

# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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As of 12 p.m. ET

DJIA 21985.84

▲ 0.43%

NIKKEI 19985.79

▲ 0.30%

STOXX 600 380.26

▲ 0.64%

BRENT 51.11

▼ 3.05%

GOLD 1271.10

▲ 0.36%

EURO 1.1804

▼ 0.33%

DLR \$110.34

▲ 0.07%

## What's News

### Business & Finance

The eurozone's economy quickened in the second quarter, raising the likelihood the ECB will phase out its stimulus measures next year. **A1**

◆ Exchange-traded funds held \$1 trillion more in investor money than hedge funds globally for the first time at the end of June. **B1**

◆ Snap and Blue Apron now trade well below their IPO prices and below what some venture-capital investors paid for their pre-IPO stakes. **B6**

◆ Scottish businessman Gregory King was declared bankrupt in a Gibraltar court after failing to repay investors millions of dollars. **B6**

◆ BP said it can now break even when oil is at \$47 a barrel, cushioning the oil giant against an extended period of low prices. **B1**

◆ Up to 17,000 investment banking jobs could leave the U.K. soon after Brexit, according to a report. **B6**

◆ Sony posted sharply higher profit in the fiscal first quarter amid strong sales of image sensors for cameras in smartphones. **B4**

◆ Scana is halting work on a South Carolina nuclear-power plant after huge cost overruns and delays. **B3**

◆ Alphabet is pitching a plan to store power from renewable energy in molten salt and cold liquids. **B4**

### World-Wide

◆ Senate Democrats outlined conditions for working with the Trump administration on tax policy, leaving little room for common ground. **A1**

◆ Trump ousted his communications director after only 10 days, becoming the seventh major administration official to leave in Trump's first six months. **A5**

◆ China lashed out at the U.S. over North Korea, saying Washington was ratcheting up tensions with Pyongyang. **A3**

◆ A Greek court found the country's former top statistician guilty of breaching his duties. **A2**

◆ Tension is rising in Thailand as a former prime minister enters the final stages of a trial accusing her of mismanaging a multibillion-dollar rice-subsidy program. **A3**

◆ The United States' top narcotics officer repudiated Trump's remarks about police use of force, condoning police misconduct. **A7**

◆ Venezuelan intelligence officers dragged two opposition leaders from their homes in the middle of the night after Maduro vowed to jail opponents after winning a disputed vote. **A4**

◆ Trump warned that he could end federal payments to insurers as a way to press members of Congress to revive efforts to repeal the ACA. **A5**

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## Ousted Thai Leader's Trial Raises Tensions as Verdict Nears



CHEERS: Supporters greet former Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra outside the Supreme Court in Bangkok, defying warnings by the junta to stay away. Ms. Yingluck, accused of mismanaging a multibillion-dollar rice-subsidy program, faces up to 10 years in prison. **A3**

## Trading Woes Jolt Goldman

Decline in fixed-income activity leaves firm in unusual spot: behind its major banking rivals

By LIZ HOFFMAN

After catching a tennis match at Wimbledon in July, Goldman Sachs Group Inc. trading chief Pablo Salame paid a visit to the London offices of bond-fund giant Pacific Investment Management Co.

His message to the Gold-

man client: "How can we do better?" according to people briefed on the meeting.

The next day, Goldman reported quarterly trading numbers that were the worst on Wall Street. Those followed a disappointing first quarter in which Goldman failed to catch an upswing in debt trading reported by rivals.

A 40% second-quarter decline in fixed-income activity, which includes bonds traded by Pimco and its ilk, left Goldman with first-half trading revenue that trailed its major

banking rivals—a first since Goldman went public in 1999.

The slump has rattled executives, sparking a charm offensive designed to showcase a more customer-friendly Goldman, focused on solving clients' problems rather than steering them into trades that benefit the firm's bottom line.

It has also tipped the scales in favor of more immediate action at the firm, despite a yearslong debate around whether changing market conditions were temporary or deep-rooted and how aggres-

sively Goldman should respond to them.

"It could be secular, it could be cyclical, doesn't matter, who knows?" finance chief R. Martin Chavez said last month on the bank's earnings call. The bottom line: the firm has to go where its clients want to go.

Chief Executive Lloyd Blankfein, himself a former trader, has scheduled one-on-one meetings with some of the firm's top traders, according to people familiar with the matter.

Please see TRADES page A2

## Democrats' Conditions Limit Chance of Tax Deal

By RICHARD RUBIN

WASHINGTON—Senate Democrats outlined their conditions for working with the Trump administration and congressional Republicans on tax policy, and their principles didn't seem to leave much room for common ground.

In a letter dated Tuesday, Democrats argued against tax cuts for the top 1% of households, declared it crucial that Republicans not use the fast-track procedures known as reconciliation and said they wouldn't back deficit-financed tax cuts.

"Tax reform cannot be a cover story for delivering tax cuts to the wealthiest," says the letter, which was just signed by 45 of the 48 members of the Senate Democratic caucus.

"We will not support any effort to pass deficit-financed tax cuts, which would endanger critical programs like Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security and other public investments in the future," the letter said.

Each of the Democrats' conditions will be hard for Republicans to meet in the tax bill they hope to turn into law by the end of the

year, unless they alter the direction the party has been heading in or more Democrats prove willing to bend.

Republicans plan to use reconciliation, which will allow them to pass a bill without Democratic votes, though they have said they are open to working with Democrats.

The GOP proposal includes rate cuts for businesses and

Please see TAXES page A5

◆ Scaramucci ouster comes at new chief of staff's urging... A5

◆ Trump's insurer threat aimed at reviving health repeal... A5

◆ DEA chief rebuts president on use of force by police... A7

## Valuation Snapshot

Shares of Snap and Blue Apron have fallen below what investors paid while the firms were private, shaking confidence in valuations. **B6**

### Snap

\$20



\*Price adjusted for pre-IPO stock split

Sources: FactSet; SEC filings

### Blue Apron

\$20



\*Price adjusted for pre-IPO stock split

Sources: FactSet; SEC filings

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## VOLKSWAGEN STRUGGLES TO REDEFINE ITSELF

CEO, appointed to clean up after emissions scandal, faces resistance over electric-car push

By WILLIAM BOSTON

WOLFSBURG, Germany—Matthias Müller was appointed as chief executive of Volkswagen AG, the world's No. 1 auto maker, to clean up after its emissions scandal and drag it into the modern world of electric and self-driving cars.

He has been buffeted by a formidable counterforce—VW's own managers, many of whom still yearn for the old autocratic corporate culture and remain skeptical of moves to downgrade the business of cars powered by fossil fuels.

"There are definitely people who are longing for the old top-down leadership," Mr. Müller, 63, told an industry gathering in Germany in May, speaking of the corporate culture he inherited. "I don't know if you can imagine how difficult it is to change their mind-set."

That mind-set, people inside and outside the company say, included a conviction

among many at VW that the internal combustion engine, especially the diesel, is a proven and superior technology that can meet emission standards for years.

That conviction, they say, helped lead engineers to rig diesel-engine software to appear to meet such standards, the crux of the scandal, which broke open in 2015.

It also left VW dragging its feet in electric vehicles and created internal skepticism about new ways customers were using cars—ride-hailing services such as Uber Technologies Inc., car-sharing business like Zipcar Inc. and apps that help steer drivers to businesses and services.

Almost immediately after taking over in September 2015, Mr. Müller presented a plan to move beyond VW's huge business in diesel and gasoline vehicles and generate at least 25% of sales

Please see VW page A6

◆ U.S. auto makers report steep drop in sales... B2

## Swarmed and Dangerous: New York's Bee Cop

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City's go-to guy for urban swarms collars perps with vacuum cleaner

By ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS  
AND BEN KESLING

NEW YORK—An owner of Arturo's pizzeria in Greenwich Village called the New York City hotline on a recent afternoon for help to break up a rowdy gathering outside before somebody got hurt.

Officer Darren Mays had already pulled a shift at the 104th precinct in Queens, but the New York Police Department dispatched him to Ar-

gent's office. It was the kind of trouble Officer Mays was best equipped to handle. He traded his 9mm pistol and handcuffs

for a hedge-trimmer, vacuum and white-veiled hat. Gotham City has its Batman. New York City has its bee man.

That day, tens of thousands of bees had followed their queen to a tree in Arturo's West Village neighborhood, scaring passersby as the swarm scouted for a spot to land a new colony. Officer Mays, the city's go-to guy for bee swarms, directed colleagues to string a yellow po-

Please see BEES page A6

Officer Darren Mays

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Please see BEES page A6

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## WORLD NEWS

# Greek Court Sentences a Top Economist

Former statistics chief denies wrongdoing; peers say he is the victim of persecution

BY MARCUS WALKER

A Greek court found the country's former top statistician guilty of breaching his duties, ruling he should have sought approval before he told European Union authorities of the full extent of Greece's budget deficit at the start of its debt crisis.

The Athens Appeals Court handed Andreas Georgiou, head of Greece's official statistics agency in 2010-2015, a two-year suspended jail sentence on Monday for his handling in 2010 of the revision of Greece's deficit data for previous years.

Mr. Georgiou denies any wrongdoing and has won widespread support from international statisticians, who say he is the victim of unjust persecution.

The EU has repeatedly certified that Mr. Georgiou reported Greece's fiscal data accurately, in contrast with earlier Greek practices that EU bodies have said deliberately hid the scale of the country's deficits.

The appeals court ruled that Mr. Georgiou, who took over statistics agency Elstat after the nation's 2010 bailout, should have sought the approval of its board of directors before he communicated revised deficit data to the EU in late 2010. At the time, some of the part-time board members insisted that Greece's true deficit was among the lowest in Europe—rather than the gap-

ing deficit that Elstat's staff of statisticians measured and that the EU verified.

The verdict marks an escalation of a six-year campaign against the former statistics chief by Greece's major political parties and parts of its judicial system.

Leading members of Greece's ruling left-wing Syriza party and the main conservative opposition party New Democracy have for years suggested that Mr. Georgiou exaggerated Greece's deficit for 2009 and earlier years to justify the country's bailout by the EU and International Monetary Fund.

Critics say that much of Greece's political class has sought to make Mr. Georgiou a scapegoat to deflect blame for the painful fiscal austerity under the continuing bailout.

They say New Democracy



JASON ANDREW FOR THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
Andreas Georgiou in December

officials also want to repair the reputation of their former leader Costas Karamanlis, during whose term as Greek prime minister until late 2009 the public finances deteriorated, leading to the col-

lapse of investors' trust in Greek debt.

Several investigators have concluded that Mr. Georgiou correctly applied EU accounting law in revising deficits for earlier years.

Probes against Mr. Georgiou, a former IMF official who now lives in Maryland, have repeatedly been dropped after no evidence of wrongdoing was found. But senior judicial officials have sought to keep the case alive, annulling Mr. Georgiou's acquittals and ordering fresh proceedings.

Greece's Supreme Court is due to rule in coming months on whether to cancel Mr. Georgiou's acquittal this spring on the most serious charge against him: that of falsifying the deficit and causing massive financial damage to the Greek state. The felony charge, which could bring a

life sentence, has been dropped and revived several times since 2013.

Monday's verdict reversed the outcome of a trial late last year that found Mr. Georgiou innocent of breaching his duties.

A spokeswoman for the EU executive, the European Commission, noted that the verdict was "not in line" with Mr. Georgiou's previous acquittal on the same charges, and that the EU has full confidence in the fiscal data published under Mr. Georgiou.

The trial was marked by raucous scenes as people in the public gallery called loudly for Mr. Georgiou to be condemned and shouted accusations of treason. Mr. Georgiou didn't attend and was represented by his lawyers.

—Nektaria Stamouli contributed to this article.

# Stolen Emails Show Ties Between Envoy, 1MDB Figure

Yousef Al Otaiba, the United Arab Emirates ambassador to the U.S., is a high-profile power player in Washington, trying to shape American policy toward the Middle East and lobbying over a regional dispute with Qatar.

By Bradley Hope in London and Tom Wright in Hong Kong

He is also being drawn deeper into a major global corruption scandal.

Newly released stolen emails show a long-running relationship between Mr. Otaiba and Jho Low, a Malaysian financier who U.S. law-enforcement officials say is at the center of the misappropriation of \$4.5 billion from a Malaysian state development fund.

That relationship is drawing new scrutiny from U.S., Swiss and Singaporean authorities, according to people familiar with the probes. The stolen emails show Mr. Otaiba and Shaher Awartani, his Jordanian partner, discussing inquiries from those countries about transactions they received from entities investigators say are connected to Mr. Low.

In one email, Mr. Awartani suggested buying a Ferrari after what Mr. Otaiba described as a "transfer from Jho."

"I think we each deserve to buy a nice toy in celebration, what do you think? The 458 ITALIA maybe?" Mr. Awartani



PATRICK T. FALLON/BLOOMBERG NEWS  
Yousef Al Otaiba, the U.A.E. envoy to the U.S., is seen in May.

wrote to Mr. Otaiba in 2009.

Mr. Otaiba responded that buying such "toys" in Abu Dhabi "will just attract unnecessary attention." Messrs. Awartani and Otaiba both declined to comment. The probes are continuing.

The group that says it obtained the stolen emails and showed them to The Wall Street Journal, Global Leaks, declined to identify its members or say how they got the communications. In a statement to the Journal, Global Leaks said it wanted to "expose corruption, financial frauds which are done by rich governments."

The Journal reported in June that companies connected to Mr. Otaiba received \$66 million from entities investigators say acted as conduits for money allegedly stolen from the state investment

fund, 1Malaysia Development Bhd., or 1MDB. The Journal cited court and investigative documents and emails Mr. Otaiba wrote.

A 1MDB spokesman declined to comment. The fund has denied any funds were misappropriated or any wrongdoing on its part. It pledged to cooperate with any "lawful" investigation. Malaysian authorities cleared the fund of wrongdoing, but it remains under investigation in the U.S. and several other countries.

Mr. Low hasn't been accused of a crime and has denied wrongdoing. A Low spokeswoman said the leaked emails created a "biased and inaccurate picture."

Mr. Otaiba has been a key figure in U.S.-U.A.E. relations for years. Diplomats and officials in Washington know him

for power lunches at Cafe Milano and lavish gatherings at his residence.

The emails detail Mr. Otaiba's sizable personal wealth, including millions of dollars of shares in Palantir Technologies, a data-analysis company that has numerous contracts with the U.S. intelligence and law-enforcement community, and the Carlyle Group investment firm.

Lately, Mr. Otaiba has become a frequent source of advice to President Donald Trump's son-in-law and adviser, Jared Kushner, on Middle East policy, people familiar with the matter said.

He has also urged the Trump administration to back efforts by the U.A.E., Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries to isolate Qatar, which they accuse of supporting Islamist terror groups like al

Qaeda. Qatar says it doesn't fund terror.

## Fund Delays Outlay To Abu Dhabi Entity

A troubled Malaysian state-investment fund said it was delaying a payment of about \$600 million it owes to an Abu Dhabi sovereign-wealth fund because of regulatory hurdles in getting the money.

Although 1Malaysia Development Bhd., known as 1MDB, said it would still honor its obligations, the delay threatens to reopen a dispute with its former business partner, Abu

Dhabi's International Petroleum Investment Co., over who should foot the bill for billions of dollars U.S. investigators allege was stolen from 1MDB.

1MDB said it had been due to make the payment by July 31, using proceeds from the sale of units it owns in offshore investment funds. Receipt has been delayed until August because of the "need for additional regulatory approvals," 1MDB said.

1MDB said it had "written to IPIC to inform them of our commitment to meet the obligations."

The money is the first in-

stallment of a \$1.2 billion sum that 1MDB agreed to pay IPIC to compensate the Abu Dhabi fund for an emergency loan and other financial support it had extended to the Malaysian fund.

IPIC confirmed it hadn't received payment from 1MDB.

The payment was the first to come due since the U.S. Justice Department and Singapore's public prosecutor alleged that units owned by 1MDB in an offshore investment fund were almost entirely worthless. The fund hasn't commented on the allegations.

—Bradley Hope

and Awartani, and whether they bought assets with funds originating from 1MDB.

The stolen emails appear to show Mr. Otaiba using his diplomatic influence to persuade banks to give loans, saying it was important for U.A.E.-Malaysian relations.

Scrutiny of Mr. Otaiba's U.S., Swiss and Singaporean accounts appeared to kick off in 2015, when several countries were starting 1MDB-related probes.

Writing from an e-mail address affiliated with the island of St. Helena in May, Mr. Low wrote Mr. Awartani asking how to get in touch quickly.

"Need to speak as questions being asked. Want to ensure coordinated," according to the stolen emails, which were forwarded to Mr. Otaiba.

It is unclear if they ever

## TRADES

Continued from Page One

Senior executives and salespeople have fanned out to top clients, pitching trade ideas and talking down the bad quarter, according to people on both sides of the outreach.

The firm also is leaning on its investment bankers to pitch their corporate clients on hiring Goldman's traders for products that protect against swings in currency values and interest rates.

Meanwhile, Goldman is working with a financial-data company to better understand what percent of each client's trading business it is getting, and how it can sell more products to existing clients, according to people familiar with the matter.

Trading is the engine that has historically powered Goldman. The firm led the development of the institutional stock-trading market in the 1960s and dominated it for decades. In the 2000s, it was at

the forefront of an explosion of complex debt instruments that ushered in a golden age of Wall Street profits.

Even after postcrisis declines, trading still accounts for almost half of Goldman's revenue.

Big banks make fees by arranging trades for clients, ranging from simple corporate bonds to complex derivatives tied to interest rates or currency prices.

The more complex instruments, which are often used by active investors like hedge funds, command higher fees. Plain-vanilla products are a low-margin, high-volume game.

Market and regulatory changes since the financial crisis have hit Goldman especially hard. Regulations closed its proprietary desks, which once made billions of dollars betting with the firm's own money.

A steadily rising stock market has also pushed investors away from risky investments and toward simpler products where giant banks

such as J.P. Morgan Chase & Co. dominate.

Goldman's trading desk, by contrast, has been more geared toward hedge funds—which have been less active as they face outflows and more trading moves to exchanges.

"The business changed around them," said James Mitchell, an analyst with Buckingham Research Group. "If you're a hedge fund and you're

and those betting on a return to the past.

Mr. Cornacchia cast himself in the former camp, which felt the firm needed to adapt. The executive—who left the firm in September 2016—said he had urged salespeople to be more patient and more client-focused, not to expect to land a trade with every phone call.

For a firm that has long hunted big game—and where

Morgan Chase and Citigroup Inc., according to regulatory filings.

In the first quarter, Goldman's fixed-income revenue was essentially flat from a year earlier, compared with double-digit percentage gains at J.P. Morgan, Bank of America Corp. and Citigroup.

The firm had wrong-sided the "Trump trade," stockpiling products it expected clients would desire as long-term interest rates rose and the dollar gained in value, according to people familiar with the matter. Instead, long-term rates fell relative to short-term ones, and the dollar slid in March.

In the second quarter, the culprit was the commodities unit, which posted its worst three-month stretch in Goldman's 18 years as a public company. The business ended the quarter in the black, but barely, as the bank struggled to adequately hedge its inventory, according to people familiar with the results.

Goldman has responded by turbocharging a push—begun about two years ago—to court mutual funds, asset managers and other so-called real money accounts. These investors typically have long-term horizons

bonuses are set by "gross credits" that correspond to an employee's revenue generation—that was uncomfortable for some, Mr. Cornacchia said. "There's a lot of denial," he said at the time.

Meanwhile, Goldman ceded ground to rivals. Among top U.S. trading shops, Goldman has lost 10 percentage points of fixed-income market share by revenue since 2010 to J.P.

worried about investors pulling money next quarter, are you really going to be asking Goldman to build you a five-year yen swap?"

The shifting ground caused consternation within Goldman. In March 2016, a fixed-income sales executive, Tom Cornacchia, spoke publicly of an internal split between those who believed the business had changed for good

and those betting on a return to the past.

Mr. Cornacchia cast himself in the former camp, which felt the firm needed to adapt. The executive—who left the firm in September 2016—said he had urged salespeople to be more patient and more client-focused, not to expect to land a trade with every phone call.

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# WORLD NEWS

## Former Thai Leader's Trial Rattles Junta

Supporters defy rulers in turning out for Yingluck as corruption case nears a climax

BY JAMES HOOKWAY

BANGKOK—Tension is rising in Thailand as former Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra enters the final stages of a trial accusing her of mismanaging a multibillion-dollar rice-subsidy program.

Defying warnings by the ruling junta to stay away, more than 1,000 of Ms. Yingluck's supporters—watched over by 300 police officers—gathered on Tuesday outside the Supreme Court as she arrived to make her closing statement. A verdict is due Aug. 25.

If convicted, Ms. Yingluck could face up to 10 years in prison, and the junta is growing wary of the consequences, people familiar with the situation said. Thailand's political battles have devolved into violent street protests in the past.

One person said the primary goal of the junta, which deposed Ms. Yingluck's government in 2014 after nearly three years in power, had been for her to leave the country, as her brother, former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, had done. He went into self-imposed exile to avoid conviction on a corruption charge after he was removed in a 2006 coup.

"They're surprised she stayed," this person said. Ms. Yingluck has said she is determined to have her case tried in court.

Many in the crowd on Tuesday reached over the red crash barriers outside to hand Ms.



A supporter of former Thai Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra hugged a picture of her outside a Bangkok court on Tuesday.

a long absence and Vietnam expanded production. Thailand fell from its position as the world's top rice exporter, and the government was left with vast stockpiles that it had to sell at a loss. Officials estimate that the program cost Thailand at least \$15 billion.

The Shinawatras' opponents used the program's failure to spur protests in Bangkok against Ms. Yingluck's government, which grew increasingly violent until the military seized power in May 2014. Prosecutors then charged her with negligence, saying she had deliberately ignored the problems surrounding the subsidy. Last October the junta, led by former army chief Prayuth Chan-ocha, ordered Ms. Yingluck to pay nearly \$1 billion in civil damages. The government began freezing some of her bank accounts last week.

In recent weeks, the government has stepped up surveillance of pro-democracy activists, officials have said. Since the 2014 coup, the junta has also increased the number of defamation cases against those criticizing Thailand's royal family—a source of much of the military's power—targeting social media in particular.

Bangkok-based legal watchdog iLaw says 59 people have been convicted of online criticism of the royals since the army took over. One man was sentenced to 35 years in prison, while another is in prison awaiting trial for sharing online a BBC biography of the new monarch, King Maha Vajiralongkorn. He succeeded his father, King Bhumibol Adulyadej, who died in October after more than 70 years on the throne.

Yingluck flowers as she entered the court building. There were chants of "Fight! Fight!" Some had benefited personally from the rice subsidy, Ms. Yingluck's flagship policy as prime minister—an echo of the subsidized health care and cheap loans that were the hallmarks of her brother's years in power.

"Life was better under Yingluck and Thaksin," said Seng Lamud, an 80-year-old farmer who had traveled from the country's northeast. "We had

more money, and they were able to help us." He lifted his shirt to show a scar from an operation performed thanks to the subsidized health-care system, which is still in place.

Ms. Yingluck, 50, broke down and wept twice as she addressed the court. She said she hadn't done anything wrong, and had only tried to help the farmers. "I grew up in a family outside of Bangkok, so I understand their problems," she said.

The controversy over the

rice subsidy highlights the gulf between the people of Thailand's agricultural heartland, consistent supporters of Mr. Thaksin and his proxies, and the royalist establishment in Bangkok that grew wary of his growing power, even after he fled the country.

Under the program, the government bought rice from farmers for as much as double the market price, seeking to boost incomes for the roughly 40% of the workforce that depends on

agriculture and increase spending in rural Thailand. Ms. Yingluck told the court Tuesday that the policy was "the pride of my life." It worked for a time. Spending ticked higher, fueling a round of commercial investment in the Thailand's second-tier cities.

The hope was to recoup some of the cost of the program by withholding grain from the global market to steer world prices higher. Instead, India entered the market after

July, it stayed at a relatively high level and that the gap between the two gauges decreased. It also said exports got a boost in July from robust economic growth in the U.S., the European Union and Japan, whose PMI figures lingered at high levels. The National Bureau of Statistics, which released the official data, declined to comment.

Some economists say they track official PMI more closely and think the data is more reliable, given its larger sample base. The statistics bureau surveys 3,000 manufacturers nationwide, while Caixin polls 400 companies.

"The divergence of the two gauges happened from time to time, because the official PMI includes more big state-owned enterprises while the Caixin PMI tracks more closely on export-driven small firms," said Zhao Yang, an economist with Nomura.

Julian Evans-Pritchard with

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Under the program, the government bought rice from farmers for as much as double the market price, seeking to boost incomes for the roughly 40% of the workforce that depends on

agriculture and increase spending in rural Thailand. Ms. Yingluck told the court Tuesday that the policy was "the pride of my life." It worked for a time. Spending ticked higher, fueling a round of commercial investment in the Thailand's second-tier cities.

The hope was to recoup some of the cost of the program by withholding grain from the global market to steer world prices higher. Instead, India entered the market after

July, it stayed at a relatively

high level and that the gap between the two gauges decreased. It also said exports got a boost in July from robust economic growth in the U.S., the European Union and Japan, whose PMI figures lingered at high levels. The National Bureau of Statistics, which released the official data, declined to comment.

Some economists say they track official PMI more closely and think the data is more reliable, given its larger sample base. The statistics bureau surveys 3,000 manufacturers nationwide, while Caixin polls 400 companies.

"The divergence of the two gauges happened from time to time, because the official PMI includes more big state-owned enterprises while the Caixin PMI tracks more closely on export-driven small firms," said Zhao Yang, an economist with Nomura.

Julian Evans-Pritchard with

more money, and they were able to help us." He lifted his shirt to show a scar from an operation performed thanks to the subsidized health-care system, which is still in place.

Ms. Yingluck, 50, broke down and wept twice as she addressed the court. She said she hadn't done anything wrong, and had only tried to help the farmers. "I grew up in a family outside of Bangkok, so I understand their problems," she said.

The controversy over the

rice subsidy highlights the gulf between the people of Thailand's agricultural heartland, consistent supporters of Mr. Thaksin and his proxies, and the royalist establishment in Bangkok that grew wary of his growing power, even after he fled the country.

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## Beijing Blames U.S. Over Pyongyang

BY FARNAZ FASSIHI

UNITED NATIONS—China lashed out at the U.S. on Monday over North Korea, saying Washington was ratcheting up tensions with Pyongyang and violating Security Council resolutions calling for restraint and dialogue.

China's ambassador to the U.N., Liu Jieyi, criticized the U.S. for unilateral sanctions that don't have the council's backing and for publicly saying that Washington was keeping all options on the table. Joint U.S. and South Korean military exercises in the Korean Peninsula, he added, risked destabilizing the region.

"These developments run counter to the obligations in the Security Council resolutions," Mr. Liu said at a news conference to mark the end of China's monthlong presidency of the council.

*China's ambassador to U.N. says Washington risks destabilizing region.*

### INDIA

#### Protests Erupt in Disputed Kashmir

Large anti-India protests and clashes spearheaded mainly by students erupted in disputed Kashmir after government forces killed two senior militants in a gunbattle and fatally shot a protester during a demonstration demanding an end to Indian rule.

The protests spread across the region and were led mostly by students. Authorities subsequently ordered closed all educational institutions.

Police Inspector-General Muine Ahmed Khan said the two militants were killed after police and soldiers on a tip cordoned off southern Hakipora village.

Mr. Khan said the trapped militants fired at the troops, triggering a two-hour gunbattle. Villagers said troops blasted two civilian homes with explosives during the operation.

As the gunbattle raged, residents defied a security lockdown and clashed with government forces near the fighting in an attempt to help the trapped militants escape. A young man was killed and scores of others were injured in the clashes.

Large protests and clashes against Indian rule spread to several other places across Kashmir, including the Himalayan region's main city of Srinagar.

—Associated Press

### INDONESIA

#### Message Service Restrictions End

Indonesia and encrypted messaging service Telegram agreed to establish better procedures to stamp out distribution of terrorist propaganda on the platform, the app's founder and the communications minister said.

Indonesia, home to the world's largest Muslim population, has seen a surge in home-grown radicalism and worries about the growing influence of extremist group Islamic State.

Telegram is a messaging platform believed to be popular with Islamic State sympathizers, who use chat rooms with hundreds of members.

Indonesian authorities blocked

access to some Telegram channels last month, saying it had several forums that were "full of radical and terrorist propaganda."

—Reuters

### MEXICO

#### Domestic Matters Could Stymie Growth

Private economists surveyed

last month by the Bank of Mexico kept their expectations for economic growth this year at 2%, but said domestic matters such as politics and public security could stymie the economy.

Growth estimates have picked up from January, while foreign direct investment in Mexico has remained steady despite the beginning of Nafta negotiations.

—Anthony Harrup

Tauseef Mustafa/Agence France Presse/Gett Images



Kashmiri villagers carrying the body of a suspected militant commander killed during a raid near Srinagar by government forces Tuesday.

North Korea fired two intercontinental ballistic missiles in July, with the most recent one, on Friday, appearing capable of reaching the continental U.S. China and Russia have so far not agreed with the U.S. and its European allies, who are demanding a new resolution imposing tougher economic sanctions on Pyongyang.

Mr. Liu's comments appeared to be a response to a series of comments and tweets over the weekend by President Donald Trump and U.N. Ambassador Nikki Haley that accused China of failing to rein in North Korea. Mr. Trump tweeted on Saturday that "they [China] do NOTHING for us with North Korea, just talk. We will no longer allow this to continue. China could easily solve this problem!"

China wields significant economic and political influence over North Korea. The country's business dealings with North Korea account for 90% of the reclusive nation's trade with the outside world.

## WORLD NEWS

# Venezuela Opposition Leaders Held

By ANATOLY KURMANAEV  
AND JOSÉ DE CÓRDOBA

CARACAS, Venezuela—Dozens of intelligence officers dragged out two opposition leaders from homes in the middle of the night, a day after President Nicolás Maduro vowed to jail opponents after winning a disputed vote.

Videos posted by family members showed officers armed with automatic weapons taking Leopoldo López, the country's most popular politician, and Antonio Ledezma, the elected mayor of Caracas, and shoving them into patrol cars. Mr. López and Mr. Ledezma's political parties said they don't know where the politicians were taken.

In a speech Monday morning, Mr. Maduro said he would jail opposition politicians who have accused him of electoral fraud. The government claims to have received more than eight million votes in Sunday's uncontested election for a special assembly that will have absolute powers.

The opposition accused the president of fraud, saying the turnout was below three million.

"Some will end up in a jail cell," Mr. Maduro said in the speech.

The U.S. imposed sanctions against Mr. Maduro on Mon-

day, saying his government abused human rights and organized an illegitimate vote designed to advance an authoritarian regime.

The U.S. move freezes any assets Mr. Maduro may have in the U.S. and prevents American entities from doing business with him. Mr. Maduro also is barred from traveling to the U.S.

"This is a very serious escalation. Hustling these people out of bed in the dead of night and locking them up is a sign the regime is preparing for a showdown with the international community," said Roger Noriega, a former senior official with the George W. Bush administration.

"It's a defiant response to U.S. sanctions and the U.S. will have to decide very quickly how to respond."

Both Mr. López and Mr. Ledezma have been serving sentences under house arrest for allegedly instigating violence, charges that they deny. Both have posted videos in recent days condemning Mr. Maduro for staging a power grab, in an apparent violation of their sentencing terms.

"This was a fraud foretold," Mr. Ledezma, 62 years old, said in the video posted just hours before his arrest, adding he knew of the risk carried by his statement. "We know that



An image from a video is said to show Leopoldo López, one of two opposition leaders detained, being led to an intelligence agency car.

the state apparatus has been put at the service of the totalitarian regime, of the tyranny."

The arrest of Mr. López, 46 years old, comes less than a month after the head of the Popular Will opposition party was released from military jail, where he spent more than three years.

His commuted sentences had raised hopes for a rapprochement between the government and the opposition after months of unrest, which claimed more than 120 lives to date.

Those hopes were spoiled by Mr. Maduro's decision to go

ahead with elections for the controversial assembly and the turnout of eight million announced by the president's allies on the electoral council.

Diego Moya-Ocampos, political risk analyst with IHS, said the arrests show Mr. Maduro is worried about the country's growing economic isolation and threat of new U.S. sanctions against the country's vital oil industry.

"The government is trying to secure more political prisoners to improve its bargaining position in an eventual negotiation in the U.S.," he said.

Estimates by all major Vene-

zuelan pollsters and the independent policy group Venezuelan Electoral Observatory, as well as an exit poll conducted by an investment bank, all put the turnout at less than half that figure. Several countries said they don't recognize the result.

The newly elected Constituent Assembly is expected to take office as early as Thursday. International observers and rights groups fear the assembly will move to dissolve the opposition-controlled congress and justify a purge of state institutions.

On Monday, opposition

leaders said they were prepared for a new wave of repression.

"Each one of us has made the same decision to move forward with this struggle despite the risks," said Freddy Guevara, national coordinator of the Popular Will party. "The government is acting from the position of weakness, not of strength."

Oriette Ledezma, Mr. Ledezma's daughter, said her father was taken in his pajamas. "We make the regime responsible for his life," Ms. Ledezma said in a video posted on Twitter.

# Brazil Graft Probe Faces Biggest Test: The President

By LUCIANA MAGALHÃES  
AND SAMANTHA PEARSON

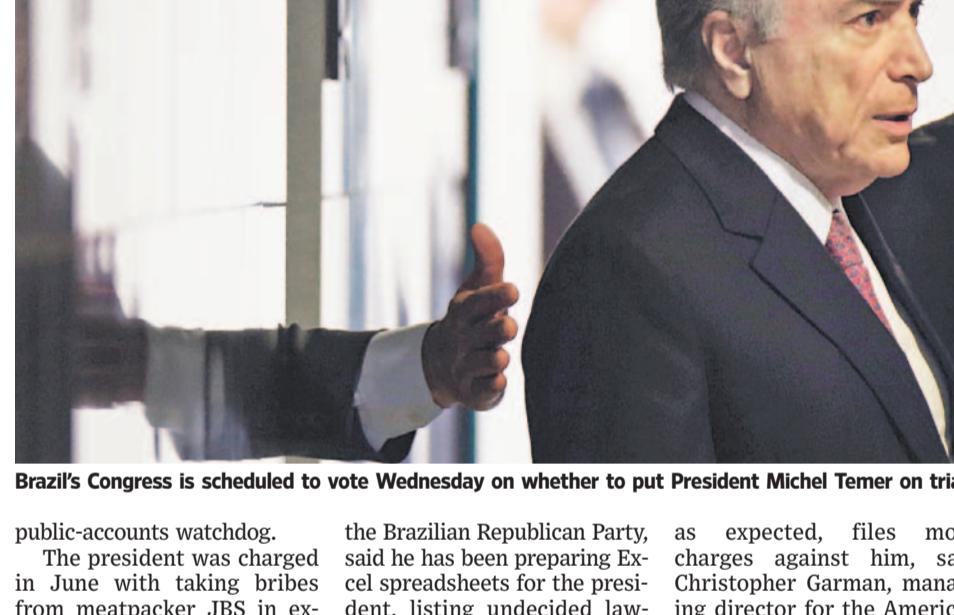
CURITIBA, Brazil—After three years, the biggest nemesis facing the Car Wash corruption probe is no longer one single defendant, but Brazil's political system itself.

On Wednesday, Congress is scheduled to begin voting on whether to put President Michel Temer on trial for alleged graft, as the far-reaching inquiry reaches the highest levels of government. The embattled leader is widely expected to muster enough support from lawmakers, many of whom are also under investigation, to avoid the courts.

"The real truth is that Car Wash doesn't have the strength to defend itself against attacks from the most powerful institution of Brazil, which is Congress," said Deltan Dallagnol, the lead Car Wash prosecutor, in an interview. "The only shield of protection that Car Wash has is society."

The probe has landed scores of Brazil's most powerful executives and former politicians behind bars.

While Mr. Temer is deeply unpopular with voters, he has shown himself to be a deft political negotiator. He has worked around the clock in recent weeks to secure the support of lawmakers, bringing forward \$1.3 billion in financing for projects in their home states, according to Open Accounts, a



ADRIANO MACHADO/REUTERS

Brazil's Congress is scheduled to vote Wednesday on whether to put President Michel Temer on trial.

public-accounts watchdog.

The president was charged in June with taking bribes from meatpacker JBS in exchange for granting state-backed funding and other favors. Mr. Temer, whose approval ratings have dropped to 5%, has denied wrongdoing and refused to resign.

Two thirds of Congress must vote to put Mr. Temer on trial in order for the case to proceed. While it is still possible for the vote to be delayed until next week because of low turnout, there are few doubts about its outcome.

Beto Mansur, a deputy for

the Brazilian Republican Party, said he has been preparing Excel spreadsheets for the president, listing undecided lawmakers, and is now certain that on the day of the vote enough congressmen will be on the president's side. On Monday, opposition lawmaker Silvio Costa publicly admitted that Mr. Temer has enough support to survive.

A large margin of support would strengthen Mr. Temer's political capital and likely allow him to serve out the remainder of his term until elections in October 2018, even if the Brazilian Attorney General,

as expected, files more charges against him, said Christopher Garman, managing director for the Americas at political risk consultation firm Eurasia Group.

It would also represent a setback to Brazil's efforts to tackle its problem of impunity, anticorruption activists say.

"The Car Wash Operation is entering one of its most critical and difficult phases, because now it has reached the top levels of power," said Bruno Brandão, Brazil's representative for corruption watchdog Transparency International.

Over the past three years, the Car Wash probe has ballooned into Brazil's largest corruption investigation, uncovering a nationwide scheme in which companies paid billions of dollars in bribes over more than a decade to win contracts, cheap state financing and other favors. It has led to more than 150 convictions so far and won praise as a model for tackling graft in the developing world.

But visible results have been diminishing in recent months, said Mr. Dallagnol. As the investigation zeroes in on sitting politicians, its fate increasingly rests with Brazil's slow-moving Supreme Court. In Brazil, only the high court can investigate and punish sitting politicians—a measure designed to safeguard Congress from authoritarian regimes.

The investigation has also suffered as the government reduced the number of top police officers devoted to the Car Wash probe in Curitiba, the southern city where the probe started, said Mr. Dallagnol. Since the end of last year, the number of chief officers has shrunk from nine to four, curbing the task force's ability to investigate new leads.

"The Federal Police's work in the Car Wash Operation is being suffocated and smothered," said Mr. Dallagnol. He added that without staffing cuts, police would have been able to complete as many as

12 new phases of the operation since last November, instead of seven. The Federal Police said the size of the team is adequate.

Mr. Dallagnol said Congress had made other attempts to derail Car Wash. Last year, lawmakers introduced a proposal to ban defendants from striking plea bargains. It is still being deliberated.

Some Supreme Court decisions have also sparked controversy. In May, former presidential chief of staff José Dirceu, who was convicted of corruption, was released from jail while he appeals his case.

"We have become very concerned with attempts from various places—the judiciary, the executive branch and Congress—to damage the investigation," said Caio Magri, head of the Brazilian transparency watchdog Instituto Ethos.

With street protests waning as citizens grow weary of political instability, it has become easier for politicians to attack Car Wash without fear that such moves would damage their chances of getting re-elected, said Transparency International's Mr. Brandão.

Observers say Brazilians' apparent apathy is due to protest fatigue, the lack of an obvious alternative to Mr. Temer and concerns that further upheaval would damage the economic recovery.

—Paulo Trevisani contributed to this article.

# EUROPE

Continued from page A1

The return of growth rates above 2% annualized is likely to further encourage ECB officials who want to decide this fall, probably in September, to reduce monetary stimulus starting in early 2018.

Although eurozone inflation, at 1.3%, remains well below the ECB's target of just below 2%, central-bank officials believe solid growth should lead to more inflation pressure with a time lag, so that the need for extraordinary stimulus, especially for large-scale ECB purchases of bonds, will decline next year.

Financial markets are watching closely for signals about when and how quickly the ECB will reduce the bond-buying program, known as quantitative easing.

The program is widely regarded as an important factor in the region's escape from economic stagnation. The timing of the decision to phase it

out is the ECB's most important decision in years.

The next hint could come when ECB President Mario Draghi addresses the U.S. Federal Reserve's economics conference on August 24-26 in Jackson Hole, Wyo.

The ECB could signal as soon as its next policy meeting on Sept. 7 that QE will be gradually wound down next year, according to officials with the bank. But the decision could be delayed until October, depending on the latest economic data, these officials say.

In July, Mr. Draghi described the recovery as "robust" and said policy makers would decide during the fall on the future of their bond-buying program, which is tentatively scheduled to end in December.

ECB watchers expect the stimulus program to be extended into 2018, but at a reduced scale. Many doubt the purchases will continue into 2019.

The ECB has already raised its growth forecast twice this

year and may do so again in September. It now expects the eurozone economy to grow by 1.9% across 2017.

The European Union's statistics service, Eurostat, gave no breakdown of Monday's GDP growth data. Economists suspect both consumer spending and business investment contributed to the improvement.

Markets are watching to see when the ECB will reduce its bond-buying program.

Spain has already released data showing acceleration in the second quarter, while France said its growth rate was unchanged. Germany and Italy, the bloc's other major economies, have yet to report.

The recovery has lifted business and consumer confidence to highs not seen since before the global financial

crisis. It has also helped reduce the eurozone's unemployment rate to 9.1%—still high by international standards, but down from peak levels of around 12% during the crisis. Much of the fall in unemployment has occurred in Spain and Germany; job creation remains more sluggish in France and especially in Italy.

More ordinary Europeans are sensing the effects of a recovery that, in the past few years, has often felt like continued stagnation.

Antonio Vallejo, finance director at Spanish restaurants and bars company Grupo Mercado de la Reina, said business has been improving steadily since the end of 2015.

"People started to go out for dinner again," he said.

"You can see clearly that people spend more."

Consumers in Spain, one of the worst-hit countries by the eurozone's debt crisis, are getting more relaxed about spending money, Mr. Vallejo said.

"It looks like we are going

back to the attitude we had before crisis."

Growth is also easing the strains on government coffers in Spain. Finally, some money has become available for public services, which is remarkable after so many people were laid off to cut costs," said Tomás Domingo, a high-school teacher from Tenerife in the Canary Islands.

Mr. Domingo said his school finally obtained money to fix the leaky roof of its sports pavilion, something it has been asking for since 2009.

"When it rained, it used to get flooded and the kids couldn't use it," he said, adding the school will also replace around 25 old computers.

Germany, Europe's biggest economy, is the other main pillar of the improvement. At machine-tool maker Trumpf Group from near Stuttgart, sales rose 11% to €3.1 billion (\$3.6 billion) in the year to June 30. The company's order book is brimming, said Chief Executive Nicola Leibinger-Kammüller.

The same holds across

much of Germany's engineering sector, which has long profited from global trade but now is also enjoying rising orders from eurozone countries, according to industry association VDMA.

The mood among German businesses is "euphoric," Clemens Fuest, head of German economics think tank Ifo said last month after the institute's business-confidence index hit a high.

Improved growth has helped revive the confidence of the EU's political class that it can defeat the electoral challenge from nationalist, antiestablishment parties that want to loosen or dismantle the bloc and its common currency, the euro.

Some early signs suggest growth might slow slightly in the second half of the year. A survey of 3,000 manufacturing companies released Tuesday found that activity in July increased at the slowest pace in four months.

But at 56.6, the purchasing managers index for the sector still pointed to solid growth.

## U.S. NEWS

# Scaramucci Pushed Out After 10 Days

Communications chief ousted at urging of Kelly, whose authority may also face limits

By REBECCA BALLHAUS  
AND MICHAEL C. BENDER

WASHINGTON—President Donald Trump ousted his communications director after only 10 days and introduced his new chief of staff, a former Marine Corps general who has the task of imposing more discipline in the West Wing following one of the most turbulent weeks of the administration.

Anthony Scaramucci was removed from the communications-director post on Monday, becoming the seventh major administration official to leave in Mr. Trump's first six months. Mr. Scaramucci was ousted at the urging of the new chief of staff, retired Gen. John Kelly, in one of his first official acts in the job, two administration officials said. Mr. Kelly previously ran the Homeland Security Department.

Mr. Kelly urged Mr. Scaramucci to resign during a one-on-one meeting in his new office shortly after being sworn in at a Monday morning White House ceremony, the officials said. Mr. Scaramucci's removal was designed to better organize a White House that has been riven by competing factions, they said.

The president is "tired of the chaos and the confusion" in the West Wing, said Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker who advises the president. He said the president has been ruminating about the chief-of-staff change for weeks and is prepared to empower Mr. Kelly in a way that his predecessor, Reince Priebus, wasn't. Mr. Priebus left the position last week.

"Trump, of course, reserves the right to cause chaos himself, but he likes an orderly system," Mr. Gingrich said. "That's how his golf courses work: He thinks the cooks should be cooking, the caddies should be caddying. But that doesn't restrict him."

Mr. Trump has told Mr. Kelly that all White House officials—including advisers such as chief strategist Steve Bannon and family members such as son-in-law Jared Kushner—will report directly to the chief of staff, said press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders at Monday's news briefing.

Yet Mr. Kelly's authority may also face limits. Mr. Trump's communicating over Twitter, at times on issues far removed from the White House's top legislative priorities or stated agenda, has proven difficult for previous senior staff members to influence or curb. And the White House is populated by two

members of the president's family—Mr. Kushner and Mr. Trump's daughter Ivanka, a White House adviser—which could complicate the hierarchy, even if they technically report to the chief of staff, according to past White House veterans.

"It's easy for a chief of staff to say to Anthony Scaramucci that you're wrong and you're gone," said Ari Fleischer, press secretary under former President George W. Bush. "When it's the president's daughter, you can say you did it wrong, but you can't say you're gone."

After Mr. Scaramucci's departure, which followed the resignation of press secretary Sean Spicer 10 days earlier, the White House on Monday sought to project an air of stability going forward. "The president has 100% confidence in all members of his staff," Ms. Sanders said. "No WH chaos!" Mr. Trump wrote in a tweet Monday morning. The White House declined to comment on a successor for Mr. Scaramucci and didn't make Mr. Kelly available for comment.

Republicans expressed hope that Mr. Kelly will be able to impose discipline and order. Sen. Orrin Hatch (R., Utah) said the appointment of a general had tamped down "a lot of the screaming and shouting down there."

Mr. Scaramucci, 53 years old, is the founder of hedge-fund investing firm SkyBridge Capital and a hedge-fund conference known as SALT. Known as "The Mooch," Mr. Scaramucci previously hosted a financial TV show on Fox Business Network and had been a frequent guest advocating for Mr. Trump on cable shows.

Mr. Scaramucci's ouster came four days after the New Yorker magazine published an expletive-filled interview with him in which the Wall Street financier attacked other top staffers in the White House, including Messrs. Priebus and Bannon.

Ms. Sanders said Monday that the president felt Mr. Scaramucci's comments in the interview were "inappropriate for a person in that position." She declined to answer a question about whether Mr. Trump regretted hiring him.

Mr. Scaramucci had told fellow White House officials in recent days that he knew it was a possibility that his New Yorker interview could result in him being ousted, said two people familiar with the conversation. But in a White House that has driven an unceasing news cycle for much of the past six months, with one breaking-news story overshadowing the last, Mr. Scaramucci told colleagues that he thought it might blow over.

Mr. Scaramucci—who had reported directly to Mr. Trump while Mr. Priebus was chief of staff—had told the president on Sunday that he wanted to



Anthony Scaramucci, the White House's second communications director, became the latest major official in the Trump administration to leave.

report to Mr. Kelly, according to a Republican close to the White House. But Mr. Kelly felt the communications director was unable to be a "team player" and found his comments about his colleagues unbecoming, the person said.

Mr. Scaramucci asked to return to his position at the U.S. Export-Import Bank when he gave his resignation, a White House official said. But Ms. Sanders said in the briefing that Mr. Scaramucci now holds no administration role. Mr. Scaramucci didn't return a call seeking comment.

Mr. Scaramucci's press team was given 15 minutes' notice on Monday to report to the office of Ms. Sanders, who informed them of the change, said two people who attended the meeting. The communications staff of about 40 people received a similarly urgent notice earlier in July when they were told that Mr. Scaramucci was joining the communications office and that Mr. Spicer, who resigned in protest over Mr. Scaramucci's hiring, was leaving. Ms. Sanders said Monday she was "not aware" of any changes to Mr. Spicer's status in the wake of Mr. Scaramucci's ouster.

Mr. Scaramucci's challenge at the White House will be to persuade the president to stick with a new system, Mr. Gingrich said.

—Ted Mann, Siobhan Hughes and Shelby Holliday contributed to this article.

## Other Senior Staff Who Have Left



MIKE FLYNN  
Feb. 13



KATIE WALSH  
March 30



JAMES COMEY  
May 9

The former national security adviser resigned amid increasing fire over his conflicting statements about his contacts with Russian officials before the inauguration.

White House officials said Ms. Walsh, then deputy chief of staff, would leave to join America First Policies, an outside group that aims to bolster President Donald Trump's agenda.

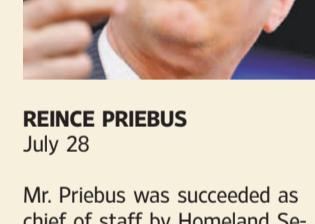
The president gave a number of reasons behind the FBI director's firing, including Mr. Comey's handling of a probe into Hillary Clinton's use of a private email server.



MIKE DUBKE  
May 30



SEAN SPICER  
July 21



REINCE PRIEBUS  
July 28

Mr. Dubke resigned as communications director after three months. "The reasons for my departure are personal," he wrote to friends, saying it was a "great honor" to serve Mr. Trump.

Mr. Spicer resigned as press secretary over objections that Mr. Trump hired financier Anthony Scaramucci as his new communications director, according to a White House official.

Mr. Priebus was succeeded as chief of staff by Homeland Security Secretary John Kelly, a retired Marine Corps general. In a tweet, Mr. Trump called Mr. Kelly "a Great Leader."

# Trump's Insurer Threat Aimed At Reviving Repeal of Health Law

WASHINGTON—President Donald Trump warned that he could end federal payments to insurers, allowing them to be "hurt" by the Affordable Care



Sen. Orrin Hatch said it wouldn't make sense to vote again on a health plan until Republicans knew the Senate would pass it.

Act, as a way to press members of Congress to revive efforts to repeal the Obama-era health law.

"If ObamaCare is hurting people, & it is, why shouldn't it hurt the insurance companies," Mr. Trump wrote on Twitter on Monday.

The president was alluding to the ACA's "cost-sharing reduction" payments, which the government pays to insurers to help them cut deductibles and other costs for low-income consumers.

Some Republican lawmakers Monday advocated a pause to regroup following last week's collapse of the repeal effort, but Mr. Trump wasn't backing down from his push to resurrect those efforts.

Several GOP governors, including Scott Walker of Wisconsin and Asa Hutchinson of Arkansas, met with White House officials to discuss repeal options. Mr. Trump has also held

we can't do more than one thing at a time. We can still keep working on health care."

For now, ending the insurance payments may be the most potent tool at Mr. Trump's disposal. Insurers say that without them, they would be forced to increase premiums or exit the ACA's exchanges, where consumers buy insurance if they don't get it through their employer or a government program.

Some Republican senators indirectly took issue with Mr. Trump's recent tweet that they were "total quitters" if they didn't vote again on repeal before tackling other bills. "It's time to move on to something else, come back to health care when we've had more time to get beyond the moment we're in," said Sen. Roy Blunt (R., Mo.). "Obviously we didn't quit and we didn't quit and we gave it our best shot."

Senate Finance Committee Chairman Orrin Hatch (R., Utah) said it wouldn't make sense to vote again on a health plan until Republicans knew the Senate would pass it.

"You've got to have a system that has a reasonable chance of success," Mr. Hatch said. "We are moving on to tax reform, but that doesn't mean

## TAXES

Continued from page A1

individuals that will almost certainly lower taxes for many high-income households, though Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin said

Monday that most households paying the top tax rate won't get a tax cut.

And although Republicans are aiming for a plan that doesn't increase budget deficits, they haven't shown yet how their math adds up.

*The president will visit Midwest states to push for the GOP's tax-overhaul plan.*

Among Democrats, just Joe Manchin of West Virginia, Heidi Heitkamp of North Dakota and Joe Donnelly of Indiana didn't sign the letter.

All of them are up for re-election in 2018 in states that President Donald Trump won last year.

The letter likely singles out those three Democrats as the pool of possible votes for a GOP tax plan.

Seven other senators up for re-election in states won by Mr. Trump signed the letter, and five of those are on

the tax-writing Senate Finance Committee.

Marc Short, the White House legislative affairs director, said Monday that Mr. Trump would be visiting states in the Midwest with the aim of persuading lawmakers.

He also cited meetings that Trump administration officials have had over the past few months with Democrats in Congress.

"We welcome Democrats' support in tax reform," Mr. Short said.

No Democrats supported any version of the health-care bills that advanced through the House and failed in the Senate last week.

Given the gap between the parties on fiscal policy, the same thing may happen on tax policy.

"The White House has not reached out to Senator Heitkamp on this," said Julia Krieger, a spokeswoman for the senator.

"She has said many times that she is open to working with anyone on tax reform, and that those reforms must support working families," the spokeswoman said.

Mr. Donnelly has had several contacts with the administration about his proposal to limit tax and other benefits for companies that shift jobs abroad but the White House hasn't reached out directly to him on the broader tax agenda, according to the senator's office.

## IN DEPTH

VW

*Continued from Page One*  
from electric cars. He argued VW needed to create a "significant share of revenue" from apps and services.

"What are you doing?" demanded one angry executive during a meeting of top managers last fall, referring to the CEO's stress on shifting beyond conventional vehicles, according to people present. "You are driving the nails into our own coffin."

Such exchanges have been frequent and continue to this day, say some VW insiders.

VW, which owns brands such as VW, Audi, Porsche, Skoda, Seat and Bentley, is facing a perilous moment. Its emissions-tampering scandal, which has cost it nearly \$25 billion in fines, penalties and customer compensation, has been followed by a market-share erosion in its core European markets.

VW declined to make Mr. Müller available for interviews, directing inquiries to his public statements. "Volkswagen must change," he said in the May meeting, "because our industry is going to change more deeply in the coming 10 years than in the 100 years before."

As Mr. Müller tries to move VW beyond the diesel debacle, it continues to haunt him. The European Union's top antitrust regulator last month confirmed that, after a 2016 tip from VW, it has been investigating whether VW, BMW AG and Daimler AG violated antitrust rules through collaboration on diesel emissions and other technology going back more than 20 years. Volkswagen declined to comment on the substance of any antitrust investigation. BMW denied any collusion. Daimler declined to comment.

Later last month, the German government said it found illegal software that manipulated emissions on Porsche's Cayenne and ordered a recall. Porsche said it alerted German authorities to the issue and is cooperating with them. A Porsche spokesman said Audi, as the engine's manufacturer, was responsible.

Audi and VW declined to comment on the recall.

Shareholders are largely supportive of Mr. Müller's efforts but say VW has lost precious time. "This shift to electric and digital mobility services is the right thing to do, but it comes five or six years too late," says Ingo Speich, a fund manager at Union Investment, a VW shareholder.

"Volkswagen has lost any first-mover advantage because they kept clinging to the old way of doing things."

Mr. Müller has support from some VW executives who agree on the urgency. If VW's passenger-car business can't reorient toward new technologies by 2020, says one senior executive, "the Volkswagen brand will be dead meat."

### Internal backlash

Mr. Müller's first steps came almost immediately. So did the backlash.

Three weeks after his promotion, he met secretly with Johann Jungwirth, one of Ap-

ple Inc.'s top car-project engineers. Mr. Müller peppered him with questions about automotive efforts by U.S. tech giants such as Apple, Uber and Alphabet Inc.'s Google and the threat they posed. After talking for an hour, recalls Mr. Jungwirth, Mr. Müller posed a final question: "When can you start?"

Two weeks later, Mr. Jungwirth was at VW headquarters, preaching the digital gospel and "getting on a lot of people's nerves," according to one executive. A person close to Mr. Müller says he has repeatedly defended Mr. Jungwirth in front of skeptical colleagues.

Mr. Müller's challenge is to win over VW's more-than-600,000 employees at a company that last year sold 10.4 million vehicles, more than any other single company, generating €217 billion (\$237 billion) in revenue.



VW CEO Matthias Müller

meeting. Mr. Diess says unions hold excessive influence.

The seeds of VW's emissions scandal were sowed about a decade ago, when the U.S. was drafting new emissions rules. Some car makers began to develop electric vehicles and hybrids. U.S. environmental officials urged VW to develop hybrids as Toyota did.

Under VW's then-Chairman Ferdinand Piëch and then-CEO Martin Winterkorn, the company instead pushed to come up with a diesel engine that would meet U.S. emissions targets. When the engineers failed, VW has said, they rigged the engines to cheat on emissions tests.

A lawyer for Mr. Winterkorn didn't respond to requests to comment. Mr. Piëch couldn't be reached, and his lawyer didn't respond to requests to comment.

### Electric push

When Mr. Müller ascended to the top job, VW's obsession with diesel engines had left it lagging behind in electric vehicles, which it needs to meet European carbon-dioxide-emissions targets in 2020, company executives say.

VW sold 63,392 plug-in vehicles in 2016, achieving an 8.2% share of global plug-in passenger-car sales of 775,417, according to EV-Volumes, a research group. Mr. Müller in March unveiled plans to launch 30 new electric-vehicle models over coming years across all of its brands.

The company is developing a new family of electric cars, named I.D. A prototype unveiled at the Paris auto show last year resembles VW's best-selling Golf. It would drive autonomously, connect to cloud-based services and be ready for an array of digital services, said VW, which plans to build it in Germany, China and the U.S. starting in 2020.

VW is also behind on new "mobility services" such as car-sharing and ride-hailing. Car companies must move into such services, the argument in the industry goes, to replace revenue lost as consumers using them buy fewer cars. Car companies with their own sharing services would also be in a strong position to provide the cars used in those services.

**VW is also behind on new 'mobility services' such as car-sharing and ride-hailing.**

In the past, many VW executives scorned car-sharing and ride-hailing as fads, some VW executives say. One internal evangelist was Ole Harms, a 42-year-old economist who is now head of VW's group handling new business models and mobility services.

Until Mr. Müller took over, the company pursued few of Mr. Harms's ideas, they say. Meanwhile, rival Daimler AG was building its Car2Go unit into Europe's biggest car-sharing company, with 2.3 million members world-wide.

Daimler veteran Andreas Renschler, who joined Volkswagen months before the emissions scandal broke, says

he asked then-CEO Mr. Winterkorn about VW's car-sharing plans. "I hear those cars are always dirty," Mr. Winterkorn replied dismissively about Daimler's car-sharing service, says Mr. Renschler, now VW's truck chief.

"The quality of the discussion has improved a lot," Mr. Renschler says.

Mr. Müller's new strategy chief, Thomas Sedran, after joining in 2015 from General Motors Co.'s Opel unit, persuaded the CEO to take a stake in Gett, an Israel-based ride-hailing company.

Over several months, Mr. Müller hosted VW-executive retreats at the company's guesthouse in Wolfsburg. Skepticism lingered about Gett at one retreat on April 22, 2016, the day VW reported a €4.1 billion loss due to the diesel scandal. Mr. Harms launched into his pitch, say people who were at the meeting, with slides of sales projections and showing the strategic fit with VW's brands.

When the floor was opened for questions, these people say, Frank Witter, VW's finance chief, asked: "Do we really have to do this? Is this sensible?"

"Yes, we do," shot back Mr. Renschler, who said VW needed to seize new revenue created by such services.

Mr. Renschler, Mr. Harms and another participant confirm the exchange, saying Mr. Witter was concerned about mounting costs from the emissions scandal. Mr. Witter declined to comment.

"It was a development process," says Mr. Harms, "and then at some point everybody was convinced."

The board backed the acquisition of Gett, which is now the nucleus of VW's Moia brand run by Mr. Harms. Gett drivers use their own vehicles now, but VW says it eventually wants to build vehicles for the service. Gett is the world's 10th-largest car-hailing service, with about 1% of the market, according to industry consultants Frost & Sullivan.

Behind Mr. Müller's push in app-based businesses is also the notion, growing in the auto industry, that data-heavy applications may create revenue streams inside the car—location-based services, for example, that steer drivers to hotels or restaurants. Some believe data generated in the car—where a driver travels or what parts are wearing down—could be sold to third-party vendors offering services.

A 2016 McKinsey study projected shared-mobility and data services could create up to \$1.5 trillion in additional revenue for the auto industry by 2030. To capture this new revenue, analysts say, auto makers need to develop digital technology and business models or risk seeing technology companies like Google fill the gap.

At the Geneva car show in March, VW unveiled its vision of where electric self-driving vehicles and mobility services can converge. Dubbed Sedric, the company's first fully autonomous vehicle, has no steering wheel or pedals.

"Dieselgate was bad," says Yung-Joo Presciutti, senior exterior designer on the Sedric project, "but now we have a good chance to change our way of thinking."

### Shifting Gears

As Volkswagen seeks to recover from its diesel-emissions scandal...

#### Stock price

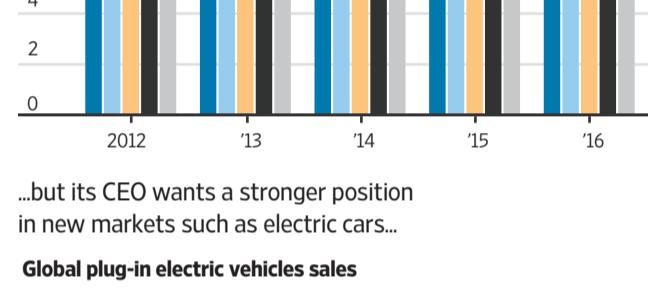
U.S. regulators allege that VW violated the Clean Air Act with devices that masked some diesel emissions.



...it has maintained its No. 1 spot in global auto sales...

#### Global vehicles sales

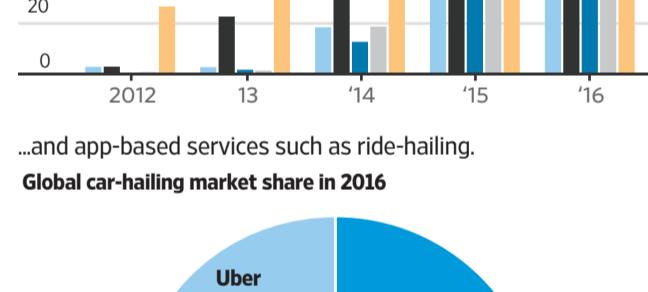
10 million units



...but its CEO wants a stronger position in new markets such as electric cars...

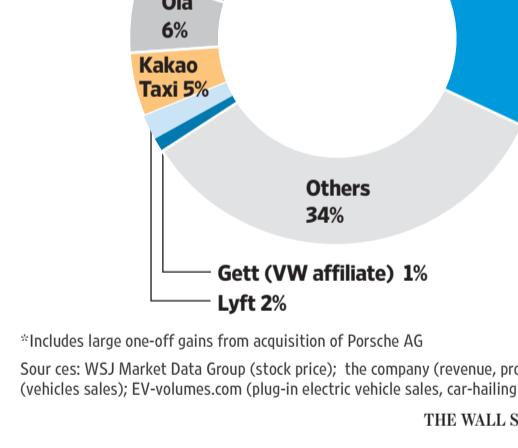
#### Global plug-in electric vehicles sales

100 thousand units



...and app-based services such as ride-hailing.

#### Global car-hailing market share in 2016



\*Includes large one-off gains from acquisition of Porsche AG

Sources: WSJ Market Data Group (stock price); the company (revenue, profit); IHS Markit (vehicles sales); EV-volumes.com (plug-in electric vehicle sales, car-hailing market share)

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## BEES

*Continued from Page One*  
lic-tape perimeter around the tree. Then he rode a NYPD cherry picker to the high branches for a look.

"This is a historical event in my neighborhood," said Lisa Giunta, age 55, among those watching Officer Mays ascend to the yellow-and-black cloud.

Mr. Mays was assigned a bee-wrangling partner—Dan Higgins, a former counterterrorism detective and beekeeper. At retirement, Mr. Higgins moved to a job in the Westchester County District Attorney's office and left NYPD's bee duties to Officer Mays, who gets overtime pay for his work.

Bee swarms create problems in densely populated cities, Mr. Higgins said: "In nature, it happens in the middle of the woods. In New York City, it happens in Grand Central or Park Avenue where there are 500 or 600 people."

New York City is responsible for protecting public areas from swarms, a job that falls to police. Anthony Planakis, who was the NYPD's bee specialist in the 1990s and 2000s, a beekeeper because no other city agency wanted the job. Some police departments

spring of 2009, Officer Mays bought many bees and eight books, including "Beekeeping for Dummies."

He joined the NYPD in 2001 to chase crooks, not bees. But after learning about beekeeping, Officer Mays informed the department of his new skills.

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would prefer facing criminals. "All kidding aside, it's a dangerous task," he said, "but if not the police, who?"

Elsewhere, bees are generally dispatched by animal-control departments.

Chuck Wexler, the executive director of the Police Executive Research Forum, said police were well suited for the job, though he conceded a swarm "scares the beehives" out of some officers who

would prefer facing criminals.

"All kidding aside, it's a dangerous task," he said, "but if not the police, who?"

After capturing a swarm, most bee cops either give the insects to beekeepers or adopt them. Officer Mays keeps a hive on the roof of the Queens precinct, in addition to the four he keeps at home in Orange County, N.Y.

One of his first assignments this year was a bee



NYPD Officer Darren Mays vacuums bees from a recent swarm.

swarm wreaking havoc at NYPD headquarters near City Hall. By the time Officer Mays arrived, the bees had fled. Before long, another swarm was spotted uptown, covering a large flower pot outside Mount Sinai Hospital.

Officer Mays, when facing a 30,000-strong swarm of bees, relies on old-fashioned police skills.

"Anytime you go to work on the beehive you always talk to them," he said. "Same thing with people in the street, especially in a domestic situation. You got to force them into a calm manner and get their demeanor down."

After talking to the bees, Officer Mays breaks out a vacuum that connects to a temporary hive. Once all the bees are sucked into the hive, he picks it up and puts it in the car.

In the recent Mount Sinai caper, Officer Mays drove the temporary hive to the Queens precinct, where he spotted a lieutenant who had teased him about his beekeeping. He said he dropped the box of bees on her desk: "They were just buzzing. She was saying, 'Get out of here! I told you I'm afraid of bees!'"

Officer Mays said he has

been stung more than 400 times over the years. Among his lessons has been the importance of capturing the queen bee, which, he said, was "the reason life goes on" at the hive.

As Officer Mays worked the bee swarm from a cherry picker by Arturo's pizzeria, a detective from the NYPD's Emergency Services Unit watched from the ground. He would rather face any other kind of perp, he said, as long as they don't sting."

From his perch 20 feet in the air, Officer Mays accidentally cut off a tree branch with the hedge-trimmer. The branch fell hard to the ground, scattering bees and rubbernecks in all directions.

Officer Mays calmly rode the cherry picker to the ground to vacuum the rest of the swarm. After passing on a few bee facts to the thinned-out crowd, Officer Mays placed the temporary hive into the back seat of his car.

By around 7 p.m., Officer Mays took stock of his operation: one hive of bees recovered; one sting suffered.

—Lisa Schwartz

and Mariana Alfaro contributed to this article.

## U.S. NEWS

# DEA Chief Rebuts Trump on Police Force

Official urges staff to disregard president's comments condoning rough treatment

BY JESS BRAVIN

WASHINGTON—The nation's top narcotics officer repudiated President Donald Trump's remarks about police use of force, issuing a memo saying Drug Enforcement Administration agents must "always act honorably" by maintaining "the very highest standards" in the treatment of criminal suspects.

Chuck Rosenberg, who as acting DEA chief works for the president, told agency personnel world-wide in a Saturday memo to disregard any suggestion that roughing up suspects would be tolerated. The memo came a day after Mr. Trump told a crowd of law-enforcement officers they shouldn't be "too nice" when arresting "thugs."

"The president, in remarks delivered yesterday in New York, condoned police misconduct regarding the treatment of individuals placed under arrest by law enforcement," begins the memo, titled "Who We Are" and marked "Global Distribution."

Mr. Rosenberg wrote that although he is certain no "special agent or task force officer of the DEA would mistreat a defendant," Mr. Trump's comments required a response.

The White House, the Justice Department and the DEA, which is an arm of the Jus-



BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE/GTY IMAGES

Chuck Rosenberg wrote that though he is sure no DEA officer would mistreat a defendant, Mr. Trump's comments required a response.

tice Department, declined to comment on the Rosenberg memo.

"I write to offer a strong reaffirmation of the operating principles to which we, as law enforcement professionals, adhere," the memo says. "I write because we have an obligation to speak out when something is wrong. That's what law enforcement officers do. That's what you do. We fix stuff. At least, we try."

On Friday, Mr. Trump vis-

ited Long Island, N.Y., to commend law enforcement efforts against MS-13, an international criminal gang with roots in El Salvador.

"When you see these thugs being thrown into the back of a paddy wagon—you just see them thrown in, rough—I said, please don't be too nice," Mr. Trump said, prompting laughter and applause from the audience of law enforcement officers. "Like when you guys put somebody in the car and

you're protecting their head, you know, the way you put their hand over? Like, don't hit their head and they've just killed somebody—don't hit their head. I said, you can take the hand away, OK?"

Mr. Rosenberg is a longtime Justice Department official who twice served as a U.S. attorney in the George W. Bush administration—first for the Southern District of Texas and later the Eastern District of Virginia.

He has prosecuted or su-

pervised prosecutions into crimes including murder, espionage and financial fraud, and as a senior official worked on significant national security problems.

He served as a senior aide to Mr. Bush's first attorney general, John Ashcroft, and to James Comey and Robert Mueller, two other former Bush administration officials whose recent investigations into alleged Russian meddling in the 2016 election, and any potential involvement of

Trump campaign officials, have vexed the president.

Mr. Rosenberg worked for Mr. Comey, when the latter served as the Justice Department's No. 2 official, deputy attorney general, and for Mr. Mueller when he was director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

After several years in private practice, Mr. Rosenberg returned to the FBI as chief of staff to Mr. Comey, whom President Barack Obama appointed to succeed Mr. Mueller.

In 2015, Attorney General Loretta Lynch made Mr. Rosenberg acting administrator of the DEA, and he was retained by the Trump administration.

President Trump dismissed Mr. Comey as FBI director in May over displeasure with the Russian investigation. The president has indicated unhappiness with the work of Mr. Mueller, who was appointed a special counsel to pick up the investigation following Mr. Comey's dismissal.

Several police associations and local police chiefs, who are responsible for enforcing discipline in the ranks, have also condemned Mr. Trump's remarks on the handling of suspects.

"To suggest that police officers apply any standard in the use of force other than what is reasonable and necessary is irresponsible, unprofessional and sends the wrong message to law enforcement as well as the public," New York Police Commissioner James O'Neill said last week.

## Tribe, Utilities Feud Over Aquifer

BY JIM CARLTON

Deep beneath the desert east of Los Angeles is a Southern California treasure: a massive basin filled with freshwater.

The aquifer has spurred development of the popular resort towns in the Coachella Valley, such as Palm Springs, Palm Desert and Rancho Mirage.

But it also lies underneath the reservation of a small Native American tribe that owns golf courses and casinos in the area.

The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians says the drinking water is partly its and wants a stake in how it is used by public utilities. A yearslong legal battle over the issue could end up being taken up by the U.S. Supreme Court this fall.

The high court's action could affect groundwater rights across the arid West, where utilities now deliver the water to tribes as another customer, along with farmers, cities and businesses.

The 480-member tribe contends the local water agencies—the Desert Water Agency and Coachella Valley Water District—have mismanaged the groundwater by allowing too much to be pumped out and by replenishing the source with untreated water from the Colorado River that they consider subpar.

The water agencies, however, say the tribe appears to

be making a water grab, potentially setting a dangerous precedent where control of a municipal resource is partially ceded from a public utility.

They also say the tribe, which has built two casino-resorts and two 18-hole championship-caliber golf courses on its 31,500 acres, has little experience in managing water and could potentially sell some of it.

"They're in the money business," said James Cioffi, board president of the Desert Water Agency. The tribe says its only interest is in preserving the quality of the water.

**The California case is the first in the nation to reach a federal appellate level.**

Agua Caliente in 2013 took its case to federal court, winning in the first round on the issue of whether it has federal reserved rights to groundwater. That ruling was upheld in March by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco.

The water agencies appealed to the Supreme Court, which is expected to decide whether to hear the case this fall.

If the court were to overturn the appellate court, legal

observers say that could mean fresh challenges in other cases where tribes have already been awarded groundwater rights from some state courts.

If it lets the lower-court rulings stand, more tribes could seek groundwater rights—triggering more litigation.

"There are very few water lawyers in the West who are not aware of this case," said Dan Tarlock, a law professor at Illinois Institute of Technology's Chicago-Kent College of Law.

Other tribes have already filed friend-of-the-court briefs on behalf of Agua Caliente's litigation, including the Spokane in Washington and Paiutes in Nevada.

State and national water groups are weighing in, too.

The Association of California Water Agencies, for example, plans to file a friend-of-the-court brief on behalf of the utilities, said Tim Quinn, the group's executive director.

"The big deal is public water agencies are there to manage water for everyone, but the concern about a case like this is you might not be able to manage the water for everyone," Mr. Quinn said.

Tribal rights over rivers and other surface-water supplies are well established in the West, but less so when it comes to groundwater—one of the most important drinking-water sources in many

desert areas.

Tribes in Arizona and Montana have gained rights to local groundwater in recent decades after appealing to the supreme courts of those states, although a tribe's bid to do so in Wyoming was rejected in 1988 by that state's highest court.

The California case is the first in the nation to reach a federal appellate level.

Native Americans didn't start pursuing groundwater rights in earnest until after the 1970s, as part of a movement to seek greater independence, legal experts say.

The dispute in California's Coachella Valley—a 45-mile strip of desert where temperatures soar as high as 120 degrees—arose after the Agua Caliente said water agencies ignored their claims of mismanagement for two decades.

The aquifer supplies water to an area with a population of roughly 400,000 people.

"The tribe was hoping that they could get the water districts to change their practices, but they realized that was just not going to happen," said Catherine Munson, a tribal attorney based in Washington, D.C.

Officials of the water agencies say they adopted a plan in 2002 to help better manage the groundwater and that over the past decade they have stabilized the amount that gets used.

### Water Fight

The Agua Caliente tribe wants greater control over groundwater from a massive aquifer that's partly under their reservation. The fresh water source has helped fuel the growth of the area.



Sources: Coachella Valley Regional Water Management Group; Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians

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"We have a vibrant economy where anyone who wants water gets water," said Mr. Cioffi.

The Agua Caliente filed suit in U.S. District Court in Riverside, Calif., in May 2013, seeking a declaration that it has a federally reserved right to water underneath the reservation, which was created in the 1870s.

The U.S. Department of Justice joined the case as a plaintiff in 2014.

A lower-court judge ruled in favor of the tribe in 2015,

prompting the appeals pro-

cess that is still under way.

If the Supreme Court lets the previous rulings stand, the exact amount of water belonging to the tribe would be determined in another proceeding.

That would likely set the stage for other landowners to try to win their own rights to the groundwater, said John Powell, board president of the Coachella Valley Water District.

That may create "a lot of uncertainty and cost," Mr. Powell said. "Everyone is going to have to lawyer up."

## U.S. WATCH



PAUL BUCK/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Mayor Eric Garcetti announcing Los Angeles will host the Olympics.

2028 OLYMPICS

### Los Angeles Cuts Deal to Host Games

Officials in Los Angeles and leaders of the International Olympic Committee reached a deal to bring the Summer Games to Southern California in 2028.

The deal comes after months of discussions between the two

parties and won't be official until a vote by the IOC in September, which is considered a formality at this point. The talks moved forward after L.A. officials and the U.S. Olympic Committee signaled they would step back from the race against Paris for the 2024 Games in exchange for securing hosting rights for 2028.

According to people who have been working on the deal, Los Angeles—in exchange for waiting an additional four years to play host—will receive funding for sports programs. The IOC will also help underwrite the operating costs of the organization currently known as LA24, the private group that will serve as the local organizing committee for the Games.

Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti said Monday the IOC funding will "kick-start our drive to make L.A. the healthiest city in America, by making youth sports more affordable and accessible than ever before."

—Matthew Futterman

### ECONOMY

### Factory Activity Continues to Expand

U.S. factory activity expanded for the 11th consecutive month in July, highlighting steady economic growth heading into the second half of the year.

The Institute for Supply Management on Tuesday said its index of U.S. manufacturing activity fell to 56.3 in July from 57.8 in June. A number above 50 indicates expansion. Economists surveyed by The Wall Street Journal had expected a July reading of 56.2.

The headline ISM manufacturing index and many of its subcomponents are consistent with an improvement in business sentiment and activity in the sector as it comes out of the doldrums of the past two years," Blerina Uruci, economist at Barclays, said in a research note.

—Jeffrey Sparshott

### VETERANS AFFAIRS

#### Opioid Risk Cited With Private Care

Veterans using a Department of Veterans Affairs program to seek care from doctors in the private sector instead of the VA face a greater danger of becoming entangled in the country's opioid epidemic, the VA said Tuesday.

Findings from the VA's Office of Inspector General show that programs allowing veterans to get care from private doctors when appointments aren't available in the VA system leave veterans vulnerable to overprescription of powerful opioids because of gaps in the process used by the VA to keep track of prescriptions.

The Inspector General said problems still arise when veterans get VA-funded care from the private sector, but when patients are treated entirely within the VA system they fare better, in part due to a VA program designed to combat opioid overprescription and misuse.

# LIFE & ARTS

## MEN'S FASHION

# The Stickiest Debate for Men

In summer, men ponder the style and usefulness of a T-shirt under a dress shirt to protect against sweat stains

BY RAY A. SMITH

**IN THE SUMMER,** Reed Chapman wears an undershirt so he can avoid a Rorschach test of sweat marks from forming on his dress shirts.

"I sweat down my back a lot, so that's a lot of surface area to be embarrassed about on a button-down," says the 26-year-old New Yorker, who works in finance and is grateful for the undershirt anytime he's waiting for a train in the city's steamy subways.

Dominic Trombino, a marketing professional and writer in Chicago, isn't a fan. "I understand it protects the sweat but I always feel it's more uncomfortable because when I sweat, they stick to me more and it makes me feel hotter," says the 27-year-old. "I'd rather be comfortable." He wears button-down shirts "in very dark colors so sweat doesn't show as much."

Call it the sweat wars.

When summer temperatures soar, some men swear by undershirts while others swear off them. Heated debates between men on the topic have spilled out on Twitter.

Now, underwear makers from Fruit of the Loom and Hanes to upscale brands like Sunspel, of England, and Zimmerli, of Switzerland, are locked in an arms race to provide undershirt options that address men's common pet peeves about comfort and style. Some have added more slim-fit undershirts to keep up with the slimmer-shirt silhouette that has been popular in menswear for years. Some versions are made with lighter cotton, or fabric-cooling and moisture-wicking properties.

Jockey's Staycool+ Essential Fit undershirts have a tailored fit so they won't bunch up under dress shirts, says Rob Styles, Jockey VP of Merchandising and Design. Fruit of the Loom's "stay-tucked" V-neck undershirt, made with a softer cotton than its other undershirts, has reshaped sleeves to prevent "unwanted peeking from underneath your shirt," the company said. It also made them longer, to ensure they won't pop out of pants when the wearer is doing things like sitting or bending.

Hanes last year began adding odor-protection to its lightweight undershirts. It embeds them with a technology the company said is designed to adapt to the wearer's body temperature to keep him cool.

At the more upscale end, Zimmerli, markets a line of undershirts made with a light, slightly transparent cotton to make it more imperceptible under a dress shirt. Sunspel's "Superfine Cotton" V-neck undershirts, made from a specially-developed lightweight jersey fabric, are "close without



ISTOCK

being tight," the company says. They feature "an ultra low V-neck," a help to men who want to wear their dress shirts with the top buttons undone without fear of an undershirt peekaboo.

A visible undershirt is considered a fashion faux paux. "It's an undergarment," said Tim Gunn, the fastidiously dressed "Project Runway" co-host and mentor. "You look a little more polished if we don't see it," says Mr. Gunn.

Brad Lavoie, 37, of Seattle is "evangelical" about the V-neck. "One of the tackiest things is when I see people with their dress shirt collars open and you can see 6 inches of white under a dress shirt" because they're wearing a crew-neck undershirt, he says. The reverse is also true. When Mr. Lavoie, who works in health-care finance, wears a tie and buttons the top shirt button, he'll wear a crew-neck undershirt. "If I'm wearing a V-neck under that, you can see where my shirt ends and my chest begins," he says.

Uniqlo recommends customers choose its AIRism Seamless V-necks, which feature quick-drying technology and self-deodorizing properties. Uniqlo says the color beige is best if customers plan on

wearing a white dress shirt because a white undershirt would be too visible underneath. The neck and cuffs are constructed without seams, which Uniqlo says keeps lines from showing through a dress shirt. They have a deep-v neck too, to hide the undershirt

**"That one layer is a kindness to ourselves and the people around you," says Tim Gunn.**

from view under an open collar.

Undershirts have come a long way from their days as an offshoot of the one-piece union suits men wore as undergarments in the late 19th and early 20th century to protect precious clothes. In 1901, Hanes, then known as the P.H. Hanes Knitting Co. introduced two-piece underwear, a variation on the union suit, according to the company. By 1913, the U.S. Navy made the T-shirt part of its standard issue uniform, replacing one-piece underwear.

They eventually became a work-

wear staple for men with blue-collar jobs. The undershirts offered a way for men to beat the heat while on duty without going shirtless. Veterans returning from war would wear the undershirts as casual wear, inspiring civilian men to do the same.

In the 1950s, the white T-shirt was popularized in Hollywood by James Dean in "Rebel Without a Cause" and, especially, Marlon Brando in "A Streetcar Named Desire" and "The Wild One," even as the tees they wore were technically underwear. Around that time, men with white-collar jobs would also wear undershirts under their suits and ties for warmth in winter and to fight sweat in the summer.

"It's a great protector," says Mr. Gunn, who is also an author and educator. "It keeps all the bodily fluids away from the shirt. That one layer is a kindness to ourselves and the people around you."

Tim Pickert, a 29-year-old Chicago-based lawyer, puts an undershirt on "pretty much every day." That includes off-the-clock, when he's wearing a polo shirt or T-shirt and plans to be outdoors for a long time, "to avoid backsweat" from showing. For work, where he often dresses in a business-casual style, he prefers the slim-fit V-

neck undershirts Nordstrom makes. "You can unbutton two buttons and it won't show," he says. Another plus: "They have [6%] spandex, so they're not as bulky."

For men concerned an undershirt will mess with the sleek profile of the slim-fit shirts they are wearing, Mr. Gunn shared his secret to making it work: "One thing I do every day, all the time, I tuck the T-shirt into the waistband of my underpants," he said. "It helps keep it down and secured. If you don't, [the undershirt] can rise up and create a little bulk" in the waistband area.

Sometimes even a great lightweight, slim-fit, deep-v V-neck will be no match for really hot weather, as Kevin Hupp recently learned. The 23-year-old Los Angeles-based actor and writer, was on a set in a building with no air conditioning on a hot day and managed to sweat through the underarms of both his undershirt and oxford shirt. "Someone on set said 'you really sweat through your entire button down,' which was embarrassing." He posted a five-second video clip of himself on Twitter, zooming in on his sweat-soaked shirt's armpit.

## MY RIDE

# ABSURD RACE CARS AND A DRIVER WHO LOVES THEM



Jeff Bloch, a Washington, D.C., police sergeant, on his Lemons racing cars, as told to A.J. Baime.

I have been a police officer for 22 years, and I have been racing cars longer than that. I first heard about 24 Hours of Lemons racing in 2009 (Lemons, which recently changed its name from LeMons, is a pun on a bad car and the 24 Hours of Le Mans, regarded as the world's most important sports car race). It's a nationwide endurance racing series, and at the same time, a contest for who can make the coolest, most absurd racing car. I am overly competitive, but I'm also 44 going on 8. This was for me.



I put together a team called Speedycop & the Gang of Outlaws. My wife Jaime is outlaw #1 and the rest is an eclectic mix. I do the design and engineering. We build the vehicles in my garage, and we race them. In Lemons racing, it

does not matter as much who is fastest but who wins the prize for coolest fast car—the Index of Effluency prize. We have won nine times.

Our latest is the Trippy Tippy Hippy Van. We took the body a 1976 Volkswagen bus, flipped it on its side, slid a 1988 Volkswagen Rabbit into it, and built it into a race car, so you cannot see the Rabbit, only the sideways van. Lemons cars have to cost no more than \$500; after you have the base vehicle you can spend as much as

you want making it cool. I found a Rabbit in Texas for \$500, and the build took five intense weeks. We raced in Kentucky last month (the vehicle can hit about 100 mph), winning the Index of Effluency award.

Other cars include Speedy's Weenies—a hot dog stand welded onto a Suzuki SUV. (At a race earlier this year in New Jersey, we came in 48th out of 124, which means we beat over 75 cars—in a hot dog stand.) There's the Spirit of LeMons (an abandoned 1956 air-

plane body mounted onto a 1987 Toyota), and the Upside Down Camaro (the name says it all). The SpeedyCopter is a Vietnam-era attack helicopter body mounted on a 1986 Toyota. We built this vehicle to be amphibious, so after I raced it, I drove it on a lake on propeller power.

My wife is a saint. We have two incomes and no kids, and we scratch by because everything goes into racing. On the track, we drive these cars hard, and we have an absolute blast.

Contact A.J. Baime at [Facebook.com/ajbaime](http://Facebook.com/ajbaime).



## OPINION

### REVIEW & OUTLOOK

## Trump's Beef Backfire

**A**merican cattlemen have been gored again by the Trump Administration's withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade pact. Japan last week raised the tariff on frozen U.S. beef to 50% from 38.5% for the next eight months, while Australian ranchers enjoy a 27.5% rate and can expect that to fall to 9% over the next 16 years if TPP goes ahead.

Japan is the leading market for American beef, consuming \$1.5 billion worth last year. But Australia is a fierce competitor and already enjoys more than half the market for frozen beef. The Aussies locked in Japan's TPP market-opening with a bilateral trade agreement.

That's how they dodged last week's "safeguard" tariffs. Under World Trade Organization rules, Japan set up a mechanism to increase tariffs if imports surge by a set amount, in this case 17%. But Tokyo exempts countries with which it has trade deals. Since the U.S. left the TPP, it doesn't qualify for the exemption. So U.S. producers are likely to lose market share.

To add political insult to injury, eight of America's top 10 beef-producing states voted for Donald Trump. The eight are: Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas and Wisconsin. Culturally they belong to his political base, but his trade policy is hurting their interests. (The other two states are California and Colorado.)

### His withdrawal from the Pacific trade pact gores U.S. cattlemen.

for the U.S.

The Administration has said it wants a bilateral trade deal with Japan like Australia's. But times have changed. Tokyo signed the Australian deal as part of the horse-trading for TPP in return for which it stood to gain access to 11 other nations' markets. Politically it now has no incentive to equal or improve those terms

Mr. Trump seems to be cooling on the idea of a bilateral trade deal with Japan and is hinting the U.S. may respond with tariffs if Japan doesn't lower the bilateral trade deficit. Last month he pressed Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to remove nontariff barriers to American car imports and stop the Bank of Japan from pushing down the value of the yen.

There's little evidence that either move would have a significant effect on bilateral trade flows. Mr. Trump's best bet to quickly expand U.S. exports to Japan would be a return to the TPP, with its lower Japanese tariffs on food products. The trade deal would also help Mr. Abe lift Japan's economy, which would then consume more imports.

Instead, rising trade tensions between Japan and the U.S. risk a downward spiral of protectionism. Last week's safeguard tariffs will hurt Japanese consumers and American farmers. There are more losses to come if the U.S. stays out of the TPP.

## Britain's Brexit Blunders

**T**heresa May's government is deeply divided over Brexit, but one trend is emerging: Her ministers seem determined to get their negotiating priorities backward. Witness a growing resistance to compromise with the European Union when compromise would be best for Britain, coupled with unilateral policy disarmament on issues where Britain should carve out a new path.

An example of the latter comes via Chancellor Philip Hammond's promise that Britain won't cut taxes and regulations to compete with the EU. He told *Le Monde* this week that Britain will "remain a country with a social, economic and cultural model that is recognizably European," including a tax take as a percentage of GDP around the European average.

This is self-destructive. Brexit is supposed to allow Britain to shed onerous taxes and cumbersome regulations. The U.K. will have to do

### London disarms on taxes while hurting itself on immigration.

both to attract investment despite the costs of probable new trade barriers with the EU and the weaker pound. Mr. Hammond's unilateral economic disarmament is a mistake for the ages.

Meanwhile, members of the cabinet are holding firm on their determination to block immigration from the EU. A spokesman for Mrs. May on

Monday promised free movement of people would not "continue as it is now" after Brexit. Yet the economy can't grow without immigrant labor, given the skills shortages in the tight pre-Brexit labor market. Intransigence on immigration will also make it harder for London to negotiate a more open trade deal with the EU.

June's election fiasco has dimmed Mrs. May's enthusiasm for standing up to destructive factions within her own party, especially on migration. If she doesn't start leading in a different direction, the future looks bleaker for her and Britain after Brexit.

## John Kelly Sends a Message

**T**he big questions about new White House chief of staff John Kelly are whether he can impose discipline on a chaotic staff, and whether President Trump will listen to him. After one day on the job, Mr. Kelly appears to be 2-0.

Mr. Trump swore in his new staff chief Monday morning and within hours Anthony Scaramucci was out as White House communications director. Sources said Mr. Kelly had requested that Mr. Scaramucci depart and that Mr. Trump assented.

The Mook's dismissal is certainly a tone setter, and not merely because he was on the job for only 10 days. A New York brawler who made a fortune in finance, Mr. Scaramucci had advertised himself as someone who understood Mr. Trump's authentic political voice and could fire anyone he wanted to. He had bragged that he reported directly to the President, not to previous chief of staff Reince Priebus. And last week he gave a profanity

### The new White House chief of staff gives the Mook the boot.

and that no one should trash their colleagues in public or freelance without permission from the top. Not a bad first day.

With Mr. Trump, it's possible—perhaps likely—that this will be a fleeting moment of organizational discipline. The President has shown in the past that he can listen to advice for a few hours, sometimes even a few days, but inevitably he feels too confined by political normalcy and breaks free with a Twitter barrage or interview tirade. Or maybe, as a former four-star general, Mr. Kelly is the rare person outside his family whom Mr. Trump will heed.

## Venezuela's Mocked Election

**V**enezuela's Nicolás Maduro went ahead Sunday with elections for a new assembly, claiming that eight million people

### How Trump and the OAS can respond to Maduro's power grab.

has in the United States. U.S. Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin called the election "illegitimate" and Mr. Maduro a "dictator who disregards the will of the Venezuelan people."

But the statement made no mention of sanctioning oil exports, which are crucial to the regime's survival. Venezuela's access to hard currency de-

pends largely on its export of heavy crude to the U.S. Gulf Coast, where refineries are specially fitted to handle it. A U.S. ban would hurt the Maduro government because it would force the state-owned oil monopoly, PdVSA, to ship to far-away markets that could handle their heavy crude, such as China. The higher shipping costs and the dislocation would have a material impact on an already shaky PdVSA.

Mr. Trump could also block PdVSA from using the U.S. financial system and ban U.S. companies from doing business in Venezuela. Embargoes are famously porous, and no one expects this one to be airtight. But Venezuela's fiscal dependence on heavy crude exports to the U.S. makes this situation especially suited to American action.

Some will say that oil sanctions can only hurt the Venezuelan people, but they are already suffering extreme deprivation. Some are starving. The U.S. and the willing members of the Organization of American States need to form a united front not to recognize this vote or the regime it has produced.

## The President's Bully Pulpit



MAIN STREET  
By William McGurn

Not yet a week after the most extravagant Republican Party botch since the Bill Clinton impeachment, Beltway fingers are still pointing. And why not? The failure to make good on seven years' worth of ObamaCare repeal promises has many fathers.

Take your pick. Sen. John McCain's pique. The squishiness of those such as Sen. Rob Portman who voted for repeal when it didn't matter, and then voted nay when it did. Behind-the-scenes undermining by governors such as Ohio's John Kasich. A GOP beeft of party discipline.

There is truth to all these. Even so, perhaps the most obvious reason goes almost unmentioned: The Republican bills were unpopular.

This doesn't mean they were bad bills, notwithstanding the many compromises lawmakers included. It does mean that their merits went mostly unsold to the public. This allowed Democrats and their allies to paint the bills as but the latest Republican attempt to rob from the poor (\$800 billion in Medicaid cuts) to give to the rich (\$600 billion in tax cuts).

Even more astounding is that as this narrative took hold the president of the United States neglected the greatest bully pulpit of all: the Oval Office.

Notwithstanding his flaws, Donald Trump has proved himself able to connect with voters, especially those who voted for Barack Obama, in a way other Republicans have not. But the Trump White House has yet to recognize the unique punch a formal, televised address from behind the desk of the Oval Office still carries, even in the age of Twitter.

Ronald Reagan's use of the Oval Office to push his tax cuts through in 1981 is a textbook example. Yes, the Gipper schmoozed those on the opposite side of the aisle. He had to, given that Democrats controlled the House. But as likeable as he was, folks on both sides of the political aisle were skeptical about his proposed tax cuts.

In a July 27 Oval Office address, Reagan made his pitch. In simple language, he gently mocked the Democratic leadership claims that their bill "gives a greater break to the workers than ours." He said the whole controversy came down to whose money it was—the people who earned it or the government that wanted to spend it. And his call for Americans to "contact your senators and congressmen" to urge them to vote for his tax cuts touched off what Speaker Tip O'Neill described as a "telephone blitz like this nation has never seen."

Though it's now popular to reminisce about the warm, cuddly Reagan

who put partisanship aside, that isn't the way it was seen at the time. The day after his speech, the *New York Times* reported Reagan had "engaged in a series of partisan attacks on his opponents on Capitol Hill."

It worked: Two days later the Democratic House approved the Reagan administration's tax cuts by a comfortable margin.

What does this mean for Mr. Trump? It's probably too late now for health care. But it might have been a different story if President Trump had used a televised White House address to explain that the Republican goal was a bill that would help drive down costs, lower insurance premiums and undo mandates forcing Americans to buy products they don't want.

### As Reagan proved, there's nothing as powerful as an Oval Office address.

Some suggest Mr. Trump doesn't have the mastery of detail to pull it off. But a president doesn't need to be a policy wonk. One big thing he can do is simply to push back on the falsehoods.

Imagine, for example, if Mr. Trump had pointed out that the accusation Republicans were cutting Medicaid was classic Swampspeak: In fact, spending would still go up every year, albeit at a slower rate. For good measure, he might have contrasted the Republican faith in the wisdom of the American people with the admission by a chief architect of ObamaCare that it owed its passage to a "lack of transparency" and "the stupidity of the American voter."

In fairness, Mr. Trump did make calls, bring in senators and speak at his rallies. Even so, nothing quite matches the prestige of an address from his desk, where the president speaks directly to the entire American people.

Unlike his rallies, generally limited to his most ardent supporters, even many of those who detest the president would tune in for a prime-time Oval Office address.

This isn't about blaming Mr. Trump for the failure to repeal ObamaCare. It is about pointing him to a huge presidential asset that went unused in a key contest involving Republican credibility.

Democrats are now gearing up to run the same class narrative against the Republicans on tax reform they did on ObamaCare. If the president wishes to avoid another embarrassment, he might put down his smartphone for a moment and start thinking of how to use the Oval Office to ensure the coming debate on taxes is argued on his terms and not the opposition's.

*Write to mcgurn@wsj.com.*

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Those Who Wish to Die Should Have the Right

In late 2016 my grandfather was diagnosed with terminal cancer ("In the Netherlands, the Doctor Will Kill You Now," op-ed, July 24). From when he was first diagnosed he knew that he wanted to be euthanized once his quality of life had been depleted to a certain point.

In May 2017, completely in his own control, he chose to end his life. It happened in his living room with the doctor, his assistant, my grandmother, my father, his two brothers and me present. It was the most beautiful moment I have ever experienced because my grandfather died as I have always seen him.

Living in a country that allowed my grandfather to go the way he wanted gives me true pride. If I am diagnosed with cancer, I will have the same option my grandfather did. We owe it to

the people who are done with life in the Netherlands to debate the situation in an open and honest way.

SANDER WITTEVEEN  
Netherlands

A week after having the cancerous part of my right leg removed, I found myself pondering my situation. I had been given a potential death sentence, was in unbearable pain and I was bald.

Alone at the time, I remember looking up at the ceiling and being struck with a sudden and clear understanding of why people would want to move to the Netherlands and die. In my moment of profound insight, for reasons of God and family, suicide was not actually on the agenda. My life was not over.

JONATHAN S LEIBOWITZ  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

### No Earnings Cap for the Social Security Tax

In "How to Make America's Tax System Fairer and Save Social Security" (op-ed, July 21), it's hard to understand how Martin Feldstein views his proposal to tax employee health benefits as fair even though health-insurance costs are skyrocketing and he acknowledges that it would "make such benefits more expensive to employees,

accelerating the trend toward higher deductibles and copayments."

This tax is highly regressive as it will adversely impact lower and middle-income employees who rely on these benefits to offset the ever-increasing costs of health insurance. Surely, there are more equitable taxes that could be enacted to solve this problem.

EDWARD BASILE  
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Feldstein didn't mention a third benefit of taxing employer-paid, health-insurance premiums: With the tax preference removed, employers, especially small businesses, are no longer obliged to research, negotiate, implement, explain, administer, defend and troubleshoot their one-size-fits-all health-insurance policies. The em-

ployer tax preference is a productivity-killing anachronism that perverts the health-insurance market, as if it weren't perverted enough already.

STUART GARNER  
Georgetown, Texas

The solution to the Social Security deficit is to eliminate the cap on earnings taxed. Currently Donald Trump, Warren Buffett and Bill Gates pay Social Security tax only on their first \$127,000. How is this fair?

DAVID COOK  
Oxnard, Calif.

If Social Security payments to high-income individuals were also subject to payroll taxes, more funds could flow into the Social Security system.

DOV FRISHBERG  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed to: The Editor, 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036, or emailed to [wsj.ltrs@wsj.com](mailto:wsj.ltrs@wsj.com). Please include your city and state. All letters are subject to editing, and unpublished letters can be neither acknowledged nor returned.

## OPINION

# Free Trade Is a Two-Way Street

By Wilbur Ross

The Trump administration last week celebrated the workers and businesses that make America great.

The purpose of "Made in America Week" was to recognize that, when given a fair chance to compete, Americans can make and sell some of the best, most innovative products in the world.

Unfortunately, many governments across the globe have pursued policies that put American workers and businesses at a disadvantage. For these governments, President Trump and his administration have a clear message: It is time to rebalance your trade policies so that they are fair, free and reciprocal.

**China, the EU and other trading partners put up formidable barriers to imports from America.**

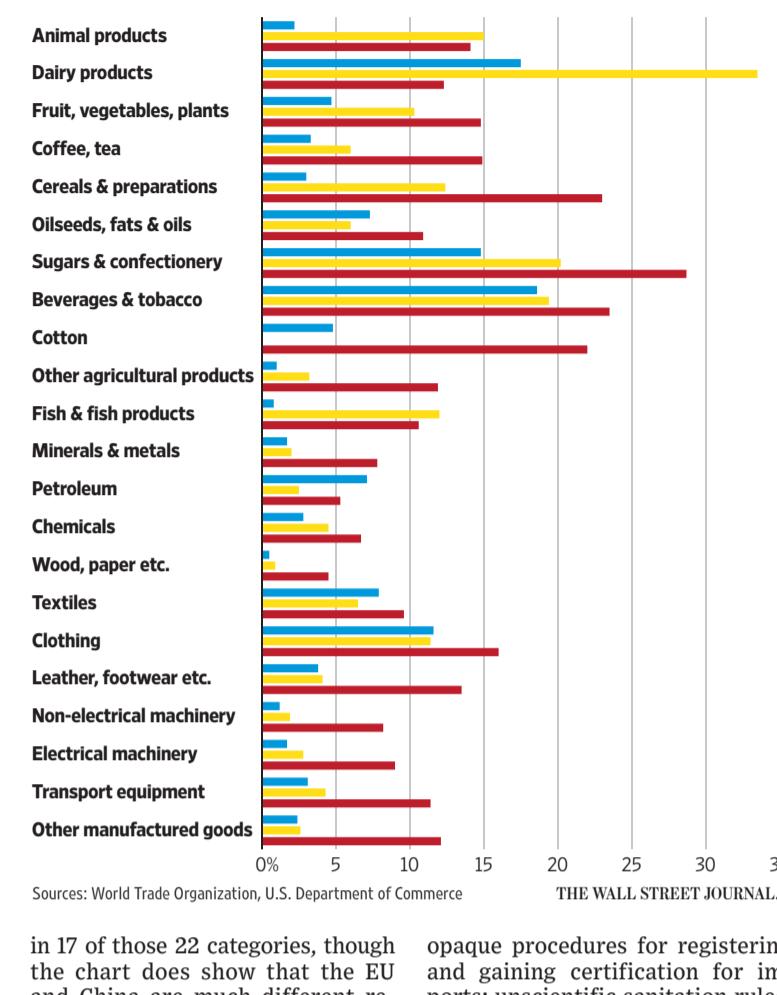
Many nations express commitment to free markets while criticizing the U.S. for what they characterize as a protectionist stance. Yet these very nations engage in unfair trading practices, erect barriers to U.S. exports and maintain significant trade surpluses with us. They argue that our \$752.5 billion trade deficit in goods last year was simply a natural and inevitable consequence of free trade. So, they contend, America should have no complaints.

Our major trading partners issue frequent statements regarding their own free-trade bona fides, but do they practice what they preach? Or are they protectionists dressed in free-market clothing?

When it comes to trade in goods, our deficits with China and the European Union are \$347 billion and \$146.8 billion, respectively. As the nearby chart shows, China's tariffs are higher than those of the U.S. in 20 of the 22 major categories of goods. Europe imposes higher tariffs than the U.S.

### Who's Protectionist?

Average applied tariffs for the U.S., the EU and China



Sources: World Trade Organization, U.S. Department of Commerce

in 17 of those 22 categories, though the chart does show that the EU and China are much different regarding tariff rates.

The EU charges a 10% tariff on imported American cars, while the U.S. imposes only a 2.5% tariff on imported European cars. Today Europe exports 1.14 million automobiles to the U.S., nearly four times as many as the U.S. exports to Europe. China, which is the world's largest automobile market, has a 25% tariff on imported vehicles and imposes even higher tariffs on luxury vehicles.

In addition to tariffs, both China and Europe enforce formidable nontariff trade barriers against imports. Examples include onerous and

opaque procedures for registering and gaining certification for imports; unscientific sanitation rules, especially with regard to agricultural goods; requirements that companies build local factories; and forced technology transfers. The list goes on.

Both China and Europe also bankroll their exports through grants, low-cost loans, energy subsidies, special value-added tax refunds, and below-market real-estate sales and leases, among other means. Comparable levels of government support don't exist in the U.S. If these countries really are free traders, why do they have such formidable tariff and nontariff barriers?

Until we make better deals with our trading partners, we will never know precisely how much of our deficit in goods is due to such trickery. But there can be no question that these barriers are responsible for a significant portion of our current trade imbalance.

China isn't a market economy. The Chinese government creates national champions and takes other actions that significantly distort markets. Responding to such actions with trade remedies isn't protectionist. In fact, the World Trade Organization specifically permits its members to take action when other countries are subsidizing, dumping and engaging in other unfair trade practices.

Consistent with WTO rules, the U.S. has since Jan. 20 brought 54 trade-remedy actions—antidumping and countervailing duty investigations—compared with 40 brought during the same period last year. The U.S. currently has 403 outstanding orders against 42 countries.

But unfortunately, in its annual reports, the WTO consistently casts the increase of trade enforcement cases as evidence of protectionism by the countries lodging the complaints. Apparently, the possibility never occurs to the WTO that there are more trade cases because there are more trade abuses.

The WTO should protect free and fair trade among nations, not attack those trade remedies necessary to ensure a level playing field. Defending U.S. workers and businesses against this onslaught shouldn't be mislabeled as protectionism. Insisting on fair trade is the best way to ensure the long-term strength of the international trading system.

The Trump administration believes in free and fair trade and will use every available tool to counter the protectionism of those who pledge allegiance to free trade while violating its core principles. The U.S. is working to restore a level playing field, and under President Trump's leadership, we will do so.

This is a true free-trade agenda.

*Mr. Ross is U.S. secretary of commerce.*

# HillaryCare Lessons For Today

By Joe Lieberman

One of the greatest bonuses of my years in the Senate was getting to know Sen. John McCain. John has consistently served causes larger than himself, beginning with our country. The speech he gave on the Senate floor last week, followed by his "no" vote after midnight Thursday on a health-care bill nobody wanted to become law, was one of his finest hours.

His message was eloquent and direct. As he put it: "This country—this big, boisterous, brawling, intemperate, restless, striving, daring, beautiful, bountiful, brave, good and magnificent country—needs [the Senate] to help it thrive. That responsibility is more important than any of our personal interests or political affiliations." To live up to its promise, the world's greatest deliberative body needs to return to the spirit of bipartisan cooperation that can lead to real legislative accomplishments.

**Pat Moynihan was right. President Clinton should have pursued legislation with bipartisan support.**

It reminded me of a message another great senator, Pat Moynihan of New York, delivered to another administration 25 years ago. In 1993 Moynihan, the new chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, offered strategists at the Clinton White House a suggestion. He knew many Democrats were pressuring the president to pursue universal health care, but Moynihan believed nearly total Republican opposition would make it a divisive opening flop for the new administration. He argued that instead the president should focus on another promise he had made, to "end welfare as we know it," because Republicans could be convinced to back welfare reform.

Pat believed the nation's welfare system was in a more acute crisis than its health-care system. He also believed that major reforms rarely passed Congress with the support of only one party. "They pass 70-30," he explained, "or they fail."

Moynihan's wisdom fell on deaf ears. The White House vigorously pursued a broad-based health-care-reform agenda crafted by First Lady Hillary Clinton and her team. They presumed most Republicans would line up against them but figured the Democrats would back them. In the end, Democrats weren't any more united than Republicans are today. Their disarray doomed the plan before it even came up for a vote.

Republicans won resoundingly in the 1994 midterm elections, and President Clinton learned from the experience. The White House reverted to the approach Moynihan had initially suggested. While the senator himself ended up opposing the 1996 welfare reform, his political advice worked. Mr. Clinton's embrace of bipartisan negotiation and compromise delivered a series of victories, including a balanced budget and the creation of the Children's Health Insurance Program.

What can we learn from Mr. Clinton's evolution? Maybe most important for President Trump, legislative strategies rarely succeed when they depend on a single party. If Mr. Trump were to extend a hand to Democrats, Washington might well prove capable of solving some of America's problems and seizing some of its opportunities. For that to happen, Democrats in Congress will have to engage with Mr. Trump the way Newt Gingrich and his party worked with Mr. Clinton.

Rallying both parties to repair America's infrastructure could be Mr. Trump's version of welfare reform. Tax reform could also gain bipartisan support. Then Congress can return to more divisive issues, considering them, as Mr. McCain suggested, through regular order. A good place to start would be with the bipartisan health-care reforms that the House No Labels Problem Solvers Caucus released yesterday.

To win in Washington, one must counter and court the opposition. As Mr. McCain said last week, "Incremental progress, compromises that each side criticize but also accept, just plain muddling through to chip away at problems and keep our enemies from doing their worst isn't glamorous or exciting. It doesn't feel like a political triumph. But it's usually the most we can expect from our system of government, operating in a country as diverse and quarrelsome as ours."

*Mr. Lieberman, a former U.S. senator from Connecticut, is a national co-chairman of No Labels.*

## The Germany That No One Bargained For



**EYE ON EUROPE**  
By John Vinocur  
When Vladimir Putin apparently promised that four Siemens gas turbines sold last year for use in a Russian power plant would reach their intended destination, Angela Merkel's government took the Russian president's assurances to heart. Siemens now says the turbines have wound up in Crimea, in violation of sanctions that ban such trade with the Ukrainian province stolen by Russia in 2014.

Germany, according to Reuters, was mulling last week whether to react to Mr. Putin's truthlessness by adding four Russian individuals or organizations to the sanctions list. *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* commented that it was "astonishing" that the chancellor's office hadn't shown greater mistrust earlier. It added: "Putin could say to himself that in spite of sanctions we get what we want."

Exactly. The turbines are an essential part of Russia's plan to end Crimea's dependence on Ukrainian energy and to accelerate Ukraine's disintegration. The trickery is so gross—construction never even began at the fake destination—as to open questions about Siemens's own role beyond the Merkel government's apparent eagerness to accept Mr. Putin's promises 11 months ago.

Is there a kind of German complicity or reflexive softness involving Russia that permits Moscow's blatant (and strategic) lying without anything resembling serious retaliation?

tion? Or a German relationship with Russia that leads to near-hysterical criticism of the latest bill passed by U.S. Congress approving sanctions against Russia?

The bill, beyond hitting Russia for its interference in America's presidential election, states that the Nord Stream 2 Russia-to-Germany natural-gas pipeline threatens the energy security of the European Union.

Sigmar Gabriel, Mrs. Merkel's Social Democrat foreign minister, says Congress's so-called real intention behind the bill is "the sale of American liquefied natural gas and driving out Russian gas deliveries from the European market." If that's his case, then right on, dear Congressmen.

Through fracking, the U.S. has become a potential competitor to Russia when it comes to supplying Europe with liquified natural gas, pushing prices down and diversifying market options. If this, with the bill's possible sanctions against those affiliated with Nord Stream 2, reduces Gazprom's position as a top energy supplier to Europe or even kills the pipeline project, it's all to the good.

Some might have expected Mrs. Merkel—with counselors who privately say Nord Stream 2 is a mistake—to dress down Mr. Gabriel for his defense of Russian interests. She's expected to be a comfortable winner in September's national elections. But according to her spokesman, there's "substantial agreement on content" between the chancellor and her minister.

This is a Germany no one openly bargained for. It has even supported retaliation against Congress's measures, although Berlin left it to the

European Commission to make the threat. That's all the more embarrassing since Mr. Gabriel said in 2015 that Nord Stream 2 was strictly a German-Russian legal entity, constituted to avoid EU meddling.

### Defending Russia, even in the face of Moscow's open duplicity, and obstructing America's attempt to aid Ukraine and protect Europe's energy security.

Or American objections. The U.S. has been concerned about the vulnerability of its European allies' energy supply since Gen. Jim Jones, at the time the commander of NATO, wrote a memorandum on the subject in 2005. Indeed, Mrs. Merkel opposed Nord Stream 1 until she became chancellor later that year, defeating Gerhard Schröder. A month after taking office, she flipped to favor the first pipeline's completion. Mr. Schröder is now Nord Stream 2's Russia-appointed president.

Norbert Röttgen, the Christian Democrat president of the Bunde-

stag's foreign-affairs commission and a critic of the pipeline, told me last week that EU retaliation against the U.S. "in order to protect European companies in the Nord Stream 2 business" means "Mr. Putin would start reaping the fruit of his geostrategic project."

There may be even greater German-American tension in store. The U.S. may soon supply Ukraine with defensive antitank weapons, a provocation of Russia for large segments of the dominant nonconfrontational German political mindset.

Kurt Volker, the U.S. special representative on Ukraine, was in Europe last week telling reporters that nothing so provocative was at hand given Russia's presence inside eastern Ukraine, where, he said, there are more tanks deployed than the combined arsenals of Britain, France and Germany.

Indeed, Ukraine's President Petro Poroshenko announced on June 25 that U.S. Defense Secretary Jim Mattis was expected in Kiev "in the next two to three months" to sign important agreements on "procurement."

Americans contending with reality in Europe seem to have already written off any accompanying German distress.

## Notable & Quotable: Comey

*From "Comey's People" by Matthew Continetti in the July/August issue of Commentary:*

It's obvious [James] Comey was the one behind the stories of [President] Trump's dishonesty and bad behavior. He admitted as much in front of the cameras in a remarkable exchange with Senator Susan Collins of Maine. . . . The source for the New York Times article was "a good friend of mine who's a professor at Columbia Law School," Daniel Richman.

Comey said that, after Trump tweeted on May 12 that he'd better hope there aren't "tapes" of their conversations, "I asked a friend of mine to share the content of the memo with a reporter. Didn't do it myself, for a variety of reasons. But I asked him to, because I thought that might prompt the appointment of a special counsel. And so I asked a close friend of mine to do it. . . ."

Every time I watch or read that exchange, I am amazed. Here is the former director of the FBI just flat-out admitting that, for months, he wrote down every interaction he had with the president of the United States because he wanted a written

record in case the president ever fired or lied about him. And when the president did fire and lie about him, that director set in motion a series of public disclosures with the intent of not only embarrassing the president, but also forcing the appointment of a special counsel who might end up investigating the president for who knows what. And none of this would have happened if the president had not fired Comey or tweeted about him. He told the Senate that if Trump hadn't dismissed him, he most likely would still be on the job.

Rarely, in my view, are high officials so transparent in describing how Washington works. Comey revealed to the world that he was keeping a file on his boss, that he used go-betweens to get his story into the press, that "investigative journalism" is often just powerful people handing documents to reporters to further their careers or agendas or even to get revenge. And as long as you maintain some distance from the fallout, and stick to the absolute letter of the law, you will come out on top, so long as you have a small army of nightingales singing to reporters on your behalf.

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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# BUSINESS & FINANCE

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Wednesday, August 2, 2017 | B1

**Yen vs. Dollar** 110.3400 ▲ 0.07%

**Hang Seng** 27540.23 ▲ 0.79%

**Gold** 1271.10 ▲ 0.36%

**WTI crude** 48.55 ▼ 3.23%

**10-Year JGB** yield 0.076%

**10-Year Treasury** yield 2.264%

## BP Embraces Sub-\$50 Oil

**Break-even point at the company falls as it reverses a loss for the second quarter**

By MICHAEL AMON

LONDON—BP PLC is once again raking in billions of dollars in cash.

The British oil giant, which on Tuesday was the last of the world's biggest Western oil companies to report quarterly earnings, said it can now break even when oil is at \$47 a barrel, cushioning it against an extended period of low prices.

Though BP's equivalent to second-quarter net profit was, by oil-industry standards, a relatively modest \$553 mil-

lion, that compared with a loss of \$2.2 billion a year earlier. And that was despite oil prices stuck at \$50 a barrel or less for much of the year and further costs associated with the Deepwater Horizon oil spill in 2010.

Low oil prices, driven by an excess of supply, have compelled the entire industry to pivot, cutting costs and seeking new avenues for growth. Like its peers Exxon Mobil Corp. and Royal Dutch Shell PLC, BP has moved to increase production through relatively low-cost projects that make money at depressed crude prices.

BP also eliminated \$7 billion in costs last year, the effects of which are beginning to bear fruit, Chief Financial Officer Brian Gilvary said in an in-

terview. Mr. Gilvary said the company is targeting a break-even oil price of \$35 to \$40 by next year. Just a few months ago, BP disappointed investors by saying it needed \$60 a barrel to cover its costs.

Other companies haven't disclosed as much about their break-even price as BP. Shell Chief Executive Ben van Beurden said last week the company had reduced costs and was getting "fit for the \$40s," referring to oil prices.

Mr. van Beurden said Shell was prepared for oil prices to remain "lower forever." That was a riff on a phrase BP Chief Executive Bob Dudley coined about prices back in 2015, when he said they would be "lower for longer" and later amended to "lower for longer but not forever."

On Tuesday, Mr. Dudley said oil prices still presented a "tough environment," but sounded a rare note of optimism, calling \$50 a barrel "a pretty good fairway for us going forward."

The company said it was girding for oil prices of \$45 to \$55 a barrel for the next five years, a recovery from last year's low of \$27 but well below the consistently high levels around \$100 from 2011 to 2014.

"They will firm this quarter," Mr. Gilvary said of oil prices. "They will stay underpinned by strong demand...They will start to drop off into the fourth quarter."

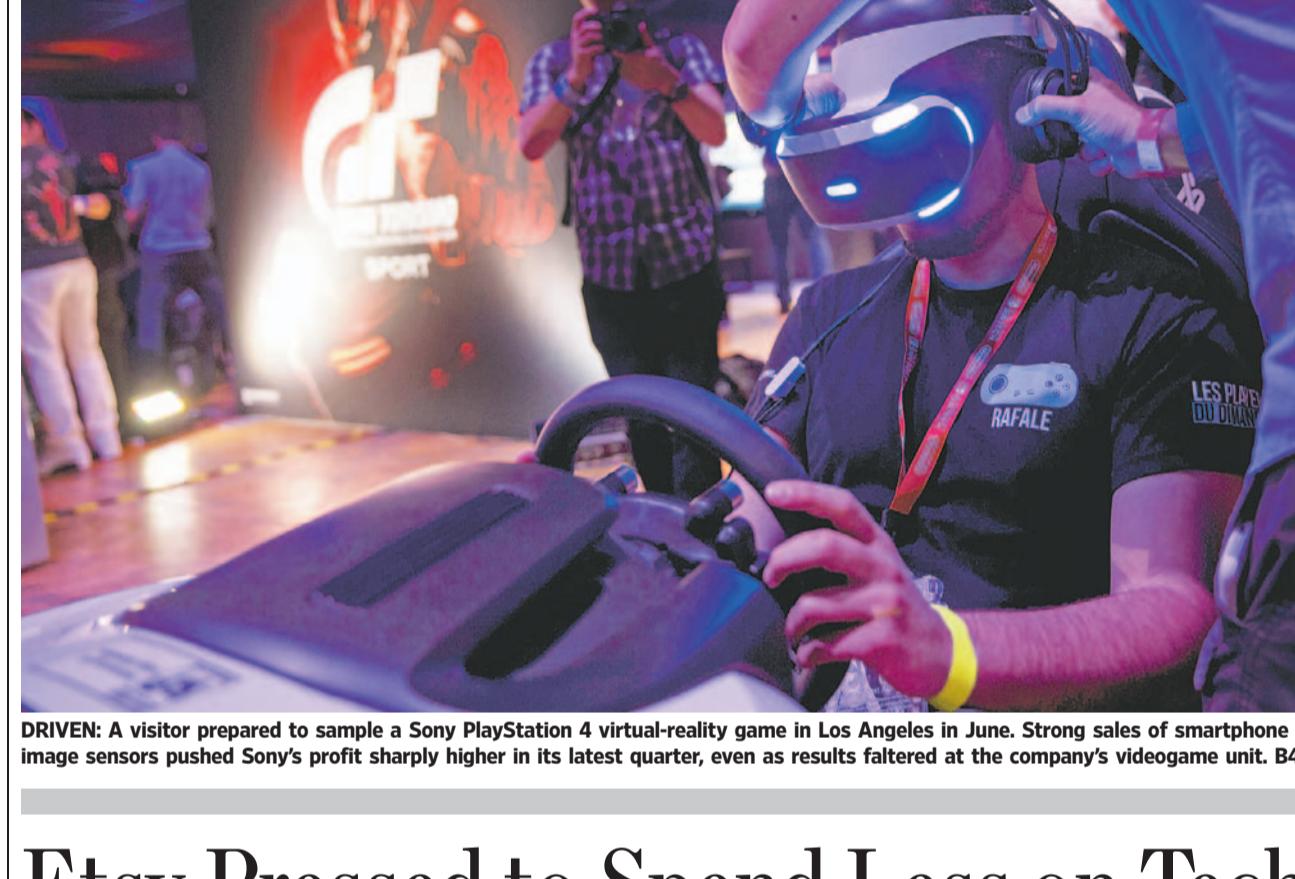
Please see BP page B2

◆ Heard on the Street: Lower prices become a fixture... B10



Cranes used to move drilling equipment rose over BP's Thunder Horse platform in the Gulf of Mexico off Louisiana in May. JESSICA RESNICK-AULIT/REUTERS

## Sony Nearly Triples Operating Profit



DRIVEN: A visitor prepared to sample a Sony PlayStation 4 virtual-reality game in Los Angeles in June. Strong sales of smartphone image sensors pushed Sony's profit sharply higher in its latest quarter, even as results faltered at the company's videogame unit. B4

## Japanese Bond Trading Snoozes

By SURYATAPA BHATTACHARYA

TOKYO—The world's second-biggest government-bond market is close to becoming inactive.

Trading in Japanese government bonds has plummeted this year, with volumes down by nearly a quarter for the benchmark 10-year note in the first six months of the year, according to data from Quick. Meanwhile, JGB prices have barely budged.

The culprit, according to many in the market: Japan's central bank.

Since 2013, the Bank of Japan has been buying up billions of dollars of Japanese government bonds, flooding the economy with cash in an effort to boost the country's stubbornly low annual inflation rate toward its 2% target. The central bank now owns some 40% of the ¥1.1 trillion (\$9.98 billion) of JGBs issued.

Compounding its dominant ownership of the market, the BOJ has since September sought to keep the yield on 10-year Japanese government bonds at zero, meaning it buys 10-year JGBs if and when their yields rise. Bond yields rise when their prices fall. The "yield curve control" policy was designed to help increase the profits that Japanese banks could earn from lending money.

The cumulative effect of the central bank's heavy hand in the market means that investors are finding it hard to profit from trading government bonds: Price volatility has sunk to near-record lows this year.

On average, \$900 million of 10-year Japanese government bonds change hands each day. Please see BONDS page B2

## Etsy Pressed to Spend Less on Tech

By KHADEEJA SAFDAR

Two years after its much-hyped IPO, **Etsy** Inc. finds itself in a predicament familiar to the rest of the retail industry: Sales are slowing and investors are frustrated.

The online marketplace for handmade and vintage goods is now under pressure to stop spending like a tech startup and start acting like a retailer.

"We're trying to find the right balance between a tech company and an e-commerce company," Fred Wilson, a venture capitalist and chairman of Etsy's board, said in an interview. "Engineering is still critically important, but we don't need to build technology for technology's sake."

Etsy's new chief executive, Josh Silverman, who took over

in May, has slashed spending and is focusing on reviving the company's core marketplace, in which revenue growth has slowed in each of the past four years.

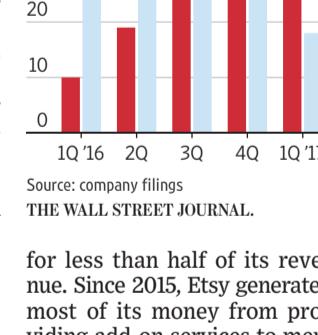
"We have invested too much in building our version of things that already exist in the market," Mr. Silverman said.

Last year, Etsy booked a \$30 million loss as higher costs offset a 33% jump in revenue to \$365 million. In the first quarter, operating expenses rose 36% from a year ago, or twice as rapidly as revenue. The company reports its latest results on Thursday.

Several people familiar with Etsy's thinking say the company has grappled with the expectations of public markets and failed to prioritize its marketplace, which now accounts

### Retail Reality

Etsy's expenses and revenue, change from a year earlier



Source: company filings

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

for less than half of its revenue. Since 2015, Etsy generates most of its money from providing add-on services to mer-

chants, such as shipping labels and advertising. Shares shot above \$30 in their first day of trading in April 2015 but soon crumbled and have been trading below the \$16 IPO price for about the past two years.

Hedge fund **Black-and-White Capital LP** publicly criticized the company in May, citing issues from Etsy's "horrendous search functionality" to a "historical pattern of ill-advised spending." The firm, along with buyout giant TPG and others, have encouraged Etsy to explore a sale of the company.

Asked if the company was for sale, Mr. Silverman said he would have to consider any offers that might surface but he is focused on revamping the business. "Step one is to have

Please see ETSY page B2

## \$1 Trillion and Counting: ETFs Widen Gap

By SARAH KROUSE

The fortunes of Wall Street's cheapest and priciest funds are diverging fast.

Exchange-traded funds held \$1 trillion more in investors' money than hedge funds globally for the first time ever at the end of June, according to research from London consulting firm ETFGI LLP. Assets in ETFs, which trade on exchanges like stocks, first surpassed the amount of money in hedge funds two years ago and have continued to swell.

Funds such as ETFs, which aim to match the returns of indexes or asset classes and are known as passive investments, have been helped by fresh market highs. The Dow Jones Industrial Average closed at a record Monday after a string of strong corpo-

rate results in the U.S. The S&P 500 as well as major German and U.K. stock indexes are also near records.

Those gains have prodded investors already losing faith in star stock and bond pickers to plow even more money into these ultralow-cost funds.

**ETFs had \$4.17 trillion in assets at the end of June; hedge funds, \$3.1 trillion.**

the end of June, while hedge funds had \$3.1 trillion, according to ETFGI and HFR.

The divergence in assets is just the latest evidence to show how individual and large investors are changing the way they put money to work. Wealth advisers are shifting clients' assets into portfolios filled with ultracheap funds for which they charge a fee. Cost-conscious institutional investors have taken money out of hedge funds and allocated more to funds that match the performance of broad swaths of the market.

Price is a major attraction. The asset-weighted average annual cost for exchange-traded funds globally is 0.27%, according to ETFGI. Hedge funds traditionally charged investors 2% of assets and another 20% of profits over a

certain threshold. ETFs also come with some tax and trading advantages.

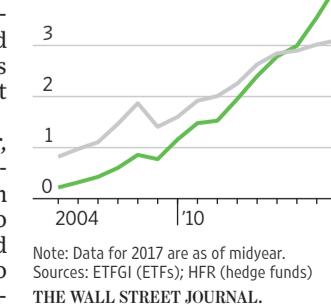
The movement of money has caused a shift in power on Wall Street from money managers that pick what investments to buy and sell and promise outsize returns to less flashy passive investment funds.

In the first half of this year, ETFs around the world attracted a net \$347.7 billion in net new assets, according to ETFGI. Hedge funds attracted a net \$1.2 billion, according to HFR. Hedge funds still outnumber ETFs by more than 1,000 globally, despite their slower growth.

BlackRock Inc. and Vanguard Group, the two largest ETF providers and the world's No. 1 and No. 2 money managers by assets, respectively,

### Diverging Fortunes

Exchange-traded funds globally have gathered assets rapidly in recent years as hedge-fund growth has stagnated.



Note: Data for 2017 are as of midyear.  
Sources: ETFGI (ETFs); HFR (hedge funds)

have been the main beneficiaries of the shift in assets. A host of other money managers are now trying to package their passive as well as stock- and bond-picking strategies into ETFs to nab assets.

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## BONDS

*Continued from the prior page*  
bonds were traded each day last month, according to Quick data. Direct comparison is tricky, but some \$75 billion to \$90 billion of U.S. Treasurys due in seven to 11 years change hands on average each day, according to data from the Securities Industry and Financial Markets Association. "It's a very tough and strange situation right now for the JGB market," said Kazuaki Oh'E, head of fixed income at CIBC World Markets Japan in Tokyo, adding that some traders have taken to playing catch or practicing minigolf in the office on days when there is hardly any trading.

"It is kind of a problem for investors that [the BOJ] killed the secondary market...It's very boring, it's a cold market," he said.

**A distorted debt market could lead to a mispricing of assets across the economy.**

Government-bond markets the world over are a vital cog in the financial system, and not just because of their vast size. Such bonds are seen as "risk free" in countries such as the U.S. and Japan—that is, highly unlikely to default. The price and yield at which they trade are used as a benchmark against which other, riskier debt is valued. If a major market like the one for Japanese government bonds is distorted, it could lead to the mispricing of a range of assets across the economy.

The yield on 10-year JGBs is important as it "plays a critical role as a risk-free benchmark for other financial instruments," said Masaki Okazaki, head of corporate planning at Tokyo-based brokerage Japan Bond Trading. When trading in JGBs fizzles out, "we can't know whether the rate is appropriate or not," he said.

Low trading volumes carry

other risks. Any miscommunication by Japan's central bank could suddenly roil sleepy markets, causing volatility to surge.

But bond traders might welcome some excitement. In a central-bank survey released in early June, 44 market participants were asked their view on the degree of bond-market functioning: 55% replied "not very high" while the remainder said "low." Only one survey respondent said the firm had increased the frequency of its bond dealing during the February-to-May period.

The BOJ's "aggressive buying has sucked up all the oxygen and led to a sharp decline in liquidity," said Frederic Neumann, co-head of Asian economics research at HSBC Holdings in Hong Kong.

Some of the BOJ's own board members have criticized the effect of its policies. Low market volatility "has led to a decline in market functioning," according to one board member quoted in the minutes of the central bank's June policy meeting. "It will remain unattractive to invest in JGBs if the yield and volatility continue to be this low for a prolonged period," another member said.

Even when global government-bond markets experienced a sharp selloff in early July, the reaction in Japan was late and somewhat muted. The yield on the 10-year government bond rose to a five-month high at 0.105% on July 7, before the BOJ swiftly intervened to bring it back down closer to its 0% target.

Trading volumes in the Japanese government-bond market have nose-dived before. After the BOJ in October 2014 increased its annual JGB-buying target to ¥80 trillion from ¥50 trillion, volumes also plummeted. Still, they recovered not long after.

The problem this time around is that with bond yields capped, few investors see opportunities to trade profitably.

Most market watchers expect the BOJ to dominate the JGB market for some time, with the inflation target still some way off. Core inflation in Japan reached 0.4% in June.



Traders blame the Bank of Japan, whose headquarters in Tokyo is shown above, for the somnolent state of the market.

## BUSINESS & FINANCE

# Summer Slump Hits Autos

BY CHRISTINA ROGERS  
AND MIKE COLIAS

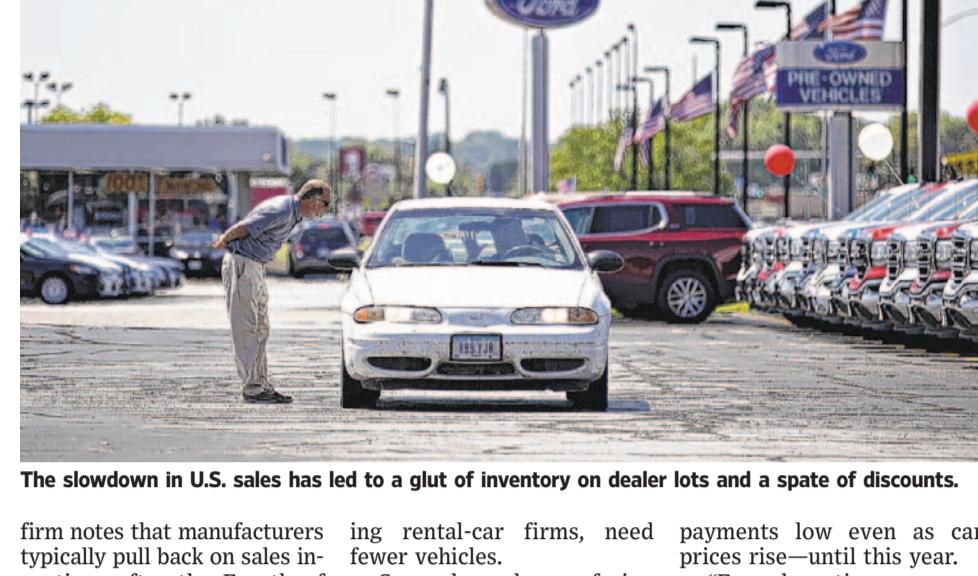
Sales for major U.S. auto makers sharply declined in July amid a modest slump in lease deals that have kept payments low, continuing an industry slowdown that has led to a glut of inventory on dealer lots and a spate of discounts.

**General Motors** Co. reported a 15.4% sales decline in July compared with the same period a year ago, selling 226,107 cars and trucks. **Ford Motor** Co. said sales slid 7.4% last month to 199,318 vehicles.

**Fiat Chrysler Automobiles N.V.** posted a 10% decline in July, selling 161,477 vehicles, as its top-selling Jeep brand continued to struggle against rivals with newer sport-utility models.

While truck and sport-utility demand remains strong, sales of sedans and other passenger cars have struggled amid low gas prices.

Full industry results were due later Tuesday for July, which is typically a strong selling month for auto makers. J.D. Power estimates sales fell 5.4% in July, compared with the same month in 2016. The



**The slowdown in U.S. sales has led to a glut of inventory on dealer lots and a spate of discounts.**

firm notes that manufacturers typically pull back on sales incentives after the Fourth of July holiday, "but this year elevated inventory levels coupled with the sales slowdown, have compelled them to maintain aggressive discounts throughout July."

The U.S. auto market, which topped a record 17.5 million in 2016, has grown for seven consecutive years. Analysts expect that growth streak to end in 2017 as dealership traffic slows and fleet buyers, includ-

ing rental-car firms, need fewer vehicles.

Car makers also are facing a new problem: Lenders are backing away from offering the cut-rate lease deals that kept monthly payments low and sheet metal flying off dealer lots in recent years.

Leasing accounted for 31.1% of all retail sales in the first half of 2017, falling slightly from last year's record of 32%, according to **Edmunds.com**. Buyers had been increasingly reliant on leases—which keep

payments low even as car prices rise—until this year.

"For a long time, we were all wondering where the ceiling was for leasing. Now, it has been hit," said Jessica Caldwell, an analyst for Edmunds.com.

Swelling used-vehicle supply is accelerating the pullback on leasing.

The increased supply comes after used-car values had grown steadily in the years following the 2009 financial crisis.

year earlier.

Its exploration-and-production unit was buoyed by a raft of discoveries and new projects in Senegal, Egypt, the U.K. North Sea, Trinidad and Tobago, and India.

The company is turning to new projects and acquisitions to try to generate growth again, hoping to boost production by one-third in the next three years.

"BP has underperformed its peers recently and we would expect some of that underperformance to reverse in the near term," wrote Biraj Borkhataria, an oil-company analyst for RBC Capital Markets, in a note Tuesday.

## BP

*Continued from the prior page*

Brent crude, the international benchmark, has been rising in recent weeks and was trading at \$52.32 a barrel on Tuesday afternoon in London—up about 13% in the past three weeks.

BP shares were 3.1% higher in London trading after the company's results beat analyst expectations.

The company can now cover most of its expenses and dividends with its almost \$7 billion in cash flow—an important metric of success in the

oil industry—in the second quarter instead of debt, he said.

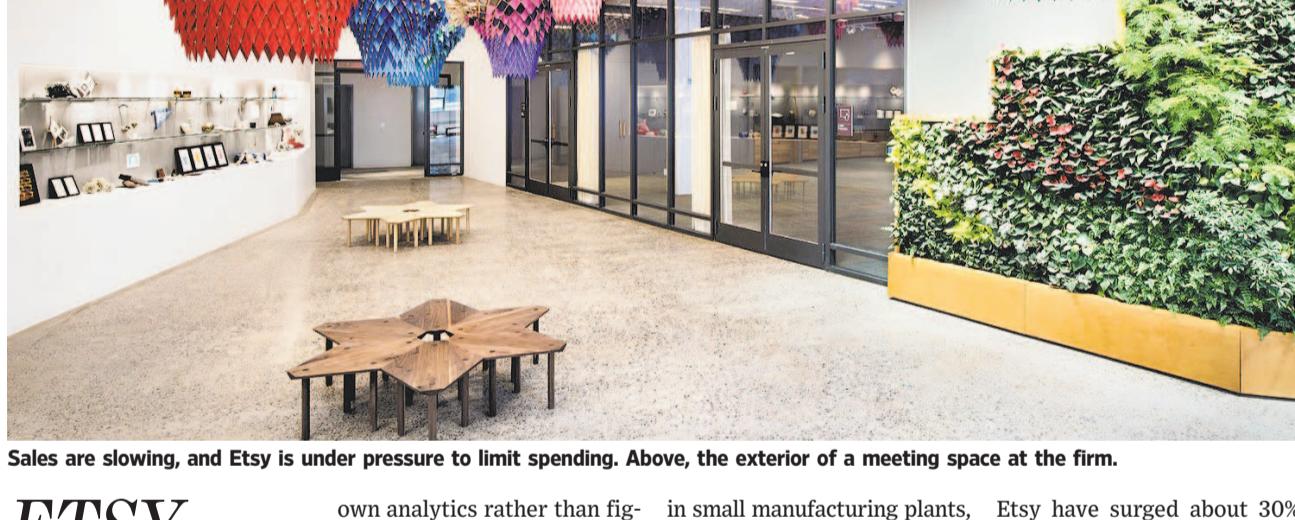
Mr. Gilvary said the only thing holding back BP's profit in the quarter was more than \$4 billion in payments related to the 2010 blowout on the Deepwater Horizon oil rig in the Gulf of Mexico. The explosion killed 11 workers, spilled millions of barrels of oil into the Gulf and forced BP into a long period of retrenchment, with costs estimated at more than \$60 billion.

Mr. Gilvary said the payments had reached a "high point for the year" and "will taper down from here" to about \$1 billion a year. The

company reached a \$20 billion settlement in 2015 with federal and state authorities in the U.S. that must be paid out over almost two decades.

With oil hit by a historic downturn, the Deepwater Horizon incident has been a drag on BP during the worst time for the company, and its profit and cash flow have consistently lagged behind its peers. Its net debt rose to more than \$39 billion in the second quarter, compared with about \$30 billion in the same period last year, because of such payments, BP said.

The company increased its oil-and-gas production by almost 10% compared with a



**Sales are slowing, and Etsy is under pressure to limit spending. Above, the exterior of a meeting space at the firm.**

## ETSY

*Continued from the prior page*  
a plan and confidence in the plan and only then could we weigh any offers," he said.

Etsy, according to former and current executives, long prided itself on building its own technology but many of the homegrown products, such as the site's email system and search engine, had limited capabilities.

The site's technology frustrated Amy Stringer-Mowat, who has been selling cutting boards on the marketplace since 2010.

When her items seemed to stop showing up in search results as frequently and her revenue declined, she shifted more of her business, American Heirloom, to her own e-commerce site.

"Everything felt like an experiment on Etsy," she said. "I realized I could make better use of my time figuring out my

own analytics rather than figuring out Etsy's algorithms."

Growth in Etsy's core marketplace business derived from charging transaction and listing fees began decelerating a few years before its initial public offering. Some analysts say finding secondary revenue streams such as selling search ads and shipping services to merchants has been necessary because Etsy's marketplace has limited growth potential.

"Artisanal goods is a relatively small addressable retail market," said Cooper Smith, research director at L2, a digital brand consultancy. "Etsy is never going to scale to what Amazon can because its merchants are not major brands and they don't have a lot of merchandise."

In search of growth, Etsy's previous CEO, Chad Dickerson, invested in business tools for merchants and an overseas expansion. To prevent successful merchants from leaving the site, Etsy also loosened its rules to allow items produced

in small manufacturing plants, departing from its handmade-only policy.

Executives continued investing over the past year, including the acquisition of a machine-learning startup, a new marketplace for craft supplies and a brand-marketing campaign. After its IPO, Etsy's head count increased more than 30% to 1,043 by the end of 2016.

The company also moved into a 200,000-square-foot building in Brooklyn featuring a dining hall serving locally catered meals, breathing rooms for weekly yoga sessions and a rooftop with solar panels, among other amenities.

In May, the company announced plans to eliminate 8% of its workforce and said Mr. Dickerson, who had run the company since 2011, was being succeeded by Mr. Silverman, a former executive with Skype and eBay.

Investors cheered the move on hopes that the company will find a buyer. Shares of

Etsy have surged about 30% since the CEO change.

Mr. Silverman is centralizing marketing in international markets and deploying more outside technology, a shift from the company's guerrilla-type marketing approach and do-it-all-yourself engineering culture.

In June, Etsy said it would cut an additional 15% of its staff, bringing the total layoffs to 230 jobs.

Mr. Silverman also intends to leverage customer data to offer more personalized product recommendations. As part of its new technology approach, Etsy on Monday named a new chief technology officer, Mike Fisher, the co-founder of consulting firm AKF Partners.

"Driving more visitors to the site, doing a better job of converting those visits to purchases, and getting buyers to come back" are the biggest priorities, Mr. Silverman said. "It doesn't necessarily mean spending more money."

## HEARD

*Continued from the prior page*

safest CLO debt caused prob-

lems because it was owned by other vehicles that in

turn were funded with short-

term commercial paper:

When the commercial paper

market evaporated, there

was a CLO fire sale.

Now, the safest CLO debt is held by less vulnerable investors: banks and insurers.

The pinch point now is on

the owners of CLO equity,

which are alternative funds

and CLO managers them-

selves. As loan spreads fall,

the income left over for

them is squeezed. And if re-

turns for equity get too

slim—before there is even

any pickup in defaults—CLO

issuance will dry up and ex-

isting deals could be forced

to stop reinvesting, let loans

mature and repay their in-

vestors.

That might not cause a

## BUSINESS NEWS

# New Chief Takes GE Helm

Flannery is conducting review of company's portfolio, will unveil his plans in November

By THOMAS GRYTA

John Flannery started his first day as **General Electric** Co.'s chief executive with a letter to employees, highlighting the company's transformation under its previous leader but saying "now we need an intense focus on running the company well."

GE is coming off a 16-year run of Jeff Immelt, who moved the company away from struggling and lower-margin businesses toward industrial machines and related technology and services. The company's stock faltered during his tenure, but he navigated challenges such as the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the financial crisis while pushing into software development.

In his letter Tuesday, Mr. Flannery said he met with 100 investors over the past month and hears them "loud and clear" on their concerns.

"They understand the importance of GE in the world, but they think we are underperforming," he wrote. Investors want improvement on cash flow, margins and cutting



CEO John Flannery says he met with investors and hears them 'loud and clear' on their concerns.

costs, he added, and asked GE to simplify the financial metrics it discloses. He is reviewing GE's portfolio and will unveil his plans in November.

"They understand how massive the portfolio transformation has been since 2001, but now we need an intense focus on running the company well," said Mr. Flannery. Mr. Immelt took the reins in 2001 from Jack Welch.

Mr. Flannery conceded he was still getting used to the idea of being the CEO, saying it seems "a bit surreal" and telling workers about his start at "a small part" of GE Capital

in New York City in the 1980s.

Mr. Flannery's experience is closer to a private-equity executive than an industrial operator or salesman. The son of a bank executive, he has worked around the globe, buying and selling portfolios of undervalued assets. He led the \$17 billion acquisition of Alstom SA's power business, the biggest industrial acquisition in GE's history.

In 2014, he stepped in to lead GE's health-care business when the unit was struggling and some analysts called for GE to spin it off or sell it.

Mr. Flannery faces different

challenges than his predecessor, who inherited a conglomerate with a massive media and financial business.

On Monday, Mr. Immelt posted his own letter to employees, also offering lessons he learned over the years. He said that "every job or decision looks easy until you are the one on the line."

He urged leaders to make tough decisions, adding that leaders need to have a view that is 10 to 20 years in the future, as well as quarterly.

He called Mr. Flannery "the right person to lead GE into the future."

# Sprint Is Nearing Merger Decision

By RYAN KNUTSON

**Sprint** Corp. said it would decide soon on whether to pursue a merger with either **T-Mobile US** Inc. or **Charter Communications** Inc., with an announcement coming "in the near future," according to the U.S.-based wireless carrier's chief executive.

"We've had sufficient conversations with several parties and soon we're going to start making decisions," Sprint CEO Marcelo Claure said on a call Tuesday after the company reported results for the three months ending June 30.

While Mr. Claure didn't mention either company directly, The Wall Street Journal has reported on its discussions with both of them. Sprint and its parent company, **SoftBank Group** Corp. of Japan, are considering making a formal offer to acquire Charter, the U.S.'s second-largest cable firm, according to people familiar with the matter, a massive deal that would reshape the rapidly transforming cable, wireless and media industries.

The offer being considered by Sprint's chairman and SoftBank's founder, Masayoshi Son, would be to form a new publicly traded entity that would use SoftBank money to buy out shareholders of both Sprint and Charter at a premium, the people said. The transaction would be funded with roughly half cash and half stock. The deal would result in SoftBank controlling the combined company.

SoftBank has already lined up financing from at least three banks to fund the deal, the people said. One of them cautioned that it could still take several weeks or more to reach an agreement with either company.

SoftBank already controls more than 80% of Sprint, whose market cap is around \$35 billion, not including roughly the same amount of

net debt, following a roughly 7% jump in the stock since The Wall Street Journal first reported contours of the plan on Friday. Charter's market cap is about \$100 billion and it has more than \$60 billion of debt.

Mr. Claure said a deal with T-Mobile might be the preferred option, but it would be tougher to get past antitrust regulators in Washington. Sprint and T-Mobile held merger talks in 2014 but backed down in the face of regulator opposition.

"If you were to merge with another wireless carrier, the synergies are enormous. I mean, this is a scale business, and today you need to operate two competing networks to offer the same service, having half the amount of customers that AT&T and Verizon have," Mr. Claure said.

*An announcement is coming 'in the near future,' according to the company's CEO.*

## Scana Abandons U.S. Nuclear-Site Plans

By RUSSELL GOLD

Hopes for a U.S. nuclear renaissance became dimmer this week when the owner of a partially built power plant in South Carolina pulled the plug after its costs ballooned by billions of dollars.

The decision by **Scana** Corp. on Monday to abandon the V.C. Summer Nuclear Station came months after reactor builder **Westinghouse Electric** Co. filed for bankruptcy, in part

because of cost overruns at the South Carolina nuclear plant and a similar project owned by **Southern Co.** in Georgia.

The nuclear plants were the only two being built in the U.S., which hasn't seen a new reactor built since the 1980s. Both use a new Westinghouse design intended to be simpler and easier to construct, but they have experienced escalating costs and delays.

The South Carolina power plant was about to get even

more expensive. Santee Cooper, a state-owned electric utility that was a minority owner in the plant, provided figures that suggested the final costs to build the facility by 2024 would swell to about \$25.7 billion.

Unexpected costs related to Westinghouse's first-of-its-kind reactor and required changes to enhance safety caused the price of the projects to rise. In March, Westinghouse filed for bankruptcy

amid rising costs associated with both plants, a situation that imperiled its Japanese parent, **Toshiba** Corp.

Last week, Toshiba agreed to pay Scana and Santee Cooper \$2.17 billion to cover its obligations, after reaching a similar agreement with Southern. Still, Santee Cooper's board voted Monday to stop work on the South Carolina project. Shortly afterward, Scana said it would file paperwork to abandon construction.

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## TECHNOLOGY

WSJ.com/Tech

# Sony's Profit Soars but Caution Prevails

Sales are strong for image sensors used in smartphone cameras; videogame earnings lag

By TAKASHI MOCHIZUKI

TOKYO—Strong sales of image sensors for cameras in iPhones and other smartphones helped Sony Corp. post sharply higher profit in the three months through June.

Sony's operating profit in the fiscal first quarter rose to ¥158 billion (\$1.43 billion), nearly triple the figure in the same quarter a year earlier and the highest on record for Sony in the April-June period.

The figure was boosted by one-time factors, including income from insurance payments over earthquake damage that a Sony factory in southern Japan suffered a year ago. Even without those factors, Sony said its operating

profit for the quarter was on par with the previous record set in April-June 2007.

Net profit for the quarter was ¥81 billion on sales of nearly ¥1.9 trillion.

For the full fiscal year ending in March 2018, analysts expect the 71-year-old electronics maker to break its operating-profit record of ¥526 billion set in the year ended in March 1998.

"The first-quarter outcome is good because this figure

suggests Sony could even post a full-year operating profit of more than ¥600 billion," said Hideki Yasuda, an analyst at Ace Research Institute.

Sony on Tuesday stuck to its more cautious operating-profit forecast of ¥500 billion for the full year. "It has been just three months," said Chief Financial Officer Kenichiro Yoshida, citing risks such as rising component costs and unstable macroeconomic conditions.

Sony's television, smart-

phone and camera units look fairly stable thanks to cost-cutting efforts, despite unfavorable market conditions.

Profit at Sony's videogame unit, meanwhile, is running below year-earlier levels as its PlayStation 4, which made its debut in 2013, has aged. Sony shipped 3.3 million units of the console in the April-June quarter, down from 3.5 million a year earlier, despite some cuts in retail prices.

Some analysts say they ex-

pect a new PlayStation will be announced next year.

Sony's image sensors, which enjoyed a good quarter thanks to demand from Apple Inc. for its iPhones, could see some risks from the Chinese market for the rest of this year. Sony's sensors tend to be used for expensive handsets, which in China have faced growing competition from affordable devices. Sony slightly cut its fiscal-year revenue forecast for the unit.



Alphabet's Malta team is focused on energy storage. Above, members work with computer simulations of turbine machinery.

## Alphabet Sees Power in Molten Salt

By JACK NICAS

Google parent Alphabet Inc. is pitching an idea to store power from renewable energy in tanks of molten salt and cold liquid, an example of the tech giant trying to marry its far-reaching ambitions with business demand.

Alphabet's research lab, dubbed X, said Monday that it has developed plans to store electricity generated from solar panels or wind turbines as thermal energy in hot salt and cold liquids, such as antifreeze.

The lab is seeking partners in the energy industry, including power-plant developers and utilities, to build a prototype to plug into the electrical grid.

Whether the project, called Malta, ever comes to market depends as much on a sound business model as it does on science. Academics said the technology is likely years away from market, if it ever makes it. An X spokeswoman said it could reach the market "in the foreseeable future."

Malta is the latest example of Alphabet seeking to use new technologies to enter new industries, sometimes in surprising ways. X first developed self-driving cars almost a decade ago and is building delivery drones and high-altitude balloons that beam internet

connections to the ground below. X encourages its engineers to try audacious projects and, as a result, far more fail than succeed.

The lab has also shown interest in energy. One X team is building wind turbines that use drones attached to cables as their propellers, and X recently spun off a firm called Dandelion that uses geothermal energy—via underground pipes—to heat and cool homes. Dandelion says its product is already available in New York.

X's plan to collaborate with other firms to bring Malta to market reflects a new financial discipline at Alphabet under Chief Financial Officer Ruth Porat, who joined from Morgan Stanley in 2015.

The X spokeswoman said in an email that "it's safe to say that X isn't going to start building power plants!"

Storing electricity is an area of intense interest for the energy industry. In California, solar panels sometimes generate more power than the grid can handle. In Texas, overnight winds sometimes drive power prices down below zero—so that companies must pay for the right to put power on the grid. Finding a cost-effective way to store solar and wind power during times of surplus and deploy it when needed is

the Holy Grail in the power industry.

Existing storage solutions have disadvantages. Lithium-ion batteries can be inefficient, for example, though the price of storing power in batteries has been falling rapidly in recent years. Water can be stored behind dams, releasing it through generators when needed—but this doesn't work well in warm climates. X says Malta, its thermal-energy system in salt, can be durable, flexible and cheap.

Malta builds on a theoretical system designed by Robert Laughlin, a Stanford University professor who won the 1998 Nobel Prize in physics for separate research. X said fewer than 10 researchers have been working on it for more than two years. Several other firms are pursuing similar technology, including a solar-power plant in Morocco.

X says its system works by sending electrical power from solar panels or wind turbines through a heat pump that converts the power to thermal energy, splitting it between hot and cold, which is then stored in tanks of molten salt or a cold liquid, such as antifreeze. The thermal energy can be stored for days or weeks depending on the tanks' insulation. To return the energy to

the grid, the hot and cold thermal energy is recombined, creating a stream of wind that spins a turbine, re-creating the electrical energy.

Academics agreed that X's system makes technical sense, but its financial viability will determine its success. X declined to detail the expected costs of the system but said it relies on inexpensive components, including the salt.

"The devil is in the details in how you manufacture it and install it at low costs," said Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor Jessika Trancik, who studies storing electricity from renewable sources.

Other academics said new demand for energy storage may mean the idea could now work. "Molten salts aren't new, and thermal storage isn't new. What's new about this is there's a big brand-name backer behind it," said mechanical-engineering professor Michael Webber, deputy director of the Energy Institute at the University of Texas at Austin.

"And the rise of renewables means there's more demand [for energy storage]. So maybe the time is right for an old idea."

—Russell Gold contributed to this article.



MACALL B. POLAY/HBO

A scene from HBO's 'Game of Thrones.' Details on a future episode were posted, although no actual episodes were released.

Westeros is under siege by hackers.

HBO, home of "Game of Thrones," is the latest entertainment company to be hacked and have its content leaked online.

In a memo to staff, HBO Chief Executive Richard Plepler confirmed Monday that proprietary information, including some of its shows, was recently stolen. HBO said it is working with law enforcement and cybersecurity firms to fix the breach.

Among the stolen goods posted by a hacker calling himself Little.Finger66 on emails were episodes of the HBO shows "Ballers," "Insecure," "Room 104" and "Barry." Also posted were details on a future episode of "Game of Thrones" although no actual episodes were posted. Little.Finger66 didn't respond to a request for comment.

Besides content and pro-

gramming material, personal information for at least one senior HBO executive was posted. HBO, a unit of Time Warner Inc., declined to elaborate on what specifically was stolen. News of the hack was first reported by Entertainment Weekly.

"The problem before us is unfortunately all too familiar in the world we now find our-

selves a part of," Mr. Plepler said in a statement.

In early May, a hacker released 10 episodes of the Netflix television show "Orange Is the New Black," following a monthslong extortion attempt directed at Larsen Studios, a postproduction company that was working on the show.

Weeks later, during an internal meeting, Walt Disney

Co. Chief Executive Robert Iger told employees that hackers threatened to post an unreleased Disney film online unless the company paid a ransom in bitcoin, a digital currency that is often used by cybercriminals. Disney didn't play ball and no movie was posted, suggesting it was a hoax.

Hackers are increasingly looking for ways to squeeze money directly out of their victims via extortion and "ransomware" infections, which lock victims out of their systems until they pay a fee. A January study from the cyber research group Ponemon Institute found that 51% of U.S. companies had experienced a ransomware attack.

Over the past year a series of casino and energy companies also have been hacked and hit with extortion demands ranging from \$50,000 to \$500,000, according to FireEye Inc., a cybersecurity company that investigates data breaches.

be used to produce more advanced parts for existing aircraft currently supplied by third parties.

Boeing said that the avionics business had been established in consultation with suppliers.

Chicago-based Boeing already produces a range of aircraft electronics, and the new unit will have an initial staff of 120, growing to an expected 600 by 2019.

The company is pursuing more vertical integration of its aircraft manufacturing business, standing up internal operations in areas such as advanced materials, propulsion systems and auxiliary power units.

Boeing Avionics will be led by Allan Brown, a senior defense executive, reporting to Chief Technology Officer Greg Hyslop.

## GM Hires Duo Who Remotely Hacked Into Jeep

By MIKE COLIAS

Chris Valasek and Charlie Miller made names for themselves a couple of years ago when they remotely hacked into a Jeep made by Fiat Chrysler Automobiles NV. Now they are going to work for General Motors Co.

Messrs. Miller and Valasek became well known in automotive circles when they successfully hacked into the wireless controls of a moving Jeep Cherokee from a laptop many kilometers away, manipulating the climate-control settings, stereo and even disabling the transmission. Fiat Chrysler Automobiles, Jeep's owner, issued a recall days later to fix a potential cybersecurity flaw on 1.4 million vehicles.

The Jeep hack was a watershed moment for the auto industry, raising questions about the safety of internet-connected vehicles and how auto makers would combat potential threats.

GM, Chrysler and other auto makers hired hacking consultants and beefed up controls to prevent data breaches.

GM's self-driving-vehicle subsidiary, Cruise Automation, has hired the cybersecurity experts from two major ride-sharing firms, the latest salvo in a war for tech talent between Silicon Valley and Detroit.

Mr. Valasek was working as Uber Technologies Inc.'s top cybersecurity expert, and Mr. Miller had worked at Uber before leaving in March to join Didi Chuxing, China's largest ride-hailing firm.



Charlie Miller, left, and Chris Valasek hacked into the wireless controls of a Jeep Cherokee from a laptop many kilometers away.

## Boeing to Form Unit Focused on Avionics

By DOUG CAMERON

Boeing Co. is creating a new unit to develop and build aircraft avionic systems, expanding its strategy of insourcing crucial technology to reduce costs.

The new Boeing Avionics unit will expand the U.S. aerospace company's existing offering of electronics systems, focusing on areas such as navigation and flight controls for future commercial and military jets.

The move, announced in a memo to staff Monday, takes Boeing deeper into the territory of big suppliers such as Rockwell Collins Inc. and Honeywell International Inc. following the recent expansion of its services business.

While Boeing Avionics will focus on equipment for future products, the unit could also

## MANAGEMENT

# Insecure Workers At Risk Of Illness

By LAUREN WEBER

Fear of getting laid off or fired naturally makes workers worry about their finances. A lack of job security may put people at risk for numerous health problems, too, according to a new study.

Researchers at Ball State University and the University of Toledo analyzed data from more than 17,000 working adults who took part in the government's 2010 National Health Interview Survey and found that workers feeling insecure are more likely to report lifetime histories of ulcers, diabetes, hypertension and coronary heart disease.

Men, African-Americans and hourly workers had higher rates of job insecurity than their counterparts, meaning they agreed that the statement "I am/was worried about being unemployed," applied to them in the prior year.

High-school dropouts and workers with household incomes under \$35,000 were more than twice as likely as other groups to report anxiety about potential job loss.

**Ulcers, diabetes and hypertension can pose threats to worried employees.**

Globalization, outsourcing, corporate consolidation and the rise of short-term contract work are among the factors fueling workers' worries.

People who worry about unemployment are far more likely to report serious health conditions, the authors found. For example, their chances of having experienced symptoms of mental illness in the prior 30 days were almost five times higher than those of workers who felt secure in their jobs. The government conducts its survey annually but doesn't always ask the job-security question.

The findings raise this question: Are workers' job anxieties making them sick, or are their jobs in trouble because they're missing work?

Evidence supports the former explanation, the authors say. Other studies show that "when people's health improves, their job status and incomes don't improve," suggesting that job anxiety leads to poor health, says Jagdish Khubchandani, a professor of health science at Ball State. He co-wrote the paper with James Price, an emeritus professor at the University of Toledo.

The 2010 survey took place as the U.S. was climbing out of a recession. At the time, one in three workers felt anxious about their employment status.

# How to Succeed in a Family Business

Thriving in a high-level role can be tricky for outsiders, but asking the right questions often pays off

By JOANN S. LUBLIN

Three words of advice for anyone taking a top management role at a family-owned business: Success is relative.

Thriving in a high-level role can be tricky for leaders without family ties. Family members may resist executives' efforts to break with tradition by changing strategy, and may oppose calls to fire their poor-performing kin

or to professionalize operations, experts say. Yet the arrangement can succeed when longtime staffers identify strongly with the founding family or recruits bring a keen grasp of relatives' roles in the business.

John Priest, a veteran manager at **Crossland Construction** Co., says he initially worried about accepting a promotion to its presidency. No one from outside the Crossland family had ever served in senior management of the Columbus, Kan., midsized firm, which was founded in 1977.

"The first nonfamily guy usually does not make it," Mr. Priest recalls telling colleagues.

Mr. Priest had numerous chats with Crossland's two highest leaders—sons of the commercial builder's founder—before he moved up in late 2015. The brothers spelled out "what they wanted my job role and the presidency to consist of," he says. That prepared him to work better with other Crossland family executives, including one who also wanted to be president.

Family firms, which are typically smaller than major corporations, can be attractive for outside leaders.

"Often they can have greater impact," says Andrew Keyt, clinical professor of family business at Loyola University in Chicago.

"There's less bureaucracy."

Between 20% and 25% of family businesses employ unrelated executives, Mr. Keyt estimates. That is up from 11% in a 1996 study



Benco Dental Supply executive Kari Taylor with Chuck Cohen, co-head of his family's firm, at a company warehouse in Pittston, Pa.

that he co-wrote.

For outsiders, becoming a family-company executive "is like kissing a porcupine," observes Wayne Rivers, president of the Family Business Institute. "You have to do it carefully." He urges executives to insist on a written job description and employment contract "so you have a fallback position if things go haywire."

In May, Mark Allin gave up command of John Wiley & Sons Inc., a company controlled by the founding family where he isn't a relative. After about two years in the job, the chief executive resigned, partly because some Wiley family members disliked his proposal to sell or find a partner for its college textbook unit, according to a person familiar with the situation.

"They saw that [unit] as core to the 200-year tradition of the business," this person says. A Wiley spokesman declined to comment. Mr. Allin didn't return calls.

Executives must do their homework to avoid a mismatch at a family-owned concern. Prospects should ask whether prior nonfamily senior managers flourished. Did those alumni enjoy clear operating authority and does the firm board include independent members? You want evidence that the family listens to outside influence," Mr. Keyt suggests.

Management candidates also glean a sense of family dynamics through chats with relatives heading the business and former executives from outside the family, adds Gail Golden, a Chicago leadership coach.

Kari Taylor did extensive due diligence before the W.W.

Grainger Inc. executive joined a family-owned business for the first time in 2016. Benco Dental Supply Co., with about \$770 million in annual revenue, is run by brothers Chuck and Richard Cohen, grandsons of the founder.

While trying to be vice president of sales and branch operations, Ms. Taylor says she asked Chuck Cohen about how she could effectively raise opposing views within

the family firm. Mr. Cohen confirms he welcomed being challenged with facts.

Ms. Taylor also met face to face with six Benco executives unrelated to the Cohens. She learned the firm's owners prefer collective decision-making but reserve veto rights. She hoped a stint at a midsized private concern such as Benco would test her ability "to run my own business someday."

The company provided an executive coach who advised her on meshing with the Cohen family's core values.

For example, she put greater emphasis on customer benefits than financial metrics during her internal pitch to revamp the sales operation. "I've seen Chuck often choose an improved customer experience at the cost of the bottom line," she says. "That has taken some real adjusting for me."

With Mr. Cohen's approval, Ms. Taylor says she changed the sales operation in ways that helped generate more new customers.

Deep digging didn't pay

off for Ellen Rozelle Turner. She spent several months probing the founding family of a management and information-technology consultancy where she previously had worked before taking its presidency in late 2008. She was the sole senior executive without family ties to the 70-something founder, who promised to share the CEO title with his daughter following Ms. Turner's arrival.

The founder moved Ms. Turner into his office and stopped coming to work, only to return part-time six months later, saying, "I don't know what to do with myself," she recalls. Some staffers soon created confusion over who was in charge by raising issues with the founder rather than coming to her, she continues.

She left in early 2010. As an outsider, Ms. Turner says she didn't then understand "the depth and complexity of being in a family dynamic."

She does now. Ms. Turner started her own management consultancy—and employs two of her adult children.

## BUSINESS WATCH



DOMINICK REUTER/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

The drugmaker raised the low end of its earnings guidance, citing reduced expenses and higher-than-expected royalty income.

HONDA MOTOR

### Profit Gets a Lift From the Weak Yen

**Honda Motor** Co. reported a 19% increase in net profit for the quarter ended in June, as a relatively weak yen helped boost repatriated earnings.

Net profit for the three-month period rose to ¥207.3 billion (\$1.9 billion), from ¥174.7 billion a year earlier.

Revenue rose 7% to ¥3.71 trillion, boosted by strong motorcycle sales.

The company maintained its full-year projection for a 12% decline in net profit to ¥545 billion amid higher research expenses. Revenue is projected to rise 3.6% to ¥14.5 trillion.

Honda raised its first-quarter

dividend ¥2 to ¥24.

—Sean McLain

PFIZER

### Stiffer Competition Pushes Sales Lower

**Pfizer** Inc.'s sales continued to fall in the second quarter as its drugs faced increased competition from biosimilars, but the company still gave a rosy earnings outlook for the year.

The drugmaker raised the low end of its full-year adjusted earnings guidance, citing reduced expenses and higher-than-expected royalty income from certain products.

Pfizer now expects earnings of \$2.54 to \$2.60 a share, compared with prior guidance of \$2.50 to \$2.60 a share.

Pfizer posted earnings of

\$3.07 billion, or 51 cents a share, up from \$2.05 billion, or 33 cents a share, a year earlier. Revenue fell 1.9% to \$12.9 billion.

—Imani Moise

UNDER ARMOUR

### Sportswear Maker To Cut 280 Jobs

**Under Armour** Inc. said it would cut roughly 2% of its global workforce, or about 280 jobs.

The Baltimore-based sportswear maker has been affected by slowing sales amid a contracting sportswear market.

Under Armour reported second-quarter revenue of \$1.1 billion and a loss of \$12 million for the period ended June 30.

—Sara Germano

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## FINANCE & MARKETS

# IPO Flops Hang Over Valuations

Weak performance by Snap, Blue Apron sparks a rethink of tech startups' value

BY CORRIE DRIEBUSCH AND MAUREEN FARRELL

**Snap Inc. and Blue Apron Holdings Inc.** were supposed to herald a return of the great technology IPO. They have instead become vehicles of market dismay.

Both companies now trade well below their initial public offering prices. More disturbingly for venture-capital investors, those prices are below what some paid for their pre-IPO stakes. The result is renewed doubt about valuations across Silicon Valley's private companies, whose worth has been climbing for a decade.

On Monday, Snap shares touched a fresh low in volatile trading after some early shareholders in the messaging-app owner were allowed to sell their holdings for the first time.

In another ominous sign, yoga-studio owner **YogaWorks Inc.** in mid-July postponed its IPO on the eve of its debut, citing market conditions. **App-Nexus Inc.**, an advertising-technology company that was planning to go public as early as this fall, is now more likely to wait until next year, people familiar with the matter said.

Analysts and underwriters say that the weak performance of Snap, the largest tech IPO in more than two years, is stoking doubts among late-



Snap's IPO was hotly anticipated, but shares now trade below what some venture-capital firms paid.

stage private investors. Such doubts could interrupt the cycle of ever-increasing funding rounds that has underpinned the lofty valuations of many tech startups.

The relationship between private and public markets has never been so lopsided. Currently, nearly 170 private companies are valued by their owners at \$1 billion or more, according to Dow Jones VentureSource. That is up from about 60 just three years ago. Thirteen private companies now fetch a valuation of \$10 billion or more. Before the financial crisis, no venture-backed company had ever achieved a billion-dollar valua-

tion before going public, according to McKinsey & Co.

Funding dedicated to private startups is robust. North American venture firms as of July 2017 had nearly \$96 billion in uninvested capital, the most on record, Prequin estimates.

Apart from that, SoftBank Group Corp. recently launched a \$100 billion vehicle to invest in private tech firms, the largest such fund ever.

The IPO market, meanwhile, is on shaky ground. While the roughly \$30 billion raised in 105 offerings in the U.S. through July is nearly triple the comparable amount from last year, it is an easy compar-

ison: Last year was the slowest for IPOs in more than a decade, according to Dealogic.

Furthermore, IPOs, usually priced to outperform benchmarks, are generating weak returns. U.S. IPOs were up 11% this year through Friday, on average, according to Dealogic—only slightly better than the S&P 500's 10% gain. Technology IPOs, which are up 19% on average, have underperformed the S&P 500 tech sector, which is up 22%.

Following the Blue Apron and Snap stumbles, entrepreneurs and investors are increasingly questioning whether the private market is in for a correction that would bring

it more in line with its public counterpart. They point out that many of the most highly valued private companies, including Uber Technologies Inc., lose money and have an uncertain path to long-term growth and profit.

Roelof Botha, a partner at Sequoia Capital, the big Silicon Valley investor, said he expects more companies have and will continue to hit valuation bumps as investors become more discriminating in the pre-IPO markets.

"Private companies sometimes have unrealistic expectations that prices will go up consistently," he said, adding that he doesn't anticipate a sharp drop in pre-IPO valuations in the market more broadly.

Nearly two years ago, well-known venture capitalist Bill Gurley outlined in an interview with The Wall Street Journal reasons why he saw danger ahead for many of the most-highly valued startups. But valuations have kept rising.

In June, for example, Pinterest Inc. raised another \$150 million, valuing the image-search startup at \$12.3 billion, compared with \$11 billion in 2015.

And even though late-stage private investors such as Fidelity are facing losses in the Blue Apron and Snap IPOs, there is no sign they plan to exit from the market. Fidelity portfolio managers will continue to invest in private companies they believe are good long-term opportunities, according to a spokesman.

"We find uncertainty about the outcome of the Brexit negotiations means wholesale banks are trying to restrict their initial responses to 'no regrets' moves: actions that increase their options but cost relatively little, such as applying for licenses in EU jurisdictions," the group said in a report. However, in the next six to 12 months, banks will have to start making more expensive decisions, such as whether to relocate staff.

Already, banks are warning about taking a Brexit hit. HSBC PLC Chief Executive Stuart Gulliver said on Monday that a new hub in Paris could cost up to \$300 million.

The reorganization is likely to eat into banks' profits. Oliver Wyman estimates U.K.-based investment banks would need to find \$30 billion to \$50 billion of extra capital to support new European entities, if the U.K. cuts all ties to the EU. That is equivalent to 15% to 30% of the capital currently parked in the region by investment banks.

This could add up to a 4% increase in their annual cost base, equivalent to about \$1 billion across the industry.

## Britain May Lose 17,000 Bank Jobs To Brexit

BY MAX COLCHESTER

LONDON—Up to 17,000 investment-banking jobs could leave the U.K. soon after Brexit, according to the latest estimates by the consulting firm **Oliver Wyman**.

With the U.K. government negotiating an exit from the European Union, there is a chance that banks will lose their rights to sell products to EU clients. To offset this, banks are putting into place contingency plans to build up their operations in the trade bloc. Based on those initial plans, Oliver Wyman says, 15,000 to 17,000 wholesale banking jobs are set to be relocated to the EU. Over the longer term, that number could rise to 40,000, the firm says.

There are around 560,000 people employed in banking in the U.K., so such a departure is unlikely to mortally wound the country's reputation as a financial hub. But it could reduce the efficiencies of having Europe's investment-banking services located in one place, the firm added.

"We find uncertainty about the outcome of the Brexit negotiations means wholesale banks are trying to restrict their initial responses to 'no regrets' moves: actions that increase their options but cost relatively little, such as applying for licenses in EU jurisdictions," the group said in a report. However, in the next six to 12 months, banks will have to start making more expensive decisions, such as whether to relocate staff.

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## Can 'The Mooch' Return to Wall Street?

BY ROB COPELAND AND LISA BEILFUSS

Anthony Scaramucci is out as White House communications director. Can he come back to Wall Street?

On the Street, where Mr. Scaramucci is known as "the Mooch," he ran a firm that invests in hedge funds and started a popular hedge-fund conference in Las Vegas known as SALT.

Mr. Scaramucci lost his White House role Monday, just 10 days after his appointment, ending a brief tenure that included a profanity-laced interview in which he insulted several administration staffers.

In January, Mr. Scaramucci agreed to sell a controlling stake in his hedge-fund investing firm, **SkyBridge Capital**, to Chinese giant **HNA Group Co.** and investment partner **RON Transatlantic EG**. The deal values SkyBridge at about \$200 million, according to people familiar with the situa-

"The deal remains on track.



Mr. Scaramucci agreed in January to sell his SkyBridge stake.

tion. The deal is currently facing a review by the Committee on Foreign Investment in the U.S.

The company says it had \$11.4 billion under management or advisement as of May 31, down from \$11.8 billion at the end of January.

Mr. Scaramucci's agreement to sell SkyBridge surprised many in the industry, given that several similar firms earlier tried to find buyers to no avail. The decline in assets at SkyBridge, coupled with broader lack of interest in hedge funds overall, suggests it is unlikely Mr. Scaramucci would walk away from a deal.

In one way, the deal could be less beneficial for him now. In general, employees of the executive branch are eligible to defer capital-gains taxes incurred on asset sales done to join an administration conflict-free. Without a job in the executive branch, that deferral would be in jeopardy.

A representative for SkyBridge said the deal remained

on track and declined to comment about Mr. Scaramucci.

After the sale agreement in January, SkyBridge said that Mr. Scaramucci would "no longer be affiliated with SkyBridge or SALT." The conference brings together many of the biggest names in hedge funds, politics and entertain-

ment. It also functions as a weeklong advertisement for SkyBridge. Mr. Scaramucci gave up his ownership stake as part of the deal.

Four months later, Mr. Scaramucci was omnipresent at the annual confab, much as he was in years past. He hosted private dinners for big name speakers and sponsors, conducted onstage interviews and mingled with more than 1,000 attendees.

Months ago, after Mr. Scaramucci lost a post originally promised to him, he started laying the groundwork for a possible new venture in the event he didn't wind up in Washington. A person familiar with his thinking said he was considering starting an asset-management firm aimed at individual investors, in partnership with Jon Najarian, co-founder of Najarian Family Office and a frequent CNBC commentator.

—Kate O'Keeffe contributed to this article.

## Judge Declares Bankruptcy For Hedge-Fund Financier

BY LAURENCE FLETCHER

A Scottish businessman behind one of Europe's biggest hedge fund failures has been declared bankrupt in a Gibraltar court after failing to repay investors millions of dollars.

Gregory King controlled a \$600 million property-lending fund, **Heather Capital**, according to fund documents, and was closely involved with a smaller Gibraltar fund, **Advalorem Value Asset Fund**, according to a report by the British territory's financial regulator. Heather collapsed in 2010 and is in liquidation. Advalorem was put into administration in 2014.

Heather's liquidator has alleged that Mr. King and another director were "co-conspirators in the fraudulent diversion" of Heather's money to third parties, according to a Scottish court filing. Gibraltar Judge Adrian Jack said in January that Advalorem's collapse followed "a fraud carried out by Mr. King" involving investment in "grossly overpriced Scottish real estate."

"After a lengthy period of proceedings, we can now begin the process of tracing and realizing Mr. King's assets for

any wrongdoing in relation to Advalorem or Heather."

During a 40-minute court hearing on Monday, Judge Jack ruled that Gibraltar was the center of Mr. King's business interests. The special administrator of Advalorem, Adrian Hyde, who has been pursuing Mr. King for repayment, was appointed trustee in the personal bankruptcy.

"A judge in January tied a fund's failure to fraud in deals for Scottish real estate.

the benefit of his creditors," said Mr. Hyde, who is also a partner at **CVR Global**, an insolvency and restructuring services firm.

"This has ultimately ended with a judgment that shows that Gibraltar will not tolerate its companies being used as vehicles for fraud and will deal appropriately with culprits," he said.

Mr. King couldn't be reached for comment on Monday's ruling. He didn't

have legal representation at the hearing.

Mr. King, a lawyer and former Glasgow car dealer, took nearly \$52 million in fees from Heather, according to fund documents. The fund pulled in big-name investors including the **Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan**. He ran the Isle of Man-registered fund for years from an office in Gibraltar.

After Heather's collapse Mr. King became involved with Advalorem, which used investor money to buy land that he owned anonymously through Gibraltar companies, according to the territory's financial regulator.

In a hearing last year on Advalorem's collapse, Judge Jack ordered Mr. King to pay £6.1 million (\$8 million) plus interest and costs. The same judge in January found Mr. King in contempt of court for failing to comply with disclosure requirements relating to an order freezing his assets.

Mr. King, who has been living in a villa in an exclusive gated complex in the south of Spain, had previously tried to avoid being served with an asset freeze order. Without looking at the papers, he threw them back into the car window of the person who delivered them, said a person with knowledge of the exchange.

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China A-Share Fund Cls A CAD H OT HKG 07/31 CAD 12.20 11.6 1.7

China A-Share Fund Cls A EUR H OT HKG 07/31 EUR 12.51 14.6 2.6

China A-Share Fund Cls A EUR H OT HKG 07/31 EUR 13.12 14.2 3.4

China A-Share Fund Cls A GBP H OT HKG 07/31 GBP 12.30 9.3 11.0

China A-Share Fund Cls A GBP H OT HKG 07/31 GBP 13.11 13.8 3.8

China A-Share Fund Cls A NZD H OT HKG 07/31 NZD 13.53 14.2 11.7

China A-Share Fund Cls A USD H OT HKG 07/31 USD 13.53 14.0 2.6

China A-Share Fund Cls A USD H OT HKG 07/31 USD 13.65 22.4 18.0

China A-Share Fund Cls A USD H OT HKG 07/31 USD 13.78 22.1 18.1

China A-Share Fund Cls A NZD H OT HKG 07/31 NZD 13.28 15.3 16.0

China A-Share Fund Cls A NZD H OT HKG 07/31 NZD 11.42 14.7 2.7

China A-Share Fund Cls A NZD H OT HKG 07/31 NZD 14.69 17.1 18.3

China A-Share Fund Cls A USD H OT HKG 07/31 USD 13.55 21.7 17.3

China A-Share Fund Cls A USD H OT HKG 07/31 USD 13.32 14.6 14.7

China Greenchip-A Units AS EQ CYM 07/31 HKD 13.56 24.9 25.6

China Greenchip-A Units AS EQ CYM 07/31 AUD 10.78 25.5 26.5

China Greenchip-A Units AS EQ CYM 07/31 CAD 10.49 25.5 25.8

China Greenchip-A Units AS EQ CYM 07/31 EUR 11.04 25.2 26.6

China Greenchip-A Units AS EQ CYM 07/31 GBP 10.49 24.6 25.3

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GC HI Yield Inc-C1s A MDLS AUD H OT CYM 07/31 AUD 9.24 6.2 11.9

## FINANCE & MARKETS

### Workers Sort Coffee Beans in Indonesia



**ON THE BOIL:** A small recent crop of robusta coffee in Brazil and increasing demand in Indonesia are shaking up the market. Robusta for delivery in September on ICE Futures Europe is at a premium to beans for November, a phenomenon known as backwardation that tends to happen in times of scarcity. A trader says most of the next crop from Vietnam, which is the top robusta grower, has been sold.

### The Trickiest Time of the Year for Stocks

BY BEN EISEN

We are getting into the dog days of summer, but that is typically when the stock market cools off.

August has historically been a weak month for equities. The S&P 500 has averaged a 1.4% decline in August over the past two decades, according to Bespoke Investment Group.

Over the past half-century, an investor who put \$100 into the S&P 500 only for the month of August each year would have \$98 today. That same amount invested only in December, another typically slow month for the market and the best for performance, would be worth \$204 over the

half-century span.

Markets are always subject to seasonal factors that can distort performance, and it isn't surprising that the market lags behind during a low-volume period in which traders and investors are often on vacation. But investors should pay attention this year as they contend with a stock market whose unusual calm has itself become a source of concern.

Stocks have marched higher this year almost unabated, even as President Donald Trump's agenda has stalled; geopolitical tensions have risen, and the economy has cooled off, as The Wall Street Journal's Morning MoneyBeat newsletter noted Tuesday.

The S&P 500 is up 10% in 2017 and has gone more than a year without a 5% pullback, the longest such stretch in more than two decades, according to LPL Financial. In fact, it has been nine months since the market pulled back even 3%, the firm notes. That has led to worries that stocks are climbing too rapidly, making them subject to a sharp reversal.

Some say the seasonality in play in August could hasten a retreat in the market.

"August has been the worst month of the year twice out of the past four years," said Ryan Detrick, senior market strategist at LPL Financial, in a research note. One of those years, he notes, was 2015,

when the stock market swiftly fell into a correction amid concerns about China.

Still, there are also reasons to believe stocks will keep chugging higher. The Federal Reserve has continued to hold rates historically low, keeping that nearly-decade-long support for the stock market intact. Earnings are also robust, with companies set to report their best two quarters of growth in six years.

But if the seasonality kicks into gear in 2017, it doesn't paint a particularly bright picture for the market in the months to come. Over the past half-century, September has been even worse for the S&P 500 than August.

### Dow Industrials Head to 22000 On Bank Gains

BY AKANE OTANI  
AND JUSTIN YANG

The Dow Jones Industrial Average climbed Tuesday, putting it within striking distance of 22000.

The blue-chip index added 88 points, or 0.4%, to 21979

around midday, heading toward

a fresh record and sixth consecutive

sesson of gains after climbing as

high as 21988 in Tuesday's session.

Meanwhile, the S&P 500 rose 0.2%, and the Nasdaq Composite added 0.1%. Both

indexes were on track to end three-session losing streaks.

U.S. stocks have posted fresh highs this year, buoyed by strong corporate earnings and signs of resurgent global growth. With more than half of S&P 500 companies having reported results for the second quarter, firms are on track to post their best sales growth in years.

That should help major indexes continue to climb, investors say, even as many hold doubts over the timing and scale of potential policy changes from the Trump administration, such as tax cuts and infrastructure spending.

"Equities are in an earnings-driven market, surprising to the upside," said Terry Sandven, chief equity strategist at U.S. Bank Wealth Management.

Bank shares lifted U.S. stock indexes Tuesday. Goldman Sachs Group added 1.2%, contributing about 20 points to the Dow industrials' gains, while J.P. Morgan Chase rose 1.3% around midday.

Drug makers' stocks lagged behind, with Pfizer down 0.1% after the pharmaceutical company said sales declined in the second quarter because of in-

creased competition.

Auto makers' shares fell, too, with Ford shares down 2.5% and General Motors shares losing 3.7% after the two companies said sales dropped sharply in July.

Dow heavyweight Apple's earnings report is due after the market closes Tuesday.

Government bond prices climbed Tuesday, with the yield on the 10-year U.S. Treasury note falling to 2.264% at midday, according to Tradeweb, from 2.292% Monday. Yields fall as prices rise.

Elsewhere, the Stoxx 600 Europe rose 0.6%, lifted by a raft of upbeat earnings reports.

Energy giant BP PLC rose 2.4% after the company returned to profitability in the second quarter on recovering oil prices.

Moves in European stocks followed several economic data releases in the region. Eurozone economic growth gathered pace in the second quarter, coming in roughly in line with economists' expectations. The reading marked the most consistently strong expansion of Europe's economy since bouncing back from the recession that had followed the global financial crisis.

Earlier, improvement in a closely watched private gauge of manufacturing in China fueled Asian shares. A reading from Caixan and IHS Markit rose for a second consecutive month in July and hit its highest level since March.

The Shanghai Composite Index closed up 0.6% after four consecutive sessions of gains. Hong Kong's Hang Seng Index hit a fresh two-year high, rising 0.8%, while Korea's Kospi also added 0.8%.

—Kenan Machado  
and Amrit Ramkumar  
contributed to this article.

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Photo Credit: Warten auf Godot

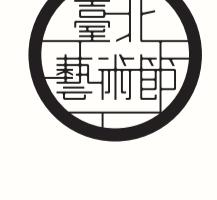
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## MARKETS DIGEST

### Nikkei 225 Index

**19985.79** ▲ 60.11, or 0.30%

High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.

Year-to-date 52-wk high/low All-time high

20230.41 16083.11 38915.87 12/29/89

▲ 4.56% 4.56%

High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.

Session high DOWN Session open UP Close

Close Open Session low

65-day moving average

Session high

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# INTERNATIONAL PROPERTY: SPAIN

## Foreigners Bid Up Commercial Assets

Demand pushes down expected yields in a market where supply remains limited

By ART PATNAUDE

Spanish real estate is back. Nearly a decade after a property bust sent Spain into a deep and enduring recession, commercial real-estate investment is picking up, even among risk-averse investors. Investment volumes in the first half of 2017 topped €5 billion (\$5.9 billion), up from €2.9 billion in the same period last year, according to property broker Savills.

The demand has pushed expected returns to record lows. In Madrid, prime office yields, a measure of return based on rental income, are at 3.25%, the same as offices in London's expensive West End, Savills data show. Before the financial crisis, yields in Madrid bottomed at 4% in 2007.

Despite historically low returns in commercial-property markets around the world, investors increasingly have piled into real estate, where yields tend to be higher than other asset classes such as bonds.

Also driving demand in Spain is a wager that an economic recovery is on a solid footing. Spain's gross domestic product increased at an annualized 3.2% in the first quarter, the same pace as in the past two years and better than the 1.8% eurozone average, according to European Union data.

Confidence in a recovery has helped make the country "a focus of investment for foreign investors," said Marta Cladera de Codina, head of Iberia at TH Real Estate, a London-based asset manager. Most of the foreign investment is from Europe and the U.S.

The road to recovery was long. In 2008, the bust in



The Xanadu shopping complex near Madrid, in which TH Real Estate bought a 50% stake in May.

Spain's debt-fueled property market became central to a financial and political crisis that soon swept across Europe. Investors steered clear as property values plummeted in Spain, Ireland, Portugal and Greece.

Spain's property market showed signs of a recovery in 2014 when bargain hunters returned. But even then, investors sought out only what they perceived to be relatively safe assets in Madrid and Barcelona.

Now, with Spain's economy among the fastest-growing in Europe, investors "are willing to look at a wider range of assets," said Alejandro Sanchez-Marco, a capital markets director at Savills. This includes hotels and student housing, as well as dominant shopping centers across the country, he said.

The economic recovery also has attracted institutions, such as pension and insurance funds, that tend to prefer less-risky real estate. These types of investors "want to invest only when the [economic] re-

covery is clear," said Borja Ortega, head of capital markets at property broker JLL.

Retail assets have been in high demand. In May, TH Real Estate bought a 50% stake in the Xanadu Shopping Centre just outside Madrid for €264

million. As the capital city's largest mall, and the only one with an indoor ski slope, "it's a very unique asset and a great opportunity," Ms. Cladera de Codina said.

Vukile Property Fund, a South African retail specialist,

bought a portfolio of nine shopping centers for €193 million earlier this month.

Overall, commercial-property investment across Europe has slipped in the past year, hampered by a lack of supply and political uncertainty. But while property for sale in Spain is limited, it remains a relatively cheap option on the Continent.

Even though yields are at record lows, property values in Spain haven't yet returned to their precrisis peaks. That is because the price of real estate includes how much a landlord earns from rent payments. And in Spain, rents are still low.

In Madrid, office rents averaged €345 a square meter (10.8 square feet) a year in the first half of 2017. In 2008, they were €504 a square meter a year, Savills data show.

"Compared to elsewhere in Europe, Spain is still very cheap," Mr. Ortega at JLL said.

Still, the limited amount of property for sale is a big problem for eager investors.

"There is a real lack of product," said Ms. Cladera de Codina. "If you have €500 mil-

lion to invest in commercial real estate in Spain right now, that's a great idea. But it won't be so easy to do."

The surging demand has spurred warnings the market is at risk of overheating. Even though the economy is growing, Spain's unemployment rate is over 18%, still the second highest in the eurozone after Greece.

But one big difference from the last property boom is the lower level of debt in the market.

"Banks are being more selective," said Mr. Sanchez-Marco at Savills. "They are very competitive in their rates for the high-quality stuff. But financing for riskier assets, or for development, is much harder to get nowadays."

If strong demand continues in the second half of the year, 2017 investment volumes could be the highest in any year since 2007, brokers and investors said.

"Historically, we're close to the peak," said Mr. Sanchez-Marco. "But if you do a European comparison, Spain comes in as a very friendly place to invest."

## Barcelona Bans Cars, Boosts Tech

By EMILY NONKO

Planners in cities throughout the world have been wracking their brains to come up with ways to tap into the new technology economy to add jobs, spark economic development and boost real-estate values.

Barcelona has come up with an unusual solution: ban cars.

One year ago, Barcelona ordered most automobiles out of a 40-acre portion of a once-dilapidated industrial area where the Spanish city has been trying to attract technology companies. The move has helped turn the area—named

the 22@ District—into one of Barcelona's hottest office markets.

Today, office rents in some of 22@ District's buildings are as high as €20 per square meter a month—or \$23.46 for 10 square feet—surpassing rents of some office buildings in Barcelona's main city center, according to CBRE Group Inc. Five years ago, rents were about 25% lower in the area, named after the traditional industrial designation previously assigned to it, 22a.

Tenants include Amazon.com Inc.'s European headquarters and co-working giant WeWork Cos. In 2014, Cisco

Systems Inc. announced an investment of \$30 million for an innovation center here.

More than 180 restaurants, 50 bars and 20 hotels have opened in the area, according to the city, another element that has attracted tech companies. The district's waterfront locale means "you can go have lunch by the sea," said Anna Esteban, the office director of CBRE Barcelona.

To be sure, the district owes its success partly to Spain's growing popularity and Barcelona's quarter-century of growth that began with the 1992 Summer Olympics. A diversified economy,

with many manufacturing and services jobs, means the city has some of the highest job creation in the country, according to CBRE.

But the growing popularity of Barcelona among tech companies also reflects a pedestrian-friendly approach that has become almost an obsession with the city government.

"The argument [in Barcelona] is that you create a more innovative city with a city of walkers, because people are calmer, contemplating, and coming up with fresh ideas," said Vishaan Chakrabarti, founder of the New York-based architecture firm PAU.

## Office-Space Developers Are Gearing Up in Madrid

By THERESA AGOVINO

Last summer, Gmp Property Socimi SA began developing an office building without preleasing any space, one of the first so-called speculative projects that the Madrid real-estate market has seen since the boom years.

This year, Gmp doubled down further on the office market. In April, the Spanish real-estate investment trust bought an older property with plans to fully modernize it.

"We trust the market now," said Xabier Barrondo, Gmp's managing director. "And there is a real lack of good quality space in Madrid."

New office projects are being launched in Madrid at the greatest rate since the 2008 financial crisis. Construction all but disappeared during the financial crisis and its immediate aftermath as demand and financing evaporated.

But office development is making a comeback. About 200,000 square meters of new space is slated to be delivered in Madrid this year, compared with 8,400 square meters last year, according to Cushman & Wakefield. The new space comes as many landlords are also renovating older buildings to include modern space and amenities.

Most of the development involves upgrades. But speculative projects also are moving forward.

Hispania Activos Inmobiliarios Socimi has started foundation work for two office buildings on a Madrid site the company purchased last year for €32 million (\$37.7 million). "For the first time we are negotiating power shifting from the future tenants to the landlord," said Cristina Garcia-Peri, general manager of Hispania.

The development boom has been triggered by the biggest surge in demand Madrid has seen in years from the financial, consulting and other service firms that drive the city's market. Technology companies also are expanding, including one of the biggest leases of



Construction is taking off in Madrid, shown in December.

last year, the 21,000 square meters leased by Chinese telecoms firm Huawei at Castellana Norte B.P.

In the first half of this year, companies leased a total of 231,000 square meters, up 10% from last year, according to Cushman & Wakefield.

Adolfo Ramirez-Escudero, chief executive officer of CBRE Spain, said his team is looking for a total of about 80,000 square meters of space for clients. "We haven't had that much in years," he said.

Office vacancy fell to 12% in the second quarter, a level not seen since 2009, according to Cushman & Wakefield. It was 18% in 2013.

Meanwhile, rents in the central business district—Madrid's most coveted location—rose to €30 a square meter a month in 2016, up 22% from 2013. The rate is still far below its prerecession high of €40.

Broader market rents hit €19.3 a square meter last year, up 12% from the recession low. Experts are expecting rent growth of 10% to 15% a year in the next few years.

"We have zero vacancy in our portfolio," said Pere Viñolas, chief executive officer of Colonial Group, a real-estate investment trust with about 40 properties in Spain. "Supply is lagging demand."

Mr. Viñolas said that after seven years of either falling or stagnating, rents jumped an average of 10% to around €20 a square meter last year. Colonial is developing two specula-

tive office buildings in Madrid—something the company hasn't done around a decade—and overhauling an older building.

Mr. Viñolas said that he spent about €2,000 a square foot to buy two office towers that total 16,000 square meters. The firm will spend an additional €1,500 a square foot on renovations, but he views the deal as a bargain because existing Grade A office space is fetching €6,000 a square foot from investors eager to capitalize on Spain's improving economy. "Building was cheaper than buying," he said.

Landlords say tenants are looking for modern buildings in city centers to appeal younger workers. Those properties are in short supply in Madrid, where the average buildings is about 25 years old, CBRE's Mr. Ramirez said.

Gmp is asking between €26 and €33 a square meter a month in its two renovated towers, which are located in the central business district and recently hit the market. It spent €24 million to upgrade 77 Castella, a 16,000-square-meter property that is still empty. About a quarter of neighboring 81 Castella has been rented since the 38,000-square-meter building received a €30 million facelift.

"We are going to be very demanding about rent," Gmp's Mr. Barrondo said. "We know we have a great product."

—Peter Grant

contributed to this article.

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## MARKETS

# Oil Futures Are Flashing a Buy Signal

A long-anticipated pricing shift indicates that the global glut of crude may be easing

By ALISON SIDER

Patience is paying off for investors who stuck with bullish oil bets this year.

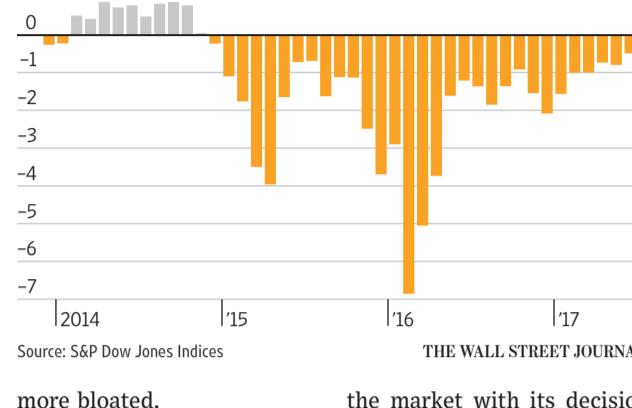
Near-term oil prices are close to rising above longer term prices—a long-anticipated shift that signals the global glut of crude may be easing.

It is welcome news for oil investors, who already have benefited from the rebound in crude prices in July. Oil climbed 9% to \$50.17 a barrel in July in response to positive U.S. data and a renewed commitment from Saudi Arabia to curtail exports.

For most of 2017, the price of oil delivered in the future has been higher than the spot price. That is a sign that there is more than enough oil sloshing around the market to meet current demand. And since that price relationship makes it more profitable to put oil in storage rather than sell it right away, it encourages oil stockpiles to become even

### Rolling Along

S&P GSCI crude-oil roll return—gains or losses from rolling futures positions from one month to the next



Source: S&P Dow Jones Indices

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

more bloated.

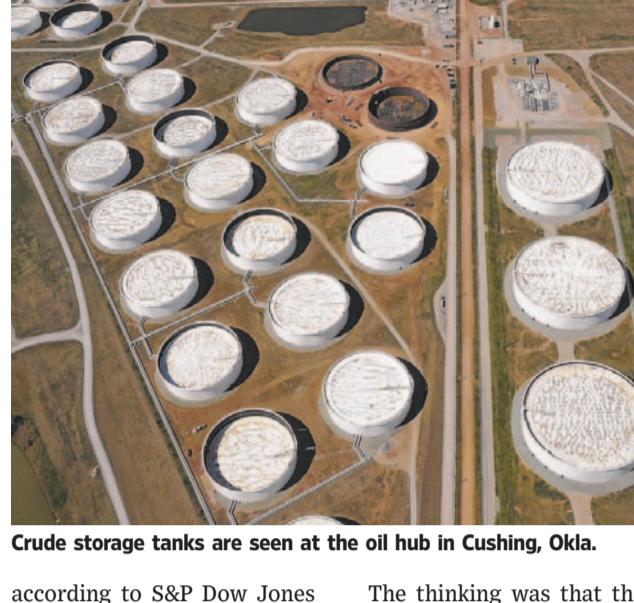
During such periods, an investor would be “basically forced to sell low and buy high,” said Terence Brennan, portfolio manager at Lazard Asset Management. “Then it’s probably not the best investment.”

Now, the difference between current and longer-term futures prices has shrunk. The gap between prices of the two nearest monthly contracts fell to the narrowest since December 2014, one month after the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries surprised

the market with its decision against production cuts, which sped up a descent in oil prices.

The persistence of lower current prices versus future ones has been painful for investors who hold long-term bullish bets or buy index products that track crude. Typically, investors have to pay the difference in the prices of monthly futures when they roll over positions from one month to the next.

This year, investors have lost 5.6% in rolling positions from one month to the next in the S&P GSCI Crude Oil index,



NICOLAS FOUDRA/REUTERS

Crude storage tanks are seen at the oil hub in Cushing, Okla.

according to S&P Dow Jones Indices. Last year, the comparable “roll cost” was 20.8% through July.

Higher prices further out in the future “is still costing you, but it’s costing you less. It is getting to the point where it could start to turn around,” Mr. Brennan said.

Big banks had expected the oil futures curve to pivot quickly, and current prices to rise above future prices in the first half of the year.

The thinking was that the temporary output reduction agreed to by OPEC and other major producers, such as Russia, in December would jolt near-term prices while leaving longer-term prices more depressed, creating a condition known as backwardation. That would encourage oil companies, speculators and traders to sell oil rather than store it, helping flush out the glut that has been built up in storage tanks.

It is a scenario OPEC had hoped to trigger when the cartel and other major exporters struck the deal late last year to take some 2% of global daily oil output off the market, analysts said.

It is only recently that the premium for oil available in a few months has shrunk so far that storing oil is becoming a money-losing prospect.

While the market flirted with backwardation this year, getting to that point has been a tougher slog than expected because U.S. shale producers were able to increase production more quickly than most observers anticipated. As a result, global oil supplies remain well above the level OPEC was targeting.

“The market isn’t paying you to store,” said John Sauer, vice president of research and analysis at Mobius Risk Group. “It doesn’t mean the market is tight, but it isn’t sloppy either.”

Already, there are signs of a shift. The amount of oil held in storage tanks in the U.S.—where supplies are closely watched a barometer of the global glut—has dropped in the last four weeks by more than double the average rate for this time of year.

# Crude Market Gives Up Some Hard-Won Ground

By STEPHANIE YANG

Oil prices fell from a two-month high on Tuesday, as investors once again began to doubt OPEC's ability to curtail production and make a dent in the global supply glut.

U.S. light, sweet crude for September delivery lost 56 cents, or 1.1%, to \$49.57 a barrel in morning New York trading, breaking a six-session winning streak that led prices above \$50 a barrel for

the first time since May 24. Brent, the global benchmark, fell 68 cents, or 1.3%, to \$52.04 a barrel.

Signs of increasing production from the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries have negated reassuring rhetoric by leading member Saudi Arabia, which has announced plans to cap exports and enforce compliance in curtailing output, analysts said.

The cartel, along with several other major oil-produc-

ting nations, agreed to cut production late last year and extended the deal through March 2018. Still, prices have dropped in 2017 as market players have become more doubtful of OPEC's influence on global crude stocks. Meanwhile, U.S. shale output has ramped up in response, helping offset the cuts from OPEC.

A Reuters survey this week showed OPEC production climbing in July to the highest level since December 2016,

as Libya increased supply and some members slipped in complying with the deal.

“The realization that OPEC oil production is at its highest level this year is undercutting some of the recent strength,” said John Kilduff, founding partner at Again Capital. “I think there’s a lot of skepticism.”

Cargo-tracking data has also indicated that OPEC exports increased in July despite the production deal, according to Robbie Fraser,

commodity analyst at Schneider Electric.

“You’ve got the market really hesitant at this point to make any decisive move above \$50 a barrel,” Mr. Fraser said.

Traders will be closely watching for storage data from the U.S. Energy Information Administration, due at 10:30 a.m. ET on Wednesday. Prices have rallied in recent weeks on signs of declining supply in the U.S., as stockpiles have fallen six out

of the past seven weeks.

Recent gains have also prompted traders to take profits ahead of the EIA data, said Jim Ritterbusch, president of energy-advisory firm Ritterbusch & Associates.

The storage reports are “especially big right now,” Mr. Fraser said. “If you want to point to a single justification of why prices have been able to claw their way back...those stock draws are really going to need to keep happening.”

## HEARD ON THE STREET

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS & COMMENTARY

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# Auto Lender's Risks Are Clouded

### Dealer's Choice

Portion of Credit Acceptance's loans by value in which it holds the main credit risk



Source: the company

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.



Auto-loan delinquencies are rising.

ings conference call.

While Credit Acceptance beat expectations, it was difficult to judge the underlying health of its loan portfolio because unlike competitors, the company doesn’t give details on net charge-off rates or delinquencies.

Credit Acceptance makes loans through car dealerships, and often the dealers are on the hook for around 80% of the repayment risk, says Credit Suisse analyst Jason Kulas said on an earn-

Moshe Orenbuch.

These “dealer loans” are safer for Credit Acceptance. The problem is that they are also a shrinking part of the company’s business, Mr. Orenbuch notes. More traditional loans, also made through dealerships but in which Credit Acceptance retains all of the repayment risk, accounted for 32% of its loans by dollar value in the second quarter, up from 24% in the first quarter of 2016. This could be due to intense competition between sub-prime lenders, which gives dealers more leverage to set terms.

As less-protected loans take up more of Credit Acceptance’s balance sheet, the company’s lack of disclosure makes it harder for investors to judge its underlying risks.

With the credit cycle having turned only recently, it is impossible to know how bad things could get for sub-prime auto loans. Investors would do well to steer clear of the whole sector, particularly Credit Acceptance.

—Aaron Back

### OVERHEARD

What’s in a name? A lot, says Ford Motor, especially when it comes to China.

The auto giant is fighting to block a U.S. trademark application by Chinese vehicle maker Geely Automobile for a new brand, Lynk & Co. According to Ford, the name sounds too similar to Lincoln, the company’s iconic luxury brand.

Geely plans to use the Lynk moniker for a wave of high-tech vehicles designed to appeal to young, affluent consumers.

Ford is eager to protect the brand as it gears up to start production of Lincolns in China—the world’s largest car market—by 2019.

Sales of the model in China are still small—Ford sells about 4,000 Lincolns a month there—but have been growing rapidly. Overall, the U.S. auto maker’s sales in China have been sagging recently, while Geely’s have been on fire.

Maybe a little name confusion could actually help Ford in China.

# Expectations Run High for Rolls-Royce

Aircraft-engine maker Rolls-Royce is flying high—and its stock even higher.

The British company has been on a tear after years of operational missteps and a bribery scandal.

Chief Executive Warren East has done an able job putting the company back on course. First-half results out Tuesday confirmed things are going well in the company’s main business of selling and servicing jumbo jet engines. It delivered more engines and got more revenue from maintaining existing ones. Air traffic remains high, boosting its business model of selling engines at a loss while making money servicing them. Cost-cutting is also on target.

Crucially, free cash flow, adjusting for fines, was a less-than-expected outflow of £339 million (\$445.8 million). That excites investors who are banking on Rolls’s long-term trajectory. There is a record order backlog at Airbus and Boeing, and Rolls is set to control half of the market in supplying wide-body jet engines.

The company aspires to generate £1 billion of free cash flow annually around 2020. Speaking to analysts Tuesday, Mr. East said it could be achieved ahead of schedule—if everything goes right.

A consensus estimate for free-cash-flow yield of around 5% for 2020 seems to pack in a full dose of optimism. And on earnings-related valuation, after shares shot up 9% Tuesday and 45% this year, Rolls-Royce’s enterprise value is 10.6 times earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization, the highest ever. They expect a flawless flight.

—Alex Frangos

# Big Oil Is Finally Coming to Terms With Reduced Prices

Major oil companies seem to have moved through the stages of grief about low prices, finally arriving at acceptance.

During the latest round of sector earnings delivered in recent days, Royal Dutch Shell’s boss Ben van Beurden even said oil could be “lower forever”: BP said Tuesday it is targeting a future break-even oil price of \$35 to \$40 a barrel. The question for investors is whether they and their global peers can protect their precious dividend payouts in this brave new world.

Shell’s own results offer some hope—largely because it has become less reliant on

crude production itself. Its push into natural gas in recent years and big refining operations are paying off: Second-quarter earnings rose sevenfold to \$1.9 billion, beating expectations.

U.S. majors Exxon Mobil and Chevron, meanwhile, also saw profits rise sharply but cash generation lagged, in part due to expensive upstream U.S. oil operations. If oil demand peaks as soon as 2030, as Shell is predicting, its shift into natural gas will be validated. Although most of the majors have shifted toward gas and Exxon remains a larger gas producer overall, Shell’s bet has been especially obvious.

Following its expensive 2015 acquisition of BG Group, it could be the world’s largest liquefied natural-gas marketer by the 2020s, and it now produces more gas than oil.

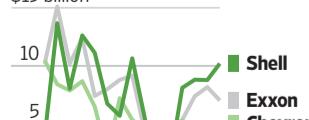
Still, if peak oil demand comes later, Exxon’s and Chevron’s big investments in shale oil will probably look smart. The problem with producing shale oil is that it burns up cash. Shell generated \$35 billion in cash flow from operations in the past four quarters, according to Tudor Pickering, 25% higher than Exxon. That cash-flow generation helped Shell reduce its net debt by 9% from a year earlier, against rises of around 5% for Exxon and Chevron. And despite overall profits sharply higher than a year ago, Exxon’s U.S. upstream business lost money

for a 10th consecutive quarter.

The danger for Exxon and Chevron is that they will find themselves continually pumping cash into shale wells to keep production numbers up, even as small independent shale producers—which face less pressure to pay big dividends—do the same.

Shell’s big bet on Australian natural gas isn’t without risk. If the U.S. is able to muscle in on the Chinese market for liquefied natural gas, prices in Asia could remain depressed, for example. But for this quarter at least, Shell’s strategy looks smart.

—Nathaniel Taplin



\*First half. Source: FactSet

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