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Teenagers from Egypt swell exodus to Europe

BORG MIGHEIZIL, EGYPT

Often at parents' urging, growing numbers chase risky dream of better life

BY DECLAN WALSH

In Borg Migheizil, a raggedy fishing village on Egypt's north coast, where the mighty Nile pours silently into the sea, restless teenage boys are plotting their escape, lured by illusory dreams of prosperity and glamour.

One 15-year-old said that five of his friends had already made it to Italy, having survived perilous sea journeys that started, in the hush of night, on a nearby beach. Some had worked for the smugglers, piloting boats filled with paying migrants in exchange for free passage. Others had paid their way.

All of them had sent home, on Facebook, envy-inducing photographs and bravura accounts of new lives: money, girls, flashy new sneakers. The 15-year-old, Ashraf, who asked not to be identified because his father worked for the local government, said he wanted that, too. He said he would soon be leaving.

A sudden surge in the number of Egyptian teenagers fleeing to Europe, most headed for Italy, has added to the human exodus across the Mediterranean from the beaches of North Africa. At least 1,150 unaccompanied Egyptian minors landed in Italy in the first five months of this year, compared with 94 over the same period in 2015, according to the Italian Interior Ministry.

Experts are struggling to understand what lies behind the soaring figures. Unlike other migrant countries, Egypt does not suffer a raging civil war or debilitating poverty. Instead, they point to a cocktail of factors: a stalling local economy, permissive Italian laws that indirectly encourage child migration, a proliferation of smuggling networks, and the El Dorado-like example of other Egyptian teenagers who have made it.

Whatever the reasons, teenage boys account for a growing and unusually high proportion of migrants from Egypt — about two-thirds in 2015, up from about a quarter in 2011. Some villages are being emptied of their young boys, sometimes at the behest of their parents.

Mohamed, a shy 12-year-old with plump cheeks and a still-childish voice, EGYPT, PAGE 4



In or out? As weeks of often-divisive campaigning drew to a close, both sides of the "Brexit" debate on Britain's continued membership in the European Union made their case in London this month. More photographs on Page 5 and at nytimes.com.

Leaving E.U. would upend nation, but not overnight

LONDON

With no exit blueprint, working out the details could drag on for years

BY STEPHEN CASTLE

If Britain wakes up on Friday morning to the news that it has voted itself out of the European Union, about the only thing that everyone is sure to agree on is that the nation faces a protracted political and legal mess.

For all the drama the moment would bring, there would be no instant change. European Union citizens could still come to Britain to live and work without a visa. Trade with the single market would continue unimpeded. Brussels would continue to regulate bananas.

Instead, the process of decoupling would officially begin only when the British government chose to invoke a previously unused provision of the bloc's governing treaty, known as Article 50, that sets out the basics of the withdrawal process.

The most critical element of Article 50 is that, once invoked, it sets a two-year deadline for a negotiated departure. Beyond that, no one really knows how the process would work, since no country has ever left the European Union.

Moreover, it is up to the British government when to invoke Article 50, and it is not entirely clear whether Prime Minister David Cameron, who has led the campaign to stay, would stick to his stated plan to invoke it immediately if the country voted to leave.

In legal terms, the British government is not even bound by the result of Thursday's referendum, which is generally considered a tossup at this point. In a report for the Constitution Society, Richard Gordon and Rowena Moffatt said that "the government could, in strict law, choose to ignore it."

A strong majority in Parliament — including the majority of the governing Conservatives in the House of Commons and nearly all of the Labour Party — is also opposed to leaving the bloc, though Parliament would probably not get a direct vote on whether or when to invoke Article 50.

Politically, however, it would be almost impossible to overlook the first plebiscite on Britain's place in Europe in 41 years. "Given the constitutional significance of the issue at stake," the report's authors say, "it is inconceivable that the government could choose not to be bound by the result."

In fact, one of the few certainties about a vote in favor of Britain's leaving the European Union, known as Brexit, is that initially, at least, it would plunge capitals on both sides of the Channel, but in Britain in particular, into complex negotiations and political jockeying that could last for years.

Despite Mr. Cameron's plans to invoke Article 50 swiftly after the vote, he would face pressure to delay starting the two-year clock from those in his party who favor leaving.

His thinking is that before starting the clock, Britain should start informal

In Britain, a last-gasp effort to win over voters

LONDON

Both sides of campaign scramble as polls show dead heat over 'Brexit'

BY STEPHEN CASTLE AND SEWELL CHAN

Politicians campaigning for and against Britain's withdrawal from the European Union fanned out on Wednesday in a final, frenetic effort to build support on the eve of a referendum that could reshape the nation's place in the world and upend the Continent's dreams of closer integration.

With polls showing a statistical dead heat, both sides went all out to motivate their supporters to vote on Thursday, while financial markets and European leaders braced for the possibility that Britain could be the first nation to leave the 28-member bloc. Reflecting the stakes and the tension about the outcome, the tone of the campaigning remained negative to the end, complete with invocations of economic ruin and an allusion to the Nazis.

Voters will be asked a single, simple question in the referendum: "Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?"

A record number of voters — just shy of 46.5 million — have registered to take part. Polls will be open from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. The country's Electoral Commission said it anticipated a result on Friday.

BRITAIN, PAGE 5



ANDREW YATES/REUTERS



SCOTT HEPPPELL/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

At rallies on Wednesday in England: David Cameron, top, and Boris Johnson.

IN REFERENDUM, SOME SURE WINNERS As Britons go to the polls, bookmakers are anticipating record-setting gambling on the outcome. PAGE 15

ONLINE: THE 'BREXIT' VOTE

Find more news and analysis of the referendum in Britain, plus a live blog, as voting unfolds Thursday, at nytimes.com.

Cancers are discovered to be contagious among clams

Transmissibility appears to be a bit less rare than scientists thought before

BY CARL ZIMMER

The ocean contains a vast number of living things, including many, many pathogens — from bacteria that thrive on coral to fungi that infect lobsters. A drop of seawater may hold 10 million viruses.

Recently, a team of scientists revealed a frightening member of this menagerie: free-floating cancer cells that cause contagious tumors in shellfish. Last year, they found one such cancer in a species of clam. On Wednesday, they reported that three more species were plagued with contagious cancers.

The cancers are specific to shellfish and do not appear to pose a danger to humans who eat them. But until now, infectious cancer was considered something of a fluke in the natural world, initially observed only in dogs and Tasmanian devils.

The latest research has made scientists wonder whether infectious tumors are actually more widespread.

"We were always thinking there would be more contagious cancer out there, but we didn't know where they would be discovered," said Elizabeth P. Murchison, a cancer biologist at the University of Cambridge, who was not involved in the new study.

In the traditional view of cancer,

mutations strike a cell. These mutations have several causes, including toxins and viruses.

However they arise, they drive a cell to multiply uncontrollably until the cancer either is wiped out by the immune system or kills its victim. Either way, the cancer stays inside the body where it started.

A decade ago, scientists discovered two exceptions. In the 1990s, Tasmanian devils in Australia began developing

INSIDE TODAY'S PAPER

Self-defense drives gun sales

The popularity of assault rifles and small handguns highlights how the industry has changed as people have increasingly turned to guns for self-defense and less for hunting. BUSINESS, 14

Convention cities brace for protests

Cleveland, for the Republicans, has imposed strict rules while Philadelphia, for the Democrats, plans to give rallies more leeway. WORLD NEWS, 3

Qatari group buys Balmain

The sale to a private investment group linked to Qatar's royal family will fund the expansion of the Paris fashion house's accessories line. BUSINESS, 16

Europe's two-tiered refugee policy

European Union policies tend to favor Arab lives over African lives, and the results are deadly, Charlotte McDonald-Gibson writes. OPINION, 6



MONEY TALK Donald J. Trump in Texas last week for fund-raising. He has hinted that he might tap his personal fortune "if need be" to be competitive in November. WORLD NEWS, 3

ONLINE AT INYT.COM

The prosecutor and the president

The International Criminal Court embodied the hope of bringing warlords and demagogues to justice. Then Luis Moreno-Ocampo took on the heir to Kenya's most powerful political dynasty. nytimes.com/magazine

Porchetta, Italy's ancient pig roast

The dish, which Umbrians fiercely claim as their own, combines tender meat, lush fat and crunchy cracklings in a single bite. nytimes.com/food

The 'radical queer underground'

Inside Sugarland, Quito Ziegler found a place to tell the stories and honor the lives of queer and trans people who dance, resist and love. nytimes.com/lens

How to burn calories at work

Engaging frequently in one type of activity while at work may help many of us avoid weight gain. But that activity is not standing up. nytimes.com/well

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CURRENCIES NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY 12:30PM

	NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY 12:30PM	PREVIOUS
▲ Euro	€1= \$1.1280	\$1.1240
▲ Pound	£1= \$1.4670	\$1.4640
▲ Yen	¥1= ¥104.550	¥104.730
▲ S. Franc	₣1= SF0.9580	SF0.9620

Full currency rates Page 17

STOCK INDEXES WEDNESDAY

▲ The Dow 12:30pm	17,854.08	+0.14%
▲ FTSE 100 close	6,261.19	+0.56%
▼ Nikkei 225 close	16,065.72	-0.64%

OIL NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY 12:30PM
▲ Light sweet crude \$49.12 +\$0.79

Dior

La Mini D de Dior Satine
Pink gold and diamonds

PAGE TWO

IN YOUR WORDS

On that fateful flight with Prince

How many more icons, friends and family are we going to lose to overdose? Prescription drugs kill more people than any street drug. The current D.E.A. drug schedule is out of date and grossly misappropriates both prescription and street drugs, giving a very misleading impression of just how dangerous or safe something can be.

YY, MICHIGAN

Prince died of complications of chronic pain. Let's stop mislabeling his demise as due to drug addiction (also a serious health care problem deserving of caring treatment, but this didn't appear to be Prince's problem). All human bodies become physiologically dependent on opiates over time, and so more of the drug is needed to garner the same numbing effect. Worse, research shows that when people taper off opiates, the body is hypersensitive to sensation for up to three months.

SUZANNE, MINNESOTA

The story is thousands of old people with "legitimate" pain that are taking 40 Dilaudid a day and selling 40 more so they can spend 23 hours a day watching TV in some mobile home. It's a horrible, sad and deadly epidemic.

JACQUELINE, COLORADO

Coming out as gay after Orlando

If Omar Mateen was indeed gay, and loathed himself and all others like him, the tragedy in Orlando should be placed squarely on the shoulders of those — politicians, parents, pastors — who made him hate himself in the first place.

MICHAEL, MICHIGAN

Don't let some religion or cultural attitude define who you are as a person. Be yourself, and you will find love and a new family if need be.

DSM, WESTFIELD

See what readers are talking about and leave your own comments at inyt.com.

IN OUR PAGES

International Herald Tribune

1891 Social Life in the Capital

WASHINGTON D.C. Although drawn blinds and closed front doors confront you at every turn, many of Washington's society queens are not gone yet. Neither are their admirers. I find the Bar Harbor contingent is all here and having a lively time of it, pending the transfer of its Lares and Penates to that northern city by the sea. It is the fashion now-a-days to eat your dinner anywhere else but at home; so that the country clubs, roadside inns, and the various easily reached river resorts have very swell companies every afternoon — provided, of course, it does not rain.

1941 Italy at War With Russia

ROME Italy declared war on Soviet Russia today [June 22]. An official announcement that the Fascist regime once again had followed faithfully in the footsteps of its northern Axis partner was made to the public by radio at 1 p.m. and a few minutes later the following communiqué was handed to the foreign press: "The Italian government has informed the Soviet Ambassador that from 5.30 a.m. of June 22 Italy considers herself in a state of war against the Union of Russian Soviet States."

Find a retrospective of news from 1887 to 2013 at iht-retrospective.blogs.nytimes.com.



A diner at Haji Hussein last week waiting to begin iftar, the evening meal to break the day's fast during Ramadan, as news footage of the battle for Falluja played on the television.

BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kebab, heavy on nostalgia

BAGHDAD

Storied Falluja restaurant brings its fans together at new home in Baghdad

BY TIM ARANGO

Long before Falluja was known the world over for deadly jihadists, it was known all over Iraq for its kebab — fatty lamb, ground and mixed with onion, grilled on a skewer over an open fire and served with a pinch of sumac — at a

BAGHDAD JOURNAL

joint called Haji Hussein.

Everyone, it seemed, ate at Haji Hussein: locals, soldiers, tourists and businessmen traveling the Baghdad-to-Amman highway that runs through the city. Starting in 2003, journalists covering the war ate there, and so did American soldiers and the insurgents who fought them, perhaps even at the same time.

The restaurant was damaged by bombs multiple times, and entirely flattened once by an American airstrike. It was rebuilt, embraced as a symbol of Falluja's own rebirth after years of war, only to be abandoned when the city fell to the Islamic State more than two years ago.

Now the much-loved kebab restaurant has been reborn again, this time in Baghdad, in a modern, three-story building in the upscale Mansour neighborhood.

A new entrant on the capital's thriving restaurant scene, it offers great kebab and a dose of nostalgia for a time when Baghdadis thought nothing of zipping off to Falluja for lunch at Haji Hussein.

"This was the craft of my grandfather," said Mohammed Hussein, who runs the business that has been in his family since the 1930s, when Falluja was a city

of agriculture, smuggling and tribal traditions, not a jihadist haven.

The restaurant, shiny and well lit, is packed most nights, and patrons wait for tables — 15 to 20 minutes or so, something almost unheard-of in Iraq. There are two flat-screen televisions on the first floor, tuned to news channels reporting on the military campaign to retake Falluja from the Islamic State.

"I can't bear to watch the news," Mr. Hussein said.

There was one news flash recently that did not escape his notice: The Iraqi Air Force, like the Americans 12 years ago, announced that it had struck his restaurant site in Falluja because leaders with the Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL, were meeting there.

A statement from Iraq's Joint Operation Command appeared on the television: "Based on intelligence information about a meeting for ISIS leaders in Haji Hussein restaurant inside the center of Falluja an airstrike was launched on the restaurant, which led to the killing of tens of ISIS terrorists."

But the restaurant, Mr. Hussein said, has been deserted for two and a half years.

When Iraqi forces recently made gains inside Falluja, people almost immediately began talking about Haji Hussein. The federal police released a combat video saying they were fighting near the restaurant, and a glimpse of the rust-colored facade showed it damaged but not destroyed. On state television, commentators expressed hope that Haji Hussein might reopen soon in Falluja.

In 2004, the Americans bombed the restaurant based on intelligence that insurgents loyal to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the founder of Al Qaeda in Iraq, the forerunner of the Islamic State, were eating there.

This being the holy month of Ramadan, the Baghdad restaurant has been

busy lately serving iftar, the evening meal to break the day's fast. The parking lot is also a beehive of activity: a security guard checking cars for bombs; a man selling balloons to families; children begging.

As Mr. Hussein, 49, sat down to chat one recent evening, he was surrounded by bow-tied waiters — much of the staff from Falluja now works in the new place — filling the tables with dishes of mezze, or appetizers, as diners waited to break their fast.

In addition to heaping platters of the famous kebab, there were dates coated with sesame paste, watermelon, hummus, cucumber and tomato salad, pickles and soup. There were some new items on the menu that were not served in Falluja: grilled river carp, called masgoof; a Yemeni chicken-and-rice meal called mandi; and makloubah, a dish of chicken and eggplant and rice that is originally Palestinian.

As customers streamed in, Mr. Hussein tried to recall how many times his restaurant in Falluja had been damaged or destroyed by the war.

"Too many to count," he said.

At times, he said, he would have to call a local windowpane salesman once or twice a week. "It was a funny joke," he said. "I'd call and he'd say, 'Which size?' He would have all the sizes for my windows on hand, ready."

He said peace would not be easy in Falluja, even after liberation from the Islamic State, without political compromises between the Shiite-led government in Baghdad and the Sunni community. Speaking of the people of Falluja, he said, "There were reasons they joined ISIS — oppression, random arrests."

At least in his restaurant, Iraq does not seem hopelessly divided by sect. Sunnis and Shiites break their fast at slightly different times, and as sundown approached, one of the televisions was tuned to a Sunni channel, the other to

Iraqiya, the channel of the Shiite-led government.

When the call to prayer — the signal that the day's fast was over — went out on one, the Sunnis began eating. Fifteen minutes or so later, the Shiite customers began eating.

Anas al-Sarraf, who is perhaps Baghdad's only restaurant critic, has praised Haji Hussein on his widely followed Baghdad Restaurant Guide on Facebook, for its kebab, cleanliness and service.

One Iraqi exile, pining for home, posted a comment on Mr. Sarraf's site: "I have been out of Iraq for 13 years, and there is no Iraqi food or Iraqi kebab like Haji Hussein. Inshallah, I will come back one day to eat at Haji Hussein in Falluja and in Baghdad."

In the kitchen, Mr. Hussein's nephew, Marwan Mohammed, was working the grill. Now 26, he has been working in the family business since he was 8, washing the skewers.

Mr. Mohammed said the secret to his kebab is fresh lamb, as opposed to low-quality imported meats that he said many Iraqi restaurants use. The family still raises its own sheep in a government-held area near Falluja, and usually serves the kebab on the same day the sheep is slaughtered, or the next day.

"We only feed them grass and special food," he said. "We never let them go out in the open and eat garbage."

Mr. Hussein's fortune may now be in Baghdad, but his heart is in Falluja.

His hometown, he said, "is like a sacred place for me." He added, "My heart beats faster when Falluja comes to my mind."

He began to cry as he described what Falluja used to be.

"Simple people," he said. "It was a tribal society. We've never even had a hotel. There was hospitality for everyone. All homes were hotels for visitors."

Omar Al-Jawshy contributed reporting.

Taking on lawmakers, and losing

Letter From America

SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

WASHINGTON They are members of the Club Nobody Wants to Be a Part Of. And their numbers are growing.

With every mass shooting in America, a somber scene replays itself here. Victims' families and survivors of massacres — Columbine, Virginia Tech, Aurora, Tucson, Sandy Hook, Charleston, San Bernardino — traipse up to Capitol Hill. They knock on lawmakers' doors, attend news conferences and bear witness to Senate votes on gun measures that almost never pass.

So there was a sense of déjà vu in Washington on Monday as the Senate rejected four gun safety measures one week after the Pulse nightclub massacre, which killed 49, in Orlando, Fla.

Erica Lafferty Smegielski, 30, whose mother was the principal killed in the 2012 Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting in Connecticut, spent the day wandering the corridors of Congress with Colin Goddard, also 30, whose body still holds three bullets fired by the gunman at Virginia Tech in 2007.

They stopped for a quick bite in a cafeteria, and ran into Patricia Maisch, 67, who, in 2011, was waiting in Tucson to have a picture taken with her congresswoman, Gabrielle Giffords, and helped end

the massacre by grabbing the gunman's ammunition clip. They all hugged.

"It's like, every time we come together for something like this, there is someone new we are introduced to for the first time, and we know the road that's ahead of them," Ms. Smegielski said.

A tattoo honoring her mother is on her right arm.

She looked at Mr. Goddard, to her right; both work for Everytown for Gun Safety, an advocacy organization backed by Michael R. Bloomberg, the former New York mayor.

"Just like you were there for me three years ago," she told him. "And now, I'm somebody's Colin."

Mrs. Maisch had cut short a family reunion in St. Louis to be here for the vote. In 2013, when the Senate voted against gun safety measures that President Obama pushed for after the Sandy Hook shooting, she stood up in the Senate gallery, looked down at the lawmakers and shouted, "Shame on you!" She was escorted out by the police and detained for two hours.

Gun safety advocates said they were not aware of any survivors or relatives from Orlando here; it was simply too soon, they said. Lori Haas, whose daughter was badly injured at Virginia Tech, and who is now the Virginia state director of the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, was in Orlando with family members on Monday.

"This is like a very, very, very bad Groundhog Day movie," she said in a telephone interview from the offices of Equality Florida, a gay rights advocacy group.

Her presence there suggested a possible change after the rampage at Pulse, a gay nightclub. Leaders of the gay rights movement, which is well organized and well funded, are now putting their muscle behind gun safety.

Dan Gross, president of the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence, said gun safety advocates hoped to pattern their efforts after the campaign to legalize same-sex marriage. If they cannot win in Washington, they will try to win in the states. They cite some progress: Since the Sandy Hook shooting, 42 states have passed some sort of gun safety legislation, according to the Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence.

"There's a moment for every great issue and every great movement — usually in hindsight — that when you look back and say, 'That's when things started to change,'" he said. "And for the issue of gun violence, that moment is now."

As senators voted on Monday, advocates with the Brady campaign sat in the gallery wearing orange T-shirts with the slogan #Enough Gun Violence. Afterward, Ms. Smegielski dabbed tears from her eyes. Mrs. Maisch said she was not surprised.

Tina Meins, whose father was killed in San Bernardino, watched the vote from afar; she had been here last week to attend a news conference with Senator Christopher S. Murphy, a Connecticut Democrat who held a 15-hour filibuster intended to force his colleagues to take up the issue of guns.

She, like the others, expected the measures to fail. The life of a gun safety advocate, she said, can be "extremely frustrating." And the club is growing. "In San Bernardino, we had 14 families," Ms. Meins said. "Now we have 49."

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Victor Stanculescu, 88, Romanian rebel

BY SAM ROBERTS

Victor Stanculescu, an agile former Romanian general who arranged the escape of the Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu in 1989, then joined the insurgent government and engineered Mr. Ceausescu's trial and execution three

OBITUARY

days later, died on Sunday in Saitica, Romania. He was 88.

His death was announced by his lawyer, Catalin Dancu.

General Stanculescu (pronounced stahn-kul-ESS-ko) was first deputy defense minister when he was dispatched by Mr. Ceausescu to Timisoara, in western Romania, to suppress a pro-democracy protest. But after ordering security forces to fire on unarmed dissidents on Dec. 17, 1989, Mr. Ceausescu, the country's last Communist leader and its brutally Stalinist head of state for two decades, lost control of his army as the revolt spread. Nearly 100 civilians were killed in Timisoara alone.

Sniffing Mr. Ceausescu's defeat, General Stanculescu returned to the capital, Bucharest, where he faked a broken leg to avoid further counterrevolutionary deployment. Promoted to defense min-

ister after the incumbent minister killed himself, he helped Mr. Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, flee by helicopter from the roof of party headquarters.

But fearing that the copter had been spotted by radar and would be shot down, the pilot hastily landed. Mr. Ceausescu hijacked a passing car, but he and his wife were soon surrounded and arrested.

After the couple were captured, General Stanculescu organized their trial by a military court and recruited the firing squad (before the verdict, by some accounts) that executed them on Christmas Day. He then joined the new government. General Stanculescu served as minister of defense and minister of industry until 1991.

Beginning as early as 1990, a government commission recommended several times that General Stanculescu be tried for his actions in Timisoara, but he managed to elude each attempted prosecution until 2008, when he was convicted of aggravated manslaughter. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison and paroled in 2014.

He told the BBC in 2009 that he had helped the Ceausescus escape because "If we had left it to the people of Bucharest, they would have lynched them in the street." Asked if their trial and execution were just, he said, "It was

not just, but it was necessary."

Victor Atanasie Stanculescu was born on May 10, 1928, in Tecuci, Moldavia, in eastern Romania. His father, Constantin Stanculescu, was an aviation lieutenant; his mother, the former Aurora Martac, an accounting professor. His father died when he was 5.

After graduating from the Military School of Artillery in Sibiu in 1949 and the Special Artillery Officer Academy in Bucharest, he pursued an army career.

General Stanculescu's wife, Elena, with whom he had a daughter, killed herself in 2003, apparently despondent over the repeated attempts to prosecute him after his allies in the government lost power.

"The violent manner of Ceausescu's demise set Romania's experience of political change apart from that of the other East European states," Professor Dennis J. Deletant of the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service said in a lecture there in 2012.

"Whereas Ceausescu succeeded in uniting Romanians in opposition to him, his fall threw them into confusion," Professor Deletant said. "What the Romanian revolution does demonstrate is that the heroes die, the fighters go home, and opportunists make their way to the fore."

World News

UNITED STATES

Convention cities brace for protests

Cleveland sets strict rules as Philadelphia plans to give rallies more leeway

BY TRIP GABRIEL

Republicans arriving in Cleveland next month to nominate Donald J. Trump will be greeted by as many as 6,000 protesters on the first day, a noisy coalition of dozens of groups, including Black Lives Matter and the Workers World Party. The demonstrators intend to ignore restrictions keeping them far from the delegates, raising fears the violence that accompanied some of Mr. Trump's rallies will be magnified on a mass scale.

Two marches along routes the city has not authorized are planned for the convention's opening day, July 18. Organizers say they want to avoid violence. But they are also gearing up for confrontation with the police, including training in civil disobedience.

"If there are people willing to put themselves on the line to be arrested, so be it," said Deb Kline, a leader of Cleveland Jobs With Justice, one of the groups that will march.

A week later, as Democrats pour into Philadelphia, so will an army of Bernie Sanders supporters planning Occupy Wall Street-style protests against what they call the "fraudulent" nomination of Hillary Clinton. One group, Occupy DNC Convention, is circulating information about protecting oneself from tear gas by wearing a vinegar-soaked bandanna and swim goggles.

The divisive nominating contests have produced countercurrents of deep resentment in both parties. And next month, that bitterness could spill into the streets in large protests just when Republicans and Democrats — and the host cities — are trying to present images of unity to the country.

Mass demonstrations have occurred at nearly every modern political convention, perhaps none more disastrously than at the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago, where street riots contributed to Hubert H. Humphrey's loss that November.

There is no chance of that level of violence, officials in both cities insist, because modern policing has evolved to be less confrontational. Philadelphia is considering issuing \$100 summonses to marchers blocking highways or failing to disperse, rather than arresting them.

But protest organizers in Cleveland say that by imposing strict rules to contain demonstrators, the city is only increasing the likelihood that unsanctioned protests will erupt, leading to violent clashes with the police or between Trump supporters and opponents.

Protest groups say the restrictions are less for safety than to minimize their visibility, and the American Civil Liberties Union of Ohio has already sued the city over the rules, saying they violate free-speech rights.

Some protest leaders said they would ignore the restrictions and march as close as possible to the arena, which will be wrapped in a security perimeter set by the Secret Service.

"They made this plan to frustrate and aggravate people who want to demonstrate within their rights against the Republican agenda," said Thomas Burke, a leader of the Coalition to Stop Trump and March on the RNC. Expecting thousands for a protest on the convention's opening day, Mr. Burke said he would ignore the official parade route and march from Cleveland's Public Square to within "sight and sound" of the arena.

Even the organizer of a pro-Trump rally said the city's rules increased the chance of violence by confining all demonstrators to the same route.

"You stick everybody together face to face, you're going to have a problem," said Tim Selaty, organizer of a group called Citizens for Trump, which expects 5,000 to attend. "They have created a much more dangerous situation."

A spokesman for Mayor Frank G. Jackson of Cleveland defended the prescribed march route and said the police had trained for 18 months to deal with protesters.

The potential impact on Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton as they formally enter the general election is asymmetrical.

In Cleveland, Mr. Trump — who will be confronted by left-wing demonstrators, not fellow Republicans — could potentially benefit from scenes of mayhem that allow him to call for law and order and project strength, as he did recently when opponents punched his supporters and burned their "Make America Great Again" hats in California. Street chaos, if it occurs, could overshadow disunion in the convention hall as an increasing array of party leaders nervously break ranks with Mr. Trump.

Democratic leaders are worried about emerging from their convention with an unsoftened "Bernie or Bust" contingent whose protests could provide jarring split-screen images as the party seeks to rally around Mrs. Clinton.

Philadelphia is giving the protesters more leeway than Cleveland is, allowing daylong rallies of Sanders supporters in Franklin Delano Roosevelt Park facing the convention site, the Wells Fargo Center, on all four days of the convention, July 25-28. Bill Taylor, an organizer of the rallies, said he expected up to 250,000 people still angry that Mr. Sanders lost the Democratic nomination by what they believe is a rigged system.

Even as Mrs. Clinton effectively clinched the nomination by securing a majority of delegates, many Sanders supporters insist there were fraud and voter suppression. "We feel like democracy has been stolen," said Laurie Cestnick, the founder of a Facebook group called Occupy DNC Convention, which has more than 25,000 members. Her group is a hub for ride shares to Philadelphia, information about "Bernie

"If there are people willing to put themselves on the line to be arrested, so be it."

Buses" and tent camping and a friendly warning not to use BernieBNB, a house-sharing app that is already overwhelmed. Ms. Cestnick's application for a permit for up to 15,000 people to march on July 25 is pending with the city.

Mr. Taylor's group, March for Bernie at DNC, plans to demand the resignation of the Democratic Party chairwoman, Representative Debbie Wasserman Schultz of Florida; the end of the use of superdelegates, or party leaders who get nominating votes and have overwhelmingly backed Mrs. Clinton; and universal open primaries. Independents strongly favored Mr. Sanders over Mrs. Clinton, but could not vote in the many closed primaries, where only registered Democrats could participate.

If the demands are not met, Mr. Taylor warned, die-hard Sanders supporters plan to leave the Democratic Party. Polls show as many as 30 percent of Mr. Sanders's backers say they will not vote for Mrs. Clinton.



Donald J. Trump last week in Texas, where he was raising money. "If need be, there could be unlimited 'cash on hand' as I would put up my own money," he said on Tuesday.

Trump hints he may fund his race

In dire financial straits, campaign is struggling to win over big donors

BY ALEXANDER BURNS AND MAGGIE HABERMAN

In Las Vegas last week, Donald J. Trump's Nevada headquarters stood dark. A sign taped to the door declared that it had moved, with "no forwarding information available."

On a weekday morning in New Hampshire, which is expected to be another battleground state in November, a single worker hovered in Mr. Trump's main office in Manchester.

And at the hub of his national campaign in Trump Tower in Manhattan, Mr. Trump, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, has cloistered himself with a tiny group of relatives and longtime business associates, relying on a staff of about six dozen people to win over an electorate of more than 120 million.

Even as Mr. Trump dominates the campaign on cable news and social media, drawing large crowds with incendiary speeches about immigration and national security, his candidacy has faltered in the all-important test of political organization. Having swept through the primaries and caucuses with a skeletal campaign staff and a budget funded largely out of his bank account, he must compete against Hillary Clinton, his presumptive Democratic opponent, with only a shadow of the financial and political infrastructure she has amassed. In crucial states, Mr. Trump's cam-

paigned offices have withered. He has not yet put out a single television ad in the general election. He has about as much money on hand for his campaign as the Manhattan district attorney and the New York City comptroller each disclosed having in their last reports.

The situation has grown so dire for Mr. Trump that on Tuesday, he suggested that he might tap his personal fortune to keep the campaign afloat. He disclosed on Monday that his campaign finished May with little more than \$1 million in the bank. Mrs. Clinton reported having about \$42 million.

In a defiant statement, Mr. Trump said that he was just getting started as a competitor against Mrs. Clinton and that there had been a "tremendous outpouring of support" from donors since the beginning of June. But he has mused publicly in recent days about funding the race himself, and on Tuesday opened the door wider to that possibility.

"If need be, there could be unlimited 'cash on hand' as I would put up my own money, as I have already done through the primaries, spending over \$50 million," he said.

Even the stark disparity in cash on hand may understate the desperate straits in which Mr. Trump finds himself. His fund-raising, led largely by the Republican National Committee, has slowed. He canceled a fund-raiser with 90 people in Boston last week, after the shooting in Orlando, Fla.; it has been rescheduled for June 29.

Mr. Trump is to be feted at two fund-raisers in Manhattan this week, organized by Woody Johnson, the owner of the New York Jets, with one event featuring Gov. Chris Christie of New Jer-

sey. But the ticket price for that event is only \$500, a paltry sum for a presidential campaign, and only 260 people have signed up, according to a person involved in Mr. Trump's fund-raising, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the information was not intended for the public.

Charles Spies, a Republican election lawyer who advised the "super PAC" that supported Jeb Bush, said Mr. Trump would have to put in an enormous amount of his own money to jump-start his campaign and win over big donors. He suggested an appropriate figure would be \$100 million to \$200 million.

Mr. Spies said Mr. Trump should also forgive the loans he had made to his campaign, to reassure contributors that

"For donors to invest in his campaign, he's got to show that he's investing in it also. He's got to have \$500 million to run a bare-bones campaign."

he would not use their money to repay himself. Mr. Trump has already raised eyebrows among party donors by spending freely to hold campaign events at properties he owns, and for the cost of flights on his private jet.

"For donors to invest in his campaign, he's got to show that he's investing in it also," Mr. Spies said. "He's got to have \$500 million to run a bare-bones campaign, and that would mean getting outspent by Hillary Clinton and her allies, between two and three to one."

Dwight Schar, a former finance chairman of the Republican National Com-

mittee, said Mr. Trump's grim predicament came as little surprise. Mr. Trump never courted party donors during the primary season and accused them of seeking to buy influence in government, boasting that as a wealthy man he would be immune to their entreaties.

"I think Mr. Trump has got all the money, so he doesn't need any financing," said Mr. Schar, who said he was undecided about whether to back Mr. Trump or Mrs. Clinton. He added, "I think my mother used to say, 'What you sow, you reap.'"

Mr. Trump has reported that his net worth is about \$10 billion, though it is unclear how much is in cash, or could readily be converted to cash, that could be used for a presidential campaign.

Mr. Trump's advisers spent much of Tuesday morning huddled at Trump Tower to discuss the way forward, including a speech he had planned for Wednesday attacking Mrs. Clinton. The address, advisers said, was to be the first of several speeches Mr. Trump plans to give with the goal of regaining traction in the race.

Mr. Trump's knack for commanding news media attention, however, is no substitute for a campaign organization. Mrs. Clinton's staff is larger than Mr. Trump's by nearly tenfold, and her stable of advisers includes the polling and advertising firms that steered President Obama's campaigns.

Mr. Trump's campaign, by contrast, rolled from state to state during the Republican primaries, building pop-up operations as needed, but it left few resources behind that he could now draw upon in the general election.

Nick Corasaniti contributed reporting.

For some, massacre in Orlando spurs new urgency to come out as gay

ORLANDO, FLA.

BY JULIE TURKEWITZ

Just hours after the music at the Pulse nightclub was interrupted by the roar of gunfire, a teenager with a nose stud and tight jeans peered across his dinner table here. "Dad," Carvin Casillas said, "I'm kind of gay."

The worst mass shooting in United States history by a single perpetrator, which left 49 people dead and 53 injured, has sent the nation reeling and ignited heated conversations about firearm access, terrorism and homophobia. It has also had the incidental effect of pushing some gay people in this increasingly Latino community out of the closet.

Some had their sexuality revealed by accident: Gertrude Merced learned that her 25-year-old son, Enrique, was gay only after she heard the news of his death.

Others, though, have chosen to expose their inner lives, stirred by the outpouring of support for Orlando's gay residents or wrought with sorrow and unable to keep their secrets in anymore.

"I just had to let them know," said Mr. Casillas, 19, a soon-to-be college freshman who had been dancing at Pulse for more than a year, unbeknownst to his Puerto Rican father and Cuban mother. His mother had raised him in a church where parishioners learned that gay



Carvin Casillas, 19, who regularly danced at the Pulse nightclub, came out to his parents after the shooting in Florida. He was raised in a church that taught that gay people went to hell.

people went to hell.

"This is getting to be a bigger part of me every day that passes on," he said of his sexuality. "I didn't know if I was going to be able to keep that from my family."

Most of the people packed into the club in the early morning on June 12 were too young to remember the early days of the AIDS crisis, when disease and tragedy exposed gay men like nev-

er before, prompting some of them on their deathbeds to reveal their sexuality to family and friends.

The father of Mr. Casillas, who owns an auto mechanic shop, seemed to accept him the day of the massacre, Mr. Casillas said, reaching across the table and kissing him on the head. "O.K., Papa," Joe Casillas told his son, using a term of endearment.

But not all families have easily em-

braced their children's sexuality.

Pedro Julio Serrano, 41, a gay activist in Puerto Rico, has attended eight funerals for Pulse victims. At one, the mother of Gilberto Ramon Silva Menendez, who was among the 49 killed, circled the gathering with a rainbow flag, announcing her pride in her son's identity.

At two other occasions, though, he said he could see that some relatives were ashamed: "That they would have preferred to deal with this privately and that nobody had to know that their son or daughter was gay. I can see it and I can feel it. And I just want to hug them and hold them and tell them that there is nothing wrong with this."

On Tuesday, Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch visited some of the people injured in the attack and the relatives of some who were slain. She spoke of those who might choose to hide their sexuality out of fear of such violence in the future.

"Let me say to our L.G.B.T. friends and family, particularly to anyone who might view this tragedy as an indication that their identities — their essential selves — might somehow be better left unexpressed or in the shadows: This Department of Justice — and your country — stands with you in the light," she said.

Cory Richards, 24, spent the early hours of June 12 dancing under the strobe lights at Pulse with his boyfriend,

Enrique L. Rios Jr. Neither man had told his parents he was gay. But around 9 a.m., as Mr. Richards emerged from the carnage, he cried into his phone to his father.

"I can't find my baby," Mr. Richards recalled saying. "I can't find my baby."

"What?" his father responded. "That's my boyfriend, that's not my friend," Mr. Richards said he told him of Mr. Rios. "That's my boyfriend."

"I don't care what you are," he recalled his father saying. "You're my son. I didn't know, but I accept it."

Mr. Rios had died. A thousand miles away, his mother, Ms. Merced, 48, learned of her son's death. And then received a call from his boyfriend.

During an interview at her home in New York, Ms. Merced said she had thought her son was straight. She raised him Baptist, she said, and the two were close. "This is a sinful nature," she said of homosexuality, still wearing her ruffled church clothes and high heels after church on Sunday. "But I still would have loved my son."

In Orlando, Leyda and Mane Hernandez have struggled to come to terms with her son's identity since he came out about 10 years ago. "I grew up in Puerto Rico, in the city of Ponce," said Mane Hernandez, 52, "making fun of gay, gay, gay."

Their son, Enakai Hernandez, is a 27-year-old artist who had partied at Pulse for years. On the weekend of the attack,

he was staying at his parents' home in a gated community here, sick in bed.

When he woke and the depth of the tragedy revealed itself, his mother took him in her arms as he cried.

"Sabes que te quiero mucho?" she has told him over and over in recent days. "Que tú eres el amor de mi vida?" Her message: that she loved her son and considered him the love of her life.

"Although I am not proud of what my son is, because it's not what I wanted for him, I accept it," she said. "I accepted it before, I still accept it, and now I accept even more. Because I know there are many people that hate. These are human beings who are equal to everyone else. They are people, they have feelings, they have hearts, they have families."

Orlando's Puerto Rican population has boomed in recent years, and the city's gay population — once largely white — has changed as a result. Most of the Pulse victims who died were Hispanic. And 23 were from Puerto Rico — just like Ms. Merced.

When Mr. Richards, the unknown boyfriend, called her last week to introduce himself, Ms. Merced invited him to her son's funeral. He accepted. "I will see him," she said. "Eventually, I may want to ask him some questions."

John Eligon and Frances Robles contributed reporting from Orlando, and Samantha Schmidt from New York.

WORLD NEWS MIDDLE EAST ASIA

BRIEFLY

International



Cease-fire deal puts Colombia and rebels closer to war's end

The government in Colombia and the country's largest rebel group said on Wednesday that they had agreed to a cease-fire, clearing a major hurdle in the effort to end one of the world's longest running conflicts.

In a joint statement, the two sides said they had overcome some of the most intractable parts of a peace deal, which they have been negotiating in Havana since 2012. In addition to a cease-fire, the rebels, known as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC, agreed to lay down their arms.

An estimated 220,000 people have been killed in more than 50 years of fighting between the guerrillas and the government. The two sides said they would hold a ceremony in Havana on Thursday to mark the cease-fire, attended by Colombia's president, Juan Manuel Santos; the FARC leader, Rodrigo Londoño; and other Latin American leaders.

PARIS

Compromise allows march against French labor proposal

The French government reached a compromise with labor unions on Wednesday that would allow a Paris protest march that the police had banned over safety concerns.

The march, scheduled for Thursday, is to take place around the Bastille neighborhood and will be much shorter than originally planned, union leaders said after reaching the compromise with the interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve. Union members had threatened to defy the police's ban, condemning the move as a violation of the right to protest.

A proposed labor law that would make it easier to lay off employees and weaken unions' powers has prompted months of protests that have often degenerated into violence. (AP)

LONDON

Refugee who crossed tunnel pleads guilty, but walks free

A Sudanese refugee who braved speeding trains to walk 31 miles through the Channel Tunnel last summer was sentenced on Wednesday after pleading guilty to the charge of "obstructing a railway carriage or engine," a 19th-century British law that carries a maximum penalty of two years in prison.

The refugee, Abdul Rahman Haroun, was sentenced to nine months in prison but allowed to walk free because of the time he had already spent incarcerated. Mr. Haroun had originally pleaded not guilty at a preliminary hearing on Aug. 24. His lawyer was not available to comment on why he had changed his plea.

Mr. Haroun's extraordinary effort to come to Britain made him a potent emblem of the desperation of huge numbers of migrants seeking refuge in Europe. In January, he was granted asylum after having spent several months in jail.



Abdul Rahman Haroun had been given asylum.

WASHINGTON

2 sick workers rescued after risky South Pole flight

A small plane left the South Pole on Wednesday carrying two sick workers after a daring rescue mission to the remote American outpost, the National Science Foundation said.

The plane, a Canadian Twin Otter turboprop, embarked on a 1,500-mile flight back to Rothera, a British station on the Antarctic Peninsula, said Peter West, a spokesman for the foundation. From there, the two sick workers were to be flown off Antarctica for medical care that could not be provided on the continent.

Planes generally avoid the polar outpost from February to October because of the dangers of flying in the pitch dark and cold. On Wednesday at the South Pole, it was minus 75 degrees Fahrenheit (minus 60 Celsius). (AP)

CORRECTIONS

• An article on May 24 about the soul-searching that followed the resignation of the French National Assembly's vice president, Denis Baupin, after several female colleagues claimed sexual harassment, quoted incorrectly, in some editions, from an essay by 16 prominent Frenchwomen in the Journal du Dimanche, a weekly newspaper. They wrote, "Omertà and the law of silence are no longer possible" (not "are longer possible").

• An article on Monday about the redevelopment of downtown Phoenix misstated the reason that the Songbird coffee shop relocated. The owners had a disagreement with the landlord; the store was not displaced by redevelopment.

Experts find contagious cancers in shellfish

CANCER, FROM PAGE 1

deadly face tumors. But DNA in the tumor cells did not match that of the affected animals, studies showed.

Tasmanian facial tumor disease, as it was eventually called, appears to have gotten its start in a single Tasmanian devil that lived in the 1980s. Transmitted by bites, the cancer spread to other Tasmanian devils and acquired new mutations along the way that helped make it even more infectious. A second strain of the cancer was identified just last year.

Dogs, too, can get a type of contagious cancer called canine transmissible venereal tumor, which jumps from host to host during sex. The tumor usually disappears in a few months, however. Scientists have determined that the cancer originated in dogs 11,000 years ago.

For years, Tasmanian devils and dogs were the only species known to contract contagious cancer. But last year Stephen P. Goff, a molecular biologist at Columbia University, and his colleagues found contagious cancer in soft-shell clams.

From New York to Prince Edward Island, these clams have suffered from aggressive tumors since the 1970s. Carol Reinisch, a marine biologist at Environment Canada, found that the cancer clustered in populations, as if it were caused by an outbreak of some sort.

She suspected a cancer-causing virus moving from host to host. For help, Dr. Reinisch turned to Dr. Goff.

The two researchers found no evidence of a virus in the soft-shell clams. But they did discover that DNA in the tumor cells carried a genetic sequence not found in healthy cells in the clams.

After examining the DNA, they confirmed that the cancer cells in different clams all came from a single common ancestor.

"Somehow this cancer has been spreading from clam to clam up the coast," Dr. Goff said.

He and his colleagues began to wonder if other species of clams or related animals — known collectively as bivalves — had contagious cancers of their own and, if so, why. They chose to study cancers in mussels, cockles and golden carpet shell clams.

In every case, the researchers reported in the journal *Nature*, the cancers in the animals were contagious. "We are now at four for four," said Dr. Goff.

As it turned out, the cancer in cockles comprises two separate strains. Even stranger, cancer cells in the golden carpet shell clams do not develop from the animal's own cells.

Instead, the scientists matched the cancer's DNA to pullet shell clams, which live in the same intertidal beds off the coast of Spain. But Dr. Goff and his colleagues could not locate any pullet shell clams with this disease.

They concluded that this strain of contagious cancer must have started in pullet shell clams and then jumped species, infecting golden carpet shell clams. It killed all the vulnerable pullet shell clams, leaving only resistant ones behind.

"That's really quite incredible," Dr. Murchison said, noting that scientists had tried without success to infect foxes and other dog relatives with canine cancer.

The new study, she said, shows that contagious cancer can indeed cross the species barrier.

With eight contagious cancers now on the books, Dr. Murchison has started to

The new research "does raise the possibility that these types of diseases could arise in humans."

wonder whether they are not as peculiar as previously thought.

"They might be emerging fairly often," she said.

So should people worry about an outbreak of infectious cancer? "I don't think we should be starting to panic," Dr. Murchison said.

There have been rare reports of people transmitting cancer.

An estimated 0.04 percent of organ transplant recipients contract cancer from the donor organ, for example. But in these cases, the cancer does not spread like a true parasite from host to host.

Yet it is not inconceivable that a human cancer might gain that power. In 1965, scientists put mosquitoes in a cage with hamsters, one of which had cancer. The mosquito carried the cancer cells to the healthy hamsters.

The new research "does raise the possibility that these types of diseases could arise in humans," Dr. Murchison said.

Dr. Goff and his colleagues are now trying to turn the contagious cancer in shellfish into a model for human cancers. They hope to find clues to metastasis, the way cancer spreads through the body.

The evolution of a contagious cancer in some ways may mirror the evolution of a single tumor in the body.

In shellfish, Dr. Murchison said, "we can see the effect of evolution on their genomes in a more pronounced way."



Hahab Nasser, 21, a fisherman. Two years ago, he smuggled himself into Greece, a trip that ended in a detention center and his deportation back to Egypt. But he says he will try again soon.



Mohamed el-Ghatani, a farmer. His son and his 16-year-old nephew drowned trying to reach Europe. "It's terrible," he said. "They think they'll get to Europe and find an amazing life."



A wooden boat frame in Borg Migheizil, Egypt. At least 1,150 unaccompanied Egyptian minors landed in Italy in the first five months of this year, according to the Italian Interior Ministry.

Egypt's teenagers chase dream of Europe

EGYPT, FROM PAGE 1

sat beside an uncle who was encouraging him to leave. "I want to work and make some money," he said, twiddling his thumbs as he spoke. "Over there, they say, everything is clean."

Aid workers say that young Egyptians lure their friends with enticing images of apparent success, sent back by social media — even if those images often mask a grittier and more dangerous reality that includes exploitation, petty crime and prostitution.

"Facebook is a real issue," said Viviana Valastro, director of child immigrant services at Save the Children Italy, speaking by phone. "Even if an unaccompanied child is living in bad conditions, they present a positive picture to their friends. They want to show they are successful."

In Borg Migheizil, which has been devastated by decades of overfishing in Egyptian waters, smuggling has become the anchor of the local economy. At night, buses from Alexandria and Cairo bump through the dusty streets, carrying migrants on their way to a nearby beach, where they are hustled onto waiting boats.

Unemployed fishermen pilot smuggler boats across the Mediterranean. Farmers harbor African and Syrian migrants before they clamber onto the boats. The local shipyard has enjoyed a small boom in recent years, as laborers fashion steel-hulled vessels that carry people instead of fish. None are breaking the law — under a quirk of Egyptian law, smuggling people is not illegal.

That trip ended in a Greek detention

center and eventual deportation back to Egypt. But he will try again soon. He showed a picture on Facebook of his neighbor Ismail, now in London. In the picture, a young man fanned a wad of British pounds, his thumb raised, while casually dragging on a cigarette.

"That's what I want," Mr. Nasser said.

But every success story is countered by a tear-stained tragedy. At a farmhouse surrounded by towering date palms, Mohamed el-Ghatani, a farmer, told of how he had learned that his 16-year-old nephew, Amir, drowned on his way to Europe last month.

Only two years earlier, Mr. Ghatani said, his own son died in the same man-

ner. "It's terrible," he said, his eyes reddening at the memory. "They think they'll get to Europe and find an amazing life. That's not true, of course, but they don't know that."

More than 7,000 unaccompanied minors from different countries arrived in Italy in the first five months of this year, twice as many as last year, according to the UNICEF.

The main problem, said Naela Gabr, a senior diplomat who heads Egypt's official efforts to stem illegal migration, is Italian law, which forbids the involuntary deportation of unaccompanied minors.

The Italian state provides foreign minors with schooling and temporary

papers. Once they reach the age of 18, they can apply for permanent residency — a powerful draw for families to send their teenage boys.

A lot of the time, though, it doesn't work so simply, said Ms. Valastro, the aid worker in Rome. Desperate to start repaying their parents' loans, many Egyptian migrants seek to begin work immediately, which hurts their chances of getting schooling or official papers.

Last year, some reports described Egyptian youths selling drugs or engaging in prostitution at Rome's main train station. But mostly, Ms. Valastro said, they end up working for pitiful wages in restaurants or fruit markets.

"They don't understand the meaning of the word 'exploitation,'" she said. "They think these people are helping them because they are giving them money, even if it's just €10 for eight hours' work."

Now, the Egyptian government is taking the fight to Facebook. Ms. Gabr, the official, said she had prepared a public relations campaign to persuade young Egyptians not to leave their homeland.

But Mr. Nasser, the restless young fisherman, said that he was determined to leave regardless and that his family was foursquare behind him.

His mother, Azza Abdel Fattah, gestured at the room of flaking paint and crumbling walls they were sitting in.

"We wanted him to get to Europe and build a future and save us from this," she said. "This is what we are praying for."

Nour Youssef contributed reporting.

Analysts see progress in North Korea's latest missile test

SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA

BY CHOE SANG-HUN

North Korea launched an intermediate-range ballistic missile into high altitude on Wednesday morning, demonstrating that the country was making progress after five consecutive failures in just over two months, South Korean analysts said.

The projectile, a Musudan missile, took off from Wonsan, a port city east of Pyongyang, the North Korean capital, and flew about 250 miles over the sea between North Korea and Japan, South Korea's Office of Joint Chiefs of Staff said in a statement.

Although the missile fell far short of its estimated full range of more than 2,000 miles — far enough to reach American military bases in the Pacific — the test is the first for the Musudan that was

not immediately dismissed as a failure by the United States or South Korea.

South Korea said that in the North's previous five Musudan tests, including one earlier on Wednesday, the projectiles had all crashed into the sea or exploded in midair soon after liftoff.

The progress the North demonstrated with its sixth test was disconcerting enough for South Korea to convene a meeting of top security-related ministers later on Wednesday to discuss the growing missile and nuclear threats.

Jeong Joon-hee, a spokesman for the South Korean government, called the launch a "clear provocation" that violated United Nations Security Council resolutions banning the North from developing ballistic missile technology.

In Washington, John Kirby, a State Department spokesman, said that the United States strongly condemned the

tests and intended to discuss the North's prohibited activities at the Security Council.

Shinzo Abe, the prime minister of Japan, said: "This missile launch, like previous ones, is a clear violation of United Nations resolutions. We cannot tolerate it and have protested firmly."

The Japanese Defense Ministry said it believed that the test showed that the North's missile technology was advancing. The second of the two missiles fired on Wednesday had reached an altitude of 620 miles, it said, "indicating a degree of capability as a midrange ballistic missile."

The North began testing the Musudan on April 15, after repeated calls by its leader, Kim Jong-un, for his military to conduct more nuclear and missile tests despite international sanctions. It has also repeatedly threatened nuclear strikes against the United

States, claiming that it has built nuclear weapons small enough to be mounted on its various ballistic missiles.

North Korea's missiles have seldom worked on the first try, but a string of five successive failures with the Musudan was unusual even by the country's checkered standards. Analysts have attributed the failures to Mr. Kim. In his rush to demonstrate an ability to strike American military bases, they said, Mr. Kim was not giving his engineers enough time to fix problems before retesting.

The United States Strategic Command said that the two Musudan missiles fired on Wednesday posed no threat to North America.

But North Korea's persistence in testing the same missile model six times since mid-April showed that it was determined to build a capacity to develop a ballistic missile that would extend the striking range for its nuclear warheads.

Leaving E.U. would upend Britain, but not overnight

UNION, FROM PAGE 1

ly negotiating a new trade deal with the European Union in tandem with the terms of Britain's departure from the bloc. They suggest that Britain would lose considerable leverage in negotiating a new trade deal once it was outside the bloc, and that it could get a better trade deal as part of a negotiation that encompasses all aspects of the new cross-Channel relationship.

Once the two-year Article 50 term expires, Britain would be outside the single European market for services and become subject to possible tariffs on goods. The pro-departure camp does not want to negotiate a new trade pact with that clock ticking.

But while Britain might want to move slowly to leave Europe, countries like France and Germany would want to move swiftly, to reduce Britain's leverage. They can also be expected to take no prisoners in the negotiations, in an effort to limit political contagion by making a tough example of Britain for other member states.

Yet there appears to be no mechanism to force Britain to invoke Article 50 and set the two-year-clock running.

Mr. Cameron's assurances that he would do so in the event of a Brexit vote may not count for much, in that he may not survive such an outcome. Were he to quit, it would take the Conservative Party at least several weeks to select a successor. If he loses the referendum but decides to try to remain prime minister, as he has said he would, Britain could be consumed by political maneuvering for weeks or months, postponing a decision on how to proceed.

"We don't know who's going to be in charge," said Anand Menon, a professor of European politics at King's College London. "The uncertainty extends to who's going to be leading this show."

Some Brexit supporters suggest that they could negotiate a departure without using Article 50. By contrast, in Brussels, there is discussion of somehow forcing the British to invoke it. Most legal experts say it would be impossible to avoid.

Whatever Conservative government emerges would have to decide what kind of relationship to seek with the European Union, and get the British Parliament on its side for eventual ratification of a new arrangement covering trade and immigration, among other issues.

But less than a third of the current Parliament supports leaving the bloc. Stephen Kinnock, a Labour Party lawmaker, has said that lawmakers might press for a relationship like the one Norway has with the European Union — outside the bloc but still having access to its single market.

However, Norway not only pays into the bloc but also accepts the free movement of workers — two of the biggest

The government might be forced to call new elections.

and most emotional arguments Brexit supporters have made against membership in the European Union.

Analysts say that the arguments in Parliament could become so polarized that the government might have to call new elections. But that would require changing a recently passed law on elections, and even then a new Parliament might still be hopelessly divided.

"Even if, as is likely, within weeks of a 'leave' vote we would have a new Brexit government with a new prime minister, which may be reinforced by a general election victory within six to nine months, it is very unlikely that a majority in either House of Parliament could be found for a credible leave option," said Roger Liddle, a member of the House of Lords and a chairman of the Policy Network research institute.

A vote to leave the bloc would put Britain in a worse position to curb European migration until it actually departed. In February Mr. Cameron negotiated limits on welfare payments as a disincentive to some European migrants, but this concession is conditional on a vote to remain. Not only would this deal be moot in the event of a Brexit vote, but European citizens might race to enter Britain before the gates are closed.

Chris Grayling, a cabinet minister campaigning to leave the bloc, has proposed quick legislation to end the right of free movement before Britain leaves formally, something that would put Britain in breach of European Union law.

While European law would be hard to enforce on a country in the bloc's departure lounge, it is unclear whether British lawmakers would approve such a legally contentious step in any case.

Even if they did, that would complicate exit negotiations and could provoke retaliatory measures from Continental Europe.

If a deal can be reached within the two years, it may need to be ratified in all 28 member nations and perhaps approved by the Parliament in Scotland, where all major parties want to remain in the bloc.

Professor Menon said he worried most about the political leadership if Britain left: "Who's providing it, who has the authority to do anything, and whether political contagion spreads to our European partners, which then leads to a hideous, ugly standoff before the negotiations have even started."

ONLINE: THE 'BREXIT' REFERENDUM

Find more photographs from the weeks leading up to the Thursday vote at nytimes.com.



A British departure from the European Union could dent London's clout as a global finance hub. Trade in euro-denominated securities might disappear, and multinational firms might move elsewhere. Above, a bar in the financial district.



A winner at a horse show in Cornwall. The habits of traditional English life matter enormously to those who feel that the identity and specialness of England are being eroded by globalization, immigration and European Union meddling.



Teenagers at the Cruise Terminal in Liverpool, which has benefited from large amounts of structural aid and investment from the European Union. Young people are considered much more likely than their parents to vote to remain.



Vintage cars at the Royal Cornwall Show in Wadebridge, southwestern England. Nostalgia and nationalism have helped inspire Britons who favor leaving: They tend to be older and to think Britain can be great again if freed from Brussels.



An influx of young Polish workers into Britain began in 2004, when Poland joined the bloc. Above, in London, Magdalena Mikla, a 27-year-old domestic helper, and her boyfriend, Bartosz Siegmiller, 33, a construction worker.



The Conservative Club in Clacton-on-Sea, one of the declining English resort towns in which residents strongly favor leaving. Douglas Carswell, the local member of Parliament, was elected from the anti-Europe party known as UKIP.

Leave and Remain make last-gasp effort to win over voters

BRITAIN, FROM PAGE 1

"Thursday can be our country's independence day," he told the BBC.

Nigel Farage, the leader of the U.K. Independence Party, who has long campaigned against membership in the bloc, denounced the European Union as a project of elites, declaring, "This referendum is the people versus the establishment."

In a last-minute controversy, Michael Gove, the justice secretary and a leader of the campaign to leave the bloc, likened economists who warned of the dire consequences of withdrawal to Nazi-financed researchers who once denounced Einstein. (Mr. Cameron said that Mr. Gove had "lost it," and Mr. Gove apologized on Wednesday.)

Prime Minister David Cameron closed out the campaign for remaining in the European Union with an argument that Britain would be more prosperous if it stayed in the single European market of 500 million people — and he warned that there was no going back from a decision to leave.

"You can't jump out the airplane and then clamber back through the cockpit hatch," he told the BBC.

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plied an 80 percent chance of Britain's voting to stay with Europe.

One sign of hope for the Remain campaign: Most polls before the September 2014 referendum on whether Scotland should secede from the United Kingdom showed that contest to be neck-and-neck, but voters broke fairly decisively — 55.3 percent to 44.7 percent — in favor of the status quo. Some analysts say the same tendency of late-deciding voters to choose the safety of the status quo and reject from the risk of change will be at play this time around.

The general assumption is that those voters who want to quit the European Union, including older people, are more motivated than those who prefer to stay in Europe, including younger people, and that the Remain campaign will therefore face the bigger challenge in turning out its supporters.

In last year's general election, 66 percent of eligible voters turned out, slightly higher than the 65 percent who participated in the 1975 referendum on Britain's membership in the forerunner of the European Union — but well under the roughly 85 percent of eligible voters who did so in the Scottish referendum.

The Leave campaign's base of support is expected to be among low-income voters, those without university degrees and older people. It is expected to run strongest in England.

The Remain camp is likely to do well in London and other big cities, and with

better-educated and more cosmopolitan voters. It is expected to perform strongly in Northern Ireland and in university towns, where students see advantages in being able to work freely in other European nations.

Scotland is also strong territory for the Remain camp, though there is some evidence of political fatigue there.

"My worry is turnout in Scotland and U.K.-wide," said Alyn Smith, a Scottish National Party member in the European Parliament, who backs the Remain camp. "It is quite clear that the people who have committed themselves to leave will crawl across glass to get to

"People who have committed themselves to leave will crawl across glass to get to the polling stations."

the polling stations, and on the Remain side it's much more, 'Why are we doing this?'"

He added that, to many Scots, the contest looked like a battle within the Conservative Party in England. "There is a real sense that this has nothing to do with us," he added.

Matthew Goodwin, a professor of politics and international relations at the University of Kent, said in the Remain camp might have been more strategic in focusing its efforts on areas of strong support, while the Leave campaign had

not done enough to lure votes in working-class areas of northern England, where its message has resonated.

EUROPE Leaders in Europe have largely tried to avoid intervening in the referendum, though they have nearly universally urged British voters to remain, fearing a potential domino effect if Britain leaves, and a boost to populist parties that are growing in popularity, from Germany and the Netherlands to Greece and Spain.

Prime Minister Matteo Renzi of Italy urged British voters on Wednesday to stay with Europe, writing in *The Guardian* that Britain would be "less great" if it were to leave.

But Marine Le Pen, leader of the National Front in France, said in a televised interview on Tuesday that "I would vote for Brexit, even though I believe that France has a thousand more reasons to leave the European Union than Great Britain does." She cited France's membership in the passport-free Schengen zone and in the euro zone. (Britain is not part of either.)

"What does it mean, whatever the result: that the European Union is decaying, that there are cracks everywhere — what do we do?" Ms. Le Pen asked. "Do we wait for the flood, do we wait for the explosion? Or do we get around a table and build the Europe of nations, which will replace the totalitarian European Union to which we are subjected today?"

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ADAM FERGUSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Opinion

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THE SCOURGE OF THE IVORY TRADE

Despite stronger laws, the slaughter of elephants continues unabated.

The World Wildlife Fund reported early this month that ivory poaching has reduced the elephant population in Tanzania's Selous Game Reserve — one of the largest wilderness areas in Africa — by 90 percent in just four decades. At this rate, there will be no elephants left in Selous just six years from now. Tanzania isn't alone: Mozambique lost half its elephants to poachers in the five years before 2015. Between 2010 and 2012 alone, poachers killed off 20 percent of Africa's elephants.

On June 2, the Obama administration took an important step to put a stop to this madness with a near total ban on the commercial trade of ivory in the United States. The ban strengthens a 2013 ban on the ivory trade that, for instance, allowed the sale of ivory from animals certified to have died of natural causes — a clear invitation to forgery and fraud. Now, only legally imported antiques and musical instruments with less than 200 grams of ivory can be sold in the United States.

But there's only so much the United States can do. Until demand is cut off in China, there will be no reprieve for Africa's dwindling elephant populations. The appetite of China's growing middle class for ivory helped drive the price from \$120 per kilogram in 2002 to \$2,100 per kilogram in 2014, generating huge sums for syndicates that traffic ivory through criminal supply chains.

In March, China imposed a ban on imports of ivory acquired before 1975 until the end of this decade, and extended an existing ban on ivory acquired after 1975 for the same period. And as part of the 2016 United States-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue this month, China also committed to publishing a timetable for completely ending its domestic trade in ivory by the end of this year.

There's action in Africa, too. In April, Kenya, to set a striking example, burned a stockpile of ivory worth \$100 million. And the government of Tanzania has announced it has submitted a special request to the United Nations council on illegal wildlife trade for an immediate and permanent ban on the ivory trade worldwide.

Incredibly, despite new evidence that legal ivory sales in 2008 led to a sharp increase in elephant poaching, Zimbabwe and Namibia are planning to ask the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) at a meeting in September to approve new legal sales of ivory. This is a terrible idea.

Ending the slaughter won't be easy given the lucrative international ivory market. But stronger laws and more money for inspection and enforcement will help.

SLAMMING SHUT AMERICA'S DOOR

A proposal to ban all refugees would damage American values without making anyone safer.

Republicans in Congress have reacted to the Orlando, Fla., tragedy with a meanspirited and illogical proposal to ban all refugees to the United States indefinitely.

The impulse to slam the door shut on some of the world's most vulnerable people is not new. In recent years, congressional Republicans have tried to limit the numbers of refugees coming into the country from conflict zones like Syria. Meanwhile, officials in states such as Indiana and Texas have tried to bar resettlement of Syrian refugees, although, so far, none have succeeded.

The latest legislative proposal, by Representative Brian Babin, Republican of Texas, would place "an immediate moratorium on all refugee resettlement programs." In a letter to other members of Congress, he said that in light of the attacks in Paris, San Bernardino and Orlando, "it is imperative that we do everything in our power to keep Americans safe and defend our national security."

Even without a refugee ban, the United States has allowed in a piteously small number of the more than four million refugees who have fled Syria since the war there began in 2011. Only 3,127 Syrian refugees have been settled here in the past five years. President Obama promised to take an additional 10,000 Syrians this year but so far only 1,300 have been admitted.

Refugees are already screened more thoroughly than other foreign travelers to the United States. The process includes background checks by the State Department, the Department of Homeland Security and the F.B.I., as well as defense and intelligence services. This can take as long as 24 months for Syrians.

Like other newcomers, those who arrive as refugees have been a source of dynamism and growth in the United States. With the world facing the worst refugee crisis since World War II, barring refugees would inflict incalculable damage on America's reputation as a nation that offers hope and shelter to the displaced and would do nothing to advance the fight against terrorism.

Europe's two-tiered refugee policy

Charlotte McDonald-Gibson

BRUSSELS The summer dying season is underway. It began in earnest late last month when, under a bright Mediterranean sun that cast the sea a sparkling blue, a fishing trawler teetered on its side before giving in to the panicked bodies on board, tipping them into the swell. The Italian Coast Guard caught the moment on camera. On the shore of another continent, the bodies of mostly women and children washed up on a Libyan beach, victims of one of three shipwrecks that killed at least 700 people in three days.

With the Balkans route largely shut down thanks to a deal between the European Union and Turkey that may violate international law, more people are embarking on more dangerous voyages from Libya or Egypt. A result is at least 2,861 deaths so far this year, up from 1,838 in roughly the same period in 2015. But with the fresh images of human suffering comes an uncomfortable

reality: The men, women and children who survive this grueling journey will not be welcomed with the same compassion as the Syrians and Iraqis who have come before them, because a majority hail from Africa.

Like the smugglers who put the poorer sub-Saharan Africans in the holds of trawlers while giving the Syrians the upper deck, Europe has its own two-tier system. The European Union draws a distinction between a genuine refugee and an economic migrant, and people coming from the world's poorest continent are generally assumed to be the latter. It is a narrative of the "good" migrant and the "bad" one that leads to policies focused on keeping people out and ignores a more nuanced reality.

Twenty-six percent of the world's refugees are in sub-Saharan Africa. The largest number of migrants to arrive in Italy so far this year are Eritreans, who are fleeing a dictatorship that the United Nations has accused of crimes against humanity. The second biggest group is Nigerians. The International Organization for Migration has told me that at least 80 percent of Nigerian

women and girls are trafficked for sexual exploitation. And many of the people trying to reach Europe this year are not fleeing conflict in their own lands, but in Libya, where they have suffered kidnapping, torture and imprisonment.

These facts rarely make the news. Sometimes the prejudice is implicit. Representatives of the aid agencies

that try to raise the alarm over the death toll in the Mediterranean tell me they are asked, "But have Syrians started coming on the Libya-Italy route yet?" Journalists and policy makers don't seem to care otherwise. Other times it is explicit. Last year, the British foreign secretary, Philip Hammond, referred to African migrants as "marauding." He told the BBC, "Europe can't protect itself and preserve its standard of living and social infrastructure if it has to absorb millions of migrants from Africa."

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Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi was more blunt about Europe's prejudices in 2010, when he asked the European Union for five billion euros to stop people leaving Libya. "Europe might no longer be European, and even black, as there are millions who want to come in," he said. "We don't know what will happen, what will be the reaction of the white and Christian Europeans faced with this influx of starving and ignorant Africans."

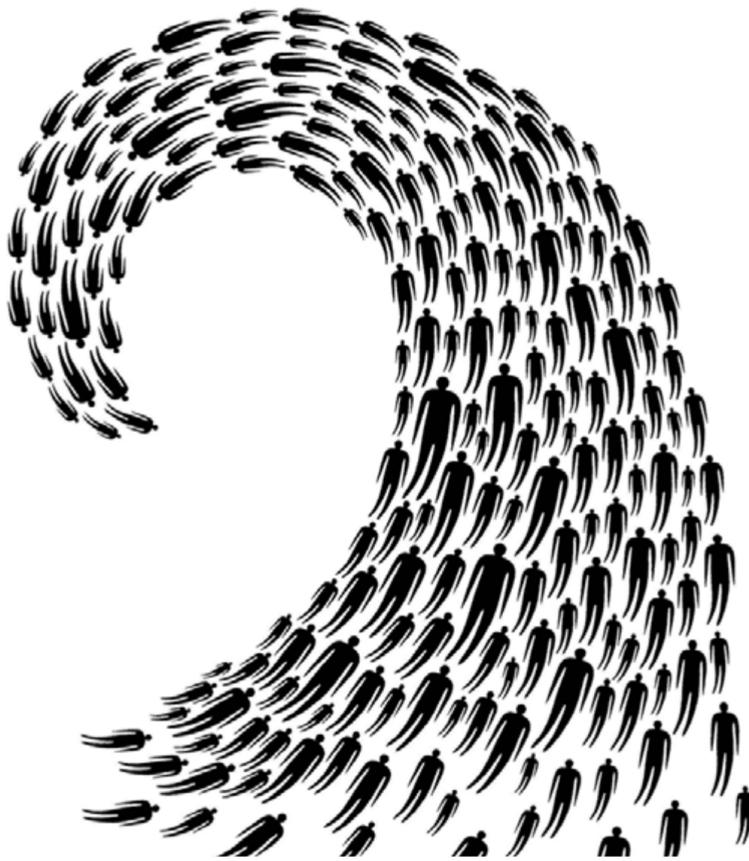
Colonel Qaddafi's racist fearmongering seemed to work. The European Union agreed to pay him 60 million euros, despite reports that he was transporting unwanted refugees to remote outposts in the Sahara and leaving them to die. It was one of many policies that led to more deaths while failing to stem the flow. In 2014, Italy stopped a lifesaving naval operation called Mare Nostrum when other European Union countries refused to help fund it. After some 800 people died in a shipwreck in April 2015, the European Union began an anti-smuggling operation, but a report by a British parliamentary committee in May found it had put more lives at risk as smugglers started packing people in rubber dinghies rather than sturdier fishing boats to evade detection.

Europe cannot be expected to offer a home to every person fleeing poverty or persecution, and European Union governments are right to try to come up with policies that deter people from making the voyage. But these policies need to be focused on the human rights of migrants whether they hail from Africa or the Middle East. A person's nationality cannot become shorthand for his or her worth.

First, people need to be rescued at sea. A dedicated search and rescue operation on the model of Mare Nostrum should restart. The European Union should also establish humane reception centers where a person's claim is assessed, and those with no right to be in Europe can be returned to a safe country. More legal channels for applying for work or asylum from outside the European Union will stop people risking their lives, while countries in Africa and the Middle East hosting large refugee communities should be offered closely monitored financial and practical support. European Union resettlement schemes need to apply to all people granted asylum, not just the Syrians provided for under the Turkey deal.

But instead, the European Union is looking into recycling the same old policies: forcing people back to Libya, and channeling money to the governments people are fleeing. In 2014, people crossing the Mediterranean had about a one in 60 chance of dying. Today, those odds are said to be one in 23. That shows just how little Europe has learned from its mistakes.

CHARLOTTE MCDONALD-GIBSON is the author of "Cast Away: Stories of Survival From Europe's Refugee Crisis."



MATT CHASE

What the president can't do for you

Bryce Covert

This year's U.S. presidential candidates, like all candidates before them, have talked endlessly about what they'll do to boost the economy if they make it to the White House.

The presumptive Republican nominee, Donald J. Trump, has pledged to create economic growth of as much as 6 percent each year, "growth that will be tremendous." He says he will deliver "a dynamic economy again."

Hillary Clinton, the presumptive Democratic nominee, is far more cautious about what she promises, but has still made her own list of expansive economic pledges. In a speech last July, she vowed to drive incomes upward, strengthen the middle class and ensure long-term economic growth. "We have to build a growth and fairness economy," she said.

The mantra resurfaces each election cycle: It's the economy, stupid. The issue is consistently at the top of voters' minds. Steady growth usually buoys the party of the sitting president in an election, while bad performance will drive it out. When they go to the polls, Americans are supposed to be picking the person they think is best poised to bring them the economy they desire. And candidates are all too happy to keep talking about what they say they can deliver.

But politicians may be selling voters a bill of goods about how much their presidential pick really matters. Candidates spend a lot of time talking about tax plans and income growth — instead of the issues they could actually directly control in the White House. The economy is the issue the public cares the most about, but perhaps the one that presidents have the least power over.

There is a longstanding trend that has baffled researchers and Republicans alike: Since World War II, the economy has consistently performed better under Democratic administrations than under Republican ones, no matter how one measures its performance. Why? It's mostly about luck.

In two different papers, the economists Alan S. Blinder and Mark Watson found that the strength or weakness of the economy was mostly related to factors out of a president's hands, such as oil-price spikes that crimp consumer spending and often precede a recession, productivity growth and a rosy international economic picture. Higher consumer confidence also helps, which may be affected by the president, but that's a much less direct outcome than, say, tax changes.

Presidents do influence those factors, of course. Starting a war in the Middle East will affect oil prices. Government can help foster new industries and technologies — say, the internet — that can alter productivity. But there are other big items under presidential purview that the studies found that don't have any impact, such as the size of the federal deficit or spending on the military.

A closer look at history reveals these patterns. President Dwight D. Eisenhower is known for his investment in the nation's highway system, but the economy he oversaw benefited more from lessons in productivity that companies learned during the war, and the adoption of new technologies. President Ronald Reagan is lionized for his tax cuts and deregulation, but it was the Federal Reserve's fight against inflation that had the biggest impact. President Bill Clinton oversaw robust economic growth, but we have the rise

of the internet and other factors outside of his control to thank.

There are also clearly presidential policy pushes that have more marginal, but important, consequences. Tax policy can either exacerbate or reduce income inequality, for example, which has been found to slow economic growth. Presidential appointments to agencies like the Federal Reserve and Department of Labor are crucial. Without the stimulus package pushed and signed by President Obama, the economy would almost certainly have fallen further into recession and taken far longer to crawl back out.

This also means that the person who is sworn into office in January will have at least some consequence for the economy. If it's Mr. Trump, he's made it clear that his top priorities will be trade and immigration policy. The details of his plans often shift, and depending on what course of action he takes on trade he could either help the economy by going after China's currency manipulation or end up costing the country millions of jobs by starting a trade war. Reducing the flow of immigrants would certainly be terrible for the economy.

If Mrs. Clinton becomes president, it seems likely that first on her agenda will be pushing for national paid family leave, a minimum-wage increase and more government spending on things like infrastructure projects to create jobs. Paid family leave can keep people in the work force and even expand it. A bump in the minimum wage can put more money in people's pockets and stimulate the economy — without, most likely, costing jobs. Infrastructure spending has been found to generate significant economic growth.

But both candidates need Congress to get these things done. The number of new laws enacted by recent Congresses has been steadily on the decline for some time. To get at least something accomplished, President Obama has

been turning to his executive power. But the change that can be wrought through those orders is much smaller; rather than being able to raise the minimum wage on his own, for instance, he can do so only for government contractors. And those orders can always be reversed.

Even the stimulus, one of the most important economic accomplishments of the Obama administration, was hampered by concerns about what Congress would accept. There's good reason to think that if the package had been larger, growth and jobs would have rebounded faster and we'd be in a better position today. But the administration knew there wouldn't be political appetite for a larger number, so it was shorn down.

Whatever influence the president may have at times wielded over the economy is diminishing. With a gridlocked Congress, presidents are less and less able to push through enormous legislative changes that would substantially shift the course of the economy. The perception that the president deserves either credit or blame for whatever the economy is doing is still strong. And therefore it matters for both candidates that they will almost certainly take the helm of a much stronger economy than the one Mr. Obama inherited. There are reasons for Americans to feel that the economy has a long way to go toward full recovery, such as stagnant wage growth, but it's hard to deny the strength of an unemployment rate below 5 percent.

So although he or she won't deserve it, the occupant of the White House will get some credit for strong economic performance at the outset. What happens after that will be mostly out of the president's hands.

BRYCE COVERT is the economic policy editor at ThinkProgress and a contributor to The Nation.



Another age of discovery



Thomas L. Friedman

Have we been here before? I know — it feels as if the internet, virtual reality, Donald Trump, Facebook, sequencing of the human genome and machines that can reason better than people constitute a change in the pace of change without precedent. But we've actually been through an extraordinarily rapid transition like this before in history — a transition we can learn a lot from.

Ian Goldin, director of the Oxford Martin School at Oxford University, and Chris Kutarna, also of Oxford Martin, have just published a book — “Age of Discovery: Navigating the Risks and Rewards of Our New Renaissance” — about lessons we can draw from the period 1450 to 1550, known as the Age of Discovery. It was when the world made a series of great leaps forward, propelled by da Vinci, Michelangelo, Copernicus and Columbus, that produced the Renaissance and reshaped science, education, manufacturing, communications, politics and geopolitics.

“Gutenberg’s printing press provided the trigger,” Goldin told me by email, “by flipping knowledge production and exchange from tight scarcity to radical abundance. Before that, the Catholic Churches monopolized knowledge, with their handwritten Latin manuscripts locked up in monasteries. The Gutenberg press democratized information, and provided the incentive to be literate. Within 50 years, not only had scribes lost their jobs, but the Catholic Church’s millennia-old monopoly of power had been torn apart as the printing of Martin Luther’s sermons ignited a century of religious wars.”

Meanwhile, Goldin added, Copernicus upended the prevailing God-given notions of heaven and earth “by finding that far from the sun revolving around the earth, the earth rotated around the sun,” and “voyages of discovery by Columbus, da Gama and Magellan tore up millennia-old maps of the ‘known’ world.”

Those were the mother of all disruptions and led to the parallels with today. “Now, like then, new media have democratized information exchange, amplifying the voices of those who feel they have been injured in the upheaval,” said Goldin. “Now, like then, public leaders and public institutions have failed to keep up with rapid change, and popular trust has been deeply eroded.” Now, like then, “this is the best moment in history to be alive” — human health, literacy, aggregate wealth and education are flourishing — and “there are more scientists alive today than in all previous generations.”

Disruptions in Copernicus’s day offer lessons today.

And, yet many people feel worse off. Because, as in the Renaissance, key anchors in people’s lives — like the workplace and community — are being fundamentally dislocated. The pace of technological change is outstripping the average person’s ability to adapt. Now, like then, said Goldin, “sizeable parts of the population found their skills were no longer needed, or they lived in places left behind, so inequality grew.” At the same time, “new planetary scale systems of commerce and information exchange led to immense improvements in choices and accelerating innovations which made some people fabulously rich.”

Was there a Donald Trump back then? “Michelangelo and Machiavelli’s Florence suffered a shocking popular power-taking when Girolamo Savonarola, a midlevel friar from Ferrara, who lived from 1452 to 1498, exploded from obscurity in the 1490s to enthral

Florentines, who felt left behind economically or culturally, with sermons that laid blame upon the misguided policies and moral corruption of their leaders,” said Goldin. “He and his zealous supporters, though a small minority, swept away the Medici establishment and seized control of the city’s councils.”

“From there, Savonarola launched an ugly campaign of public purification, introducing radical laws including against homosexuality, and attacked public intellectuals in an act of intimidation that history still remembers as the Bonfire of the Vanities. Savonarola was amongst the first to tap into the information revolution of the time, and while others produced long sermons and treatises, Savonarola disseminated short pamphlets, in what may be thought of as the equivalent of political tweets.”

The establishment politicians of the day, who were low energy, “underestimated the power of that new information revolution to move beyond scientific and cultural ideas” to amplify populist voices challenging authority.

Yikes! How do we blunt that? “More risk-taking is required when things change more rapidly, both for workers who have to change jobs and for businesses who have to constantly innovate to stay ahead,” Goldin argued. Government’s job is to strengthen the safety nets and infrastructure so individuals and companies can be as daring — in terms of learning, adapting and investing in themselves — as they need to be. At the same time, when the world gets this tightly woven, America “needs to be more, not less, engaged, with the rest of the world,” because “the threats posed by climate change, pandemics, cyberattacks or terror will not be reduced by America withdrawing.”

Then, as now, walls stopped working. “Cannons and gunpowder came to Europe that could penetrate or go over walls and books could bring ideas around them,” he said. Then, like now, walls only made you poorer, dumber and more insecure.

Making India’s roads safer

David Bornstein

Nine years ago, tragedy struck the family of Piyush Tewari. While returning home from school in Delhi, Mr. Tewari’s cousin, Shivam, 16, was hit by a speeding jeep. Badly injured, Shivam managed to pull himself to the side of the road. He asked strangers for assistance. “Hundreds of people must have passed by him in the 30 minutes he was there,” said Mr. Tewari. “But no one helped. He bled to death in full public view on the side of the road.”

“It angered me,” Mr. Tewari said. “I needed to find out why this had happened.” He left his job, and traveled across India speaking with families of other victims, as well as lawyers, police officers, doctors, and activists. He discovered two important facts.

First, India had surpassed China as the global leader in road crashes. Last year it had 146,000 deaths. Second, the Indian government has estimated that half of the deaths could be prevented if victims received timely medical care. Shivam’s case was not unique. Each year, tens of thousands of people die in India because they fail to receive help within the critical hour after a road accident. Because ambulances are still unreliable in many parts of the country, it falls to bystanders or police officers to act if crash victims are to be saved.

Mr. Tewari began asking how road safety might be improved, and in 2008, he established the SaveLife Foundation to answer that question. In trying to comprehend why Shivam hadn’t been helped, Mr. Tewari discovered that a major problem was fear. In a national survey commissioned by the SaveLife Foundation, three quarters of respondents said they would be unlikely to assist a road victim with serious injuries; of those, 88 percent said they feared repeated police questioning and a prolonged obligation to appear in court as a witness; and 77 percent added that hospitals unnecessarily detained good Samaritans and refused treatment if

money wasn’t paid. The vast majority agreed that India needed a “supportive legal environment” to enable people to help injured victims on the road.

It now has one. In March, following a petition and six years of effort by SaveLife Foundation, India’s Supreme Court issued a judgment to protect good Samaritans. Indians who assist others will no longer be required to disclose personal information or be subjected to questioning by police; they cannot be detained at hospitals for any reason, and they are protected from civil or criminal liability. This could prove to be a major step forward.

Between 2006 and 2015, 1.2 million Indians died in road crashes, and 6 to 7 million were injured or disabled. Road deaths are the number one cause of death for Indians between the ages of 15 and 49. Perhaps half of the victims are from very poor backgrounds — rickshaw wallahs, cart pullers or daily laborers who walk or bicycle home from work after dark, when crashes most often occur.

Now, SaveLife is working to get the word out about the law. “We need to get this disseminated right down to the last person on the road,” said G. K. Pillai, a former Secretary in India’s Ministry of Home Affairs, who serves as a trustee for SaveLife Foundation. “This is a huge country: 1.2 billion people. I would put it at two to three years before we can get everyone to know this is the law.”

SaveLife and other road safety advocates are contacting officials across India — in state governments, police and transportation departments, courts and other institutions — to publicize the law. The foundation is raising money for a national radio campaign to inform the public. A website — GoodSamaritanLaw.in — and a Facebook page provide platforms to learn about the law and how to help in an emergency, report harassment, or share stories of

human kindness.

The law is just one of many efforts being advanced by SaveLife and other advocates to improve road safety. Since 2009, SaveLife has also trained 10,000 police officers in 10 states to provide trauma care tailored for crash victims — everything from performing CPR and transporting a victim safely to dealing with fire injuries, impalement or dismemberment.

In Delhi, from 2010 to 2014, while road crashes increased by 30 percent, fatalities decreased by nearly 30 percent. India’s central government has recommended similar training for police around the country. These changes come as India is undergoing a historic transformation. From 2009 to 2012, the country added 45 million vehicles to its roads, and it is expected to add tens of millions more in coming years.

But the numbers alone don’t explain why India’s crash rate is so high. The problems are systemic: India’s process for training and licensing drivers is broken; enforcement of traffic violations is anemic, and road engineering doesn’t conform to accepted safety standards. Moreover, India doesn’t have a comprehensive legal framework for advancing road safety or a government agency to oversee it. Advocates are pushing for both these reforms.

“We know that it’s going to take 10 to 15 years to have a major impact,” adds Mr. Pillai, “but we have to do it.” He added that the Indian government spends 20 times more to combat terrorism than on road safety — while road crashes kill 75 times more people.

“Unless the framework under road safety is reformed we will not see broad changes,” Mr. Tewari said, adding that it “takes a while for policies to come through, and to have impact — so you have to sacrifice instant gratification.”

DAVID BORNSTEIN, the author of “How to Change the World” and “The Price of a Dream: The Story of the Grameen Bank,” is a co-founder of the Solutions Journalism Network. This is a condensed version of an article in *Fixes*, a series on social change at nytimes.com/opinionator.

The L.G.B.T. case for guns

Nicki Stallard

SAN JOSE, CALIF. I’ll never forget the first piece of safety advice I got when I began my transition from the male body in which I was born to the female body I now occupy: Carry a whistle. If I was attacked, I was supposed to blow it in hopes it would alert some do-gooder to dash into a dark alley to break up a brutal hate crime.

The idea was not only preposterous, it was also insulting. The implication was that I, being transgender, wouldn’t be able to save myself. But I didn’t need a whistle; I had a gun.

Since the attack in Orlando, Fla., many L.G.B.T. groups have been calling loudly for laws restricting gun ownership. But if anyone should be concerned about protecting the individual right to bear arms, it’s L.G.B.T. people. We need to stop preaching nonviolence and voting for politicians who don’t protect us.

Violence toward L.G.B.T. people is real. We are victimized at far greater rates than other minority groups. We often face multiple assailants. The attacks are frenzied and quickly escalate from harassment, to fists, to something altogether different. People die.

If you find yourself in a violent encounter, you’re lucky if you get three seconds to react. If you want to save yourself, you have to go on the offensive. And a whistle isn’t going to cut it.

I’m not the only one who thinks the L.G.B.T. movement is making a mistake by lining up behind gun control measures. In the days since Orlando, Facebook membership in my pro-gun L.G.B.T. group, Pink Pistols, has quadrupled, from around 1,500 to more than 6,500, and new chapters are starting across the country. Gun stores are reporting that L.G.B.T. buyers are making sales spike, and gun trainers are reaching out, offering free training or discounts.

These are people who understand that if you’re gay or transgender, you can’t simply hope that laws will protect you. They won’t. And you can’t rely on the police. Orlando is proof you could bleed to death in the time it takes for them to stop the shooter.



Members of the Pink Pistols, an L.G.B.T. gun rights group, practicing their shooting skills. CREDIT: REX FEATURES, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

What happened in Orlando was not just an attack on America, it was an attack on L.G.B.T. people. While America at large debates what laws could have prevented this, what role Islam plays, and which political party is to blame, we need to get practical: If you don’t defend yourself, no one else will.

Most would agree — as do I — that violence is rarely the answer, and it’s never a first line of defense. But when my friends tell me they’d rather die than resort to violence, I tell them fine, I’ll light a candle at your vigil. It’s your choice. But

those are the stakes. Don’t kid yourself otherwise.

I used to have reservations about people carrying guns in bars. But 12 states allow concealed carry in bars, and I haven’t heard any reports of increased violence in those places. Now I can’t help wondering how many victims in Orlando might have been saved if a few people inside the nightclub had had concealed carry permits, and been able to fight back.

Many L.G.B.T. people view guns as evil — immoral killing machines that should be heavily regulated, if not eradicated. That’s because they hear about guns only when the story ends tragically, or when they see them used in violent movies.

But every day, Americans use guns to defend themselves, and they don’t even have to pull the trigger. The mere appearance of a firearm can save their life. Just last week, Tom G. Palmer, now a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, wrote in an op-ed article in *The New York Daily News* about an episode in his 20s when he flashed his pistol at a group of men who were threatening to kill him because he was gay — and they retreated.

This is a call to L.G.B.T. people to take their own defense seriously, and to question the left-leaning institutions that tell them guns are bad, and should be left to the professionals. Become a professional. You’re allowed. That’s what the Second Amendment is for. We can fight back when our lives depend on it.

NICKI STALLARD is a spokeswoman for *Pink Pistols*, an L.G.B.T. gun group.

The New York Times

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Men's Fashion Paris

An opinion divide on the runways

BY MATTHEW SCHNEIER

It is a telling detail that at fashion shows, critics and retailers tend to sit on opposite sides of the runway. Agreement on the merits or failings of any individual collection, or the fashion season as a whole, is as hard to come by in this world as accord across the aisle is in politics. A few collections manage the feat of pleasing everyone, but many others are critically beloved while impossibly unsalable, or till-ringingly commercial but poorly or begrudgingly reviewed.

With the men's fashion season now past the halfway point, it is a fine time to take the temperature of the season. The international scrum of editors, journalists and retailers (and the usual few drop-in celebrities) have come and gone to London, Florence (for the Pitti Uomo fair) and Milan and have arrived in Paris for the final leg of the twice-yearly tour, packing and repacking their oversized and often overweight luggage.

It is a transitional moment. Brands are grappling with whether to adopt a see-now, buy-now schedule of showing just before product arrives in stores. Several are between named designers (Calvin Klein Collection, Salvatore Ferragamo, Berluti) and others are not on the schedule, having combined their men's shows with their women's or elected to take a season off to give their new designers time to prepare (Burberry, Ermenegildo Zegna, Bottega Veneta, Saint Laurent).

"It's almost like the Big Bang theory right now," said Eric Jennings, the vice president and men's fashion director of Saks Fifth Avenue, who comes to the shows to offer direction to the buyers purchasing for the 40-some Saks stores that carry men's wear. "I feel like we're in flux. Things are shooting out all over in men's wear. Where they land, and which little planets grow into big planets, is anyone's guess."

Uncertainty has bred retrenchment.



BALENCIAGA

VALERIO MEZZANOTTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

"What a lot of brands have done is taken their best sellers and expanded on them," Mr. Jennings said. "Nothing revolutionary, but an expansion of the existing trends that are working."

Among those trends, he cited sport-influenced pieces and the vintage-y, Gucci-esque look he called "retro-eclecticism."

Sam Lobban, the buying manager for Mr. Porter, the men's e-commerce site, agreed. "There was a real continuation from a lot of trends that we saw starting in fall that have settled in now, and it feels like that's going to be the vibe for the season," he said, noting that is promising for sales, and adding, "A guy likes to develop a style and buy into product that's going to carry you through a fair few seasons."

In the editorial section of the shows' bench seating, this evolution over revolution has led to some grumbles of hohum. Barring a few standouts (varying by individual tastes, but often including Raf Simons, Gucci and Prada), the collections for spring 2017 have been received with a weary shrug.

On the retailers' bench, a different story was being told. Despite widespread reports of challenging conditions for retail, attitudes were (perhaps enforcedly) sunny. "The interesting thing is, given all the talk of disruption, the season's been really strong," said Bruce Pask, the men's fashion director of Bergdorf Goodman in New York (and former men's fashion director of T: The

New York Times Style Magazine).

All three men cited Prada as a particular standout. Individually, they praised collections by Neil Barrett, Moncler Gamme Bleu, Gucci and Fendi. In Paris, the debut runway show for Balenciaga's men's wear by Demna Gvasalia, its new creative director, was eagerly anticipated. (Those who sell Mr. Gvasalia's men's wear for Vetements, his other collection, said it was selling briskly.) Dries Van Noten, Thom Browne and Givenchy were also among the anticipated highlights.

The shows, aggressively styled as they are, represent an exaggerated version of what eventually ends up in stores. As much as 80 percent of a store's buy is

from precollections, which are seen privately before the runway season starts, Mr. Jennings said. Yet more and more, he added, the shows and precollections are being knitted together, appealing to customers following the action.

"A fashion customer is aware of what's going on the runway," Mr. Pask said. "I was Instagramming with a client right after the show — he was pointing out a look he would be interested in for an event next season."

He would pass that information along to his buyers, he said, "absolutely!"

ONLINE: INTERNATIONAL STYLE

For complete coverage of the spring 2017 men's collections nytimes.com/fashion

In Milan, a fashion journey with Gucci and Prada

BY GUY TREBAY

MILAN The kooky utterances fashion designers sometimes spout (and some fashion journalists often parrot) seldom offer much indicator of what's actually going on in the collections.

Both in his elaborate show notes and backstage before a beautiful final stand-alone show of men's wear for Gucci on Monday, the label's creative director Alessandro Michele alluded to the metaphysics of journey: real travel, time travel, armchair travel, metaphorical and philosophical voyages, everything but budget trips to Vegas on a Greyhound bus.

It doesn't really matter that the blather bore minimal relation to what he showed on the runway. In just a few seasons, Mr. Michele has revived the flagging fortunes of this venerable luxury goods label, one whose revenue for the year is predicted to top four billion euros, or \$4.5 billion. To a large extent, he has done so by capitalizing creatively on how people consume culture in the internet era, rummaging for imagery and information, either ignorant or agnostic about the sources of signs and symbols, references and ideas.

Thus when Mr. Michele offers a men's wear collection (and it was emphatically a men's wear collection, notwithstanding the inclusion of a smattering of female models) before an audience that included his Hollywood BFF Jared Leto (they attended the Oscars together this year), Ryan McGinley and the blond ephebe boy-star Olly Alexander in a plush bordello space lighted the color of absinthe, two of the three dressed in glorious half-drag, you know you are in for a trip.

And Mr. Michele delivered with souvenir jackets scrolled with dragons; flower patterned suits and contrast piped rowing blazers; Mary Janes with jeweled buckles; slickers and rain caps straight off a box of Fisherman's Friend lozenges; over-embroidered jeans jackets; Fair Isle sweaters with Donald Duck woven into the pattern; satin kimono lounge jackets; tunics ornamented with military braid; drawstring painter's pants and evening clothes stitched with what looked like trapunto flora.

In doing so he demonstrated not only his estimable design chops but his kinship with millions of consumers who themselves are Instagram or Pinterest magpies, grabbing at bright scraps and shiny fragments for recombinant use.

Naturally there is a temptation to sit back and enjoy the spectacle when Thom Browne stages one of his usual displays for Moncler Gamme Bleu (a subsidiary line of the puffer giant Moncler, founded in 1952 and reinvented five decades later by Remo Ruffini as a fashion concern) in a glamping show rife with references to scouting and Smokey Bear.

What is the harm? Mr. Browne is a

skilled entertainer, albeit one occasionally in need of a dramaturge. As with past collections, the tableaux vivants devised here ended without plot resolution.

In a bunkerlike show space on the edge of town, Mr. Browne laid sod, installed mature fir trees, piped in the sounds of crickets and birds. He erected 40 translucent pup tents in four parallel rows and then had his models march out in hooded floor-length coats that were half sleeping bag, half cagoule jacket.

One by one the guys installed themselves before their bivouacs. Soon two mascot bears appeared, stopping by turns to help the models wriggle out of their bag-coats, revealing beneath them



GIORGIO ARMANI

suits with short pants that formed the collection's core.

Some were in blanket plaid. Some were channel quilted. Some were in techno fabrics. Some had sequins and several were constructed using astrakhan, the fleece of newborn or fetal lambs. (Memo to PETA: Don't blame the messenger.)

Most were worn with knee socks and either safari or field jackets, all adorned with so many bellows-pockets you'd need a compass to find your keys. Once revealed, the models paraded around the space, dragging their cloaks behind them before returning to their tents and, unfurling the bags, bedding down inside.

That was it. The show ended. The audience filed out. And as they did, some wondered what may become of those tents. "Exaggerated utility," was his theme, Mr. Browne said later. Given recent events in Europe, the phrase struck an unwittingly callous tone.

Miuccia Prada, too, seemed to take up travel as a thematic for a show that cast models as vagabonds, dressing them for the road in skinny cycling pants or chunky sweaters or nylon blousons,



GUCCI

PHOTOGRAPHS BY VALERIO MEZZANOTTI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



PRADA

burdening their scrawny frames with bulging rucksacks (Prada's first commercial success, in 1984, was a nylon backpack) from which brogues were hung hobo-style.

That many of the clothes had been printed with random motifs like watermelons, sombreros or the Buddha suggested Ms. Prada has more in common with a designer like Mr. Michele than you may imagine. Is there anyone left whose creative process is not influenced by the mysterious algorithms of Google Image? Probably not.

The imaginative set for Prada — by

AMO, a research arm of the Dutch architecture studio OMA — recast the interior of Prada's space as a series of raked ramps constructed from structural metal mesh. Entering under eerie green light, and with Frédéric Sanchez's distorted remix of Björk's "Army of Me" as an aural backdrop, the models climbed ever uphill toward some unseen vanishing point.

As at Moncler Gamme Bleu, exaggerated utility was Prada's tacit throughline. And as at Moncler Gamme Bleu, the show provoked questions that even a designer of Ms. Prada's sure intelligence seems unprepared to answer.

The sunniness of Angela Missoni's relationship to travel is not easy to square with her personal experience of its perils. It was just three years ago last January that a chartered plane carrying her brother Vittorio, 58, his wife and four others (including a pilot and co-pilot) vanished as it left the Caribbean archipelago of Los Roques. The loss was devastating for a family whose eponymous label Mr. Missoni ran with his siblings.

Yet there on Sunday, almost exactly on the anniversary of the discovery of the wreck and the identification of the bodies, Ms. Missoni mounted a show that harks back to travel in happier times. "We went on a family trip to Guatemala when I was 15," Ms. Missoni said backstage. "And I never forgot it."

A jacket she bought on that trip was the point of departure for a collection that used Missoni's signature knitwear

patterns for shorts and cropped trousers, tracksuit tops and shirts, relaxed suiting, Breton-striped undershirts and roomy jackets embroidered with toucans.

Many of the models in what was by far the most racially diverse casting of recent memory wore straw jibaro hats more characteristic of Cuba or Puerto Rico than Central America, but no matter. Even with rain falling in the loggia of the university courtyard where the show was held, the mood was celebratory, even redemptive.

Giorgio Armani also alluded to travel in his show on Monday, largely into his own back pages. Mr. Armani, undisputed king of Italian fashion, surveys a realm that — however remote it may occasionally seem from developments in contemporary design — sooner or later must acknowledge him.

It is not rote obeisance. Mr. Armani laid down the codes other designers flout. He devised silhouettes many decades ago that have sustained him, snapshots from a long and memorable journey.

If there was little novelty in a collection that offered variations on his customary snug knit jackets and tunics, worn over voluminous bottom-hugging linen trousers as feminizing as anything Mr. Michele ever created, the collection served to remind viewers that the past is also, for some, a destination. The future is, of course, uncertain.

The present, at the moment, is in certain ways a pretty ugly place.

Raf Simons salutes Robert Mapplethorpe

BY MATTHEW SCHNEIER

The doors had only just opened at the Stazione Leopolda, the decommissioned train station where Raf Simons held his spring men's wear show, but already there was a throng inside. The music was pounding, and lights flashing, but when your eyes adjusted to the neon and then the dim, there they were: 266 mannequins wearing vintage Raf Simons, paired in groups or hanging over stairways like partygoers at a thumping club.

The clothes they wore were drawn from 20 years of his namesake men's wear collection, but Mr. Simons didn't care for the word "retrospective."

"I didn't really want to work too much the way it's usually done when you do a retrospective," Mr. Simons said backstage after the show. "It doesn't work for my brand; it's a brand that needs to sit in reality. I don't feel it as an installation." He gestured at the mannequins, who were, he acknowledged with a shrug, all female: "They become kind of a crowd. They're just a part of the audience."

Where Mr. Simons goes, crowds follow. He uprooted his show from Paris, where it usually takes place, and moved it for a season to Pitti Uomo, the Florentine trade fair where, in 2005, he showed his 10th anniversary collection.

After two decades in the fashion business, Mr. Simons is at a transitional point in his career. In October, he stepped down from Dior, where he had been creative director of its women's collection, and though rumors circulate freely, he has not yet announced where he will go next. (He and his representatives crisply declined to comment.)

For the first time in years, without the usual pressure of another brand to carry as well as his own (before Dior, he spent several years designing Jil Sander, which he also brought to Pitti Uomo, in 2010), he has a single focus: Raf Simons. On Thursday night, he staged his new collection for a gathering of men and mannequins, his critics and his own past work.

The new collection was made in collaboration with the Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation, which reached out to him to explore a partnership two months ago.

"Usually it's the other way around," Mr. Simons said. "I said, 'Can we start tomorrow?'"

It is a year of Mapplethorpe, as well as a year of Raf. Twin retrospectives of Mapplethorpe's work are on view, following major Mapplethorpe Foundation gifts, at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and at the Getty Center in Los Angeles, one of Mr. Simons's favorite cities; and a new documentary, "Mapplethorpe: Look at the Pictures," aired on HBO earlier this year. So Mr. Simons shelved some early plans and set about incorporating Mapplethorpe's photography into his collection: the celebrity portraits as well as the self-portraits, the erotic photos as well as the flowers.

Much of the initial goggling and giggling was over the explicitly erotic pieces, but the show had the scope of a complete catalog. Many of the most famous photos were here: portraits of Patti Smith, Debbie Harry, Robert Sherman and Alice Neel; Mapplethorpe's leather-gloved hand from the invitation to a major exhibition; the flowers; the

pullover vests. The models looked like Mapplethorpe (down to the leatherman hats on their curly heads) and were dressed like his portraits of Ms. Smith, in her plain black trousers and men's shirt. The looks repeated, with variations; the boys became frames for the images they wore.

But there was something darkly sensual about the way their sweaters, partially unbuttoned, gaped open, or their oversize shirts caught air and filled like sails as they marched by. Many models had to pull them back on as they finished their turn around the runway: the collection undressed them as much as it dressed them. It's not hard to imagine Mapplethorpe appreciating that detail.

At the end of the show, the crowd converged on Mr. Simons, offering congratulations and gasping about the bluer bits. Then the audience departed and, as quiet settled back over the space, the mannequins did, too: Crews appeared to disassemble them and pack the outfits away, back to the archive.

Off they went. Mr. Simons isn't one to dwell on his own history. Among the 266 mannequins was one in a jacket inscribed with the legend of his fall 2015 collection, a forward-charging rallying cry: "To the Archives, No Longer Relevant!"



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRIS WARDE-JONES

Many of the garments in Raf Simons's spring 2017 collection, shown at the Pitti Uomo trade fair in Florence, Italy, were printed with Robert Mapplethorpe's photographs.



Mr. Simons with Robert Sherman, one of Mapplethorpe's subjects.

classical statuary. It had been an undertaking, Mr. Simons said, to reach out to the sitters to secure permission to use their likenesses. Mr. Sherman, handsome and gleamingly bald, attended the show, as did the family of Ms. Neel, who died in 1984.

That palpable sense of connection freed the Mapplethorpe works from the static confines of a gallery retrospective, just as Mr. Simons's own archive, unpedestaled, peopled the crowd. One provocateur and innovator saluted another: Looking at Mr. Simons's work and Mapplethorpe's, it was striking to see once again how influential each has been, and to recognize the debt contemporary men's wear owes to Mr. Simons, and photography to Mapplethorpe.

That the work is so well known was the peculiar challenge of using it. "I wasn't interested to choose five photographs and put them on T-shirts — that's what everyone does," Mr. Simons said. And in fact, as of very recently, you could buy at Uniqlo a T-shirt with the same American flag image Mr. Simons used. What was once astonishing is now canonical.

That made for a quieter collection than usual for Mr. Simons, even if he called it "probably the most complex collection I ever did, technically speaking," thanks to the challenges of printing the images at high quality on cloth. The clothes were simpler, riffing on Raf shapes of the past: tunics and big coats, threadbare sweaters, abbreviated



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Eddie Redmayne
London, April 2016

Culture

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GALLIA EST OMNIS DIVIS

Above, from left, Brad Pitt, John Reuter, Nafis Azad and Chuck Close with an oversized Polaroid camera. Below left, "Lolita" (1990), by William Wegman. Below right, "Untitled" ("Wild West" series), by David Levinthal.

A Polaroid behemoth in twilight

To a fan's chagrin, camera company yields to the digital world

BY RANDY KENNEDY

Over the past eight years, as cameras have become smaller and smaller — tiny enough to fit on a pair of glasses or inside a swallowable pill — John Reuter has been working to stave off extinction of one of the largest cameras ever made, so big and irredeemably analog that it feels, he says, "as if we're pulling oil paintings out of the back of it."

The camera, the 20-inch-by-24-inch Polaroid, was born as a kind of industrial stunt. Five of the wooden behemoths, weighing more than 200 pounds each and sitting atop a quartet of gurney wheels, were made in the late 1970s at the request of Edwin H. Land, the company's founder, to demonstrate the quality of his large-format film. But the cameras found their true home in the art world, taken up by painters like Chuck Close and Robert Rauschenberg and photographers like William Wegman,

David Levinthal and Mary Ellen Mark to make instant images that had the size and presence of sculpture.

In 2008, Polaroid, in bankruptcy, stopped producing instant film. Mr. Reuter, who had worked at the company for decades, swooped in with the help of an investor, buying one of the original cameras and hundreds of cases of the remaining film. The dream was to make enough money to be able to recreate the manufacturing process for the film and its unwieldy chemicals and to make more of the big cameras. But in an interview last week, Mr. Reuter said he had finally decided to bow to the inevitable: There will never be a large enough demand for the cameras and he can no longer maintain his quixotic effort to keep them alive. The company he runs, the 20x24 Studio, based in central Massachusetts, plans to close by the end of next year, by which time he hopes that much of the remaining film stock will be used up.

"I've been doing this for 40 years now, and I understand the importance of the history maybe better than anyone else," said Mr. Reuter, who is also a photographer and filmmaker. "But there is a time when things have to come to an



WILLIAM WEGMAN



DAVID LEVINTHAL

end. These are not materials that were designed to last indefinitely, and the investment to keep making them would be huge, multimillions."

News of the wind down has been spreading for several months through the art world, where it has been met more often with disbelief than disappointment. "I haven't given up," said Mr. Close, one of the first artists to begin using the camera in the late 1970s to make photographs as both the basis for painted portraits and as works themselves. "Here's yet another medium that will be lost to history, and it just shouldn't be allowed to happen. If it does, I don't know what I'm going to do, to tell you the truth. It's so integrated into everything I do. I can always imagine what making a painting from one of those pictures will look like."

Like other artists he knows who have used the camera, he said, its attraction is not just in its size and endearingly oddball personality, like a creature from an obsessive hobbyist's garage. The immediacy of making the picture, Mr. Close said, changes the relationship between the subject and the artist, who together witness the image come into being after

POLAROID, PAGE 11

At Aldeburgh, playing Messiaen's birdsongs in their natural habitat

ALDEBURGH, ENGLAND

BY MICHAEL WHITE

Like most musicians, pianists tend to be nocturnal animals, their natural habitat the concert hall at 7:30 p.m. So it was curious Sunday at the Aldeburgh Festival here to find Pierre-Laurent Aimard up with the lark (in every sense), performing at 4:30 a.m., as the sun rose over the poetically bleak Suffolk marshes that surround Snape Maltings Concert Hall.

The vista was part of the experience, because Mr. Aimard wasn't actually inside the hall but in a gallery above it — looking out on nature with a bleary-eyed but, for the time of day, large audience doing likewise. BBC technicians broadcast the performance live, and it was the start of an extraordinary event devoted to Olivier Messiaen's ultimate attempt at turning birdsong into art: his "Catalogue d'Oiseaux," which Mr. Aimard played in four strategically timed concerts that extended through the day and finished after midnight, each one linked with the activities of Suffolk's wildlife.

The early-morning program was to

witness the dawn chorus of birds. The other performances included one at dusk and one at the dead of night in almost total darkness.

Music and ornithology have a long relationship. But no composer has investigated it as methodically as Messiaen, for whom nature's songsters offered an escape from the default-mode serialism or historicism that inhibited French music in the middle of the 20th century. Out in the garden, he heard other possibilities.

By the late 1950s, when he wrote the "Catalogue," the musicalized chattering and trilling of the birds was fundamental to Messiaen's compositions. His approach was, he insisted, scientific, hence the academic-sounding title of the piece: an epic suite comprising 13 studies of key avian artists, with others in the background as supporting talent.

Breathing life into these studies isn't easy. In the wrong hands they are less the soaring creatures Messiaen sought, and more like road kill, with a jarringly repetitive insistence that suggests neurosis.

Mr. Aimard, though, has good credentials, as a pupil of Yvonne Loriod, Messiaen's wife, muse and dedicatee of

MUSIC REVIEW

the "Catalogue." And in these Aldeburgh readings he was masterful, with an incisive brilliance and relentless focus that acknowledged how the music marries rigorous complexity with childlike innocence, unsentimental clinicism with romantic charm. He kept the sense of line through episodic stops and

starts. And he observed the sense of mystery in the writing, as inscrutable as birds themselves.

To do all this from dawn to midnight was impressive, and transformed into a hero someone whose relationship with Aldeburgh hasn't been ideal. As its artistic chief for eight years, Mr. Aimard has been useful in establishing connections with the international avant-gardists who are his friends. But

his disinterest in Britten, Aldeburgh's founder and presiding spirit, hasn't won too many local hearts.

Which in its scope, scale and imagination is the sort of project by which festivals are judged — can only be redemptive. This year is his last in charge, and it will leave behind a landmark statement.

It will also leave the memory of a festival so broadly rich in interest that it ranks among the finest in the world: less glamorous than Verbier or Salzburg, but far more engaging, clever and resourceful.

Messiaen aside, last Sunday brought the choir of King's College, Cambridge, to Aldeburgh with a Mass setting by Julian Anderson, performed liturgically.

The night before, John Eliot Gardiner's Monteverdi Choir and English Baroque Soloists delivered a collectively well-groomed "St. Matthew Passion."

And last Friday saw Oliver Knussen conduct the BBC Symphony Orchestra in two lyrically effective new commissions from Gary Carpenter and Charlotte Bray.

There's also been an Aldeburgh res-



MATT JOLLY

Pierre-Laurent Aimard performing "Catalogue d'Oiseaux" at the Aldeburgh Festival.

idency by the multi-period ensemble Les Siècles, who managed in a single concert to be a baroque band playing Rameau and an early-20th century orchestra revealing the soft, silken luster that the brasses and woodwinds of Ravel's time would have lent his ballet score "Daphnis et Chloé."

With a timely focus on the work of Michael Tippett, who has all but fallen out of repertoire despite his music's beauty, warmth and gravity-defying ecstacy, there have been song recitals by Ian Bostridge and Robert Murray. And defying gravity on other terms, there was a dramatization of Britten's orchestral song cycle "Les Illuminations" in which acrobats and high-wire circus artists swept disarmingly around the heads of the young, up-for-it Aurora Orchestra (in dazzling form) and the soprano Sarah Tynan.

Hardly anything this year at Aldeburgh isn't a hot ticket. But the Messiaen was incendiary. In times of widespread crisis in the British arts world, it's a pleasure to report on something doing well.

The Aldeburgh Festival continues through Sunday; aldeburgh.co.uk.

Hendrix and Handel slept here

LONDON

BY FARAH NAYERI

In the summer of 1968, fresh from a year of touring and recording, Jimi Hendrix rented a small apartment in London with his British girlfriend, Kathy Etchingham, and decorated it himself in a style that might be described today as hippie chic.

Hendrix pinned shawls to the wall, piled rugs on the floor and decked the mantel with ostrich feathers. The couple spent lazy afternoons in the apartment at 23 Brook Street in Mayfair, playing board games, listening to records and watching episodes of the television saga “Coronation Street.”

The apartment was next door to the former home of a composer as famous in his day as Hendrix was in the late 1960s, George Frederick Handel.

The Saxony-born Handel lived in the Georgian house at 25 Brook Street for 36 years, from 1723 until his death, and since 2001 it has been operated as a museum. The trust behind the museum also held the lease on the upper floors of No. 23, and this February, Hendrix's apartment — recreated with period artifacts and reproductions — opened to the public in an unlikely coupling of the baroque and the psychedelic.

It was Ms. Etchingham, who turned 70 this month and now lives in Melbourne, Australia, who found the £30-a-week apartment through a newspaper ad in June 1968. The immediate neighbors were shops and businesses, so the landlord had no objections renting to a rock musician, she said in a telephone interview.

The couple had met in September 1966 at Scotch of St. James, a nightclub where Ms. Etchingham — a hairdresser and a DJ — previously worked. The nonsense 20-year-old was a habituée of the music scene: she knew members of the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, and had even danced with David Bowie once.

Yet she was mesmerized by Hendrix, who was building his reputation with blistering live shows in the city's clubs.

“I’d never seen anybody like him before, and neither had anyone else,” Ms. Etchingham recalled. “He was very, very funny, and amusing, and good company.” His flamboyant performances — in which he occasionally lit his guitar on fire — were “all an act,” she said: “What he did on the stage, he didn’t do privately.”

Ms. Etchingham acted as a consultant on the project, which cost about 2.4 million pounds, or about \$3.5 million. The museum — now called Handel & Hendrix in London — expects to welcome about 50,000 visitors in its first year, up from 20,000 annually when it was just Handel’s house.

The opening of the Hendrix wing has allowed the museum to reach younger audiences and “become a house that celebrates music,” said Michelle Aland, the director and chief executive of Handel & Hendrix, which has also added a 40-seat studio for teaching and performing music.

“We’ve moved from just baroque and Handel to rock ‘n’ roll to music in general,” Ms. Aland said.

The centerpiece of the exhibit is Hendrix’s colorful living room, which contains the oval wood-framed mirror in which he combed his hair (a loan from Ms. Etchingham). Everything else — the furniture and fabrics, the floral lampshade, the Bakelite phones, the refrigerator-sized speakers — has either been reproduced or sourced at auctions of ’60s memorabilia.

Hendrix picked thick velvet curtains in turquoise blue (designed to keep the light out, given how late the couple woke up); these have now been made to match in more or less the same shade. His flame-red carpeting has been replicated from a tuft of the original that was found stuck on a nail.

A vintage match has even been found for a BOAC travel bag containing his guitar repair kit. (The original sold at auction in 2014 for 10,625 pounds, or



Jimi Hendrix at 23 Brook Street, London, in 1969. George Frederick Handel, above right, lived at No. 25, and the two spaces have now been combined into a visitor attraction, top right.

Jimi Hendrix

Born: Nov. 27, 1942, Seattle, Wash.

First job: Enlisted in U.S. Army in 1959 but was discharged after injuries from parachute jumps; in mid-1960s he played backup for B.B. King, Sam Cooke, Jackie Wilson, Little Richard and others.

Early hits: “Hey Joe” 1967, which reached No. 6 on the British charts.

Why he moved to London: Brought to England in 1966 by Chas Chandler of the Animals, who helped create The Jimi Hendrix Experience with the British musicians Noel Redding and Mitch Mitchell. Built his reputation in London clubs.

Lived on Brook Street: At No. 23 from June 1968 to March 1969 (touring in between).

Greatest hits: The albums “Axis: Bold as Love” (No. 3 in the United States, 1968) and “Electric Ladyland” (No. 1, 1968); performance of

about \$15,405.)

The museum also has a room with wall-to-wall album covers representing Hendrix’s record collection, and a central foyer (once part of Handel’s attic) with explanatory texts and photographs as well as videos that include a fuzzy color clip in which he plays “Hound Dog” while Ms. Etchingham and others wiggle to the beat. An Epiphone FT79 guitar that he plays in the clip is displayed in the foyer, on loan from its owner.

When he wasn’t in the United States recording or touring, the couple would often spend afternoons in a record store, where Hendrix would choose albums because of a particular riff or set of chords and sometimes listen to them only once or twice. He bought the Bee Gees’ first album because of the harmonies, said Ms. Etchingham, and Han-

del’s “Messiah” when he learned of the Brook Street connection.

Otherwise, the couple played Monopoly, watched TV, and ordered hamburgers and bottles of Mateus rosé from the downstairs restaurant. Ms. Etchingham also poured Hendrix cups of tea, a beverage he sneered at initially. At night, musicians and performers swarmed the apartment to watch Hendrix play, and braver ones — such as the jazz musician Roland Kirk — would join in. Some guests would stay the night, said Ms. Etchingham; George Harrison once slept in the upstairs room.

“There were no wild parties — no, never,” she said, emphasizing that the only drug in the house was cannabis. “There were friends coming around, people playing music, bringing their instruments, doing a bit of jamming.”

Personal style: Flowing shirts, psychedelic jewelry, military-inspired jackets, headband, pinstripes.

Indulgences: Hard to know for certain, but it was the 1960s; Mateus rosé, Benson & Hedges cigarettes.

Death: Inhalation of vomit following barbiturate intoxication, Sept. 18, 1970, at age 27 in London.

Musical legacy: Widely acknowledged as greatest rock guitarist ever. The influence of his theatrical live shows, searing guitar solos, and blending of jazz, rock and blues can be seen in Prince and as well as generations of air guitarists.

Fun fact: Hendrix was a left-hander who played a right-handed Fender Stratocaster guitar upside down.



PHILLIP REED



NORTH WIND PICTURE ARCHIVES, VIA AP IMAGES

George Frederick Handel

Born: Halle, in what is now Germany, Feb. 23, 1685.

First job: Organist at Halle Cathedral at age 17.

Early hits: Numerous cantatas, both sacred and secular, and the operas “Agrippina” (1709-10) and “Rinaldo” (1711).

Why he moved to London: His patron, George, elector of Hanover, was heir to the British throne. After taking several trips in the early 1710s to London, a wealthy capital with money to spend on the arts, Handel eventually settled there permanently. George succeeded Queen Anne in 1714.

Lived on Brook Street: At No. 25, from 1723 until his death in 1759.

Greatest hits: “Messiah,” “Water Music,” “Zadok the Priest,” “Coronation Anthems.”

Personal style: Bewigged and powdered. He was often referred to as old fashioned, and his clothes were identifiably Germanic.

Indulgences: Claret wine and hot chocolate: Handel was said to tend toward “healthy corpulence.”

Death: In failing health and blind, at home on Brook Street at age 74.

Musical legacy: Largely responsible for the popularity of the oratorio. Reassessment in 20th century of his operas found a master of technique and many musical styles.

Fun fact: In 1704, Handel fought a duel with Johann Mattheson, a singer and composer (and later critic), after a quarrel over the continuo part in one of Mattheson’s operas.

Ms. Etchingham and Hendrix stayed together for nearly three years; she is cited as the inspiration for songs including “The Wind Cries Mary” (Mary is her middle name).

After Hendrix started taking heavier drugs, the couple split up. “Somewhere along the line, I realized that this is not going to be anything that I’d want long term,” she said.

Ms. Etchingham has played a role in his legacy after his death in 1970 in London. She campaigned to get a blue plaque put up by English Heritage on the building in 1997, paving the way for the museum. She has also published a memoir, “Through Gypsy Eyes.”

Did she ever have a sense that she was living with a genius? “No,” she said. “I couldn’t have foreseen that nobody else would have come along as good.”

Two families destroy and ravage the forests

Barkskins. By Annie Proulx. 717 pages. Scribner. \$32.

BY WILLIAM T. VOLLMANN

Whatever else she’s writing about, the novelist and story writer Annie Proulx is always writing at least partly about our tempestuous relationship with nature. It’s there in the forbidding seas of her Pulitzer Prize-winning novel,

BOOK REVIEW

“The Shipping News.” It’s there in the hardscrabble ranches and “bad dirt” of her Wyoming stories (including “Brokeback Mountain,” where desire is the natural force that demands a reckoning). And it’s there in her fifth and latest novel, “Barkskins” — a tale of long-term, shortsighted greed whose subject could not be more important: the destruction of the world’s forests.

Resource extraction on an industrial scale mostly exemplifies the infamous tragedy of the commons: namely, that degradation to the environment is a fractional cost divided among everybody around, while the benefit to each exploiter is a whole integer that need not be shared. For example, if I clear-cut a forest, I am damaging it for all of us, myself included — but since my profit accrues to me alone, I can happily ruin the place and move on. Thus “Barkskins.”

Ms. Proulx employs a sophisticated narrative strategy of oscillating focus. Sometimes the techno-commercial practices of a given era are foregrounded, as in this aphorism: “A man — if he’s any good — makes eight axes a day. If he’s no good he can make 10 or 12.” Ms. Proulx pays admirable attention to the dichotomy between 19th-century wasteful American timbering and conservation-oriented German forestry practices, and to the possible symbiosis between Amerindian medicine plants and the healthy trees that surrounded them in pre-logging days.

She vivifies these topics through such effective landscape descriptions as this one from 18th-century Maine: “Sometimes he was on dim Indian trails following landmarks almost always obscured by the jagged skyline of conifers, but more often making his way through logging slash and blowdowns.” And while getting all this across, “Barkskins” also manages to follow two French immigrants and their posterity over more than three centuries as they take down the forests of maritime Canada, Maine, New Zealand and Michigan.

On his arrival in Canada in 1693, Charles Duquet (a murdering, thieving boor) stares at the green gloom around him and is informed: “It is the forest of the world. It is infinite.” He runs away



GEORGE DOUGLAS

and goes into business. Around 1700 we find him in China, asking a local trader: “How far back can a forest withdraw before it replenishes itself?” The equivocal answer: “People must eat or they die. They need fuel to cook rice. They must keep warm. So trees fall.”

Returning to his original Canadian landing, he finds that “the landscape had been corrupted. ... For a moment he was frightened; if miles of forest could be removed so quickly by a few men with axes, was the forest then as vulnerable as beaver? No. ... These forests could not disappear. In New France they were vast and eternal.” And as Kurt Vonnegut would have said, so it goes, right up to 20th-century Brazil, about which a Duquet descendant assures himself: “The rain forest is so large and rich it defeats all who try to conquer it.”

Schmoozing, risking and trading, Duquet becomes what we might now call a multinational. In an Amsterdam coffee-house he meets an Englishman who

“had intimate business dealings with the newly appointed New England royal mast contractor.” So Duquet learns the art of “procuring ownership of great white pine tracts by purchasing old township grants.” He Anglicizes his name to Duke and by the time he meets his fate, the firm of Duke & Sons has become a perpetual motion machine, hacking and selling.

Accompanying Duquet at the novel’s opening is another servant named René Sel, who does not run away. In order to wed a wealthy Frenchwoman, the mas-

ter discards his Micmac concubine, whom he marries to Sel. From their union springs the novel’s other narrative thread. The mostly Euro-American Dukes sell lumber on an ever vaster scale, while the métis Sels struggle between subsistence in a blighted indigenous culture and badly compensated piecework in lumber extraction. “They all knew that river work was the most dangerous. ... That was why the boss gave the water work to the Indians.”

The chronicle generations come and go, fattening on dead trees, enacting and re-enacting the tragedy of the commons. We need more writers like her to hammer home the message that we had better stop mistreating one another and our planet. Unfortunately, hammering is just what she does, as when she annotates a senator’s remark that “the Constitution was made by whites for whites.” (“After all,” she inserts, “who else was there?”) Ha, ha.)

The whole novel suffers such two-dimensionality, as in one episode from the 1750s, when a Duke descendant complains about thievish competitors who logged his acres, then knocks out his pipe, which starts a fire.

“In Boston the next day Bernard saw the distant smoke and reckoned it was in Duke & Sons’ forestland; but fire could not be helped. Forests burned, according to God’s will.” That this supposedly canny fellow could be so careless of his own profit is preposterous, but Ms. Proulx loses sight of this in her zeal to remind us who the wastrels are.

Worse yet are her stylistic infelicities. Sometimes her Native American characters speak a cigar-store pidgin to one another, only to drop it further down on the same page. Thus Achilles Sel, explaining to his kinsmen, presumably in Micmac: “We got not much food now. We hunt today, got a little east.”

But although “Barkskins” comes out poorly when considered line by line, many characters linger in the mind: the Dutch wife who at her death is revealed to have been a man; the ardent wife whose father “taught her Everything she knows and she turned out Good”; the delightfully brave and businesslike Lavinia Duke, who “could not resist her nature” and so wrecks forest ecosystems.

Resource extraction on an industrial scale mostly exemplifies the infamous tragedy of the commons.

PEOPLE

➤ Musicians including TAYLOR SWIFT, U2 and PAUL MCCARTNEY have called for on-line copyright laws to be overhauled, BBC News reported. More than 180 artists have signed an open letter criticizing the Digital Millennium Copyright Act. They claim the law benefits companies that “exploit music for their financial enrichment,” but not artists. One journalist said the music industry was “making mischief” to get more money from sites such as YouTube.

➤ “Fun Home,” the poignant family drama that overcame enormous skepticism about its Broadway viability to win last year’s Tony Award for best new musical, will close in September, the show’s producers said on Tuesday. The musical, a true story about a lesbian cartoonist trying to understand her father’s suicide, was the against-all-odds triumph that Broadway occasionally loves, recouping its capitalization and booking a national tour. But it was unable to build the audience necessary for a multiyear run on Broadway; weekly grosses, which topped out at \$17,665 last July, had dropped to \$313,556 last week. The tour begins in Cleveland in October, and at least one foreign production, starring LEA SALONGA in the Philippines, has been licensed.

A Polaroid behemoth in twilight

POLAROID, FROM PAGE 10

the photograph is pulled from the camera and the chemicals perform their function. “You both work together to get something that you want out of it. Your subject knows what you’re trying to do.” (He described a 2012 session with President Obama in a hotel room so tiny that the camera and Mr. Close’s wheelchair — a spinal-artery collapse more than two decades ago left him partially paralyzed — crowded out the Secret Service.)

The filmmaker Errol Morris, who is making a documentary about the photographer Elsa Dorfman — besides Mr. Reuter, perhaps the camera’s most devoted partisan — said that the camera had become a character in its own right in his film. “It’s an objet d’art, with these wheels like bicycle wheels, this huge box,” he said. “When Elsa pulls the film down from the camera and cuts across it and then the photo is brought over to a table and the cover is peeled back and this image slowly appears, there’s something quite magical about it.”

Mr. Reuter said maintaining that magic has exhausted him and the two people who work with him, Nafis Azad and Ted McLelland. Together, they help operate the cameras, store the photographic paper and assemble the chemical pods, a highly complicated process ac-



DAVID LEVINTHAL, COURTESY OF THE BALDWIN GALLERY
“Barbie (Lingerie),” from 1997. Artists have been drawn to the camera’s large format.

complished with a 60-year-old machine. With no real publicity operation, the initial financial challenges of the Great Recession and prices he probably set too high, Mr. Reuter said, “the demand for the cameras really just never materialized at the levels that it did during the Polaroid years; I think a lot of people had no idea the process was still in exist-

ence.” (The camera costs \$1,750 a day to rent and each exposure costs \$125, down from \$200 at the company’s beginning.)

Though Mr. Close and a handful of other artists, like Peter Tunney and Joyce Tenneson, still use the camera, the death of Ms. Mark last year meant that a consistent financial mainstay — and a widely respected ambassador for the camera — was gone.

“My goal is for people to use the rest of the material we have before all of it is really past its prime,” Mr. Reuter said. “It would be a shame to end that way.” As for the cameras themselves, he said with resignation, “I hope that they go to some place like the Smithsonian or the George Eastman collection in Rochester.”

Mr. Morris, known for his own love of rapidly rarefying film stocks like 35 millimeter and Super 8, said he continued to believe that the cameras would not end up as museum pieces. “Maybe there won’t be many — and maybe there will be a time when the process goes out of existence for a while — but I think there will be people who won’t let it go away forever.”

ONLINE: MORE ART WITH POLAROID

➤ A slide show of photographs taken with the giant camera. nytimes.com/art

ONLINE: MORE ON BOOKS

➤ For podcasts, reviews and other news visit nytimes.com/books

Sports

SOCCER GOLF HOCKEY

SPORTS

Roundup

SOCCER

Ronaldo throws microphone into lake before pivotal match

Hours before a crucial match against Hungary on Wednesday, Portugal's star player, Cristiano Ronaldo, was filmed throwing a reporter's microphone into a nearby lake after being approached for an impromptu interview.

Ronaldo has been under pressure for his misfiring performances in his country's first two games, which both ended in draws. The Real Madrid forward failed to score against Iceland in an opening 1-1 tie, and he missed a penalty and a host of other chances against Austria as Portugal struggled in a 0-0 stalemate in its second group match. Those results left Portugal needing a positive result in its third match in Group F to have a chance of reaching the last 16.

Austria and Iceland also played in Group F on Wednesday, while Italy faced Ireland and Sweden was to take on Belgium in Group E. (REUTERS)

OLYMPICS

Rio de Janeiro State to receive emergency funds for Games

Brazil's government has authorized an emergency transfer of about \$850 million for the cash-strapped state of Rio de Janeiro to help pay for infrastructure projects and security for the Olympic Games in August.

Rio's financial crisis threatens to disrupt public services during the Olympics, when 500,000 foreign visitors are expected to visit the beachside city. The authorization was published on Tuesday in the government's official gazette, and the funds will be transferred to Rio once a supplementary credit is added to the budget, the gazette said.

Rio de Janeiro's acting governor, Francisco Dornelles, declared a state of financial emergency on Friday as a drop in revenues caused by a crippling recession and slumping oil prices left state coffers depleted. The Games start on Aug. 5. (REUTERS)

TENNIS

Djokovic and Williams given top seeding for Wimbledon

Novak Djokovic and Serena Williams were chosen on Wednesday as the top seeds for Wimbledon, the third tennis grand slam of the year.

The ranking for the men's side of the tournament means Djokovic and Andy Murray, who was seeded No. 2, will be in separate halves of the draw when it is made on Friday and cannot face each other until the final.

The women's seedings followed the W.T.A. rankings, with the six-time Wimbledon champion Serena Williams at No. 1 and Garbiñe Muguruza at No. 2, followed by Agnieszka Radwanska, Angelique Kerber and Simona Halep. (AP)

MOTOR RACING

Electric motor racing series to hold Las Vegas virtual race

Formula E, the electric car racing series, is planning a virtual race in Las Vegas in January with a possible jackpot of \$1 million for the winner.

The chief executive of the series, Alejandro Agag, said on Tuesday that the event, which would pit regular race drivers against a handful of fans on simulators, could become a round of the regular championship in the future. (REUTERS)



Crunch time Cristiano Ronaldo of Portugal rose for a header in his country's match against Hungary in the European Championship on Wednesday. A final score of 3-3 meant both teams advanced to the next round.

McIlroy to skip Rio over Zika concerns

GOLF

In major blow for Games, Irish golfer's choice puts sharper focus on risks

BY KAREN CROUSE

The golfer Rory McIlroy said on Wednesday that he would skip the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro because of concerns about the Zika virus, becoming the highest-profile athlete yet to withdraw over the health scare.

His decision is a major blow for the Olympics, and not simply because he is a former world No. 1 and winner of four majors. McIlroy, 27, the highest-ranked European in the world, at No. 4, was one of the few high-profile golfers who seemed committed to competing in Rio. He had gone to the trouble of getting his shots, which left his shoulder numb, he said, making it uncomfortable to swing a golf club for two days.

Anxiety over Zika, a mosquito-borne virus linked to severe birth defects, has

cast a cloud over preparations for the Summer Games. With six weeks to go until the Games begin, McIlroy's decision is expected to intensify the debate over the wisdom of staging the Games amid a public health emergency. Olympic officials have rejected the notion that athletes should not be asked to subject themselves to such health hazards, saying the risk is minimal.

McIlroy, a hugely popular sports figure who was scheduled to play for Ireland, joins a growing list of athletes pulling out of the Games over Zika concerns, among them the American cyclist Tejay Van Garderen and the golfers Marc Leishman of Australia and Vijay Singh of Fiji.

John Speraw, coach of the United States men's volleyball team, said he would preserve sperm for a possible future pregnancy before going to Rio, and the Spanish basketball star Pau Gasol said he was considering doing the same.

Other golfers might follow McIlroy. Jason Day, the world No. 1 from Australia, has expressed reservations about competing in Rio because of the Zika virus. His countryman Adam Scott, a former world No. 1, was among the

first to remove himself from consideration for the Summer Games, citing scheduling conflicts.

The top-ranked American, Jordan Spieth, ranked No. 2 in the world, once wholeheartedly embraced the Olympic experience. He has been more tempered in his enthusiasm recently. But he is expected to compete because he is a brand ambassador for Coca-Cola, a major Olympic sponsor.

McIlroy, who is engaged to be married, said he had decided that the risks of competing in Rio outweighed the potential rewards. "After speaking with those closest to me, I've come to realize that my health, and my family's health, comes before anything else," McIlroy said in a statement. "Even though the risk of infection from the Zika virus is considered low, it is a risk, nonetheless, and a risk I am unwilling to take."

None of the world's top female golfers have backed out of the Olympics, despite the fact that they ostensibly face a greater health risk. The women, who do not enjoy as high a profile as the men, are perhaps more determined to compete in the Olympics because winning a

medal carries greater value for them.

The Olympics were fraught with complications for McIlroy from the start. As a Northern Irishman, he had the choice to compete under the flag of Britain or the Republic of Ireland. In 2012, he earned the animus of people in Ireland, including those in the Golfing Union of Ireland who had shepherded his development, by suggesting that he was leaning toward representing Britain because he had always felt more British than Irish.

In 2013, he said, "If I was a bit more selfish, I think it would be an easier decision." He later pledged his allegiance to the Republic of Ireland, and when asked about his commitment to competing in May, he said that he was focused on the bigger picture. With golf guaranteed a spot in the Olympics for only the next two Summer Games, he said, it was imperative that the sport put its best foot forward.

"I'm not sure if we're going to have another opportunity to win a gold medal after that," McIlroy said, adding: "It's off to a rocky start. If we don't do something to change the narrative and get people excited about it, I'm worried

what will happen."

McIlroy's decision to forgo the Games suggests that, however reluctantly, he has chosen his own interests over the greater good of growing the game.

Before the Wells Fargo Championship in May, McIlroy acknowledged that he had misgivings about going to Rio because of the health dangers posed by the Zika virus and the crammed golf calendar. Between last Sunday's conclusion of the United States Open and the scheduled start of the men's golf competition at the Olympics on Aug. 11, the players will contest two majors and a World Golf Championships event, with the Ryder Cup looming after the Olympics.

McIlroy, who fell out of the top three in the world rankings this week for the first time in 23 months, alluded to the scheduling morass in May when he said, "I feel like the officials were patting themselves on the back for getting golf in," instead of treating the sport's inclusion in the Olympics as the first step in a marathon of planning.

Michael McPhate, Rebecca R. Ruiz and Victor Mather contributed reporting.

Las Vegas is set to hit the jackpot by landing a pro team (and maybe more)

LAS VEGAS

BY KEN BELSON

For decades, the top professional sports leagues in the United States were so fearful of game-fixing that they generally dismissed the idea of putting teams in Las Vegas.

But the once unthinkable has quickly become a reality: Las Vegas is poised to land not just one but perhaps two or even three big league teams.

The N.H.L. was expected on Wednesday to add Las Vegas to its 30-team league, which would be its first expansion in 16 years. With the gambling stigma fading, the N.F.L. could follow if the Raiders, who have been unable to persuade Oakland, Calif., to help them build a new home, can induce officials here to help pay for a new stadium.

Major League Soccer has explored putting a team in Las Vegas. Even Major League Baseball, which remains scarred by gambling scandals, has softened its stance.

Although the N.B.A. has not talked about putting a team here, Commissioner Adam Silver has publicly advocated regulating professional sports betting.

Las Vegas, the largest American city without a big league team, has tried for years to land one in the belief that it would unify the community and certify its status as a big city growing less reliant on gambling. Those calls fell on deaf ears until a few years ago, when leagues recognized that the spread of sports wagering into nearly every state — from casinos to lotteries to fantasy sports —

made Las Vegas less of a threat to their games than they imagined.

Indeed, according to the American Gaming Association, 19 N.F.L. stadiums are less than 20 miles from a casino, and daily fantasy companies allow fans to bet on a lineup of players of their design using a computer or smartphone.

Leagues still bar players from betting on games, and some prohibit them from working at or with casinos, presumably to keep them away from bettors trying to recruit them to throw games. But some of the biggest game-fixing scan-

"Some people are provincial and don't want to change the status quo. But you have to get with the times. Pro sports are a natural here."

dals have occurred far from Las Vegas, and players are better paid now, so in theory they are less prone to taking money from gamblers.

"I never believed there was a taboo about Las Vegas," Mayor Carolyn Goodman said. "Gambling is everywhere. Some people are provincial and don't want to change the status quo. But you have to get with the times. Pro sports are a natural here."

Continuing to shun Las Vegas also amounted to leaving money on the table. The Las Vegas area has 2.1 million residents, up from 1.4 million in 2000, according to the city's Convention and Visitors Authority. The economy has broadened beyond its well-known casi-

nos and entertainment as aviation and technology companies have moved in.

Even without putting teams here, the leagues have embraced Las Vegas, which has hosted an N.B.A. All-Star Game and an N.B.A. summer league. The N.H.L. has held its annual awards dinner here for several years. Teams also accept sponsorships from casinos, while Major League Baseball and the N.H.L. have invested in DraftKings, one of the largest daily fantasy operators.

"I think Las Vegas is one of the real crown jewels of communities in the United States," Jerry Jones, owner of the Dallas Cowboys, told reporters in May.

Skeptics remain. Although the N.F.L.'s commissioner, Roger Goodell, has softened his stance on the possibility of a team moving to Las Vegas, he told ESPN in April that the league remained opposed to anything that could sway games.

"To me, where I cross the line is anything that can impact the integrity of the game," Goodell told ESPN. "If people feel like it's going to have an influence on the outcome of the game, we are absolutely opposed to that."

Some critics say Las Vegas will have a hard time supporting a pro team because so many residents are from elsewhere and root for the teams they grew up with. Many residents also work in the tourism industry, and will be busy on game days.

In particular, selling hockey in the desert can be tough, something the owners of the troubled Coyotes learned in Arizona, where the debt-laden team was taken over by the N.H.L.

The N.H.L. has never voiced much



Mark Davis, the owner of the Raiders, has pledged to pay for part of a stadium in Las Vegas.

concern about the gambling in Las Vegas because, as Commissioner Gary Bettman has said on a few occasions, the casinos' take on hockey games is quite small. The much bigger issue for the N.H.L. has been the financial viability of a franchise in a nontraditional hockey market (meaning not very cold).

A host of minor league hockey teams, including the Gamblers, the Outlaws, the Aces, the Thunder and the Ice Dice, have struggled in Las Vegas.

The N.H.L. is hoping this time is different.

On Wednesday, the league's 30 governors, or owners, were expected to ap-

prove a new team for Las Vegas that would be owned by Bill Foley, a financial services tycoon, who would pay a \$500 million expansion fee. The team, which has not been named yet, would start playing in a new arena as soon as the 2017-18 season. More than 13,000 fans have placed deposits on season tickets.

The N.F.L. may be an even easier sell. Football is far more popular, and the Raiders are a local favorite because of their outlaw image and because they play in neighboring California.

But in a chicken-or-egg situation, the Raiders' owner, Mark Davis, will not move the team unless he has a new sta-

dium for it to play in, and the city and Clark County will not help him build that stadium unless he has a green light from the league to move.

Davis and the Las Vegas Sands are pushing a proposal to build a \$1.4 billion domed stadium that includes \$750 million in hotel taxes, but the Southern Nevada Tourism Infrastructure Committee is pushing a more modest plan with a reduced public contribution.

Davis, who declined to be interviewed, has promised to contribute \$500 million toward the cost of a stadium. But he has to deliver on his promise to move his team. At least 24 owners would have to approve any relocation, and Davis would have to pay a sizable relocation fee.

To protect Las Vegas and surrounding Clark County, Steve Hill, who leads the Southern Nevada Tourism Infrastructure Committee, said ground would not be broken on a new stadium unless the Raiders were allowed to move. He added that the public would not be on the hook for any unexpected increases in the construction cost or in the cost of running the building, and said he wanted the Raiders and the Sands to split any profits with the public if the stadium generates returns above a certain threshold.

Even if the Raiders and the Sands resist those demands, the possibility an N.F.L. team will move to Nevada is as high as it has ever been, thanks to the melting concerns about the influence of gambling.

"It is somewhat destined that Las Vegas will have an N.F.L. team," Hill said. "I don't think I would have said that five or 10 years ago."

Business

Volkswagen hears it from shareholders at meeting

HANOVER, GERMANY

Whether the complaints will make a difference with carmaker is unclear

BY JACK EWING

Volkswagen shareholders had a lot to complain about on Wednesday. Management bonuses, sagging profits and an emissions scandal have all caused the company's stock to plunge.

Whether those complaints will make any difference is another question.

Institutional investors and individual shareholders have grown increasingly restive about what many see as Volkswagen managers' failure to adequately explain who was responsible for the emissions scandal, as well as their refusal to fully give up bonuses even after the company reported its first annual loss in more than two decades.

"They have been rewarded for failure," said Hans-Christoph Hirt, co-head of Hermes EOS, a firm that represents large institutional investors. Addressing the meeting, Mr. Hirt urged shareholders not to re-elect the supervisory board, saying its members were ultimately responsible for a "culture in which the emissions scandal was able to unfold and remain undetected for many years."

But with outside influence in the hands of a few large shareholders, top management at the company faced little threat to its authority.

Descendants of Ferdinand Porsche, inventor of the Beetle, own a majority of the voting shares, while the state of Lower Saxony owns 20 percent and the sovereign wealth fund of Qatar holds 17 percent. Just 11 percent of the company's stock is held by outside shareholders, and holders of Volkswagen preferred shares, the most actively traded, are entitled to dividends but cannot vote.

Numerous shareholders filed motions to block the management board's actions, approval of which is normally a formality. But it was a foregone conclusion that the critics would not be able to muster enough votes to succeed.

The meeting began with a speech by Hans Dieter Pötsch, the chairman of the supervisory board, who repeated the company's assertion that top executives were not aware of the gravity of the emissions problem until shortly before the Environmental Protection Agency issued a formal complaint. As Mr. Pötsch spoke, top executives and members of Volkswagen's supervisory board listened impassively from a large stage.

In a sign of dissenters' lack of clout, a motion to remove Mr. Pötsch as chairman of the annual meeting was rejected by shareholders holding 98.8 percent of the voting shares present. Manfred Klein, a shareholder who argued in favor of the motion, said that Mr. Pötsch had a conflict of interest because he was the chief financial officer during the period when the emissions deceit took place.

"You've saved your neck with the votes of" Mr. Porsche's descendants, Mr. Klein said, ignoring a flashing red light that indicated he had exceeded his allotted time. "Get out of here!"

Volkswagen's travails have focused attention on the company's unique ownership structure and its imperviousness

VOLKSWAGEN, PAGE 16

Rise of the scan is making passwords passé

Frustrated by data theft, banks invest in biometric technology for security

BY MICHAEL CORKERY

The banking password may be about to expire — forever.

Some of the largest banks in the United States, acknowledging that traditional passwords are either too cumbersome or no longer secure, are increasingly using fingerprints, facial scans and other types of biometrics to safeguard accounts.

Millions of customers at Bank of America, JPMorgan Chase and Wells Fargo routinely use fingerprints to log into their bank accounts through their mobile phones. This feature, which some of the largest banks have introduced in the last few months, is enabling a huge share of American banking customers to verify their identities with biometrics. And millions more are expected to opt in as more phones incorporate fingerprint scans.

Other uses of biometrics are also coming online. Wells Fargo lets some customers scan their eyes with their mobile phones to log into corporate accounts and wire millions of dollars. Citigroup can help verify 800,000 of its credit card customers by their voices. USAA, which provides insurance and banking services to members of the military and their families, identifies some of its customers through their facial contours.

Some of the moves reflect concern that so many hundreds of millions of email addresses, phone numbers, Social Security numbers and other personal identifiers have fallen into the hands of criminals, rendering those identifiers increasingly ineffective at protecting accounts. And while thieves could eventually find ways to steal biometric data, banks are convinced that they offer more protection.

"We believe the password is dying," said Tom Shaw, vice president for enterprise financial crimes management at USAA, which is based in San Antonio. "We realized we have to get away from personal identification information because of the growing number of data breaches."

Long regarded as the stuff of science fiction, biometrics have been tested by big banks for decades, but have only recently become sufficiently accurate and cost effective to use in a big way. It has taken a great deal of trial and error: With many of the early prototypes, a facial scan could be foiled by bad lighting, and voice recognition could be scuttled by background noise or laryngitis.

Before smartphones became ubiquitous, there was an even bigger obstacle: To capture a finger image or scan an eyeball, a bank would have to pay to distribute the necessary technology to tens of millions of customers. A few tried, but their efforts were costly and short-lived.

Today, the equation has changed. Many models of the iPhone have touch pads that can scan fingerprints. The cameras and microphones on many mobile devices are so powerful that they can record the minute details needed to create a biometric ID.

The smartphones also provide an extra layer of security: Many biometric features will only work when used on the specific phone that belongs to the bank account holder.

"If you have your phone and you are authenticating with your fingerprint, it is very likely you," said Samir Nanavati, a longtime biometrics expert and a



Seel Watson used an eye scanner built into an iPhone app, below, to gain access to her Wells Fargo account. Many banks say passwords are either too cumbersome or no longer secure.

founder of Twin Mill, a security software and consulting firm.

The trade-off, of course, is that in the quest for security and convenience, customers are handing over marks of their unique physical identities. After all, it is easy to change a compromised password. But a fingerprint must last forever.

Some bank executives say customers often ask whether their biometric information will become part of a private database, akin to what the F.B.I. keeps.

The banks themselves are not keeping caches of actual fingerprints or eye patterns.

Rather, the banks are creating and storing what they call templates — or

"If you have your phone and you are authenticating with your fingerprint, it is very likely you."

what amount to long, hard-to-predict numerical sequences — based on a scan of a person's fingerprint or eyeballs.

It is possible that the thieves could steal the biometric templates to steal money, but the banks say they have worked to develop additional safeguards. With some voice authentication systems, banks use certain prompts to prove it is a living customer and not a recording. Many eye scans require customers to blink or move their eyes to prevent a thief from using a photo to gain access.

Wells Fargo has been working with EyeVerify, a start-up in Kansas City, Mo., to develop its eye scan feature, which is being tested with a small group

of corporate customers. The technology creates a map of the veins in the whites of an eye.

To log into an account, a customer taps open a Wells Fargo app on a smartphone. When prompted, the customer's eyes are lined up with a pair of yellow circles on the phone screen. If they match, the customer — typically a chief financial officer or other top executive — gains instant access to the account and can start moving money or conducting other transactions.

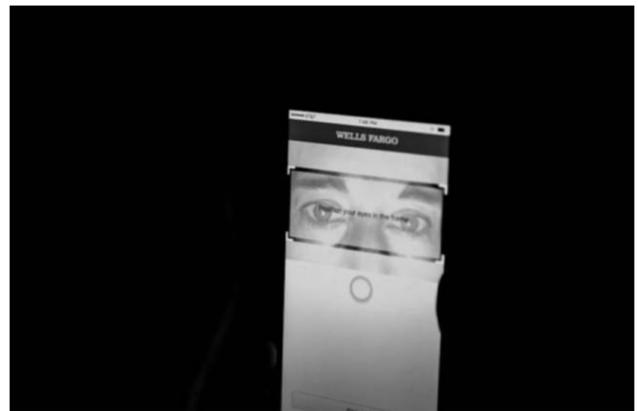
Wells Fargo executives said the eye scan could eventually offer an alternative to the authentication system used for corporate accounts, which involves physical tokens that generate numeric pass codes every few seconds. Although generally considered secure, these tokens can be a hassle to carry around.

For now, Wells Fargo is offering eye scans — among the most foolproof biometric technologies, according to security experts — only to select corporate customers, for whom the stakes are arguably higher because there is potentially so much money involved.

"It is harder to take someone's eyeball than someone's user ID and password," said Steve Ellis, who leads Wells Fargo's innovation group that worked on developing the eye scan authentication. The bank also made an investment in EyeVerify.

Instead of eye scans, Bank of America has embraced fingerprints. Since it began offering the option in September, about 33 percent of the bank's 20 million mobile banking customers have started using a fingertip to get into their accounts.

There are limits, though, on how far an average retail customer can proceed



through the banking process without a password.

For example, JPMorgan Chase customers can gain access to their bank accounts with their fingerprints, but have to use a traditional password to transfer money.

Still, the speed and accuracy of the banks' biometric capabilities are especially notable because they are emerging from an industry known for its antiquated system of tellers and branches and endless reams of paperwork.

Wells Fargo's eye scan technology, for example, worked so quickly that the developers had to slow it down by a few seconds so customers knew it had actually registered their identities.

It takes only about 40 seconds to capture enough information about a customer's vocal patterns to create a voice

imprint that can be used as a form of identification, according to Andrew S. Keen, the director of program management for Global Consumer Operations at Citigroup. Once a print is established, it can reduce the time that customers spend identifying themselves to a call center representative.

Many financial firms emphasize the convenience of biometrics, but USAA is one of the few that highlights the effectiveness of these technologies at thwarting thieves. Since USAA began offering biometric authentication early last year, more than 1.7 million customers have been accessing their accounts using their fingerprints, voices or facial scans.

"We can't rely on personal identification information any longer," said Mr. Shaw. "We believe we have to rely on biometrics."

The changing U.S. gun industry

As hunting drops, sales of assault rifles and small handguns are growing

BY BARRY MEIER

AND MICHAEL J. DE LA MERCED

At one time, military-style assault rifles like the ones used at a nightclub in Orlando, Fla., and in other mass shootings represented a relatively small segment of sales for gun manufacturers.

But in recent decades, such guns serve as one of the two financial pillars of the firearms industry, along with smaller handguns that are designed to be concealed, which have been the biggest driver of sales.

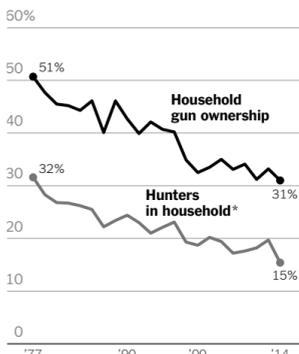
Together, the popularity of the assault rifles and small handguns highlight how the industry has changed in recent decades, as people have increasingly turned to guns for self-defense and less for hunting.

"The younger generations have fewer hunters," said Thomas W. Smith, the director of the General Social Survey, an annual survey conducted by researchers at the University of Chicago. "Hunting is a traditional activity, and one that is declining in popularity."

Gun makers do not break out weapon sales other than in broad categories in which firearms like traditional hunting rifles are lumped in with assault rifles. When contacted, Smith & Wesson would not provide additional information,

Fewer gun owners and hunters

A decline in gun ownership and in the number of hunters in the United States suggests that most purchases of guns these days are for "self-defense."



*Respondent, spouse or both hunt.

Source: The General Social Survey, a project of NORC at the University of Chicago

while Sturm Ruger did not respond to messages seeking comment.

And an industry trade group, the National Shooting Sports Foundation, did not respond to emails or phone calls.

Nonetheless, manufacturers, in presentations to analysts and investors, have acknowledged the central role that

assault rifles and concealed handguns play in their financial health. They also often point out that sales frequently rise after mass shootings.

"This spike in demand was strongly correlated to the tragic, terrorist events in Paris and San Bernardino," Michael O. Fifer, the chief executive of Sturm Ruger, a major firearms maker, wrote in a letter to investors in May. "Demand for firearms for self-defense and concealed carry increased dramatically."

The popularity of handguns and assault weapons, experts say, reflects a fundamental shift over recent decades in who in America is buying guns and their reason for doing so. Although about 50 percent of homes in the United States reported owning a firearm in the 1970s, that number by 2014 had fallen to 31 percent, according to the General Social Survey.

Significantly for gun makers, the number of Americans who identified themselves as hunters fell sharply during that same period. While some 32 percent of survey respondents said in the late 1970s that they or their spouse hunted, that number had plummeted to 15.5 percent by 2014. The number of people who cite self-protection as the reason for owning a firearm has grown, said Mr. Smith, the social survey's director.

There was a significant market for assault-style rifles before Congress passed legislation in 1994 that sought to ban their sales, said David Kopel, the research director of the Independence Institute, a group that supports gun ownership. **GUNS, PAGE 16**

Inside virtual reality's rabbit hole



Farhad Manjoo

STATE OF THE ART

This is going to sound like the technerd version of one of those first-person People magazine essays about surviving adversity: You don't appreciate how much you need to see your hands until you can't.

Your hands — they're always there. Even in the most immersive of media experiences — an IMAX movie or the hypnotic reverie of a darkened opera house — your sense of where your hands are is an ever-present comfort. Because you can see your hands, you can reach for the popcorn without knocking it over. Because your eyes aren't locked on the screen, you can check your phone to make sure your babysitter hasn't texted with an emergency.

But then you don virtual reality goggles, and your hands disappear. So does the rest of the world around you. You are bereft, and it is very, very unsettling.

This sounds obvious: The whole point of virtual reality is to create a fantasy divorced from the physical world. You're escaping the dreary mortal coil for a completely simulated experience: There you are, climbing the side of a mountain, exploring a faraway museum, flying through space or getting in bed with someone way out of your league.

But in many ways, the simulation is too immersive. After spending a few weeks with two of the most powerful V.R. devices now on the market, the Oculus Rift and the HTC Vive, I suspect that V.R. will be used by the masses one day, but not anytime soon. I'm not sure we're ready to fit virtual reality into our lives, no matter how excited Silicon Valley is about it.

Getting completely submerged in a simulation is good for things like games, but for most media total immersion feels like a strangely old-fashioned experience. Because it leaves your body helplessly stuck in the physical world while your mind wanders, V.R. doesn't fit with the way most people work at a computer, watch TV or encounter many other digital experiences.

Virtual reality is the opposite of a smartphone, a device that offers you quick hits of the digital world as you go about in the real world. Instead, V.R. is at this point an experience best left for the privacy of one's cave — a lonely, sometimes antisocial affair that does not allow for multitasking, for distraction or for the modern world's easy interplay of the real and the digital.

"I'm a real proponent of being careful how we use it, because immersion is not free," said Jeremy Bailenson, the director of Stanford's Virtual Human Interaction Lab, a research center for virtual reality experiences. "Immersion comes at a cost. It takes you out of your environment, it's perceptually taxing at times, and it's not something that we can use the way we use other media, for hours and hours and hours a day."

Part of the problem is that the technology still isn't good enough. People at Oculus, the V.R. start-up that Facebook purchased for \$2 billion in 2014, compare their Rift headset to the Apple II personal computer — one of the earliest incarnations of a device that would change the world. Eventually.

The Apple II went on sale in 1977, but a couple of decades would pass before personal computers became ubiquitous. The earliest PCs were also very expensive (the Apple II sold for what would be about \$5,000 today) and V.R. is no different. The Rift sells for \$599, and the Vive goes for \$799; both require a powerful desktop computer that will set you back at least \$1,000.

Both companies are working to solve some of the issues I had with V.R. A representative for Oculus told me that one of its goals was to add more parts of your body to the simulation, so that you don't feel as if your mind and your limbs are in two different worlds. Later this year, Oculus will release a **STATE OF THE ART, PAGE 16**

U.S. clears flight path for business drones

WASHINGTON

BY CECILIA KANG

The United States government has made it much easier for companies to use drones for a variety of tasks, including aerial photography and emergency response.

The Federal Aviation Administration's new commercial drone rules allow a broad range of businesses to use drones under 55 pounds, but with several restrictions: The drones must be operated by a pilot who has passed a written test and is at least 16 years old. And drones can be flown only below 400 feet, during the day and at least five miles away from airports.

The new F.A.A. rules, released Tuesday, do not necessarily preclude a hodgepodge of state and local drone regulations that have popped up in recent years. The administration sent a letter to states and cities saying they recommend everyone follow their lead. But it is only a recommendation.

The F.A.A. stopped short of giving a green light to package delivery, a goal of Amazon and Google, which have pushed regulators to create rules that would allow them to transfer part of their ground-based delivery systems to the sky.

The new guidelines mandate that a commercial drone operator must always have the machine within line of sight — a rule that, for now, makes delivering packages unfeasible. Still, the action brings the drone delivery vision one step closer to reality. And experts predict that in time federal regulators will get comfortable with the notion.

"Within months you will see the incredible impact of these rules, with com-

"You will see the incredible impact of these rules, with commercial drones becoming commonplace."

mercial drones becoming commonplace in a variety of uses," said Michael Drobac, a lawyer at Akin Gump who represents drone efforts at companies like Amazon and Google. "This will show the technology is reliable and then it becomes harder to argue against broader uses — like for delivery."

Drone makers and tech companies have been lobbying for the rules for five years. But the Obama administration, while trying to accommodate the potential economic benefits of the technology, has struggled to safely integrate drones into airspace.

Pilots and privacy groups that pushed hard for greater safety provisions and strong surveillance rules expressed fear that clearing the way for more of the flying machines posed new dangers, including from spying. The F.A.A. rules prohibit drones from flying above people and faster than 100 miles per hour.



A farmer in Northern Colorado using a drone to survey land for weeds, high-yield areas and dry spots. New rules allow some businesses to use drones without special permission.

"The F.A.A. continues to ignore the top concern of Americans about the deployment of commercial drones in the United States — the need for strong privacy safeguards," said Marc Rotenberg, president of Electronic Privacy Information Center.

In February 2015, the F.A.A. created its first rules for recreational drone users, and more than 450,000 hobbyists registered last winter in the government's user database.

Previously, companies had to apply for special permission from the F.A.A. to operate drones. The government has issued more than 6,000 approvals and about 7,000 companies are on a waiting list for approval. When the new rules go into effect in 60 days, companies will no longer have to gain that special exemption.

"With this new rule, we are taking a careful and deliberate approach that balances the need to deploy this new technology with the F.A.A.'s mission to protect public safety," said Michael Huerta, the F.A.A. administrator. "But this is just our first step. We're already working on additional rules that will expand the range of operations."

The demand by companies has been broad. Real estate brokers want to use drones to take aerial property photos, news organizations believe the machines would be useful for reporting, farmers want to use them to survey fields, and emergency responders believe the devices would help rescue operations.

In a fact sheet released by the White House, the government cited economic estimates that commercial drones could generate more than \$82 billion in the next decade.

Drones "represent a potentially powerful innovation that could have a positive impact on our economy," said Josh Earnest, the White House press secretary. The new rules are "just the beginning of the process."

Amazon has hired several lobbyists just to focus on drone rules. Its chief executive, Jeff Bezos, expects drone delivery to be available within the next few years and has begun testing its own devices.

The federal rules were also important for companies that prefer one blanket set of rules to the many state and city laws that have emerged in recent years. They have urged the F.A.A. to create commercial rules that they hope will pre-empt new bans passed or being considered in cities like Miami and states like California.

"We are extremely pleased the rule establishes a risk-based, federal approach for operating drones nationwide, and thank the F.A.A. for engaging industry throughout the process," said Kara Calvert, director of a coalition of drone manufacturers including the Chinese company DJI and GoPro.

Gardiner Harris contributed reporting.



Watching the screens in a London gambling shop. In the industry, not knowing what will happen amounts to an exploitable asset, and the vote presents the perfect swirl of unpredictable forces.

In referendum, U.K. bookies are winners

LONDON

Uncertainty over 'Brexit' brings flood of revenue to gambling companies

BY PETER S. GOODMAN

Ask for his opinion and David Howe eagerly tells you how he hopes Britain will leave the European Union. "We need to take control of our borders," he says. "I get a little sick of walking down the street and I don't bump into an English person."

But these sentiments are, at the moment, about as valuable to him as his personal views on Her Majesty's latest choice of hat. He is more keen to know how the rest of the British electorate is inclined so he can win some money.

Mr. Howe is standing inside a William Hill gambling shop near Westminster, home to the British Parliament. It is midday Wednesday, less than 24 hours before British voters will go to the polls to determine the political geography of Europe. Video roulette machines flicker behind him. Televisions above him beam in dog races from hither and yon. Another screen shows animated horses sidling into the gates at a fictitious track preparing to run a simulated race.

A single screen attracts Mr. Howe's interest — one showing the odds on the so-called Brexit. They have in recent days tilted heavily toward Britain sticking with the European Union. A nine-pound, or \$13.24, bet to remain fetches a profit of only £2. By late afternoon, the odds will slide even more heavily toward remain, showing an 80 percent chance that voters will maintain Britain's place in the European Union.

In much of the world, the prospect that Britain will really walk away from the Europe has sown confusion and risk. Such an outcome would threaten European integration and global trade. The vote alone has unleashed troubling uncertainty through world markets as traders, businesses and policy makers

struggle to approximate what might happen following a Brexit.

But in the gambling industry, not knowing what will happen amounts to an exploitable asset. To bookmakers, uncertainty is the midwife of all wagers. Brexit presents the perfect swirl of unpredictable forces — a potentially grave geopolitical and financial risk that has torn apart Britain's ruling Conservative party. Everyone is paying attention. No one knows how it will end. Ka-ching.

"The betting is just massive," says Mike Smithson, founder and editor of PoliticalBetting.com. "It's the biggest political betting event of all time, anywhere."

Far from a curiosity, the gambling markets stand as a rare source of something approximating clarity amid the confusion surrounding Brexit. Political polls have generally shown the electorate evenly divided. Until last week, with the murder of a member of Parliament who had advocated remaining in Europe, a vote to leave seemed marginally likely, according to the polls. Financial markets had been largely impassive, waiting to see what voters would deliver, but they, too, were last week seized by volatility as traders absorbed the polls as an impetus to sell the British pound and London stocks in anticipation of a Brexit.

All the while, gamblers held firm, signaling their faith that economic concerns would triumph over the politics of identity. While the margin tightened for a spell, the people voting with money concluded that the electorate would stick with Europe. On Tuesday and Wednesday alone, more than £3 million was bet on the Brexit issue, Mr. Smithson estimated, three-fourths of it for "remain."

This is the picture that confronts Mr. Howe, 44, a chef at a nearby pub, as he enters William Hill on Wednesday afternoon, hoping to use Britain's referendum to earn some cash.

"I think it will be remain, but the odds are crap," he says.

Hoping for better odds, he resolves to wait before making a bet sometime in the next few hours. He might ultimately bet in accordance with his heart — to

leave — given the financial appeal of that option: A bet for Britain to abandon Europe is offering the gratifying returns of the long-shot, a profit of £3 on a £1 bet.

"I like to mix it up," Mr. Howe says, recounting how he just managed to collect on a complex bet involving the Euro Cup soccer championship: Germany won, Poland won, and Spain and Croatia both scored goals, combining to trigger his payout. "If there's no horse I like or football I like, then I'll put a tenner on 'leave.'"

William Hill, the largest bookmaker in Britain, assumes the industry will take wagers reaching £20 million before the Brexit results are in, according to a company spokesman, Graham Sharpe. The company is hopeful that the tally will eclipse the £3.25 million in wagers it saw during the last giant political referendum, the 2014 question on whether Scotland should leave the United Kingdom. In that case, the polls had the race too close to call while the gambling markets had it right along: Scotland stayed.

Let's one get the impression that Las Vegas ought to reserve space for the

"The betting is just massive. It's the biggest political betting event of all time, anywhere."

workings of British democracy, it is worth noting that these numbers are paltry compared to the behemoths of British gambling — soccer and horse-racing. William Hill estimates that the bookmaking industry will rack up wagers of £500 million on the ongoing Euro Cup championships. The window displays at its 2,370 retail shops throughout Britain are chock-a-block with international soccer stars. A World Cup final alone tends to see £200 million of wagers land on William Hill's books.

While political betting may be a mere niche, it goes back a very long time. As far back as 1503, Roman banking houses offered trades predicting who would emerge the next Pope from the Papal

conclave of the day, according to Leighton Vaughan Williams, director of the betting research unit at Nottingham Business School in Nottingham, England. From the Civil War through 1940, Americans were placing bets on the presidential election, a practice that consistently favored the winner.

Long before the advent of organized polling firms, investors took heed of gambling markets in seeking to get a sense of what was about to happen in the face of questions whose answers were materially significant to their interests.

"People trading in the betting markets are looking at all the information that's available," says Mr. Vaughan Williams. "The polls are only one thing. The people who trade in the betting markets are looking at all the information. And polls tend to have biases in them. A poll is just a snapshot in time."

This dynamic appears to holding in the Brexit vote. While polls have long shown the race exceedingly tight and — until the swing back in recent days — even tilting toward "leave," betting markets have consistently shown a substantial likelihood that Britain will ultimately stick with Europe.

Ironically, this apparent glimpse of certainty emanating from the betting markets now appears for some to be limiting the appeal of gambling on Brexit.

As Ingrid Sambade arrives at the William Hill shop on Wednesday morning, she is eager to put her money where her heart is — with Europe. A Spaniard by birth, she works as a housecleaner.

"I'm in! I'm in!" she says. "If they go out, they can't come back in, so the best thing is to stay in and everyone will be happy."

But Ms. Sambade, 69, is less happy when she absorbs the skimpy winnings she would claim from a successful bet on "remain."

"It has terrible value for you," says the man behind the counter. He suggests she focus on more speculative questions, like the margin of victory for "remain" and the size of the turnout.

"I don't bet nothing," Ms. Sambade says. "It don't give you much!"

At Disney's fine-tuned fantasy world, tragedies threaten to dull the magic

LOS ANGELES

BY BROOKS BARNES

Disney theme parks have always been about trading an imperfect world for a perfect one. There is no trash blowing down Main Street, U.S.A. It's nothing but happy trappers and singing bears over in Frontierland. Dream big, and the gleaming technology of Tomorrowland just might come true.

In case the castles are too subtle, Disney outright promises escape from the real world. The welcome signs at Disneyland in California and Walt Disney World in Florida quote Walt Disney's words from 1955: "Here you leave today and enter the world of yesterday, tomorrow and fantasy."

Lately, however, it has become harder for Americans planning a Disney vacation to buy into the company's utopian theme park concept. The mass shooting at a nightclub in Orlando, Fla., cast a shadow on nearby tourist destinations, including Disney World. Then word leaked that the gunman had also scouted out a Disney shopping complex. Next came an incident that was shocking enough to kick the nightclub carnage off some front pages: A toddler was dragged by an alligator into a Disney World lake and drowned.

"Is Disney's Image Tarnished?" a headline on an investment website asked on Monday, with the alligator attack — the first such accident in Disney's 45-year history in Florida — as a particular source of concern. The funeral for Lane Graves, the 2-year-old victim, was held on Tuesday in Nebraska.

Whether last week's events reverberate for Disney in a business sense (beyond a possible lawsuit stemming from the alligator attack) is a question that will be fully answered only in the months to come, peak season for theme park vacations. If families cancel reservations or the pace of reservations noticeably slows, then the answer is yes. If they do not — as most analysts predict — then Disney will power forward, recovering from this spate of bad publicity.

The company's stock price has improved since Thursday, when the authorities discovered the body of Lane Graves. Blockbuster results for "Finding Dory" at the box office helped, as did the opening of Shanghai Disneyland.

Theme parks, zoos and other tourist destinations have survived tragedies before. One-time incidents tend not to undermine well-run businesses, and Disney parks are definitely thriving.

But even without recent events, Disney was having to work harder to pull off

its "not a worry in the world" magic trick. Record crowds have made the experience less joyful. So has technology: Never mind their cynical parents, American children, babysat by an iPad from the time they were in diapers, are not as easily mesmerized by analog rides like It's a Small World and Autopia, with its little cars putt-putting along a track.

More aggressive safety procedures are a fixture of modern life; metal detectors are routine at baseball stadiums, concert arenas and even some movie theaters. In response to increased security concerns, Disney, Universal and SeaWorld began using metal detectors in December, the first time they deployed such measures on a large scale.

But these measures, while appreciated by most tourists who might feel less safe without them, work against Disney's singular efforts to create what it advertises as "the happiest place on Earth." It's awfully hard to forget the real world when you're being walled.

Shanghai Disneyland, which formally opened last Thursday, also has rows of metal detectors at its graceful front gates. But the mood at this newest Disney park — the first on the Chinese mainland — was utterly joyful last week, even as the grim news from Orlando made its way to visitors' smartphones. Spending time in the park on four different days,



New signs warn of alligators and snakes on a beach near a Disney World hotel in Orlando, Fla., where a toddler was dragged underwater last week by an alligator and drowned.

three of them with paying guests, I was struck by how fully intact that classic Disney sense of wonder really seemed.

Without question, the excitement and pomp around the opening contributed to that feeling. But something else was happening at Shanghai Disneyland. I had the sense that this was what it must

have felt like at the original Disneyland in the 1950s. Visitors were very obviously awe-struck — this fantastical place, smelling of fresh paint and new vinyl seat covers, was something they had never seen before.

Chinese guests, having never confronted a 9/11 or repeated mass shoot-

ings, seemed free of the baggage that many Americans now carry to public gathering places. The spell seemed easier for Disney to cast.

Robert A. Iger, Disney's chief executive, alluded to this fascination as we toured Shanghai Disneyland on June 11. "I grew up in the United States dreaming of going to Disneyland one day — unaffordable for us, by the way, and I didn't go until I was a parent," he said. "You now have that same dynamic here in China that existed in the '50s and '60s in the United States, as people started looking for more leisure activities. It's palpable."

In Shanghai, Disney's rides are fully updated technological marvels — no more jerky animatronics in Pirates of the Caribbean, which is now fully digital, with boats controlled by underwater magnets and Imax-style screens with video. In another difference from Disney's domestic parks, even rank-and-file cashiers and hotel maids seem thrilled to be there. When they waved and chirped, "Have a magical day!" they appeared to mean it, rather than just repeating a corporate mantra.

On an especially difficult week for Disney in the United States, Shanghai proved that the company's pixie dust still works the same way it used to in a more innocent age. Even if you have to go to the other side of the world to find it.

BUSINESS COMPANIES FINANCE

Fund chief accused of insider trading is found dead

BY ALEXANDRA STEVENSON
AND MATTHEW GOLDSTEIN

A high-flying hedge fund manager at Visium Asset Management, who was charged last week with insider trading, has died, apparently a suicide.

The manager, Sanjay Valvani, was discovered on Monday by his wife in their brownstone in Brooklyn Heights, a New York police official said. Mr. Valvani was found face down on the bedroom floor with a cut to his neck, the official said. He left a note, and a knife was found near his body. He was 44.

The death brought the government's case against Mr. Valvani to a shocking end. Last week, he was accused of using confidential information from a former Food and Drug Administration official to reap \$32 million in illegal gains.

Days after the charges, Visium's founder, Jacob Gottlieb, announced that he was closing the multibillion-dollar hedge fund and selling one of its funds to AllianceBernstein.

In a statement, Barry H. Berke, a lawyer for Mr. Valvani, called his death "a horrible tragedy that is difficult to comprehend."

"We hope for the sake of his family and his memory that it will not be forgotten that the charges against him

were only unproven accusations and he had always maintained his innocence," Mr. Berke said.

In addition to his wife, Mr. Valvani is survived two daughters.

The death of Mr. Valvani was still being investigated, but another police official said that it appeared to be a suicide.

It is not known whether other factors could have affected Mr. Valvani's state of mind. Suicides by people touched by white-collar criminal cases are rare. But there have been a few prominent examples in recent years. Mark Madoff, the older son of Bernard L. Madoff, hanged himself in his Manhattan apartment on the second anniversary of his father's arrest on charges of running a Ponzi scheme. And J. Clifford Baxter, a former Enron executive, shot himself in the head in 2002 after he was subpoenaed by Congress to testify about the accounting scandal at the company.

"When you're dealing with my world, there is everything to lose," said Ira Lee Sorkin, a former lawyer for Mr. Madoff and a partner at Mintz & Gold, adding, "There's reputation, family, business — you name it and some people just can't take the pressure."

"Clients in the past, if they are under investigation or they have been charged, have said to me in moments of

sweat and panic and fear: 'I can't go on like this. I just can't deal with this anymore.' They have threatened to kill themselves," Mr. Sorkin added.

Federal prosecutors in Manhattan had accused Mr. Valvani of pocketing tens of millions of dollars in illicit gains in Visium's Balanced fund based on information about upcoming Food and Drug Administration approvals for a generic version of a drug that helps prevent blood clots. Authorities charged that he re-

What killed Sanjay Valvani is still being investigated, but the police said his death appeared to be a suicide.

ceived inside information from a former F.D.A. official working as a consultant.

In all, four individuals were charged in the investigation of Visium, including two former Visium colleagues. The former F.D.A. official, Gordon Johnston, and Christopher Plaford, once a colleague of Mr. Valvani who also traded on inside information, have pleaded guilty.

A lawyer for Stefan Lumiere, the third employee named in the government's case, declined to comment. Mr. Lumiere, a former brother-in-law to Mr.

Gottlieb, was accused of mismarking securities with Mr. Plaford.

During the government's investigation of Mr. Lumiere, prosecutors in a criminal complaint said that one broker under scrutiny died last summer before charges were brought.

The investigation of Visium harked back to a crackdown on insider trading in the nearly \$3 trillion hedge fund industry that began with the arrest in 2009 of Raj Rajaratnam, the co-founder of the Galleon Group hedge fund.

In the months and years that followed, prosecutors working for Preet Bharara, the United States attorney for the Southern District of New York, racked up more than 80 convictions on insider trading charges. The convictions sent a wave of fear through the hedge fund industry and led some to call Mr. Bharara the new sheriff of Wall Street.

But chinks in Mr. Bharara's armor began to emerge in late 2014, when a federal appeals court threw out the convictions of two hedge fund managers and made it more difficult for prosecutors to bring insider trading cases when there was no clear benefit provided to the source of the inside information about a company. The appellate court ruled that prosecutors must show the source of an inside tip received a benefit "of some

consequence," although the court was vague as to what that must be.

The appellate ruling, which the United States Supreme Court declined to review, later led Mr. Bharara to toss out nearly a dozen other convictions and guilty pleas.

For a time, the court ruling appeared to have blunted the Manhattan office's pursuit of insider trading cases. But the charges against Mr. Valvani and his former colleagues at Visium dispelled any thought that hedge funds would no longer be a focus of Mr. Bharara's office.

Legal specialists said on Tuesday that they did not expect the death to cause prosecutors and Mr. Bharara to back away if they believed wrongdoing had occurred. "I don't think he's going to lose sleep over it because it comes with the territory," Thomas A. Sporkin, a lawyer at BuckleySandler and a former Securities and Exchange Commission enforcement lawyer, said of Mr. Bharara.

Mr. Bharara's office declined to comment on Mr. Valvani's death.

The son of Indian immigrants, Mr. Valvani grew up in Kalamazoo, Mich. After graduating from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, he worked as a health care consultant before receiving an M.B.A. from Duke University, according to a profile on the school's website recognizing his endow-

ment of two scholarship funds through a \$250,000 commitment.

Mr. Valvani got his start on Wall Street in 2001 as a pharmaceutical analyst working for Salomon Smith Barney. He then took a job as portfolio manager at the investment management firm Balyasny Asset Management.

There, he met and worked closely with Mr. Gottlieb until the team spun out to start Visium. Mr. Valvani rose to the top ranks, becoming Mr. Gottlieb's right-hand man and one of a few senior executives running the firm's most important fund, called the Balanced fund, which focused on health care.

"In the beginning, I really had to convince Jacob Gottlieb that I was hungry to join his hedge fund," Mr. Valvani said in the Duke profile. "I work hard and try to be the best at what I do, which is why a hedge fund is so suitable for me." — here I have a lot of control over my own destiny."

In April, Visium had placed Mr. Valvani on paid administrative leave.

The news of his death stunned people who had worked with him on Wall Street.

In a statement, Mr. Gottlieb said: "We mourn the tragic loss of Sanjay, a devoted father, husband and friend."

Susan Beachy contributed research.

Entering a rabbit hole of virtual reality

STATE OF THE ART, FROM PAGE 14
pair of touch-sensitive controllers. When you carry these into a virtual world, as I did during a recent demo at Facebook's headquarters, you can see a representation of your hands in virtual space, and the controllers let you manipulate digital objects in a way that feels remarkably real.

In Oculus's demo room, I threw three-point shots in basketball, repeatedly punched a guy (and took some punches) in an unruly hockey game and passed some digital toys back and forth with an Oculus employee who was also wearing a headset.

Compared with the lonelier, hands-free version of Oculus now shipping, the hands-on demo offered less of a split between what my body was doing in the real world and what my eyes were seeing in the virtual one.

HTC's Vive is ahead of Oculus on this score. It comes with hand-sensing controllers that allow for digital manipulation, and its headset has a handy camera that provides an in-goggles map of the room around you, letting you find your chair and your keyboard without having to fumble clumsily for them.

But even as the technology improves, V.R. is still something you have to get used to. It's unusual, in these days of multitasking, to plunge yourself completely into a media experience. V.R. doesn't allow you to easily direct your gaze toward anything beyond the media at hand. Once you're in it, you're in it; even handling a snack can be challenging. In a paradoxical way, the intensity of V.R. tends to limit its integration into your daily life.

"In general we never put somebody in a helmet for more than about 20 minutes, and we give them frequent breaks," said Mr. Bailenson, of Stanford. "Being perceptually disconnected from the world for much longer may not be something a lot of people want to do."

V.R. also brings with it the uneasy worry that you may look like a fool when you use it. That brings me to the eggplant in the room — pornography. Like most new entertainment technologies, V.R. has been talked up as being an excellent tool for consuming adult content, but at the risk of T.M.I, I have to say I was terrified of going anywhere near such experiences.

"I don't care who you are, there's a fantastic chance you know the paralyzing fear that shoots up your spine when you're watching a smidgen of erotica and you think you hear the door open, a creak from the stairway or even a random footstep," wrote Mike Wehner, an editor at the tech-culture site Daily Dot who took the V.R. porn plunge. "That feeling is amplified to an insane degree when you can't actually see or hear what is happening around you, and it's not an experience that is conducive to self pleasure."

I'll take Mr. Wehner's word for it. But if V.R. isn't useful for movies and TV shows, and if it's kind of dodgy for porn, what good is it today? There are some great games on these systems, and there are sure to be many more during the next couple of years. There are also several useful experiences, like designing your Ikea kitchen in V.R.

But if you're not a gamer and you're not looking for a new kitchen, V.R. is, at this point, just too immersive for most media. A few minutes after donning my goggles, I came to regard my virtual surroundings as a kind of prison. Yes, V.R. is a prison of fantastical sights and sounds and one that is at moments irresistibly exciting, but it's a prison nevertheless. And before long, it will leave you yearning for escape.



The Balmain fall 2016 collection, shown during Paris Fashion Week. The sale to an investment group linked to Qatar's royal family will fund the expansion of the label's accessories business.

Qatari group buys Paris fashion house Balmain

LONDON

BY ELIZABETH PATON

Balmain, the Parisian fashion house beloved by Hollywood, the European jet set and the Kardashian clan, has been bought by a private investment group linked to Qatar's royal family and that has sought to build a luxury-brand empire.

Balmain, a mostly wholesale business, was sold to Mayhoola for Investments after having attracted bids from several other private equity funds, including L Capital, an investment firm backed by the European luxury conglomerate LVMH Moët Hennessy Louis Vuitton.

Mayhoola "will allow the brand to accelerate its development, notably with the opening of new stores abroad,"

Bucéphale Finance, the Paris-based boutique mergers and acquisitions firm that advised Balmain shareholders, said in a statement Tuesday evening. The sale will also fund the expansion of Balmain's accessories business. "After completing this transaction, Mayhoola for Investments will hold 100 percent of Balmain's capital," the statement added.

The terms of the deal were not immediately disclosed. Balmain's shareholders included Jean-François Dehecq, the co-founder of the French pharmaceuticals company Sanofi, and the family of the former Balmain chief executive and controlling shareholder Alain Hivelin, who died in 2014 at the age of 71.

Balmain has been injected with new fervor under the leadership of its 30-year-old creative director, Olivier Rousteing, whose signature look —

leather jackets, tight bandage dresses and lashings of gold, satin and sparkle — has endeared him to film and reality television stars. Mr. Rousteing spearheaded a sellout collaboration with the fast fashion giant H&M last year, and he regularly posts pictures of celebrity friends wearing Balmain on Instagram, where he has 3.4 million followers.

The fashion house was founded by Pierre Balmain in 1945, and it passed through periods of financial difficulty over the years before being revived in 1995 by Mr. Hivelin. It has enjoyed strong growth since Mr. Rousteing joined in 2011, the Bucéphale Finance statement said.

The deal is the latest in a string of acquisitions by Mayhoola to consolidate its portfolio of luxury brands, which have led some to suggest it is trying to

create a rival to European luxury giants like LVMH or Kering.

The Qatari investment group first made waves in the luxury industry in 2012, when it bought the Italian fashion house Valentino from the British private equity firm Permira for about 700 million euros, or about \$791 million at current exchange rates.

Reports have emerged in recent months that Mayhoola is considering an initial public offering for Valentino as early as next year, after nearly doubling profit in 2015 compared with a year earlier.

Mayhoola has also spent about 27 million pounds, or \$40 million, for a stake in the handbags maker Anya Hindmarch, and it owns 65 percent of Pal Zileri, the Italian men's wear brand, which it acquired for an estimated \$145 million.

Assault rifles and smaller handguns at center of a changing industry

GUNS, FROM PAGE 14

ers' rights. But because the law tried to ban guns based on certain characteristics, firearms makers simply reconfigured weapons to comply with the law.

Trying to make the guns illegal may also have stoked consumer interest in them, Mr. Kopel added. "You tell someone they can't own something and they are going to buy it," he said.

In more recent years, sales of both categories of weapons have benefited from legislative changes. The federal assault rifle ban expired in 2004, and many states have passed laws allowing residents to carry concealed guns.

Some companies jumped into the assault rifle business only after the ban expired. Smith & Wesson, for example — a company known for decades for revolvers — started selling the weapons two years later, in 2006.

Now, Smith & Wesson says it is a market leader in AR-15-type rifles, offering 44 models. Along with Sturm Ruger, its principal competitors include, among

others, Remington's Bushmaster and Sig Sauer, the manufacturer of the MCX, the military-style weapon used in the Orlando shooting. Smith & Wesson does not break down how many AR-type weapons it sells, said Elizabeth Sharp, the company's vice president for investor relations. Instead, when it reported results last Thursday for its most recent fiscal year ending April 30, it said only that rifles of all types represented 17.7 percent of its \$722.9 million in total sales.

Overall rifle sales, the company said, represented a 31 percent increase from its previous fiscal year.

Christopher Krueger, a gun industry analyst at Lake Street Capital Markets in Minneapolis, said that an even bigger area of sales for gun makers like Smith & Wesson was small, semiautomatic handguns that can be carried concealed — weapons that appeal to consumers concerned about self-protection.

Josh Sugarman, executive director of the Violence Policy Center, a group in Washington that advocates tougher gun

control laws, agreed. "Assault weapons and high-capacity concealed carry handguns are the bread and butter of today's gun industry," he said.

Firearms producers, meanwhile, have tried in recent decades to widen the appeal of guns to women.

The National Shooting Sports Foundation features a graphic on its website titled "Girl Power," which says that the number of women who own guns, hunt and target shoot has increased significantly in recent years.

But Mr. Smith, the General Social Survey director, said that while the firearms industry, as far back as the 1980s, began promoting the idea of increased gun ownership by women, the data gathered by his group have yet to support such claims. Instead, the percentage of American woman who say they own a gun has remained relatively stable at about 10 percent.

"You see a lot of anecdotes that more women are buying guns," Mr. Smith said, "but it does not translate into statistics."



An exhibit at the 145th National Rifle Association Convention in Louisville, Ky., last month. Efforts to ban assault weapons may have stoked consumer interest in them, one expert said.

Volkswagen hears it from shareholders at meeting

VOLKSWAGEN, FROM PAGE 14

to outside pressure. In many ways, the company is the last bastion of what was once known as Germany Inc., a web of cross-shareholdings among German banks and corporations that insulated them from the whims of the stock market.

David Bach, associate dean at the Yale School of Management, said such structures allowed Volkswagen and other companies to take a longer term view. But it also isolated them from outside criticism and encouraged complacency.

Wednesday's session, held at a vast exhibition grounds, nevertheless forced top managers to confront shareholders face to face, two days after German prosecutors said they had opened an investigation into Martin Winterkorn, Volkswagen's former chief executive, and another member of the management board. The men are suspected of violating German securities laws by waiting too long to inform shareholders that United States authorities were investigating the company's use of illegal software to evade pollution limits.

Prosecutors did not name the second suspect, but Volkswagen confirmed Wednesday that he is Herbert Diess, the executive in charge of the Volkswagen brand. Mr. Diess, a former BMW executive who joined Volkswagen in July 2015, appeared with other members of the management board in Hanover and gave no indication that he planned to resign.

Prosecutors acted at the behest of Germany's financial market regulator. The agency concluded after its inquiry that all of the members of the Volkswagen supervisory board should be held responsible for failure to inform shareholders, according to a Reuters report, which was confirmed by a person with firsthand knowledge of the decision but who was not authorized to speak publicly.

Klaus Ziehe, a spokesman for the prosecutor in Braunschweig, which is handling the case, declined to comment. But he said it was possible the number of suspects could grow.

The shareholder meeting could also have legal significance. A group of investors submitted a motion for a special inquiry into the role of top management in the emissions scandal.

If, as expected, the company's main shareholders reject the motion, the way would be clear for shareholders to pursue their demand for an inquiry in court.

DEALBOOK

FINANCE MARKETS BUSINESS

No mea culpa after cybertheft

DHAKA, BANGLADESH

Former central bank chief of Bangladesh passes the blame after massive heist

BY MEGHA BAHRE

The former governor of Bangladesh's central bank, where \$81 million was stolen in February, says that flaws in the global money transfer system — and not any misstep by him — are to blame for the brazen cyberheist.

In an interview this week at his home in a well-to-do neighborhood in the Bangladeshi capital of Dhaka, Atiur Rahman, who resigned from his post after the theft, said that the loss was a "systemic failure" and that "Bangladesh should not be blamed for something going wrong in the chain."

In particular, he blamed the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, where Bangladesh Bank had placed the money.

"If you want to take \$500 out of your account in the U.S., you'll be asked several questions," Mr. Rahman said. "But here, millions are going, and you're not asking any questions." The New York Fed, he added, "should have immediately called someone in Bangladesh — the governor or someone."

Mr. Rahman's comments go to the heart of fears in the international banking community. The theft exposed weaknesses in the way the world's banks, companies and other financial institutions transfer money around the globe. Swift — the system they use to move that money and through which the money was transferred out of the New York Fed — has since said it has seen other such attempts to steal money from the global banking system.

In the case of Bangladesh Bank, the thieves used stolen credentials to try to transfer nearly \$1 billion of the central bank's money at the New York Fed to accounts around the world. About \$81 million was ultimately transferred, to casinos in the Philippines, where much of it disappeared.

A spokeswoman for the New York Fed declined to comment on Mr. Rahman's remarks but said that the theft had not been the result of a breach of its computer systems.

Some experts have said that the theft was the result of weaknesses within Bangladesh Bank, the central bank, itself. Local news reports have said the bank used \$10 routers and no firewalls. Mr. Rahman disputed that the bank's digital security was lax.

"I made cyber security the top of the agenda," he said, adding, "I smelt a year back that this could be a problem. It was my bad luck that this happened now."

Swift executives have also been frustrated that some of its users have been

slow to disclose a breach in their systems and — in one case — failed to inform the consortium of an attack at all. Swift officials have suggested to federal officials in the United States that banks that cannot maintain a basic level of cyber security may have to be removed from the network, a decision that could economically marginalize certain parts of the world.

A spokeswoman for Swift — which stands for Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication — declined to comment on Mr. Rahman's remarks but said: "Security weaknesses at individual customer firms have an impact on others in the wider financial system, which means that the industry as a whole has to respond by renewing and enhancing its security."

Mr. Rahman said that an investigation was continuing and that there might have been negligence at the bank. But he said he was not responsible for any wrongdoing. "As a governor I'm not supposed to look at each and every small thing," he said.

"Maybe someone's password was compromised," he added. "It was a departmental failure and not the fault of the governor. It was a high dosage at-



Atiur Rahman resigned from the central bank after \$81 million was stolen in February.

"Other parties could have helped or warned Bangladesh. You cannot imagine my shock."

tack, like a 15 on the Richter scale attack. Other parties could have helped or warned Bangladesh. You cannot imagine my shock."

On speculation that someone within the bank had actively helped the thieves, he said, "if there's a criminal, catch him, but without blaming anyone without reason."

Mr. Rahman said he resigned after the theft for the greater good of the bank. But he defended his conduct in the aftermath of the theft. The former governor has been criticized in Bangladesh for not reporting the theft to the country's government for a month.

"I wanted to save the financial system and the image of the country," he said, adding that he brought in Ameri-

can security businesses, such as Mandiant, after he learned of the theft.

"It could be a mistake but it was not a crime," he said, adding, "people should not expect that I'll be technically so smart that I would know from the start what happened."

To steal the money, the thieves sent transfer orders to the New York Fed using the Bangladesh central bank's credentials. The heist was well-timed — it took place on a Thursday night in Bangladesh, on the eve of the country's weekend. When workers there discovered the transfers on Saturday, they tried to reach the New York Fed, which was closed for its weekend.

Mr. Rahman contends the New York Fed did not do enough to verify that the orders were real. "There was a terrible lack of efficiency from the Fed," he said. "We were sending mails, faxes, but there was no one to pick that up. We need a hotline."

In May, representatives of the Fed, the Bangladesh Bank and Swift met in Basel, Switzerland, to discuss protecting the global financial system from these types of attacks.

Mr. Rahman also laid some of the blame on the Philippines, where the theft has exposed what critics say are holes in money-laundering enforcement. "If the Fed really wants to help, it only needs to make one small phone call to the Philippines central bank governor and order it to return the money," he said. "It's the credibility of the system that's at stake."

He said that this was a test case for the Financial Action Task Force, an inter-governmental agency that develops policies to combat money laundering and terrorist financing. "The Philippines deserves to be blacklisted by F.A.T.F. if they do not act appropriately," he said. "So far they have been extremely slow. If this goes unnoticed by the global players, all the noises of anti-money laundering and anti-terrorist financing will be considered by smaller countries as a joke."

A spokeswoman for F.A.T.F. declined to comment on the remarks, though she said that the group had "no investigative or prosecutorial functions."

In March the anti-money-laundering agency in the Philippines filed criminal charges against two businessmen in the country, accusing them of breaking the country's money-laundering laws by receiving some of the money from the heist.

A spokeswoman from the Philippines central bank governor, Amando Tetangco Jr., wrote in an email, "charges have been filed against those who have been identified as being involved in the Bangladesh heist. We await the decision of the courts."

Michael Corkery contributed reporting from New York.



Pipes for an oil line that Energy Transfer Partners is building across the Midwest. The company is seeking to kill a merger with a rival.

Merger battle hinges on intentions

GEORGETOWN, DEL.

Energy Transfer shares surge after judge says case turns on 'good faith'

BY LESLIE PICKER

In March, Brad Whitehurst, an executive vice president and tax counsel at Energy Transfer, the pipeline operator, discovered there might be a problem with the \$38 billion merger his company had signed with the Williams Companies six months earlier. He had misunderstood the terms of the deal, and with the rapid decline of Energy Transfer's shares in the intervening months, the transaction no longer appeared to be tax-free.

The problem was that the completion of the merger required the assurance that it would not incur a tax liability.

Mr. Whitehurst immediately called Latham & Watkins, Energy Transfer's outside legal counsel. After parsing the details again, lawyers at the white-shoe law firm also determined they had made a mistake in structuring the deal and could no longer provide the necessary opinion letter to close.

Williams's outside lawyers, from Cravath, Swaine & Moore, considered Latham's argument to be "bogus" and presented two proposals to restructure the deal. Both were promptly rejected by the lawyers at Latham.

Coincidentally, the debate over the

deal's tax status paralleled a steep decline in pipeline industry shares, which gave Energy Transfer the incentive to get out of the deal, while making it imperative for Williams to stay in and close it.

This was the narrative woven in testimony on Monday and Tuesday, at the Delaware Court of Chancery in Georgetown for an expedited trial examining whether each side was engaging in its best effort to close the deal.

The stakes are high on both sides. Each has accused the other of breaching the merger agreement. Williams shareholders will vote on the merger in less than a week, and Energy Transfer hopes the judge will find enough reason to kill the deal.

Six of the eight witnesses during the two-day trial were tax lawyers and experts who debated the merits of Latham's argument for not offering an opinion letter and rejecting Cravath's alternative proposals.

By midday Tuesday, Sam Glasscock III, the vice chancellor of the Court of Chancery, dropped a bombshell: He did not care if Latham was right or wrong in refusing to issue its tax opinion. He just needed to be sure that Latham was acting in "good faith."

That sent hedge funds and investors scrambling out of the room to make trades. Mr. Glasscock's words seemed to fuel the 17 percent gain in Energy Transfer's shares in trading on Tuesday, reflecting optimism that the deal would fall apart or be recast in a way that benefited Energy Transfer.

The challenge for Williams was to show ample evidence that Latham was withholding the tax opinion because it was influenced by its client's wishes to get out of the deal.

Jamie Welch, who was chief financial officer of Energy Transfer until he was abruptly fired in February, said in a video deposition that Kelcy Warren, the chairman of Energy Transfer, was concerned that the cash-and-stock deal would result in a ratings downgrade and create an "implosion." Mr. Warren attended most of the trial but did not testify.

More important, to the judge, perhaps, was not whether Energy Transfer wanted out of the deal but whether Latham helped it try to get out of it.

The stock price decline created a mismatch in the movement of assets and cash between Williams and a newly created subsidiary of Energy Transfer, or what Latham called "the perfect hedge." One tax expert, Bill McKee of the law firm Morgan, Lewis & Bockius, had been summoned by Energy Transfer to provide a tax opinion in addition to Latham's. Mr. McKee, who had been a former partner of Mr. Whitehurst's, admitted as a witness that he did not understand the "perfect hedge argument" at the time and does not understand it now.

At the end of the day, Morgan also determined it could not provide the tax opinion if requested to do so. Mr. Glasscock said he planned to deliver an opinion by Friday evening. If the two sides settle in the interim, Mr. Glasscock said, they should let him know.

World markets Wednesday, June 22

Table with columns for United States, Americas, Europe and Middle East, and Asia. Includes indices like Dow Jones, S&P 500, FTSE 100, Nikkei 225.

Interest rates

Table with columns for 10-year gov't, 3-month gov't, and Benchmark rates. Includes yields for various currencies and maturities.

Cross rates

Table with columns for Australia, Brazil, Britain, Canada, China, Denmark, Euro zone, Japan, and United States. Shows exchange rates between major currencies.

Exchange rates

Table with columns for Major currencies, Asia, and Europe. Shows rates for various currencies against the dollar.

World 100

The companies with the largest market capitalization, listed alphabetically by region. Prices shown are for regular trading.

Large table listing top 100 companies by market cap, categorized by region (U.S., Europe, Asia, etc.) with columns for company name, last price, and price range.

Futures

Table with columns for Agricultural, Metals, and Energy. Shows prices for various commodities.

Metals, energy

Table with columns for Aluminum, Copper, Gold, Palladium, Platinum, Silver, Brent crude, and Natural gas. Shows prices for various metals and energy products.

Musk plans to bring 2 of his ventures together

BY MICHAEL J. DE LA MERCED AND PETER EAVIS

Elon Musk has built an ambitious business empire on three pillars: electric cars, solar energy and space travel.

Now, Mr. Musk, the billionaire entrepreneur, is trying to shore up his embattled solar panel provider by merging it with the electric carmaker.

His Tesla Motors said on Tuesday that it had offered to buy SolarCity in an all-stock deal, one that could value the latter at as much as \$2.8 billion. The aim, Mr. Musk said, was to create a renew-

able-energy giant, collecting clean electricity and putting it to work propelling cars.

In Mr. Musk's view, putting Tesla and SolarCity together is only logical.

"We need to achieve a tight integration of the products," he told reporters in a conference call on Tuesday. "I think it's an obvious thing to do."

An agreement is some time away, if one is ever reached. Both companies have been growing fast, but have also consumed enormous amounts of cash to pursue their goals.

Of the two, SolarCity — where Mr.

Musk is chairman and his cousin, the co-founder Lyndon Rive, is chief executive — has been the more troubled, buffeted by changes in the regulations on the solar energy industry.

Analysts have said that Tesla's main business may be in batteries, particularly as it builds out its \$5 billion "Gigafactory" near Reno, Nev.

"The world does not lack for automotive companies," Mr. Musk said in Tuesday's conference call. "The world lacks for sustainable energy companies."

Diane Cardwell contributed reporting.

FundsInsite logo and website information.

Morningstar logo and website information.

Table listing various investment funds from Degroof Petercam and Gutzwiller Funds, including names like Absolute Perform and Premier Investment Funds.

Table listing investment funds from Spinnaker Capital Group, including Global Emerging Markets and Global Opportunity funds.

Table listing investment funds from Morningstar, including Sterling, US Dollars, and Australian Dollars funds.

Degroof Petercam logo and contact information.

Groupe Edmond de Rothschild logo and contact information.

Gutzwiller Funds logo and contact information.

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BUSINESS

Law school still a solid choice

Deal Professor

STEVEN DAVIDOFF SOLOMON

Associate salaries at big American law firms are on the rise, and that news has brought a predictable but undesired fresh round of law school bashing.

Instead, let's just accept that this is a world of haves and have-nots. Top law graduates are doing better than ever, while other law students have a steeper path to climb to earn that type of money.

The latest round of raises began in early June, when the prestigious law firm Cravath, Swaine & Moore bumped the pay of its first-year associates to \$180,000 from \$160,000. This move had been rumored, and because Cravath has taken the lead in pushing up salaries for decades, it did not want to miss out.

In the world of associates and salaries, big law firms are like lemmings. The top 50 or so all quickly moved to match Cravath, even raising the salaries for the summer associates who arrived from law schools the week the increases were announced.

It is a time for celebration among the twentysomethings who are benefiting from this extra cash. But it also highlights the dichotomy between those at the top and everyone else. The top graduates earn a median salary that will now start at \$180,000, but that represented only about 17 percent of the reported salaries in 2014, according to data from the National Association for Law Placement.

Cravath knew when it raised salaries that other law firms would quickly match it to avoid being viewed as less prestigious and to remain competitive. Big law firms are experiencing a talent drain to in-house corporate jobs, finance and venture capital, where the salaries or lifestyles are more attractive. The salaries and opportunities for top associates remain robust (we'll leave for another day the question of whether these jobs are worth the long hours and quality-of-life sacrifices).

The rush by other law firms to meet Cravath's salary increase also reflects the winner-take-all society. Look at the salaries of more senior associates. Eighth-year lawyers at Cravath also got raises and will now be paid \$315,000 a year. With bonuses that now average about \$100,000, the average senior associate at a big firm is less than 35 years old and earning more than \$400,000.

I graduated from law school in 1995 with a starting salary at a big law firm of \$81,500 and no bonus. Salaries with bonuses are now more than 50 percent higher, adjusting for inflation, but eighth-year salaries have grown even more, most likely outstripping the growth in law school tuition at most schools.

For the lucky few who get jobs at these big firms, law school is a good investment. These young lawyers can earn more than \$40,000 in one summer while they are still in law school and pay back their loans quickly. Many find that there are private firms willing to refinance their loans at rock-bottom interest rates (again, whether they are happy at these firms is another question).

But let's be clear. Only the lucky 17 percent of graduates earn salaries this high. To be in this group, you needed to go to a top 10 school or graduate in the higher ranks of the top quartile of law schools.

Things are harder for every other law graduate. Law firm starting salaries are bimodal — meaning that while 17 percent of graduates earned a median salary of \$160,000 in 2014, about half had a median starting salary of \$40,000 to \$65,000.

It is the fate of these graduates that drives the criticism of law school as a "scam." They dream of big jobs but are



HARRY CAMPBELL

often the lawyers who become solo practitioners, district attorneys, public defenders and other lower-paying jobs outside the big firms.

The employment market has softened even for the big jobs, but for new lawyers on the lower end of the starting scale, it is worse. In 2014, graduates faced a 86.7 percent employment rate, according to the National Association for Law Placement.

But this figure is for all jobs taken by law graduates, including jobs outside of law. Law school critics focus on the number of law graduates who secured jobs as lawyers or got jobs that preferred a law degree. According to American Bar Association figures analyzed by the Legal Whiteboard, for the 2015 class, this figure was 70 percent, up from 69 percent in 2013, though 4,000 fewer people graduated from law school.

In comparison, law job placement from the top 20 schools was 80 percent to 100 percent. These sobering figures imply that approximately 30 percent of law school graduates are either unemployed or cannot find a law job. Some question this notion though, asserting that the figure may have been adversely

affected by the fact that in 2015, the bar passage rate nationally declined to about 75 percent, and so many law graduates could not practice law even if the jobs were there.

Either way, it is clear that it is harder out there for the lower-tier law schools and their graduates.

Indeed, it is easy to visit a regional law school in the fourth tier of the U.S. News & World Report rankings and find a graduate who has not found a job or is struggling. This is often extrapolated into an argument that law schools are about to close wholesale (so far, not one has closed) or that law school is not worth it for 90 percent of those who attend and cannot be guaranteed a job at a big law firm. One pundit goes so far as to criticize anyone who goes to law school outside the top five or six schools.

The criticisms ignore the fact that even lower-ranked law schools offer more good outcomes than bad. Michael

Simkovic, a Seton Hall law professor who has studied this market, noted that from 2007 to 2014, the number of law firm jobs rose to 870,000 from 786,000, according to census data. During that time, law school enrollment dropped significantly, to about 37,000 students a year from a high of more than 50,000 students. In the long term, the increase in law firm jobs will be filled by newly minted law school graduates.

The focus on salaries and employment at graduation also ignores the fact that most law graduates do secure employment that pays them more than they would have otherwise earned. The only peer-reviewed study on this topic, co-written by Professor Simkovic, found that most law students earned a premium of hundreds of thousands of dollars over what they would have earned had they not gone to law school, even taking into account the debt they accrue.

The fact that lawyers do reasonably well over time and better than they would have done had they not gone to law school is reflected in the low default rates on law school loans.

The simple fact is that the lower and middle ranked law schools are for those who want to remain in a local place. These lawyers can and do succeed. Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, for example, went to University of Miami School of Law, which is tied for 60th place on the U.S. News & World Report list. He rose to national prominence and a presidential nomination bid through state politics, a common career for lawyers.

Of course, law school is not for everyone. People should be careful about the debt they take on. There are choices in law schools, and yes, sometimes there will be bad outcomes.

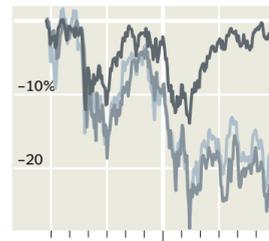
But the question people should be asking is whether they are going to a school with a high-performance outcome. After that, they should look at the school's graduates and what they have done with their legal careers. Then they can choose which outcome suits them best. But let's not lump everything together. And let's recognize that for most, the data still shows that over the long term, law school can be a fruitful choice.

Steven Davidoff Solomon is a professor of law at the University of California, Berkeley.

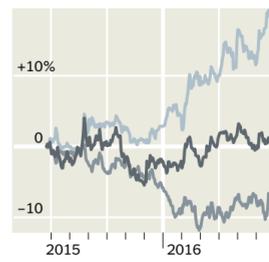
DOWN THE RABBIT HOLE OF VIRTUAL REALITY

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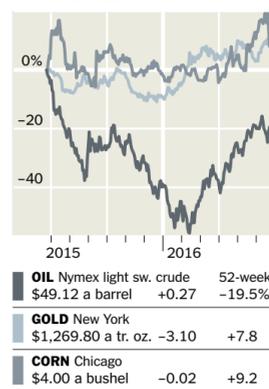
STOCK INDEXES



CURRENCIES



COMMODITIES



Data as of 1600 U.T.C.
Source: Reuters
Graphs: Custom Flow Solutions

REUTERS BREAKINGVIEWS

Saudis may be ready to reclaim the oil throne

Saudi Arabia wants to take back its status as the world's swing oil producer. Since 2014, the kingdom has stayed on the sidelines as oil prices plunged. On Wednesday, the country's new energy minister, Khalid al-Falih, gave the first sign this is about to change.

By using its extensive spare capacity, Saudi Arabia is the only major producer in the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries with the power to balance out price swings on its own. Without strong leadership from Riyadh, the 13-country cartel has been incapable of agreeing on a plan to deal with the crisis caused by falling prices and the loss of global market share to producers outside the group. Instead of defending higher prices — above \$80 per barrel — OPEC failed to act while crude plummeted.

This risky strategy may now be rethought. Mr. Al-Falih's pledge to "balance supply and demand once market conditions recover" is a subtle change in tone. It could mean he is willing to absorb cuts to Saudi Arabia's total capacity of 12.5 million barrels per day —

equal to about 13.4 percent of world demand last year — in order to swing prices back in OPEC's favor.

The offer from Saudi Arabia has come in the nick of time for OPEC's other members and their crippled economies, which have been hit hard by falling oil revenue. Petroleum export income among OPEC states hit its lowest level last year since 2005 and the cartel as a whole posted a combined current account deficit of nearly \$100 billion in 2015, compared with a surplus of \$238 billion a year earlier.

Although a deal to cut output across OPEC is an economic necessity, a final agreement won't be easy to negotiate. Saudi Arabia and another OPEC member, Iran, are locked in a bitter political dispute. Other members such as Iraq are determined to boost production capacity. A start would be for the group to agree on a new official output target set no higher than its current production of 32.5 million barrels per day. The chances of that happening are higher if Saudi Arabia reclaims its swing producer crown. ANDY CRITCHLOW

British exit could derail exchanges' merger

The planned merger between the London Stock Exchange and Deutsche Börse, worth more than 20 billion pounds, is hanging over a precipice. Britons will decide Thursday whether they want to stay in the European Union. For skeptical Deutsche Börse shareholders, a vote to leave — which is perfectly possible — could be the final straw.

Some Deutsche Börse stakeholders are already concerned. On June 7, the Börse works council disputed the idea that the merger was one of equals, because important decisions would be made in London. A suddenly less valuable L.S.E. could fan those flames.

Under the terms of the deal announced in February, L.S.E. shareholders would get 45.6 percent of the combined company — roughly equating to what they should have gotten based on the three-month average of the two companies' share prices. Awkwardly, a last-minute movement of the share prices meant that, on the day before, L.S.E. only warranted 42 percent, meaning that the deal could be portrayed as offering a control premium, rather than a true merger of equals.

A British exit could exacerbate the

disparity between what L.S.E. is being offered and what the market says it is worth. Right now, L.S.E.'s market value implies it should receive 44 percent of the company. Imagine a British exit means that its shares fall roughly 10 percent to around 24 pounds, or \$36, and the pound depreciates 10 percent against the euro. L.S.E.'s share of the two companies would fall slightly below 40 percent.

An oscillating share price doesn't automatically kill the deal. The two companies insist that the strategic rationale is not dependent on Britain being part of the European Union. A decline in the L.S.E. share price may be temporary, and Deutsche Börse shares could fall as well — the two groups' share prices have recently moved in step.

But for L.S.E.-Deutsche to succeed after a British exit, it would have to survive Britain renegotiating its relationship with its main regulators, as well as national rivalries. If the financials move against a deal as well, the tensions may become too great. GEORGE HAY

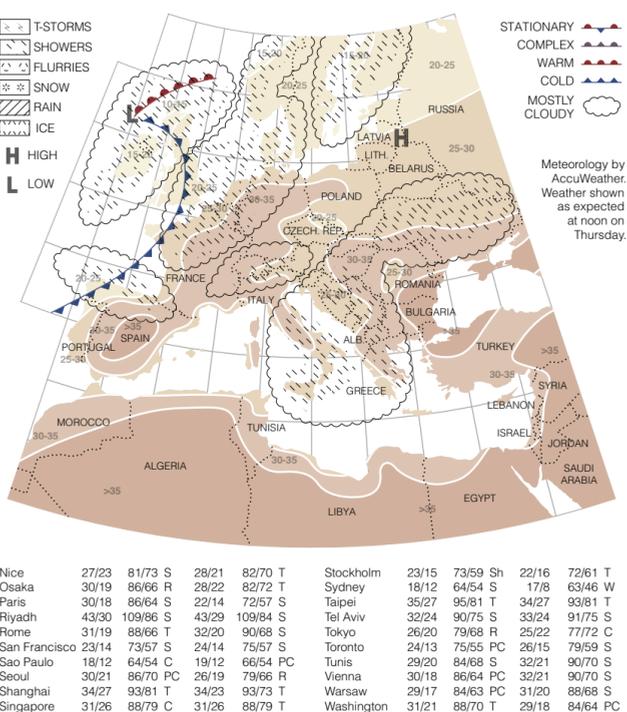
REUTERS
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Traveler's forecast

High/low temperatures, in degrees Celsius and degrees Fahrenheit, and expected conditions.

C Clouds **Sh** Showers
F Fog **S** Sun
H Haze **SN** Snow
I Ice **SS** Snow showers
PC Partly cloudy **T** Thunderstorms
R Rain **W** Windy

	Thursday		Friday			
	°C	°F	°C	°F		
Abu Dhabi	44/30	111/86	S	43/30	109/86	S
Aix-les-Bains	23/12	73/54	PC	25/11	77/52	PC
Athens	34/26	93/79	H	33/25	91/77	S
Bangkok	32/25	90/77	T	31/26	88/79	T
Barcelona	27/18	81/64	S	25/19	77/66	S
Beijing	35/21	95/70	PC	33/19	91/66	S
Belgrade	34/21	93/70	T	34/23	93/73	S
Berlin	31/19	88/66	PC	33/19	91/66	S
Boston	23/16	73/61	Sh	24/16	75/61	S
Brussels	29/19	84/66	T	22/13	72/55	T
Buenos Aires	17/7	63/45	PC	16/6	61/43	PC
Cairo	39/25	102/77	S	39/25	102/77	S
Chicago	24/14	75/57	PC	28/18	82/64	S
Frankfurt	32/19	90/66	S	31/19	88/66	T
Geneva	31/18	88/64	T	30/16	86/61	T
Hong Kong	34/23	93/84	S	34/29	93/84	PC
Istanbul	31/23	88/73	S	31/23	88/73	T
Jakarta	32/24	90/75	S	32/24	90/75	T
Johannesburg	17/4	63/39	S	17/3	63/37	S
Karachi	34/28	93/82	PC	33/28	91/82	PC
Kiev	28/18	82/64	C	27/17	81/63	PC
Lagos	29/23	84/73	T	28/24	82/75	C
Lisbon	27/16	81/61	S	25/16	77/61	S
London	23/14	73/57	T	20/12	68/54	Sh
Los Angeles	28/15	82/59	PC	28/15	82/59	PC
Madrid	35/18	95/64	S	34/17	93/63	S
Manila	32/26	90/79	T	33/26	91/79	T
Mexico City	22/11	72/52	T	23/13	73/55	T
Miami	32/26	90/79	T	33/26	91/79	PC
Moscow	25/16	77/61	PC	25/16	77/61	PC
Mumbai	31/25	88/77	Sh	31/26	88/79	Sh
Nairobi	20/12	68/54	C	22/12	72/54	PC
New Delhi	37/28	99/82	S	38/28	100/82	S
New York	24/17	75/63	R	28/17	82/63	S



HAPPY SPORT

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