



International New York Times

TUESDAY, JULY 26, 2016



NICE, FRANCE A memorial on the promenade where 84 people were killed on Bastille Day.



ANSBACH, GERMANY Searching the apartment of a Syrian who blew himself up on Sunday.



MUNICH An 18-year-old Iranian-German man shot and killed nine people on Friday.



REUTLINGEN, GERMANY A Syrian refugee killed a pregnant woman with a machete Sunday.

Attacks fuel divisions in an anxious Europe

LONDON

Deadly summer surge shows there are no easy answers against terror

BY STEVEN ERLANGER

Nearly every day seems to bring a new horror to the streets of Western Europe, leaving innocent men, women and children dead or broken, fueling political and social tensions and creating what some are already calling the summer of anxiety.

Death and injury have been dealt out

NEWS ANALYSIS

by truck, ax, handgun, machete and bomb. The victims have ranged from families out for a night of fireworks on the glittering French Riviera to teenagers hanging out at a McDonald's, tourists on a train and pop music fans at a Sunday-night concert.

Three of five attackers in less than two weeks professed loyalty to the Islamic State, but none appear to have been directed by the radical group, and all of the assaults seemed to blur the line between ideological terrorism and violence driven by anger, grudge or mental instability.

That very murkiness — the absence of a centrally organized plot or a singular villain to blame — has made it all the more difficult for France, Germany and the rest of Europe to know how to respond. Finding answers is in part a familiar security and intelligence challenge. But it is also in some cases a problem of immigration, assimilation and tolerance. And it is a reminder of the lure of the burst of fame, or infamy, available to troubled, violence-prone people in an age of social media and instant global communication.

The lack of straightforward answers makes things trickier at a time of political flux in Europe. Even before the latest string of attacks, the Continent was seeing a rise in nationalist and anti-immigrant sentiment, and far-right parties were using the atmosphere to try to gain new legitimacy and power. Populist, anti-immigration sentiment was a powerful factor in Britain's vote to leave the European Union.

The recent surge in high-profile violence has only given further opportunities to advocates of taking a tougher line on immigration by Muslims, in many ways echoing the platform being promoted by Donald J. Trump in his presidential campaign in the United States. Over the weekend, Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary spoke highly of Mr. Trump, saying the Republican nominee's proposals for fighting terrorism were just what Europe needed.

In France, which displayed remarkable unity after two terrorist attacks in 2015, there has been growing political infighting and finger-pointing since the July 14 attack in Nice that killed 84 people.

EUROPE, PAGE 3

THE COSTS OF STAYING ON HIGH ALERT

The deployment of soldiers across France is weighing on military morale, Celestine Bohlen writes. PAGE TWO

Bomber in Germany is linked to Islamic State

ANSBACH, GERMANY

Syrian, denied asylum, pledged loyalty to group before suicide attack

BY MELISSA EDDY

A 27-year-old Syrian who blew himself up on Sunday evening outside a wine bar in southern Germany, injuring 15 people, had recorded a cellphone video in which he professed loyalty to the Islamic State, officials said on Monday.

The man, who entered Germany in 2014 but was denied asylum, set off an explosion around 10 p.m. on Sunday on the terrace of a wine bar in the city of Ansbach, beside the entrance to an open-air music festival that was attended by about 2,000 people. Of the 15 people wounded in the blast, four were hospitalized with serious injuries.

It was the second attack in one week in Germany linked to the Islamic State: On July 18, in Würzburg, a 17-year-old Afghan refugee wielding an ax wounded four passengers on a train and then a woman walking her dog before police officers fatally shot him.

The attacks have profoundly disturbed a country that has prided itself on its ability to integrate migrants — enabled in part by its robust economy — and on its commitment to tolerance and openness.

Even before the attack in Ansbach, two other violent assaults — seemingly unrelated to the Islamic State — had dominated the news: On Friday, a mentally disturbed 18-year-old shot nine people to death in Munich before killing himself, and earlier Sunday, a 21-year-



Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière in Berlin on Monday as he spoke about the attack.

old Syrian refugee killed a woman with a machete in Reutlingen, in the southwestern state of Baden-Württemberg.

On Monday afternoon, the Islamic State claimed responsibility for the Ansbach attack via its Amaq News Agency, calling the bomber a “soldier” who had acted in retaliation against the United States-led coalition fighting the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. The language was nearly identical to that used by the Islamic State after the attacks in Würzburg; in Nice, France; and in other places where the group has directed or inspired attacks.

Shortly before the Islamic State's statement, Joachim Herrmann, the interior minister of the state of Bavaria, GERMANY, PAGE 3

Russia accused of playing in U.S. politics

WASHINGTON

BY DAVID E. SANGER
AND NICOLE PERLROTH

An unusual question is capturing the attention of cyberspecialists, Russia experts and Democratic Party leaders in Philadelphia: Is Vladimir V. Putin trying to meddle in the American presidential election?

Until Friday, that charge, with its eerie suggestion of a Kremlin conspiracy to aid Donald J. Trump, has been only whispered.

But the release on Friday of some 20,000 stolen emails from the Democratic National Committee's computer servers, many of them embarrassing to Democratic leaders, has intensified discussion of the role of Russian intelligence agencies in disrupting the 2016 campaign.

The emails, released first by a supposed hacker and later by WikiLeaks, exposed the degree to which the Democratic apparatus favored Hillary Clinton over her primary rival, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, and led to the resignation of Debbie Wasserman Schultz, the party chairwoman, on the eve of the convention's first day.

Proving the source of a cyberattack is notoriously difficult. But researchers

have concluded that the national committee was breached by two Russian intelligence agencies, which were the same attackers behind previous Russian cyberoperations at the White House, the State Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff last year. And metadata from the released emails suggests that the documents passed through Russian computers. Though a hacker claimed re-

RUSSIA, PAGE 4

Despite a series of obstacles, Tesla chief sticks to his mission

FREMONT, CALIF.

BY MATT RICHTER

Elon Musk, the chief executive of Tesla Motors, sat in a glass-walled conference room here last week in the company's auto factory. Around him, workers and robots were building the \$70,000 luxury vehicles that have redefined how people think about electric cars.

But autos are just one of Mr. Musk's many projects. A South African-born billionaire and entrepreneur, he is the top investor in the largest provider of rooftop solar power in the United States,

runs a private rocket company, and in a blog post last week pledged to create a ride-sharing car service and battery-powered trucks and buses.

And then there is his plan for the world's largest battery factory. The so-called Gigafactory, in Nevada, is to be unveiled this week. “What's going to be really crazy about the Gigafactory is not just that it's giant,” Mr. Musk said. “You can't change the world with tiny factories that move slowly. We need big factories with high-velocity output.”

Scale and speed are watchwords for Mr. Musk and his save-the-world view

MUSK, PAGE 16



The completed section of the so-called Gigafactory in Nevada, which Tesla says will eventually put out more lithium-ion batteries each year than were produced globally in all of 2013.

INSIDE TODAY'S PAPER

Yahoo sells its internet business

Verizon has agreed to pay \$4.8 billion for Yahoo's core unit, ending the struggles of an independent pioneer of the web. The fate of Yahoo's chief executive, Marissa Mayer, is unclear. BUSINESS, 14

U.S. seeks more screening overseas

Customs officials, who want to expand a program to include more European airports, say it would help identify and stop potential terrorists. WORLD NEWS, 5

A Wall St. worker's big splash

The host of a rowdy fund-raiser held at a house in the Hamptons says the event attracted undue media attention because of a dispute with the owner. BUSINESS, 17

Kashmir's inheritance of loss

Indian troops have responded to protests in Kashmir with a brutality rare even by their grim standards, Basharat Peer writes. OPINION, 10



CLINTON'S TURN A political fixture for a generation, Hillary Clinton faces the task at this week's Democratic convention of persuading people to see her in a new light. WORLD NEWS, 4

Olympic leader passed the buck

Thomas Bach failed a test when the I.O.C. declined to ban all Russian teams, Juliet Macur writes. SPORTS, 12

An exit stirs unease in Hong Kong

The resignation of a top anticorruption official has fanned fears of interference from Beijing. WORLD NEWS, 6

ONLINE AT INYT.COM

Ants that make progress backward

Desert ants change their walking motion to haul the remains of other insects, but they still manage to blindly navigate themselves toward home in the smoldering heat. nytimes.com/science

Learning to survive the honeymoon

A newly married couple, lost in the Amazon jungle and wearing underwear and headlamps, finds hope in fantasizing about the future. nytimes.com/fashion

Welcome to New York. Now shoot!

Monica Almeida arrived in New York in 1986 looking for the city's grimy glory. Now as she leaves The Times, she looks back on an image that has stayed in her mind to this day. nytimes.com/lens

Make vibrant mezze the whole meal

A selection of small Middle Eastern and Mediterranean plates that make a brilliant solution for summertime dining. nytimes.com/food

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CURRENCIES

	NEW YORK, MONDAY 12:30PM	PREVIOUS
▲ Euro	€1= \$1.0980	\$1.0970
▲ Pound	£1= \$1.3130	\$1.3110
▲ Yen	\$1= ¥106.010	¥106.060
— S. Franc	\$1= SF0.9870	SF0.9870

Full currency rates Page 17

STOCK INDEXES

	MONDAY
▼ The Dow 12:30pm	18,467.58 -0.56%
▼ FTSE 100 close	6,710.13 -0.30%
▼ Nikkei 225 close	16,620.29 -0.04%

OIL

	NEW YORK, MONDAY 12:30PM
▼ Light sweet crude	\$43.16 -\$0.79

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PAGE TWO

IN YOUR WORDS

🗞 **Head of D.N.C. to resign**
The fact that the emails were leaked right before the convention, and weeks after Bernie endorsed Hillary, is telling. It's clear that the email leak will not benefit Bernie, and there's no indication that he wants to challenge Hillary's pending nomination. It's a proxy attack on Hillary's legitimacy.

N HALDEN, BOSTON

I don't know how much influence she had. I think Clinton would have won anyway, by a fair margin, whatever role the D.N.C. played. But of course this makes the Sanders supporters feel cheated, as this confirms . . . it was not an even playing field.

NELDA, PENNSYLVANIA

She blatantly abused her role, which professionally requires honorable neutrality, regardless of the bright lights she might have seen for a role with Hillary's administration.

SANDY WATTS, GRATON, CALIF.

🗞 **Russians must be vetted for Rio**
Watching the Winter Olympics in Sochi two years ago, when Russian skiers were beating the heavily favored Norwegians handily, I assumed they were doping. Norwegians generously blamed it on the ski wax they were using. I wish there were a total ban since this was state sanctioned.

DANA, SANTA MONICA

A complete ban of Russian athletes may not be fair to those that followed the rules but it would've sent a message to the world that state-sponsored cheating is not allowed.

JASON, BOSTON

Whether or not the I.O.C. is corrupt is another issue. In the meantime, I would hope there are some honest and trustworthy future Olympians in this summer's Russian delegation and that they will be allowed to participate.

JUDITH STOLER, OTTAWA

📌 See what readers are talking about and leave your own comments at [inyt.com](#).

IN OUR PAGES

International Herald Tribune

1916 U.S. to Buy Danish West Indies
WASHINGTON Although rumors have been current for some weeks, it was only to-day [July 25] that an official statement was given out to the effect that the United States Government has practically completed arrangements with Denmark for the purchase of the Danish West Indies, comprising the islands of St. Thomas, St. John and St. Crois (Santa Cruz) for \$25,000,000. President Wilson will probably affix his signature to the treaty ratifying this purchase to-day, when it will immediately go before the Senate for approval. There is hardly a scintilla of doubt felt regarding the treatment which the purchase bill will receive in the upper branch of Congress, as the majority of these who would be likely to oppose the acquisition of the Danish Antilles have already been sounded and signified their willingness to concur with the President. The Danish West Indies have a population of 33,000 and an area of 138 square miles.

1966 British Steel Takeover
LONDON The House of Commons today [July 25] approved in principle a controversial bill to renationalize 90% of Britain's ailing steel industry. Some \$1.7 billion in compensation would be paid to owners and stock holders. The aim is to make the industry more efficient and its products more competitive in foreign markets, said Power Minister Richard Marsh. The 13 companies to be taken over, plus one government-owned steel firm, would be housed in his ministry. "This is not a socialist dogma of the past but the only hope of the future," he said.

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

Thomas Sutherland, held for 6 years in Lebanon, dies at 85

BY MIKE MCPHATE

Thomas Sutherland, a former agriculture professor who was swept up in an international drama when he was kidnapped by Islamic militants in Lebanon in 1985 and held for more than six years, died on Friday at his home in Fort

OBITUARY

Collins, Colo. He was 85.

His wife, Jean, said the cause had not been determined, though he had a heart condition.

Mr. Sutherland was among dozens of Westerners taken hostage in Beirut in the 1980s at the height of Lebanon's civil war. When he was kidnapped, he was the dean of agriculture at the American University of Beirut.



Clockwise from top left: Kothis getting ready for the Mayana Kollai festival in Pondicherry, India; Nagavalli, center, having makeup applied; putting on a bra before the festivities; and Jegadha Guru portraying the goddess Amman. Below: Naresh preparing for her role. During the festival, the abuses that many of the participants suffered as youths recede into the distance.

India's transgender goddesses

DEVANAMPATTINAM, INDIA

During 10-day festival, kothi dancers become the faces of the divine

BY ELLEN BARRY AND CANDACE FEIT

The transformation of transgender women into goddesses for an annual Hindu festival takes place in an atmosphere of reverent, somber concentration. Laugh lines vanish, replaced by an impassive mask. Skin becomes stone.

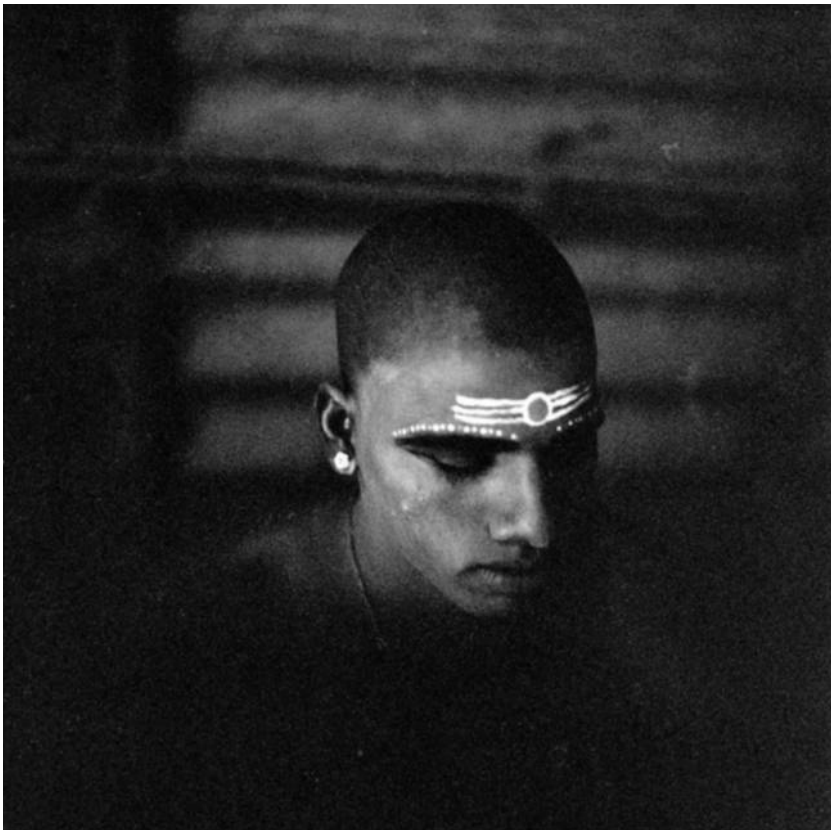
DEVANAMPATTINAM JOURNAL

As they prepared to perform in the Mayana Kollai festival in a fishing village in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, some of the dancers slipped into trances so deep it appeared they might have fainted.

Indians who decide to live as kothis — also known as hijras, kinnars or aravani, depending on the region — are born male and typically have male lovers.

Unlike transgender people in the West, they leave a conservative mainstream culture for an equally conservative subculture. Some live in communes with a strict network of rules under the authority of leaders they refer to as mothers and grandmothers.

Others live with their parents or head heterosexual families. Many reveal their identities as teenagers and are met with



years of taunts, beatings and forced sex.

But during the festival, which takes place in either February or March each year, these troubles are impossibly distant. Any trace of human expression is lifted, and the kothis begin to resemble



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CANDACE FEIT

Unlike transgender people in the West, kothis leave a conservative mainstream culture for an equally conservative subculture.

Men are not allowed in the dressing room for the preparations, which take place in hushed silence.

The performers crowd into a small room near the temple to apply makeup, a process that can take as long as two hours. By the time they finish, their faces have disappeared beneath a shell of color: half-person, half-goddess. For those 10 days, the kothis are treated with reverence by the villagers, who flock to see them dance without any mention of their gender identity. Walking the town's streets, the kothis are invited into house after house to give blessings.

Kavia Varshini, a traditional Indian dancer, is a celebrity in this part of Tamil Nadu. When she walks through crowds after a performance, people rush to her side to have their picture taken. She is one of the lucky ones: There is no family expectation that she will marry.

As kothis converge on the village, rivalries can flare. Many gave the cold shoulder to a kothi one year because her name was the only one mentioned in the event's printed program, which was seen as self-aggrandizing.

At the end of the festival, their moment over, the kothis return to ordinary life.

The costs of staying on high alert



Celestine Bohlen

LETTER FROM EUROPE

PARIS Day in and day out for the past 18 months, two or three French soldiers have been posted by the doors of a small synagogue on the Rue St-Lazare in central Paris, where they have become as much of a fixture as the bar on the corner and the place selling rotisserie meats across the street.

If people hadn't noticed the synagogue before, they certainly do now. Rabbi Salomon Malka tells the story of his grandson who was lost in the neighborhood until he spotted the soldiers. "Now I know where you are," he told his grandfather.

Code named "Sentinelle," the deployment of 10,000 French military personnel at potential targets around the country, which was ordered after terrorist attacks in and around Paris in January last year, was already under review when a 31-year-old Tunisian drove a 19-ton truck into crowds in Nice on Bastille Day, killing 84 people.

In the aftermath of the attack in Nice, a plan to reduce the number of soldiers assigned to Sentinelle to 7,000

was immediately shelved, and France's state of emergency, scheduled to expire on July 26, was extended again for six months. Through it all, the debate about the use of the army to assure the security of

French citizens continues. Although the presence of heavily armed soldiers at train stations, airports, tourist attractions and religious sites is widely seen as reassuring, the rules of engagement are being re-examined.

Testimony at a parliamentary inquiry after the Nov. 13 Paris attacks revealed that soldiers posted near the Bataclan concert hall were unable to assist in the police-led assault of the hall because they had not received orders to do so and had no training in hostage situations.

In Nice, 20 soldiers were assigned to bolster the police presence at the festivities, but they were positioned far from the deadly route taken by the truck driver.

Now the methods may be changing, according to Olivier Audibert Troin, a member of Parliament and co-author of a report released last month about the Sentinelle operation.

The biggest shift would involve getting more soldiers to move away from their "static," or fixed, positions, allowing them to patrol the surrounding area on foot.

"Once we ask our soldiers to assume the security of our national territory, we would do better to exploit in full measure their capacities and their training," Mr. Audibert Troin said in an interview. The aim is to eventually leave only 20 percent of the soldiers in static positions, inverting the original ratio of the Sentinelle deployments.

"A soldier is not trained to stand like a pillar," Mr. Audibert Troin said. "For that, we should hire private security guards. When the soldiers are dynamic, they can be more effective, and less likely to be targets."

There have been numerous episodes in which soldiers on Sentinelle duty have come under attack — notably in Nice in March 2015 when several were wounded in front of a Jewish community center by a knife-wielding assailant, and in Valence in January, when a man driving a red Peugeot plowed into two guarding a mosque.

A soldier opened fire during the attack in Valence, wounding the attacker and a passer-by, the only shots fired during the course of the Sentinelle operation.

Putting soldiers on the streets in visible positions may have helped calm public fears, but as the parliamentary report concluded, maintaining the deployments at current levels is a drain on the French armed services, in terms of personnel and morale.

What was initially intended as an emergency measure is now becoming the new normal, justified with each new attack.

After the attack in Nice, bringing down the number of soldiers is not an option. The new imperative, Mr. Audibert Troin said, is to make their presence more effective, through better coordination with police forces and more incentives for military recruits.

Rabbi Malka said his congregation remained grateful for the protection. "It is not their presence which is troubling but the danger, which is now more evident than before," he said.

World News

EUROPE

Bomber in Germany is linked to Islamic State

GERMANY, FROM PAGE 1
said at a news conference in Nuremberg that the attacker, speaking in Arabic, had recorded a cellphone video swearing allegiance to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the Islamic State's leader.

The video threatened “revenge for the killing of Muslims,” Mr. Herrmann said.

While Germany has provided money, equipment and reconnaissance support to the coalition fighting the Islamic State, it is not involved in combat missions in Iraq or Syria, and unlike France and Belgium, has not been seen in recent years as fertile ground for jihadist radicalization.

The Islamic State's exhortation for Muslims to target civilians in countries participating in the United States-led coalition has resonated with a number of people prone to mental illness, like the attacker in Nice, who had been treated for psychosis and depression. In Berlin on Monday, Germany's interior minister, Thomas de Maizière, cautioned that “in the Ansbach incident, neither a link to international Islamic State terrorism nor a mental disorder of the perpetrator can be ruled out,” adding, “It could be a combination of both.”

The fact that recent migrants were involved in three of the four prominent attacks over the past week, and that three of the four attacks took place in Bavaria, the state at the front lines of the flow of migrants into Germany, resonated deeply in a country that emphasizes order.

“Bavaria is experiencing days of terror,” the state's governor, Horst Seehofer, wrote on Facebook on Monday. “Our thoughts are with those injured by the insidious and brutal bombing in Ansbach.”

Winfried Bausback, the justice minister of Bavaria, wrote on Facebook on Monday that the attacks in Würzburg and Ansbach “show that Islamic terror has reached Germany.” He added: “Our democratic and liberal constitutional state has to adapt to this,” and urged greater resources for the police and border officers.

The bomber stayed in Bulgaria from late 2013 until the middle of 2014, Georgi Kostov, an official at the Bulgarian Interior Ministry, told journalists in Sofia.

In December 2013, he was granted a humanitarian status that allowed him to travel freely within the European Union, if he had the necessary documents.

The man entered Germany in June 2014, officials in Berlin said, but in September of that year the German authorities asked Bulgaria to take him back because he did not qualify for asylum. Bulgaria resisted, citing a European Union asylum protocol known as the Dublin regulation, but Germany could have sent him back to Bulgaria, under a separate agreement between the two countries, according to Petya Parvanova, who runs the refugee agency in Bulgaria. Germany, however,

A video threatened “revenge for the killing of Muslims.”

never followed up on that, she said.

In Ansbach, Ralf Millsaps, 59, who is originally from Mooresville, N.C., and has lived here since April, after he retired from the Army, said he was sitting on the terrace outside the wine bar on Sunday night when the attacker sat down nearby.

“The guy comes in, he's got long hair and earbuds,” Mr. Millsaps said. “He's wearing a giant rucksack, not a day pack, a rucksack that was thick. He sits down at a table and doesn't take off the rucksack.” The backpack smelled of fertilizer or diesel, he said. The man left, but returned 15 to 20 minutes later — and then the backpack exploded.

Mr. Millsaps — who said he was treated for a shoulder injury and gave the clothes he was wearing to police for testing— said he believed that the detonator went off, but not the full array of explosives in the backpack. “The size of his rucksack, it should have taken the side off the building,” he said. “I wouldn't be here talking to you if the bomb had gone off.” He added: “I know what I'm talking about. This ain't my first rodeo.”

The bomber lived in Ansbach, a city of roughly 50,000 that is home to 644 refugees, in a former hotel that has been converted to house migrants. Mubariz Mahmood, 28, an asylum seeker from Pakistan who lives in the building, identified the bomber as Mohammad Daleel, a name that also appears on a directory outside the building.

Mr. Mahmood said he had spoken several times with Mr. Daleel and had never had any problems with him. “I am shocked,” he said. “When I heard it was him, I was thinking: How could he do this?”

Reporting was contributed by Gregor Aisch and Victor Homola from Berlin; Rukmini Callimachi from Stuttgart, Germany; Boryana Dzhambazova from Sofia, Bulgaria; and Patrick Boehler from Hong Kong.

Attacks in Europe bring summer of anxiety

EUROPE, FROM PAGE 1

In Germany, the latest attacks have further strained ties between Chancellor Angela Merkel's conservative party and its ally in the southern state of Bavaria, where there has long been simmering opposition to her decision last year to admit one million asylum seekers.

Concern about the security and social ramifications of a new surge in migrants coming to Europe from Syria, Afghanistan and other poor and war-torn countries has left the European Union with reduced leverage in dealing with President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey as he cracks down on opponents in the wake of a failed coup. Mr. Erdogan agreed to a deal with the European Union to hold back the tide of asylum seekers, a deal that Europe is deeply reluctant to endanger, especially with new security concerns attached to the migrants.

The same sorts of attacks have occurred elsewhere, including last month in Florida. But the concentration of attacks over less than two weeks in Europe has given the issue particular resonance on the Continent.

“If you turn every individual into a self-contained agent, some will take unpleasant initiatives and act out their fantasies in real time, but they still feel the need for an anchoring identity,” said François Heisbourg, chairman of the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

For some, he said, that is jihad. “It can happen in Orlando and Nice,” he said, “and without a lot of prior consultation or structure or networking.”

Ali Sonboly, the 18-year-old who killed nine people in Munich on Friday, may have been Iranian-German, but he took his inspiration in part from Anders Behring Breivik's massacre five years before in Oslo, which was driven by white supremacist hatreds. Mr. Sonboly, Mr. Heisbourg said, “wanted to make his mark as an individual,” by hacking into Facebook to entice people to McDonald's, “the intertwining of complete barbarity and utter modernism.”

He was acting, though, not as a state or an organization but as an individual. Individual actors are extremely hard for security services to stop. Yet their individual acts, captured on smartphones and sent around the world, can resonate louder than any gunshot or explosion.



MICHAELA REHLE/REUTERS

Police officers at the scene of the explosion in Ansbach on Monday. “Bavaria is experiencing days of terror,” the state's governor wrote.

In France, the attack in Nice by a Tunisian-born man with a rented truck has set off a new battle over blame and added another volatile element to the early stages of a presidential campaign where the governing Socialists are falling farther behind the right and far-right.

After the third attack in less than 18 months, two claimed by the Islamic State, the fierce and open debates over security and accountability are a sharp contrast to the reaction in France last year, when there was an effort to create

a sense of political and national solidarity in the face of terrorism.

There is vivid anger at the apparent inability of the government to keep people safe. The local government in Nice — which is right-leaning — issued a blunt broadside against the Socialist government and specifically the interior minister, Bernard Cazeneuve, for failing to have adequate security in place on Bastille Day. Mr. Cazeneuve was also accused of pressuring the local government to massage the numbers to make

it look as though there were more safety provisions in place.

Mr. Cazeneuve called the allegations part of a “vile” and “calumnious” campaign to defame him and his ministry, but his job may be on the line.

In Germany, three of the four recent attacks have been carried out by recent immigrants, two of them Syrian, and all were by Muslims. Three of the four were in Bavaria, which was the first reception center for more than a million migrants last year all seeking asylum, and where

Erdogan turns his focus to rounding up reporters

ISTANBUL

BY CEYLAN YEGINSU

One journalist, who was on vacation, had his home raided in the early morning by the police. Others were called in to their boss's office last week and fired, with little explanation. Dozens of reporters have had their press credentials revoked.

A pro-government newspaper, meanwhile, published a list of names and photographs of journalists suspected of treachery.

On Monday, the witch-hunt environment that has enveloped Turkey in the wake of a failed military coup extended even further into the media as the government issued warrants for the detention of dozens of journalists.

The step followed the dismissals of tens of thousands of workers from other professions — teachers, bankers, police, soldiers, bureaucrats — as well as the arrests of thousands of people for alleged ties to the conspiracy.

The government said the journalists, too, were part of a vast network linked to Fethullah Gulen, a Muslim cleric in self-imposed exile in Pennsylvania whom it alleges was the mastermind of the botched coup.

A senior Turkish official, speaking on condition of anonymity in keeping with government protocol, said the moves against the journalists were not related to their professional activities, but rather suspected criminal conduct.

But it has been a common reflex of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's government to crack down on freedom of expression during times of crisis.

Dozens of journalists have lost their jobs during his tenure. Others have been arrested for their coverage of national security issues. Still others have been charged with insulting the president, a crime in Turkey.

The recent announcement that Turkey would enter a state of emergency for three months has only deepened fears within Turkey's beleaguered journalism community.

The emergency statutes give the government a freer hand to make laws by bypassing Parliament, and to stifle expression it deems harmful to national security.

Among the journalists on the list to be detained on Monday was Nazli Ilıcak, a prominent television commentator who was fired several years ago from the pro-government newspaper Sabah after criticizing the government during a corruption scandal.

Others had worked for media outlets affiliated with Mr. Gulen, raising worries among human rights activists that the government is going well beyond

those accused of crimes related to the failed coup, and targeting anyone with a link to Mr. Gulen's business and media networks.

Huseyin Aydin, a reporter who had previously worked for Cihan News Agency, a news service linked to Mr. Gulen that was earlier seized by the government, said his home was raided early Monday while he was on vacation.

“I do not know the reason,” he wrote on Twitter.

At least 30 journalists have also had their press credentials canceled in recent days. According to the Directorate General of Press and Information, the credentials were revoked “for the sake of national security.”

The government has also extended its purge to the state broadcaster, TRT, which had briefly been taken over by soldiers the night the coup unfolded. It was on TRT that a host, early in the night, read a communiqué from the military declaring it had seized power.

Now the government suspects that many working for TRT have ties to Mr. Gulen.

Mehmet Demir, a reporter at TRT who has worked for the organization since 1998, received a call last week from human resources asking him to pick up a note that accused him of having ties to the “Gülenist Terror Organi-

The state of emergency for three months has only deepened fears for Turkey's beleaguered journalists.

zation,” as the government calls Mr. Gulen's followers.

“I'm shocked because I've been a victim of Gulenists, who were at one point dominating the TRT administration,” he said in a telephone interview. “They started disciplinary investigations against me. I was penalized, sued them and won lawsuits against these penalties.”

Many Turks, inclined to believe in conspiracy theories, believe that the coup was a hoax, staged by the government to provide a pretext to crackdown on its perceived enemies. Some government officials have spoken out against the Western media for reporting on the views of these ordinary Turks who say it all could have been a hoax.

“Major Western media outlets are giving space to analysts and commentators that support conspiracy theories suggesting the coup was a hoax,” Ibrahim Kalin, Mr. Erdogan's spokesman, said in Istanbul last week.

“The claim that this was a fake coup is no more credible than the laughable claims that the 9/11 attacks were orchestrated by the United States,” he said.

WORLD NEWS UNITED STATES

Clinton’s task: Show herself in a new light

PHILADELPHIA

BY ADAM NAGOURNEY

Few conventions were as successful as when Democrats gathered in 1992 in New York to nominate Bill Clinton for president. There was the Hollywood-produced “Man From Hope” video. A dramatic Midtown Manhattan stroll by Bill and Hillary Clinton from Macy’s to Madison Square Garden. And a six-day post-convention bus caravan that drew crowds all the way through its end in St. Louis.

As Mrs. Clinton arrives here for her own nominating convention, she faces many of the same problems her husband encountered in 1992: She, too, is damaged after a bruising campaign and shadowed by a cloud of mistrust stirred by her actions. While Mr. Clinton was a relatively new if battered face, ready for his reintroduction in 1992, Mrs. Clinton is a political institution. With one exception, she has spoken at every Democratic National Convention since 1996.

“If you don’t know the Clintons by now, you are never going to know them,” said Newt Gingrich, a former House speaker.

Donald J. Trump entered the Republican National Convention last week in Cleveland with the opportunity to recast the way Americans viewed him, a moment he arguably failed to seize, but Mrs. Clinton’s task in Philadelphia is decidedly harder. She has been a fixture on the American political scene for a generation, subjected to endless attacks, examination and analysis. She is a proxy in debates over feminism and political power and a recurring subject of parody on “Saturday Night Live.” Views about her — particularly on issues of trust after the F.B.I. investigation into her handling of emails as secretary of state — are seared in place with many voters, pollsters say. After 25 years in the public eye, her days of re-inventing herself are almost surely gone.

And yet these four nights in the public eye, particularly coming after Mr. Trump’s often chaotic convention in Cleveland, offer her a chance to persuade important segments of the electorate to take another look at her, to consider

“She has to give a speech that makes people as excited about her as they are about beating Donald Trump.”

parts of her life that have been lost in the glare of scandals and investigation, and to judge her candidacy in contrast with the dark image Mr. Trump presented last week of himself and the nation.

That would start with supporters of Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, many of whom, particularly younger ones, learned much of what they know about Mrs. Clinton through the prism of Mr. Sanders’s attacks and have been steadfast in their opposition to her — potentially all the more so after her choice of Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia, a moderate, as her running mate.

But just as crucially, Mrs. Clinton might also find an audience with independent voters struggling between two candidates they do not like, who will have an opportunity after this week to make a direct comparison between the visions being offered by Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump.

For nearly a year, Mrs. Clinton has struggled to answer questions about her use of a private email server, particularly after her conduct was excoriated by the F.B.I.; Republicans have accused her of negligence, criminal mishandling of classified information and even treason. Rightly or wrongly, the most recent controversy is what has defined her most.

“She is someone with a long record in public life, but people forget,” said David



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hillary Clinton in Florida this month. “The right-wing media has tried to portray her as something she’s not,” one ally said. “The convention is a great way to undo some of that media image.”



JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bill Clinton, center, with his family in New York in 1992, after being nominated the Democratic candidate. Mrs. Clinton has spoken at every Democratic convention but one since 1996.

Greenberg, a history and journalism professor at Rutgers University. “Younger voters, who don’t have the memory — or older voters with short memories.”

From that perspective, there is much that Mrs. Clinton may be able to do as she controls the convention stage for the next four nights.

A parade of Democratic stars, including a sitting president, a former president and Mr. Sanders, stand ready to offer a remedial course in Hillary Clinton. “We have a cavalry who are fully armed,” said David Plouffe, who managed Barack Obama’s campaign in 2008. “For Trump, it was all on him.”

Mrs. Clinton also has the advantages of following the turbulent Republican gathering and of having a team far more experienced than Mr. Trump’s at producing sophisticated conventions, giving her an opportunity to contrast a pre-

sumably more united party and a more consistent message with what was displayed in Cleveland.

Rob Reiner, the director and actor, who is a longtime supporter of Mrs. Clinton, said she should use the convention to tell the story of her life. “She has been an advocate her entire life for women, for children, for all the causes that we care about,” he said.

“I know she has a lot of baggage and all that stuff,” he added. “But a lot of that is unfair.”

So what might Mrs. Clinton do?

UNITING THE PARTY IS THE EASY PART. Yes, she needs to galvanize her party entering the general election — and Mrs. Clinton may be aided greatly both by Mr. Sanders, who is set to trumpet his endorsement of her, and by Mr. Trump, who has proved to be a great

mobilizing force for Democrats.

But unity is not enough. Considering the passion that Mr. Trump’s supporters have shown, Mrs. Clinton — who is not known for her ability to light up a room — would be well advised to figure out a way to have Democrats, to borrow a phrase, fired up and ready to go.

“The one thing that needs to happen coming out of the Democratic convention is for the Obama coalition being very enthused about her candidacy — not just beating Trump,” Mr. Plouffe said. “She has to give a speech that makes people as excited about her as they are about beating Donald Trump.”

Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, a Democrat who served with Mrs. Clinton in the Senate, said the convention would offer her an opportunity to debunk what he called the conservative caricature of her.

“The right-wing media has tried to portray her as something she’s not,” Mr. Schumer said. “The convention is a great way to undo some of that media image. People will see her up close. They will see her the way she is. I think their minds are open.”

AGE IS A VIRTUE. The demographic differences between Clinton and Sanders supporters underline one of Mrs. Clinton’s biggest challenges: He crushed her among younger voters, whom she will need in November. The convention will give her a shot at winning them back.

Even before arriving here, Mrs. Clinton had taken steps to close that gap by, among other things, moving toward Mr. Sanders’s position in favor of free tuition at public colleges.

There are other ways she can extend her appeal.

“Eighty percent of her speakers should be under 40,” Mr. Gingrich said. “She has to convince the younger generation that she is an acceptable leader

for that generation.”

Younger voters have much to learn about Mrs. Clinton, be it her record in the Senate or her years as first lady. (An added bonus for Mrs. Clinton: Many of them have managed to come this far in life without knowing the political meaning of the word “Whitewater.”)

One thing to watch: whether Mrs. Clinton avoids decades-old references, like her reaching back to “voodoo economics” — a 36-year-old attack line that George Bush used on Ronald Reagan — at the event this month where Mr. Sanders endorsed her.

DO NOT FORGET TRUMP. Conventions are about drawing contrasts, and Mrs. Clinton has shown no reluctance to highlight her differences with Mr. Trump. Philadelphia will provide an enormous stage to refine those arguments and respond specifically to how Mr. Trump tried to sell himself to voters in Cleveland, particularly on immigration and the threats of terrorism and crime.

“She’s in a position where she can be the safer choice,” said Stuart Stevens, a Republican consultant who ran Mitt Romney’s campaign for president in 2012. “In times of instability, voters tend to look for safety.”

And Mrs. Clinton will benefit from timing: If the back-to-back conventions somewhat resemble a slow-motion debate between the candidates, Mr. Trump has had his say, and Mrs. Clinton can make a closing argument that, if done right, could stick in the minds of many voters.

“For her, the convention speech is the opportunity to have the final two words of the summer political season,” said Steve Schmidt, a senior adviser to John McCain when he ran for president in 2008. “The race is going to freeze in place a couple of weeks after those conventions.”

2 teenagers are killed in shooting at Florida club

FORT MYERS, FLA.

BY LIZETTE ALVAREZ AND LES NEUHAUS

Two teenagers were killed and at least 16 others were wounded in a shooting early Monday at a nightclub here that had been hosting a party for young people, the authorities said.

Police officers were called to the nightclub, Club Blu, in a palm-tree-lined strip mall in this southwestern Florida city, at about 12:30 a.m. on Monday. They arrived to find “several victims suffering from gunshot wounds” in the club’s parking lot, Capt. Jim Mulligan of the city’s Police Department said in a statement.

The police gave no immediate indication on a possible motive, but said it “is not an act of terror.” They detained three people for questioning, but did not say whether those in custody were considered suspects in the shooting.

Residents of the neighborhood around the club said the area was stalked by drug dealing and violence.

The authorities identified the two people killed as Sean Archilles, 14, and Stef’An Strawder, 18.

A family friend said on Monday that Mr. Strawder, who went by the nickname Dee, was an incoming senior and star basketball player at Lehigh Senior High School who aspired to play college ball.

“He was like a son to me,” said the friend, Blanca Figueroa, 40. “He was a great kid, always was playing. He never would get tired.”

Jermaine Wilson, a witness to the aftermath of the shooting, said the parking lot had been filled with cars and loud music as the teenagers were departing the club. Then he heard gunshots and saw a person lying on the ground, bleeding, he said. “I saw everybody running,” said Mr. Wilson, 32, adding, “a bunch of people were screaming names.”

The authorities were also searching two other sites in the city — one on Parkway Street, where a home and several vehicles were shot at, with one person injured, and another on Ortiz Avenue. By late Monday morning, the Police Department said the area was deemed safe.

Victims, ages 12 to 27, began arriving at Lee Memorial Hospital around 1:30 a.m., according to Cheryl Garn, a hospital spokeswoman.

“Sixteen people were treated in the trauma center and emergency department,” she said in a statement. “One victim expired at the hospital.”

Four victims remained at Lee Memorial, one in critical condition, while the others were treated at the hospital and released. Two additional patients were released from other hospitals, officials said.

Gov. Rick Scott of Florida said in a statement that he would travel to Fort Myers later Monday.

“While we are still learning the details about what happened this morn-

“It was not kids at the party that did this despicable act.”

ing, we know that some of the victims of this terrible incident were children,” Governor Scott said. “We will continue to pray for the victims and their families.”

As the sun rose in Fort Myers on Monday, the police were maintaining a half-mile perimeter around the nightclub. Yellow markers were placed next to dozens of shell casings scattered on the venue’s parking lot.

A flier promoting the party the night before said that Club Blu, in the Carrell Corners strip mall, was hosting a Swimsuit Glow Party with live performances, and that no identification cards would be required.

A statement early Monday on the club’s Facebook page described the gathering as a party for young people. It said the shooting erupted only after the event had ended, as teenagers were leaving the club and parents were arriving to pick them up. “We are deeply sorry for all involved,” the statement said. “We tried to give the teens what we thought was a safe place to have a good time.”

It added, “It was not kids at the party that did this despicable act.”

The nightclub cultivated an image that often veered from homespun to risqué. It is a place that advertises its “New Orleans style soul food” and \$6.99 lunch specials. Just last week, the club was promoting a meal of pork chops with rice, macaroni and cheese, lima beans, cornbread and pink lemonade.

But other ads depict the club as a racy hot spot of scantily clad women, blaring music and flowing liquor.

The club staged a “grand reopening” in May to debut what it described as an improved building. In a corner of an ad for the event, the club made a promise: “TIGHT SECURITY ALL NIGHT.”

The attack occurred just 43 days after a gunman killed 49 people and wounded more than 50 others at Pulse, a gay nightclub in Orlando, Fla. The attacker, Omar Mateen, who took hostages at the nightclub and was killed in a police shootout, had sworn allegiance to the Islamic State.

Frances Robles and Mike McPhate contributed reporting from New York.

In email hacking, Russia is suspected of playing in American politics

RUSSIA, FROM PAGE 1

responsibility for giving the emails to WikiLeaks, the same agencies are the prime suspects. Whether the thefts were ordered by Mr. Putin, or just carried out by apparatchiks who thought they might please him, is anyone’s guess.

On Sunday morning, the issue erupted, as Mrs. Clinton’s campaign manager, Robby Mook, argued on ABC’s “This Week” that the emails were leaked “by the Russians for the purpose of helping Donald Trump,” citing “experts” but offering no other evidence. Mr. Mook also suggested that the Russians might have good reason to support Mr. Trump: The Republican nominee indicated in an interview with The New York Times last week that he might not back NATO nations if they came under attack from Russia — unless he was first convinced that the countries had made sufficient contributions to the Atlantic alliance.

It was a remarkable moment: Even at the height of the Cold War, it was hard to find a presidential campaign willing to charge that its rival was essentially secretly doing the bidding of a key American adversary. But the accusation is emerging as a theme of Mrs. Clinton’s campaign, as part of an effort to portray Mr. Trump not only as an isolationist, but also as one who would go soft on confronting Russia as it threatens nations that have shown too much independence from Moscow or, in the case of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, joined NATO.

Mr. Trump has also said he would like to “get along with Russia” if he is elected, and complimented Mr. Putin, saying he is more of a leader than President Obama. Mr. Putin has in turn praised Mr. Trump. But Trump campaign officials on Sunday strongly rejected any connections between their candidate and efforts to undermine the Democrats.

“Are there any ties between Mr. Trump, you or your campaign and Putin and his regime?” George Stephanopoulos, of “This Week,” asked Paul Man-

Metadata from the released Democratic emails suggests that the documents passed through Russian computers.

afort, Mr. Trump’s campaign chairman. “No, there are not,” Mr. Manafort shot back. “That’s absurd. And, you know, there’s no basis to it.”

It may take months, or years, to figure out the motives of those who stole the emails, and more important, whether they were being commanded by the Russian authorities, and specifically by Mr. Putin. But the theft from the national committee would be among the most important state-sponsored hackings yet of an American organization, rivaled only by the attacks on the Office of Personnel Management by state-sponsored Chinese hackers, and the attack on Sony

Pictures Entertainment, for which Mr. Obama blamed North Korea.

There, too, embarrassing emails were released, but they had no political significance. The WikiLeaks release, however, has more of a tinge of Russian-style information war, in which the intent of the revelations is to alter political events. Exactly how, though, is a bit of a mystery, apart from embarrassing Democrats and further alienating Mr. Sanders’s supporters from Mrs. Clinton.

Evidence so far suggests that the attack was the work of at least two separate agencies, each apparently working without the knowledge that the other was inside the Democrats’ computers. It is unclear how WikiLeaks obtained the email trove. But the presumption is that the intelligence agencies turned it over, either directly or through an intermediary. Moreover, the timing of the release, between the end of the Republican convention and the beginning of the Democratic one, seems too well planned to be coincidental.

Mr. Trump himself leapt on the news after the WikiLeaks release on Saturday. In a Twitter message he wrote: “Leaked emails of DNC show plans to destroy Bernie Sanders. Mock his heritage and much more. On-line from Wikileaks, really vicious. RIGGED.”

The experts cited by Mr. Mook include CrowdStrike, a cybersecurity firm that was brought into the Democratic National Committee when officials



POOL PHOTO BY IVAN SEKRETAREV

Vladimir V. Putin has praised Donald J. Trump, and the admiration is mutual.

there suspected they had been hacked.

In mid-June the company announced that the intruders appeared to include a group it had previously identified by the name “Cozy Bear” or “APT 29” and been inside the committee’s servers for a year. A second group, “Fancy Bear,” also called “APT 28,” came into the system in April. It appears to be operated by the G.R.U., the Russian military intelligence service, according to federal investigators and private cybersecurity firms. The first group is particularly well known to the F.B.I.’s counterintelligence unit, the C.I.A. and other intelligence agencies. It was identified by federal investigators as the likely culprit behind years of intrusions into the State Department and White House unclassi-

fied computer system.

Russian intelligence agencies went to great lengths to cover their tracks, investigators found, including meticulously deleting logs, and changing the time stamps of the stolen files.

Officials at several other firms that have examined the code for the malware used against the Democratic National Committee and the metadata of the stolen documents found evidence that the documents had been accessed by multiple computers, some with Russian language settings. Moscow has outsourced politically motivated hacking to outside groups in the past. A crippling attack on Estonia in 2007, for example, was attributed to the pro-Kremlin Nashi youth organization. Intelligence officials and security researchers believe this outsourcing is done, in part, to preserve a measure of plausible deniability.

Intrusions for intelligence collection are hardly unusual, and the United States often does the same, stealing emails and other secrets from intelligence services and even political parties. But the release to WikiLeaks adds another strange element, because it suggests that the intelligence findings are being “weaponized” — used to influence the election in some way.

David E. Sanger reported from Washington, and Nicole Perloff from Olympic Valley, Calif. Nick Corasaniti contributed reporting from Washington.

U.S. is hoping to prescreen more fliers overseas

BRUSSELS

Officials say that putting more agents in Europe will help terrorism fight

BY RON NIXON

The Department of Homeland Security is pushing to increase the number of American law enforcement personnel stationed at airports abroad to screen passengers before they board planes to the United States, officials say.

The effort would be designed to extend the United States' border security to foreign airports as part of new initiatives to reduce the risk of potential terrorists entering the country.

Under a smaller program already in place, called Preclearance and run by United States Customs and Border Protection, officers are based at foreign airports where they collect fingerprints and photos and check travel documents before allowing passengers to board a plane traveling to the United States.

The foreign airport is responsible for many of the program's costs, including

Some European lawmakers say they are uncomfortable with having American officers operating in their countries.

the construction and maintenance of the space dedicated to the effort inside the airport. Passengers departing those airports are treated the same as domestic travelers, and do not have to go through customs when they arrive in the United States.

“The expansion of Preclearance in strategic locations will further strengthen our ability to identify those who may pose a national security threat prior to encountering them on U.S. soil,” R. Gil Kerlikowske, the commissioner of the customs and border agency, said in an interview.

The agency has more than 500 people stationed at 15 foreign airports, including facilities in Canada, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Aruba, Abu Dhabi and Ireland. Airports with those preclearance programs accounted for about 16 million travelers in 2014, the most recent year of data, or 15 percent of all foreign visitors to the United States. The department

said it would like to increase that to 33 percent of foreign passengers annually by 2024.

The proposed expansions are mostly for airports in Europe, including the one here in Brussels, which was the site of terrorist attacks in March. Other airports under consideration include Turkey's Istanbul Ataturk Airport, which was the target last month of a terrorist attack, and Amsterdam's Schiphol Airport, which was used by Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, the so-called underwear bomber, in 2009 for his failed attempt to detonate a bomb on a plane bound for Detroit.

Homeland Security officials said that, in 2015, more than 10,700 people were refused entry to the United States after being screened by customs officers at foreign airports. While some of the denials were based on national security issues, most were for people who had a criminal record or lacked a proper visa.

Counterterrorism experts say the preclearance program adds an extra level of protection against attacks in the United States by creating a security buffer thousands of miles from its borders. “The further out you can push the border the better,” said Tom Ridge, the first secretary of Homeland Security who is now the president of Ridge Global, a security consulting firm.

Legislation written by Senators Maria Cantwell, Democrat of Washington, and Susan Collins, Republican of Maine, would encourage the Department of Homeland Security to expand the preclearance program to the 38 countries that have visa-waiver agreements with the United States. Under the visa-waiver program, foreign visitors are allowed to stay in the country for 90 days without a visa. The legislation was included as part of a trade bill signed into law in February by President Obama.

Ralph Goodale, Canada's minister of public safety, said the preclearance program had been “tremendously beneficial for both of our countries.” He added that it provided an effective way to move people quickly across the border between Canada and the United States, and enhanced security between the two countries. Preclearance began in 1952 in Toronto, primarily as a way to streamline the customs process for passengers arriving at American airports from Canada.

Many European countries and airlines have embraced the program be-



An employee of a security company contracted by the Department of Homeland Security checking passengers before a flight to the United States at Shannon Airport in Ireland.

cause they believe it would ease the burden on passengers traveling to American airports.

But not everyone likes the idea of preclearance. Some European lawmakers say they are uncomfortable with having American law enforcement officers operating in their countries, and are concerned about how data collected by the Department of Homeland Security would be used.

“We see this as the extension of a

longstanding practice of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, which already has personnel here, imposing bans on people traveling to America,” said Matthias Monroy, an assistant to Andrej Hunko, a member of the German Parliament who has been critical of American law enforcement personnel operating in Germany. “They say they are merely making suggestions to the airlines to deny people, but the airlines don't feel like they can refuse.”

The program has also been criticized in the United States. In 2013, lawmakers challenged Homeland Security officials for approving a preclearance facility in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, before the Transportation Security Administration could certify that the airport met American screening and security standards.

David J. Bentley, an analyst at the Center for Aviation in Manchester, England, who has studied the preclearance

program, said the most recent selection of airports by the Homeland Security Department for preclearance clearly showed more of a focus on security than travel.

“Most of the airports selected have a history of being used by jihadists as an entry and exit point to launch terrorist attacks,” he said. “It seems that counterterrorism needs are driving the process rather than long customs queues at U.S. airports.”

BRIEFLY

International

WASHINGTON

Obama moves to impose limits on airplane emissions

The Obama administration announced on Monday its plan to start regulating planet-warming pollution from airplanes, setting off a battle between environmentalists and the airline industry.

The plan to curb airplane emissions comes as President Obama looks to strengthen his climate-change legacy with new policies in the waning months of his administration. The airline rules would be among the final pieces of his sweeping second-term climate agenda, which has included rules to rein in greenhouse pollution from cars, trucks and power plants, and his role in helping to forge last year's Paris Agreement.

The Environmental Protection Agency released the aviation plan, known as an endangerment finding, which concludes that the pollution produced by airplanes endangers human health by contributing to climate change. The endangerment finding does not include the details of a regulation, but it sets off a legal requirement under the Clean Air Act for the E.P.A. to establish a rule.

New Zealand aims to wipe out invasive species by 2050

New Zealand plans to eliminate invasive predators by 2050, wiping out possums, rats and weasels that threaten the survival of native species, the government announced on Monday.

The island nation has a large number of unique animals that face extreme pressure from small, predatory mammals brought by Polynesian and European settlers. New Zealand's iconic kiwi — a small, flightless bird with a long bill — is one of the native birds in danger.

“While once the greatest threat to our native wildlife was poaching and deforestation, it is now introduced predators,” Prime Minister John Key said in a statement, adding, “We must do more to protect them.”

NEW DELHI

Police detain 2 men after Israeli's rape

The Indian police arrested two men on Monday and accused them of raping an Israeli woman in the tourist town of Manali the day before. The district police chief, Padam Chand, said the authorities were seeking four more accomplices. A series of brutal sexual assaults in India have attracted widespread attention, especially after a young woman was gang-raped on a New Delhi bus in 2012 and later died of her injuries.

Shell firms used widely across Africa, papers show

WASHINGTON

BY SCOTT SHANE

Entrepreneurs and corrupt officials across Africa have used shell companies to hide profits from the sale of natural resources and the bribes paid to gain access to them, according to records leaked from a Panamanian law firm.

Owners of the hidden companies include, from Nigeria alone, three oil ministers, several senior employees of the national oil company and two former state governors who were convicted of laundering ill-gotten money from the oil industry, new reports about Africa based on the Panama Papers show. The owners of diamond mines in Sierra Leone and safari companies in Kenya and Zimbabwe also created shell companies.

Some of the assets cycled through the shell companies were used to buy yachts, private jets, Manhattan penthouses and luxury homes in Beverly Hills, Calif., the law firm documents show.

Articles posted on Monday by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, and reports being published this week by news media organizations in 17 African countries, underscore the critical role that secret shell companies can play in facilitating tax evasion, bribery and other crimes. In Africa, offshore finance often underlies the exploitation of mineral wealth, with the benefits bypassing the public and going largely to wealthy executives and the government officials they pay off.

The 11.5 million documents taken from the Panamanian law firm, Mossack Fonseca, by a source who has not been identified have been the subject of news coverage around the world since April, shedding new light on the murky world of offshore finance. The Panama Papers project, organized by the international journalists' consortium, has involved more than 400 reporters around the world and has set off criminal investigations in many countries.

Mossack Fonseca has said it should not be blamed for wrongdoing by its customers. “We merely help incorporate companies, and before we agree to work with a client in any way, we conduct a thorough due-diligence process,” the firm said in a statement. The statement noted that the firm had not been charged with criminal wrongdoing in nearly 40 years of operation.

But the journalists found that Mossack Fonseca had sometimes missed or ignored evidence of criminal investigations or charges against its clients. Though the records show that the law firm did scrutinize many of those who sought its services, its reviews were often belated or incomplete, according to the articles' main author, Will Fitzgibbon, who works

at the consortium's office in Washington.

Several major figures examined in the new Panama Papers reports have previously been accused of wrongdoing, and some are under criminal investigation or have been charged. But the details of their use of shell companies had not previously been disclosed.

The consortium identified 37 companies created by the law firm that had been named in court actions or government investigations involving natural resources in Africa. All told, Mossack Fonseca's files revealed offshore companies that were established to own or do business with oil, natural gas and mining operations in 44 of Africa's 54 countries.

In one major criminal case, Farid Bedjaoui, a nephew of a former Algerian foreign minister, has been accused by Italian prosecutors of arranging \$275 million in bribes to help Saipem, an Italian oil and gas services company, win pipeline contracts in Algeria worth \$10 billion. Mr. Bedjaoui, called “Mr. Three Percent” in news media reports for his purported share of the payoffs, has denied the charges.

Offshore middlemen have incentives “not to know what the companies they are forming are going to be used for,” said Heather Lowe, a lawyer at Global

Leaked records reveal profits hidden by public officials.

Financial Integrity, an anticorruption group in Washington. “If they know too much, they might have to turn away business.”

As a result, she said, “there's often no gatekeeper to prevent illicit money from entering the financial system.”

Kola Aluko, an oil and aviation mogul and one of four defendants accused of helping to cheat the Nigerian government out of \$1.8 billion in proceeds from oil sales, was another jet-setting user of Mossack Fonseca's services who was examined by the consortium.

The New York Times reported last year that Mr. Aluko had used shell companies to buy two Beverly Hills mansions for \$39 million and two others in Santa Barbara, Calif., for \$33 million. In May, shortly after one of the Beverly Hills homes was sold for \$21 million, a Nigerian court froze Mr. Aluko's assets, including a yacht once rented by Beyoncé and Jay Z, two Manhattan penthouses, 132 houses and apartments in Nigeria, \$67 million in bank accounts, 58 cars and three airplanes.

Mr. Aluko told the journalists' consortium that he had never been convicted of a crime and that speculation about wrongdoing on his part was “misguided.”

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WORLD NEWS ASIA

Graft buster’s exit stirs Hong Kong unease

HONG KONG

Top official’s demotion heightens worries about interference from Beijing

BY MICHAEL FORSYTHE

At Hong Kong’s graft-busting commission, Rebecca Li was a star, helping to bring corrupt tycoons and bent officials to justice. She received commendations for her work, won a coveted spot to train with the F.B.I. and last year became the agency’s most senior career official, a first for a woman.

But this month, she resigned after being unexpectedly demoted from her post leading the commission’s operations department.

Ms. Li, a 32-year employee of the agency, has not spoken publicly since her resignation, and the head of the commission, Simon Peh, told reporters that he took the action because her performance “didn’t meet the job requirements.”

But given her stellar track record, the news has raised questions about the organization’s independence and impartiality, clouding the reputation of one of Hong Kong’s most respected institutions and stirring fears about whether this may be the latest example of Chinese control eroding the city’s autonomy.

Attention has focused on one of the anticorruption commission’s most sensitive cases: a complaint against the city’s top official, the chief executive, Leung Chun-ying, who wields considerable authority over the commission through his power to appoint its top officials.

Ms. Li’s department oversaw the case, which centered on whether Mr. Leung properly disclosed some \$6.4 million in payments he received from an Australian company, UGL, that does business with the city-owned subway company.

“In fact, we don’t know the de facto reason, but the arrangement is very dubious, the timing is very sensitive, and Rebecca Li is the highest-ranking investigating officer investigating the UGL case,” said Lam Cheuk-ting, who served as an investigator under Ms. Li from 2007 to 2011 and is now a candidate for Hong Kong’s legislature for the Democratic Party, which opposes Mr. Leung. “It is reasonable to believe that the case and the personnel arrangement are related.”

Ms. Li’s sudden departure threw the organization, the Independent Commission Against Corruption, into turmoil and produced a swift backlash.

Her resignation was followed by that of one her top investigators, and the commission was forced to cancel its annual dinner after most employees decided to boycott.

The commission, set up in 1974 to combat rampant corruption in what was then a British colony, became a model of independent law enforcement and helped earn Hong Kong a reputation for clean, efficient government. After Hong Kong’s return to Chinese sovereignty in 1997, it continued to operate under an arrangement known as one country, two systems, in which China promised the city a high degree of self-rule until 2047.

But people here are increasingly concerned that Chinese influence, especially under the uncompromising rule of President Xi Jinping, is already chipping

Ex-general in China gets life sentence over bribes

BEIJING

Guo Boxiong was target in president’s campaign to eradicate corruption

BY CHRIS BUCKLEY

Guo Boxiong, the most senior Chinese military commander ever tried on corruption charges, was sentenced on Monday to life in prison after a military court found him guilty of taking “huge” amounts in bribes in return for giving military promotions and transfers.

General Guo rose as high in the People’s Liberation Army as a career military officer can go, serving as a vice chairman of the Central Military Commission for a decade until 2012, when he retired. By then, he was second in rank seniority only to the commission’s chairman, who is always the Communist Party’s leader.

But as a drive by President Xi Jinping against graft in the party and military gained momentum, rumors grew that General Guo and his family were under scrutiny by anticorruption investigators. In speculation online, he was called “the wolf of the northwest,” a nod to the region where he served early in his career and to his reputation for greed.

An explanation of the verdict from the military court issued by the state news media on Monday confirmed that there was some truth to that reputation.

“Guo Boxiong exploited his posts to obtain promotions or transfers in posts for others, and — singly or in consort with others — illegally accepted wealth and assets,” said the explanation, issued by the state news agency Xinhua. “Guo Boxiong accepted exceptionally large amounts in bribes, and the circumstances of his crimes were especially



ALEX HOFFORD/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Critics say the sudden resignation of Rebecca Li at the Independent Commission Against Corruption, above, could make the agency more vulnerable to outside political influence.

away at the city’s institutions, including universities, the press and the police.

Those concerns set off protests this year after several book publishers based in Hong Kong vanished, only to reappear weeks later in Chinese custody. In 2014, when China’s legislature set election rules all but ensuring that only pro-Beijing candidates could run for Hong Kong’s chief executive, tens of thousands of protesters paralyzed the city center for months.

Although the anticorruption commission has proved independent enough to take down tycoons and top civil servants, Ms. Li’s departure highlights how potentially vulnerable it may be to outside political influence, including from the mainland.

The link to both, critics say, is Mr. Leung, a Beijing loyalist who has extraordinary power over the commission, enough to bend it to the mainland’s will or shield himself from scrutiny should he be so inclined.

Mr. Leung nominates the leader of the commission, as he did with Mr. Peh, who is then appointed by China’s central government.

Ms. Li had been serving as acting chief of the commission’s operations department. Making her appointment permanent would have required Mr.

Leung’s consent. The commission said that Ms. Li would be replaced by Ricky Yau, another career official.

More important, an oversight committee that has the power to review the commission’s investigations is also overseen by a Leung appointee, Maria Tam, a Beijing loyalist and a member of China’s Communist-controlled legislature since 1997.

Mr. Leung appointed Ms. Tam, who declined to comment for this article, as chairwoman of the Operations Review Committee in December 2014, two months after the reports on his payments from UGL surfaced.

“This is a committee that looks at all the evidence that’s been gathered — it’s not just providing advice,” said Simon Young, a law professor at the University of Hong Kong who has written about the commission.

While Ms. Tam, a lawyer, would be expected to uphold Hong Kong’s separate system, she is also a member of China’s Parliament, where the Chinese government has made clear that it will tolerate no disloyalty toward Mr. Leung.

A Hong Kong member of the National People’s Congress advisory body was expelled in 2014 after he voiced disapproval of Mr. Leung’s handling of the street protests.

“We don’t know the de facto reason, but the arrangement is very dubious, the timing is very sensitive.”

Anson Chan, who supervised Hong Kong’s Civil Service in the last years of British rule and in the first few years under Chinese sovereignty, questioned why Mr. Leung would appoint an openly pro-Beijing politician to oversee Ms. Li’s department. “Why does the chief executive feel it necessary to appoint someone like her?” Ms. Chan asked. “People are so afraid. They are so mistrustful of him.”

It is not known whether Ms. Tam had any role in reviewing the anticorruption commission’s investigation into Mr. Leung. The commission does not comment on its work.

In a statement, Mr. Leung’s office said that the chief executive and his staff “would not comment on any investigation undertaken by the law enforcement agencies but would cooperate if necessary.”

A spokeswoman for the commission said that all of its personnel changes “are made in accordance with established procedures without interference.” Mr. Peh, through the spokes-

woman, declined to be interviewed.

But those procedures work only if the chief executive acts in the best interests of Hong Kong and not Beijing, where the judiciary serves the Communist Party, said Emily Lau, a lawmaker for the Democratic Party. Oversight committees led by pro-Beijing officials “aren’t going to do their work” overseeing an ostensibly independent body, she said by telephone.

Hong Kong’s criminal justice system, including the anticorruption commission, is one of the pillars that make the city distinct, attracting multinational corporations and banks that want to do business with China but in a place where they can count on the rule of law.

“If you want to keep Hong Kong as an international city where business and commerce flourishes, you need very strong rule-of-law institutions, things that people have lots of confidence in,” Mr. Young said.

Or, as Ms. Lau put it, referring to the commission, “If the I.C.A.C. is finished, Hong Kong is also finished.” She added, “It will be just like any other Chinese city, so corrupt and no rule of law.”

Alan Wong and Charlotte Yang contributed reporting. Kiki Zhao contributed research from Beijing.

War takes higher toll on Afghan children

KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The number of children killed or wounded in Afghanistan’s conflict surged in the first half of 2016 compared with a year earlier, the United Nations said on Monday.

The figures came in a midyear report by the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, or Unama, and was released two days after the deadliest bombing to hit Kabul since the insurgency began in 2001, following the American-led invasion to topple the Taliban.

On Saturday, at least 80 people were killed and 231 wounded in a suicide bombing at a peaceful demonstration by Hazaras, a largely Shiite minority in Afghanistan. Most of those killed were civilians.

The Islamic State claimed responsibility for the attack, fueling concerns that the extremists, who have had a presence in the remote eastern border regions near Pakistan for the past year, plan to raise their profile in Afghanistan as they suffer losses in their heartland in Iraq and Syria.

The figures from the Saturday attack are not part of United Nations mission’s report, which documented casualties from Jan. 1 to June 30. One-third of the casualties during those six months were children, with 388 killed and 1,121 wounded, the report said. That toll is 18 percent higher than a year earlier.

Ahmad Shuja, an Afghanistan researcher for Human Rights Watch, attributed the alarming rise in the number of deaths and injuries to children to a changing landscape of war. Whereas the Taliban previously relied on hit-and-run tactics and the use of remotely detonated explosives, they now engage in ground battles with government troops, and often deliberately target schools, community centers and civilian homes, Mr. Shuja said in an interview.

Human Rights Watch was not involved in the United Nations report but



ADAM FERGUSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hazaras gathered in Kabul on Sunday to bury victims from a suicide bombing the day before that killed 80. In the first half of this year, war casualties among children rose 18 percent.

has done its own reports on children in conflict. Mr. Shuja said, however, that the group had found that Afghan security forces were also “often responsible for badly aimed artillery and mortar fire,” contributing to the casualties.

The United Nations report said the total number of civilian casualties in the first half of 2016 rose 4 percent, to 5,166 — 1,601 killed and 3,565 wounded. That is similar to the figures from the previous year, which was particularly bad as Afghan forces took the lead in fighting after the 2014 withdrawal of most international combat troops.

Although civilian casualties in 2015 were the highest since 2009, when the United Nations mission started collating civilian casualties, numbers for this half-year were similar to last year.

Over all, the mission’s report said that from Jan. 1, 2009, until June 30, 2016, a total of 63,934 civilian casualties — 22,941 deaths and 40,993 wounded — had been recorded.

“Antigovernment elements” were responsible for 60 percent of civilian casualties, the report said, but it also noted “an increase in the number of civilians killed and injured by pro-government forces.”

In the first half of this year, the mission documented 1,180 civilian casualties attributable to pro-government forces, or 23 percent of the total. Yet this was a 47 percent increase compared with a year earlier, primarily as a result of stepped-up battles across the country, the report said.

“Ground engagements continue to cause the highest number of civilian casualties, followed by complex and suicide attacks and improved explosive devices,” it said. “Explosive remnants of war disproportionately impacted children who comprised 85 percent of the casualties caused by such devices.”

Afghanistan remains one of the most heavily mined countries in the world, after almost 40 years of conflict.

China sets new limits on reporting by websites

HONG KONG

BY MICHAEL FORSYTHE

China has ordered several of the country’s most popular internet portals to halt much of their original news reporting, a move that could confine an even larger share of the journalism in the country to Communist-controlled mouthpieces ahead of an important party meeting next year.

The profit-driven portals, several of which are listed on United States stock exchanges, have in recent years expanded their investigative teams to increase readership among China’s more than 600 million internet users by scooping the staid state-owned news media on subjects including industrial pollution, tainted milk powder and even police brutality.

But on Monday, several news organizations reported that the Beijing office of China’s internet regulator, the Cyberspace Administration of China, had ordered the websites of a number of the companies, including Sina, Sohu, NetEase and Phoenix, to shut down or “clean up” several of their most popular online news features.

The announcement came within weeks of the surprise departure of the Cyberspace Administration’s director, Lu Wei, and his replacement by an official who had served under President Xi Jinping in a previous position. Under Mr. Xi, media controls have tightened as the Communist Party has tried to squelch news that might put its governance in an unfavorable light.

In February, Mr. Xi visited three of the top state-run news organizations, telling their staffs in a highly choreographed tour that they existed to serve as propaganda messengers for the party.

The edict made public on Monday, which said the web portals were in “serious violation” of a 2005 internet regulation, came ahead of a meeting next year of the Communist Party Congress. The party often puts in place controls on news before important events, such as the party conclave, held once every five years, which will pick a new group of senior leaders.

The news sites are run by China’s biggest internet companies, which also operate social media platforms and produce some of the country’s most popular online games. Sina, which runs a news aggregation service and publishes original reporting, also created Weibo, China’s popular Twitter-like social media site. The companies are roughly the equivalent of the United States’ largest internet companies, like Facebook, Twitter and Google.

It is unclear whether the regulation will end all original reporting at the websites, where hundreds of millions of Chinese turn for their news. Monday’s announcement mentioned specific features at four internet sites, which in recent years have attracted investigative reporters from newspapers such as Southern Weekend.

Wen Tao, who until last year was a reporter for “Serious Reporting” at Phoenix, one of the news features shut down by the new edict, said by telephone that in recent years the news portals had played a cat-and-mouse game with the government internet censors, pushing the boundaries of censorship by publishing material without submitting it for approval and waiting to see if it was taken down by the authorities.

But Mr. Wen said that even in China, with its army of censors, it was difficult for the government to control news in a market powered by hundreds of millions of readers hungry for reports that go beyond Communist propaganda.

“The flow of information cannot be stopped — it’s like a flood,” Mr. Wen said. “You either need to discharge it or it will run rampant. The regulators are trying to use policies to block the holes.”

On Monday, the media or investor relations departments at Sina, Phoenix and NetEase did not respond to emails asking how the announcement would affect news operations. A spokeswoman for Sohu declined to comment, and the Cyberspace Administration of China did not immediately reply to questions faxed to its news office.

Kiki Zhao contributed research from Beijing, and Charlotte Yang from Hong Kong.

CORRECTIONS

- An obituary on July 4 about the filmmaker Michael Cimino, using information from a friend and former lawyer, referred incorrectly to his survivors. They include two brothers, Peter and Edward; it is not the case that he had no immediate survivors.
- Because of an editing error, a review on July 13 about “Ordinarily Well: The Case for Antidepressants,” by Peter D. Kramer, misstated the given name of the author of another book, “Anatomy of an Epidemic: Magic Bullets, Psychiatric Drugs, and the Astonishing Rise of Mental Illness in America.” He is Robert Whitaker, not Mark.
- An article in the July 9-10 issue about Marie Kondo, an organizing consultant and writer, misstated the given name of the author of the book “Women With Attention Deficit Disorder.” She is Sari Solden, not Siri.

Culture

FILM MUSIC

Extending his independent streak

James Schamus, who ran Focus Features for years, tries his hand at directing

BY CARA BUCKLEY

After James Schamus was fired in 2013 from his job running Focus Features, where, over the course of nearly a dozen years, he had brought to the screen such indie gems as “Brokeback Mountain,” “Lost in Translation” and “Milk,” he vowed to take it easy, and more or less failed.

Mr. Schamus is known in Hollywood for being a high-achieving, highbrow go-getter. He has written and produced dozens of films, many with his longtime friend and collaborator Ang Lee. He was also probably the only Hollywood honcho to earn a Ph.D. (in English, from the University of California, Berkeley) while both running a production company and holding a professorship at an Ivy League graduate school (Columbia University).

After leaving Focus — he now lists that gig under “Other Work Experience,” on Page 30 of his 38-page résumé — Mr. Schamus spent the better part of a year saying no to a bunch of business proposals, but his hiatus from film did not last. He started his own production company, Symbolic Exchange. He began writing an obsessively researched screenplay of “Zealot,” Reza Aslan’s controversial Jesus biography. And then, a year and a half ago, he decided to throw himself into a film version of “Indignation” by Philip Roth, an author whose work has yielded celluloid adaptations so wildly uneven that one writer at The Atlantic penned a *cri de coeur*, “Stop Making Film Adaptations of Philip Roth Novels.”

But adapt a Roth novel Mr. Schamus did. And, even though he had never done so for a full-length feature, he decided to direct it, too.

“It’s very humbling and potentially humiliating,” Mr. Schamus, 56, said in his loft-style offices in Manhattan’s Flatiron district. “At the same time, it’s



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ALISON COHEN ROSA/ROADSIDE ATTRACTIONS

Left, James Schamus wrote and produced dozens of films. Middle row, from left: Zhang Ziyi in “Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon”; Jake Gyllenhaal, left, and Heath Ledger in “Brokeback Mountain”; “The Ice Storm” with Sigourney Weaver and Kevin Kline, movies he made with Ang Lee; Sarah Gadon and Logan Lerman in “Indignation.” Bottom, with Mr. Lee in 1997.

a luxury to be able to say: ‘Yeah, if I’m going to get humiliated, fine. There’s a space in your life when I’m just too old to worry about this.’”

Inspired by Mr. Roth’s college years and set in 1951, “Indignation,” which opens July 29, follows Marcus Messner (Logan Lerman), the atheist Jewish son of a kosher butcher from Newark, as he heads to a conservative Ohio college, falls for a troubled coed (played by Sarah Gadon) and tussles with the school’s administration.

Aware that his extensive film pedigree would heighten industry scrutiny, Mr. Schamus said he girded himself and his family — he and his wife, the writer and poet Nancy Kricorian, have two grown daughters — for excoriating criticism of the film.

“I said, ‘Here’s the deal guys, I’m going to make this movie, and the odds are overwhelmingly against me that it’s going to be any good,’” Mr. Schamus said. “Most people who get struck by this disease of middle age, whether it’s producers wanting to direct or actors wanting to sing, it just doesn’t usually work out.”

But the movie’s premiere this year at the Sundance Film Festival was met with cheering from the audience and

largely warm reviews. Critics praised the film’s meticulous composition and nimble evocation of the essence of Mr. Roth’s tale. Mr. Schamus’s industry friends and colleagues were similarly impressed. “This is a guy who was an executive who greenlighted films, who passed judgment on people his whole career,” said John Sloss, a lawyer and independent film producer. “To put yourself in the line of fire, that is a very big, gutsy career move.”

Becoming a director had never been part of Mr. Schamus’s life plan, and it probably happened only because of his dismissal from Focus. While he now says he could sense his tenure there coming to an end, it must have stung, especially because Focus grew out of Good Machine, the sales and production company he formed in the early 1990s with Ted Hope, who now heads motion picture production at Amazon Studios.

“To me, this really means the end of indie film as we once knew it,” Mr. Hope tweeted on Oct. 2, 2013, the day Mr. Schamus’s termination became public.

In a statement at the time, Donna Langley, the chairwoman of Universal Pictures, Focus Features’ parent, said the division would be putting out a



REED SAXON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

greater variety of films and touted Mr. Schamus as “a passionate advocate for specialty film.” Mr. Schamus said he left deeply proud of his work, and also somewhat relieved.

“The last couple of years at Focus

were so corporate,” he said. “There was that encroachment, the kind of suffocating embrace. It wasn’t evil or anything. It just meant that a huge amount of my bandwidth was going into the corporate suck.” (Mr. Schamus’s successor, Peter Schlesel, was fired in February.)

“Indignation” was the only project Mr. Schamus took with him. He had optioned the novel years earlier and envisioned it being directed by Mr. Lee, whose collaborations with Mr. Schamus included “Brokeback Mountain,” “The Ice Storm” and “Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon.”

Mr. Lee entertained the idea of directing “Indignation,” but then signed on to do “Life of Pi.”

“I had to decide between a trip across the Pacific with a tiger, or to pick up the angry, older Philip Roth,” Mr. Lee said in a phone interview. That Mr. Schamus ended up directing it, Mr. Lee said, was a relief: “It got me off the hook.”

What was it about “Indignation” that Mr. Schamus found so compelling? He fell in love with its characters, he said — “your heart breaks, that’s all” — and found the story’s Jewish protagonist intrinsically appealing. Movies about

everyday Jewish life, he felt, were sorely lacking

“I’ve always been surprised, being Jewish myself, that the one thing you never make a movie about is Jewish experience,” Mr. Schamus said. “I love the fact that these are Jewish characters.”

Mr. Schamus adapted the script but, he said, Mr. Roth refused to read it. (The author was also not available to comment for this article, according to his lit-

“It was always a crisis, but we had a great time. Now I know how much fun directing is. I didn’t know. No one told me.”

erary agency.) “I said to him, ‘You’re definitely making a healthy choice, but it’s also a gift,’” Mr. Schamus said.

The notion of directing crept in stealthily. Mr. Schamus was more or less unemployed, the picture was boutiquey and smart, and, with his youngest daughter at college, he and his wife were empty nesters, giving him time for the all-encompassing demands of directing. He decided to give it a try and resolved, he said, to not ask for favors from any of

his “fancy friends and multiple Academy Award-winning whoever” to make the picture. “To be honest, I think a lot of my friends expected that call, and I had to explain why I wasn’t making it,” he said. “I don’t want a favor. I don’t want a cut fee. I want to work in this extremely low budget, polite space.”

Mr. Schamus reverse engineered the script: For every scene, he and his production team pulled similar scenes from other movies, studying the camera movements, the coverage and the blocking. He put together a shot list that included drawings, location photos, floor plans, stills from other movies and paintings. He had his star, Mr. Lerman, read Plath, Whitman and Bertrand Russell, and they spent six months poring over the character. “I’m just constantly learning from him,” Mr. Lerman said.

Wanting the film to feel authentically of its period, he used minimal hand-held shots and executed exceedingly long takes — at least by today’s standards. The film was shot over a breakneck 24 days last summer and Mr. Schamus loved every minute. “It was always a crisis, but we had a great time,” he said. “Now I know how much fun directing is. I didn’t know. No one told me.”

Stephen Marley uses father’s roots in reggae as a springboard

‘Revelation Pt. II’ aims for innovation and radio-friendly crossover

BY JON PARELES

The enduring promise of reggae is that righteousness and hedonism can mesh. Social justice, love, perseverance and partying all take their turns on “Revelation Pt. II: The Fruit of Life,” Stephen Marley’s follow-up to his Grammy-winning

MUSIC REVIEW

ning 2011 album, “Revelation Pt. I: The Root of Life.” The shift in title from “Root” to “Fruit” is significant.

Being Bob Marley’s son has given Stephen Marley a voice with archetypal familiarity, some instant brand recognition and a cultural responsibility. Like his musical brothers Ziggy, Damian and Ky-Mani, he’s determined to uphold their legacy and to give it a per-

sonalized update. “The son of the legend, and the message is the same,” raps Rick Ross on one of the album’s many collaborations.

On “Revelation Pt. I,” Mr. Marley stayed close to the roots reggae sound Bob Marley perfected in the 1970s with the Wailers, though his album added a few guest rappers. “Revelation Pt. II” is far less purist; it strives for both innovation and radio-friendly crossover. Mr. Marley’s productions seek fusions with hip-hop, dancehall and R&B; the songs feature nearly two dozen guests (among them Damian and Ky-Mani Marley).

It’s an overstuffed album — 24 tracks, including a few remixes — and not uniformly successful. At times, Mr. Marley is too self-effacing, just singing choruses while his guests rap. But it opens a lot of doors.

The album puts its sense of mission up front. Its “Intro” and “Outro” feature a Charlie Chaplin speech from the 1940 film “The Great Dictator” that still rings true: “Machinery that gives



DONALD TRAILL/INVISION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Stephen Marley in Huntington, Long Island, last year. His new album, “Revelation Pt. II,” is a follow-up to his 2011 Grammy winning record.

Mr. Marley’s productions seek fusions with hip-hop, dancehall and R&B; the songs feature nearly two dozen guests.

abundance has left us in want. Our knowledge has made us cynical. Our cleverness, hard and unkind.”

“So Unjust,” one of the album’s most straightforward reggae tracks, has Mr. Marley singing about distrust and corruption alongside hard-nosed, accusatory raps from Rakim and the Canadian rapper Kardinal Offishall. The dancehall-style “Ghetto Boy,” with the gruff-voiced Jamaicans Bounty Killer and Co-bra, explores how poverty fosters gun violence.

“Father of the Man” uses a sample of Nina Simone singing, “I’m the keeper of the flame” before Mr. Marley sings, “Keep your conscience clean and put the weight on your back.” It’s not a reg-

MARLEY, PAGE 9

CULTURE ART FILM

Celebrating the colors of desire

In New York exhibition, Indian paintings from the 16th to the 19th centuries

BY JASON FARAGO

It is the colors that awe most in Hindu painting of the 16th to 19th centuries: the saturated reds, the lambent golds, or the milky blues of Krishna’s skin and the sky at twilight. They are as vivid as ever in “Divine Pleasures,” a hand-

ART REVIEW

some and uncommon show at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which features nearly 100 watercolor and ink paintings from northern India. Illustrations of the Ramayana and other holy texts, portraits of rajahs with horses and elephants, and love scenes both spiritual and erotic plot the development of Indian aristocratic taste over three tumultuous centuries. But the color gleams throughout, alive with otherworldly devotion.

“Divine Pleasures” celebrates a promised gift to the museum from the scholar and collector (and a former Met curator) Steven M. Kossak, who, with his family, has assembled a prodigious collection of Asian and other non-Western art. The paintings here, most of which will enter the Met’s collection, come from Hindu, rather than Muslim, principalities and courts that dotted

northern India between the arrival of the Mughals in 1526 and the establishment of the Raj in 1858. Compared with Mughal miniature painting, known for its refinement and naturalism, the paintings here — from Rajasthan, in the northwest, and from the independent states of the Punjab hills, south of the Himalayas — are more vibrant and even flamboyant.

You can start to sketch out the shifts in Indian power and prestige from the earliest Rajasthani paintings here: flat compositions from the mid-16th century, making use of bold swaths of red and yellow, and packed with interlocking soldiers and elephants. Mughal influence grew in Rajasthan in the 17th century, however, and the military and courtly alliances spurred Rajput artists to develop new styles that combined Islamic refinement with local pizazz.

Some of the most impressive works from Rajput artists were assembled into ragamala, or “garlands of ragas,” albums of miniatures that depict passionate lovers, usually alone with musical instruments. Each image is associated with a musical mode, which is, in turn, associated with a poetic source — and, for a courtly audience, the delight of these paintings lay in the complex correspondences that artists imagined across three different media. We see a woman pining in a forest alongside a vina, a plucked string instrument with two hollow spheres for resonance; between her and the sky is a brilliant field of solid red. Another image from a dis-



There are illustrations of the Ramayana and other holy texts, portraits of rajahs with horses and elephants, and love scenes both spiritual and erotic.

persed ragamala, done around 1700, takes the form of a woman flanked by peacocks against a verdant grove, each of whose trees have leaves of different shapes, painstakingly and individually stippled.

Northeast of Rajasthan, the sub-Himalayan courts of the Punjab hills also

witnessed shifts in artistic language before and after the arrival of the Mughals. In the 17th century, aristocratic painting from these small kingdoms made use of spare but richly colored backgrounds: A nobleman sits against a field of solid gold, while a ruler believed to be the Maharajah Hamir Chand is fanned by servants before an expanse of vermillion.

Northern artists also turned to religious subjects, as in two paintings depicting different incarnations of Vishnu. In one, the deity takes the avatar of a giant fish, and surges from the sea with a demon in his jaw. Another sees



PHOTOGRAPHS BY KRONOS COLLECTIONS, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART.

Paintings in the “Divine Pleasures” exhibition include “The Lovers Radha and Krishna in a Palm Grove,” left, and “Blind-man’s Buff: The Demon Pralamba Carries Balarama on His Shoulder,” above.

against his blue torso. Another shows Krishna with four milkmaids, three of whom engage with him: One resists his seduction, another flirts back, and one is happy to go at it by the riverside.

Mr. Kossak knows better than anyone how his gift will transform the Met’s Mughal-heavy holdings in Indian painting. He was, until 2006, a curator in the museum’s department of Asian art. We should therefore get a thorny matter out of the way. Although he acquired a majority of his collection before joining the Met, Mr. Kossak bought some of these paintings while he was also fleshing out the Met’s holdings. In the catalog for this exhibition, he explains that he acquired only works that the Met had passed on, though, on some occasions, “dealers offered me works personally and I acquired them with the idea of eventually donating them to the Met.”

The New York Times

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PEOPLE

☛ **BRIE LARSON** has a new title to add to her resume: Superhero. Disney and Marvel announced Saturday at Comic-Con in San Diego that Ms. Larson would star in “Captain Marvel” as the air force pilot Carol Danvers who gets special powers after an alien encounter. “Captain Marvel” will be the first film in the Marvel Cinematic Universe to center on a female character. The film is scheduled for release in March of 2019.

☛ For the first time in its 36-year history, a competition seeking the man who



BRIE LARSON, DAVE HEMINGWAY

most looks like **ERNEST HEMINGWAY** was won by a man called Hemingway. The Guardian reported. **DAVE HEMINGWAY** was named the winner of the “Papa” Hemingway Look-Alike Contest on Saturday in Key West, Florida. The winner said he was not related to the late author. The contest attracted 140 entrants during the annual Hemingway Days Festival. (AP)

☛ **PRINCE HARRY**, 31, of Britain says he wishes he had spoken sooner about the death of his mother, **PRINCESS DIANA**. Harry, who did not speak about his bereavement until three years ago, told the BBC that it wasn’t a sign of weakness to speak about problems. Harry was 12 when Diana died in a car crash in 1997. The comments came during a barbecue with athletes who had struggled with mental health issues. (AP)

PHOTOGRAPHS: AP, REUTERS

New ‘Star Trek’ sticks to the blockbuster blueprint

Star Trek Beyond. Directed by Justin Lin.

BY A.O. SCOTT

Musing in his Captain’s Log as his birthday approaches, James Tiberius Kirk, his eyes as blue as the lens flare that accompanies the first shot of the Starship Enterprise, finds himself in a funk. “Things are starting to feel a little

MOVIE REVIEW

... episodic,” he confesses, in what even a sympathetic viewer might interpret as a meta-statement, a confession of franchise fatigue. Chris Pine, who has played Kirk since the big-screen reboot in 2009, is on his third voyage. This character, originated by William Shatner, has endured a lot more. The larger “Star Trek” enterprise has been boldly going on for a half-century, and more hours of television and cinema than I possess the Googling acumen to tally.

So you can understand why James T., a good soldier and also a bit of a loose cannon, might want to break out of the rut, and the title of the latest movie, “Star Trek Beyond,” teases the audience with the promise of novelty and risk. It’s not necessarily a criticism to note that not much materializes. Directed by the action maven Justin Lin from a script by Simon Pegg and Doug Jung, the film answers the question “Beyond what?” with a diffident “Well, nothing, really. Don’t worry!” It should have been called “Star Trek Within” in honor of its determination to color inside the lines, obeying the ironclad conventions of brand and genre.

Which is not, in itself, a bad thing. Not every wheel needs reinventing, and one of the abiding pleasures of “Star Trek,” in its old and newer iterations, lies in its balance of stubborn consistency and canny inventiveness. The characters never change, but the stakes can shift wildly from one adventure to the next.



KIMBERLEY FRENCH/PARAMOUNT PICTURES

Anton Yelchin, left, as Chekov and Chris Pine as Captain Kirk in “Star Trek Beyond.” Right, Mr. Pine being manhandled by Idris Elba, who plays the murderous warlord Krall.

Fans love “Star Trek” precisely because of its episodic nature, which allows for a certain amount of variation in theme and tone. Sometimes the future of the universe hangs in the balance. Sometimes Kirk and his crew have to deal with local disputes and personnel issues. Or weird random stuff, like tribbles or Joan Collins-related time travel.

Unfortunately, 21st-century big-budget action movies are made according to a more rigid template, and “Beyond” follows its immediate predecessors, “Star Trek” and “Into Darkness” (both directed by J. J. Abrams), in sacrificing some of the old spirit to blockbuster imperatives. The Hollywood rule book stipulates that the climactic sequence should involve the

noisy destruction of a lot of buildings and an extended hand-to-hand fight between the good guy and the main villain. The villain should be motivated by the usual villainous grudge. Millions of lives should be in danger, and the actual casualties should be numerous and filmed bloodlessly enough to preserve the PG-13 rating.

Up until the tedious and bombastic finish, though, you can have a pretty good time. In his work on the “Fast and Furious” movies, Mr. Lin has shown a playful willingness to extend — and, if necessary, suspend — the laws of physics, and his visual brashness can be a refreshing antidote to Mr. Abrams’s fussy tries to combine digital spectacle with old-fashioned cinematic discipline. Most important, the gang’s all here,

and Mr. Lin proves once again to be an adept ensemble wrangler. Kirk grins and grimaces his way through yet another existential career crisis (and also does some motorcycle stunt driving). Spock (Zachary Quinto) and Uhura (Zoe Saldana) experience some love trouble. Spock and Bones (Karl Urban) take their bickering-astronaut vaudeville act on the road again. Sulu (John Cho), Chekov (Anton Yelchin) and Scotty (Mr. Pegg) provide technical support and comic relief, as necessary.

On the surface of a distant planet, the crew encounters a new nemesis and a new ally. The big baddie is a murderous warlord named Krall (Idris Elba, masked). The scrappy sidekick is a stranded fighter named Jaylah (Sofia Boutella, in zebra-stripe makeup).

Things go more or less as you expect, with enough surprises and “reveals” to make you mad at me if I say too much more. The crew hops into, and out of, danger. Machinery fails and is repaired in the nick of time. Highly complicated imaginary science is explained with breathless urgency.

Sometimes, I have to say, the scientific breakthroughs feel a little too convenient. Jaylah has some kind of technology that makes giant spaceships invisible, and another kind that shoots fast-drying resin (or something). And there is some business at the end on an enormous space station that I did not buy for a minute. The nerd in me wants a bit more rigor, a bit more plausibility underneath the exuberant fakery. Maybe in the next episode.

MUSIC ART BOOKS CULTURE

Stephen Marley uses his roots as springboard

MARLEY, FROM PAGE 7

gae track, though; it's slow, minor-key hip-hop, with Mr. Marley's vocal giving way to a long Wyclef Jean rap about fallen leaders. And "Babylon," with the rapper Dead Prez denouncing capitalism and the Jamaican singer Junior Reed (from Black Uhuru) warning "your kingdom a go fall down," is a rock ballad with distant hints of traditional Jamaican Nyabingi drumming.

Mr. Marley's aching voice suits love songs just as well as protests. "Walking Away" — one of the few songs with no guests, and one of the best — is an apology set to slow, bluesy R&B: "It's hard to say but easy to do/Bad things to one another, like I did to you." Mr. Marley shares the mournful "Pleasure or Pain," which hints at reggaeton, with Busta Rhymes and the Jamaican dancehall rapper Konshens. "So Strong," an affirmation of love, starts out as classic 1960s soul before a rap from Shaggy. An old-school soul backbeat and horn section punctuate Mr. Marley's most convincing upbeat song, "Music Is Alive," which has him rapping and singing.

There's some incongruity between reggae's reflections on poverty and American rappers' boasts about wealth. In "The Lion Roars," Rick Ross comes swaggering in to announce, "Pull up in that Rolls-Royce, can you hear the Wailers?" before rhyming about "coming from the bottom" himself. Waka Flocka Flame can't resist

flaunting his palatial real estate in "Scars on My Feet." There are full-fledged misfires, too, like the album's attempts at dubstep and electronic dance music, which already sound dated. Among all the guests, only two are women.

But an occasional overreach is built into an album as sprawling as "Revelation Pt. II." And more often than not, Mr. Marley lives up to the ambition that his last name demands of him. With any

It's an overstuffed album — 24 tracks, with a few remixes — and not uniformly successful.

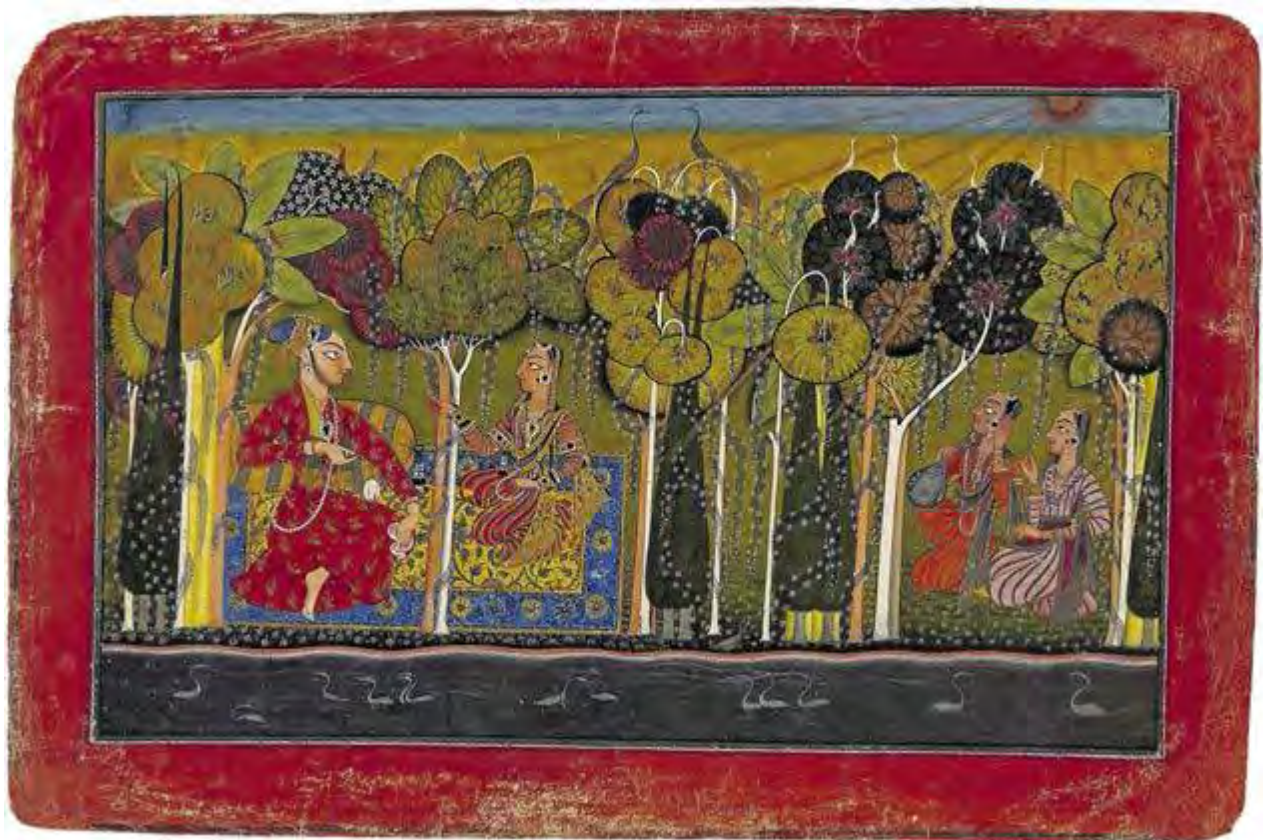
luck, his next album will have fewer guests and more of the introspection and steadfastness he reveals in "It's Alright," a hymnlike ballad that he sings on his own. "Some come to the end of the world just to wake up and be reborn/I've seen the weak overcome the strong," he sings, humble but determined. "If I keep telling myself that it'll be all right/Maybe I could get some sleep tonight."

Revelation Pt. II. The Fruit of Life. Stephen Marley. *Ghetto Youths International.*

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Philippe de Montebello, the Met's former director, told The Wall Street Journal recently that no conflict arose during Mr. Kossak's tenure. When Mr. Kossak had the chance to acquire an artwork, Mr. de Montebello said, "he would have brought it to the attention



Clockwise from above: "A Nobleman and His Devoted Wife Seated in the Forest; Two Female Musicians Attend"; "Gujari Ragini: A Lady With a Vina Seated on a Bed of Lotus Flowers"; and "Dakshina Gujari Ragini: A Lady With a Vina Reclining in the Forest, Waiting for Her Lover."

of the museum, and said, 'If you're not going to go after it, then I will.'" Mr. Kossak is a throwback to an earlier generation of independently wealthy curators who also assembled collections, and there is a touch of the old-timey, connoisseurship-driven art history in "Divine Pleasures." The Met will need time to look beyond the gorgeous surfaces of these paintings, and to integrate them into a larger, more critical narrative of Indian and pan-Asian history and society. For now, these exquisite paintings are in the public trust, and an artistic tradition once reserved for the aristocracy belongs to all of us.

Divine Pleasures. Painting From India's Rajput Courts: The Kronos Collections. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Through Sept. 12

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In an old-fashioned cowboy yarn, the good, the bad and the funny

The Heavenly Table. By Donald Ray Pollock. 365 pages. Doubleday. \$27.95.

BY ALEXANDER MAKSIK

Given its title, you could be forgiven for mistaking Donald Ray Pollock's second novel for another celebrity cookbook — the kind of thing you might find alongside Gwyneth Paltrow's "It's All Easy" at your local big-box superstore. Fortunately,

nately, there are no recipes to be found within this wild, rollicking and wonderfully vulgar novel, but the people of "The Heavenly Table" sure are hungry. All is not easy, least of all for the famished, and it is distinctly refreshing to read contemporary American fiction that concerns itself with such a fundamental problem of existence, far beyond the closed loops of affluent friends cloistered in the same old corners of urban America. Which isn't to say Brooklyn doesn't play a role: Were it not for one of that borough's failed poets and his dime-store pulp, Mr. Pollock's destitute heroes would never have become the Jewett Gang and much of the novel's mayhem might have been avoided. But more on that in a moment.

It's 1917 on the Georgia-Alabama border, and Cane, Cob and Chimney Jewett are living in a shack, clearing swampland for Major Tardweller, their cruel landlord-cum-employer. They're scratching by on fried dough, the remains of a "sick hog" and whatever else their father, Pearl, can provide, which isn't much.

When Pearl meets a mystical drifter who survives on the creatures crawling in his beard, the man advises him to "welcome all the suffering that comes your way" and promises him that one day he will "eat at the heavenly table." It's the usual hokum used to placate the poor — suffer on earth, be rewarded in

heaven — but Pearl is stirred. That is, until he drops dead behind a bush mid-bowel-movement. Then the boys take a machete to Tardweller's skull, steal his horses and head for Canada.

Meanwhile, outside Meade, Ohio, a sort of semi-Sodom where a barbarous barkeep tortures patrons to death (and where, as the United States enters World War I, people are "kicking dachshunds to death, making 90-year-old Americans with German-sounding names get down on their knees in the streets and kiss the American flag, calling sauerkraut Liberty cabbage"), we meet the Fiddlers, Eula and Ellsworth, two farmers still reeling from having been swindled out of their life's savings. They're searching for their ne'er-do-well drunk of a son, Eddie, who, not long after blasting his mother's beloved cat to bits, has gone missing.

Ellsworth, dim and sweet, with a weakness for hooch, is determined to find the boy and return him to the righteous road. Inevitably, the Jewett Gang, seeking to lay low for a while, ends up at the Fiddler farm. With a huge bounty on their heads, and accused of a host of crimes, including necrophilia, bank robbery and murder, the boys find they need Eula and Ellsworth, who, as it turns out, need them too. What is at first a purely transactional relationship becomes something more tender. Do the boys make it to Canada? What are the odds?

On the surface, it's a classic cowboy plot: three (mostly) good-hearted outlaws riding off in search of a better life, with the law and an assortment of ragtag posesses on their tails. Mr. Pollock has set himself the task of working within the constraints of genre, but because he's such a smart and funny writer, he's incapable of delivering an empty entertainment. And in fact, one slowly discovers the novel to be both a subtle critique of snobbery in general and a particular snobbery that claims



to distinguish "serious" fiction from unserious. Yes, "The Heavenly Table" is an old-fashioned yarn with a pretty predictable plot — but that's the point, and as with "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" (an obvious influence), it is also a riotous satire that takes on our hopeless faith in modernity, along with our endless capacity for cruelty and absurd pretension.

Which returns us to that Brooklyn poet's pulp, the book within the book, "The Life and Times of Bloody Bill

Bucket." A hard-worn copy serves both as the Jewett boys' primary source of entertainment and as a bad man's Bible. Here, in one of Mr. Pollock's many amusing interstitial asides, we spin away from the central story and learn a bit about Bucket's creator: "The author, Charles Foster Winthrop III, a failed poet from Brooklyn who had once dreamed of becoming the next Robert Browning ... had filled the book with every act of rape, robbery and murder that his indignant, syphilitic

brain could possibly conceive."

Despite having written 20 of these pot-boilers, Winthrop is unable to make a living, so "the hack brushed the rat turds off his one good suit and chugged down enough turpentine to peel the paint off a two-story house ... another forgotten casualty of the callous and fickle literary world he had once hoped to conquer."

On one hand, here's Mr. Pollock winking at us. He's a talented, serious and agile writer, who possesses genuine tenderness for the dim and luckless, the uncouth and poor, people whom the "callous and fickle literary world" aren't much interested in these days. As a result, he's always at risk of being

ghettoized by the homogeneous club (mostly white, mostly wealthy) that determines what is "literary" and what is not. On the other hand, there's more here than a northward gibe. Good satire cannot be mired in bitterness. It should always propose some semblance of a solution, no matter how minor. Mr. Pollock's, aside from a little love and friendship, lies in stories, in literature, in the ability of books — of all genres and brows — to ease the pain of being alive.

No matter how grim the lives of the people in "The Heavenly Table," no matter how deluded, pretentious, vile and pathetic they (and we) may be, literature provides relief and pleasure, hope and consolation. From Bloody Bill Bucket to "The History of the Peloponnesian War" from Huck Finn to "Richard III," all of which feature here, stories soften the blows of poverty and all its attendant suffering.

Mr. Pollock grants each of his many characters, no matter how minor or wretched, a story and a soul, and one of this novel's most vivid and original is Jasper Cone, sanitation inspector. His job, which he performs with absolute passion, is to wander Meade with a long, ringed stick, measuring the levels of each and every outhouse. This is a man obsessed with toilets and their contents, who "because of his access to everyone's privy ... could at times be spot on when it came to diagnosing certain health problems among the citizenry." An earnest, fastidious self-flagellator constantly covered in feces, Cone suffers (both comically and not) for having an enormous penis and a pious mother who raised him to abhor it. Sanitation has come to take the place of eros and intimacy, and day after day he plunges his stick into the excrement of others, dreaming all the while of a gleaming world saved by indoor plumbing.

Technology is the way out of pain. Progress and modernity are king. War is in full swing, chemical warfare and machine guns have come to the front, automobiles dazzle poor kids on the street, women are considered either whores or homemakers, homosexuals and African-Americans are attacked and degraded, citizens with "foreign-sounding" names are harassed and treated with suspicion. And as much as we'd like to take comfort in the thought that all of this happened far away and a century ago, the fact is that Mr. Pollock's funny, damning novel belongs, more than ever, to the America of today.

Alexander Maksik is the author of the novels "You Deserve Nothing" and "A Marker to Measure Drift." His new novel, "Shelter in Place," will be published in September.

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