



International New York Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 28, 2016

Texas' limits on abortion clinics are struck down

WASHINGTON

Supreme Court decision is broadest defense of access rights since 1992

BY ADAM LIPTAK

The Supreme Court on Monday struck down parts of a restrictive Texas law that could have reduced the number of abortion clinics in the state to about 10 from what was once a high of roughly 40.

The 5-to-3 decision was the court's most sweeping statement on abortion rights since *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* in 1992. It applied a skeptical and exacting version of that decision's "undue burden" standard to find that the restrictions in Texas went too far.

The decision on Monday means that similar restrictions in other states are most likely also unconstitutional, and it imperils many other kinds of restrictions on abortion.

Justice Stephen G. Breyer wrote the majority opinion, joined by Justices Anthony M. Kennedy, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan. Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. and Justices Clarence Thomas and Samuel A. Alito Jr. dissented.

The decision concerned two parts of a Texas law that imposed strict requirements on abortion providers. It was passed by the Republican-dominated Texas Legislature and signed into law in July 2013 by Rick Perry, the governor at the time.

One part of the law requires all clinics in the state to meet the standards for ambulatory surgical centers, including regulations concerning buildings, equipment and staffing. The other requires



GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
The rules put "an undue burden on abortion access," Justice Stephen G. Breyer wrote.

doctors performing abortions to have admitting privileges at a nearby hospital.

"We conclude," Justice Breyer wrote, "that neither of these provisions offers medical benefits sufficient to justify the burdens upon access that each imposes. Each places a substantial obstacle in the path of women seeking a previability abortion, each constitutes an undue burden on abortion access, and each violates the federal Constitution."

Last June, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, in New Orleans, largely upheld the contested provisions of the Texas law, saying it had to accept lawmakers' assertions about the health benefits of abortion restrictions. The appeals court ruled that the law, with minor exceptions, did not place an

COURT, PAGE 3

Questions for U.K.: When? How? Really?



Boris Johnson, a leader of the Leave campaign, said in London on Monday that Britain should not hurry to initiate formal divorce proceedings from the European Union.

NEIL HALL/REUTERS

LONDON

After vote that promised clarity, confusion reigns over what comes next

BY STEVEN ERLANGER,
SEWELL CHAN
AND STEPHEN CASTLE

Four days after a decisive democratic vote to leave the European Union, Britain was consumed on Monday with questions of when, how and, increasingly, whether the nation's departure from the bloc would happen in quite the way the voters intended, if at all.

The immediate outcome of Thursday's vote was not the promised clarity but an epic political muddle and a policy vacuum that invited more confusion and turmoil throughout the day in Britain, on the Continent and in the financial markets.

The governing Conservative Party and the Labour Party, the main opposition group, both descended further into internal warfare. Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany and Europe's other senior leaders struggled to settle on a strategy for dealing with Britain's decision. And the financial markets continued to pummel the value of the British pound, sending it at one point to its lowest level against the dollar in more than three decades.

The state of near chaos highlighted two of the fundamental problems that have plagued the European Union for the last decade. One is its difficulty balancing democratic accountability against its institutional drive to further the cause of unity. The other is its inability to act quickly and decisively to address the crises that regularly undercut confidence among voters and markets.

Monday's events spoke to the struggle on all sides to define a way forward and restore some sense of unity, both within Britain and throughout Europe. And despite statements from leaders on both sides of the Channel that the withdrawal process would go forward, the developments did little to dispel the possibility that the crisis could drag on for a long time, possibly long enough to allow a new arrangement between Europe and Britain that would sidestep the need for a formal withdrawal or at least minimize its effects.

In London, Boris Johnson, the most prominent leader of the campaign to leave the European Union and now a leading candidate to succeed Prime Minister David Cameron, sought to calm nerves and markets with his first extensive remarks on the way forward.

He said Britain should not rush into formal divorce proceedings with Brussels, but he gave no details about when he would want to start the process. And the vision he sketched out — of a Britain that is still in a trading bloc with Europe

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'BREXIT' BACKERS PULL BACK ON CLAIMS
Victims in the vote have begun to retreat from promises, such as additional funds for health spending. PAGE 5

U.S. LOSES DIRECT LINK TO CONTINENT
The quiet diplomatic leverage Britain is able to use for Washington's benefit is now diminished. PAGE 4

CENTRAL BANKERS URGED TO AVOID ACTION
After the "Brexit," some investors and economists fear that intervention might do more harm than good. PAGE 13

After 'Brexit,' fears of rising xenophobia

LONDON

BY DAN BILEFSKY

In Birmingham, protesters held a banner outside a mosque with the words, "Rapefugees not welcome."

The front of a Polish community center in London was scrawled with expletive-laced graffiti.

Far-right protesters in Newcastle displayed signs that read, "Stop immigration, begin repatriation."

Just days after a referendum on British membership in the European Union, which galvanized fears among many about untrammelled immigration into the country, human rights advocates and leading politicians expressed alarm that the animosity behind the vote was giving license to xenophobia and unleashing hatred among an economic underclass.

Although the police in major cities said they had not recorded an increase in hate crimes after the vote, there were concerns that anti-migrant attitudes were rippling through British society and infecting daily life.

During the referendum, the "Leave" campaign effectively stoked fears of an

XENOPHOBIA, PAGE 5

In England's north, proud to leave

SUNDERLAND, ENGLAND

Anti-E.U. sentiment runs high in struggling cities, despite the bloc's largess

BY KIMIKO DE FREYTA-TAMURA

In places like Sunderland, with its once-robust shipyards silent and dead and its citizens leery of both London and Brussels, the idea of the European Union never really took hold.

Although the once-proud working-class city in England's northeast heartland benefited from the bloc, the campaign that became known as Brexit found many adherents and brought long-suppressed grievances into the open.

And when the decision to pull out of the European Union sent markets into a tailspin, Ken Walker, a retired construction worker, was unfazed.

"I don't have any money in the stock market," Mr. Walker, 59, a retired construction worker, said as he drank a pint of beer in a pub. "So what's it to me?"

The pub, called the Speculation, still had "Vote Leave" posters on its walls, and a fellow drinker exclaimed "Aye!" and banged the counter in agreement.

Sunderland stunned the country when voters overwhelmingly opted to leave Europe in Thursday's referendum, by 61 percent to 39 percent. It was a far higher



Karl Leyton, who is unemployed and voted to leave the European Union, with his partner and their children outside their home in the Washington neighborhood of Sunderland.

ADAM FERGUSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

vote for Britain's exit than pollsters had predicted, and it was the first sign that Prime Minister David Cameron's gamble on staying in the bloc had lost.

Sunderland's citizens seem to have voted against their own interests. Not only has the city been a big recipient of European money; it is also the home of a Nissan car factory, Britain's largest, and automobiles produced there are exported, duty-free, to Europe. The plant,

which absorbed workers from the dying shipyards after it opened 30 years ago, became a symbol of the benefits of European Union membership, and Nissan opposed the British exit.

Yet Edward Pennal, 64, a former army mechanic who voted to leave, took the uncertainty in stride, dismissing it as scaremongering. "No, I can't see them cutting off ties," he said of Nissan, before

SUNDERLAND, PAGE 4

INSIDE TODAY'S PAPER

Thefts redirect arms from C.I.A.

The weapons, intended for Syrian rebels, have been systematically stolen by Jordanian intelligence operatives and sold to arms merchants on the black market, officials say. WORLD NEWS, 8

Clinton and Warren team up

Hillary Clinton and Senator Elizabeth Warren held their first joint campaign event on Monday, and teed off on Donald J. Trump. WORLD NEWS, 3

Israel and Turkey repair a rift

After a formal resumption of diplomatic relations, some Israelis started to confront the political predicament the deal could pose. WORLD NEWS, 8

The people's first real victory

Britain's decision to leave the European Union was an act of courage by a people who embrace their freedom, Marine Le Pen writes. OPINION, 6



COSTLY MISS After missing a penalty shot that might have helped Argentina beat Chile to win the Copa América, Lionel Messi said he would quit international play. SPORTS, 11

Taking steps for chickens' welfare

An overhaul of practices at Perdue will give animals more space and light, and could influence its rivals. BUSINESS, 14

Ranking billionaires is hot market

At least six different companies now compile lists of billionaires and seek to measure their assets. BUSINESS, 14

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Will Trump swallow the G.O.P.?

The "normalization" of Donald J. Trump has become a media watchword, but on many days he still appears to be at open war with the party that is about to nominate him. nytimes.com/magazine

The challenges of male friendships

Consciously or otherwise, many men believe that talking about personal matters with other men is something less than manly. nytimes.com/well

Rediscovering joy after war

Burned out after decades covering death, a photographer finally felt the pull of his craft once again at a fashion show in Senegal. nytimes.com/lens

A rocky renaissance in Oakland

A cascade of controversies has left the city without a police chief at a time when crime rates are down and once-dilapidated neighborhoods are reviving. nytimes.com/us

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CURRENCIES NEW YORK, MONDAY 12:30PM

	NEW YORK, MONDAY 12:30PM	PREVIOUS
▼ Euro	€1= \$1.1020	\$1.1110
▼ Pound	£1= \$1.3210	\$1.3680
▲ Yen	¥1= \$101.620	¥102.190
▲ S. Franc	₣1= SF0.9790	SF0.9730

Full currency rates Page 17

STOCK INDEXES MONDAY

▼ The Dow 12:30pm	17,138.56	-1.51%
▼ FTSE 100 close	5,982.20	-2.55%
▲ Nikkei 225 close	15,309.21	+2.39%

OIL NEW YORK, MONDAY 12:30PM

▼ Light sweet crude	\$46.31	-\$1.65
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Dior

La Mini D de Dior Satine
Pink gold and diamonds

dior.com

PAGE TWO

IN YOUR WORDS

Fissures spread from 'Brexit' vote

I think Britain made a mistake with this vote, but the only bigger mistake that could come out of this would be the ruling elite believing they can ignore the clearly stated will of the British people on this matter. Doing so would be an enormous breach of trust between a democratic government and the people, and would represent a far bigger problem, long term, than would a Brexit.

SHANE, MARIN COUNTY, CALIF.

Such a mess. I wanted them to stay, but it's called European "Union." You can't cherry pick. The Brits wanted everything and give nothing. They wanted exemptions for everything. Either the U.K. wants to be a part of the E.U. and play by the rules, or they leave.

SVEN, BERLIN

The referendum is not strictly binding but is impossible to ignore. The best chance of staying in the E.U. is pressure from Scotland and Northern Ireland, which both decisively voted to remain in the E.U. Otherwise, you won't simply have the U.K. exiting the E.U., you most likely won't have a U.K. anymore.

JULIAN LALOR, SYDNEY

Trying to make chickens happier

I have had chickens in the past, and one of my neighbors now has chickens. Chickens like to strut and scratch at the ground, and chase and eat bugs. They spread out on the grass and would never dream of cramming themselves as close together as that photo shows them. "Happy"? Well, I guess that's a relative term.

JEND, N.J.

I accept that life must devour other life to sustain itself. But we can avert subjecting these creatures to torture and misery their entire lives.

ZOLA, SAN DIEGO

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

IN OUR PAGES

International Herald Tribune

1916 Hughes Hits Out at President

NEW YORK In response to a telegram informing him that the Progressive National Convention had decided to support him for the Presidency of the United States, Judge Hughes, the Republican candidate, telegraphed his thanks last night [June 26] for the Convention's support in the common cause which would assure national security and honor. Judge Hughes added that the grave difficulties with which the present Wilson Administration is confronted are due to its own weakness and indecision. "I am convinced," wrote the Republican candidate, "that prompt and decisive action would have prevented the tragedy of the Lusitania."

1941 Arms to Ireland Weighed

HYDE PARK, N.Y. President Roosevelt, indicating that he is well satisfied with the progress of some phases of the national defense program but dissatisfied with others, revealed today [June 27] that he is considering sending some rifles to Ireland, but that the United States cannot spare ammunition to go with them. The President made it clear that no arms will be sent until the United States receives assurances that they will be used to repel any Nazi invasion.

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



KEVIN FRAYER/GETTY IMAGES

Harvesting the caterpillar fungus, known as yarsagumba in Nepali, on the Tibetan Plateau in May. Prices for the fungus, long used as an aphrodisiac, can top \$50,000 a pound in China.

'Himalayan Viagra' at risk

BAGDANDA, NEPAL

Warming is suspected as harvests of lucrative caterpillar fungus shrink

BY KAI SCHULTZ

From a pasture high in the Himalayas, Tulsingh Rokaya, 55, a shepherd, watched for years as the number of itinerant harvesters swelled.

They came in search of what is known as caterpillar fungus, or yarsagumba in

BAGDANDA JOURNAL

Nepali. A parasitic fungus, it forms out of the head of ghost moth larvae living in the soil at altitudes above 10,000 feet, and has been used as an aphrodisiac for at least a thousand years, earning it the nickname Himalayan Viagra.

In the 1980s, the pickers used to trade the fungus for cigarettes and noodles. But as yarsagumba grew in popularity, it exploded into a multibillion-dollar industry spanning China, Singapore and the United States.

During the picking season, which runs from late May to July, the number of harvesters in Bagdanda and two neighboring camps has often reached several thousands of people. But this season, with the fungus becoming scarce, the number is down to the hundreds.

They still hike from a camp below, carrying metal picks to dig out the fungus, helping to produce an average regional harvest of 135 tons a year. Occasionally, they stop at Mr. Rokaya's tent to buy sheep's curd. Most of the time they pass through, teetering on a steep hillside where they spend the morning hunched over to find the fungus's crooked black stem poking through the dirt.

Folklore has it that interest in the fungus stems from the startling performance of Chinese runners at an interna-



tional track meet in 1993, which their coach attributed to their consumption of a soup combining the fungus with turtle blood. (Western competitors suspected something less exotic, namely performance-enhancing drugs.)

With prices topping \$50,000 a pound in China's coastal megacities, harvesting of the fungus has helped to curb endemic poverty in the Himalayas, which stretch across Nepal, northern India, Bhutan, Tibet and China. For hundreds of thousands of people living in remote villages, selling yarsagumba has become a primary source of income.

A study by Nepal's central bank found that harvesters earned an average of about \$2,500, or 56 percent of their yearly income, selling the fungus. Money from yarsagumba has given some of the world's most impoverished people access to electricity, hospital care and education.

"The whole Tibetan plateau is by now completely dependent on the cash influx," said Daniel Winkler, a mycologist who has studied the caterpillar fungus extensively in Tibet. He estimated that over one million people in Tibet sell the fungus.

But as quickly as demand for the fungus has surged, its supply has

dropped sharply. Mycologists studying the fungus point to overharvesting as one reason. But another possible cause, some researchers now believe, is a warmer ecosystem precipitated by climate change, a phenomenon that may be more acute at higher altitudes.

"There are strong theoretical reasons as to why we might expect the rate of climate change to be faster higher up in the mountains than it is at sea level," said Nicholas Pepin, a geographer at the University of Portsmouth in Britain.

Some of the most compelling data comes from the Tibetan plateau, where from 2001 to 2012, the increase in temperatures was between half a degree Fahrenheit and nearly an entire degree at weather stations above 10,000 feet. In the same decade, global temperatures rose by only about 0.2 degree.

Scientists say it is unclear why mountain ranges may be warming more rapidly than other parts of the planet. But Kamaljit Bawa, a biologist at the University of Massachusetts Boston, said failure to better understand warming in the Himalayas could have serious consequences for the region's unique biodiversity.

"We have to make very rapid progress," he said. "We can't use the slow

approach, the traditional, slow scientific approach."

Not for yarsagumba, apparently. As harvesters returned from the pastures to Bagdanda on a recent afternoon, children gathered in the camp's dusty thoroughfare and divided teams for a volleyball game. A mother held down her squirming daughter to pick lice from her scalp. Men congregated on trash-strewn dirt mounds and peeled strips of kutki, an herb used to treat vomiting and fever.

In a village below the meadows, Prithvi Budha, 60, a beekeeper who is sitting out the harvest to watch dozens of empty mud and stone huts, said less precipitation may be the cause for the drop in yarsagumba supplies.

"We used to have snow up to here and up to here," he said, pointing to his torso and his shoulders as he recalled a string of childhood winters.

Jir Bahadur Budha, 43, a farmer, said he was disappointed with this year's harvest. He estimated that his family of six would collect only 400 pieces of yarsagumba, 200 fewer than last year and 500 fewer than the year before. The selling price for a single piece is about \$3.50 in Nepal.

On a recent morning, Mr. Budha joined dozens of others in a pasture as a heavy fog set in. Within 10 minutes of searching, calls echoed from a few hundred feet away, where a teenager had spotted one of the day's first pieces. Clawing away dirt from the larva's body, the boy received a smattering of congratulations. He had found a good piece.

"Only lucky people find yarsagumba in the morning," one man said.

Mr. Rokaya, the shepherd, was cautious in his appraisal of the day's pickings. Whatever the reason for the decline in yarsagumba, he said, it may be too late to salvage what has been lost.

"No jobs. No money. What to do?" he said, thrumming his fingers on a gnarled cane. "We eat the rice that even donkeys and horses don't eat."

Goro Hasegawa, 83, creator of Othello

BY DANIEL E. SLOTNIK

Goro Hasegawa, who is widely credited with creating the board game Othello, which has sold tens of million of copies around the world since its introduction in the 1970s, died on June 20 in Japan. He was 83.

The death was confirmed on the Face-

OBITUARY

book page of Benkt Steentoft, the event manager of the World Othello Federation. He did not specify a cause.

Othello players take turns placing discs on a green board divided into squares, eight across and eight down. Each disc has a black side and a white side and is placed within a single square, and each player takes one color. When one player's discs occupy spaces on either side of another's disc, it is captured and flipped over, its color changed to that of the surrounding player's discs. The player with the most discs of his color on the board at the end of the game wins.

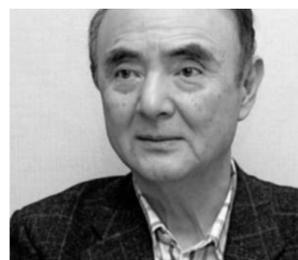
Othello is similar in some ways to Go, an ancient game of Asian origin that involves placing black and white stones on a large board to surround an opponents' stones. It is also quite similar to Reversi, a British game that enjoyed a

spurt of popularity in the 1890s. Othello is a licensed brand, so contemporary imitators often call their versions Reversi to avoid copyright infringement.

Whether Mr. Hasegawa knew about Reversi when he thought up his game is unclear. Most accounts say that he was an avid Go player, and that he first tried a version of Othello with milk-bottle tops in his hometown, Mito, in the late 1940s or early 1950s. The name of the game is derived from the title of Shakespeare's tragedy about a black general's fear that he has been betrayed by his wife, who is white.

The game struck a chord in Japan when it was first mass-produced there by the Tsukuda Corporation in 1973. Mr. Hasegawa promoted it by organizing tournaments, serving as the head of the Japan Othello Association and helping to broker a licensing deal with the Anjar Corporation, an American company that assisted in making the game global. For decades, Othello has been advertised with the slogan "A minute to learn ... a lifetime to master."

Othello is played in dozens of countries and remains popular in Japan, where games are sometimes televised and matches are covered by newspapers, much like chess or bridge in the United States. Fans have included Pope



KYODO NEWS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mr. Hasegawa in 2007. Over 40 million copies of his game have been sold since the 1970s.

John Paul II. Since its release, the game has sold more than 40 million copies, according to the website for the Toy & Game Inventor Awards.

The World Othello Federation will hold the 40th annual championships in Mito in November.

Mr. Hasegawa was born on Oct. 19, 1932. He worked for a medical company before Othello's success, and afterward wrote books on Othello strategy.

At his death he was living in Kashiwa City, Japan. His survivors include his wife, Hideko; two sons, Takeshi and Shinya; and a granddaughter.

Noah's ark finds a home in Kentucky

Letter From America

LAURIE GOODSTEIN

WILLIAMSTOWN, KY. In the beginning, Ken Ham made the Creation Museum in northern Kentucky. And he saw that it was good at spreading his belief that the Bible is a book of history, the universe is only 6,000 years old, and evolution is wrong and is leading to our moral downfall.

And Mr. Ham said, let us build a gargantuan Noah's ark only 45 minutes away to draw millions more visitors. And let it be constructed by Amish woodworkers, and financed with donations, junk bonds and tax rebates from the state of Kentucky. And let it hold an animatronic Noah and lifelike models of some of the creatures that came on board two-by-two.

And it was so. Mr. Ham's "Ark Encounter," built at a cost of more than \$102 million, is scheduled to open on July 7 in Williamstown, Ky. Mr. Ham and his crew have succeeded in erecting a colossal landmark and an ambitious promotional vehicle for their particular brand of Christian fundamentalism, known as "young earth" or "young universe" creationism.

But it was hardly smooth sailing. The state tried to revoke the tax rebates after learning that Mr. Ham would require employees to sign a "statement of faith" that would exclude people who were gay or did not accept his particular Christian creed. Mr. Ham went to court, and in January, he won.

On a recent afternoon, the Australian-born Mr. Ham looked out on the workers affixing pine planking to cover the

"I mean it's not like a Disney or Universal, just for anyone to go and have fun. It's a religious purpose."

Tyvek plastic wrap still visible on the stern. The ark stretches one-and-a-half football fields long, and Mr. Ham is betting it will become an international pilgrimage site, as well as a draw for the curious, the seculars and even the skeptics.

"The reason we are building the ark is not as an entertainment center," Mr. Ham said in an interview in a cabin overlooking the construction site. "I mean it's not like a Disney or Universal, just for anyone to go and have fun. It's a religious purpose. It's because we're Christians and we want to get the Christian message out."

The ark is also intended to serve as a warning that, according to the Bible, God sent a flood in Noah's time to wipe out a depraved people, and God will deliver a fiery end to those who reject the Bible and accept modern-day evils like abortion, atheism and same-sex marriage.

Yet his interpretation of what he calls "the Christian message" is derided by most scientists and educators, and resented even by some Christians who consider it indefensible and even embarrassing. Young earthers believe that God created the universe in six 24-hour days, and since all of history is only 6,000 years, humans coexisted with dinosaurs.

Bill Nye, best known as "the science guy" on television and in books, said in a telephone interview, "Humans and ancient dinosaurs did not live at the same time. It's completely unreasonable."

Inside a cavernous warehouse in an office park in Hebron, Ky., a few miles from the museum, about 50 artists, designers, carpenters, sculptors and volunteers have been working six-day weeks to prepare the exhibits for the ark.

A sculptor inserted stiff gray-brown hairs one at a time into the chin of what looked like a wild boar. Another wiped off the black dye on a bear's chest to make it look less like a contemporary black bear. A giraffe with a short neck was being "baked" in a large oven to set the dye on its fur.

Tim Chaffey, a content manager and writer for Mr. Ham's Answers in Genesis ministry, explained that most of the models do not resemble animals the way they look today, but extinct species. According to young earth creationists, the ark carried up to 1,400 "kinds" of creatures that gradually evolved into the animals we know today. Young earthers accept the notion that nature makes small adaptations over time — but do not accept that humans and chimpanzees descended from a common ancestor.

In an interview, Mr. Ham railed against atheist groups for trying to prevent his project from receiving tax incentives from the state of Kentucky. Answers in Genesis claimed that the state's denial of those tax credits violated the group's First Amendment rights. Judge Greg Van Tatenhove of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Kentucky agreed.

The ark is now in calmer waters. The workers, standing on hydraulic lifts, have covered over the Tyvek, and just in time. The Tyvek was printed all over with the slogan of its maker, DuPont: "The Miracles of Science."

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World News

UNITED STATES

Survey finds worsening of U.S. race relations

Few Americans harbor hope for improvements from Black Lives Matter

BY MEGAN THEE-BRENAN

Black and white Americans experience life in profoundly and persistently different ways, according to a new Pew Research Center survey examining racial attitudes in the United States.

The telephone survey, conducted over a three-month period starting in February, is the latest in a series of polls by various organizations trying to make sense of the sharp deterioration in the country's optimistic racial attitudes since the election of the nation's first black president in 2008. While most African-Americans think individual racism is a bigger factor than institutional racism, they also say they have experienced unfair treatment by a number of institutions.

Using data from the Census Bureau's monthly Current Population Survey, Pew outlines significant racial disparities across a range of economic and educational opportunities. Despite gains in the past 50 years, African-Americans are still at least twice as likely as whites to be unemployed or living in poverty. Blacks also lag behind whites in attaining college degrees, although the disparity in high school completion rates has narrowed.

The inequalities in the life experiences of blacks and whites are also evident in each group's opinions about racial attitudes in the United States. Here are several striking findings from the Pew poll:

ROOTS OF DISCRIMINATION Two-thirds of Americans questioned by Pew think individual discrimination is a bigger problem than discrimination that is built into American laws and institutions. While most whites agree, blacks are divided. Still, majorities of African-Americans think that blacks are treated less fairly than whites in a number of institutions including the workplace, financial institutions and the criminal justice system.

RACE RELATIONS One hundred days after President Obama's inauguration, a New York Times/CBS News poll found that 59 percent of African-Americans and 65 percent of white Americans rated race relations in the United States as generally good. Pew's new poll included the long-term Times/CBS question and found that 61 percent of blacks and 45 percent of whites now say race relations are generally bad.

Over all, the public is divided, with 48 percent rating race relations as bad and 44 percent as good.

EXPERIENCE WITH DISCRIMINATION Pew interviewed a large sample of black Americans, 1,004, which allowed for study across a wide range of demographic groups. Strong majorities of African-Americans, regardless of their gender, age or education, say they have personally experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly because of their race or ethnicity.

In fact, blacks were more than four times as likely as whites to say they had been treated suspiciously or as if they were not smart in the past year because of their race or ethnicity.

BLACK LIVES MATTER The Black Lives Matter movement was founded in the summer of 2013 after George Zimmerman was acquitted in the shooting of Trayvon Martin in Florida. The activist movement has organized demonstrations to protest the killings of unarmed African-Americans by police officers. About three-fourths of the public have heard of Black Lives Matter, but only 61 percent say they understand the goals of the movement, and 53 percent support it. Few Americans think the movement will help blacks achieve equality.

CORRECTIONS

• An article on May 26 about the complex calculus behind President Obama's decision to become the first sitting president to visit Hiroshima, Japan, referred incorrectly to one of the 11 presidents who have served since President Harry S. Truman's decision to drop an atomic weapon on that city. That president, Gerald R. Ford, succeeded Richard M. Nixon after Nixon's resignation; Ford was not elected.

• A picture caption on June 20 with an article about letters by and about President Obama's father, using information from officials in the 2008 presidential campaign, misstated the decade in which a picture of father and son was taken. It was the 1970s, not the 1960s.

• An article on June 20 about shrinking job prospects and mounting debt for law students misstated the timetable under which the government would forgive the debt incurred by John Acosta, a graduate of Valparaiso University Law School who is setting up his own criminal law practice. It would be forgiven in 20 years, not 25 years.

Justices reject abortion limits in Texas

COURT, FROM PAGE 1

undue burden on the right to abortion.

Justice Breyer said the appeals court's approach was at odds with the proper application of the undue-burden standard. The Casey decision, he said, "requires that courts consider the burdens a law imposes on abortion access together with the benefits those laws confer."

In dissent, Justice Thomas said the majority opinion "reimagines the undue-burden standard," creating a "benefits-and-burdens balancing test." He said courts should resolve conflicting positions by deferring to legislatures.

"Today's opinion," Justice Thomas wrote, "does resemble Casey in one respect: After disregarding significant aspects of the court's prior jurisprudence, the majority applies the undue-burden standard in a way that will surely mystify lower courts for years to come."

The majority opinion considered whether the claimed benefits of the restrictions outweighed the burdens they placed on a constitutional right. Justice Breyer wrote that there was no evidence that the admitting-privileges requirement "would have helped even one woman obtain better treatment."

At the same time, he wrote, there was good evidence that the admitting-privileges requirement caused the number of abortion clinics in Texas to drop from 40 to 20.

In a second dissent, Justice Alito, joined by Chief Justice Roberts and Justice Thomas, said the causal link between the law and the closures was unproven. Withdrawal of state funds, a decline in the demand for abortions and doctors' retirements may have played a role, Justice Alito wrote.

Justice Breyer wrote that the requirement that abortion clinics meet the demanding and elaborate standards for ambulatory surgical centers also did more harm than good.

"Abortions taking place in an abortion facility are safe — indeed, safer than numerous procedures that take place outside hospitals and to which Texas does not apply its surgical-center requirements," he wrote, reviewing the evidence. "Nationwide, childbirth is 14 times more likely than abortion to result in death, but Texas law allows a midwife to oversee childbirth in the patient's own home."



Celebrating in Washington on Monday after the Supreme Court decision, which means that similar restrictions on abortion clinics in other states are most likely unconstitutional as well.

In dissent, Justice Alito said there was good reason to think that the restrictions were meant to and did protect women. "The law was one of many enacted by states in the wake of the Kermit Gosnell scandal, in which a physician who ran an abortion clinic in Philadelphia was convicted for the first-degree murder of three infants who were born alive and for the manslaughter of a patient," Justice Alito wrote.

Justice Breyer acknowledged that "Gosnell's behavior was terribly wrong."

"But," he added, "there is no reason to believe that an extra layer of regulation would have affected that behavior."

The clinics challenging the law said it had already caused about half of the state's 41 abortion clinics to close. If the contested provisions had taken full effect, they said, the number of clinics

would again be cut in half.

The remaining Texas clinics would have been clustered in four metropolitan areas: Austin, Dallas-Fort Worth, Houston and San Antonio. "None is located west or south of San Antonio, a vast geographic area that is larger than California," a brief for the clinics said. An appeals court did allow a partial exemption for a clinic in McAllen, the brief added, but "imposed limitations on the clinic's operational capacity that would

severely restrict its ability to provide abortions."

Justice Breyer, announcing the majority opinion in the hushed Supreme Court chamber, said that the requirements in the Texas statute "are not consistent with the constitutional standard set forth in Casey," and were, therefore, both unconstitutional.

Julie Hirschfeld Davis contributed reporting.

Clinton and Warren team up on Trump

CINCINNATI

BY AMY CHOZICK

Hillary Clinton and Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts held their first joint campaign event on Monday, striking a populist tone as they sought to address the anger over income inequality that has swept the electorate while skewering Donald J. Trump as contributing to the middle class's economic woes.

"I got into this race because I wanted to even the odds for people who have the odds stacked against them," Mrs. Clinton said. "To build an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top, we have got to go big and we have got to go bold."

The event was the first time the two Democrats had campaigned onstage together and was the culmination of an unlikely political alliance between Mrs. Clinton, who is often associated with her husband's centrist economic agenda, and Ms. Warren, who has assailed policies of the Bill Clinton era by tying the deregulation of Wall Street to the 2008 financial crisis.

But those differences seemed a distant memory on Monday, as Mrs. Clinton and Ms. Warren echoed similar liberal themes and took the stage together united against the common enemy: Mr. Trump.

Mrs. Warren praised Mrs. Clinton's advocacy for families and children, saying she had "steady hands, but most of all, she has a good heart." And she presented the presumptive Democratic nominee as singularly suited to defeat Mr. Trump.

"She knows what it takes to defeat a thin-skinned bully who is driven by greed and hate," said Ms. Warren, who has often been on the receiving side of Mr. Trump's Twitter attacks. "She doesn't whine. She doesn't run to Twitter to call her opponents fat pigs or dummies."

Mrs. Clinton and Ms. Warren grasped hands on stage in the grand corridor of the Cincinnati Museum Center at Union Terminal, lined with murals of workers in the fields and on factory floors. Supporters in the crowd of about 2,600 waved "Girl Power" signs in hopes of seeing the duo together on the ticket in the fall.

While an all-female ticket is unlikely, James Hamilton, the Washington lawyer leading Mrs. Clinton's vice-presidential search, has begun vetting Ms. Warren and other candidates. Ever since she endorsed Mrs. Clinton this month, Ms. Warren has been a powerful surrogate, attacking Mr. Trump and visiting the Clinton campaign's head-

quarters in New York to encourage young staffers with a simple message: "Don't screw this up!"

In an address that spoke to the "frustration, the fear, the anxiety and, yes, the anger" over an economy in which the wealthiest Americans have thrived as middle-class wages have remained virtually stagnant, Mrs. Clinton struck many of the same notes, hitting themes that elevated Ms. Warren in the Senate and fueled the candidacy of Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont in the hard-fought Democratic nominating contest.

Mrs. Clinton said that when Ms. Warren railed against Wall Street and corporate excesses from her perch in the Senate, "she is speaking for all of us."

In this battleground state with inordinate weight on general elections, Mrs. Clinton delivered a forceful promise to strengthen labor unions, close loopholes that give corporations tax breaks when moving jobs overseas, raise the minimum wage and make college affordable.

"Why do the richest Americans and biggest corporations get away with manipulating the tax code so they pay lower rates than you do?" Mrs. Clinton asked.

Both women framed their remarks on Monday by portraying Mr. Trump as a

"She doesn't whine. She doesn't run to Twitter to call her opponents fat pigs or dummies."

selfish corporate titan whose business record has not benefited American workers.

Mrs. Clinton ticked off a laundry list of little-known Trump enterprises. "Trump suits were made in Mexico," she said. "Trump furniture is made in Turkey, instead of Cleveland. Trump barware is made in Slovenia, instead of Toledo."

Ms. Warren roused the crowd with criticism of the real estate developer, delivered in her characteristically folksy, but powerful style. "He will crush you into the dirt to get whatever he wants. That's who he is," Ms. Warren said.

"Donald Trump says he'll make America great again," Ms. Warren said. "I ask, for who exactly?"

It was a potent one-two punch by the two most prominent women in the Democratic Party, as Mrs. Clinton echoed the criticism, saying Mr. Trump "reminds us every day that he's not in it for the American people" and Ms. Warren, she said, "exposes him for what he is."



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WORLD NEWS EUROPE

English city seizes chance to defy the establishment

SUNDERLAND, FROM PAGE 1

cause the company has received government grants to stay in Sunderland. And the pound's fall is a good thing for exports, he said. "I was very pleased with the result."

Sunderland's decision was also a vote against the Labour Party, which pushed for Britain to remain in the union but is no longer seen by many voters in Sunderland as a champion of the working class. Instead, they and working-class voters across Britain are increasingly moving right because of immigration, switching to the anti-Brussels, anti-immigrant U.K. Independence Party, which campaigned for the exit so Britain could control its borders.

Nationwide, young voters provided much of the support for the Remain campaign, but that was not the case in Sunderland.

John Todd, 18, an information technology apprentice, voted for the first time, and said he supported the U.K. Independence Party. "We're segregated from the south, and the north is a barren wasteland," he said, wearing a heavy black leather jacket with metal studs despite the summer heat. "It's us against them."

"The E.U. is a mystery to us," he added. "We've never heard about it up here."

The outcome of the vote in the large section of industrial northeast England

"We were powerful, strong. But Brussels and the government, they've taken it all away."

that includes Sunderland exposed deep regional divisions and a rift between classes — a working class that feels it has lost out from globalization, and a more mobile, educated class of people who have prospered from free trade and movement.

Similar trends are emerging in France, where Marine Le Pen's National Front has had success in poor cities across the country's former industrial heartland. Now, Ms. Le Pen is calling for a similar referendum in France to pull out of the European Union.

In Sunderland, a city of 273,000 on the North Sea coast, there were few signs of "regret" or "regret" — terms shared on social media to describe the pangs of remorse some felt as they watched billions of dollars get wiped off

world markets.

Pro-Leave voters said they had nothing to lose because they had little to gain from globalization in the first place.

"Give Brexit a chance," said Maria Taylor, 58, a florist on a street where rows of brick houses, a legacy of the Industrial Revolution, shove against one another. "It can't get worse than what's been going on already," she added.

In Washington, a run-down neighborhood close to the Nissan plant, shops on Co-operative Street appeared as if out of a time warp: a hairdresser with bonnet hair dryers, a candy shop where a single ceiling bulb illuminates rows of dusty containers filled with stuck-together sweets.

To people like Mr. Walker, the turmoil in the financial markets was a distant rumble, a problem for the rich "down south" in London and for those with enough resources to take a bet on the vast flows of speculative money that shift around the globe.

As de-industrialization and other factors have hollowed what was once a manufacturing stronghold, the region has struggled to catch up with its wealthier southern neighbors despite efforts by recent governments to bridge the divide.

"All the industries, everything, has gone," said Michael Wake, 55, a forklift operator, gesturing toward Roker Beach, once black from the soot of the shipyards. "We were powerful, strong. But Brussels and the government, they've taken it all away."

In 1988, the Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher closed the last of the shipyards that once lined the River Wear. The European Union contributed an aid package worth 45 million pounds, or \$60 million, to help laid-off workers, but Sunderland never recovered from the loss. It consistently has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country, about 9 percent.

The referendum, Mr. Wake said, was an opportunity to "poke the eye" of Mr. Cameron and the London establishment.

Fears over job security from an influx of European laborers was another motivation. Heather Govan, 28, a decorator, said cheap labor helped big businesses by keeping costs down, but not self-employed people like her.

"I've got nothing against immigrants," she said, adding that people in low-skilled jobs have less bargaining power now. "The working class is disconnected from the middle class who have rich mummies and daddies," Ms.



Washington, a neighborhood in Sunderland, England. The city has struggled since the loss of its shipyards, even after the European Union provided an aid package worth 45 million pounds.

Govan said. "The working class will stand up against the Tories because they don't give a damn about the north!"

Some residents, however, said they had benefited from European Union membership.

"I'm shocked — it's bad for the industry," said John Thompson, 53, who has worked for more than 30 years in a components factory. "There is a lot of uncertainty now, and people who were going to invest here are going to think twice."

Many engineers in the shipbuilding industry took jobs at Nissan. They be-

came part of an upwardly mobile class able to afford houses along the now soot-free beach.

To them and their families, the European Union is appealing. They can swim at the Sunderland Aquatic Center, a £20 million project with an Olympic-size pool that the European Union helped finance. They can send their children to the sleek, modern Sunderland University campus, which rose on the site of an old shipyard and also received union financing, including grants to help graduates and for apprenticeships.

European Union money also helped establish Sunderland Software City, a business center that offers support and advice to aspiring software entrepreneurs.

However splashy these projects may be, they remain largely inaccessible to Sunderland's working class. Many cannot afford the £30 monthly fees at the Aquatic Center, and people in the nearby Washington neighborhood said they had never set foot inside.

As for Sunderland University, the tuition, which the government recently

raised, is too much for many young people.

"All the money is going back to the rich," said Ms. Taylor, the florist. "The working class is completely hammered. They've sold us down the river."

John Hall, 54, a neighbor, looked determined. "All the people here are looking out for their grandchildren," he said, adding, "In 20 years' time, it would be a better place for them."

"We're big, we're strong enough," he said. "It might be hard, but we'll still eat."

U.S. loses direct link to Continent

Diplomats say no ally stands as close on trade and security as Britain

BY DAVID E. SANGER

American officials struggling to reimagine their strategy after Britain's vote to divorce the European Union say the most urgent challenge will be to find a way to replace their most reliable, sympathetic partner in the hallways of European capitals. It will not be easy.

No country shares Washington's worldview quite the way Britain does, they say; it has long been the United States' most willing security ally, most effective intelligence partner and greatest enthusiast of the free-trade mantras that, until recently, were a keystone of America's internationalist approach. And few nations were as willing to put a thumb as firmly on the scales of European debates in ways that benefit the United States.

Now that quiet diplomatic leverage — including moderating European trade demands and strong-arming nations to contribute more to NATO military missions — is suddenly diminished.

Even if Britain eventually regains its influence on the Continent, a big if, it will be deeply distracted for years. Moreover, the loss of Britain's strong voice in Europe comes at a particularly bad moment: just as the United States and its allies are debating how to handle a revanchist Russia and reinvigorate NATO, hurry along an American-European trade pact that has been languishing and work through a diplomatic settlement in Syria that could relieve the migrant crisis in Europe.

"When Vladimir Putin is cheering," David Miliband, the former British foreign secretary, said on "Meet the Press" on Sunday, "then you know you have got a problem in the international system."

And then, of course, there is the threat of the Islamic State, which has found in Europe a new battlefield, one in which the development and sharing of intelligence, seamlessly, is critical.

Addressing those challenges was daunting enough, American officials say, in the face of the tenor of the American presidential campaign, particularly Donald J. Trump's questioning of whether alliances are worth it if allies are not willing to pay more for American protection. But now, with Britain's exit, or "Brexit," whatever passed for long-term plans — a Europe that gradually takes a greater role in its region and the Middle East as America devotes more attention to Asia — is imperiled.

Like the Arab Spring, the result of Britain's referendum took Washington by surprise. As late as early last week there was something between a hope and an assumption that the vote would

"go the other way," as Secretary of State John Kerry said in Rome on Sunday. As a result, there was no serious work done on reimagining the European relationship, a task that will face President Obama for the next six months and his successor for years to come.

Mr. Kerry, usually the optimist, sounded almost downbeat as he arrived in Italy. He made no reference to a "shriveled Europe," as one of his top aides did over the weekend. But he made clear that European allies were also going to have to rethink their relationships with the United States.

"Twenty-two of the nations in the E.U. are members of NATO," he said less than a minute into his meeting with his Italian counterpart, Paolo Gentiloni. He warned that the most critical step was to "work together to provide as much continuity, as much stability, as much certainty as possible" to "protect the values and interests that we share in common."

The problem is that no one shares those values and interests quite the way the British do, a belief that no American diplomat would utter in public for fear of offending other members of the European Union. But British officials who have been at the center of that daily interaction say the concern goes both ways.

"I worry that we will have less clout on our own: In the future we won't have as much influence on Europe's response to Putin's transgressions, Iran's nuclear

Secretary of State John Kerry has made clear that European allies will have to rethink their relations with Washington.

ambitions or the E.U.'s foreign and security policy," said Peter Westmacott, one of Britain's most experienced diplomats and, until last January, its ambassador to the United States. "And we will be less able to ensure it is U.S.-friendly."

He added that without Britain's direct involvement, Europe was likely to be less enthusiastic about free trade.

Still, Mr. Westmacott noted that "we should be able to cooperate much as in the past on counterterrorism, on intelligence, on cyber and on military issues," assuming that "our economy does not shrink too much as markets, investors and the Scots take stock of Thursday's outcome."

All of which raises the question: If Britain can no longer play that indispensable role for Washington, surely there is another country that can? Perhaps, but it is hard to think of one.

It is not a role Germany has shown a real willingness to step into. Its post-World War II ethos still holds it back from committing combat forces, and it is not a member of the inner circle of intelligence sharing called the Five Eyes, a club made up of the Anglo victors of

World War II. (The other three are Canada, Australia and New Zealand.) A lengthy negotiation to improve the intelligence relationship last year ended with only modest changes.

For all of its cooperation with the United States on a variety of issues, Germany still harbors deep suspicions of the United States that were fueled by the revelations from Edward J. Snowden, the former National Security Agency contractor, including the American surveillance of Chancellor Angela Merkel's cellphone conversations.

And American officials were shocked recently when Germany's foreign minister, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, warned that recent NATO exercises to deter Russia from thinking about destabilizing Poland and the Baltic members of the military alliance amounted to "saber-rattling and warmongering."

France has also not been as natural a fit with the United States as Britain. While relations have changed drastically since the George W. Bush administration, Paris often goes its own way. The Italians, for their part, are too broke, the Netherlands is too small, and Poland does not yet have the clout of older NATO members.

Moreover, there is a question of leadership.

British leaders were the Europeans most closely aligned with the American negotiating position in the major trade and investment deal being hashed out between the United States and some of its largest trading partners.

When Mr. Obama visited London in April, he warned voters that Britain would be excluded from the deal if it left the bloc and would "go to the end of the queue" for its own bilateral trade agreement. But the United States would also lose Britain's voice in moderating Europe's trade demands.

The intelligence challenges are more subtle. Bilateral cooperation will continue as tightly as or more tightly than ever to try to prevent terrorist attacks. But the hope that Britain could improve intelligence sharing among the major European powers — something that is sorely needed — is most likely dashed even as terrorism threats have risen.

There is nothing permanent about political unions and alliances, of course, and some argue that Britain's departure from the European Union is not necessarily a calamity for Washington.

As James F. Jeffrey, a former American diplomat in the Middle East, and Simon Henderson of the Washington Institute wrote last week, "The U.S. and U.K. were bosom allies for 30 years before Britain joined the E.U."

But part of what made the special relationship special in an era of global diplomacy was Britain's ability to act for Washington with the Europeans, to bridge the gap. Now, as one White House official put it, the bridge has been wiped out by a surge that few predicted.

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Fear over xenophobia rises after British vote

XENOPHOBIA, FROM PAGE 1

immigrant influx to garner support, and the blame placed on refugees was furthered by the euroskeptical tabloid press and by members of the far right, who attributed Britain's economic problems to immigration.

The free movement of workers across the bloc is one of the defining qualities of the European Union, and proponents of Britain's exiting the union argued forcefully that a vote to leave would help the country regain control of its borders.

One poster, released by the far-right U.K. Independence Party, showed a huge line of migrants snaking into the distance. It was accompanied by two words: "Breaking Point."

While Britain has traditionally marginalized any party to the right of the Conservative party, UKIP won 13 percent of the vote in the 2015 general election, and its railing against immigrants was seen as a decisive factor in the referendum.

For some, the racist taunts of the past days recalled a period in the 1980s, when jackbooted members of the far-right National Front taunted immigrants on the streets of Britain during the painful de-industrialization of the Thatcher era.

David Olusoga, a British-Nigerian historian, broadcaster and filmmaker, said in an interview on Monday that seeing National Front protesters on Saturday in his hometown of Newcastle holding a banner saying, "Stop immigration, begin repatriation" had sent chills down his spine.

It brought back bad memories of that era, he said, when he and his family were hounded out of their home by members of the far-right group and forced to seek police protection.

"The normally primordial murmur from the racist swamp is now being released, and people feel empowered to

"The far right can only do well in periods of crisis, and the Brexit vote created a new and dangerous chapter."

say things they wouldn't have said before last week," he said. "I have never heard so many people tell me to go back to Africa as I have heard in the past few days."

Others took to Twitter to convey their shock. Jamie Pohotsky, a screenwriter, wrote on Twitter: "Table next to me says to Polish waitress 'How come you're so cheerful? You're going home.' Him and the missus started laughing. Disgusting."

Politicians across the political spectrum spoke out against intolerance on Monday.

"In the past few days we have seen despicable graffiti daubed on a Polish community center. We've seen verbal abuse hurled against individuals because they are members of ethnic minorities," Prime Minister David Cameron told Parliament. "Let's remember these people have come here and made a wonderful contribution to our country. And we will not stand for hate crime or these kinds of attacks."

Sadiq Khan, the recently elected mayor of London, said he had asked the police to be extra vigilant for any rise of hate crime. "I'm calling on all Londoners to pull together and rally behind this great city," said Mr. Khan, a member of the Labour Party.

Boris Johnson, one of the leaders of the Leave campaign, said in a column in The Telegraph, "E.U. citizens living in this country will have their rights fully protected, and the same goes for British citizens living in the E.U."

Suresh Grover, director of the Monitoring Group, a human rights organization that monitors racist violence and works for victims, said he feared that

Britain was entering a new era of intolerance.

"During the campaign there was a deliberate tactic by the Leave camp to create alarm among elements of the population, who have suffered from austerity, and this alarmism is now spilling over," he said. "The far right can only do well in periods of crisis, and the Brexit vote created a new and dangerous chapter of British history."

Mr. Grover, who emigrated to Britain from Kenya and founded the Monitoring Group in 1981 after he was attacked by skinheads in the 1970s, said his group had received 15 calls on its emergency line from across the country over the weekend from immigrants who said they had been attacked verbally.

He said he himself had been shocked while shopping on Saturday and seeing several men wearing anti-immigrant T-shirts that read: "Send them back!"

The Muslim Council of Britain said it had compiled a list of 100 reported hate crimes following the referendum result, including an attack on a teenage boy who was on his way to a mosque in East London on Sunday.

Nevertheless, the West Midlands police, which is responsible for law enforcement in Birmingham, a multicultural city with a large Muslim population, said that reports of 10 hate crimes a day over the past three days was in line with the daily average over the past three months, and the police in London reported no unusual increase in reported hate crimes.

Among those who have been targeted in recent days are members of Britain's Polish community, which constitutes the largest number of foreign-born residents in Britain, after Indians.

"London is a melting pot, and you don't expect this kind of thing," said Joanna Mludzinska, chairwoman of the Polish Social & Cultural Association in London's Hammersmith neighborhood, whose building was vandalized with graffiti. She was, however, gratified by the response, after being inundated with flowers and messages of support.

Scotland Yard is investigating the vandalism, but no arrests have been made.

In Huntingdon, a town in Cambridgeshire, north of the capital, the police said they were investigating reports that offensive leaflets were left on cars near a school as well as on several Polish properties.

An 11-year-old boy from Poland told the BBC that he had seen a card saying Poles were "vermin" and should leave Britain.

The Polish Embassy in London called on Polish citizens to report xenophobic abuse to the police. "We are shocked and deeply concerned by the recent episodes of xenophobic abuse directed against members of the Polish community and other U.K. residents of migrant heritage," the embassy said in a statement.

Rights groups said that the anti-immigrant backlash appeared to be at least partly fueled by a misconception that European Union citizens were required to leave the country following the vote. Mr. Cameron emphasized on Monday that "there will be no immediate changes in their circumstances."

Sayeeda Warsi, a former chairwoman of the Conservative Party, who switched to the "Remain" camp before the vote, accused leaders of the Leave campaign of peddling xenophobia and racism.

"This is not the post-Brexit Britain we want to see," she wrote.

Heaven Crawley, a research professor at the Center for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, wrote on Twitter that on Friday evening her daughter had left work in Birmingham and "saw group of lads corner a Muslim girl shouting 'Get out, we voted leave.'"

She added: "Awful times."



Oxford Street in central London on Monday. Prime Minister David Cameron addressed Parliament and repeated that he would not be the one to initiate negotiations to quit the European Union.

Next for Britain: When? How? Really?

BRITAIN, FROM PAGE 1

— seemed at best difficult to achieve, since the price of membership in the single market has always been the two things the Leave movement campaigned against: free movement of European citizens across borders and contributions to the bloc's operating budget.

Mr. Cameron, who has said he will step down once the party settles on a successor, addressed the House of Commons, reiterating his position that he would not trigger the start of negotiations with Europe by invoking Article 50 of the bloc's governing treaty. That decision, Mr. Cameron said, should be left to his successor.

Like Mr. Johnson, Mr. Cameron suggested that the best outcome would be a deal in which Britain retained access to the common European market.

But as the leaders of Germany, France and Italy met in Berlin to discuss the fallout from the British referendum, there were no signs that they would let Britain off the hook so easily. Although Ms. Merkel has signaled a desire not to rush the process of negotiating British withdrawal, most European governments are eager to take a tough line, wanting to signal to any other nation that might contemplate leaving that there is considerable cost to doing so.

The leaders of all 28 European Union member nations, including Mr. Cameron, will gather in Brussels on Tuesday for further discussions.

The few countries that have been given access to the European free-trade zone without joining the European Union — notably, Iceland, Norway and Switzerland — all contribute to the European Union's budget and accept the bloc's bedrock principle of free movement of workers, the very issues that angered so many of the Britons who voted to leave in the Thursday referendum.

Meeting in Berlin, Ms. Merkel, President François Hollande of France and Prime Minister Matteo Renzi of Italy said there would be no discussions, formal or informal, over British withdraw-

al from the bloc until Britain formally invoked Article 50.

On Monday morning, George Osborne, the chancellor of the Exchequer and effectively the No. 2 figure in the British government, tried to calm the markets, citing Britain's underlying economic strengths, the greater resilience of its financial system following the 2007-08 crisis, and the readiness of the Bank of England to step in. But the markets did not seem assuaged.

Mr. Cameron summoned his cabinet and announced the creation of a policy unit of the "best and brightest" civil servants — overseen by Oliver Letwin, a Conservative lawmaker — to orchestrate the country's withdrawal from the European Union. He also said he had met with Prime Minister Enda Kenny of Ireland to ensure that a British departure from the European Union, of which Ireland is a member, would not endanger the fragile peace in Northern Ireland.

In the first meeting of Parliament since the referendum, Mr. Cameron said he considered the referendum binding. "The decision must be accepted, and the process of implementing the decision in the best possible way must now begin," he told Parliament.

About three-quarters of lawmakers had supported remaining in the European Union. A senior Conservative lawmaker, Kenneth Clarke, suggested that Parliament could override the referendum — which is not, in the end, legally binding on the government — while a Labour legislator, David Lammy, called for a second referendum.

Mr. Cameron brushed such ideas aside, but he also made it clear that he would not be the one in charge of Britain's messy divorce from Europe.

"The British government will not be triggering Article 50 at this stage," Mr. Cameron said. "Before we do that, we need to determine the kind of relationship we want with the European Union, and that is rightly something for the next prime minister and their cabinet to decide."

Asked at one point about a now-riddled promise by anti-Europe campaigners that current British payments to the European Union would end up going to the National Health Service, Mr. Cameron said, to laughter: "Until we leave the European Union, we will continue with our contribution to the European Union, and at that moment, my successor will have to explain where the money is going."

Mr. Johnson, the most prominent face of the campaign to leave the European Union, tried to assure Britons on Monday that their country "is part of Europe, and always will be," pledging that changes "will not come in any great rush," and promising a Britain "rebooted, reset, renewed and able to engage with the whole world."

In an opinion essay in the Monday edition of the conservative daily The Telegraph, Mr. Johnson offered his most detailed — and conciliatory — remarks since the referendum.

His description of how he saw the future seemed like the situation enjoyed

"British people will still be able to go and work in the E.U.; to live; to travel; to study; to buy homes and to settle down."

by Norway, which pays into the European Union's budget while having no say over its rules. "E.U. citizens living in this country will have their rights fully protected, and the same goes for British citizens living in the E.U." Mr. Johnson wrote. "British people will still be able to go and work in the E.U.; to live; to travel; to study; to buy homes and to settle down," he added, suggesting that "there will continue to be free trade, and access to the single market."

A committee of rank-and-file Conservative lawmakers met on Monday and proposed a timetable to select two candidates for party leader. The party's 125,000 members would choose between

the two, with the goal of selecting a new leader — and therefore a new prime minister — by Sept. 2. A decision on the timetable is expected by Wednesday.

The proposed timetable — before the party's scheduled conference in early October, by which Mr. Cameron has said he will step down — would increase the possibility of a general election this year. (By tradition, elections are held in the summer, to maximize turnout.)

Unless the government fell on a no-confidence vote — an unlikely scenario — two-thirds of Parliament would have to agree to call a new election. With turmoil consuming both parties, that no longer seemed out of the question.

Mr. Johnson — a boisterous and often unpredictable New York native and former journalist — is seen as the front-runner to replace Mr. Cameron, but he has made many enemies. The home secretary, Theresa May, who is in charge of domestic security and who advocated remaining in the European Union, has emerged as perhaps the most credible alternative.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party found itself in a state of civil war, with veteran lawmakers calling for the resignation of its leader, Jeremy Corbyn, and warning that the party risked losing its position as one of Britain's two main political parties, a status it has held since 1922.

Large numbers of voters in traditional Labour strongholds in northeast England and Wales — many of which are economically depressed areas that receive large amounts of European Union aid — voted to leave the bloc.

Mr. Corbyn's tepid approach to campaigning for the Remain campaign was cited as a reason many traditional Labour supporters cast their lot with the nationalist, anti-European U.K. Independence Party.

With both parties in turmoil, Britain itself seemed at risk of coming apart: Scotland, Northern Ireland and London all voted to stay in the European Union, while most of England and Wales voted to leave.

'Brexit' campaigners start to backpedal on promised benefits of leaving

LONDON

BY STEPHEN CASTLE

Freed from the shackles of the European Union, Britain's economy would prosper and its security would increase. Britain would "take back control" of immigration, reducing the number of arrivals. And it would be able to spend about 350 million pounds, or about \$460 million, a week more on health care instead of sending the money to Brussels.

Before Thursday's referendum on the country's membership in the 28-nation bloc, campaigners for British withdrawal, known as Brexit, tossed out promises of a better future while dismissing concerns raised by a host of scholars and experts as "Project Fear."

But that was before they won. With financial markets in turmoil, a big drop in the pound and the prospect of further chaos, some supporters of Brexit are backpedaling on bold pronouncements they made just a few days earlier. "A lot of things were said in advance of this referendum that we might want to think about again," Liam Fox, a former cabinet minister, told the BBC, including when and how Article 50 — the formal process for leaving the European Union — should be invoked.

Perhaps no promise was more audacious — and mendacious, critics say — than the £350-million-a-week claim.



Hours after proclaiming "independence day," Nigel Farage, the U.K. Independence Party leader, conceded that he was wrong in claiming a weekly gain of £350 million from Britain's exit.

Boris Johnson, the former mayor of London, who was the frontman of the Brexit campaign, toured Britain in a bus emblazoned with the slogan: "We send the E.U. £350 million a week, let's fund our N.H.S. instead," a reference to the National Health Service.

Hours after proclaiming "independence day" for Britain, Nigel Farage,

the leader of the U.K. Independence Party, conceded that the £350 million figure was a "mistake." Asked by the BBC on Sunday about the spending pledge, Iain Duncan Smith, a former Conservative Party leader who campaigned for Brexit, said the Leave side had merely promised "to spend the lion's share of that money" on the health service.

The shift was perhaps unsurprising, since the £350 million "independence dividend" never stood up to scrutiny. It excluded money returned to Britain through rebates and money that Britain spent to subsidize its farmers and poorer regions, according to the Institute for Fiscal Studies. The institute put the true figure at about £150 million.

Supporters of the "Remain" side have angrily attributed the victory for "Leave" to a campaign of misinformation and even deception. In Cornwall, in the southwest corner of England, where a majority voted to leave, the leader of the county council, John Pollard, demanded that the government provide "investment equal to that provided by the E.U. program." (The county has gotten about \$1.3 billion in European Union assistance over the past 15 years, and was counting on about \$550 million more by 2020.)

A Financial Times chart showing that the Leave vote was strongest in the parts of Britain that are the most economically dependent on the European Union was widely circulated online.

Promises to quickly reduce immigration levels are also being played down. Migration was the cornerstone of the Leave campaign, which objected to the European Union's insistence on the free movement of labor, capital, goods and services. Since 2004, when 10 more countries joined the European Union,

large numbers of eastern and southern Europeans have moved to Britain for work.

Mr. Johnson argued that it was impossible for the government to reduce immigration while in the European Union. His ally Michael Gove, the justice secretary, said a leave vote would "bring down the numbers" by 2020. Experts have long said that would be very hard to pull off. The European Union has demanded from nonmember states — Norway, for example — free movement of workers in exchange for access to the bloc's single market.

On Friday, the day after the referendum, Daniel Hannan, a member of the European Parliament and one of the most knowledgeable advocates of Brexit, stunned some viewers of the BBC by saying, "Frankly, if people watching think that they have voted and there is now going to be zero immigration from the E.U., they are going to be disappointed."

Mr. Hannan wrote on Twitter, "I was for more control, not for minimal immigration." Facing a backlash, he observed that a lot of Remain voters "are now raging at me because I *don't* want to cut immigration sharply," adding, "There really is no pleasing some people." He then announced that he would "take a month off Twitter."

Mr. Farage took the most hard-line position on immigration, unveiling a

poster depicting a long stream of refugees under the headline "Breaking Point" and raising the prospect of Turkey's joining the European Union (even though any of the 28 member states has veto power over accepting new members).

Many Brexit campaigners expected to lose — even Mr. Farage said on the night of the referendum that he did not think his side had won — and for some the fight was as much about internal Conservative Party politics as the future of the country.

Having now ousted Prime Minister David Cameron, they face a political vacuum, with their base demanding that promises be kept. Mr. Johnson, the front-runner to replace Mr. Cameron, has not made any further pronouncements since a subdued statement on Friday that was restricted to generalities.

If he does become prime minister, Mr. Johnson will face the task of carrying out a British withdrawal without provoking a backlash from those who believed campaign slogans or sentiments that he certainly appeared to endorse.

"In voting to leave the E.U., it is vital to stress that there is now no need for haste," Mr. Johnson told reporters. Standing alongside him, Mr. Gove promised, "We can have democratic consent for an immigration policy that is fairer and more humane."

He did not explain how.

Opinion

International New York Times

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THE WORLD BANK'S OBLIGATION

By mandate, the World Bank is an apolitical institution. That does not preclude it from doing more to protect human rights.

Much of the evidence supporting the emerging consensus that strong human rights safeguards promote and enhance development has come out of research from the World Bank. Yet the institution has been far too reluctant to make adherence to human rights a core principle by which it evaluates projects intended to reduce poverty and improve the lives of the world's most vulnerable people.

The bank is now in the final stages of updating its policies on how to reduce the environmental and social risks of projects and loans. This offers an opportunity to chart a new course.

The World Bank was created in 1944 to play a leading role in rebuilding Europe after World War II. As its mission shifted to the developing world, the bank held on to a foundational principle: It stays out of the politics of the countries it works with and makes decisions based solely on "economic considerations." That may have made sense in the geopolitical landscape of the post-World War II era and the Cold War. But it is anachronistic today.

While the World Bank cannot reasonably be expected to become an enforcer of human rights law, there is much it can do to protect human rights and persuade borrowers to live up to commitments they have made in international treaties. Adopting a clear and substantive human rights policy would mirror the bank's efforts to more carefully consider the environmental impact of the projects it funds.

Bank officials, shareholders and borrowing countries have wrestled with this issue since 2012, when the latest review of the bank's so-called safeguard policies began. The first draft of the new policy, which was released in 2014, was widely criticized by human rights advocates for presenting support for human rights as a vague, aspirational goal. Philip Alston, the United Nations special rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, said in a report last year that the bank was a "human rights-free zone" with operational policies that treat "human rights more like an infectious disease than universal values and obligations."

The World Bank's own research shows that embracing the protection of human rights as a core part of its mission is more than a moral imperative; it makes good economic sense. Bank studies have concluded that reducing gender inequity is good for prosperity and that communities where human rights are violated with impunity are more prone to armed conflict.

GOOD NEWS FROM DIABLO CANYON

California's decision to replace nuclear power with green-house-gas-free electricity is an important milestone for the country — and maybe the world.

Few nuclear power plants have been as contentious as Diablo Canyon. The plant, which went online in 1985 after years of ferocious opposition, sits on a gorgeous stretch of California coastline, surrounded by several earthquake faults and reliably producing enormous quantities of power — almost a tenth of California's in-state generation. It also reliably kills enormous quantities of marine life with a cooling system that depends on huge intakes and discharges of seawater. David Brower, the executive director of the Sierra Club, got so angry with the organization when it refused to oppose the plant that he left to establish Friends of the Earth.

Mr. Brower, who died in 2000, would have been pleased with last week's news. After long negotiations that involved, among others, Friends of the Earth and the Natural Resources Defense Council, the plant's owner, Pacific Gas and Electric, announced that it would shut down Diablo Canyon when licenses for its two reactors expire in 2024 and 2025 and that it would replace the power with lower-cost, zero-carbon energy sources.

The agreement is a recognition by PG&E, which generates a big chunk of its electrical output (and revenues) from Diablo Canyon, that it can provide the same amount of energy at lower costs by investing in wind and solar power and in energy efficiency improvements throughout the system, including its customers. As one negotiator put it, the deal is further evidence that "the age of renewables has arrived."

Equally important, the agreement could serve as a positive example for other states and nations that may in time need to replace aging nuclear plants without increasing carbon emissions. However old and creaky some of them may be, America's 99 nuclear reactors produce nearly a fifth of the nation's power and two-thirds of its low-carbon energy; at a time of mounting fears about climate change, the country would be foolish to shut them down prematurely. When the time comes to retire them, it would be no less foolish to replace their power with anything other than zero-carbon sources like wind, or solar or energy efficiency.

David Cameron's Brexit bust

Matthew D'Ancona
Contributing Writer

LONDON For a sense of how historically important Thursday's referendum result in Britain is, consider the following. The last time British voters were formally consulted on continued membership of what was then called the Common Market, in 1975, mainstream politicians of the major parties joined forces with experts and establishment figures to persuade Britons that leaving was too great a risk. The "In" campaign prevailed.

This time, 41 years later, an almost identical strategy was adopted by the Remain camp. The Conservative prime minister, David Cameron, led the effort, with the notional support of the Labour Party leader, Jeremy Corbyn, and a phalanx of heavyweight economists and world leaders (including, most theatrically, President Obama). Open letters signed by dozens of accomplished figures in their respective fields urged the voters to shun the perils of Brexit.

In 1975, the British people deferred to such authorities. In 2016, they ignored them.

It is too early to say precisely why the Leave campaign prevailed on Thursday, although initial analysis by the pollster Lord Ashcroft suggests that there were three primary reasons voters put

an X beside Brexit: first, Lord Ashcroft proposed, "The principle that decisions about the U.K. should be taken in the U.K.," second, "Voting to leave offered the best chance for the U.K. to regain control over immigration and its own borders"; and third, "Remaining meant little or no choice about how the E.U. expanded its membership or powers."

Beneath these specific imperatives lurked more general sentiments — in particular, a contempt for the political class and a disdain for the self-styled aristocracy of experts. However much the Remain camp warned of the economic risks, the voters seemed more animated by the politics of identity and by the conviction that no government could control immigration while Britain was a member of the European Union.

For decades, the economy has been the principal issue in the polling booth, according to a scale of priorities evidenced as recently as the general election of May 2015, when Mr. Cameron beat Mr. Corbyn's predecessor, Ed Miliband, with a promise to finish the job of repairing the nation's finances. But this vote was different. Economic peril was emphatically less important than the European Union's lack of accountability (its famous democratic deficit) and the British government's failure to follow through on promises to restrict immigration.

This campaign has been pockmarked by xenophobia and thinly concealed

racism: a deeply disturbing development in mainstream politics. True, there was widespread disgust at the poster introduced a week before polling day by Nigel Farage, leader of the reactionary U.K. Independence Party, which depicted hordes of migrants — mostly of apparent Middle Eastern origin — as if lining up to enter Britain under the label "breaking point." But Thursday's referendum result was every bit as much Mr. Farage's victory

Successfully re-elected only a year ago, Britain's prime minister has been swept aside by a raging torrent.

as a triumph for Vote Leave, the more genteel campaign whose leading figures included Boris Johnson, the former London mayor and now favorite to succeed Mr. Cameron as party leader, and Michael Gove, the Conservative justice secretary and, until

recently, one of Mr. Cameron's most trusted lieutenants.

The prime minister knew it was possible that he would lose the referendum and had drawn up plans in case his own members of Parliament demanded a vote of confidence in him. A few weeks ago, one of Mr. Cameron's closest allies walked me through the strategy, which, this person assured me, would place the prime minister's position beyond doubt and enable him to retire from

leadership at a time of his choosing.

The unforgiving light of Friday morning made a nonsense of such plans. Having lost the referendum, Mr. Cameron could scarcely stay in Downing Street. All authority had drained to a government within a government, run by the Johnson-Gove axis. How could Mr. Cameron plausibly negotiate Britain's exit from the union with our soon-to-be-former European partners when this was an outcome he had resolutely opposed during the campaign? As he weighed his options, it became obvious he had to go.

As a student of political change, Mr. Cameron also knew that — in a single night — his cohort of followers had been supplanted. The Conservative Party, formerly managed by the prime minister's modernizing clique, is now wholly owned by the Brexiteers, whose direction is radically different.

The so-called mods who took over in 2005 when Mr. Cameron swept to the leadership sought to make the party more in step with today's world, more pluralist in perspective, more environmentally aware and more sympathetic to women, gay voters and ethnic minorities. The Brexiteers, in sharp contrast, are the ideological grandchildren of the Thatcherites, longing to "get out of Europe" and convinced that Britain's future is as an independent, buccaneering nation of entrepreneurs, unhampered by the wet cement of communitarian obligations.

They see the sun finally setting on the British Empire and applaud its descent. For them, small is beautiful. That goes for the state, too, by the way. Those voters who were taken in by Leave's apparent promises to fund health care services with the £350 million (about \$480 million) no longer supposedly sent every week to the European Union are in for a shock.

As the Conservative Party now metamorphoses, Labour has comprehensively abandoned the social-democratic center-ground from which it won three successive elections between 1997 and 2005. Indeed, Mr. Corbyn's followers and the Brexiteers have more in common than they would care to admit: a shared antipathy to the old political elite, crony capitalism and the sheer pace of global change.

In leaving the world's largest single market, Britain has resigned from the grown-ups' table and effectively kicked out a prime minister voters had re-elected only 13 months earlier. As tantrums go, this was Olympic-class. So the referendum's winners had better deliver what they promised — and fast. The languorous talk of taking the process of exit slowly and cautiously is deluded. Having voted for change, the electorate will expect it quickly. Having demanded that Britain "take back control" of immigration, they will not forgive backsliding.

This is a new era of foot-stamping urgency and vexed intolerance. No wonder Donald J. Trump relished the outcome as he landed in Scotland to promote one of his golf courses. This is what Britain voted for on Thursday. For the bleak time ahead, we Britons have only ourselves to blame.

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DOMINIC MCKENZIE

The Peoples' Spring is inevitable

Marine Le Pen

PARIS If there's one thing that chafes French pride, it's seeing the British steal the limelight. But in the face of real courage, even the proudest French person can only tip his hat and bow. The decision that the people of Britain have just made was indeed an act of courage — the courage of a people who embrace their freedom.

Brexit won out, defeating all forecasts. The United Kingdom decided to cast off from the European Union and reclaim its independence among the world's nations. It had been said that the election would hinge solely on economic matters; the British, however, were more insightful in understanding the real issue than commentators like to admit.

British voters understood that behind prognostications about the pound's exchange rate and behind the debates of financial experts, only one question, at once simple and fundamental, was being asked: Do we want an undemocratic authority ruling our lives, or would we rather regain control over our destiny? Brexit is, above all, a political issue. It's about the free choice of a people deciding to govern itself. Even when it is touted by all the propaganda in the world, a cage remains a cage, and a cage is unbearable to a human being in love with freedom.

The European Union has become a prison of peoples. Each of the 28 coun-

tries that comprise it has slowly lost its democratic prerogatives to commissions and councils with no popular mandate. Every nation in the union has had to apply laws it did not want for itself. Member nations no longer determine their own budgets. They are called upon to open their borders against their will. Countries in the eurozone face an even less enviable situation. In the name of ideology, different economies are forced to adopt the same currency, even if doing so bleeds them dry. It's a modern version of the Procrustean bed, and the people no longer have a say.

The decision that the British just made was an act of courage — the courage of a people who embrace their freedom.

And what about the European Parliament? It's democratic in appearance only, because it's based on a lie: the pretense that there is a homogeneous European people, and that a Polish member of the E.U. Parliament has the legitimacy to make law for the Spanish. We have tried to deny the existence of sovereign nations. It's only natural that they would not allow being denied.

Brexit wasn't the European peoples' first cry of revolt. In 2005, France and the Netherlands held referendums about the proposed E.U. constitution. In both countries, opposition was massive, and other governments decided on the spot to halt the experiment for fear the contagion might spread. A few years

later, the E.U. constitution was forced on the peoples of Europe anyway, under the guise of the Lisbon Treaty. In 2008, Ireland, also by way of referendum, refused to apply that treaty. And once again, a popular decision was brushed aside.

When in 2015 Greece decided by referendum to reject Brussels' austerity plans, the European Union's antidemocratic response took no one by surprise: To deny the people's will had become a habit. In a flash of honesty, the president of the E.U. Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, unabashedly declared: "There can be no democratic choice against the European treaties."

Brexit may not have been the first cry of hope, but it may be the people's first real victory. The British have presented the union with a dilemma it will have a hard time getting out of. Either it allows Britain to quietly sail away and thus runs the risk of setting a precedent: The political and economic success of a country that left the European Union would be clear evidence of the union's noxiousness. Or, like a sore loser, the union makes the British pay for their departure by every means possible and thus exposes the tyrannical nature of its power. Common sense points toward the former option. I have a feeling Brussels will choose the latter.

One thing is certain: Britain's departure from the E.U. will not make the union more democratic. The hierarchical structure of its supranational institutions will want to reinforce itself: Like all dying ideologies, the union knows only how to forge blindly ahead. The

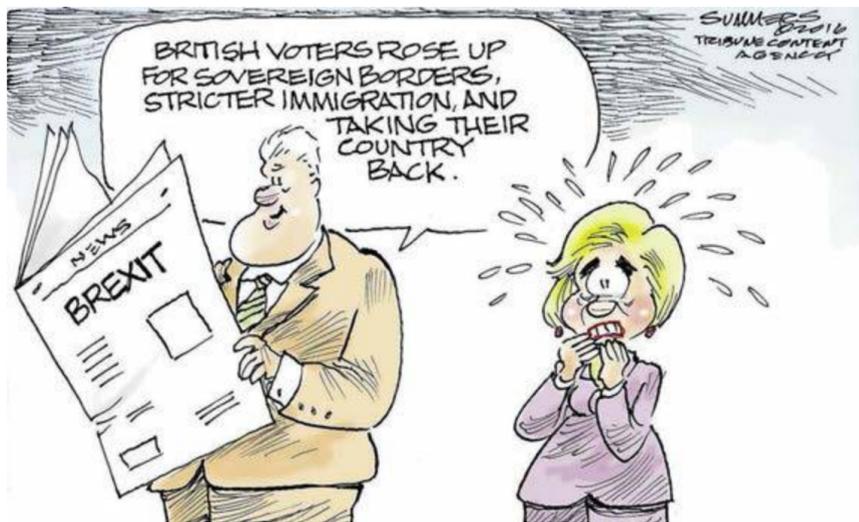
roles are already cast: Germany will lead the way, and France will obligingly tag along.

Here is a sign: President François Hollande of France, Prime Minister Matteo Renzi of Italy and acting Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy of Spain take their lead directly from Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, without running through Brussels. Henry Kissinger's quip, "Who do I call if I want to call Europe?" now has a clear answer: Call Berlin. And so the peoples of Europe have but one alternative left: to remain bound hand-and-foot to a union that betrays national interests and popular sovereignty and that throws our countries wide open to massive immigration and arrogant finance, or to reclaim their freedom by voting.

Calls for referendums are ringing throughout the Continent. I myself have suggested to Mr. Hollande that one such public consultation be held in France. He did not fail to turn me down. More and more, the destiny of the European Union resembles the destiny of the Soviet Union, which died from its own contradictions.

The Peoples' Spring is now inevitable! The only question left to ask is whether Europe is ready to rid itself of its illusions, or if the return to reason will come with suffering. I made my decision a long time ago: I chose France. I chose sovereign nations. I chose freedom.

MARINE LE PEN is president of the *National Front* party in France. This essay was translated by John Cullen from the French.



Britain to leave Europe for a lie



Roger Cohen

LONDON I have been overcome by gloom since Britain voted to leave the European Union. It's not just the stupidity of the decision. It's not merely the lies of the charlatans who led the "Leave" campaign. It's not only the absence, now so evident, of any "Nextit." It's not even the betrayal of British youth. It's far more: a personal loss. Europa, however flawed, was the dream of my generation. The European Union was an entity, bloodless noun, yet it had a beating heart.

Riding a European train, gazing at the lines of swaying poplars, the villages huddled around their church spires, it was often impossible, at least for me, not to look past the tranquility to the blood-seeped soil and the tens of millions who gave their lives in Europe's collective suicides. Well, as the Germans say, we had the blessing of late birth; and the duty inherent in that blessing was to build a united Europe.

Covering the European Parliament between 1980 and 1982, I would drive down from Brussels to Strasbourg. The Parliament was a bit of a farce. Unwieldy bundles of documents translated into Europe's many languages were carted back and forth. Yet, in its cumbersome way, the Parliament embodied something important: the hard trade-offs of European construction, union conjured from Babel.

When I moved to Italy, with its large Communist Party and spasms of political violence, I would hear how "scaling the Alps" into the core of Europe was critical to the country's stability. The E.U. was insurance against the worst. For Mediterranean countries like Spain and Portugal that emerged from dictatorship in the 1970s it was something close to salvation.

Memories: feckless Europe at the time of the Bosnian war and the thirst,

nonetheless, of the small nations re-born in Yugoslavia's death to join the European Union and escape the bloody Balkan gyre. Watching Germany move its capital back to Berlin from Bonn in 1999 and thinking, the German question is solved and Europe is home free! Driving, when I lived in Berlin, into Poland and pinching myself to recall the unspeakable suffering overcome by German-Polish reconciliation as Poland prepared for E.U. membership.

No miracle was ever so dull. Britain tended to see the E.U. in prosaic terms: It had not been delivered from ignominy or tyranny by European integration. Still, it gave the union heft, a free-market prod, a universal language and its second-largest economy. It was that recalcitrant member any good club needs.

Sure, the challenges mounted. The 30-year postwar economic miracle ended — and with it full employment. The Franco-German balance at the heart of the union collapsed. German dominance stirred unease. The creation of a single currency, the euro, was bungled. The admission of former Communist states spurred large migrant movements. The European welfare state was strained. Resentments multiplied.

Technology accelerated globalization, pulling hundreds of millions of people out of poverty in Asia but also offshoring millions of European jobs. Societies disintegrated. For each City honcho receiving a daily Christmas delivery from Amazon Prime there was some poor sod out there in Nowheresville working a precarious warehouse nightshift packaging stuff.

Britain, too, now has its "flyover country," a nationalist heartland distant from the metropolis. This is how globalization divides the world.

Boris Johnson understood, in his scurrilous way, that the E.U. had become a perfect scapegoat for Western societies beset by the dilemmas of modernity. Opposed to Brexit early this year, he became its chief advocate, playing on every base instinct. Brexit was a tool, a plaything, never a principle. If he looks so glum in triumph it is because

the adrenalin has run out.

There will be no extra \$470 million for the National Health Service from European Union savings, after all. Immigration is not about to fall. Some of the regions that voted for Brexit are also those that get most funds from Brussels. "There is now no need for haste" Johnson says. Oh, really? "We are part of Europe, our children and our grandchildren will continue to have a wonderful future as Europeans," he says. Oh, please!

If Johnson becomes prime minister in the fall, he will be an unelected leader, just like all those "unaccountable" high rollers in Brussels. When he tries to extricate Britain from the union, he will face a hostile Parliament. Last time I checked, Britain was a parliamentary, not direct, democracy. So perhaps there is still hope. If words mean their opposite, as they do in Johnson's mouth, anything is possible. Europa is worth the fight.

The union, for all its failings, did not deserve to be betrayed by a huckster. It will not die because of this imbecilic vote, but something broke — a form of optimism about humankind, the promise of 1989.

My children will not inherit the Europe I hoped for. I look at my hands and see my father's emerging, the veins now more pronounced. Life feels diminished. Some things are unavoidable. This was not.

In a recent column about the Orlando nightclub killings, I included an Israeli journalist's tweet about Michael Oren, a former Israeli ambassador to the United States, that misquoted him as saying: "If I were Trump, I'd emphasize the Muslim name, Omar Siddiqui Mateen. This changes race." In fact, this was a paraphrase of Mr. Oren's comment. Translated from Hebrew, the comment was: "If I were Donald Trump I'd come out the minute the F.B.I. decided to start leaking this morning that we are talking about a man who acted out of Islamic motives, with connections. First of all the name itself, Omar Siddiqui Mateen, a Muslim name, the son of immigrants from Afghanistan, who apparently was somehow in touch with extremist Islamic organizations. This already has a significant influence on the race for the presidency."

Brexit's economic toll

Philippe Legrain

LONDON A few weeks before Britons voted on whether to remain part of the European Union, Michael Gove, one of the leaders of the Leave campaign, was asked why he should be trusted over the overwhelming number of economists and international authorities who opposed Brexit. "People in this country have had enough of experts," he replied.

Experts are, of course, known to make mistakes. But in this case, the people who voted for Brexit will pay a big price for ignoring economic expertise. The harmful effects of this vote are both immediate and lasting.

Britons are already worse off. The pound has — so far — plunged by nearly 9 percent against the dollar, slashing the value of British assets, with higher import prices likely to follow. The stock market has also taken a hit. The prices of property, most British people's main asset, are almost certain to fall, too. While Mark Carney, the governor of the Bank of England, has already pledged 250 billion pounds (about \$345 billion) to support the financial system and has said he could offer more if necessary, central bankers cannot protect against an enduring economic shock.

Rarely have businesses faced such uncertainty. Britain's economy had already slowed as they put investment decisions on hold ahead of the referendum. Now, a country renowned for its political and legal stability is descending into chaos. The future prime minister is unknown, as is the direction his or her policies will take. The favorite to replace David Cameron, Boris Johnson, the former mayor of London who opportunistically campaigned for Brexit, styles himself as pro-market and pro-globalization, but in the lead-up to the vote he said he supports curbs on European Union migration, tariffs on Chinese steel and higher public spend-

ing. The future terms on which Britain will trade with both the European Union and all the countries with which it has negotiated trade deals on Britain's behalf are uncertain.

All that uncertainty is amplified by the prospect of a second referendum on Scottish independence, which may be won this time. In Northern Ireland, the political party Sinn Fein has called for a referendum on a united Ireland.

Faced with such uncertainty, businesses are likely to continue to put investments on hold. Consumers may pull back, too. The resulting downturn will cause the government's budget deficit, already large, to swell. The pound's depreciation, which might have been expected to boost exports, is unlikely to do much to cushion the blow. Its huge decline in 2008 failed to boost exports and Brexit will dent them.

This unpredictable situation will not be brief. Once triggered, the formal process of leaving the European Union is supposed to take two years. But extricating the union's second-biggest economy from 43 years of European Union legislation is a daunting task.

Negotiating a new trade relationship with the European Union is equally tricky. Britain seems certain to lose access to the single market — with which it does nearly half its trade — because this is conditional on accepting the free movement of people and contributing to the European Union's budget. That will jeopardize the foreign investment and good jobs predicated on single-market membership. Britain-based financial institutions will lose their rights to operate freely across the European Union.

Brexit's supporters are deluded when they argue that Britain could cherry pick what it likes about the European Union and discard the rest. Since exports to the European Union (13 percent of G.D.P. in 2014) matter much more to Britain than exports to Britain (3 percent of G.D.P. in

2014) do to the European Union, the European Union will call the shots. Other governments have every incentive to be tough, both to steal a competitive advantage and to deter others from following Britain out the door.

A fallback position is trading with Europe on the basis of World Trade Organization rules, as the United States does. But that entails tariffs on good exports — up to 10 percent on car exports, for example, most of which go to the European Union — as well as non-tariff barriers that gum up trade. It offers little access to Europe's markets in services, in which Britain specializes. Less open markets will stunt competition, crimping productivity growth and living standards.

Brexit's supporters claim that a deregulated Britain that trades with the rest of the world would prosper once unshackled from Brussels's overregulation. But Britain has the least regulated labor markets in the European Union and the second-least regulated product markets, so any potential benefits from deregulation are likely to be meager. Moreover, Britain is likely to end up with worse access to markets in the rest of the world. While it won't be hamstrung by protectionist interests in the European Union, its relatively smaller economy, largely open markets and desperation for new deals will weaken its clout in trade negotiations.

The young, the higher educated and city dwellers, the most dynamic members of Britain's economy, voted to Remain. They were outvoted by the old, the less educated and non-urban English, who often rely on taxpayer largess. With economic opportunities stunted, everyone will suffer for Leave voters wrongly blaming hard-working, taxpaying European migrants for everything they dislike about modern Britain and wrongly trusting charlatans like Mr. Gove.

PHILIPPE LEGRAIN is the author of "European Spring: Why Our Economies and Politics Are in a Mess and How to Put Them Right."

Art from Pakistan's chaos

Aatish Taseer
Contributing Writer

LAHORE, PAKISTAN A drain, clogged with pink plastic bags and filled with black water, separates Bahar Colony, a Christian neighborhood, from the rest of this city. On one side is the Arfa Software Technology Park, a soaring modern complex of steel and green glass. On the other, the broken facades of low-lying brick houses are hung with rags. A sign reads: "Faith Gospel Assemblies, Lahore."

This is the landscape of Julius John Alam's reality — and his imagination. Mr. Alam, the 26-year-old son of a tailor, is part of Pakistan's Christian community, some two million in a country of more than 180 million. But he is also part of something bigger: He represents the tremendous artistic energy that has come to Pakistan, even as — and perhaps because — its traumas have multiplied.

A few weeks before I was to meet Mr. Alam in New York, where he is studying at the Parsons School of Design, a bomb went off on Easter Day at a park in Lahore, killing more than 70 people, many of them women and children celebrating the holiday.

"The themes I deal with are influenced by my lived experiences as a Christian," he told me. The Christian experience is one of trauma in a country whose catalog of calamities includes terrorism, religious extremism, crime, coups and sectarian strife. This chaos has nurtured a dazzling array of artists whose work is on display in the great cities of the world.

"The confusion is a kind of blessing because there is no consensus," Qudus Mirza, another artist, told me one hot morning in Lahore. "India has this thing about Indianness. Here, there is no identity." It was a strange thing to say: Pakistan, founded in 1947 as a homeland for India's Muslims, once had a very strong identity. But it has been discredited, at first through successive military coups that undermined civilian governments, and later through terrorism, insurgency and the vanishing writ of the state from great sections of the country.

We sat in Mr. Mirza's office at the Na-

tional College of Arts, where he is the head of the fine arts department. The beautiful red-brick building, in the heart of colonial Lahore, has served as an incubator — "an island of freedom," Mr. Mirza calls it — for artists like Mr. Alam.

The National College of Arts has been a vessel for a combustible mixture of individual personality and tradition. It has achieved what Nadezhda Mandelstam, the Russian memoirist and the widow of the poet Osip Mandelstam, describes in "Hope Abandoned" as "the flash point in art," which "comes through contact between what has been accumulated (or concentrated in the bloodstream) over the ages and something occurring at a

The country suffers from terrorism, sectarianism and a failing government. Out of this, art blooms.

single passing moment." This has the power to "spark off new ideas and words never before spoken."

On the day of my visit, I ran into one of the National College of Art's most famous alumni. Imran Qureshi's paintings have been shown at the greatest museums of the world, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Barbican Art Gallery in London. It's a National College of Arts tradition that former students, no matter how famous, return to teach, and when I saw him, Mr. Qureshi was on his way to class.

He told me a story from his student years, when a class was dismissed because everyone showed their work on identical 20-inch-by-30-inch pieces of white paper. "We're all individuals," the teacher told them, "we all have our own style." The class was sent away and asked to come back with materials that better reflected their individuality.

Mr. Qureshi returned with old Urdu newspapers, carrying headlines of violence and unrest, on which he set to work in charcoal.

Pakistani art is unsettling. One of Mr. Qureshi's most famous paintings depicts trees splashed with blood. And Mr. Alam's work has a similar darkness. "The Curtain of the Temple Tore Into Two," a white metal bathtub filled with black enamel paint, represents the

sewer separating the Christians of Bahar Colony from the rest of the city. Next to it, like a tombstone, is a symbol of muted rage and anguish: a lurid red Christmas tree.

Mr. Alam had seen very little art before he began to produce it himself. There were many like him at the college, and this was part of what gave their art its power and vitality. His main influence, barring a few examples of Christian calendar art, was life itself. "During summer nights, when we would sleep on the roofs, and there would be long hours of blackouts, and the way everything would be reduced to shapes and shadows," he said, casting his mind back to Bahar Colony. "I never thought of myself as an artist at that time, but those were the themes I returned to when I began to see myself as an artist."

Two experiences stand out in Mr. Alam's mind. He remembers a few years ago when the Lahore Development Authority demolished a number of Christian houses. That, he said, made him aware of what he calls the "infrastructure of power." He came to recognize the drain as a "social divider."

The other incident came in 2014, when a mob burned alive a young Christian couple in a town not far from Lahore. Mr. Alam's wife, like the woman burned alive, was pregnant at the time, and it brought the horror of it very near.

Upheaval is known to do good things for art. Certainly Mandelstam, who lived through the Stalinist terror of the 1930s, and whose husband, Osip — the greatest Russian poet of the last century — died in a labor camp, would have understood what is occurring in Pakistan today. She would have known that for societies faced with dehumanizing levels of distress, the defiance of artists like Mr. Alam and the redemptive power of art, more generally, cease to be romantic notions. They become a form of survival.

AATISH TASEER is the author, most recently, of the novel "The Way Things Were."

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WORLD NEWS MIDDLE EAST EUROPE

C.I.A. arms for rebels land on black market

AMMAN, JORDAN

Weapons for insurgents in Syria may have been used to attack Americans

BY MARK MAZZETTI AND ALI YOUNES

Weapons shipped into Jordan by the Central Intelligence Agency and Saudi Arabia intended for Syrian rebels have been systematically stolen by Jordanian intelligence operatives and sold to arms merchants on the black market, according to American and Jordanian officials.

Some of the stolen weapons were used in a shooting in November that killed two Americans and three others at a police training facility in Amman, F.B.I. officials believe after months of investigating the attack, according to people familiar with the investigation.

The existence of the weapons theft, which ended only months ago after complaints by the American and Saudi governments, is being reported for the first time after a joint investigation by The New York Times and Al Jazeera. The theft, involving millions of dollars of weapons, highlights the messy, unplanned consequences of programs to arm and train rebels — the kind of program the C.I.A. and Pentagon have conducted for decades — even after the Obama administration had hoped to keep the training program in Jordan under tight control.

The Jordanian officers who were part of the scheme reaped a windfall from the weapons sales, using the money to buy expensive SUVs, iPhones and other luxury items, Jordanian officials said.

The theft and resale of the arms — including Kalashnikov assault rifles, mortars and rocket-propelled grenades — have led to a flood of new weapons available on the black arms market. Investigators do not know what became of most of them, but a disparate collection of groups, including criminal networks and rural Jordanian tribes, use the arms bazaars to build their arsenals. Weapons smugglers also buy weapons in the arms bazaars to ship outside the country.

The F.B.I. investigation into the Amman shooting, run by the bureau's Washington field office, is continuing. But American and Jordanian officials said the investigators believed that the

The attack highlights the messy consequences of C.I.A. programs to arm and train rebels.

weapons a Jordanian police captain, Anwar Abu Zaid, used to gun down two American contractors, two Jordanians and one South African had originally arrived in Jordan intended for the Syrian rebel-training program.

The officials said this finding had come from tracing the serial numbers of the weapons.

Mohammad H. al-Momani, Jordan's minister of state for media affairs, said allegations that Jordanian intelligence officers had been involved in any weapons thefts were "absolutely incorrect."

"Weapons of our security institutions are concretely tracked, with the highest discipline," he said. He called the powerful Jordanian intelligence service, known as the General Intelligence Directorate, or G.I.D., "a world-class, reputable institution known for its professional conduct and high degree of cooperation among security agencies." In Jordan, the head of the G.I.D. is considered the second most important man after the king.

Representatives of the C.I.A. and F.B.I. declined to comment.

The State Department did not ad-



The funeral in Rimoun, Jordan, for a police captain killed after he attacked a training center in November. Officials said they believe the weapons he used had been meant for Syrian rebels.

dress the allegations directly, but a spokesman said America's relationship with Jordan remained solid.

"The United States deeply values the long history of cooperation and friendship with Jordan," said John Kirby, the spokesman. "We are committed to the security of Jordan and to partnering closely with Jordan to meet common security challenges."

The training program, which in 2013 began directly arming the rebels under the code name Timber Sycamore, is run by the C.I.A. and several Arab intelligence services and aimed at building up forces opposing President Bashar al-Assad of Syria. The United States and Saudi Arabia are the biggest contributors, with the Saudis contributing both weapons and large sums of money, and with C.I.A. paramilitary operatives taking the lead in training the rebels to use Kalashnikovs, mortars, antitank guided missiles and other weapons.

The existence of the program is classified, as are all details about its budget. American officials say that the C.I.A. has trained thousands of rebels in the past three years, and that the fighters made substantial advances on the battlefield against Syrian government forces until Russian military forces — launched last year in support of Mr. Assad — compelled them to retreat.

The training program is based in Jordan because of the country's proximity to the Syrian battlefields. From the beginning, the C.I.A. and the Arab intelligence agencies relied on Jordanian security services to transport the weapons, many bought in bulk in the Balkans and elsewhere around Eastern Europe.

The program is separate from one that the Pentagon set up to train rebels to combat Islamic State fighters, rather than the Syrian military. That program was shut down after it managed to train only a handful of Syrian rebels.

Jordanian and American officials described the weapons theft and subsequent investigation on the condition



Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. at a Jordanian-American military training center in Zarqa, Jordan. The Jordanian officers who were part of the weapons scheme reaped a windfall.

of anonymity because the Syrian rebel training is classified in the United States and is a government secret in Jordan.

News of the weapons theft and eventual crackdown has been circulating inside Jordan's government for several months. Husam Abdallah, a senior aide to several past Jordanian prime ministers, said he had heard about the scheme from current Jordanian officials. The G.I.D. has some corrupt officers in its ranks, Mr. Abdallah said, but added that the institution as a whole is not corrupt. "The majority of its officers are patriotic and proud Jordanians who are the country's first line of defense," he said.

Jordanian officials who described the operation said it had been run by a group of G.I.D. logistics officers with direct access to the weapons once they reached Jordan. The officers regularly siphoned truckloads of the weapons from the stocks, before delivering the rest of the weapons to designated drop-

off points.

Word that the weapons intended for the rebels were being bought and sold on the black market leaked into Jordan government circles last year, when arms dealers began bragging to their customers that they had large stocks of American- and Saudi-provided weapons.

Jordanian intelligence operatives monitoring the arms market — operatives not involved in the weapons-diversion scheme — began sending reports to headquarters about a proliferation of weapons in the market and of the boasts of the arms dealers.

After the Americans and Saudis complained about the theft, investigators at the G.I.D. arrested several dozen officers involved in the scheme, among them a lieutenant colonel running the operation. They were ultimately released from detention and fired from the service, but were allowed to keep their pensions and money they gained from

the scheme, according to Jordanian officials.

President Obama authorized the covert arming program in April 2013, after more than a year of debate inside the administration about the wisdom of using the C.I.A. to train rebels trying to oust Mr. Assad.

The decision was made in part to try to gain control of a chaotic situation in which Arab countries were funneling arms into Syria for various rebel groups with little coordination. The Qataris had paid to smuggle shipments of Chinese-made FN-6 shoulder-fired weapons over the border from Turkey, and Saudi Arabia sent thousands of Kalashnikovs and millions of rounds of ammunition it had bought, sometimes with the C.I.A.'s help.

By late 2013, the C.I.A. was working directly with Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and other nations to arm and train small groups of rebels and send them across the border into Syria.

The specific motives behind the November shooting at the Amman police training facility remain uncertain, and it is unclear when the F.B.I. will officially conclude its investigation.

This year, the widows of the Americans killed in the attack sued Twitter, alleging that it knowingly permitted the Islamic State to use its social media platform to spread the militant group's violent message, recruiting and raising funds.

Captain Abu Zaid, the gunman, was killed almost immediately. His brother, Fadi Abu Zaid, said in an interview that he still believed his brother was innocent and that he had given no indications he was planning to carry out the shooting.

The Jordanian government, he said, has denied him any answers about the shooting, and has refused to release his brother's autopsy report.

Mark Mazzetti reported from Amman and Washington, and Ali Younes from Amman, Washington and Doha, Qatar.

Vote in Spain keeps status quo, yielding no majority

MADRID

Conservatives gain seats, Socialists stay at No. 2 and far-left bloc is stalled

BY RAPHAEL MINDER

The conservative Popular Party of Mariano Rajoy, Spain's caretaker prime minister, has won the most votes in Spain's repeat national elections as the Socialists held off a challenge from the Podemos party to remain the largest left-wing formation.

The fragmented result from Sunday's elections, however, did not settle who will form the country's next government. Instead, Mr. Rajoy and the leaders of Spain's other parties face another tricky round of coalition negotiations. National elections in December were also inconclusive.

The Popular Party's advance appeared to show that conservative voters responded to Mr. Rajoy's last-ditch warning against the kind of radical overhaul demanded by Podemos at a time of political crisis in the European Union. The Spanish elections took place three days after the British voted to leave the European Union, in a referendum that sent financial markets in Spain and throughout the world tumbling on Friday.

Mr. Rajoy's Popular Party won 137 of 350 parliamentary seats, up from 123 in the December elections. The Socialists captured 85 seats, five fewer than in December. Podemos won 71 seats, effectively unchanged from December, after forming an election alliance with United Left, another radical party, which won two seats six months ago. Another emerging party, Ciudadanos, got 32 seats, down from 40 seats, according to the preliminary results.

No party came close to winning a parliamentary majority on Sunday. Still, the results put Mr. Rajoy back in the driver's seat, either to try to form a right-wing coalition or to pressure the Socialists into a broader coalition that could help preserve the dominance of Spain's establishment parties, which Podemos would like to uproot.

Addressing flag-waving supporters outside his party's headquarters just after midnight, Mr. Rajoy celebrated his victory but did not shed light on how it might allow him to form a new government. "From tomorrow, we will have to talk with everybody, and we will do it," he said, adding that Spain was "walking in the right direction."

Even if Sunday's result was the worst ever for the Socialists, it was sufficient to prevent the party from being leaptfrogged by Podemos, an outcome that most polls had predicted. In December, Podemos and Ciudadanos entered the Spanish Parliament for the first time. On Sunday, both parties not only had lost the novelty factor but also disappointed some voters after six months of bruising and fruitless coalition negotiations.

"Some parties promised to change the country and then showed us that they were just happy to join the shame-



Mariano Rajoy, Spain's caretaker prime minister, in Madrid on Monday.

ful old game of just throwing dirt at each other," Daniel Martín, a graphic designer, said as he prepared to vote in central Madrid earlier on Sunday.

Podemos was hoping to mirror in Spain the success of Syriza, the far-left party that took office in Greece in 2015. Formed less than two years ago, Podemos has garnered much of its support among a Spanish youth hit by high unemployment and angered by the endemic corruption among established parties, with rising economic inequality since the financial crisis of 2008.

Pablo Iglesias, the leader of Podemos, said at a news conference on Sunday that the result was disappointing and surprising but added, "The news today is unfortunately that the Popular Party has increased its support."

Mr. Rajoy, 61, presented himself as the custodian of Spanish unity and continuity in the face of far younger opponents, as well as a challenge from secessionist politicians in Catalonia.

About 70 percent of eligible voters cast ballots in Sunday's elections, which was in line with the turnout six months ago. Still, many of those who waited outside a polling station here expressed disillusionment at being forced back to the polls by Spain's main parties.

"I really believe that we need change and a clean, fair and transparent society," said Galia Martínez Matei, a 31-year-old interior designer who voted for Podemos. "But there's no question that people are pretty tired of our politicians and having to vote again now."

Israel and Turkey officially repair a rift, but bitterness lingers

JERUSALEM

BY ISABEL KERSHNER

After the formal announcement on Monday that Israel and Turkey would resume full diplomatic relations after a bitter, six-year fissure, some Israelis started to confront the political predicament the deal could pose.

The popular Hebrew newspaper Yediot Aharonot summed up the situation with a front-page headline: "Reconciliation or surrender?"

Critics asked why Israel was paying about \$20 million in compensation to the families of 10 activists who were killed during a 2010 raid by Israeli naval commandos aboard the Mavi Marmara — the episode that set off the diplomatic crisis between the once-close regional allies.

They argued that the pro-Palestinian activists violently attacked the soldiers as they rappelled onto the deck of the Turkish passenger vessel that was trying to breach Israel's naval blockade of the Gaza Strip, and that paying compensation was an admission of guilt and capitulation.

Many Israelis also questioned what they called the "gifts to Hamas," the Islamic militant group that controls Gaza. They were referring to the humanitarian aid that Turkey plans to deliver to the Palestinian coastal enclave under the

deal and the promise of new residential buildings, a 200-bed hospital and infrastructure projects to address Gaza's chronic water and electricity shortages.

Such apparent generosity chafed Israeli sensibilities because the deal did not provide for the return of the remains of two Israeli soldiers being held by Hamas, or of two Israeli civilians who are believed to be alive in captivity in Gaza.

As Turkish officials hailed the deal as a diplomatic victory, rivals of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel from the left and right called him to task.

Gideon Saar, a former minister from Mr. Netanyahu's Likud party described the compensation as "a national humiliation." Isaac Herzog, the leader of the center-left Zionist Union, called it "incomprehensible" and slammed what he called the "indifference and disregard" shown toward the families of those missing in Gaza.

At a lunchtime news conference in Rome, where the negotiations were concluded over the weekend, Mr. Netanyahu defended the deal and tried to sell it to the Israeli public, saying it was "of strategic importance to Israel" in terms of security, regional stability and the Israeli economy.

"The world is in turmoil, the Middle East is in turmoil, and my policy is to create foci of stability in this unstable, rough and stormy region," he said in re-

marks that were broadcast live on Israeli television.

The deal, Mr. Netanyahu said, will protect Israeli commanders and soldiers from criminal and civil claims by Turkish victims, and it will allow Israel to maintain its naval blockade of Hamas in Gaza. Despite a Turkish demand for it to be removed, Turkey agreed to deliver its goods via the Israeli port of Ashdod.

Beyond the humanitarian aspect, Mr. Netanyahu said, it is in Israel's interest to increase the water and electricity supplies to the population of Gaza.

In addition, he said, the deal provided an opening for lucrative projects like the marketing of Israel's natural gas reserves to Turkey, and via Turkey to Europe.

And he said that he could "withstand this criticism" of those who complained of humiliation and the abandonment of those missing in Gaza, adding: "I understand the suffering of the families. I speak to them."

Secretary of State John Kerry, who met with Mr. Netanyahu in Rome on Sunday and Monday, said Washington had encouraged the reconciliation between Israel and Turkey, two important allies of the United States. He added, "This is a step we wanted to see happen."

In Ankara, the Turkish prime minister, Binali Yildirim, announced the normalization of relations with Israel and

said, "Normalization covers a variety of areas, but economic relations and regional cooperation will take place first." He said that a ship laden with 10,000 tons of humanitarian aid bound for Gaza would leave for Ashdod on Friday.

Ankara accelerated the rapprochement process last year after its relationship with Russia soured following the downing of a Russian warplane near the border with Syria.

Louis Fishman, an assistant professor at Brooklyn College who specializes in Turkish-Israeli affairs, said that Tur-

Many Israelis questioned what they called "gifts to Hamas" under the terms of the reconciliation deal.

key's realignment with Israel was "not merely about cutting a natural gas deal with Israel, which certainly tops its agenda, but also an attempt to regain regional clout."

The deal comes as both countries face tough security challenges, including those stemming from the meltdown of Syria and other states in the region, leading both sides to seek security cooperation.

"Renormalization of the relationship is more about security than energy,"

said Brenda Shaffer, a senior fellow at the Washington-based Atlantic Council research institute's Global Energy Center.

Underlining the complexity and competing concerns of the region, Prof. Efraim Inbar, director of the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies at Bar-Ilan University near Tel Aviv, said he thought it would not be wise for Israel to sell its natural gas to Turkey. That, he said, "strengthens a regime that is anti-Israel and strengthens Turkey's position as an energy corridor to the West."

"It also creates dependence on the Turkish good will," he said, adding that Israel would be better off channeling its gas through Egypt or Cyprus.

In Gaza there was a sense that the deal offered some hope, but fell short of what Hamas wanted. "They might not have lifted the blockade on Gaza, but at least they will ease restrictions," said Ahmed Yousef, an adviser to the Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh.

Many Israeli analysts viewed the deal as a cold calculation of interests. Ben Caspit, a political columnist at the Maariv newspaper, wrote, "In the end, an agreement was reached with Turkey because it had to be reached."

Ceylan Yeginsu contributed reporting from Ankara and Moushira Jammal from Gaza City.

Culture

PHOTOGRAPHY FILM

Photography's shift in an Insta-world

Exhibition in New York embraces an evolving new identity for art form

BY HOLLAND COTTER

The International Center of Photography is back, and welcome. Two years after losing its previous New York City quarters, in Midtown, the center has reopened in another neighborhood, downtown across from the

ART REVIEW

New Museum. The duplex galleries, on street and basement levels, are, technically, larger than the old ones, though they feel boxy and closed-in, at least for the opening show, "Public, Private, Secret." As if to offset this impression, the show gives evidence that the center's view of photography itself has expanded.

In its 2014 Triennial, the center made a serious move toward embracing digital media, and now it has fully done so. Photography no longer means pictures printed and framed. It also means images, infinite in number, flowing in real-time data streams and captured on webcams, video blogs, Twitter and Instagram. This institutional shift in emphasis from hard objects to the broad field of visual culture will make old-style connoisseurs crazy, but it is in line with the center's history.

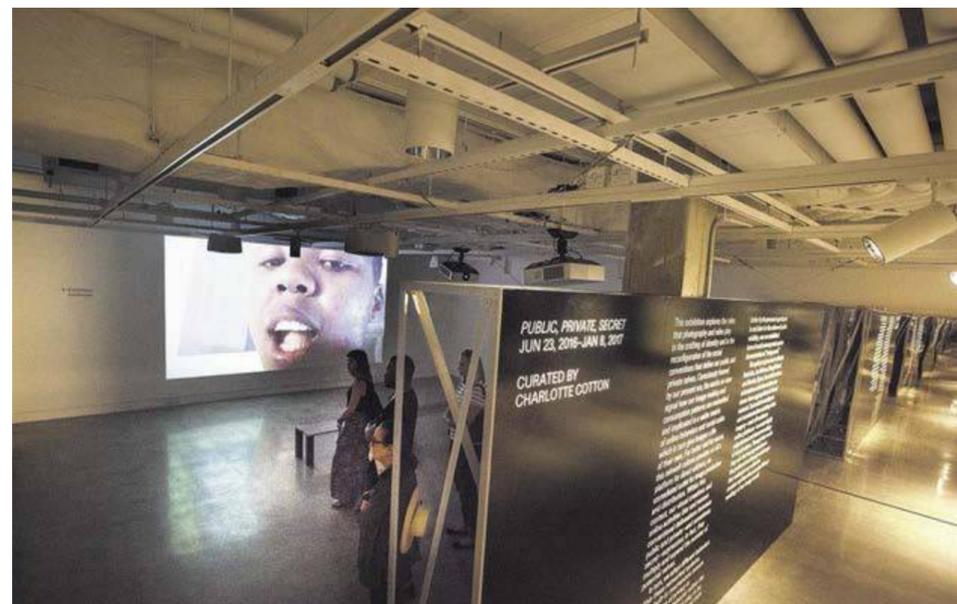
It was founded in 1974 largely as a showcase for street photography, war photography and other socially committed and essentially journalistic genres: Content was as important as form. The inclusion of digital media maintains that interest, with the internet now functioning as both boulevard and battlefield, and — this really is new — where photographers were once a distinctive and specialized crew, now almost everyone is armed, for better and worse, with picture-taking devices and the means to distribute images.

The defining of better and worse



Rashid Johnson's "Self-Portrait With My Hair Parted Like Frederick Douglass" (2003), center, and Vik Muniz's "Frederick Douglass, From Pictures of Ink" (2000), at the International Center of Photography's "Public, Private, Secret" show.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY PHILIP GREENBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



forms the basis for a stimulating and unsettling exhibition. Its digital orientation is established right at the start with a projected video based on borrowings from social media. The piece, by Natalie Bookchin, is divided into thematic sections, each a visual patchwork of talking heads, mostly of young, English-speaking men and women gathered from online video diaries. In one sequence, all the heads speak of their experience with psychiatric medications, in another with losing jobs.

Ms. Bookchin's editing is inventive and revealing. Every time a word or phrase common to all the diaries occurs, all the heads say it in unison, interrupting film's otherwise random-seeming this-speaker-then-that-speaker flow. The overall effect is twofold: You get a sense of the existence of a di-

gitaly connected community of suffering, one with a shared vocabulary and set of emotions. You also begin to wonder, as you do when you overhear public cellphone conversations: How is it possible that so many people are living such clichéd lives?

The raw material for a 2012 video by Doug Rickard is also digital, but of a different kind: found images of American crime scenes and police actions uploaded from cellphones and posted on YouTube. Mr. Rickard collages excerpts from various postings into fictional narratives, notable less for their plotlines than for the atmosphere of danger they project. That atmosphere is similar to one generated by news media and the film industry, an adrenalin-fueled mood of fear, suspicion and emergency, encouraging violence.



Martine Syms's video installation "Lessons I-LXVIII" (2014-16), left, and Kim Kardashian's "Selfish" (2015), below, are featured in the show at the International Center of Photography's new location on the Bowery in New York City, above.

In one way or another, much of the show — assembled by Charlotte Cotton, the center's first curator in residence, working with Pauline Vermare, associate curator, and Marina Chao, assistant curator — is built around the basic elements of Mr. Rickard's work: surveillance crossing into voyeurism, visual fiction standing in for truth. But then, hasn't photography always had a predatory streak, an eye for existential dirt, an impulse to lie if that will grab attention? Sure, and there are plenty of pre-digital demonstrations of that here.

Among them are old French and Mexican mug shots of criminal suspects, and a 1942 shot by Arthur Fellig, known as Weegee, of two drunk-and-disorderly swells covering behind face-hiding hats in a paddy wagon. Far more complicated are four mug-shot-style portraits of Berber or Muslim women taken in 1960 by Marc Garanger in Algeria, when he was working for the French Army. The women, confined to a concentration camp, were forced to unveil for the sittings and stare at the camera with undisguised, level-eyed fury.

These are images of violation. There

are others, several associated with celebrity culture. In a 1971 photograph we see Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis dashing across a lawn in Central Park, apparently fleeing the photographer who had been stalking her for years, Ron Galella. Two internet-savvy contemporary artists, Ann Hirsch and Marisa Olson, turn the humiliation of losing highly visible competitions — a reality dating show, an "American Idol" audition — into triumphs of self-engineered failure. And in a flawless win-win power move, the media star Kim Kardashian assumes the role of auto-stalker, publishing a book consisting entirely of her own selfies.

And if Ms. Bookchin's conglomerate snapshot of a video diary culture hints at a condition of passive narcissism as the dominant malady of life inside the digital bubble, Jon Rafman's short, composite 2014 video "Mainsqueeze" is infinitely more damning. Its seven-minute sequence of found Google Street View images drops you into a deep pit of physical and psychological cruelty, and cracks the door on a dark side of the social media age that this exhibition otherwise barely hints at.

The visual content of this piece is a far cry from the museum quality images usually associated with the center as a collecting institution. And the exhibition itself, with its mirrored walls and jumble of unlike works, has a looseness that most museums, intent on writing clear narratives, would clean up. At this point, though, visual culture — digital production, including photography — is so abundant and changing so fast that no clear narrative is possible. Photography fans hoping that the return of the center will mean a return of its vintage collection may have to wait awhile. This institution, so often ahead of the curve, has other, challenging ideas on its mind, and the less it acts like a museum the better.

"Public, Private, Secret" runs through January at the International Center of Photography (I.C.P.), 250 Bowery, New York City; icp.org.

A girl vanishes, and her father can't bear it

BY JEANNETTE CATSOULIS

Reaching across 15 years and multiple countries, "Les Cowboys" repurposes the narrative codes of the classic western to explore the complexities of a disrupted world.

The story opens in 1994 at a country-and-western fair in rural France, where cowboy-hatted families have gathered to enjoy line dancing and a rodeo. The scene, photographed in lovely, woozy close-ups by Arnaud Potier, is disorienting and metaphorical, a microcosm of one culture mushrooming in the heart of another. And when Alain (François Damiens), a local businessman, is cajoled into singing the Patti Page classic "Tennessee Waltz," it's no surprise when the lyrics turn out to have been a foreshadowing. He's about to lose his "little darling."

That loss — of his 16-year-old daughter, Kelly (Iliana Zabath), who disappears during the festivities — is the match that ignites the film's fuse, the event that will rend a family and rip another young woman from her homeland. But we know none of that yet as Alain, believing his daughter kidnapped, rails at the police and the parents of Kelly's newly discovered Muslim boyfriend, who has also disappeared. A note from Kelly saying that she has chosen a different life only pushes Alain's search into overdrive; and Mr. Damiens, in a performance as fierce as it is precise, winds his character into a knot of fury and despair.

Directing for the first time, the prolific screenwriter Thomas Bidegain creates an oblique yet mesmerizing drama, his economical script (written with Noé Debré) allowing the movie's observant camera and sprawling locations to tell

FILM REVIEW

their own story. Visual bread crumbs — like a red neckerchief and silently watchful shots of Kid, Kelly's little brother — lead us like clues to a mystery stretching from a document forger in Antwerp to Yemen and beyond. And as time passes and the twin towers of the World Trade Center fall, Alain's bitter fixation transfers to Kid, now known as Georges (Finnegan Oldfield) and doing medical relief work in Pakistan.

Unfolding with a reticence that's occasionally confusing, "Les Cowboys" presents a suggestive, almost abstract take on terror and the generational toxicity of bigotry. John C. Reilly adds punch to the movie's middle section as a shady trader of money for hostages; and Agathe Dronne, in a beautifully

generous performance that's somewhat muffled by the testosterone-heavy plot, is quietly heartbreaking as Kelly's mother.

Yet even as the story slides from hatred and obsession to compassion and a kind of peace, it's clear that Mr. Bidegain isn't schooling us in social justice. Rather, in his unfussy, irresolute way, he's merely reminding us that fear of the other didn't start with those tumbling towers. Like the heroes of John Ford's 1956 masterwork, "The Searchers" (one of the director's inspirations), Georges and his father are seeking a woman taken by a man of another race. The problem is that the woman they find might no longer be the one they lost.

ONLINE: "LES COWBOYS"
Watch a trailer of the film at nytimes.com/movies



Finnegan Oldfield, left, and François Damiens in "Les Cowboys." The film's director, Thomas Bidegain, was inspired by John Ford's "The Searchers."

COHEN MEDIA GROUP

CULTURE DANCE BOOKS

Breaking the glass slipper

Ballet choreography continues to be dominated by men

BY MICHAEL COOPER

“Ballet,” as the choreographer George Balanchine once said, “is Woman.”

But if women are still the symbols of ballet in the popular imagination, chances are it is as ballerinas performing dazzling, demanding steps that were devised for them by men. When it comes to choreography, at least at most major companies, ballet remains overwhelmingly a man's world.

New York City Ballet performed 58 ballets this season, including seven world premieres — and not one was by a woman. London's Royal Ballet also did no ballets by women this season on its main stage at Covent Garden and has yet to commission a new work by a woman for the main stage this century. In Moscow, the Bolshoi danced more than two dozen ballets this season, but only one was by a woman, and only partially: “Short Time Together,” by the team of Paul Lightfoot and Sol León. And American Ballet Theater presented just one ballet by a woman this season in New York, “The Brahms-Haydn Variations” by Twyla Tharp.

Women continue to be underrepresented in many positions of power in the arts, whether as directors in Hollywood, orchestra conductors, opera composers or even late-night television hosts. But the dearth of female choreographers at major ballet companies is more startling,



SASHA/GETTY IMAGES



ANDREA MOHIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

given the prominence of women in the rest of the dance fields — and the way pioneering female choreographers helped shape ballet during the 20th century.

Think of the influential neoclassical works that Bronislava Nijinska created for Diaghilev's Ballets Russes in the 1920s. Or the role that Ninette de Valois — the dancer, choreographer and teacher — played in establishing ballet in Britain when, in 1931, she founded the company that eventually became the Royal Ballet. Or the way Agnes de Mille imbued her ballets with American colloquialism and became a charter member of Ballet Theater in 1940.

In this century, though, it has become something of a rarity for ballet companies to present new works by women, as the English National Ballet made a

point of doing this spring when it mounted “She Said,” a triple bill of new ballets by female choreographers.

“I realized that, being a professional dancer for 20 years, I had never performed in a ballet choreographed by a woman,” said Tamara Rojo, the company's artistic director, who commissioned the works from Annabelle Lopez Ochoa, Yabin Wang and Azsure Barton. “And I thought, That's kind of strange.”

Alexei Ratmansky is celebrated around the world for his new ballets and reinventions of old ones. Christopher Wheeldon has had successes with top ballet companies and on Broadway, where he directed and choreographed “An American in Paris.” They are part of a new generation of highly sought-after dance makers, a group that in-



LIBRADO ROMERO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, the choreographer Ninette de Valois, right, at a ballet school in London in 1931. Above, the choreographer Trisha Brown at her dance studio in New York. Above left, Lauren Lovette, right, with the School of American Ballet students Chloe Sherman and Harrison Ball in 2009.

cludes Wayne McGregor, Benjamin Millepied, Justin Peck, Liam Scarlett and others. Many have taken up residencies or other official positions with major ballet companies.

But while the Royal Ballet has presented works by a number of female choreographers in recent years, they have tended to be done at its smaller Linbury Studio Theater, not on the main stage. The lack of women having their work performed has become a topic of conversation in London. Kevin O'Hare, the director of the Royal Ballet, said in an email that “commissions are about the right fit for the company, whether by male or female choreographers.”

The issue of gender disparities in dance is hardly new. Four decades ago, in 1976, The Village Voice explored discrimination in the dance world in an article headlined “When a Woman Dances, Nobody Cares,” which found, among other things, that “male choreographers are getting grants way out of proportion to their numbers.”

More than two decades later, in 1998, a consortium called the Gender Project was formed by the choreographer and teacher JoAnna Mendl Shaw and other New York dance figures to study the issue. One finding was that even in modern dance — which was largely invented by pioneering female choreographers, including Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis and Martha Graham — men were more likely to get their works performed than women, and to have their works written about.

Such findings stand out all the more because dance, and especially ballet, can seem dominated by women in so many other areas. At ballet schools, girls typically outnumber boys, who are sometimes

coaxed to attend with reduced or even free tuition. Women are often the teachers at those schools, and at many ballet companies, women play crucial roles as coaches and ballet mistresses and répétiteurs, grooming and passing on steps to new generations. Many of the most prominent dance critics are women.

Yet at many major companies it is still rare to see works by women. There are exceptions — especially at companies that present more contemporary dance, a field where female choreographers are much more prominent. The Paris Opera Ballet, which has made contem-

“I realized that, being a professional dancer for 20 years, I had never performed in a ballet choreographed by a woman.”

porary dance a staple of its repertoire, included works this season by Anne Teresa De Keersmaeker, Pina Bausch and Maguy Marin. This month, the Pennsylvania Ballet danced Trisha Brown's “O zlozony / O composite,” which had its premiere in 2004 in Paris.

One of the most widely performed female choreographers in ballet is Ms. Tharp, who has had success in many genres — modern dance and dance for Broadway, films, and ballet, beginning with her 1973 crossover work “Deuce Coupe.” In 1998, toward the tail end of Mikhail Baryshnikov's tenure as artistic director of Ballet Theater, he made Ms. Tharp the company's artistic associate and resident choreographer, and while that position did not last, her relationship with the company has: It has

given the premieres of more than a dozen of her works.

New York City Ballet has commissioned more works by women since 1983, when Peter Martins became ballet master in chief there, than it did in previous decades. But its drought in recent years — its last premiere by a woman was in 2011 — has drawn criticism. Next season, the company plans to present new ballets by Ms. Lopez Ochoa and Lauren Lovette, a principal dancer in the company, and Mr. Martins said he had been speaking to the choreographer Crystal Pite about doing something for City Ballet.

A question for the future is whether there are enough opportunities for women to become ballet choreographers — a position for which there is no one career path. Some companies are looking at training programs. At City Ballet's New York Choreographic Institute, founded in 2000 to nurture new talent, only about a fifth of the participants who have come through its main program have been women. But the student choreography workshop program at the School of American Ballet, the school associated with City Ballet, has seen a steady increase in participation by female students in recent years: They made 11 of its 16 new ballets last fall, a development that Mr. Martins called “very encouraging.” Doing the three new dances by women in “She Said” was valuable, Ms. Rojo said, not just because the choreographers brought subtly different perspectives to the fore with their works, but also for the experience it gave the members of her company.

ONLINE: WHAT OTHERS HAVE TO SAY
Luminaries comment on the dearth of female choreographers. nytimes.com/dance

PEOPLE

➤ **JIM IRSAI**, the owner of the N.F.L. football team the Indianapolis Colts, has purchased the Yellow Cloud electric guitar that **PRINCE** used in concerts until the mid-1990s. Mr. Irsay, who collects musical instruments, paid \$137,500 for the guitar at an auction in Beverly Hills, California. Prince died on April 21. (AP)

➤ **PIERRE AUDI**, who recently became the artistic director of the Park Avenue Armory in New York, has been named the next director of the 2018 Aix-en-Provence Festival in southern France, the festival



PIERRE AUDI, HELEN MIRREN

announced on Friday. Mr. Audi, a stage director and impresario known for fostering contemporary work and for projects of daunting ambition, has led the Dutch National Opera for three decades. Mr. Audi will continue to lead the opera even after he joins the Armory in October to begin planning its 2017 season.

➤ The actress **HELEN MIRREN** said that she was a “believer” in Israel and that she rejected efforts to boycott the country, The Guardian reported. Ms. Mirren was in Israel last week to host the Genesis prize, an award known as the “Jewish Nobel.” The \$1 million award was given to the Israeli-American violinist **ITZHAK PERLMAN** for his accomplishments as a musician, teacher and advocate for the disabled. PHOTOGRAPHS: AFP

Where votes go to die: Gerrymandering and democracy

Rat. ed. The True Story Behind the Secret Plan to Steal America's Democracy. By David Daley. Illustrated. 257 pages. Liveright Publishing. \$26.95.

BY ALEX WAGNER

Most Americans are probably familiar with the, ahem, vibrant title of this book thanks to a copy (print or DVD) of Woodward and Bernstein's “All the President's Men,” a term employed equally by conniving frat boys and Nix-

BOOK REVIEW

on-era political strategists to denote fraudulent election shenanigans.

But the practical implications of the word today would make those Watergate baddies blush. In his new book, David Daley, the editor in chief of Salon, describes what the Republican strategist Ben Ginsberg has called “Project Rat _____”: the strategy of shadowy (but thus far legal) packing, splicing and dicing of congressional districts to secure Republican domination and, in turn, subvert the will of the American voter.

In its more modest form of gerrymandering, the practice has been in play for decades and used by both parties alike. But Mr. Daley proposes that this particular strain of manipulation is unprecedented in its sophistication, its permanence and its virulence. Of the myriad theories about why, precisely, American democracy seems so broken — increasing socio-economic divides, media bifurcation, voter suppression efforts — Mr. Daley points to this Republican-led district distortion as the truly original sin, and the one from which our democracy is unlikely to recover anytime soon.

He illustrates this using the examples of six grossly manipulated states: Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Michigan, Ohio, Florida and Wisconsin,

where the drawing of district lines has been rigged to such a perverted degree that the resulting congressional delegation bears little resemblance to the actual votes cast. Along the way, the reader is introduced to a league of largely unknown but nonetheless hugely influential local politicians and strategists who, beginning mostly in 2010, on the heels of the last census, engage in a variety of nefarious and oftentimes comically crooked practices to convert electoral reality. There are off-site bunkers, duped innocents and wild smear campaigns, including one that accuses a Democratic rival of trying to build a \$600 million “Taj Mahal library” in honor of former Senator Arlen Specter.

Assisted by increasingly sophisticated technology (there is a brief but intriguing chapter on mapmaking) and mountains of voter information data (including party affiliation, education levels and commute times), these (mostly) men have collected and analyzed the figures to draw preferential maps, funded by post-Citizens United dark money, and supported in their efforts by Republican governors and conservative courts.

Democrats and likely Democrats have been systematically packed together to ensure landslide victories in a handful of districts, sometimes with the help of underrepresented Democratic minorities looking to secure a seat in Congress — a shortsighted strategy of tragic proportions.

Republican voters and those leaning conservative, in turn, have been spread out to maximize their voting power across as much territory as possible. Sandra Day O'Connor referred to the separation by race, which often amounts to separation by party affiliation, as “political apartheid,” and indeed, the carve-outs are exotic and pernicious. Pennsylvania's Seventh District, thanks to this manipulation, is



BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Waiting in line to vote in Columbus, Ohio, in the November 2012 presidential election.

drawn in such a way that it looks like “Donald Duck kicking Goofy.” While the metaphor is funny, it's also devastating: This is not what the founders meant by “a more perfect union.”

As for the results? In the election of 2012, Barack Obama won the state of Pennsylvania with 52 percent of the vote. Democratic House candidates won 51 percent of the vote. But Democratic House candidates won only 28 percent of the state's seats. In North Carolina, Democratic House candidates won 50.6 percent of the vote, but Republicans seized 9 of the 13 congressional seats. By 2014, they would have 10. The list goes on.

Beyond the partisan distortion, this mutilation has had the secondary but no less cancerous effect of making congressional districts deeply homogeneous. The Republican-favored landscape has given rise to the phenomenon of disruptive primary challenges from within the Grand Old Party. With no reward for work conducted across the aisle, Con-

gress has turned from a place of compromise to one of extremism, as representatives fight to protect their right flanks.

Mr. Daley argues that this is the reason our legislative branch refuses to act on issues including gun control, climate change and college debt — issues with broad national support, but ones that offer little reward for Republican representatives seeking to hold their own in a hostile, conservative environment back home.

The book is disheartening and enraging in equal measure — and also occasionally dull, as when the numerous stories of electoral manipulation seem to repeat themselves. But where should the reader channel his or her anger? Certainly the Republican Party's audacity is worthy of indignation, but its strategic expenditures and long-term focus are impressive, enviable even — especially in comparison with the bumbling Democrats, who seem to have been blindsided by the Republicans' takeover. One Ohio-based election scholar says: “I'm not be-

ing partisan here. I'm just making an observation that the Democrats have been dumb about all this for a long time.”

Mr. Daley would seem to agree and suggests that the left remains ill equipped to counterattack — and ill disposed toward what would be better yet: to remove the drawing of congressional lines entirely from political hands and be done with the whole sordid mess. Instead, these distorted, Rorschachian districts are likely to continue to plague American democracy until the next census in 2020, and possibly for some time thereafter.

While the work is extraordinarily timely and undeniably important, Mr. Daley's argument is perhaps a bit too zealous. No doubt this sinister practice has effectively destroyed congressional cooperation, but one has to wonder, especially this election year, whether America's partisan divide really is simply the result of nefarious mapmaking. The rise of an angry, inchoate political force — one that has not only bucked party orthodoxy but maintained widespread grass-roots support — would seem to lend credence to the idea that progress on big-ticket issues relating to the environment and economy is not stalled just because of this miserable redistricting process, but indeed because of a growing and seemingly unbridgeable gulf between the haves and have-nots, urbanites and ruralists, insiders and outsiders. Then again, come Nov. 8, someone will be tasked with trying to put the country back together, and perhaps these warped districts are exactly the place to start.

Alex Wagner is a senior editor at The Atlantic.

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Sports

SOCCER TENNIS



JULIO CORTEZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Lionel Messi missed his shootout attempt and continued his losing streak in major tournament finals with Argentina. "In the locker room, I thought that the national team was finished for me, that it's not for me," Messi said after the game.

Messi says he's had enough after latest loss

SOCCER EAST RUTHERFORD, N.J.

Argentina stumbles in a final yet again as Chile wins Copa América

BY ANDREW KEH

Lionel Messi had the collar of his shirt pulled up to his nose. With his eyes peeking out just over the fabric, he watched a nightmare unfold.

Argentina and Chile had played 120 minutes of ruthless, scoreless soccer on Sunday night at MetLife Stadium. Penalty kicks would be needed to decide the winner of the 45th Copa América. Up stepped Messi, widely regarded as the best player in the world, to take the first shot for Argentina, and he missed, sending the ball sailing over the crossbar and into the crowd. Moments later, he watched as Francisco Silva of Chile buried a shot inside the left post to give his team a 4-2 shootout win.

All of the Argentine players hung their heads near the center circle as the Chileans erupted in celebration. But Messi took a slow, solitary walk across the grass and took a seat on the far end of his team's bench. He stared at the grass as the Chilean players bobbed up

and down in celebration. When he got up again, there were tears in his eyes.

The emotions boiled over, and they carried to the locker room. When Messi, 29, re-emerged, he suggested, shockingly, that his national team career was over.

"In the locker room, I thought that the national team was finished for me, that it's not for me," Messi said. "It's what I feel right now. It's a great sadness that it happened to me, that I missed penalty kick that was very important. It's for the good of everybody. It's not enough to just get to the final and not win."

The meeting of Argentina and Chile in the 45th Copa América final was eagerly awaited as an alluring confrontation of two of the finest soccer teams in the world. Yet the game that materialized had all the charm and beauty of a street brawl.

Faces puckered in pain and anger. Studded cleats whipped dangerously in the air, aimed at flesh. Bodies collided with other bodies, crumpling and sprawling onto the grass.

Those in the crowd of 82,026 who sought a showcase of sophisticated play were instead treated to a stream of crunching tackles, theatrical quarrels, disciplinary cards (eight yellows, two reds).

The Chileans, who defeated the Argentines in the same competition last

year on Chile's home soil, will not mind the soreness. Argentina, which has not won a major tournament since 1993, will have a dose of existential despair to accompany the physical pain.

Before the tournament, memories of the team's most recent heartbreaks weighed heavily on Messi's mind: the Copa América in 2007, in which the Argentines lost a second straight final to their archrival, Brazil; the World Cup final in 2014, in which they succumbed to Germany in overtime; the Copa América final in 2015, in which they fell to Chile in a penalty shootout. Add 2016, when Chile outlasted them in an unending rumble.

"It's incredible, the fact that we can't win it," Messi said. "It's happened to us

"It's not enough to just get to the final and not win."

again, and by penalty kicks. It's our third consecutive final. We tried, and it wasn't for us."

Messi has played 113 times for Argentina. Last week, with his 55th goal, he became his country's leading scorer. He has won every award and honor imaginable as an individual and with his club team, Barcelona. But if he does not play another international soccer game, his glittering résumé will have one glaring

hole: a championship with Argentina.

The game on Sunday had a violent start, establishing a fierce tone, and amid the constellation of superstars on both teams, the referee, Héber Lopes, somehow emerged as the center of attention. The only credible chance of the first half came in the 22nd minute, when Gonzalo Higuain chipped his shot wide after finding himself one on one with goalkeeper Claudio Bravo. Otherwise, it was a parade of fouls and cards.

Marcelo Díaz of Chile picked up a yellow card in the 16th minute for kicking Messi near his midsection. Twelve minutes later, Messi and Díaz collided after Messi had prodded the ball into space on another menacing move, and Lopes ran over holding a second yellow card for Díaz, reducing Chile to 10 men.

Two more yellow cards materialized in the 37th minute, after a momentary kerfuffle between Javier Mascherano of Argentina and Arturo Vidal of Chile. Three minutes later, Messi picked up a yellow card for diving. In the 43rd minute, Marcos Rojo of Argentina was issued a straight red card after a slide tackle on Vidal.

On good days, Chile is known for its high-tempo, high-pressing defense — a system that can make opposing players feel like fish struggling to swim upstream. Argentina at its best can em-

broider long stretches of passing with the nonchalance of a knitting circle. But reduced to 10 men apiece, the teams resorted to more rudimentary maneuvers.

The Argentines had scored 18 goals in their previous five games, but their strategy on Sunday seemed reduced to having Messi try to dribble through the Chilean defense himself. Chile controlled possession, 54 percent to 46, but was severely outshot, 18-4.

Scoring chances emerged as the game wore on, even as players' legs grew wobbly. The two goalkeepers traded athletic saves in a span of minutes in overtime. Everyone in the stadium — the fans, the players, the referee — seemed exhausted when the game went to penalty kicks.

Vidal stepped up first, and his shot was saved by keeper Sergio Romero of Argentina. Then came Messi, who whacked his attempt several yards over the bar. He spent parts of the shootout thereafter on his knees, staring at the ground. Argentina's fourth shooter, Lucas Biglia, missed, too, setting up Chile's decisive kick. Messi watched in despair.

"There's not much analysis to go over," Martino said. "We really had high hopes, and now we're leaving empty-handed."

Rebecca R. Ruiz contributed reporting.

One player who was just lucky to be at Wimbledon

TENNIS WIMBLEDON, ENGLAND

Cancer survivor Duval loses as favorites roll on tournament's first day

BY NAILA-JEAN MEYERS

Shortly after 11:30 a.m. on Monday morning, on Court 4 in the shadow of Centre Court, Daria Kasatkina won the first point of the 2016 Wimbledon tournament. She won 11 of the next 12 points to take a 3-0 lead against Victoria Duval. It was about then that Duval, a 20-year-old American, thought, "Can I not be here?"

But just being here, ultimately, was the point for Duval, who lost to the 29th-seeded Kasatkina, 6-0, 7-5. The last time Duval played at Wimbledon in 2014, she received a diagnosis of Hodgkin's lymphoma during qualifying, but did not reveal it until days after her second-round loss to Belinda Bencic.

Duval, a fan favorite at the 2013 United States Open after her first-round upset of Samantha Stosur, missed more than a year on tour as she received treatment, coming back in August.

Then in February, Duval needed knee surgery for a torn meniscus. She returned only five weeks ago and acknowledged that she was not physically prepared for this tournament.

Duval said being back at Wimbledon was "really hard emotionally." She said she was torn between competing emotions: "being frustrated that I'm not where I want to be and obviously happy to be back." She tried to pump herself up by singing "One Dance" by Drake to herself. She tried to compose herself with her head under a towel during changeovers.

"I was such a wreck," she said. "I was like, I want to crawl in a hole. Can I dig a hole in this grass and just go in here?"

After losing the first eight games of the match, Duval "just kind of snapped out," she said. Her service technique improved and got the second set back on serve by breaking Kasatkina at love when she was serving for the match.

But Kasatkina broke right back and then served out the match.

Duval's second-set performance left her with an overall positive feeling about her comeback. "The biggest thing was for me to come here and prove to



GERRY PENNY/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Garbiñe Muguruza was challenged by Camilla Giorgi on Monday, but won 6-2, 5-7, 7-4.

myself that I'm past what happened to me," she said. "Even though I didn't feel physically I was in tiptop shape to here, it would have killed me if I didn't play."

Despite her disappointment about her performance and her impatience that her body had not yet caught up with her ambitions, she said she accepted that she had a long road ahead and was already looking forward to next year.

"It's just part of the process," she said. "I'm going to have dips. It's just about how fast I get up. In the past, I've gotten up really fast, so right now I'm just crawling until I start running again."

Duval was not alone in her mixed feelings Monday. No. 28 seed Lucie Safarova looked almost chagrined after defeating her doubles partner and friend Bethanie Mattek-Sands, 6-7 (7), 7-6 (3), 7-5, in a match that took 2 hours, 48 minutes.

In other matches Monday, top-seeded Novak Djokovic began his title defense with a 6-0, 7-6 (3), 6-4 victory over James Ward of Britain, who thrilled the Centre Court crowd by pushing the second set into a tiebreaker after losing the match's first nine games.

"When it's full up and everyone is cheering for you, you're playing against the world No. 1, it's a day you remember for the rest of your life," said Ward, who is ranked 177th.

In the men's draw, Marcus Willis, ranked 706th, defeated Ricardas Berankis 6-3, 6-3, 6-4, providing one of the day's real surprises.

No. 5 Kei Nishikori, No. 6 Milos Raonic, No. 9 Marin Cilic, No. 11 David Goffin and No. 13 David Ferrer won in straight sets.

Garbiñe Muguruza was challenged by Camilla Giorgi, who pushed the Spaniard in the second two sets before losing valiantly, 6-2, 5-7, 7-4.

Donna Vekic served for the first set, but eighth-seeded Venus Williams rallied for a 7-6 (3), 6-4 victory. Among the seeded women to win in straight sets were No. 9 Madison Keys and No. 14 Stosur.

Three seeded players lost in early action Monday: No. 23 Ana Ivanovic, No. 25 Irina-Camelia Begu, No. 20 Kevin Anderson and No. 21 Philipp Kohlschreiber.

Ireland's dream is over, but not before giving France a scare

SOCCER LYON, FRANCE

BY SAM BORDEN

Depending on your perspective, the dream — or the nightmare — lasted nearly an hour.

That was how long it took for France, the host of the European Championships, the team with the weight of history and home bearing down on it, to emerge from its stupor. That was how long it took for Ireland, the gritty upstart with designs of a monumental upset, to see its hopes summarily squashed.

In the end, France won, 2-1, and the French, who have won each of the last two major tournaments they have hosted, will keep rolling toward a third, with a quarterfinal match against either England or Iceland awaiting next weekend. But that score, and its two gorgeous goals from Antoine Griezmann, belied the emotion of the afternoon here. It did not show how close this tournament of underdogs was to having a minnow, somehow, some way, get its jaws all the way around a whale.

The Irish, no doubt, will see it as an opportunity lost. It would be hard to say they wasted their chance because the French were, on balance, far better. They had better players, more talent, more experience. They were playing at home. They were, indisputably, the favorites.

Yet the game started with Ireland's having about 40 seconds of possession, sending the ball down the field and then watching, a nation's eyes wide, as France's Paul Pogba tripped Shane Long as he ran across the goal. The referee did not hesitate: penalty.



CJ GUNTHER/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Antoine Griezmann, second from right, scoring the winning goal as France beat Ireland, 2-1.

"It was the worst thing that could have happened," France's Dimitri Payet said.

Barely a minute had been played when the call was made and barely two had passed when Robbie Brady banged his spot-kick in off the post and gave Ireland the most unexpected of edges. It was remarkable: Irish players, coaches and fans had surely played out many potential series of events in their heads before this match — a late goal, perhaps, or a victorious penalty shootout — but it seemed difficult to imagine that many of them had envisioned having to spend most of the game trying to hold on to a 1-0 lead.

The Irish fought. No one can say they did not, and their effort for the rest of the first half made the fantasy seem possible. France was all over the place, the players clearly unsettled and the fans clearly enraged. Pogba, trying to atone for his costly foul, made several dazzling dribbles and passes, but many of his teammates were invisible. Blaise Matuidi did little in midfield. Griezmann was nowhere to be found up front. Olivier Giroud looked lost.

It did not help that the Irish were the perfect combination of aggressive and irritating, as they slammed into challenges — Pogba alone was bulldozed by Long and Jeff Hendrick — but also

played for time as they labored over goal kicks and tumbled with injuries that seemed to have been caused by pixies. Each minute that ticked by sent the French players flailing even more and the spectators frothing even harder. Maybe, just maybe, they thought, this might happen.

But then came halftime. A short rest. A chance to refocus. In the French locker room, Griezmann said, the players were frustrated, "kind of shouting at each other," knowing that the game was slipping away. And it worked. They emerged from the tunnel for the second period without any of the timidity or trepidation that had bogged them down from the start. They passed crisply and fluidly. They did not bunch or crowd. The field opened up.

The first goal began when Payet sent the ball from one side to the other and Bacary Sagna swung in a looping cross. Griezmann, who stands barely 5 feet 9 inches, rose to meet it and snapped his neck. His header flew past Darren Randolph and nestled into the corner. It was swift and splendid, and Griezmann took off running in celebration. Fifty-seven minutes had been played and the French fans were, finally, euphoric.

Four minutes later, it happened again. This time it was Giroud creating as he leapt in between two Irish defenders to nod down a high ball near the edge of the penalty area. It dropped softly, easily, for Griezmann who sped forward, seized it and slotted it past Randolph into the other corner. Order had been restored. France was back on course.

"Another six or seven minutes without conceding, maybe we could have

SPORTS SWIMMING

SPORTS Roundup

SOCCER

Germany trounces Slovakia to advance to quarterfinals

Germany's first penalty miss at a European Championships in 40 years was only a footnote, as the team eased into the quarterfinals with a comprehensive 3-0 defeat of Slovakia in Lille, France.

Goals from Jérôme Boateng, Mario Gómez and Julian Draxler ensured that the 2014 World Cup champions would not rue Mesut Ozil's missed penalty kick early in the game.

Germany produced its best performance of the tournament on Sunday, showing its defensive resilience and attacking ambition in a display that augurs well for the tougher challenges ahead. Germany is the only team remaining at Euro 2016 that has yet to concede a goal. (AP)

Hazard steals the show, as Belgium beats Hungary

A superb performance by Eden Hazard guided Belgium to a 4-0 victory over Hungary in Toulouse, France, and a place in the quarterfinals at the European Championships.

Defender Toby Alderweireld opened the scoring with a header in the 10th minute after poor defense by Hungary. But Belgium had to wait until the closing stages of the game to secure a convincing victory behind Hazard at the Stadium de Toulouse.

Hazard scored in the 78th minute and followed up almost immediately with another spectacular goal. Yannick Ferreira Carrasco scored the fourth goal in stoppage time, as Belgium set up a meeting with Wales in the quarterfinals. (AP)

BASEBALL

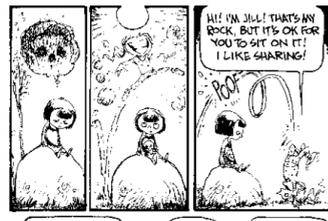
Rose joins 9 other Reds in having his number retired

The Cincinnati Reds formally retired Pete Rose's No. 14, capping three days of celebrations that filled Great American Ball Park and transported a struggling franchise back to its glory days, if only briefly.

The Reds added Rose's number Sunday to those displayed behind home plate — the 10th number to be retired by baseball's first professional team — before beating San Diego, 3-0.

Major League Baseball had to approve the ceremony because of Rose's lifetime ban for betting on his team. Rose is the career leader in hits. (AP)

NON SEQUITUR



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BRIDGE | Frank Stewart

Some people learn bridge as if they're training to be a garbage collector: They just pick it up as they go along. But absorbing techniques of play such as managing entries (my topic this week) takes effort.

Against 6NT, East took the ace of hearts and returned a heart. South won and had to win the rest; he needed East to hold the king of clubs.

South led a diamond to the king and returned a club to his queen, winning. He led a diamond to the queen and led a second club to his jack. The club finesse won again, but when West discarded, South lost the 13th trick to East's king.

Three Finesses

South's technique was deficient. In case East's clubs are K-8-4-3, South needs an extra dummy entry so he can finesse three times. He must take the ace of diamonds at Trick Three, then lead his jack to dummy's queen.

When East discards, South finesesses in clubs, leads a diamond to the nine, finesesses in clubs, and goes back to the king of diamonds for a third club finesse. Making six.

Daily Question

You hold: ♠ 9 7 6 2, ♥ A 6 5 3, ♦ 2, ♣ K 8 4 3. Your partner opens one club, you respond one heart and he bids 1NT. The opponents pass. What do you say?
Answer: Bid two clubs, which will certainly be a much safer contract than 1NT. You don't need to be concerned that partner may have opened with a "prepared bid" on a three-card club suit. Since he neither raised your hearts nor bid one spade at his second turn, he must have at least four clubs. Tribune Content Agency

JUMBLE THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME by David L. Hoyt and Jeff Knurek

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

Oh, not! It says here that they're canceling the show! Maybe they can make movies one day.

Where am I going to wear my costume?

STAR TRICK WAS CANCELED AFTER THREE SEASONS BUT IT'S SUCCESS WAS SET ---

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

Yesterdays Jumbles: TRULY TIPSY FRIGID LOUDLY
 Answer: The owner of the maid service was making a -- TIDY PROFIT

A buoyant ally as Ledesky chases gold

SWIMMING OMAHA

Swimmer who set record in '68 backs American's attempt to sweep in Rio

BY KAREN CROUSE

To those who have watched her swim circles around the competition, Katie Ledesky appears to have no peers in the pool. Ledesky, however, knows better.

At a meet outside Phoenix in April, she spotted Debbie Meyer, the woman she will probably be chasing at the Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro in August, and trundled over to say hello. Meyer greeted her with a hug and exclaimed: "You're great! Two, four, eight. Do it this summer!"

At the 1968 trials ahead of the Olympics in Mexico City, Meyer set world records in the 200, 400 and 800 freestyles. Two months after turning 16, she swept her events at the Summer Games to become the first swimmer to win three individual Olympic gold medals. No Olympian since has matched Meyer's 200-400-800 string of gold (the men contest the 1,500 meters instead of the 800).

Ledesky, 19, may be the one to finally match the feat. She owns the fastest times in the world this year in the 200-, 400- and 800-meter freestyles. Aside from Michael Phelps, she was the only American swimmer who was No. 1 in the world in individual events in the 2015 year-end rankings. Ledesky's performance heading into the United States Olympic swimming trials, which began Sunday at CenturyLink Center, has turned Meyer, 63, into a time traveler. Suddenly, it seems like 1968 once more, with another teen queen preparing for her prodigy with history.

Ledesky, who will enter Stanford University in the fall, is far too humble to count her gold medals before they are won. But she indirectly declared her intentions to go after Meyer's record when she posted the sixth-fastest performance in history in the 200 freestyle at a competition in Texas in January. She already owns eight of the 10 top times in history in the 400 freestyle and nine of the 10 fastest swims ever in the 800.

Ledesky was to begin her pursuit on Monday in the 400 meters at the Olympic trials.

Ledesky's lodestar is Janet Evans, who won the 400- and 800-meter freestyles (and the 400 individual medley



The gold medalist swimmer Debbie Meyer at her swim school in Carmichael, Calif., this month.



Katie Ledesky setting a world record in the 800 meters freestyle in 2015 in Kazan, Russia.

at the 1988 Summer Olympics and successfully defended her 800 title in 1992.

But Ledesky's remarkable range carries old-timers back further in time, to Meyer in the late 1960s and Shirley Babashoff in the first six years of the 1970s. In 1976, Babashoff came closest to matching Meyer, earning silvers in the 200, 400 and 800 freestyles behind East German competitors later found to have been part of a state-sponsored doping program (at the 1972 Munich Games, Australia's Shane Gould won the 200 and 400 and finished second in the 800).

Since upsetting Britain's Rebecca Adlington in the 800 freestyle at the 2012

London Games in her first international competition, Ledesky has held a python's grip on the women's distances. In this year's world rankings, she is almost four seconds faster than her nearest rival in the 400 and more than 11 seconds ahead of her closest competitor in the 800.

"I'm at a loss for words sometimes when I think about what she has been able to do the last few years," said the Olympian Rowdy Gaines, adding: "She loves to train. She loves to be out there every day and loves that feeling. You don't get that a lot, and I think that's really helped her."

Meyer exerted an enormous influ-

"When I watch her swim, it brings back so many memories."

ence on her heir apparent, though Ledesky was wholly unaware of it until they met in 2014. Ledesky and her older brother, Michael, inherited their love of the sport from their mother, Mary Gen, who was a teenage swimmer in North Dakota in 1968 when Meyer broke the American record in the 800-meter freestyle five times.

Ledesky's mother, a freestyler who went on to compete at the University of New Mexico, was beguiled by Meyer. She begged her parents to allow her to stay up to watch the telecast of the swimming at the Mexico City Games, where the women's 800 freestyle made its Olympic debut.

Ledesky was with her mother at a U.S.A. Swimming-related function when they ran into Meyer. Recalling their meeting, Meyer said Ledesky's mother seemed more excited than Ledesky. Nearly a half-century later, Meyer has been the one glued to the television, watching Ledesky develop into the most formidable all-around freestyler of her, or possibly any, generation.

"When I watch her swim, it brings back so many memories," Meyer said.

She looks at Ledesky and sees an upgraded version of the swimming machine that she was as a teenager. Like Ledesky, Meyer got her start in an East Coast recreational swimming league and later was known for taking her races out fast, treating whatever distance she was racing as a sprint.

Like Ledesky, Meyer was spurred on in training by a male teammate who was also an Olympian. And as Ledesky aspires to do, Meyer emerged as the bright star of an Olympics with a first-time host, in a city whose preparation for the Games was fraught with problems.

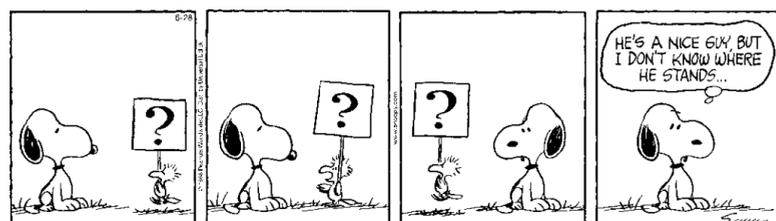
"There are a lot of similarities," Meyer said.

Swimming is a solitary sport, especially when one's main competition is the clock. But Ledesky does not feel alone as she prepares to set the table at the trials for a 200, 400 and 800 feast in Rio.

It inspires her to know Meyer is following her progress.

"To know that the person who did it is supporting me as I go to the Olympic trials," Ledesky said, "that's cool."

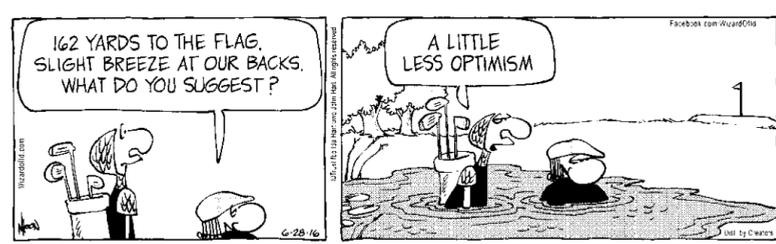
PEANUTS



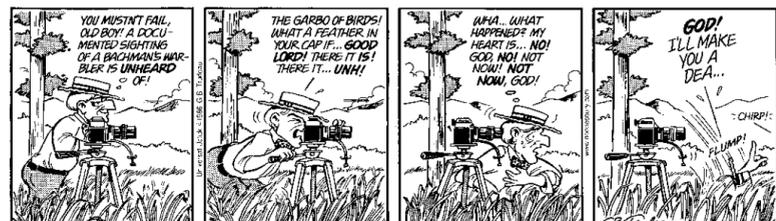
GARFIELD



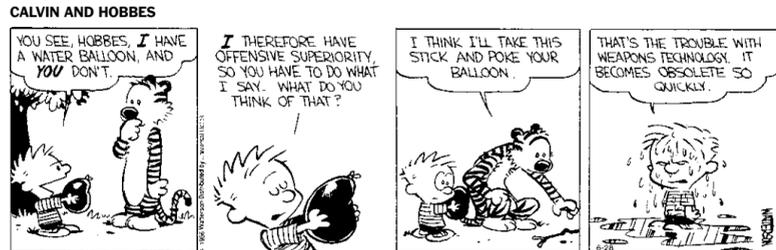
WIZARD OF ID



DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1986



CALVIN AND HOBBES



DILBERT



CROSSWORD | Edited by Will Shortz

Across

- World of Warcraft enthusiast, e.g.
- Enemy org. in many a spy thriller
- North Carolina fort
- Prefix with transmitter Meadlow
- Mathematician whose name sounds like a ship
- City in SE France
- Architectural add-on
- Airline whose main hub is in Atlanta
- "eml!"
- Not slippery at all, as a winter road
- Grp. holding quadrennial competitions
- Sneaky laugh
- Not gendered, as a noun

Down

- Moniker for German chancellor Konrad Adenauer
- The "e" of i.e.
- Volunteer's phrase
- Rumble in the Jungle participant
- Conductor Georg whose name consists of two musical notes
- Niece's counterpart, in French
- Blue on an electoral map: Abbr.
- Ancient Greek physician
- Open the door for
- Psyche part
- Scraping (by)
- Swiss-German artist Paul
- Murray ___-Mann, Physics Nobelist who coined the term "quark"
- Whalebone
- Night stand locale
- ___ the day
- 1980s TV's "Kate & ___"
- Board, as a plane
- Blessing before a meal
- Spider of children's literature

Solution to June 27 puzzle

R	I	O	J	A	S	P	U	D	S	D	I	S
A	S	N	E	R	T	E	B	O	W	E	C	O
P	E	W	E	E	R	E	S	E	V	A	N	
T	E	L	E	G	A	R	R	E	W	I	N	
		L	O	A	F		O	P	A	L		
E	L	L	E	N	D	E	G	E	N	E	R	S
C	A	I	R	O		R	E	M	A	N	D	E
I	T	T		T	R	I	K	E		E	G	O
G	E	T	A	R	O	O	M		A	R	G	U
R	E	N	E	Z	E	L	L		W	E	G	E
		R	A	G	S		H	O	L	T		
H	A	B	L	A		A	R	A	B		W	H
T	H	U		L	I	V	E	S	O	F	E	A
T	A	G		I	R	E	N	A		V	E	N
P	B	I	S		A	K	R	O	N		I	T

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14					15			16				
17					18			19				
20				21	22			23			24	
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32	33	34						35				
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64								65				
66	67							68				
69								70				
71								72				
73								74				

- PUZZLE BY ALEX VRATSANOS THE NEW YORK TIMES
- Spider's web-producing organ
 - Staked a claim
 - Last car
 - One who might have a corner office, for short
 - Decidedly nonfeminist women's group
 - Links org.
 - Use for flowers in Hawaii
 - Antlered beast
 - City where Einstein was born
 - Obama, astrophysically
 - In days of yore
 - Mrs. Perón and Michigan
 - Went extinct
 - Charles Schwab rival
 - Source of the "K" in Kmart
 - Organism
 - Freud contemporary
 - Healing ointment
 - Casus ___ (cause of war)
 - Hwy. through Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan
 - Police setup
 - Words after break or shake
 - Long way to go?
 - No kidding!
 - Sturdy tree

Business

Distillery faces its past, and role of a slave

LYNCHBURG, TENN.

Jack Daniel's beginning to embrace complicated origins, 150 years later

BY CLAY RISEN

Every year, about 275,000 people tour the Jack Daniel's distillery here, and as they stroll through its brick buildings nestled in a tree-shaded hollow, they hear a story like this: Sometime in the 1850s, when Daniel was a boy, he went to work for a preacher, grocer and distiller named Dan Call. The preacher was a busy man, and when he saw promise in young Jack, he taught him how to run his whiskey still — and the rest is history.

This year is the 150th anniversary of Jack Daniel's, and the distillery, home to one of the world's best-selling whiskeys, is using the occasion to tell a different, more complicated tale. Daniel, the company now says, didn't learn distilling from Dan Call, but from a man named Nearis Green — one of Call's slaves.

This version of the story was never a secret, but it is one that the distillery has only recently begun to embrace, tentatively, in some of its tours, and in a social media and marketing campaign this summer.

"It's taken something like the anniversary for us to start to talk about ourselves," said Nelson Eddy, Jack Daniel's in-house historian.

Frontier history is a gauzy and unreliable pursuit, and Nearis Green's story — built on oral history and the thinnest of archival trails — may never be definitively proved. Still, the decision to tell it resonates far beyond this small city.

For years, the prevailing history of American whiskey has been framed as a lily-white affair, centered on German and Scots-Irish settlers who distilled their surplus grain into whiskey and sent it to far-off markets, eventually creating a \$2.9 billion industry and a product equally beloved by Kentucky colonels and Brooklyn hipsters.

Left out of that account were men like Nearis Green. Slavery and whiskey, far from being two separate strands of Southern history, were inextricably entwined. Enslaved men not only made up the bulk of the distilling labor force, but they also often played crucial skilled roles in the whiskey-making process. In the same way that white cookbook authors often appropriated recipes from their black cooks, white distillery owners took credit for the whiskey.

In deciding to talk about Green, Jack Daniel's may be hoping to get ahead of a collision between the growing popularity of American whiskey among younger drinkers and a heightened awareness of the hidden racial politics behind America's culinary heritage.

Some also see the move as a savvy marketing tactic. "When you look at the history of Jack Daniel's, it's gotten glossier over the years," said Peter Krass, the author of "Blood and Whiskey: The Life and Times of Jack Daniel." "In the 1980s, they aimed at yuppies. I could see them taking it to the next level, to millennials, who dig social justice issues."

Jack Daniel's says it simply wants to set the record straight. The Green story has been known to historians and locals for decades, even as the distillery officially ignored it.

According to a 1967 biography, "Jack Daniel's Legacy," by Ben A. Green (no relation to Nearis), Call told his slave to teach Daniel everything he knew. "Uncle Nearis is the best whiskey maker that I know of," the book quotes Call as saying.

Slavery ended with ratification of the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1865, and Daniel opened his distillery a year later, employing two



Claude Eady, left, a retired Jack Daniel's employee who is a descendant of Nearis Green, with Nelson Eddy, the distillery's in-house historian, at its offices in Lynchburg, Tenn.

of Green's sons. In a photo of Daniel and his workers taken in the late 19th century, a black man, possibly one of Green's sons, sits at his immediate right — a sharp contrast to contemporaneous photos from other distilleries, where black employees were made to stand in the back rows.

But corporate history-keeping was a rare practice in those days, and over time memories of Green and his sons faded.

"I don't think it was ever a conscious decision" to leave the Greens out of the company's story, said Phil Epps, the global brand director for Jack Daniel's

For years, the prevailing history of American whiskey has been centered on German and Scots-Irish settlers.

at Brown-Forman, which has owned the distillery for 60 years. Still, it is unlikely that anyone in the Jim Crow South thought a whiskey marketed to whites should emphasize its black roots.

As the brand's anniversary approached, the company started researching its various origin stories. It decided that the case for Nearis Green's contribution was persuasive, and should be told. "As we dug into it, we realized it was something that we could be proud of," Mr. Epps said.

A business built on slave help may not seem like a selling point, which may explain why Jack Daniel's is taking things slowly. The Green story is an optional part of the distillery tour, left to the tour guide's discretion, and the company is still considering whether it will flesh out the story in new displays at its visitor center.

However far the distillery decides to go, it is placing itself at the center of a larger issue that distillers and whiskey historians have begun to grapple with only in the last few years: the deep ties between slavery and whiskey.

"It's about paying down the debts of pleasure that have accrued over time," said John T. Edge, the director of the Southern Foodways Alliance at the University of Mississippi.

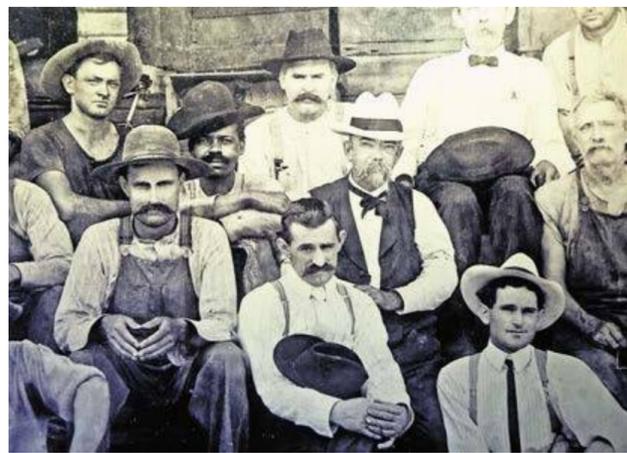
An exhibit on George Washington and slavery opening this fall at the first president's Virginia home, Mount Vernon, documents how he relied on six slaves (and two Scottish foremen) to run his rye whiskey distillery, one of the largest on the East Coast.

"They were key to the operation in making whiskey," said Steve Bashore, who helps run a working replica of Washington's distillery. "In the ledgers, the slaves are actually listed as distillers."

Slavery accompanied distilling as it moved inland in the late 18th century, to the newly settled regions that would become Tennessee and Kentucky. Though slave owning was nowhere near as common there as it was farther south, by the 1800s many successful farmers had at least a few slaves, who tended to be closely involved with whiskey production.

Some of the earliest prominent Kentucky distillers, like Elijah Craig, Henry McKenna and Jacob Spears, relied on slaves to run their operations. (Craig and McKenna's names are now on whiskeys made by Heaven Hill Brands, but those were created long after slavery was abolished.)

Databases of ads for slave sales, as well as runaway slaves, are full of references to slaves as skilled whiskey distil-



Jack Daniel, in a vest and white hat, at his Tennessee distillery in the late 1800s. The man to his right is thought to be a son of the slave who helped teach Daniel how to make whiskey.

lers. In 1794, a Richmond, Va., man placed a \$20 bounty on a slave named Will, who "has a large scar on his right side just below his ribs" and "understands making of whiskey."

Slaves did more than provide physical labor. If Green taught Daniel to distill, said Michael Twitty, a food historian, he probably would have drawn on generations of liquor-making skills: American slaves had their own traditions of alcohol production, going back to the corn beer and fruit spirits of West Africa, and many Africans made alcohol illicitly while in slavery.

"There's something to be said for the fact that Africans and Europeans were

both people in the Southeast who carried with them ancient traditions for making alcohol," Mr. Twitty said.

Another aspect of the Jack Daniel's tradition that is being reassessed is the so-called Lincoln County process, in which unaged whiskey is passed through several feet of maple charcoal, which removes impurities and imparts a slight sweetness.

According to legend, the process was invented in 1825 by a white Tennessean named Alfred Eaton. But Mr. Eddy, the Jack Daniel's historian, and others now say it's just as likely that the practice evolved from slave distilling traditions, *WHISKEY, PAGE 16*

After vote, central banks urged to keep cool

Investors and economists say intervention could do more harm than good

BY LANDON THOMAS JR.

As global markets reel after an establishment-rattling vote by Britain to sever ties with Europe, investors are again expecting central banks to ride to the rescue.

And that may be the problem. Or so believe a number of investors and economists who worry that another round of central bank intervention in the markets will compound the sense of alienation, frustration and anger at global elites that encouraged a majority of British voters to opt for leaving the European Union.

Traditionally, market participants have tended to cheer central bank activism. In times of financial panic, wholesale bond buying, negative interest rates and disbursing cash directly to consumers (the yet-to-be-deployed weapon in the central banker's armory) have been seen as easy policy substitutes for governments unwilling or incapable of taking action themselves.

But, as the world's leading central bankers finished a weekend of brainstorming in Basel, Switzerland, as to what their next move might be, some feared that this time around they might do more harm than good.

"People say that central bankers have not done enough, but they have done too much already," said Stephen Jen, a former official at the International Monetary Fund who now manages a hedge fund in London.

Global central bankers had already planned to convene at the annual meeting of the Bank for International Settlements, a clearinghouse and research shop that provides a private forum for central bankers to gather and exchange views. But the British referendum results and the sharp fall in the markets that followed brought an extra urgency to the two-day meeting.

On Saturday, Agustín Carstens, the head of Mexico's central bank and chairman of the bank's policy group that monitors the global financial system, said that committee members had "endorsed the contingency measures put in place by the Bank of England and emphasized the preparedness of central banks to support the proper functioning of financial markets."

Adding to global political tensions were parliamentary elections on Sunday in Spain, where the fragmented result did not settle who will form the country's next government.

While the sell-off in stocks has been sharp, market participants said over the weekend that they were heartened that major market makers were able to absorb the selling fairly well.

Playing a central role were exchange-traded funds, which at one point on Friday accounted for close to 50 percent of overall trading volume in stocks.

Part of the conundrum for central bankers is that the recent sell-off is not the result of an event like Lehman Brothers going bankrupt in September 2008, which provided the authorities with an unassailable excuse to intervene. Lehman's failure caused markets to seize up and financial institutions to stop dealing with each other.

But when the crises that rock global finance are social and political, it becomes more awkward for central bankers to defend extraordinary intervention. *MARKETS, PAGE 16*

'An easy target': Taken in by the Trump brand

BY MIKE MCINTIRE

The sales pitches seeking to separate Cheryl Lankford from her money began during the recession as she struggled to get back on her feet after the death of her husband, an American soldier serving in Iraq.

Two of them were from companies that have boasted the Trump name.

One was Trump University, the real estate sales seminar that Donald J. Trump, now the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, promoted as a way for average people to profit from opportunities in the housing market. Ms. Lankford said she spent \$35,000 from an Army insurance payment to learn Mr. Trump's secrets.

Another was Cambridge Who's Who, a vanity publisher promising "branding services" that seemed to complement the real estate business she hoped to create. She paid thousands of dollars to Cambridge, whose spokesmen and "executive director of global branding" was Mr. Trump's eldest son, Donald Jr.

Six years later, Ms. Lankford, who is 44 and has a son, has little to show for the money she spent, aside from a nagging sense that she was taken advantage of. Several friends in her community in San Antonio fell for similar offers, she said, but most are not eager to talk about it.

"As a widow, you find you were so dependent on your husband, and when you make a mistake because of predatory businesses, it's embarrassing," Ms. Lankford said. "We're an easy target."

"Easy target" might describe the audience for several enterprises stamped with the Trump brand that have been accused of preying upon desperation, inexperience or vanity. Some are well known. Trump University has most recently gained notice because of Mr. Trump's attacks on the Mexican heritage of the judge overseeing a fraud lawsuit brought by former students. There was also a multilevel vitamin-selling enterprise, the Trump Network, that Mr. Trump had said would give hope to people looking to "opt out of the recession."

But intersecting with these was another, largely unexamined, business venture, Cambridge Who's Who, which generated hundreds of complaints that it deceptively peddled the promise of recognition in a registry, as well as branding and networking services of questionable value.

Dozens of people who paid Trump-endorsed businesses were also sold products by Cambridge, which benefited from its partnership with Donald Trump Jr. through "leveraging relation-

ships built by the Trump empire," according to Cambridge.

Cambridge was not a Trump company; it was operated by Randy Narod, a Long Island, N.Y., nightclub and bagel store owner barred from the securities industry for having had an impostor take his licensing exam. However, Cambridge gained the Trump imprimatur when the younger Mr. Trump came on

Enterprises stamped with the Trump brand are accused of preying upon desperation, inexperience or vanity.

board in 2010 and began promoting its services as a way for people to distinguish themselves in a tough economic climate.

He worked in plugs for Cambridge during interviews on the Fox Business Network and TheStreet.com, did a promotional video and appeared in photos with Mr. Narod. Among them was one with another Trump executive at Trump Tower in New York, where, according to a news release, the three men discussed "strategies to expand the personal branding and professional networking services offered by Cambridge Who's Who." Mr. Narod's company said on its

website that it had embarked on a "global expansion with the Trump Organization."

"Branding is the best way to gain recognition and exposure, and nobody knows this more than the Trump Organization," the younger Mr. Trump said in a promotion for Cambridge.

Cambridge employees played up the Trump association when pursuing customers.

"We had scripts to read when we made our calls to people, and when Donald Trump Jr. came along, our scripts were changed to include him in it," said Joy Debono, a former Cambridge telemarketer. "We would basically say that Cambridge was a good company because Trump was involved in it."

Donald Trump Jr. declined to answer questions about his work for Cambridge. His father's presidential campaign issued a statement saying the younger Mr. Trump's role at the company "was an arrangement made totally outside of the Trump Organization and there was never any commingling of the two corporations at any level."

Mr. Narod said that the younger Mr. Trump worked with Cambridge for a year while also continuing as a top executive with the Trump Organization, and *TRUMP, PAGE 16*

Amazon makes push into educational tools

BY NATASHA SINGER

Just ahead of the back-to-school season, Amazon is making a major foray into the education technology market for primary and secondary schools, a territory that Apple, Google and Microsoft have heavily staked out.

Amazon said on Monday that it would introduce an online marketplace with tens of thousands of free lesson plans, worksheets and other instructional materials for teachers in late August or early September.

Called Amazon Inspire, the education site has features that may seem quite familiar to frequent Amazon shoppers. Search bar at the top of the page? Yes. User reviews? Yes. Star ratings for each product? Yes.

By starting out with a free resources service for teachers, Amazon is establishing a foothold that could expand into a one-stop shopping marketplace — not just for paid learning materials, but for schools' wider academic and institutional software needs, said Tory Patterson, co-founder of Owl Ventures, a venture capital fund that invests in education technology start-ups.

"Amazon is very clearly positioning itself as a disrupter with this move," Mr. Patterson said.

Amazon is joining other tech industry giants in an enormous push to expand the use of technology in the public schools.

Last year, primary and secondary schools in the United States spent \$4.9 billion on tablet, laptop and desktop computers, according to a report by Linn Huang, a research director at the International Data Corporation, a market research firm known as IDC. Altogether, schools bought 10.8 million Apple, Google Chrome and Microsoft Windows devices in 2015, he said.

Because its devices tend to cost more, Apple accounted for the largest slice of school computer sales, amounting to \$2.2 billion, Mr. Huang said. By volume, however, Chromebooks — the inexpensive laptops that run on Google Chrome operating systems — have taken schools by storm, accounting for more than five million devices bought last year, he said.

Even so, education technology industry analysts said the growing market for digital educational materials, which *EDUCATION, PAGE 16*

BUSINESS ECONOMY COMPANIES

Big producer takes steps for chickens' welfare

SEAFORD, DEL.

Overhaul of practices at Perdue could make rivals adopt similar plans

BY STEPHANIE STROM

Sunlight floods the floor at one end of the chicken house here at Ash-O-Ley Acres, and spry little Cornish game hens flap their wings and chase one another.

At the other end of the barn, where the windows are covered as part of a compare-and-contrast demonstration, the flock is largely somnolent and slow to move.

"This is my second flock with the sunlight," said Karen Speake, whose family has raised chickens on this farm for Perdue Foods, the nation's fourth-largest poultry producer, for almost four decades. "They're much happier birds, I can tell you, more active, more playful."

Over the next several years, all of Perdue's chickens — 676 million last year — will bask in sunlight, part of an ambitious overhaul of the company's animal welfare practices, which it was to announce on Monday. The commitment will hold Perdue to standards similar to those in Europe, which the American poultry industry has long dismissed as antiquated, inefficient and costly.

In addition to installing windows, the company plans to give its chickens more space in barns. It may tinker with breeding to decrease the speed at which birds grow or to reduce their breast size, steps that could decrease the number and severity of leg injuries, an issue that has brought unwanted attention to the company.

Also, Perdue will put its chickens to sleep before slaughter, a step taken several years ago by Bell & Evans, a smaller poultry company.

"We are going to go beyond what a chicken needs and give chickens what they want," said Jim Perdue, whose grandfather founded the business in 1920.

The industry has long argued that such standards would raise costs to producers that would eventually be passed on to consumers. But Perdue, which had \$6 billion in sales last year and increased production more than 9 percent, is betting such concerns are overblown, based on its experience so far.

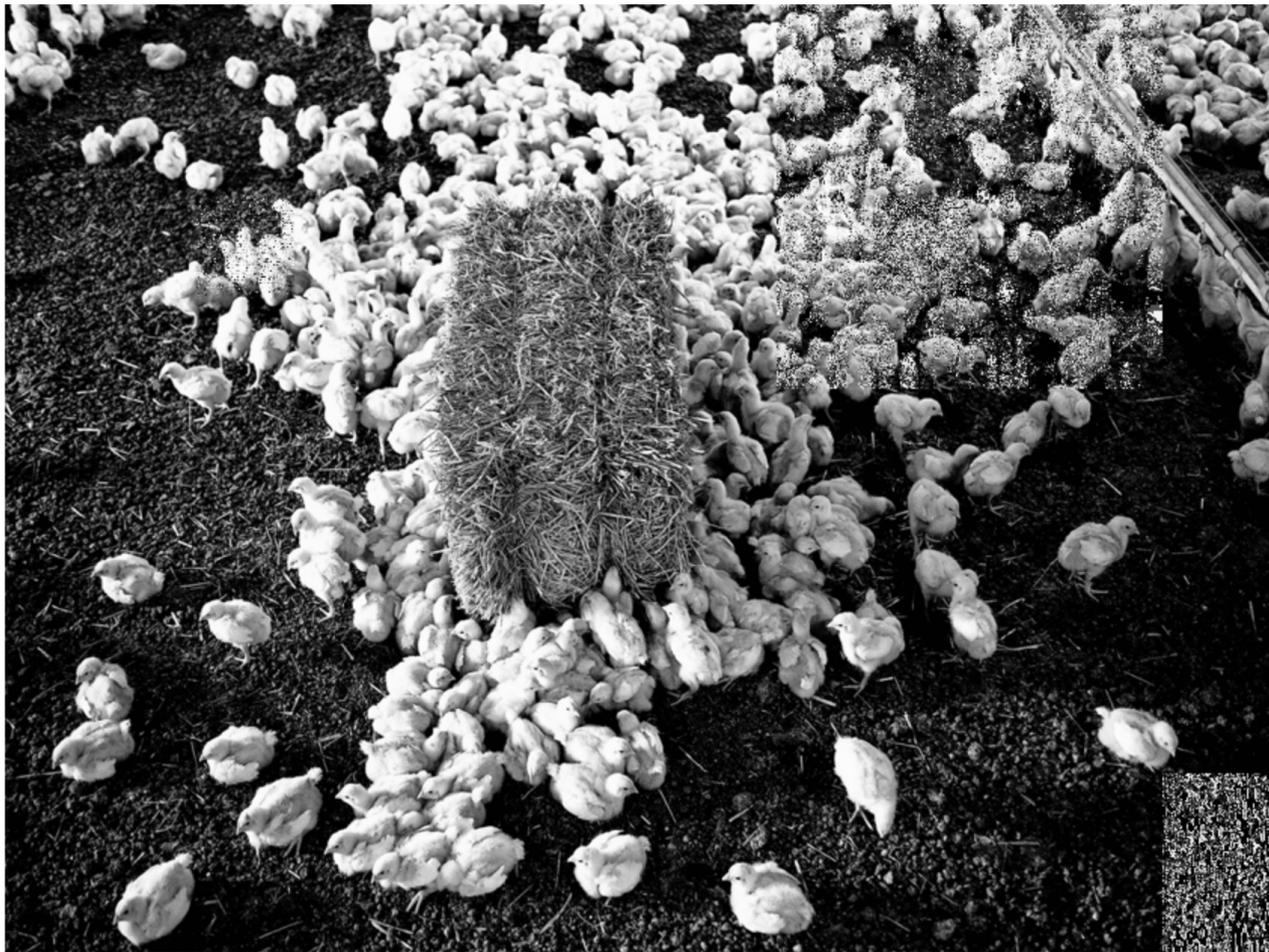
The move may also have a sweeping impact on the industry, pushing competitors to adopt similar practices. When Perdue announced that it intended to use no antibiotics, many of its competitors followed suit at the demand of their big customers.

"It will change the way we do business in so many ways," Mr. Perdue said.

Numerous surveys conducted by the dairy and meat industries suggest that people care and want to know about animal welfare. For that reason, Mr. Perdue said, the company plans to issue annual reports on its progress on the new standards.

"We want to be held accountable," he said. "If we mess up, we have to be prepared to say we messed up."

In late 2014, Compassion in World Farming, an animal rights group, released video taken at a barn under contract to Perdue that showed birds with raw, red chests from sitting too long on litter laden with ammonia and feces. A



Eleven-day-old Cornish hens in Seaford, Del., at Ash-O-Ley Acres farm, a producer for Perdue Foods for nearly 40 years. New welfare standards will give the birds more space and light.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY T.J. KIRKPATRICK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

few months earlier, Perdue had agreed to stop using the phrase "humanely raised" on packages of its Harvestland brand of chicken to settle a lawsuit brought by the Humane Society of the United States.

Still, in an interview a year ago, Mr. Perdue was unapologetic, emphasizing that the Department of Agriculture had signed off on Perdue's animal welfare standards.

So Leah Garces, director of Compassion's American arm, was surprised this winter when Perdue invited her to talk about animal welfare with Bruce Stewart-Brown, its senior vice president for food safety, quality and live operations.

"When you sit down at the table with someone like Bruce, who's repping a large chicken company, you think you can't possibly have anything in common," Ms. Garces said. "Then you start talking, and you realize that you have more in common than you thought."

She said that while Tyson Foods, the country's largest poultry producer, asked its farmers to adopt what are known as the five freedoms of animal welfare — including freedom from discomfort and freedom from fear and distress — Perdue is going further by insisting that its farmers enforce them.

"Perdue is going well beyond what Tyson has done, and no other big poultry producer has come close to those two," Ms. Garces said.



Jim Perdue, the chairman of the company that was founded by his grandfather in 1920.

Over the last decade or so, Perdue has done more than any other major American poultry producer to eliminate antibiotics of all kinds from its procedures. That made it impossible to continue raising so many birds in as tight spaces and under conditions many people consider unsanitary. Tyson and Pilgrim's Pride, the second-largest chicken pro-

ducer in the world, are also reducing their use of antibiotics.

The purchase in 2011 of Coleman Natural Foods, a producer of organic meats, and the acquisition last year of Niman Ranch, a producer of pork and beef, also helped persuade Mr. Perdue that his company, now the largest producer of organic chicken, could improve animal

welfare without hurting business.

"As a major chicken producer, you think there's going to be a lot more problems growing an organic chicken, but then you find out that there are a lot of benefits to raising chickens that way that can be applied to raising chicken more conventionally," he said.

Mr. Perdue traveled around the country over the last three weeks, talking with the company's 2,200 farmers about the new animal welfare program.

Farmers will no longer be compensated solely for efficiency; rather, Perdue will reward them for ensuring better welfare for the birds they tend.

Perdue is also paying to install windows in barns, and it may help offset the costs of adding the avian equivalent of playground equipment — things like inclined slats for perching, haystacks for pecking and hiding places where chickens lower down in the pecking order can get away from bullies.

"We're learning things from them about animal welfare," Mr. Perdue said. "Our relationships with them are absolutely critical to make this work."

The company is already considering an innovation by Ms. Speake's father, Elmer Atkins, who found the boards that Perdue supplied to draw across the windows in their barn too cumbersome. "So he slept on it," Ms. Speake said. The next day, they bought vinyl and rods and hung curtains.

Buy yourself an interview, for the public or posterity

LOS ANGELES

BY MICHAEL CIEPLY

If Charlie Rose won't interview you, Ben Mankiewicz might — for a price.

Mr. Mankiewicz, a journalist and commentator who has lately been a host on Turner Classic Movies, has also quietly become one of the founders of a new business that trades, in a classy way, on that most constant of commodities: human vanity.

The firm, called Forward, is co-owned with Andrew Jameson, a seasoned television producer, and advised by Lewis N. Wolff, an entrepreneur whose interests include the Oakland Athletics baseball team.

In simple terms, Forward allows a wealthy person to become the subject of a professionally packaged video interview — conducted with all the panache and most of the perspicuity one would expect from Mr. Rose — for about \$50,000 to \$150,000, depending on the package.

"I have tremendous respect for journalism; this isn't that," Mr. Mankiewicz said during a joint phone interview with Mr. Jameson.

Rather, he and Mr. Jameson are offering anyone who can afford it an elaborate selfie.

For paying subjects, there are no unwelcome surprises. "If they say something is off limits, it's off limits," Mr. Mankiewicz said of his questions.

The idea, Mr. Jameson explained, came from Mr. Wolff, who wanted to tell his own story, at his family's urging, without spending long hours in collaboration with a ghostwriter.

"Could you interview me, and I could just talk about my life?" Mr. Jameson recalled Mr. Wolff asking.

Mr. Wolff, an inveterate mixer, introduced Mr. Jameson to Mr. Mankiewicz, a passionate A's fan, whom he had met several years earlier while standing in line at the Telluride Film Festival.

Mr. Jameson then built a cozy, denlike

"I have tremendous respect for journalism; this isn't that."

set, with shelves for memorabilia from the lives that are now expected to process through. Mr. Wolff became the first subject. Several more have followed, from word-of-mouth referrals.

Interviewees are presented with a fully loaded iPad, a memory stick and a Blu-ray version of their interview. They also own the rights and can use the material as they please.

Andy Cohen, co-chief executive of the Gensler architecture and design firm, said he planned to make the professionally oriented part of his own recent Forward interview available to the interested public. But more private portions, he said, are meant only for those closest to him.

"My goal was to leave a legacy for my family," Mr. Cohen said.

Mr. Mankiewicz and Mr. Jameson, he added, dug for good details.

"They asked me very personal questions," Mr. Cohen said. Like, "What are your greatest fears?"

In listing billionaires, publishers battle to feed a hunger for rankings

Inside Wealth

ROBERT FRANK

Never before have we had so much information about the world's billionaires.

We know their average age (63), their marital status (90 percent are married, 6 percent divorced), their most common alma mater (Harvard) and even their most common sign under the Chinese zodiac (the snake). We can get daily updates on their net worth and their competitive positions within the wealth rankings.

An entire cottage industry has grown up around probing and publicizing billionaire wealth. At least six different companies now compile billionaire lists.

"Look, the billionaires control more than 4 percent of the wealth on the planet," said David Friedman, president of Wealth-X, a private company that tracks and ranks billionaires. "There's a lot of interest in who they are and how much they have. As long as there has been wealth, there has been a fascination with who has the most."

Yet determining how much the billionaires have — and exactly how many there are in the world — depends on who's counting. The fast-growing number of rich lists has produced wildly different sets of numbers on the population and wealth of the world's billionaires. While one company says there are more than 2,400 billionaires in the world, another says there are about 1,800. One says China has the most and that Beijing is the world's billionaire

capital, while another says the United States has twice as many as China.

Tallies of individual fortunes vary even more. One ranking pegs the Ikea tycoon Ingvar Kamprad as the 10th-richest man in the world, with a \$42 billion fortune. Another ranking says he's not even a billionaire. The Koch brothers, David and Charles, are each worth either \$43 billion or \$55 billion, depending on the source.

The Kochs are doing just fine either way, of course. And whether there are 2,400 billionaires or 1,800 hardly matters to most of us. Yet in the age of rising wealth concentration, the financial lives of billionaires have attained outsized importance to policy analysts,

inequality crusaders and wealth voyeurs alike. And measuring the wealth, it turns out, is often more art than science.

"Some of the numbers have to be taken with a grain of salt. But the estimates have value."

International Economics. "But the estimates have value, because it tells us what activities are most rewarding and where the billionaires are coming from. A best estimate is better than no estimate with wealth."

Forbes magazine started the rich-list craze in 1982, when it published its first "400" list of the 400 richest Americans. It followed in 1987 with its World's Billionaires List. In 2010, two Forbes staff members left to help start Wealth-X, a private wealth research firm also devoted to calculating the fortunes of billionaires and multimillionaires. The company now has over 170 researchers compiling detailed "billionaire

dossiers," which it sells to private banks, private-jet sellers, luxury retailers, universities, charities and other groups looking for clients or donors.

Wealth-X keeps its own finances a secret but says its business has tripled over the last three years. The company says its larger army of researchers has helped it identify more than 2,400 individual billionaires in the world, compared with Forbes's 1,864. (Forbes says it tracks an additional 500 billionaire "family fortunes.")

"The quality of these lists comes down to resources," Mr. Friedman said. "The more people you have working on it, the better your numbers are going to be."

In 2012, Bloomberg started publishing its real-time billionaires index, which is updated daily. And the Shanghai-based Hurun Report, a wealth research firm founded in 1999 by the British accountant Rupert Hoogewerf, has also started tracking billionaires worldwide after starting out with its China rich lists. Hurun publishes more than 20 magazines and supplements a year, and makes money from a fast-growing series of conferences and events.

The battle of the billionaire lists can grow contentious. In February, Hurun said that the 100 billionaires in Beijing made it the new "billionaire capital of the world" and that China had 568 billionaires to America's 535. Forbes shot back in an article stating that New York was the billionaire capital, with 79, while Beijing ranked fourth with 51. Forbes and Wealth-X say the United States has more billionaires; Wealth-X tallies 585 in the United States to China's 260. Forbes said Hurun sometimes included an entire family's fortune when identifying a billionaire, while Forbes counted only individuals.

While the lists are unanimous in crowning Bill Gates the richest man in



Ingvar Kamprad of Ikea is said to have \$42 billion — or perhaps not even a billion.



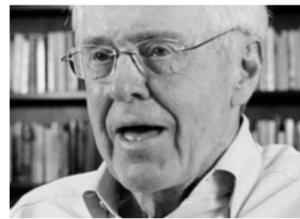
Estimates of David Koch's wealth range from less than \$40 billion to \$55 billion.

the world, their valuations for him range from \$75 billion to \$85 billion. The Spanish retailing giant Amancio Ortega ranks second with about \$74 billion.

But estimates for other billionaires vary widely. Bloomberg estimates Mr. Kamprad's fortune at about \$42 billion from his ownership of Ikea. Forbes, however, says that Mr. Kamprad is no longer a billionaire, having transferred his wealth to special entities "beyond his control." Bloomberg says its deeper reporting has found that the special entities, which include structures in Liechtenstein, are still under Mr. Kamprad's control — and so still count



Billionaire lists are unanimous that Bill Gates is the richest person in the world.



Forbes says Charles Koch has under \$40 billion, while Wealth-X says he has \$47 billion.

as his personal wealth. So Mr. Kamprad is worth either less than \$1 billion or more than \$42 billion, depending on a technical interpretation.

The Koch brothers' wealth is also hard to pin down. Forbes lists David and Charles Koch with just under \$40 billion each, while Bloomberg lists them as the fifth and sixth richest men in the world with \$55 billion each. Wealth-X says they are worth about \$47 billion each. It's unclear why the numbers vary by \$15 billion, but since Koch Industries is privately held rather than valued through a publicly traded stock, its valuation may be more subjective.

In the age of fast-moving wealth, these wealth research firms promote their fast reaction times. This month, Forbes announced that it was changing its estimate of net worth for Elizabeth Holmes, the founder of the embattled blood-testing company Theranos. Forbes said her \$4.5 billion net worth in 2015 was being marked down to zero because of the company's lower value.

Yet Bloomberg says it started marking down her wealth in February and changed it to zero in April as one of its West Coast reporters started picking up problems with Theranos's valuation.

Billionaires themselves often disagree with their public valuations. Some seek to be removed from the lists, fearing the exposure, and argue that their net worths are far lower. Others argue that their public valuations should be far higher.

"Billionaires owe their success to being competitive, so they're competitive about where they rank on the billionaire lists," Mr. Friedman said.

None may be more competitive about their wealth ranking than Donald J. Trump. Despite Mr. Trump's claims that his net worth exceeds \$10 billion, all of the wealth research firms put him far lower in rankings. While Hurun lists Mr. Trump's wealth at \$6.5 billion, Forbes says it is \$4.5 billion and Wealth-X has it at \$4.5 billion. Bloomberg pegged him at \$2.9 billion, which Mr. Trump called "a disgrace," blaming Michael R. Bloomberg.

As for Mr. Bloomberg, Forbes put his net worth at \$45 billion. But Mr. Bloomberg doesn't appear on Bloomberg's own billionaire list. The company says its policy "is not to cover" Mr. Bloomberg's company, Bloomberg L.P.

Robert Frank is CNBC wealth editor and the author of "Richistan."



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BUSINESS ECONOMY COMPANIES



Cheryl Lankford spent \$35,000 to learn Donald J. Trump's real estate secrets. Six years later, she says she has little to show for it other than a sense that she was taken advantage of.

Trump ventures said to take advantage

TRUMP, FROM PAGE 13

that he had been aware of the complaints against Cambridge, as well as Mr. Narod's censure by the securities industry.

"Don Jr. was hired for a very short time as a spokesperson to help our members with their personal branding, since he and his family build one of the biggest brands in the world," Mr. Narod said. "We believed that he could be essential to enhance their online presence."

COSTLY 'HONORS'

The "who's who" industry has a long and dubious history.

There are some well-established companies that publish directories of professionals in various fields, such as lawyers and top corporate executives. But there are many others that target people of little distinction, shower them with accolades and then try to sell them costly "honors" such as placement in a directory or wall plaques.

Cambridge and its subsidiary, Worldwide Branding, took the model a step further, adding the promise of branding — news releases, video biographies and a personalized web page — and networking with other Cambridge customers who paid a membership fee to join.

When Donald Trump Jr. began working with Cambridge, in 2010, the company had already had about 400 complaints filed against it with the Better Business Bureau since 2006. Scores more appeared in online consumer forums like Ripoff Report, where customers vented about misleading sales calls, worthless products and difficulty getting refunds. Many of the complaints describe a pattern of aggressively steering people into ever more expensive products.

A 69-year-old woman from Kansas reported that she had paid \$788 for services she claimed were "not worth \$50 collectively" while she was going through a divorce and "looking for a way to make a living, build a new life and expand my career through this organization." After she complained to the New York State attorney general's office, she eventually received a refund.

"I felt so stupid," the woman, identified only as "Pepper," wrote in an online posting. "My takeaway is this: all is not gold that glitters, and that includes the Trump name. Buyer beware!"

In Oregon, Phyllis Fread was in her 80s, dealing with Parkinson's disease and had been retired from teaching for

almost two decades when Cambridge started calling her at home, where she lived alone. Cambridge salespeople telephoned Ms. Fread — who did not use the internet — 42 times trying to sell her networking services, a website and other products she did not need, according to an investigation by the Oregon attorney general's office.

Over a two-year period, Cambridge charged her \$14,593 for a video biography, calendars, a plaque and other items, including a news release in June 2010 titled "Phyllis J. Fread Reveals Her Secret to a Long Career in Education." The release included a mention of Donald Trump Jr., saying he "was eager to share his extensive experience" with Cambridge clients.

Eventually, Ms. Fread reached her credit card limit and her son disconnected her telephone to stop Cambridge from calling. In a recorded interview with an investigator from the attorney general's office, Ms. Fread became emotional as she recalled how "there were

"We would basically say that Cambridge was a good company because Trump was involved in it."

all kinds of things they'd push and I'd say, 'I don't want it at all.'"

"I remember saying, 'Wait a minute, I don't need anything, I don't want anything.' And then you couldn't get a word in edgewise. I probably should have hung up," she said. "But I didn't."

Cambridge was accused by the state of Oregon of "unfair, deceptive and unconscionable practices" and settled without admitting guilt, issuing a refund to Ms. Fread in 2012. She died 18 months later.

Mr. Narod said many complaints about Cambridge stemmed from early "growing pains" before it transitioned from just a book-and-a-plaque vanity publisher to one that added branding services.

Cambridge — which in recent years has shifted its focus to finding customers outside the United States through a related venture called Worldwide Who's Who — has worked to improve its sales techniques and to better address complaints, he said. The latest Better Business Bureau records show close to 100 complaints in the last three years about Cambridge and Worldwide.

"It has been quite some time since

Cambridge has received negative comments, and we believe that is a testament to the strength of our products and the work that we did to make necessary operational improvements," Mr. Narod said.

A search of online records, as well as interviews, turned up dozens of members who also paid other companies licensed or endorsed by the Trumps, although Mr. Narod denied that the businesses exchanged customer leads. "We have never shared or sold our data with the Trump Organization, Trump University or Trump Network," he said.

What they did have in common were sales appeals that had a similar theme of offering help navigating the recession. Ads for Trump University referred to government bailouts for banks, and asked the question, "Who's helping you?" Similarly, Donald Trump Jr. went on Fox Business and said Cambridge clients "are people that the stimulus should be benefiting."

"It's a very difficult economy out there, a very difficult job market," he told TheStreet.com while discussing Cambridge. "And you really have to position yourself so you can take advantage of all those things properly."

Ms. Lankford, who heads her local Texas chapter of Gold Star Wives, which represents spouses of fallen soldiers, said she had lost money in the stock market collapse and decided to use an insurance payment from her husband's death to try to start her own business. Her husband, Jonathan M. Lankford, a command sergeant major in the Army, died in Baghdad in September 2007.

In late 2009, she responded to an appeal from Trump University, which promised to "turn anyone into a successful real estate investor" and paid for the full package of seminars. Soon, however, she found they were of little practical value and she began "calling them and asking for help."

"They ended up putting me in touch with some fellow out in California who tried to talk me into investing in trailer parks," she said. "It was a joke."

Cambridge, meanwhile, was supposed to help Ms. Lankford "create my brand" to promote her real estate efforts, and in some of the many calls she received over several years, the company's representative cited Donald Trump Jr.'s role, she said.

But after spending several thousand dollars — which got her, among other things, a wall plaque and a hard-to-find

web page — she said she received no meaningful benefits.

Ms. Lankford never filed complaints or pursued refunds, saying that it probably would have been fruitless, and that she was too busy raising her young son on her own and trying to rebuild her life. She came away from her experience believing both businesses were "all about taking money from people who don't have much to begin with."

THE PROMISE OF PROFITS

Besides Trump University, there were other Trump-connected enterprises that resonated with Cambridge members struggling to get ahead.

On one of several Cambridge websites for its members, a chat group created in 2010 titled "Making Money in a Recession" contained an appeal to join ACN, a multilevel marketer of telecommunications and energy services that was "endorsed by Donald Trump and was featured in an episode of 'Celebrity Apprentice,'" a television show that had Mr. Trump as host.

Mr. Trump's financial disclosure shows that he has collected more than \$1 million in speaking fees from ACN, which charged people \$499 to sell its products with the promise of profits for bringing in additional members, and has been the subject of numerous complaints.

There was also an appeal for the Trump Network, the marketer of vitamins and nutritional supplements to which Mr. Trump licensed his name. Originally called Ideal Health and rebranded in 2009, the Trump Network and its top salespeople lured those hit by the economic downturn, suggesting they could become rich through commissions for bringing in new recruits.

Christine Turner, a disabled nurse in upstate New York, said a friend persuaded her to spend "close to \$500" to get started with the Trump Network, but that it "didn't pan out" after she struggled to get others involved. She also paid to join Cambridge, attracted to the prospect of networking with other members, but that did not work either.

"I didn't have any good experiences with members coming or approaching me or asking for products," Ms. Turner said, adding that she did not hold her bad experiences against the Trumps.

"I was fine with it, even with losing a little bit of money," she said. "I really think that Donald Trump is a powerful businessman and I'm actually for him, I'm not afraid to say that."

Central bankers worry about life after 'Brexit'

MARKETS, FROM PAGE 13

And that is what worries analysts, who for some time now have been concerned that interventions by central banks were distorting markets by making them less liquid and creating anomalies such as what currently exists in Japan. There, the nation's central bank owns 34 percent of the country's government bonds and is one of the top 10 shareholders in 90 percent of the companies listed on the stock exchange, according to data from Bloomberg.

"Central banks have done everything to jury-rig markets," said Julian Bridgen of Macro Intelligence 2 Partners, an independent research company based in Vail, Colo., that advises large money management firms on global investment themes. "What makes you think they won't want to do more?"

Mr. Jen, the hedge fund manager, scoffed at the notion that the extraordinary central bank interventions of recent years were designed to stamp out deflationary threats and spark an increase in prices and economic activity in stagnant economies in Europe and Japan.

"We have plenty of inflation; it's just asset price inflation," he argued, referring to elevated equity, bond and housing markets that have been one consequence of these policies. "People can't live in cities anymore, and they are grumpy about their jobs."

In Britain, this dynamic has been particularly acute. As a result of aggressive central bank policies, house prices in London are among the most expensive in the world, yet the inflation-adjusted weekly average wage of 470 pounds, or about \$630, is still £20 lower than it was before the financial crisis, according to the Resolution Foundation, a British research organization.

Interestingly, one of the most vocal critics of central bank overreach has been the Bank for International Settlements itself.

In a speech, Jaime Caruana, the bank's managing director, said that extremely low interest rates were a threat to global financial stability as they "depress risk premia and stretch asset valuations."

The result, Mr. Caruana contended, was the threat of a "loss of confidence in policy making" and "unrealistic expectations about growth and the ability of present policies to lift global growth."

Mr. Caruana's message was clear enough. Persistent central bank interventions have not only created dangerous distortions, they have added to a

"Central banks have done everything to jury-rig markets. What makes you think they won't want to do more?"

sense of worldwide cynicism that these measures have not accomplished their central aims: lifting economic growth and increasing wages.

It is worth noting that Mr. Caruana is familiar with asset bubbles: He was the head of Spain's central bank a decade ago when reckless lending among the country's financial institutions resulted in a boom and eventual bust of Spanish property prices.

But, Mr. Bridgen said, central bankers will have a harder time justifying an intervention when the markets are going haywire because of an election upset somewhere.

Of course, bashing central bankers is always a popular and easy pastime for politicians, economists and investors alike.

It is also true that central bankers in Britain, Europe, Japan and the United States have consistently said that their actions have been forced by the unwillingness of politicians and governments to act themselves.

Distillery embraces its complicated past

WHISKEY, FROM PAGE 13

in which charcoal helped remove some of the sting from illicitly made alcohol.

Other contributions are even harder to pin down. Though slave owners tended to value their slaves' distilling prowess, they rarely documented how the slaves made such fine spirits.

Evidence often has to be found outside the archives. Recent archaeological work in Kentucky has uncovered material pointing to slave distilling at a number of sites, including the famed Pepper distillery near Frankfort and another operation owned by Jack Jouett, a Revolutionary War hero.

"It's like looking at slave distillers out of the corner of your eye," said Nicolas Laracuent, an archaeologist who has worked extensively at the site of Jouett's house. "The reason we're not finding them in the archives is that they didn't have the right to be recognized."

Mike Veach, a whiskey historian, said the influence of enslaved African distillers may explain a mystery in the development of American whiskey. Traces of German, Scots-Irish and English dis-

tilling traditions are evident in the American style, but there's much that can't be traced to an earlier source — a gap that slave traditions might fill.

"I don't know what role slaves would have played," Mr. Veach said, "but I'm sure it was there."

Fred Minnick, the author of "Bourbon Curious: A Simple Tasting Guide for the Savvy Drinker," said it's doubtful that a full accounting of enslaved people's contribution to American whiskey will ever be written. "It's extremely sad that these slave distillers will never get the credit they deserve," he said. "We likely won't ever even know their names."

Despite the recent attention from Jack Daniel's, Nearis Green's name is just a faint echo, even among several of his descendants who live in the area. Claude Eady, 91, who worked for the distillery from 1946 to 1989, said he was related to Green "on my mother's side," but didn't know much about him.

"I heard his name around," he said. "The only thing I knew was that he helped Jack Daniel make whiskey."



Visitors in Jack Daniel's office during a tour of the distillery. Recent archaeological work in Kentucky has uncovered material pointing to distilling by slaves at a number of sites.

Amazon to make big push into teaching tools, positioning itself as a disrupter

EDUCATION, FROM PAGE 13

Amazon is entering, is likely to prove much more valuable over time than the school computer market.

Already, nursery through high schools in the United States spend more than \$8.3 billion annually on educational software and digital content, according to estimates from the Software and Information Industry Association, a trade group. That spending could grow significantly as school districts that now buy physical textbooks, assessment tests, professional development resources for teachers and administrative materials shift to digital systems.

In a phone interview, Rohit Agarwal, general manager of Amazon K-12 Education, said the new site was intended to

make it easier and faster for teachers to pinpoint timely and relevant free resources for their classrooms.

"Every teacher should be able to use the platform with zero training," Mr. Agarwal said. He added: "We are taking a big step forward to help the educator community make the digital classroom a reality."

The site for teachers is not Amazon's first education venture. In 2013, the company acquired TenMarks, a math instruction site. (Mr. Patterson of Owl Ventures is also a partner at Catamount Ventures, a firm that was an investor in TenMarks.)

In March, the New York City public schools, the largest school district in the country, awarded Amazon a three-year

contract, worth an estimated \$30 million, to provide e-books to its 1.1 million students.

In the school market, however, Amazon is competing not just with rival tech companies but with established

"With the technology, content and expertise that Amazon has, we believed we could provide value."

digital education companies and education technology start-ups.

A number of popular platforms already offer instructional materials for teachers. Among them are tes.com, a

site based in London with more than eight million users worldwide, and teacherspayteachers.com, a site based in Manhattan that more than two million teachers use regularly.

Like Amazon Inspire, these sites let teachers search for materials by subject matter, like fractions or mitosis, and by grade level. Like Amazon Inspire, tes.com lets teachers download lessons and edit them to suit their students. Some resources on teacherspayteachers.com may also be edited.

Mr. Agarwal said the company's new instructional resources site would be able to differentiate itself by being more intuitive for teachers who are Amazon users and by offering compelling new features.

"With the technology, content and expertise that Amazon has, we believed we could provide value," he said.

Amazon timed its announcement to coincide with ISTE, the annual conference of the International Society for Technology in Education, which about 16,000 teachers and school officials are attending in Denver this week. Other tech giants also unveiled new education ventures during the conference.

On Sunday, Microsoft said that it was working with ISTE to help schools introduce and integrate technology in the classroom. The project includes training programs for school administrators, online leadership courses developed with edX — a learning platform created by Harvard and the Massachusetts In-

stitute of Technology — and services to support schools as they adopt digital learning approaches.

On Monday, Google said it was making Expeditions, a free virtual reality app for students that has been available on a limited basis to schools, generally available. More than one million students tried the app during its test phase, the company said.

Google also introduced two new products for schools: Quizzes, an online form that teachers can use to give tests and automatically grade multiple choice questions; and Cast for Education, a free Chrome app intended to promote class discussion by enabling teachers and students to share what is on their screens with one another.

DEALBOOK

FINANCE MARKETS BUSINESS

How housing's new players spiraled into banks' old mistakes

BY MATTHEW GOLDSTEIN,
RACHEL ABRAMS AND BEN PROTESS

When the housing crisis sent the U.S. economy to the brink of disaster in 2008, millions of people lost their homes. The banking system had failed homeowners and their families.

New investors soon swept in — mainly private equity firms — promising to do better.

But some of these new investors are repeating the mistakes that banks committed throughout the housing crisis, an investigation by The New York Times has found. They are quickly foreclosing on homeowners. They are losing families' mortgage paperwork, much as the banks did. And many of these practices were enabled by the federal government, which sold tens of thousands of discounted mortgages to private equity investors, while making few demands on how they treated struggling homeowners.

The rising importance of private equity in the housing market is one of the most consequential transformations of the post-crisis U.S. financial landscape. A home, after all, is the single largest investment most families will ever make.

Private equity firms, and the mortgage companies they own, face less oversight than the banks. And yet they are the cleanup crew for the worst housing crisis since the Great Depression.

Out of the more than a dozen private equity firms operating in the housing industry, The Times examined three of the largest to assess their effect on homeowners and renters.

Lone Star Funds' mortgage operation has aggressively pushed thousands of homeowners toward foreclosure, according to housing data, interviews with borrowers and records obtained through a Freedom of Information request. Lone Star ranks among the country's biggest buyers of delinquent mortgages from the government and banks.

Nationstar Mortgage, which leapt over big banks to become the fourth-largest collector of mortgage bills, repeatedly lost loan files and failed to detect errors in other documents. These mistakes, according to confidential regulatory records from a 2014 examination, put "borrowers at significant risk of servicing and foreclosure abuses."

In the rental market, The Times found, other big private equity firms largely bypassed the nation's poorest neighborhoods as they scooped up and renovated foreclosed homes across the country. Those firms include the Blackstone Group LP, now the nation's largest private landlord of rental houses.

These practices point to shortcomings of the government's response to the housing crisis. Rather than enact sweeping changes to housing policy, the



Shane Hunter, Kelly McCoy and their children at their Ashland, Ore., home. Nationstar Mortgage, the fourth-largest collector of mortgage bills, oversaw the foreclosure on the previous owners.

government largely handed the problems to a new set of companies.

For private equity firms, which specialize in buying companies at a bargain, the housing market was just their latest investment in a distressed asset. These firms, unlike banks, raise money for their deals from pension funds.

Buried in a confidential bond document, in a jumble of legalese, Lone Star explains to investors one way it profits from delinquent loans. Lone Star's mortgage subsidiary will lower a borrower's monthly payment if "the net present value of a modification is greater than the net present value of a foreclosure, loan sale or short sale."

Translation: If foreclosing on a homeowner is the most profitable option, Lone Star is likely to foreclose.

In a statement, Caliber Home Loans, Lone Star's mortgage servicing subsidi-

ary, said that "modifying a nonperforming loan for a borrower is almost always the most profitable option for a lender, and Caliber is incentivized to pursue that outcome."

Yet Lone Star and Caliber have foreclosed on more than 14 percent of the

The failure to detect previous errors has put "borrowers at significant risk of servicing and foreclosure abuses."

17,000 loans the firm picked up at auction from the Department of Housing and Urban Development in 2014, according to an analysis of loan filings that RealtyTrac performed for The Times. Caliber is now moving toward foreclosing on at least another 3,200.

Caliber and Lone Star have largely opted not to participate in government programs that encourage mortgage modifications. To date, Caliber has received just \$3.3 million in payments from the Treasury Department for modifying loans in compliance with the federal Home Affordable Modification Program.

In contrast with Caliber, most banks have participated more fully in the government modification program, as has Nationstar, which has received \$158 million in payments.

Inside Nationstar's headquarters on the outskirts of Dallas, government regulators made an alarming discovery — and then another one, and another.

The regulators, who gathered at Nationstar in 2014 for what should have been a routine examination, found "inaccurate information" in customer loan

files, according to confidential documents reviewed by The Times. Nationstar, which became a huge mortgage bill collector in recent years, often failed to detect these errors "until the foreclosure process is underway." Some of the breakdowns, the documents said, "placed consumers at significant risk of servicing and foreclosure abuses."

The examination, conducted by more than 15 states and the federal Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, showed the flaws of private equity's new role in the mortgage market. Nationstar, controlled by the Fortress Investment Group, was repeating some of the banking industry's mistakes.

Authorities are investigating Nationstar based on the 2014 exam, and it could face an enforcement action this year.

Wesley Edens, a founder of Fortress, Nationstar's private equity backer,

maintains that the servicer has performed better than the banks it replaced.

Since buying some of the banks' most troubled assets, Nationstar has overseen a 50 percent decline in delinquent loans, though those improvements coincided with a broader recovery in housing.

The recent history of Sheri Cellini's ranch-style home in Ashland, Oregon, reflects private equity's new dominance. By the time their home was foreclosed on in 2013, and after the family tried in vain to lower monthly payments, the Cellinis had bounced from one mortgage firm to another.

The company that oversaw their foreclosure was Nationstar.

Another family took over the Cellinis' house, winning it through an online auction platform called Homesearch. That family then obtained a mortgage through a company called Greenlight Loans.

The companies all have different names and different roles, but all three are essentially the same company. Homesearch and Greenlight are owned by Nationstar.

The whirl of transactions illustrates how Nationstar can control nearly every stage of the mortgage process, posing potential conflicts of interest as it earns fees along the way. Nationstar collects bills and, when people don't pay, can foreclose on homes. Nationstar earns fees auctioning those homes through Homesearch.

Ads on Homesearch direct bidders to Greenlight.

Nationstar then collects on new mortgages, bringing the process full circle.

Blackstone, one of the largest private equity firms, owns 125 homes in Ruskin, Florida, just south of Tampa, that it operates as rentals.

In making such a large investment in housing — \$9 billion buying and renovating mainly foreclosed homes over the last four years — Blackstone effectively bet on which communities would emerge from the housing crisis as winners.

It bet correctly. The firm, which now owns about 50,000 homes in 14 markets, recently reported that the fund holding its Invitation Homes rental subsidiary has generated a 23 percent annualized return for its investors.

More broadly, private equity's investment in housing helped stabilize home prices across the country. The Obama administration supported private investment in foreclosed homes, with Timothy Geithner, then the Treasury secretary, remarking in 2011 that it would "support neighborhood and home price stability."

Les Neuhaus contributed reporting. Susan Beachy, Alain Delaquerrière and Doris Burke contributed research.

World markets				
United States	Last	Chg	12 mo.%	
U.S. Dow Jones indus.	17,138.56	-262.19	-4.6	
U.S. S&P 500	2,000.70	-36.71	-5.1	
U.S. S&P 100	887.10	-13.41	-4.4	
U.S. Nasdaq composite	4,597.70	-110.28	-10.2	
U.S. NYSE composite	9,972.84	-210.67	-9.9	
U.S. Russell 2000	1,093.49	-34.05	-14.8	

The Americas				
Country	IPC	Last	Chg	12 mo.%
Mexico	IPC	44,177.88	-707.94	-2.7
Canada	S&P/TSX	13,674.50	-217.38	-8.5
Brazil	Bovespa	49,276	-829.26	-8.5
Argentina	Merval	13,654.20	-270.34	+18.2
Chile	Stock Market select	3,965.17	unch.	+1.5

Europe and Middle East				
Country	Index	Last	Chg	12 mo.%
Euro zone	Euro Stoxx 50	2,697.44	-78.65	-25.3
Britain	FTSE 100	5,982.20	-156.49	-12.6
Germany	DAX	9,268.66	-288.50	-19.2
France	CAC 40	3,984.72	-122.01	-21.0
Italy	FTSE MIB	15,103.58	-620.23	-35.6
Spain	IBEX 35	7,645.50	-142.20	-32.5
Switzerland	SIX	7,594.49	-152.69	-16.4
Sweden	OMX 30	1,246.10	-114.63	-22.7
Russia	RTS	888.78	-23.71	-6.6
Czech Rep.	Prague Stock Exch.	790.09	-29.49	-19.6
Israel	TA-25	1,382.79	-4.41	-17.8

Asia				
Country	Index	Last	Chg	12 mo.%
Japan	Nikkei 225	15,209.21	+357.19	-26.6
H.K.	Hang Seng	20,227.30	-31.83	-26.2
Australia	All Ordinaries	5,216.23	+23.40	-8.0
China	Shanghai composite	2,895.52	+41.24	-38.3
S. Korea	Kospi	1,926.85	+16.61	-7.6
India	S&P CNX Nifty	8,101.20	+12.60	-3.1
Taiwan	Taiwan S&P	8,458.87	+8.12	-21.0
Singapore	Strait Times	2,729.85	-5.54	-18.5
Thailand	SET	1,424.62	+11.43	-6.2
Indonesia	Jakarta composite	4,836.05	+1.48	-2.4

Exchange rates					
Major currencies	\$1	Chg.	€1	Chg.	
Euro	0.907	0.007	-	-1.199	-0.031
Dollar	-	-	1.102	-0.009	1.321
Pound	0.757	0.026	0.834	0.022	-
Swiss franc	0.979	0.006	1.079	-0.003	1.294
Yen	101.62	-0.570	111.99	-1.590	134.25

World 100				
Company	Last	Chg	12 mo.%	52-wk price range
U.S.	167.1	-2.0	+6.1	137.0
3M	58.81	-1.05	-15.0	48.27
AbbVie	109.9	-1.6	+12.4	92.1
Accenture	218.7	-7.0	-29.1	201.7
Alkermat (A.sh)	676.5	-8.7	+21.1	540.0
Altria Group	67.60	+0.58	+38.0	60.02
Amazon.com	687.5	-11.5	+56.0	429.7
Amgen	145.0	-1.4	-9.3	132.2
Apple	91.97	-1.44	-28.2	91.80
AT&T	42.00	+0.48	+17.4	34.34
Bank of America	12.29	-0.72	-29.8	11.16
Boehringer Ingelheim	207.90	-19.22	-1.2	187.00
Bosch	123.6	-2.9	-13.2	108.4
British Airways	70.79	+0.18	+6.0	57.30
Celgene	95.14	-1.15	-20.1	96.29
Chevron	100.1	-1.8	+0.9	70.0
Cisco Systems	27.33	-0.42	-4.1	22.51
Citigroup	38.87	-1.44	-31.4	34.98
Colson	43.61	-0.32	+8.5	37.99
Comcast	62.19	+0.54	+14.1	53.0
Cyber Health	93.28	-1.6	-11.3	89.65
Eli Lilly	73.63	-0.70	-10.5	69.06
Exxon Mobil	88.40	-0.99	+4.4	68.71
Facebook	109.1	-3.0	+22.8	82.1
General Electric	29.54	-0.28	+8.3	23.27
Global Electronics	79.03	-1.44	-35.2	80.47
Home Depot	124.4	-2.0	+17.0	110.5
Homeplus	11.4	-1.6	+7.0	9.6
IBM	143.5	-3.1	+11.9	127.9
Intel	30.73	-0.83	-3.7	25.87
Johnson & J.	116.1	+0.4	+16.8	90.47
JPMorgan Chase	57.58	-2.03	-16.6	53.07
Kraft Heinz	83.47	-0.26	+11.4	69.20
MasterCard	89.21	-2.26	-6.6	80.65
McDonald's	116.9	-2.5	+21.0	91.2
Metricom	81.82	-1.44	+8.7	64.52
Merck	55.42	-0.46	-4.8	48.42

Interest rates				
10-year gov't	Ask yield	Chg	12 mo. ago	
Britain	1.088%	-0.29	2.184%	
France	0.372	-0.07	1.292	
Germany	-0.039	-0.13	0.916	
Japan	-0.209	unch.	0.462	
United States	1.497	0.03	2.473	

Futures					
Agricultural	City	Units	Delivery	Last	Chg
Corn	Chicago	\$/bu.	July	3.88	+0.04
Cotton	N.Y.	\$/lb.	July	0.64	unch.
Soybeans	Chicago	\$/bu.	July	11.35	+0.32
Wheat	Chicago	\$/bu.	July	4.51	-0.04
Rice	Chicago	\$/cwt	July	10.85	+0.09
Cocoa	N.Y.	\$/ton	July	3,040.00	-30.00
Coffee	N.Y.	\$/lb.	July	1.34	unch.
Sugar	N.Y.	cts./lb.	July	19.54	+0.54
Orange juice	N.Y.	cts./lb.	July	161.80	-4.50

Metals, energy					
Commodity	City	Units	Delivery	Last	Chg
Aluminum	London	\$/m. ton	3 mo.	161.750	-2450
Copper	N.Y.	\$/lb.	July	2.12	+0.01
Gold	N.Y.	\$/tr.oz.	Aug.	1,323.40	+1.00
Palladium	N.Y.	\$/tr.oz.	Sep.	551.60	+5.15
Platinum	N.Y.	\$/tr.oz.	July	980.90	-5.20
Silver	N.Y.	\$/tr.oz.	July	17.73	-0.06
Brent crude	London	\$/bbl.	Aug.	47.10	-1.31
Light sw. crude	N.Y.	\$/bbl.	Aug.	46.31	-1.33
Natural gas	N.Y.	\$/min.BTUx	3 mo.	2.69	+0.03

3-month gov't				
Country	Ask yield	Chg	12 mo. ago	
Britain	0.389%	-0.06	0.470%	
France	-0.577	-0.02	-0.205	
Germany	-0.703	-0.06	-0.326	
Japan	-0.312	-0.05	-0.008	
United States	0.241	-0.03	-0.005	

Cross rates					
Country	\$1	€1	¥100	One Swiss franc	One Can. doll.
Australia	1.361	1.498	1.796	1.336	1.039
Brazil	3.403	3.751	4.496	3.346	0.552
Canada (overnight)	n.a.	0.75 (Jul. 16)	0.1	0.8	0.8
Euro zone (refinancing)	0.5	0.05 (Mar. 16)	0.1	0.1	0.1
Japanese (overnight)	0.1	0.1 (Jun. 25)	0.1	0.1	0.1
United States (prime)	3.5	3.25 (Dec. 17)	3.3		

The Americas				
Country	\$1	Chg.	€1	Chg.
Argentina peso	14.998	0.086	16.528	-0.039
Brazilian real	3.403	0.030	3.751	0.003
Canadian dollar	1.307	0.007	1.441	-0.004
Chilean peso	681.49	2.880	751.00	-2.934
Mexican peso	19.150	0.229	21.101	0.070
Venezuelan bolivar	9.975	unch.	10.992	-0.090

Middle East and Africa				
Country	\$1	Chg.	€1	Chg.
Egyptian pound	8.880	unch.	9.786	-0.080
Israeli shekel	3.884	0.010	4.280	-0.024
Saudi riyal	3.748	-0.002	4.130	-0.036
South African rand	15.470	0.410	17.051	0.312

Europe				
Country	\$1	Chg.	€1	Chg.
A&B Indev (BE)	109.5	-0.9	-3.5	91.3
Bayer (DE)	86.99	-0.66	-35.0	84.42
BP (GB)	399.8	+6.2	-9.1	311.0
Brit. Am. Tob.(GB)	4.437	+5.2	+23.2	3.505
Deutsche Telekom(DE)	13.98	+0.08	-14.1	14.04
Glaxo (GB)	1.508	+2.6	+9.0	1.238
HSBC (GB)	438.0	-10.0	-27.3	

BUSINESS

TRUSTING A SALES PITCH WITH THE TRUMP NAME

PAGE 13 | BUSINESS FRONT



Robert Fornaro, the new chief executive of Spirit Airlines, said he wanted the carrier to be perceived as "on-time, friendly, clean and efficient."

Spirit aims to grow up a little

Itineraries

ANNALYN KURTZ

It's the airline that had unabashedly advertised its product as a "cheap seat for a cheap ass."

But now, amid increased competition from larger, more mature airlines, Spirit Airlines is ready to shake off its bad-boy streak and grow up a little.

Spirit, based in South Florida, has been known for its cheap flights and no-frills passenger experience, as well as its unconventional, and often sexually provocative, marketing campaigns over the last few years.

That was all part of the no-apologies, no-excuses attitude of the previous chief executive, Ben Baldanza, whom Spirit's board replaced in January. High numbers of customer complaints, Mr. Baldanza liked to say, come with the cheap-fare territory. It was an approach modeled on the Irish budget airline Ryanair, which became one of Europe's largest airlines — but perhaps most reviled — by taking a cattle-car approach to regional air travel.

You get what you pay for, was the Spirit spirit. And for everything else, you pay extra. The airline led the way in charging travelers extra fees to check a bag or even carry on a bag, or to do much of anything else besides sitting in the cramped cheap seats. Spirit has also become a pacesetter in other traveler-unfriendly categories, routinely achieving the industry's highest rate of consumer complaints and worst on-time performance.

But the new chief executive, Robert Fornaro, six months into his job, says he is ready to put a new face on Spirit and a new emphasis on customer service. The makeover also includes toning down the frat-boy image, cleaning up the cabins and maybe even getting more planes to arrive on time.

Last week Mr. Fornaro was in New York trying to sell his strategy to investors, analysts and reporters.

"There is a big change in terms of focusing on our operations," Mr. Fornaro said in an interview. "This is how we want to be viewed: on-time, friendly, clean and efficient."

The question is whether Mr. Fornaro, a longtime industry executive, can improve the airline's operations and reputation while maintaining the low fares.

Spirit is still small but has grown quickly since adopting its low-cost ap-

proach 10 years ago, increasing its number of passengers by 27 percent last year alone, to 16 million — although, by that measure, it still ranks far behind the market leaders in the United States.

The growth came despite the array of extra fees beyond the basic ticket price. Need a boarding pass? Print it at home, otherwise there's a \$2 charge to pick it up at an airport kiosk.

Need to store a carry-on in the overhead compartment? That'll be \$35 up front when you book your flight, or \$100 if you wait until you're at the gate.

When the beverage cart rolls down the aisle, a can of soda will set you back \$3.

Spirit flies from all but three of the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the United States and plans to announce service in additional, still undisclosed, mid-size markets later this year. It also flies to the Caribbean and Central America.

Only about 2 percent of domestic passengers flew on Spirit planes last year — compared to 16 percent on Delta, 13 percent on American Airlines and 10 percent on United, according to the Department of Transportation. But it costs the larger carriers at least 14 cents to fly each passenger one

mile, while Spirit's costs are only half that rate. No wonder those three big legacy carriers have taken notice and are responding with no-frills products of their own. Last year, Delta introduced what it called "basic economy" fares. The tickets cannot be changed or refunded after a 24-hour period and do not include advance seat assignments. United and American Airlines have said they plan to introduce similar entry-level fares this year.

"That basic economy fare can be competitive with the ultra low-cost guys," said Helene Becker, an airline analyst at Cowen and Company. "As a leisure customer, if I can fly Delta for the same price as Spirit, and Delta has the better on-time ratings, why wouldn't I fly Delta?"

The answer might depend on where a traveler is trying to go. Based on fares recently offered on Spirit's website for a long weekend in Chicago, flying from New York's LaGuardia Airport on Friday evening, July 15 and returning the following Monday morning, a flyer would pay \$211. But add a carry-on bag, and the price

goes up to \$280. The comparable United ticket, which includes a carry-on at no extra charge, is not significantly higher: \$314 on the United website.

But flying that same weekend from LaGuardia to Myrtle Beach, S.C., and back, would make Spirit look like a much better bet. The ticket would be \$161, or \$231 with a carry-on. The next cheapest round-trip fare to Myrtle Beach is offered by American Airlines, and it costs a lot more — \$432 — and includes a layover in Charlotte, according to American's website.

Mr. Fornaro, who led the budget carrier AirTran Airlines until its merger with Southwest Airlines in 2010, argues that he can improve on-time and complaint ratings, without incurring higher costs.

By paying to improve operations, he said, the airline would cut down on the expenses — like fees it incurs when it has to reimburse passengers for canceled flights. It would also cut down on overtime needed to pay staff who work longer hours amid delays.

Mr. Fornaro's predecessor, Mr. Baldanza, who led the company for a decade, was so focused on keeping costs low that he resorted to what he called "shock marketing."

The email and web campaigns were cheap to produce but attracted major media attention for their unconventional, sometimes raunchy, tone.

"Those days are gone," Mr. Fornaro said. "You're still going to see a lot of quirky, edgy advertising, but I don't see any benefit of poking the customer in the eye."

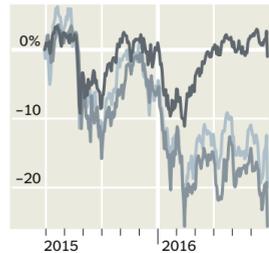
Mr. Fornaro also said the key to lowering customer complaints would be to reduce surprises for first-time Spirit fliers.

About two-thirds of Spirit's passengers book their tickets directly through the company's website, so they tend to already be aware about the various extra fees, he said. It's the one-third of customers who book their flights through third-party sites that often arrive at the airport only to be surprised that they'll be charged for any extras.

Spirit has started sending emails to its third-party customers to explain the fee structure and offer 24 hours to cancel. That kind of outreach could become even more important as the company expands to more markets later this year.

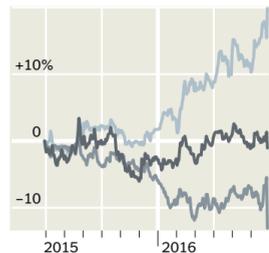
"They have a big problem — many people try Spirit because they're attracted to the low fare, but then they don't come back," said Julie Yates, an airline analyst at Credit Suisse. "Bob is softening the overall approach to be more friendly. Over time, that should help them retain more customers."

STOCK INDEXES



INDEX	52-week
UNITED STATES S&P 500	2,000.70 -36.71 -5.1%
EUROPE Euro Stoxx 50	2,697.44 -78.65 -25.3
JAPAN Nikkei 225	15,309.21 +357.19 -26.6

CURRENCIES



CURRENCY	52-week
EURO €1= \$1.10	-0.009 -2.0%
YEN ¥100= \$0.98	+0.005 +2.6
POUND £1= \$1.32	-0.047 -16.1

COMMODITIES



COMMODITY	52-week
OIL Nymex light sw. crude	\$46.31 a barrel -1.33 -20.4%
GOLD New York	\$1,323.30 a tr. oz. +1.50 +12.2
CORN Chicago	\$3.88 a bushel +0.05 +2.0

Data as of 1600 U.T.C. Source: Reuters. Graphs: Custom Flow Solutions

REUTERS BREAKINGVIEWS

Pound's decline is threat to British growth

The spectacular slide of the British pound will give way to more misery. After voting to leave the European Union, Britain faces an economic slowdown that will warrant more monetary easing, a pickup in inflation and huge political uncertainty. This is a toxic mix for any currency, even one that has already slumped to its lowest point against the dollar in three decades.

The shocking outcome of the European Union referendum sparked a wave of selling on Friday that saw the pound suffer its biggest one-day drop against the dollar. The weakness was broad based: A trade-weighted measure of its value has slumped nearly 9 percent in the two trading days after the vote. While the speed of the drop is unsustainable, the slide itself has further to go. Currency options are showing a firm preference to sell sterling for dollars and euros for the year ahead.

Traders suspect an economic slowdown lies ahead and will drive the pound down as the scale of the deceleration becomes clearer. Economists put

the chances of a recession in the coming year at better than even, according to a Reuters poll. Money markets are therefore pricing in a growing chance that the Bank of England governor, Mark J. Carney, will have to ease monetary policy again before the end of the year.

Granted, even if they are slashed by a half percentage point to zero, British interest rates will still be higher than rates in the eurozone or Japan. But they may be less attractive after adjusting for inflation, since the fall in the pound is likely to fuel a pickup in consumer prices by making foreign goods more expensive in pound terms.

There is huge political uncertainty, with both the governing Conservatives and the opposition Labour Party split by huge rifts. Then there's Britain's current-account deficit of 5.2 percent of gross domestic product, the widest among advanced economies. This shortfall leaves the country at the mercy of foreign investors. Right now, they don't have much reason to show clemency. SWAHA PATTANAIAK

Italy shouldn't use chaos to ignore bank rules

Italy appears to be using the chaos from Britain's vote to leave the European Union as a sort of modern Saturnalia, the annual carnival in Ancient Rome when rules and social norms were cast aside. It wants to pump money into its banks and ignore rules that came into force this year that require creditors of failing banks to be bailed in, according to Il Fatto Quotidiano.

It's easy to see the appeal of such a move. Italy's banks are saddled with over 300 billion euros, or \$330 billion, of bad debt, which is a drag on growth. The rules against state aid forced banks to create a private sector bailout fund to rescue lenders, but this is small, and weakens the stronger banks. A mooted €40 billion bailout would help banks write down loans to be sold and lend again.

However desirable, it's not clear how that would square with European rules under the Bank Recovery and Resolution Directive, and competition rules requiring that banks receiving state capital are restructured and creditors take losses before governments inject capital.

True, the rules do come with exemptions, though that is supposed to apply for systemic banking crises: that is not

the case here. While bank stocks have fallen, investors may see this as a buying opportunity.

Italy could instead use the Brexit vote to overhaul Europe's overly-rigid fiscal rules, which discourage investment. It could also pressure Germany to complete a half-baked banking union. Eurozone banks have transferred authority to the European Central Bank, but they have not obtained a common guarantee for deposits in return, because northern European countries fear the exposure of banks in places like Italy or Spain to their respective sovereigns.

Brexit may provide a remedy of sorts. It is likely to force the European Central Bank to buy sovereign debt for many years, which will in turn make it easier for banks to sell their sovereign bond holdings. Italy could also use the generalized chaos to bind Germany to a hard commitment for a deposit backstop. Unlike breaking the state-aid rules, that would show the eurozone is moving forward, not backward.

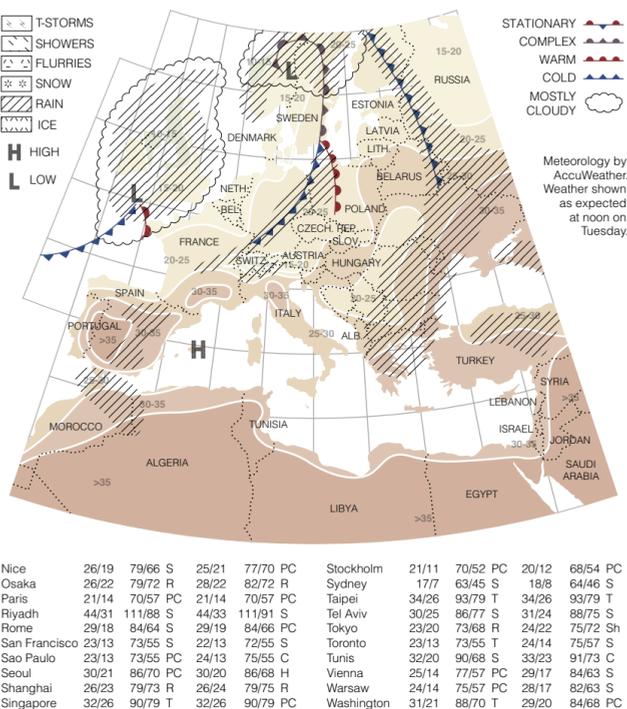
NEIL UNMACK
REUTERS
For more independent commentary and analysis, visit www.breakingviews.com

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

	Tuesday	Wednesday
	C F	C F
Abu Dhabi	42/31 108/88	44/31 111/88
Almaty	25/15 77/59	Sh 31/16 88/61
Athens	33/25 91/77	S 31/23 88/73
Bangkok	31/24 88/75	T 30/25 86/77
Barcelona	26/20 79/68	PC 26/20 79/68
Beijing	27/20 81/68	T 31/21 88/70
Belgrade	23/16 73/61	T 28/17 82/63
Berlin	23/14 73/57	PC 25/14 77/57
Boston	27/19 81/66	C 26/18 79/64
Brussels	19/13 66/55	PC 18/14 64/57
Buenos Aires	13/5 55/41	PC 17/9 63/48
Cairo	35/24 95/75	S 37/25 99/77
Chicago	22/13 72/55	S 27/16 81/61
Frankfurt	22/14 72/57	PC 23/14 73/57
Geneva	26/15 79/59	S 25/16 77/61
Hong Kong	33/28 91/82	Sh 33/29 91/84
Istanbul	31/23 88/73	PC 30/23 86/73
Jakarta	33/25 91/77	PC 32/24 90/75
Johannesburg	19/3 66/37	S 19/3 66/37
Karachi	36/30 97/86	S 37/28 99/82
Kiev	27/17 81/63	T 27/17 81/63
Lagos	27/24 81/75	C 28/24 84/75
Lisbon	30/17 86/63	S 28/16 79/61
London	18/11 64/52	R 17/13 63/55
Los Angeles	33/17 91/63	PC 32/17 90/63
Madrid	34/19 93/66	PC 35/19 95/66
Manila	33/26 91/79	T 33/26 91/79
Mexico City	23/12 73/54	T 22/13 72/55
Miami	33/25 91/77	T 32/25 90/77
Moscow	23/12 73/54	PC 24/15 75/59
Mumbai	30/26 86/79	R 29/27 84/81
Nairobi	23/12 73/54	PC 23/12 73/54
New Delhi	37/29 99/84	C 38/29 100/84
New York	27/20 81/68	T 29/20 84/68



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