afterward that they had been poorly paid and that they were rewarding themselves by raping and pillaging.

The sentence given to Mr. Bemba heavily emphasized the militia's unrelenting campaign of rape, "committed throughout the operation," against women and men, adults and children. The judges cited instances of gang rape and took note of the lasting physical and social harm that rape victims suffered, including stigmatization, ostracism and disease.

Because of the large number of rapes and what the judges called their partic-



MICHAEL KOOREN/REUTERS

Jean-Pierre Bemba in The Hague on Tuesday at the International Criminal Court.

He did more than tolerate the crimes — he deliberately "encouraged attacks on civilians," the judge said.

ular brutality, rape as a war crime and a crime against humanity received more weight in sentencing even than murder — 18 years for the rape-related charges, with concurrent sentences of 16 years for murder and pillaging.

Prosecutors had asked for a 25-year sentence, and may appeal the sentence as too lenient, experts following the case said. Victims' groups had asked for Mr. Bemba to be sentenced to the maximum possible penalty, without citing a specific figure.

Mr. Bemba had already been detained for eight years before and during his trial, so he would presumably now have 10 years left in his sentence if it stands at 18 years. It has been customary at international tribunals to deduct one-third of the total sentence, so Mr. Bemba may be eligible for early release in as little as four years.

Largely because of pressure from human rights advocates and women's groups, organized or mass rape is increasingly being recognized and prosecuted as a weapon of war rather than as a byproduct of war. Other international courts have convicted defendants of rape as a war crime and a crime against humanity, but Mr. Bemba's was the first such conviction by the International Criminal Court. In two earlier cases involving Congolese warlords, incidents of rape were widely reported but not prosecuted.

More than 5,000 civilian victims participated in the court proceedings and may be awarded reparations payments. Judge Steiner said the court would deal with reparations in a separate ruling.

Stay or go? E.U. vote splits British families

LONDON

BY KIMIKO DE FREYTAS-TAMURA

Members of the Driscoll family tend not to fight. If they do, it's over whose turn it is to vacuum.

Leslie Driscoll, 55, sells hot cross buns in a bakery in London and addresses her customers with "love" or "darling"; her husband, Peter, 54, works as a floor layer; their daughter, Louise, a 19-year-old with dyed blue hair, is a barista in a hip coffee shop.

But last week, the Driscolls fell out. Badly. They had an argument so big they did not speak to one another for days, Ms. Driscoll said. Shortly afterward, her husband went off in a huff to see friends up north, in Derby.

The source of the family drama: whether Britain should leave the European Union, a process often called "Brexit."

With only days to go until the referendum on Thursday on membership in the bloc, polls suggest that the country is deeply split along socioeconomic and regional lines, with many older and working-class voters in England favoring leaving, and younger and better-educated Britons, and a majority of those in Scotland and Northern Ireland, favoring staying.

As the consequences of the choice come into focus for voters, tensions are bubbling. In the case of the Driscoll family, they are boiling over.

"I completely disagree with her," Louise said on a recent afternoon, looking at her mother squarely in the face as they sat in a cafe. "We shouldn't be leaving, like, an organization that has helped us more than we could ever help ourselves if we were to go it alone."

Louise is the only one in her family who wants Britain to remain. Her parents and her 80-year-old grandfather want out.

"This is a little island," her mother said matter-of-factly, lighting up a cigarette and letting the ash fall on her glittery sneakers. "We should look after our own first. Charity begins at home."

"But we are all people!" Louise said. "We should help each other."

"It don't work that way, darling," her mother replied, shaking her head. "If you're born here, you pass as English. I don't care whether you're black, white, green or blue, or purple with pink spots on — you're English."

Those born abroad, Ms. Driscoll said, "have got their own governments, their own parliaments, whatever."

Across the country, the debate over Europe is pitting husband against wife, children against parents, sisters against brothers, divisions unlikely to be healed easily after the referendum is decided.

Even the family of Boris Johnson, the former mayor of London and the most prominent face of the campaign for leaving the bloc, has not been immune to disputes: His father, Stanley; sister, Rachel; and brother Jo, who is a member of Parliament and who worked closely with Prime Minister David Cameron, favor remaining in the union. Boris Johnson's mother, Charlotte Johnson Wahl, wants to leave. (Rachel Johnson reportedly tried to dissuade the former mayor from backing a British exit over a soggy game of tennis, but the



TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Leslie Driscoll, 55, right, argued with her daughter Louise, 19, at a cafe in London. Louise says the union "has helped us more than we could ever help ourselves if we were to go it alone."

attempt was unsuccessful.)

In Islington, the neighborhood in London where members of the Driscoll family have lived for eight generations, residents are increasingly going public with their voting intentions, which is a rarity in Britain.

Rows of houses on some streets have "Remain" posters in their windows. On a thoroughfare filled with butchers, bakeries and fish-and-chip shops, tradespeople nodded their head vigorously when asked whether they were planning to vote out.

The debate over Britain's membership in Europe has touched on issues as varied as immigration, terrorism, the economy, London's housing shortage and the fate of the National Health Service.

Some of these issues, like immigration, are directly related to the European Union. Others, like the shortage of affordable housing, have little to do with it.

Yet those distinctions are blurring. For many, the referendum is as much a chance to register displeasure with the country's direction as it is an opportunity to reject or embrace Europe. The stance of some voters is being shaped by personal experience and anecdote.

There is, for example, a widespread perception that European citizens are flocking to Britain, especially from Eastern Europe, to take advantage of its

social welfare system. But Britain's welfare system is not as generous as those of many other European nations, and fewer than 7 percent of immigrants receive benefits.

In Ms. Driscoll's case, she remembers her grandfather pawning and re-pawning his suit to get by. That memory was revived, she said, with the discovery a few years ago that a newly arrived Polish family in her neighborhood had received money to buy a car and move into a four-bedroom house.

"Years ago, we never had social security or anything like that," Ms. Driscoll said. "You sold your own."

Her grandmother would get her "granddad's suit out of pawn when he got paid on Friday, put it back in pawn on Monday," Ms. Driscoll said. "That's how they lived."

Having different cultures and communities is "fantastic," she said, "but what I don't like is the fact that, through having that, we've now left ourselves open. I feel like a second-class citizen in my own country."

Ms. Driscoll is proudly English (not, in her mind, British — she crossed out the word on her passport and replaced it with "English"). Her father fought in World War II, and her grandfather in World War I. She has lived all her life in this area of London.

With only days to go before the referendum, polls suggest the country is torn along regional and socioeconomic lines.

Louise grew up in the same area but in a more prosperous, multicultural Britain than earlier generations had. In school, she was one of only two white students. Her friends are Eritrean, Nigerian and South African.

Louise voted for the Green Party in last year's general election and was appalled that her mother, traditionally a Labour voter, had opted for the anti-Europe, anti-immigration U.K. Independence Party. ("Sorry, I know I'm a bit antiquated — can't help it, love," Ms. Driscoll replied, somewhat sheepishly, after Louise uttered an expletive.)

Louise said she understood the pressures that immigration placed on schools and hospitals. But leaving the European Union worried her, she said, because it risked wrecking the economy and making it hard for young people to secure employment. It took her eight months to find work as a barista, she said.

"If I wanted to work abroad, it would be a lot easier if England was in the E.U.," Louise said.

Almost inevitably, the debate over immigration veered into an argument about terrorism. Britain's porous borders were letting terrorists slip through, Ms. Driscoll said, repeating a message the camp to leave the European Union has pushed on voters.

Louise asked why she wanted to shut immigrants out of England.

"It ain't the nice ones I'm worried about," her mother replied. "It's the nasty ones."

"To have opened the floodgates, it's like saying, 'Come, and come and kill us,'" she said. "We can get on a bus tomorrow with a bloke with a backpack, and bye-bye, boom," Ms. Driscoll added. "Yeah? Nothing to do with what they call their beliefs."

Louise rolled her eyes. In what sounded like a final plea, she said: "The E.U. is going to affect my generation more than it will affect your generation. So shouldn't it be down to us to decide whether or not to stay?"

Her mother fell silent and was thoughtful.

"I am 55 years of age," she said slowly. "I know — I appreciate that in 50 years' time, you'll be here and I won't, and you'll have to put up with whatever's happened."

She paused. "But I still want out," she said. "Sorry."

BRIEFLY International



CAIRO Egyptian court voids transfer of 2 islands to Saudi Arabia

An Egyptian court on Tuesday nullified a government decision to transfer sovereignty of two strategic Red Sea islands to Saudi Arabia, delivering a surprising setback to President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi.

Saudi Arabia had placed the islands under Egyptian control in 1950 amid fears that Israel might seize them. In April, Mr. Sisi returned custody of Tiran and Sanafir — arid and uninhabited islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba — to Saudi Arabia during a visit by the Saudi monarch, King Salman.

Tuesday's ruling was largely unexpected, because the Egyptian judiciary has long been considered to be deferential to — and critics would say, complicit with — the country's leadership. In recent years, Egyptian judges have sentenced hundreds of government critics to lengthy prison sentences or even death.

AMMAN, JORDAN

Car bomb near Syrian border kills 6, including 4 soldiers

Four Jordanian soldiers, a police officer and a civil defense officer were killed on Tuesday after a car bomb exploded on the Jordanian border with Syria, according to a statement by the Jordanian Armed Forces.

The attack took place on the Syrian side of the border near a camp for refugees in Rukban, Jordan, where an estimated 60,000 people are living in harsh conditions.

No group claimed responsibility for the attack, which prompted the authorities in Jordan to close the northern and northeastern borders with Syria.

'Brexit' vote is a problem of Cameron's own making

CAMERON, FROM PAGE 1

clinging to succeed him and Conservatives more divided than ever.

If he loses, he will come under pressure to resign, and even if he were to hang on for some portion of the four years left in his government's term, whatever substantive legacy he might have built will be lost to what many consider to be a wholly unnecessary roll of the dice.

Martin Wolf, the economic columnist of The Financial Times, said that "this referendum is, arguably, the most irresponsible act by a British government in my lifetime." Summarizing the nearly unanimous opinion of economists that a "Brexit" would be followed by a major shock and permanent loss of growth, he concluded: "The outcome might well prove devastating."

Mr. Cameron argues that the referendum had to be called to resolve the festering debate over Britain and the European Union and that, as in the Scottish referendum on independence in 2014, this vote represents a "great festival of democracy" on a very difficult and divisive topic.

But if the Scottish referendum turned nasty, and kept the United Kingdom together, this one has become poisonous, with Mr. Cameron's own cabinet colleagues and supposed friends claiming that he has eroded trust in politics, portraying him as a liar. It has been a campaign punctuated by numerous claims that have little relationship to the facts, with sharp tones of xenophobia, racism, nativism and Islamophobia, and it was marked tragically last Thursday with the assassination of a young Labour member of Parliament and mother of two, who fiercely backed the Remain campaign.

"Who put Britain in this situation if we leave?" asked Steven Fielding, professor of political history at Nottingham University. "Cameron has made the case against himself, and he's damaged either way."

Mr. Cameron presumably thought it would be an easy win for Remain, Mr. Fielding said. "But it's far tighter than anyone thought, and rather than a salve on the Tory party it's made the fever

worse."

Tim Bale, professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London, is slightly less harsh. "It's really a binary legacy" for Mr. Cameron, he said. "It is either one that ends in almost complete failure or one that seems pretty respectable in electoral and policy terms. I can't think of another prime minister who had so much riding on one decision."

If the Remain campaign loses, "the chances of him staying on are pretty remote," Mr. Bale said. "He will go down as the person who miscalculated, taking us out of Europe almost by mistake, and then shuffled off the stage" in "a pretty ignominious exit."

Even if Remain wins, given Mr. Cameron's small parliamentary majority and "the number of hard-line euro-skeptics and Cameron-haters, he'll be subject to defeats and blackmail until he steps down," Mr. Bale said. "It is not going to be a lap of honor for the next two or three years, it is going to be about getting over the finishing line with some dignity intact."

There are those who support the contention that Mr. Cameron had to call this referendum in the face of Tory division and the rise of the U.K. Independence Party, or UKIP, and its voluble leader, Nigel Farage. UKIP was cutting into the Conservative vote by arguing, as the Leave campaign does now, that Britain could only limit immigration and control its own borders by leaving the European Union. The bloc requires that citizens of member nations be free to live and work anywhere in the single market.

Mr. Cameron, who had repeatedly pledged to get immigration down to the "tens of thousands" — even though last year net migration was about 330,000 people — never had a persuasive answer to the immigration question. To pacify the growing number of anti-European Tories, keep his leadership position and undermine UKIP, he promised this in-or-out referendum if he won the 2015 election, which he did by a lar-



LUKE MACGREGOR/BLOOMBERG NEWS

The chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne, has cited the financial risk of quitting.

If Britain opts to leave, Mr. Cameron "will go down as the person who miscalculated, taking us out of Europe almost by mistake."

ger margin than expected.

Even before the election, some, like Robin Niblett, director of Chatham House, an international affairs institute, and a supporter of Remain, argued that a referendum would come at some point, and that it would be more easily won under Mr. Cameron and the Tories.

Charles Lewington, a former director of communications for the Conservatives, said there had to be a referendum. By 2013, he said, "there was tremendous pressure for an in-out referendum and not just from the old guard," he said, citing growing concern from Conservative members of Parliament that they were at risk of losing their seats in districts where UKIP was strong. Given the panic in the party, he said, "I don't think he could have avoided making an in-out manifesto commitment."

But Tony Travers, professor of government at the London School of Economics, is less sure. "Cameron didn't need to do it," Mr. Travers said. Like Harold Wilson, the Labour prime minis-

ter who organized the last such referendum in 1975, Mr. Cameron's referendum began as an exercise in "internal party discipline," called "for party reasons more than national ones," Mr. Travers said.

Nicholas Soames, Winston Churchill's grandson, a Cameron friend and Tory legislator, was more scathing about the failure of several Conservative leaders to confront, rather than appease, the hard-line Tory euroskeptics.

"If you have an Alsatian sitting in front of you, and it growls at you and bares its teeth, there are two ways of dealing with it," Mr. Soames said. "You can pat it on the head, in which case it'll bite you, or you can kick it really hard" to force it away.

"Successive prime ministers, and it's not the present prime minister alone, have never understood that they have to take these people on," Mr. Soames said.

If Remain loses, both Mr. Cameron and his right-hand man, George Osborne, the chancellor of the Exchequer, are likely to be gone within months, Mr. Lewington said. Even if Remain wins, Mr. Cameron is likely to move Mr. Osborne out of the treasury to another post, like foreign secretary.

While all deny any ambition to replace Mr. Cameron, the sharks are in the water. They are led by Boris Johnson, the former mayor of London and a prominent campaigner for leaving the European Union. But the winner of such contests in the Tory party is rarely the one who wields the knife, and while Mr. Johnson would seem to be in a good position, his success is far from assured. Mr. Osborne's prospects have faded and he has become a target of Tories who want to leave. But he cannot be ruled out if Remain wins big and he has time to recover his reputation.

Other possible successors include Theresa May, the home secretary. "Or it could be someone unknown, a safe pair of hands," Mr. Travers said. "After all, no one thought John Major or Margaret Thatcher would become leader."

Opinion

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LET THE GAMES BEGIN CLEAN

The International Olympic Committee’s decision to bar Russia’s track and field team could ultimately lead to a level playing field in sports.

In a perverse way, Russia has done a favor to international sport. For too long now, as the stench of scandal has wafted through the Olympic Games, international soccer and other global sports, governing bodies have reacted timidly, throwing out a bad egg or two but little else.

The scale and organization of Russian cheating, however, made any halfway measures impossible: The International Association of Athletics Federations and the International Olympic Committee were entirely right to bar Russia’s track and field team from participating in the Rio Games. Russia, of course, blamed everybody else. “Only people who are lazy don’t kick Russia in sports these days,” complained Dmitry Svishchev, chairman of the Russian parliamentary committee on sports.

It may be that he and other Russians really don’t get why they’ve been sanctioned. Once their doping program was outed, senior sports officials seemed to believe that a bit of public contrition coupled with some superficial corrective measures would be enough. It had before — a Times investigation, for example, found that the World Anti-Doping Agency mishandled multiple warnings about Russia.

But whether the Russians get it or not, the reason for this extraordinary step is quite simple: Vladimir Putin’s Russia took doping to a level far beyond where it had ever been, at least since East Germany’s elaborate doping program collapsed with the country.

To followers of sport who thought they had seen it all — from Lance Armstrong’s years of denial to the corruption at the helm of FIFA — the string of revelations in recent months of Russian behavior was mindboggling: The systematic swapping out of urine samples in the middle of the night was the stuff of spy thrillers. It represented a deliberate, state-sponsored assault to trash the notion of a level playing field in favor of extracting every drop of propaganda from medal counts.

Russian athletes are certain to fight through the courts, creating suspense as Rio approaches. But a relentless spotlight may be exactly what world sport needs. Already many of the world’s best athletes are rising up and demanding investigations of doping in their disciplines, and other sports federations are under pressure to act decisively and sternly. A level playing field may be within reach.

VENEZUELA’S DESCENT INTO CHAOS

Confronting the nation’s crisis will require leadership from regional leaders who have been strikingly passive.

As growing lawlessness, looting and hunger threaten to plunge Venezuela into a state of anarchy, its neighbors remain reluctant to confront President Nicolás Maduro. There have been unabashed enablers, a resolute camp of left-wing governments that have served as apologists for the despotic president. There are the co-opted, a pack of Caribbean and Central American nations that have turned a blind eye to Mr. Maduro’s abuses in exchange for subsidized oil. And there are the ambivalent, a large and powerful group of nations that only gently criticize the government of Venezuela, if at all, for its mounting human rights violations.

On Thursday, diplomats from across the hemisphere are scheduled to convene in Washington at the request of Luis Almagro, the secretary general of the Organization of American States, to discuss Venezuela’s descent into chaos. Key members of this organization, including Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru and the United States, should demand that the Venezuelan government start allowing the delivery of humanitarian aid and permit the opposition to hold a referendum on whether Mr. Maduro’s term should end early.

Clearly, the Maduro government has failed to govern democratically, a commitment required of all O.A.S. member nations. Mr. Maduro has packed crucial state institutions with loyalists and has stymied the opposition-run Parliament at every turn. His government has kept political opponents arbitrarily jailed for years.

The calamity in Venezuela won’t be solved without comprehensive reforms, which the Maduro regime has been unwilling to even contemplate. The government has been refusing offers of humanitarian aid, even as Venezuelans perish in growing numbers because hospitals have run out of medicine, and food has grown scarce.

In the long run, Venezuela will most likely need help from international financial institutions to start addressing its runaway inflation, avoid defaulting on its loans and diversify an economy that has been perilously dependent on oil. None of this is likely to happen unless the opposition succeeds in its push to oust Mr. Maduro through constitutional means. But without firm international pressure, Mr. Maduro, whose term ends in 2019, may find a way to sabotage the recall vote.

How Britain’s media went pro-Brexit

Martin Fletcher

LONDON No one should be surprised that Britain could vote to leave the European Union on Thursday. For decades, British newspapers have offered their readers an endless stream of biased, misleading and downright fallacious stories about Brussels. And the journalist who helped set the tone — long before he became the mayor of London or the face of the pro-Brexit campaign — was Boris Johnson.

I know this because I was appointed Brussels correspondent for The Times of London in 1999, a few years after Mr. Johnson reported from there for another London newspaper, The Telegraph. I had to live with the consequences.

Mr. Johnson, fired from The Times in 1988 for fabricating a quotation, made his name in Brussels not with honest reporting but with extreme euroskepticism, tirelessly attacking, mocking and denigrating the European Union. He wrote about European Union plans to take over Europe, ban Britain’s favorite potato chips, standardize condom sizes and blow up its own asbestos-filled headquarters. These articles were undoubtedly colorful but they bore scant relation to the truth.

Mr. Johnson’s dispatches galvanized the rest of Britain’s highly competitive and partisan newspaper industry. They were far more fun than the usual dry, policy-driven Brussels fare. Editors at other newspapers, particularly but not exclusively the tabloids, started pressing their own correspondents to match Mr. Johnson’s imaginative reports.

By the time I arrived in Brussels, editors wanted only reports about faceless Eurocrats dictating the shape of the cucumbers that could be sold in Britain, or plots to impose a European superstate, or British prime ministers fighting plucky rear-guard actions against a hostile Continent. Much of the British press seemed unable to view the European Union through any other prism. These narratives reflected and exploited the innate nationalism, historical sense of superiority and disdain for Johnny Foreigner of many readers.

Articles that did not bash Brussels, that acknowledged the European Union’s achievements, that recognized that Britain had many natural allies in Europe and often won important arguments on, say, the creation of the single market, were almost invariably killed.

The European Union can be meddling, some, arrogant and incompetent, but seldom if ever was the ordinary British reader told how it had secured peace on the Continent, embraced the former Communist countries of Central Europe, broken up cartels or forced member states to clean up their rivers and beaches.

British newspapers’ portrayal of the European Union in the lead-up to the referendum on June 23 has likewise been negative. The Financial Times and The Guardian have backed the Remain campaign, but they have relative-

ly small circulations and preach largely to the converted. The Times has been evenhanded, though it finally declared on June 18 that it favored staying in the European Union. But the biggest broadsheet (The Telegraph), the biggest mid-market paper (The Daily Mail) and the biggest tabloid (The Sun) have thrown themselves shamelessly behind Brexit.

They have peddled the myths that Britain pays 350 million pounds a week (about \$500 million) to the European Union; that millions of Turks will invade Britain because Turkey is about to be offered European Union membership; that immigrants are destroying our social services; and that post-Brexit, Britain will enjoy continued access to Europe’s single market without automatically allowing in European Union workers.

Some samples from recent Daily Mail headlines give the flavor: “We’re from Europe: Let Us In!”; “Ten Bombshells the E.U.’s Keeping Secret Until After You’ve Voted”; “Greediest Snouts in the E.U. Trough.” These are from The Sun: “We’ll Get Stuffed by Turkey”; “Checkpoint Charlies: Euro Judges Open Floodgates to Illegals”; “Eur All Invited.” Formally endorsing Brexit on June 13, The Sun, a mainstay of the xenophobic press, declared: “If we stay, Britain will be engulfed in a few

short years by this relentlessly expanding German-dominated federal state.”

Loughborough University’s Center for Research in Communication and Culture has calculated that 82 percent of newspaper articles about the referendum favor Brexit when circulation and “strength of papers’ endorsements” are taken into account. InFacts, a pro-Remain group that campaigns for accurate journalism, has filed 19 complaints with the Independent Press Standards Organization, Britain’s print media watchdog, leading to five corrections, including one against a headline in The Sun that proclaimed, “Queen Backs Brexit.” The watchdog has yet to rule on the rest.

It is often said that newspapers no longer matter. But they do matter when the contest is so close and shoppers see headlines like “BeLeave in Britain” emblazoned across the front pages of tabloids whenever they visit their supermarket. They matter if they have collectively and individually misled their readers for decades.

The upshot is that Mr. Johnson and his fellow Brexit proponents are now campaigning against the caricature of the European Union that he himself helped create. They are asking the British people to part with a monster about as real as the one in Loch Ness. Mr. Johnson may be witty and amusing, but he is extremely dangerous. What began as a bit of a joke could inflict terrible damage on his country.

MARTIN FLETCHER is a former foreign and associate editor of The Times of London.



CHRISTOPHER FURLONG/GETTY IMAGES

Boris Johnson, the former mayor of London and the face of the pro-Brexit campaign, at a rally last month in Stafford, England.

Pension holders don’t need stock tips

Steven Rattner

Contributing Writer

Having long fretted over the state of America’s retirement system, I was delighted that the Department of Labor is vigorously defending its new rule requiring brokers to recommend only investments that are in the best interests of holders of retirement accounts.

Hats off to the Obama administration for forcefully addressing the very real conflict between commission-based financial advisers and their clients. But the country’s retirement problems are vast and require much more reform. In fact, we need a complete revamping of our pension arrangements.

Once upon a time, many Americans enjoyed an employer-based, defined-benefit system in which they could depend on a no-hassle pension of a specified amount.

But about two decades ago, faced with mounting costs and increased regulatory burdens, employers began replacing traditional plans with “defined contribution” plans like 401(k)’s.

That created two immense problems. First, only about 10 percent of participants have been contributing the maximum amount allowable.

As a consequence, the average American household approaching retirement in 2013 had just \$111,000 in 401(k)’s and I.R.A.s, a fraction of the six to 11 times annual earnings needed to be financially secure, according to calculations by Alicia Munnell, an economist and retirement expert at Boston College.

More important, the move to defined-contribution plans turned every American with a retirement account into an investment manager — a tough business for even the savviest professionals.

Last November, Goldman Sachs — an exceptional firm — issued six investment recommendations for 2016: buy stocks in large banks, sell yen and so forth. In early February, Goldman abandoned five of them, after huge losses in just a few short weeks.

Nor are the Wall Street firms’ records with individual stocks anything to brag about. In this year’s first quarter, the stocks rated highest by analysts fell and the stocks rated lowest rose.

If highly paid professionals often fail to deliver, the notion of amateurs trying to play the game is nuts. What sane person would try to rewire his house or take out her own appendix? And yet under our supposedly improved retirement system, Americans are encouraged to

allocate their assets, evaluate mutual funds and even select individual stocks.

It ain’t working. In the first quarter of 2016, domestic mutual funds — a favorite investment vehicle for these retirement accounts despite their chronic underperformance — had their poorest showing in nearly two decades. Through June 15, the 20 most popular funds for 401(k) assets were up 0.6 percent so far in 2016, compared with 2.4 percent for the Standard & Poor’s index.

Then there’s the folly of trying to time markets, a practice that smart investors like Warren Buffett eschew. Back in early February, when markets were plummeting, a friend told me she had moved a large account from stocks to a money-market fund. Sure enough, just a few days later, the market turned upward and recovered all its losses — while she recouped none of hers.

Finally, even with reforms like the new Labor Department rule, the system is rigged against most individuals: As small investors, they pay higher fees and don’t have access to the smartest advisers. As a professional investment manager, I’m appalled at what I see happening to many friends.

While we can’t simply blow up the current system, we should take the smaller step of requiring companies (other than small businesses) to offer revamped 401(k)’s, including mandatory contributions from employers and

employees totaling at least 10 percent of wages annually. Those funds should be professionally managed by independent, multiemployer entities created for this purpose and structured to avoid the conflicts of interest inherent in the current system. (To minimize the burden on Americans who are already struggling, the program would be phased in.)

Until we fix the broader mess, individuals should follow a few simple rules:

- Try to save as much as possible of your income, ideally 10 percent to 15 percent.
- Never, ever pick a stock or an actively managed mutual fund. Use only low-cost index funds.
- Emphasize equities when you are young; fixed income as you get older. Better yet, consider target-date funds, which do this rebalancing for you.
- If you have a good 401(k) plan and you change jobs, either leave it where it is or move it to your new employer; I.R.A.s should be your last choice. They often come with higher fees and at least until the new rule takes effect, bad advice.
- Don’t cash out early.

As a nation, we Americans indisputably face a retirement crisis. The one advantage of our current system is that we each have the ability not to make it worse.

STEVEN RATTNER is a Wall Street executive.



A nation of healers



David Brooks

I’ve been traveling around to the most economically stressed parts of the United States. You see a lot of dislocation on a trip like this. In New Mexico, for example, I met some kids who lost their parents — to drugs, death, deportation or something else. They get run through a bunch of systems, including homeless shelter, foster care, mental health and often juvenile justice. They’re like any kids — they turn hungrily to any beam of friendship. But for these kids, life has been a series of temporary stops at impersonal places. They sometimes have only the vaguest idea where they are going next month. “I’m going back into the foster care system,” one teenager told me, without affect either way. You meet people who are uncomfortable with the basics of the modern economy. I met a woman in West Virginia who had just learned, to great relief, that she didn’t have to give an anticipated speech at church. “We’re not word people,” she explained. Those words hang in the air. A lot of wonderful people speak through acts of service, but it’s hard to thrive in the information age if you don’t feel comfortable with verbal communication. You see the ravages of drugs everywhere. I ran into a guy in Pittsburgh who hires people for his small plant. He has to give them drug tests because they’re operating heavy equipment. If

he pulls in 100 possible hires, most of them either fail the drug test or don’t show up for it because they know they will fail. But this kind of tour is mostly uplifting, not depressing. Let me just describe two people I met on Saturday in Albuquerque. At the New Day Youth and Family Services program I was introduced to an 18-year-old woman who’d been born to heroin and meth addicts. She’d spent her early girlhood riding along as they trafficked drugs from Mexico. When they were unable to take care of her, she cycled through other homes where she was physically abused. She fell into relationships with men who mistreated her, was hounded in school for being (supposedly) obese and was sent to psych wards for depression. Yet this woman glows with joy and good cheer. She’d built a family out of her friendships. She’d completed high school, learned to express her moods through poetry and novellas, found a place to live through New Day’s Transitional Living Program, found a job and had plans to go to community college. I have no idea how a person this beautiful can emerge from a past that hard, and yet you meet people like this all the time. Their portion of good luck may have been small, but their capacity for gratitude is infinite. Earlier in the day I’d met Jade Bock. When she was 17, Bock lost her father to a workplace accident. Now she’s found her calling directing the Children’s Grief Center. This is a center for kids who, given the stress and poverty all around, have often lost their fathers to suicide, drugs or accidents. The young kids are anxious about

who is going to die next. They don’t really understand what death is and wonder if their loved one is going to be wet and cold if it’s raining on his grave. The older kids are sometimes trapped in magical thinking: Maybe if I’d gotten better grades, he wouldn’t be gone. Sometimes they will start dressing, talking and acting like the deceased. Many teenagers don’t want the other kids in school to know, so they go through life as if nothing is wrong. Then three years later when they suffer some breakup or setback, it all comes barreling out because it hasn’t been processed up until now. Along with a hundred other volunteers and staff members, Bock gets these kids to process their grief. She sits with them in group after group, tender but in a realistic no-nonsense sort of way. She’ll cry and be present, but she won’t let you escape the task of moving through it. If it’s mentionable it’s manageable. Pain that is not transformed is transmitted. The social fabric is tearing across this country, but everywhere it seems healers are rising up to repair their small piece of it. They are going into hollow places and creating community, building intimate relationships that change lives one by one. I know everybody’s in a bad mood about the country. But the more time you spend in the hardest places, the more amazed you become. There’s some movement arising that is suspicious of consumerism but is not socialist. It’s suspicious of impersonal state systems but is not libertarian. It believes in the small moments of connection. I remember watching an after-school counselor in Texas sitting in a circle of little girls who had nowhere else to go. She offered them a tongue twister: “O.K.” she said chirpily, “who can say ‘Unique New York’ six times fast?”

A home after prison

Nicholas Turner

For nearly 10 years, Marcus lived in a tiny cell in Sing Sing prison. His wife and children were eager for him to return to their home in public housing in Harlem. After he completed his sentence for attempted armed robbery and possession of stolen property, his parole board said he was ready to rejoin society. But the city’s public housing authority disagreed: Because Marcus — a pseudonym — had a criminal record, he was ineligible to live with his family. Nationwide, more than 600,000 people return from prison each year and try to rebuild their lives. The only viable option for many of them is public housing. But local housing authorities across the United States write their own rules. And they routinely bar applicants with criminal convictions — and often people with mere arrest records. That means these policies can affect the nearly one in three Americans who have some kind of criminal record. Some people are excluded by federal law, specifically certain sex offenders and people who have been convicted of making methamphetamine in public housing. Otherwise, administrators from the nation’s 3,300 public housing authorities, which serve 1.2 million households, are supposed to balance family unity against a person’s potential risk to society as they consider applications. But far too often, they divide families without cause. A single arrest in the past five years, for instance, can jeopardize a family’s application to public housing in parts of Maine, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Oklahoma and California. In St. Louis, anyone who has used, sold or made drugs in the past decade is barred from public housing. To be sure, public housing officials have a serious obligation to guarantee residents’ safety. So it’s no surprise that many have ostensibly created these policies out of an abundance of caution.

But such overly broad rules are only tenuously related to public safety. Worse, they are counterproductive. Research shows that people who find safe, affordable housing after they are released from prison are significantly more likely to find a job and stay out of trouble. In one study of people who returned to society after completing a sentence, 60 percent of people who lived on the street and 50 percent of those in shelters were rearrested within a year, compared with 29 percent of people who had a home. Such punitive policies may also be illegal. The Department of Housing and Urban Development announced in November that federal housing providers could not deny housing solely on the basis of an arrest, which is insufficient proof of criminal activity. It warned in April that criminal background screenings that exacerbated racial disparities might violate the Fair Housing Act. Local housing authorities must help people get back on their feet. The good news is that a growing number of them are. For many years, New Orleans effectively kept most people with convictions out of public housing. That was no small feat for a city that sends more people to jail per capita than almost any other city in the country. But earlier this year, it became the first city to comprehensively rewrite its rules on criminal background checks in public housing applications. New Orleans now looks at the severity of the crime and the time since conviction to determine if an applicant can live in its public housing or should be further evaluated. For those who require more consideration, often for recent or serious convictions, a panel will make a decision based on the person’s criminal history, rehabilitation efforts, community ties and employment history. No one will be turned away from

housing based on a conviction alone. The New York City Housing Authority and the Vera Institute of Justice, of which I am president, are helping 150 people who have been out of prison for three years or less reunite with their families. Participants receive help with employment, health and social services. And if they complete the program without incident, they can join the lease. Several already have. As promising as these reforms are, they’re just a few bright spots in an otherwise grim reality. All local housing authorities should follow these examples and revise their rules to align with HUD’s guidelines. Many people who return from prison often live illegally with their families or friends in public housing, for lack of other options, and put those on the lease at risk of eviction. It’s much better for public safety, as well as for them and their families, if we help people live out of the shadows. HUD should do more to encourage cities to moderate their restrictive policies. It should significantly shorten periods of exclusion, make local housing authorities look at applicants on a case-by-case basis and mandate that only offenses suggesting future risk to the housing community can lead to exclusion. The agency should also provide better training to officials at public housing authorities. Marcus got an unexpected second chance two years after he was released from prison. He was allowed to move in with his family in Harlem through our pilot program with the housing authority. He now works in construction and will most likely join the lease soon. We must take a hard look at how we treat people who have repaid their debt to society. Many of them return to communities that have been devastated by generations of tough-on-crime policies. We should use public housing policy to help people with convictions succeed, not continue their punishment.

NICHOLAS TURNER is the president of the Vera Institute of Justice.

Trump’s playground humor

Emma Roller

Contributing Writer

The legendary insult comic Don Rickles supposedly has one nagging fear in the back of his head when he goes out on onstage. “I’m always afraid that somewhere out there, there is one person in the audience that I’m not going to offend,” he once said. Donald J. Trump seems to approach politics in the same way. His opponents all get schoolyard nicknames — “Lyn’ Ted,” “Little Marco,” “Crooked Hillary.” And on Twitter, his favorite rapid response platform, canine comparisons run amok: Mitt Romney “choked like a dog”; Glenn Beck “got fired like a dog”; Kristen Stewart “cheated on” Robert Pattinson “like a dog.” (It makes you wonder if Mr. Trump knows what dogs do on a day-to-day basis, or if he thinks they are constantly getting fired from their dog-jobs between engaging in extra-doggital affairs.) Talk to Mr. Trump’s supporters after one of his rallies, and they sound like fans exiting a raunchy comedy club show: He’s not afraid of being “politically incorrect.” He takes no prisoners. He “goes there.” So what do actual insult comedians make of his insults? The comedians and rhetorical wizards I talked to compared Mr. Trump’s sense of humor to that of a teenage boy sitting at the back of the classroom, insulting the teacher when her back is turned — playing Bart Simpson to an uptight, politically correct Edna Krabappel. Hari Kondabolu, a stand-up comic in New York, said that Mr. Trump reinforced his “hateful, negative” rhetoric with humor, and that that’s what made it effective. But it doesn’t make him a comedian. “Calling Donald Trump an insult comic is giving him way too much credit,” he said. “It’s also insulting to comedy.” But Mr. Trump’s style of playground humor is appealing to people (specifically, white men) who are feeling that they aren’t in on the joke. “A lot of these people feel like they’re losing out, and what Trump performs on an everyday basis is winning,” said John Murphy, an associate professor of communication at the University of Illinois. “The insults, I think, are part of winning: I can say these awful things and somehow get away with it.” What Donald Trump does on Twitter, on cable news and at his rallies is not roast humor, but it serves a similar purpose: bringing the audience over to his side by taunting everyone else.

Lisa Lampanelli, the Queen of Mean herself, has roasted Mr. Trump twice, and appeared on Season 5 of “Celebrity Apprentice.” Now, she likes to say that he stole his comments about Mexican immigrants from her own act. Ms. Lampanelli said he was a “good sport” during his 2011 Comedy Central roast, but may not have fully processed the jokes being made at his expense. “I have the impression he didn’t even hear half the jokes we said about him. He just knew he should laugh,” she said. “If his name was on it, he was happy. It was kind of a Charlie Brown teacher all the time, like, ‘Womp, womp, womp, womp, Donald Trump.’ And then he would laugh.” Mr. Trump’s sense of humor is about as sharp as a soup spoon. But for his fans, that’s part of the appeal. “I think people confuse being blunt and forceful as the truth,” Mr. Kondabolu said. “People assume that if someone says something with confidence and makes you laugh and is saying something that might be in your head, that it’s the truth.” The same politically incorrect style that has earned Mr. Trump a cadre of loyal fans has also alienated much of the nonwhite male population. A recent ABC News/Washington Post poll found that 94 percent of African-Americans dislike the presumptive Republican nominee, along with 89 percent of Hispanics and 77 percent of women of all races. Jesse Joyce, a stand-up comic, has written jokes for 10 Comedy Central roasts, including the 2011 Trump roast. He says a good roast joke lies in near obsessive research about the guest of honor, combined with razor-sharp writing. “A roast joke is like a samurai sword,” he said. So how did Donald Trump wield that sword at his own roast? “He is the worst person I’ve ever had to deal with, as far as writing jokes go,” Mr. Joyce said. “He’s kind of anti-comedy.” At roasts, the “guest of honor” gets to give a rebuttal — written by professional comedians — to the people who have spent the past hour raking him over the coals. While most guests of honor will be good-natured about poking fun at themselves, Mr. Trump was not, according to Mr. Joyce. He said the writing team would send potential jokes to Mr. Trump, and the script would come back with the punch lines blacked out with marker. “He would literally send it back redacted, like a real estate contract. I’ve never seen anybody do this before,” Mr. Joyce said.

The only constructive edits Mr. Trump did give the writers, according to Mr. Joyce, were in service of making himself look better, richer, even larger than life. One joke’s premise was that Donald Trump lived in a 150,000-square-foot marble penthouse orbiting the earth. “He crossed out ‘150,000’ and he put ‘300,000,’” Mr. Joyce said. “He needed people to know that his fictitious space station was bigger.” Mr. Trump’s jabs may represent a departure in American politics — or at least, a departure from how we think politicians are supposed to act. “It is a performative way of flipping off the establishment: ‘I don’t have to play by your rules. I can make my own rules,’” said Mary E. Stuckey, a professor of communication and political science at Georgia State University. That is part of why his insults resonate with voters. But most of the comedians I talked to were very clear in saying he’s not actually a funny guy — not on purpose, at least. “It’s the difference between a drunk uncle telling a knock-knock joke about Mexicans at Thanksgiving versus Mark Twain,” Mr. Joyce said. “One of them is being funny on purpose, and the other one is just an arrogant baboon.” Todd Barry, another New York stand-up comic, has appeared on the FX show “Louie” and performed in Comedy Central’s roast of Chevy Chase. He said Mr. Trump was “occasionally funny,” but that doesn’t make him an insult comic. “I can’t say he’s good at insulting people, but he does insult people,” he said. “There’s times I’ve reluctantly laughed at things he’s said. That doesn’t mean I’m voting for him.” Jake Weisman, a comedian in Los Angeles, compared Donald Trump’s public persona to that of lewd-and-crude “shock jocks” like the radio host Howard Stern. That makes sense, considering that Mr. Trump has been a frequent guest on Mr. Stern’s program. “Saying something insane is funny because society says not to say insane things,” Mr. Weisman said. “When you say, ‘Ban all Muslims,’ that’s shocking, but it’s not a joke.” A lesson Mr. Trump could learn is that sometimes, the funniest jokes aren’t the most shocking, but ones that seem the most accurate. At the 2011 Trump roast, the rapper Snoop Dogg delivered the best joke of the night: “Donald said he wants to run for president and move on into the White House. Why not? It wouldn’t be the first time he pushed a black family out of their home.”

EMMA ROLLER is a former reporter for National Journal.



Donald Trump during a campaign event last week in Greensboro, N.C.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Feminism for a new era

Re “How to Fix Feminism,” by Judith Shulevitz (Review, June 11): So much of Ms. Shulevitz’s article resonated with the women I know. Many of us have talked about how our mothers appeared to have an easier time building careers with children back in the ’70s and ’80s than we have had today. The longer workweek, constant “on call” status, and, for those in the service sector, uncertain working hours and unaffordable child care have all played a part in this problem. A few additional barriers were not mentioned, however. After the economic turmoil of the ’80s and beyond, many of us are left with school systems that offer little to no after-school enrichment or meaningful activities. Now we have to pay for someone to take our kids to sports practices or music rehearsals, or do so ourselves. Additionally, there are numerous teacher training days and early release days, and often the first or last week of school is made up of half days for which child care must be obtained.

In my school district, school buses have been eliminated except for disabled students, so children are reliant on parents to drive them if they cannot bike safely. A public focus on providing safe, reliable transportation and after-school activities as well as a school calendar that makes sense for working parents would go a long way toward easing some of the stress women face daily being both a responsible parent and a valuable employee. ELIZABETH CONNELL NIELSEN, NOVATO, CALIF.

What does Judith Shulevitz’s brand of feminism offer to women who do not have children? They are often the ones left behind in the office, taking on all the extra work that piles up when someone goes on leave. I’ve had to travel more, work longer hours and manage more people because someone in the office had a baby. And, this has happened multiple times in my career. It is just assumed that women like me will take over for the new moms. By the time she comes back to work, I’m ex-

hausted, but there is no leave offered to me. The same when children are sick, or it’s the school play, or soccer games, or any other of the myriad times that mothers take time off for their children. Doesn’t anyone ever realize that all the assistance offered to women with children is at the expense of someone else? I don’t care if you call it feminism or something else, I would just like to see a system that works for everyone. LINDA PORTER, SEATTLE I wonder if it’s time to drop the word “feminism.” It means so many different things to different people as to almost become meaningless. Far too often I’ve seen people arguing over their particular interpretations of what feminism means rather than over any of the real issues that we face today. In fact, I’ve long been of a mind that we should drop all “-isms” whenever possible. Joining a school of thought, any school of thought, can too easily become a shortcut around thinking. JONATHAN KRAUSE, OXFORD, ENGLAND

WORLD NEWS MIDDLE EAST ASIA

Smugglers open door to jobs, and violence, in Israel

ISRAEL, FROM PAGE 1
Punishment for those caught is generally being sent back to the other side.

The system punches a hole in Israel's system for regulating Palestinians' access to work inside Israel, and has security implications: Attackers, like the two Palestinian men who fatally shot four people this month at a Tel Aviv cafe, sneak through as well.

The two men lived in Yatta, a village in the West Bank's south, near where the unfinished barrier consists mostly of a metal fence with numerous gaps and holes. Micky Rosenfeld, an Israeli police spokesman, said they had entered Israel illegally, "most probably via one of the areas which are open or not completed."

The Shin Bet, Israel's internal security agency, says that from Oct. 1 to Feb. 1, 21 Palestinians who attacked Israelis were in the country illegally.

Since the Tel Aviv attack, the Israeli Defense Ministry has promised to extend a more effective form of the barrier to the south, an area heavily trafficked by smugglers. But the government's other response to the shooting, the cancellation of 83,000 special permits for Palestinians to cross during the holy month of Ramadan, may reveal how difficult it will be to stanch the flow.

At the Qalandiya checkpoint outside the city of Ramallah on the Friday after the attack, men stood at the edge of the restive crowds no longer able to pass through, shouting "tahreeb, tahreeb" — Arabic for "smuggling, smuggling."

"We have to understand that you will never solve the problem," said Nitzan Nuriel, a retired Israeli brigadier general and once the head of the prime minister's counterterrorism bureau. "Whenever you have illegal workers, it is part of the reality, it is part of the economy."

The challenge, said Mr. Nuriel, now a counterterrorism expert at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya, is filtering potential terrorists from ordinary workers. "You have to decide," he said, "which fish to catch and which fish you can allow to swim."

LOW RISK, HIGH REWARD

The economics of the smuggling business is straightforward — and irresistible.

Unemployment among West Bank Palestinians is about 20 percent over all, and is even higher for young people. Starting wages per day, according to Khalil Shikaki, the director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Re-



DANIEL BEREHLAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Workers passing through a tunnel this month at a construction site in Israel that employs Palestinian laborers with and without permits.

search in Ramallah, are 70 to 80 shekels, or \$20. Numerous Palestinians working illegally at Israeli construction sites said they made \$80 to \$100 a day.

That is still a major bargain for Israeli companies, which have to treat Palestinians with work permits similar to Israeli workers in terms of wages and benefits, covering sick days, vacations, health insurance and pensions.

There are currently about 55,000 Palestinians with permits working legally in Israel, and an estimated 20,000 in the settlements, according to the Palestinian Labor Ministry. That is down from a peak of 140,000 before the second intifada in 2000, the ministry says (when the population was about two-thirds the size).

Estimates vary widely on the number of illegal workers. Mr. Shikaki said 30,000 was a reasonable guess; Mr. Nur-

iel said it was closer to 60,000, depending on the time of year. Most work in construction, agriculture or restaurants.

Mr. Rosenfeld, the police spokesman, said that hundreds of illegal workers were picked up each week, but that the authorities were "focusing on arresting those that are attempting to bring in the Palestinians illegally."

The first time someone is caught in Israel illegally, he said, the police simply record the incident and release the worker back to the West Bank. Repeat offenders "will appear before the courts" and may face other penalties, Mr. Rosenfeld said, adding that anyone suspected of links to terrorism is referred to the military.

But Palestinian workers who have been arrested multiple times said in interviews that the most serious consequences they had faced were an inter-

rogation and being dropped off at a checkpoint as far as possible from where they were picked up.

Mr. Nuriel, the counterterrorism expert, said that it would be too costly to keep such a large population in jail and that widespread arrests were impractical, asking, "Who is going to interrogate them?"

AN ANXIOUS ROUTINE

At a large construction site in Israel, an illegal worker in a yellow hard hat who goes by Abu Khalid estimated that he had gone over the wall dozens of times in the last year alone. Like many others interviewed, he said his routine was to cross the wall, work inside Israel for a few days or weeks, and then go back to the West Bank for a short rest. Some employers house workers in trailers, some

workers stay with relatives or friends, and some, like Abu Khalid, camp outside.

At 50, he has the sign of his seniority on the job, a walkie-talkie in his pocket. Abu Khalid said that a package deal for the jump over the wall and transportation to his work site cost about 800 shekels for a solo trip; when three men go in together, he said, they can cross for perhaps 300 shekels each. "That's a lot of money," Abu Khalid said.

Workers "punch in" as soon as they arrive at a job site, he added, and both Israeli and Palestinian contractors know they have no permits. At day's end, Abu Khalid continued, "we go find a water pipe to take a shower, and then we find a nice tree and sleep under it."

Passage is not always as simple as going up a ladder and down a rope. Two young workers — Ahmad, 19, and Bassem, 21 — sat on a terrace in their village, north of Ramallah, and chuckled about a time when tight security forced them to go under the wall, not over it.

"We used to go through a water main like snakes," Bassem said.

Ahmad's father, who also spoke on the condition of anonymity for fear of legal repercussions, said his son provided a prime source of income for the family. But Ahmad is also a source of deep anxiety because of how he travels to work.

"When he goes and he comes, I have my hand on my heart in fear of something happening," the father said.

STEPPING UP PATROLS

Nowhere is passage more perilous than the West Bank's south, where the Tel Aviv suspects, who are cousins, most likely crossed.

"You don't know who you are walking with," said Mahmoud Khalil, 19, a Palestinian who was working at an Israeli construction site but had no permit.

Mr. Khalil is from Yatta, like the suspects, but he said he did not know the cousins and came to Israel only to earn money for his family. He said he paid 250 shekels for safe passage through a large gap in the barrier near the village of Dahriya, southwest of Yatta, and transportation to the work site.

One recent day near Dahriya and neighboring Ramadin, pickups jammed with illegal workers played cat-and-mouse with Israeli military Humvees, racing from gap to gap as smugglers chattered on phones nearby. Workers and smugglers alike understand that terrorism is bad for business.

A driver for the smugglers in Dahriya,

who spoke on the condition that he be identified only as Abu Ramzi, said that he and his colleagues alerted Palestinian security forces at the first hint that a client intended to commit violence in Israel. He complained that the Israeli military had stepped up patrols of the southern barrier since the Tel Aviv shootings.

"Before this last attack, the army would act as if nothing was going on — 30 or 40 workers would cross into Israel all at once," said Abu Ramzi, 34. "This last attack has temporarily complicated our operation." Still, he said, "we will always find ways to get these workers in."

That resolve was tested after nightfall on June 14, when five pickups and a Mazda sedan filled with workers massed in the center of Dahriya. With their lights off, the vehicles made two attempts to cross the web of rutted, rocky dirt roads and reach gaps in the fence, but they turned back because spotters saw Israeli Army Humvees converging on the same areas.

Finally, the smugglers' vehicles roared toward another spot, throwing up thick billows of dust and bouncing the

"Whenever you have illegal workers, it is part of the reality, it is part of the economy."

workers mercilessly in the beds of the trucks. At the bottom of the hill, two lookouts were talking on their cellphones under an olive tree. To the west, past the fence, nothing was visible but the distant lights of Israeli towns and cities.

Then the lights of the cars sent to pick up the workers on the Israeli side could be seen approaching on the bare hills. A smuggler yelled, "Yalla, yalla!" — "Go, go!" — and workers leapt from the trucks and began running toward a gap in the fence that had been flimsily repaired. Someone pulled it open, and someone else carefully lifted a few strands of razor wire that had been tossed in the dirt to make the passage more difficult.

The workers, many toting backpacks stuffed with clothing, slid under the razor wire and met the cars. The last man lifted the razor wire himself, slipped under and ran toward the cars, which drove off toward job sites among the distant lights.

Myra Noveck contributed reporting from Jerusalem.

South Korea is criticized over defections

SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA

Rights advocates claim holding of 12 waitresses from North is unlawful

BY CHOE SANG-HUN

A tussle between the two Koreas over 12 waitresses from the North who defected to the South spilled into a courtroom in Seoul on Tuesday where human rights lawyers accused the authorities in the South of unlawful detention.

The 12 women, together with their male manager, flew to Seoul, the South Korean capital, in April after deserting a North Korean government-run restaurant in the Chinese city of Ningbo. South Korea welcomed the women and described them as having defected of their own free will after having grown fed up with their totalitarian government.

North Korea immediately accused the South's spy agency, the National Intelligence Service, of kidnapping the women. It has since arranged for their parents to give interviews with the Western news media, during which they have demanded that South Korea allow them to meet with their daughters to learn their true intentions. The South has dismissed the demands as propaganda.

The standoff took an unexpected turn recently when a South Korean human rights group, Lawyers for a Democratic Society, asked a court in Seoul to release

the women from a tightly guarded government facility south of the city where they have been kept since their arrival so they could speak for themselves.

The group accused the National Intelligence Service of blocking the women's access to legal services and their right to speak freely about their trip to the South. Lawyers for the group presented the court with a power of attorney, which they said they had obtained from the women's North Korean families.

The government has denied the lawyers access to the women, saying that the defectors do not want their services. It has also said that if the women appeared in court and testified that they had abandoned North Korea of their own accord, that would prompt the North to persecute their relatives in retaliation. During interviews with journalists, defectors often insist on anonymity because of fears for their families.

The closed-door court hearing on Tuesday ended in limbo, however, as the women did not show up.

The human rights lawyers asked that the case be transferred to another judge, complaining that the presiding justice, Lee Young-je, had not tried to summon the women again.

"We didn't think the court was trying the case fairly, and we don't think it will," one lawyer, Chae Hee-joon, told reporters after the hearing.

By law, the National Intelligence Service can keep North Koreans who flee to the South at the secluded facility outside

Seoul for as long as six months for debriefing and to try to ferret out spies. Human rights researchers and opposition lawmakers have quoted some former inmates as saying they were subjected to abusive language, violence and threats of deportation while they were held there.

The agency has responded that it honors all inmates' human rights.

But three years ago, events inside the facility, once called the Joint Interrogation Center, became the focal point of a scandal that eventually led to the resignation of the government's intelligence chief. In 2013, a court threw out a spy charge that the intelligence agency had built against a refugee from North Korea based on a confession by the defector's sister that had later been recanted.

Thousands of North Koreans have defected to South Korea in recent years, but the women's defection as a group was highly unusual.

A typical defector takes weeks or months to flee to the South, often traveling through the jungles of Southeast Asia with the assistance of human traffickers. By contrast, the waitresses arrived in Seoul the day after they fled their restaurant in China. Their former colleagues in North Korea claimed that the male manager had conspired with the South Korean authorities and had taken the women to the South after telling them that they were being relocated to a restaurant in Southeast Asia.

South Korea has denied any improper role in the women's defection.

projects handled by foreign governments and international aid groups.

- An article on Tuesday about allegations of conflict between Airbnb's vow to eliminate bias in bookings and its policy of barring class actions by customers misidentified, in some editions, the university at which Jamila Jefferson-Jones, a law professor who commented on the issue, teaches. It is the University of Missouri, Kansas City — not Barry University School of Law.

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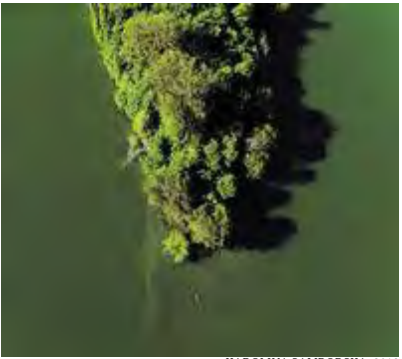


RICHARD NATHANSON, LONDON/ADAGP, PARIS 2016

Clockwise from above: “La Varenne Saint-Hilaire, La Barque (The Rowboat), 1913,” by Albert Marquet; a photograph from the Pavillon de l’Arsenal exhibition of a detail of an island; the Villennes beach on Île du Platais; a waterslide on Île du Platais. Below left, a lithograph from around 1850 by Jules Arnout, showing Paris as seen from a balloon above Île Saint-Louis.



COLL. DAVID LORENTÉ



KAROLINA SAMBORSKA, 2016

A river’s tales: Isles of the Seine

PARIS

Exhibition in Paris traces a storied waterway’s past and present

BY ELAINE SCIOLINO

After record rainfall and near-historic flooding this spring, life along the Seine is returning to normal. Tourist boats are again cruising the river. The Louvre and the Musée d’Orsay have reopened. Riverside restaurants and nightclubs are back in business.

So this is a moment for Paris to celebrate the charms and secrets of the slow-moving waterway that both divides and unites the city.

On the same day early this month that the Seine rose to its highest level in Par-

those islands. They form a scattered archipelago of industry, culture, habitation and recreation that has been documented by artists like Monet and Van Gogh and by novelists like Zola and Flaubert.

“The islands are like a pearl necklace of nature decorating the river,” said Milena Charbit, an architect who is the curator of the exhibit, which stemmed from her master’s thesis. “Each pearl has its own life, its own identity. There are islands of imagination that never existed and islands that are no more.”

The two most famous — Île de la Cité and the smaller Île Saint-Louis — are in the center of Paris, where the city originated in ancient times.

Île Saint-Louis would become one of the first examples of urban planning in France, with elegant townhouses and mansions built in the 17th century. In a nod to modernity, some looked outward toward the Seine, rather than inward toward courtyards and interior streets.

Most of the old neighborhoods on Île de la Cité were demolished by Baron Haussmann, the 19th-century prefect of the Seine department, as part of his rebuilding of Paris in the name of progress. He expropriated and razed medieval houses to build a new headquarters for the Paris Guard and the Fire Brigade, a massive structure still occupied by the Paris police. (Thankfully, the Cathedral of Notre-Dame and the Conciergerie were not on his list.)

On the southwest edge of Paris is Île Seguin, home for most of the 20th century to the automaker Renault, which built what would become the largest factory in France there, with 30,000 employees. (During World War II, it produced trucks for the occupying Germans and was the target of allied bombings.)

The factory was closed in 1992, and its buildings razed in 2004 and 2005 following extensive soil decontamination and asbestos removal. The French architect Jean Nouvel is directing a sustainable development project for the island that will include offices, shops, transportation and recreational activities, and will feature green roofs and the reuse of rainwater.

Île de la Grande Jatte to the west of Paris was the subject of Georges Seurat’s pointillist masterpiece “A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte.” The painting was the inspiration for the Sondheim musical “Sunday in the Park with George;” Sesame Street and The Simpsons have parodied it; Playboy once featured a version of the painting on its cover.

SEINE, PAGE 11



WIKIMÉDIA COMMONS

is (20 feet above normal), an exhibition on the river’s islands opened at the Pavillon de l’Arsenal on the Right Bank.

The show, which runs until Oct. 2 in this small architectural center, may be low-tech — no interactive experiences, no multilingual audio guides — but it is overflowing with stories.

Centuries ago, more than 300 islands dotted the 482-mile-long Seine, from its sources on an obscure plain in northeast Burgundy to its terminus on the Normandy coast. Because of human intervention and the forces of nature, only 117 survive.

“Islands of the Seine” features 32 of

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CULTURE ART MUSIC

A plan to spread Dada worldwide, revisited

BY JASON FARAGO

It's 1920. The Great War is over; revolution has come to Russia; a new German constitution has been adopted in Weimar. Tristan Tzara, the Romanian poet and gadfly who waited out the war in Switzerland, has moved to Paris. He is just 24, but he was at the core of Dada,

ART REVIEW

the previous decade's most eruptive cultural phenomenon — and he is in the mood for publicity. He sends letters to people on both sides of the Atlantic seeking artistic contributions to a magnum opus for the anti-movement that turned the senselessness of world war into something convulsive.

Tzara receives more than four dozen replies. The artists all submit images and texts for “Dadaglobe,” an anthology he plans to distribute worldwide in a hefty edition of 10,000 copies. The publication, so he imagines, will be as disruptive as Dada was when it burst out of a cabaret in sleepy Zurich in 1916. “There needs to be throughout a whirling, dizzy, eternal, new atmosphere,” the poet insists. “It should look like a great display of new art in an open-air circus. Every page must explode.”

“Dadaglobe,” though, was never published. Francis Picabia, its main backer, broke with Tzara in 1921, and the materials were dispersed. The plans, the ambitions and the unrealized potential of that publication are the subject of “Dadaglobe Reconstructed,” a rigorous yet sparky exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, which brings together the portraits, drawings and collages Tzara commissioned for “Dadaglobe,” plus a few paintings and sculptures by some of its leading adherents and sympathizers: Marcel Duchamp, Sophie Taeuber-Arp and Constantin Brancusi.

Enjoyable as the exhibition is — the photographs, correspondence and publishing ephemera will be catnip to Dada freaks and magazine geeks — its catalog may be the more important accomplishment. Assiduously edited by the independent curator Adrian Sudhalter, it features a full reconstruction of this magazine that never was, full of puns, poems and Duchamp's chess notations, assembled with diligence and guesswork over 160 pages. It's a substantial contribution to the history of interwar art, although you will need a mastery of French, German and Dada gibberish to read it. The show has been organized by Ms. Sudhalter and Samantha Friedman, a MoMA assistant curator, in collabora-

tion with the Kunsthau Zurich, where it appeared this spring. (“Dadaglobe Reconstructed” is the smaller of two collaborations between MoMA and Kunsthau Zurich, which has one of the world's richest Dada holdings. A major retrospective of Picabia opened this month in Zurich — to good reviews from Swiss critics — and opens at MoMA on Nov. 20.

In his solicitation letters, written on ritzy, pseudo-corporate Dada stationery, Tzara instructed his fellow artists to provide two or three reproductions of their work, to be presented alongside drawings, a book page with text and photographs of themselves. “which you can alter freely, although it should retain clarity.” The contributors, some of whom were only tangentially Dadaist, went wild with that last instruction. Theo van Doesburg pictured himself from behind, encircled his head with the high-Dada motto “I am against everything and everyone,” in French, and signed it with a pseudonym. Taeuber-Arp appears in a cloche hat and birdcage veil, half-obscured by one of her abstracted wooden busts. Picabia's chosen portrait (a recent MoMA acquisition) is a study in hipster prodigality: a roughly sutured photocollage in which Picabia, a wealthy French-Cuban, tears his own face and captions himself as a nouveau-riche failure.



2016 FRANCIS PICABIA, ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK/ADAGP, PARIS
Francis Picabia's “Rastadada Painting,” from 1920, in “Dadaglobe Reconstructed.”

There are also a few documentary photos mixed into the show. At one knees-up party, we see Tzara with Picabia and other fellow travelers wearing black tie, the word “Dada” scrawled across his forehead.

The focus on Tzara's unrealized publication makes “Dadaglobe Reconstructed” quite a different show from MoMA's 2006 Dada blowout, which divided the movement's experiments and impostures by city: Zurich, Berlin, Cologne, Hannover, New York and Paris. This one treats Dada — specifically

later Dada, from the end of the war to its evaporation in the early 1920s — as an international network, linked by the mail and photomechanical reproduction. That networked approach ends up sidelining some of Dada's lone wolves, such as Kurt Schwitters, and revalorizing less famous figures center to Dada's development. Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes, designated Dada's secretary on its letterhead, contributed spare drawings of circles, crosses and curves given mock-hieratic names like



2016 SOPHIE TAEUBER, ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK/VG BILD-KUNST, BONN, GALERIE BERNINSON, BERLIN, NIC ALUF



2016 THEO VAN DOESBURG, ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK/VG BILD-KUNST, BONN

Top, Nic Aluf's “Portrait of Sophie Taeuber With Her Dada Head” (1920). Above, Theo van Doesburg's “Portrait of I.K. Bonset: I Am Against Everything and Everyone” (1921).

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PEOPLE

☛ For **DWEEZIL ZAPPA**, one name change was not enough. In April, Mr. Zappa, a guitarist and one of the four children of the rock composer **FRANK ZAPPA**, changed the name of his project Zappa Plays Zappa — a tribute to his father's music — to Dweezil Zappa Plays Frank Zappa. Clunky, perhaps, but he said it was necessary to avoid legal conflict with his brother, **AHMET**, who controls the Zappa intellectual property through a trust. Now, after another legal tussle between the brothers, Dweezil is rechristening the show. His tour, starting July 1 in El Prado, N.M.,



DWEEZIL ZAPPA, MOON ZAPPA

will be called “50 Years of Frank: Dweezil Zappa Plays Whatever the Heck He Wants — The Cease and Desist Tour.” (Instead of “heck,” the tour uses a vulgarity.) The brothers, once musical partners, have clashed since the death of their mother, **GAIL**, last year. The Zappa Family Trust has two trustees, Ahmet and **DIVA ZAPPA**; Dweezil and his sister **MOON** are beneficiaries. Frank Zappa died in 1993.

☛ Hasbro has proven to be an asset to Hollywood, thanks to the success of the “Transformers” franchise, which has grossed well over \$3 billion worldwide. The American toy company now has its sights set on Broadway, with a musical based on the game Monopoly, The Guardian reported. The stage adaptation of the popular board game is to be the first of many for Hasbro, according to Variety.

PHOTOGRAPHS: AFP

The Cure revels in its contradictions and history

Post-punk band wails through decades of songs of joy and cynicism

BY BEN RATLIFF

They work hard for it, Robert Smith & Company. You understand Dolly Parton's show business dictum, “It takes a lot of money to look this cheap”? Then you understand the generative contradictions of the Cure: It must take a lot

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of optimism to look that disenchanted. But in a certain corner of the band's work, the opposite holds true, too: It has to take a lot of disenchantment to look that optimistic. And from there you can spin out other noun-adjective combinations, which similarly work in forward or reverse: confidence/shaky. Centrality/marginal. Generosity/self-absorbed. Forethought/nostalgic. Hardness/tender. Severity/sweet.

By “look” I don't only mean physical image, and I'm not only talking about Mr. Smith, whose appearance on Saturday night at Madison Square Garden, in the first of his band's three-night run there, was the same as usual: loose black clothes, Struwwelpeter hair, black eye shadow and eyeliner, red lipstick that covered slightly more than the area of his lips. I mean visuals, sound and cultural meaning as one integrated and basically globalized post-punk thing — unwavering and with remarkably little grandstanding, for nearly three hours.

The live sound of the band amounted to an atmosphere: Simon Gallup's rugged, grip-tape bass lines, high up in the mix; the pallid beams of Roger O'Donnell's keyboard melodies; Mr. Smith's vocal wail and bright, watery guitar tone; the drummer Jason Cooper's thump at medium tempos; the



Robert Smith, with Simon Gallup on bass, at the Cure's show on Saturday at Madison Square Garden.

extra layer of echo, viscosity and whoosh from the lead guitarist, Reeves Gabrels. The atmosphere suggested nearly every black-walled, beer-sticky alternative-rock club I've been in since the late '80s, places of joy and cynicism. In retrospect, those places seem built for, or by, the Cure.

Mr. Smith spent almost no time on chat and platitudes, swapped out his own guitars rather than wait for roadies and tuned up at least once on his own. There were background screen visuals for very few of the 32 songs, and

A lot of Cure songs are either simple and short or comfortably repetitive.

the stage-camera work was negligible: mostly fixed in place and far away from Mr. Smith. It really was a club show writ large. Maybe it takes a strong club band to be a strong arena band.

A lot of Cure songs are either simple and short or comfortably repetitive in their middle sections when they push to-

ward 10 minutes; not a lot of new strains, key changes and dynamics. But they are constructed with an almost classical sense of proportion and impact, and performed for even more: About two-thirds of the way through “Prayers for Rain,” Mr. Smith drew out a note near the top of his voice to drive home the last word of the title. The rest of the song was about coming down from that moment.

These songs become a disposition; you settle into them, and they keep coming. One source, setlist.fm, has tabulated that the band has played 79

songs so far on its current tour, which is a great amount for an old rock band. (The Cure began recording in 1978 and hasn't stopped since, despite lineup changes.) The number may keep growing. Mr. Gabrels, in an interview last year, said that the band kept 97 active songs in its touring pool.

Saturday's show had four sets of encores, and after the first three, Mr. Smith put his hand up on his clavicle, seemingly not so much as a stagy gesture of being overwhelmed, but as you might do reflexively to collect your thoughts when you've got a lot on your plate; he looked away from the audience and briskly walked off. After the fourth, he acknowledged us, modestly but with intent.

The songs here traced back 37 years — “Boys Don't Cry” the oldest, “Pornography” the most transfixing, and the fourth set of encores, including “The Perfect Girl” and “Close to Me” the most joyous. In that span were a lot of different styles, telegraphed more through the songs' outer layers than their cores. Which is to say it was often Mr. Gabrels's job to signal the aesthetics of 1981, or 1992 or 2008. Mr. Smith's cry could remain constant.

But there was a taut discipline here that made all that music cohere into one long project. Part of it has to do with the fact that Mr. Smith is adding new songs to the set, and they're good ones. One of Saturday's was “It Can Never Be the Same,” the beginning of the first encore, after “Disintegration,” steady and glum. (“That pit that we fell down,” Mr. Smith explained, “we're staying there for a while, till we climb out.”) And the new song — its title rendered in big letters on his guitar — was grand, slow, fuzzy, swirly: of a piece with what had gone before.

It seemed to be about dealing with the death of someone close; it moved from optimism to pessimism, from “it's not like there won't be another one” to “there won't be another one.”