

# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

# WSJ

## The Outspoken Campus

### REVIEW

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### WEEKEND

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## What's News

### World-Wide

Trump said he would be willing to testify under oath that he didn't urge Comey to ease off the FBI's investigation of ex-national security adviser Flynn. A1

♦ U.K. Prime Minister May turned to an unlikely partner in a bid to hold on to power after British voters rebelled against her Conservative Party. A1, A8-9

♦ The Trump administration has been holding secret talks with Russia to try to set up a de-escalation zone in southwest Syria. A10

♦ Trump emphasized Qatar's alleged ties to terrorism funding as Tillerson tried to defuse a diplomatic standoff over those links. A10

♦ The president said he was "absolutely" committed to NATO's core tenet that an attack on one member nation is an attack on all. A4

♦ A Brazilian court acquitted Temer of charges of illegal campaign financing in a trial that threatened to oust him from office. WSJ.com

♦ Voters in Puerto Rico head to the polls Sunday to decide whether to back a bid to make the U.S. territory the 51st state. A3

### Business & Finance

♦ Oil has declined almost 9% in the past three weeks, moving below \$50 a barrel and forcing investors to reassess whether supply and demand will reach a state that can support higher prices. A1

♦ Tech and internet stocks came under heavy selling pressure, jolting what had been a torrid run for the fast-growing shares. B1, B10

♦ The pound slumped and domestically focused U.K. stocks tumbled after Britain's general election. B9

♦ A \$9 billion restructuring deal covering Puerto Rico's electric-utility debt is at risk of collapsing. B4

♦ Takeover talks between Neiman Marcus and the parent of Saks Fifth Avenue have stalled. B3

♦ Luxury companies are turning away from glossy magazines, instead plowing money into digital campaigns rooted in social media. B1

♦ Carrefour named as its next CEO Alexandre Bompard, who has gone toe-to-toe with Amazon. B3

♦ The WTO ruled the U.S. failed to adequately eliminate all illegal government subsidies to Boeing. B2

## Inside

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What Comey Told Us About Trump

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Robyn Hurder

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# U.S. NEWS

THE NUMBERS | By Jo Craven McGinty

## Results Show Pollsters Still Need Help



After most polls failed to predict the winner in Thursday's British parliamentary election, the latest in a series of polling misfires, one consensus emerged: The polls stink.

Pre-election surveys also failed to predict the outcomes of the 2015 parliamentary general election, the 2016 Brexit vote and the 2016 U.S. presidential election.

After the earlier misses, and eager to avert repeats, polling associations in both countries organized inquiries to investigate, and correct, the causes of the failures.

But Thursday's British results weren't reassuring.

Leading up to the election, polls put the Conservative Party of Prime Minister Theresa May ahead of the main opposition Labour Party by 1 to 12 percentage points.

But British voters turned against the prime minister, leaving her short of the 326 seats needed to win a majority of Britain's 650-seat Parliament.

The irony is that pollsters were all midstream in making changes when Theresa May called the elec-

tion," said Jon Cohen, chief research officer for SurveyMonkey, which conducts online polls in the U.S. and U.K.

Polls can be bedeviled by low response rates, samples that are too small or respondents whose demographics don't match those of voters. To examine their practices, the U.S. and U.K. each assigned a task force.

The American Association for Public Opinion Research wanted to know why U.S. polls had erroneously predicted that Hillary Clinton would win the 2016 presidential election.

The British Polling Council and Market Research Society wanted to know why U.K. polls had incorrectly shown the Conservative and Labour parties running neck and neck in 2015, when in the end the Conservatives won 38% of the vote to Labour's 31%.

Either polling mistake could have influenced voter turnout, political strategies or possibly even the end result of the elections.

Historically, one of the most reliable ways to conduct public-opinion polls has been through telephone surveys based on probability samples of randomly se-

### No Crystal Ball

Polls ahead of the 2015 British election erroneously suggested the Conservative and Labour candidates were in a dead heat, prompting an inquiry into the survey methods.

Conservative Party	Actual Results (37.8%)	Labour Party	Actual Results (31.2%)
Ashcroft	33%	Ashcroft	33%
BMG	34	BMG	34
ComRes	35	ComRes	34
ICM	34	ICM	35
Ipsos-MORI	36	Ipsos-MORI	35
Opinium	35	Opinium	34
Panelbase	31	Panelbase	33
Populus	34	Populus	34
Survation	31	Survation	31
SurveyMonkey	34	SurveyMonkey	28
TNS UK	33	TNS UK	32
YouGov	34	YouGov	34

Source: British Polling Council and the Market Research Society

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lected participants.

But such polls are costly and have been undermined by poor response rates and the proliferation of cellphones.

To compensate, polling companies increasingly rely on nonprobability internet surveys, which are cheaper but potentially less accurate.

A solution is to weight nonrandom samples to correct for biases, but in 2015, the U.K. polls systematically overrepresented Labour sup-

porters and underrepresented Conservative supporters.

The samples were weighted to account for such discrepancies, but the statistical adjustments failed.

The British inquiry suggested a number of remedies to ensure that future samples would be representative, but in the short term, the changes may have contributed to the wide-ranging survey results leading up to this week's election.

"We are in this situation where the methods have not been fully adapted to the recommendations of the British Polling Council, nor is it exactly clear what should be done," Mr. Cohen said.

Similarly, after reviewing last year's American presidential-race surveys, the U.S. task force concluded that national polls, predictors of the popular vote, got it right, but state polls, predictors of the Electoral College vote, didn't.

When the popular vote and Electoral College results disagree, as in 2016, state-level polls are a better predictor of the election outcome.

"Ultimately, the only thing that mattered was the Electoral College, and the polls didn't get that right," said Timothy P. Johnson, president of the American public-opinion research group.

Most notably, the state polls failed to account for the overrepresentation of college graduates in polling samples, a discrepancy that caused important battleground states to appear to favor Mrs. Clinton, according to the U.S. task-force report.

The national polls, which tend to have larger samples and more-comprehensive weighting adjustments, did

align with the results of the popular vote.

"The polls said collectively that Clinton had a 3-percentage-point lead," Dr. Johnson said. "When the vote count was finished, she had a 2-percentage-point lead."

The perception of the accuracy of the polls was also influenced by various outlets that aggregated the results of multiple polls and calculated the probability of each candidate winning the election. The approach became popular in 2008. Most pinned Mrs. Clinton's chance of winning anywhere from 71% to 99%.

What may not have been clear is that the high-probability figures obscured the relatively narrow differences between the candidates in the polls.

"There was a lot of confusion about that, and people blamed the polls," Dr. Johnson said.

The pollsters hope to win back trust in the next pre-election surveys. But it may be a while before they pass the public's smell test.

◆ Young voters in U.K. proved pivotal for Labour ..... A9

## Young of Heart, Fleet of Foot



SENIOR GAMES: Irma Bond, center, prepares for her heat of the 100-meter dash at the 2017 National Senior Games presented by Humana at Samford University in Birmingham, Ala. More than 10,500 athletes age 50 or older compete in the two-week event.

## OIL

*Continued from Page One* continued to slide, reflecting disappointment among investors who had hoped that the group would agree to even deeper cuts or would articulate a strategy on ending cuts next year that would avoid flooding the market again.

Without those assurances, investors have become increasingly jittery, heading for the exits at any sign that global stockpiles aren't shrinking. U.S. crude prices have languished below \$50 since.

When government data showed this week that the amount of oil in U.S. storage tanks increased for the first time in nine weeks, crude prices fell more than 5% Wednesday.

"People are starting to doubt it now. They look at the cuts and say, 'Who cares?'" said Ernest Scalambra, managing member at AC Investment Management LLC, which manages about \$750 million in assets, primarily investments in commodity hedge funds.

U.S. production has also come back more quickly than many anticipated. The number of rigs punching new wells in U.S. oilfields has climbed for 21 straight weeks. Some analysts now predict that U.S. output will end the year as much as 1 million barrels a day higher. That's a stark change from late last year when banks such as Bank of America Merrill Lynch were expecting U.S. output to rise more modestly, by some 660,000 barrels a day by the

fourth quarter. Bank of America now expects U.S. shale output to rise by 800,000 barrels a day during the same period.

Some were expecting that shale-oil producers would be constrained by rising costs, such as hiring back workers who were laid off and expenses tied to repairing neglected equipment. Meanwhile, such companies as Halliburton Co. and Schlumberger Ltd. that do the work of drilling and fracking wells slashed prices in the two-year downturn and have been looking for opportunities to raise them.

But these factors don't seem to be holding producers back, especially in places like west Texas's Permian basin.

"People generally know where it is. Once prices are at levels that can support the expense of actually drilling the well and getting the rig and starting production, it's going to happen," said Jason Thomas, director of research at the Carlyle Group.

Some say that the market has become irrationally negative. They say that investors are ignoring signs that the glut is eroding—pointing to eight straight weeks of declining stockpiles prior to the surprise increase reported this week. If oil prices do drop significantly below \$45, even the most resilient U.S. producers could struggle to be profitable.

"It might just be a knee-jerk reaction," said John Groton, director of equity research at Thrivent Financial. "We've got a view on where marginal costs need to go and where OPEC countries need prices to be. That number does not

start with a 4."

Still, it wasn't supposed to be this way. At the beginning of the year, analysts said OPEC's agreement to cut production would cause oil supplies to tighten quickly. OPEC and shale producers looked

Prices have fallen as U.S. producers rushed to fill the gap left by OPEC.

like they had found a way to peacefully coexist after years of battling for market share.

Now they are back to being locked in a stare-down and nobody is blinking.

Even with prices down this

year, U.S. oil producers appear committed to the growth they budgeted for going into the year, said Scott Hanold, an analyst at RBC Capital Markets.

Executives at the bank's energy conference in New York this week said they had locked in high enough prices for their output in the futures market, and their balance sheets were healthy enough to weather U.S. oil prices between \$45 and \$50, Mr. Hanold said.

That isn't a happy story for investors. Energy companies are the S&P 500's worst performers this year. Shares are down 12.3% in 2017, one of only two sectors in the red while the broader index has gained 8.6%.

"Sentiment is now to the point where it seems like many are ready to give up," Mr. Hanold said.

Even with prices down this

Dmitry Mints is chairman of O1 Properties, one of Russia's largest office-building landlords. An International Property Report article on Wednesday about Russia's commercial real-estate market incorrectly said he is chief executive and incorrectly called the company O1 Properties.

James Comey testified before the Senate Intelligence Committee on Thursday. In some editions Friday, a Page One article about the former FBI director's appearance be-

fore the panel incorrectly said he testified on Wednesday.

Genius, a website that annotates lyrics, was incorrectly called by its former name, Rap Genius, in a Page One article on Friday about currency references in hip-hop songs.

The Sherman Booth House in Glencoe, Ill., is on the market for \$1.7 million. A Mansion article on Friday about three homes designed by Frank Lloyd Wright incorrectly listed the price as \$1.9 million.

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ceiling before the summer recess.

"The sooner [Congress does] it, the less uncertainty there is in the market," he said. "This is not an issue, but I don't want to leave any doubt we have plans, and backup plans, for funding the government." He declined to elaborate on what those backup plans entailed. "They are Treasury Secretary superpowers, and I will leave it at that," he said.

Last month, Mr. Mnuchin asked Congress to raise the debt limit without attaching conditions. Government debt, at nearly \$20 trillion, hit Congress's self-imposed limit in mid-March. Since then, the Treasury Department has been employing cash-conservation measures to keep funding itself.

—Paul Vieira

LOS ANGELES

### IOC Closer to Naming Two Olympic Hosts

The International Olympic Committee took the first step toward naming the host cities for the 2024 and 2028 Summer Games simultaneously this summer, amid growing support for a plan to award those Games to Paris and Los Angeles, respectively.

The IOC executive board ratified a proposal Friday to name the host cities at the same time, a move that departs from the normal procedure of soliciting and reviewing bids for each Olympiad individually.

The proposal will now be put to a vote by full IOC membership at a special meeting on July 11 and 12. If approved, the host cities for both Games are expected to be named at the full IOC session in Lima, Peru, in September.

IOC President Thomas Bach played down suggestions that the plan is to award 2024 to Paris and 2028 to Los Angeles, saying that "both cities are open to being approached by IOC after such a vote, and to discuss how to achieve a win-win-win situation."

—Sara Germano

## CORRECTIONS & AMPLIFICATIONS

After briefly detaining Youssef Zaghba at the Bologna airport, Italian authorities posted information about him on the Schengen Information System, the main database that European security services use to share terror threats across borders, an Italian official said. A World News article on Wednesday about intelligence sharing among European police forces incorrectly said Italy didn't share information about the London Bridge assailant on the Schengen database.

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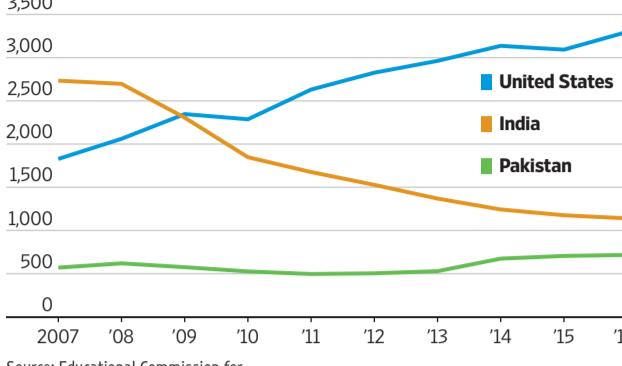
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## U.S. NEWS

### Foreign Doctors From the U.S.

An increasing number of Americans are being assessed under a certification program for doctors who attend international medical schools. Number of aspiring doctors from select countries who received certificates, by citizenship.



Source: Educational Commission for Foreign Medical Graduates

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.



WILLIAM WIDMER FOR THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

# International Med Schools Answer Call

American graduates of foreign programs help fill need for doctors in rural areas

By MELISSA KORN

With U.S. medical schools struggling to churn out enough doctors to meet the demand in rural and other underserved areas, overseas programs that cater to their admission rejects are helping to pick up the slack.

The international schools have long carried a stigma of being pricey, mainly for-profit and a little too close to the beach for proper studying. And health-care professionals say many still do have lax admission standards and abysmal outcomes.

But amid uncertainty over whether the pipeline of foreign doctors will slow due to tighter immigration rules under the Trump administration, some offshore institutions have polished their images as their American graduates help to fill a critical need in places like Louisiana and Wyoming.

New Jersey native Chantel Taylor was turned down by more than 20 U.S. medical schools with a 3.0 grade point average from Brown University and an "average" score on the MCAT medical-school admission test. To get her dream job as a primary-care doctor, she enrolled in a program created eight years ago for Americans—in Australia.

Dr. Taylor, 29 years old, attended a joint program between the University of Queensland and the Ochsner

Health System in Louisiana. Now she is about to start her second year of residency at the Louisiana State University rural family-medicine program in Bogalusa, La.

"The work we do makes a huge impact," she said. "There are not a lot of doctors here."

The Association of American Medical Colleges forecasts a physician shortage of between 40,800 and 104,900 by 2030. U.S. medical schools have increased first-year enrollments by more than one-quarter over the past 15 years, with 21,030 such students this year.

Still, demand for a medical education far outstrips the supply of seats on U.S. campuses. And that is where overseas schools are stepping in.

In 2016, 3,298 U.S. citizens from international medical schools were certified to enter American residency and fellowship programs, up from 1,858 in 2006, according to the Educational Commission for Foreign Medical Graduates, which grants the certificates.

Even though students at international schools often face higher tuition and less lucrative assignments as generalist doctors after graduation, their student-loan default rates are low, often under 2%, according to government statistics.

Studying medicine overseas can be a risky move, since only about 54% of American students in foreign schools are accepted into a U.S. residency program the first time around, compared with about 94% for U.S. students in domestic programs, according to the National Resident Matching Program, which matches medical-school students with hospitals.

A few of the schools outperform when it comes to getting students into residency programs at U.S. teaching hospitals. UQ-Ochsner, a nonprofit institution, this year achieved a residency match rate of 95%. And graduates from for-profit Ross University Medical School in Dominica, American University of the Caribbean School of Medicine in St. Maarten and St. George's University School of Medicine in Grenada, along with a handful of others, regularly post match rates over 85%.

"You have high-quality candidates that come from all walks of programs," said Stephen Knoll, internal medicine residency program director at SUNY Upstate Medical Center in Syracuse, N.Y. "You have to take a chance."

Nearly half of the 59 first-year residents starting this

summer are U.S. citizens from Caribbean schools.

Of aspiring doctors who applied for residency matches in 2016, 15% were U.S. citizens who attended foreign schools, nearly double the share of such candidates in 2000, according to the match program.

These days, the overseas schools are becoming a magnet for students interested in general practice or working in rural areas. Dr. Leonardo Seoane, head of school at UQ-Ochsner, said clinical rotations in Haiti and the Ninth Ward in New Orleans are a draw.

Ross and American University of the Caribbean, both owned by Adtalem Global Education Inc., have been focusing their messaging in recent years on how their graduates fill coverage gaps in places like Nevada, Wyoming and Tennessee.

## Trump Makes Bid To Speed Projects

By MICHAEL C. BENDER

WASHINGTON—President Donald Trump on Friday announced the creation of two new government offices as he seeks to streamline the federal approval process for infrastructure projects and help project managers navigate bureaucratic obstacles.

Mr. Trump said the new offices would help expedite work on transportation and other infrastructure projects.

The first council is aimed at helping project managers "navigate the bureaucratic maze" by, in part, penalizing federal agencies for delays, Mr. Trump said in remarks at the U.S. Department of Transportation.

"This council will make sure that any federal agency that consistently delays projects by missing deadlines will face tough, new penalties," he said.

The White House didn't respond to a request for details about the penalties.

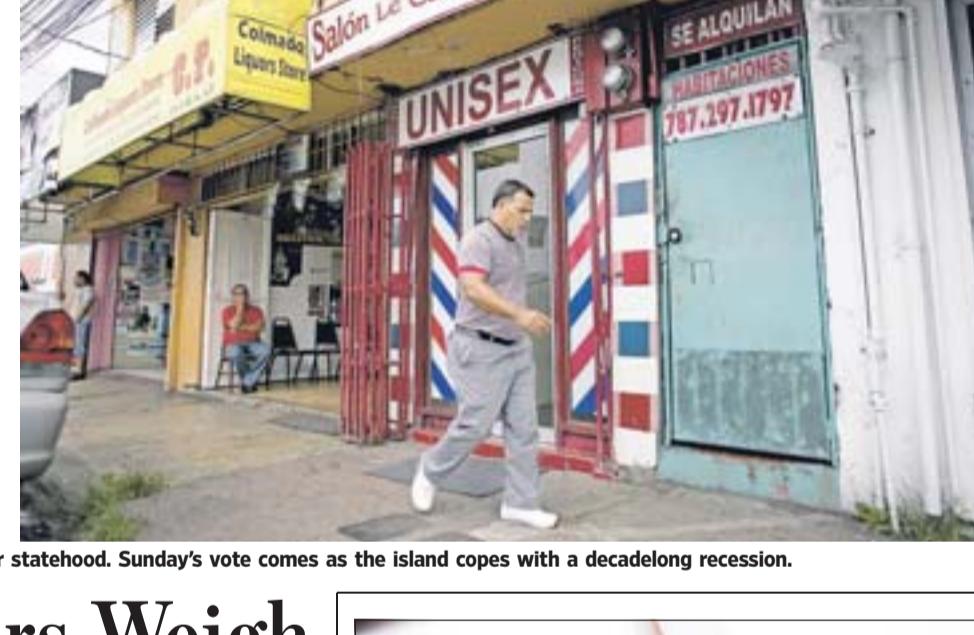
A second office would be located inside the White House's Council of Environmental Quality and be set up to "root out inefficiency, clarify lines of authority and streamline federal, state and local procedures" to more quickly update the nation's roads, bridges and other infrastructure, Mr. Trump said.

The announcement came as the White House has sought to refocus Americans on the president's policy agenda. Part of that has been "infrastructure week" this past week, which started Monday with Mr. Trump putting his support behind the privatization of the nation's air-traffic-control system.

Aside from the change to air-traffic control and the two new White House offices, there has so far been little detail on Mr. Trump's infrastructure pledge. The Republican president has proposed spending \$200 billion over 10 years on programs to encourage greater use of financing from private investors. The administration said that funding will leverage a total expenditure of \$1 trillion to fix and build roads, bridges, dams and broadband lines.



Puerto Rico Governor Ricardo Rosselló, left, has made the push for statehood. Sunday's vote comes as the island copes with a decade-long recession.



XAVIER GARCIA/BLOOMBERG NEWS, ALVIN BAZ/REUTERS

## Puerto Rican Voters Weigh Pros and Cons of Statehood

By ARIAN CAMPO-FLORES

Voters in Puerto Rico head to the polls Sunday to decide whether to back a bid to make the U.S. territory the 51st state at a time when the island is gripped by an economic crisis that is creating stiff challenges for such a proposal.

The nonbinding plebiscite in the island of 3.4 million people presents three options: statehood, independence or a continuation of its current status as a territory. Gov. Ricardo Rosselló, a member of the pro-statehood New Progressive Party, has made the push for statehood a centerpiece of his administration since assuming office in January.

"The people of Puerto Rico cherish our relationship with the United States," said Jennifer González, the island's nonvoting member of Congress and a member of the pro-statehood party. "We hope to strengthen that relationship" by becoming the 51st state.

But the opposition Popular Democratic Party—which supports keeping the island's current status, though with more autonomy—has urged voters to boycott the vote. It calls the referendum rigged in support of statehood, in part because the governing party had initially sought to exclude the territorial option from the bal-

lot. The smaller Puerto Rican Independence Party has also called for a boycott.

Sunday's vote will be the fifth plebiscite since 1967 on the island's status, an issue that has divided Puerto Ricans for decades. Under the current status, Puerto Ricans are born U.S. citizens, but those living on the island can't vote for president and have only one representative in Congress, a resident commissioner who can't vote.

*Sunday's vote will be the fifth plebiscite since 1967 on the island's status.*

Proponents say Puerto Rico's current status is essentially that of a colony, marring the island's dignity. Gaining full admission to the U.S., they argue, could help the island contend with a decade-long recession and a \$73 billion mountain of debt. It would draw more investment, they say, and allow the island to tap federal funding that is more restricted for territories.

Apart from the plebiscite,

Mr. Rosselló signed into law this past week a measure aimed at bolstering the cam-

paign for statehood. It would create a commission composed of two "senators" and five "representatives"—which Puerto Rico would be expected to receive if it were to become a state—to press U.S. lawmakers for admission.

Yet the island's economic woes make that a hard sell. In May, Puerto Rico declared what amounts to the largest-ever municipal bankruptcy in the U.S. and was placed under court protection. It is currently engaged in a battle with Wall Street creditors that invested in the island's bonds.

Another obstacle: Puerto Ricans in the U.S. vote heavily Democratic, leading many analysts to predict that a new delegation from the island would skew toward that party. Though President Donald Trump and both U.S. national parties have said they support allowing Puerto Ricans to choose their status, a statehood bid could face opposition.

With Republicans in control of Congress—the body that needs to authorize the admission of a new state—a statehood bid "is dead on arrival," said Charles Venator-Santiago, a political-science professor at the University of Connecticut.

◆ Puerto Rico utility deal shows signs of unraveling..... B4

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## U.S. NEWS

# Republicans Back Trump

BY NATALIE ANDREWS

WASHINGTON—Lawmakers of both parties used material from James Comey's much-anticipated testimony Thursday to argue their cases about whether President Donald Trump tried to hamper the investigation into Russian involvement in the 2016 election.

Mr. Comey, whom Mr. Trump fired as Federal Bureau of Investigation director a month ago, told senators that he felt Mr. Trump had directed him earlier this year to drop an investigation into a former adviser. Democrats took that as evidence of potential obstruction of justice meriting investigation by Robert Mueller, a former FBI director who was appointed special counsel to oversee the federal investigation into the Russia matter.

But Republicans also found material in Mr. Comey's testimony to defend the president, and there was little sign that the appearance before the Senate Intelligence Committee was prompting GOP lawmakers to draw more distance from Mr. Trump.

Mr. Comey said that as of May 9, the day Mr. Comey was fired, the president himself wasn't under investigation as part of the FBI's probe into Russia's alleged interference in the 2016 election, which Moscow has denied. Those comments bolstered Republican lawmakers at a time when they are trying to advance a legislative agenda. Senate Republicans say they are coalescing around a health-care plan, and the party also hopes to craft an overhaul of the tax code.

Sen. Lindsey Graham (R., S.C.) took Mr. Comey's appearance on the Hill as evidence that the president isn't under investigation in the probe now being led by Mr. Mueller.



Former FBI chief James Comey, center, testified before the Senate Intelligence Committee on Thursday.

"If you think the special counsel believes there's an obstruction of justice, he's the biggest idiot in the world to let his chief witness go through this?" he said. "Mueller is not an idiot."

During his testimony, Mr. Comey said he wasn't sure whether the president's behavior rose to the level of obstruction, saying it was Mr. Mueller's job "to sort that out."

As for Mr. Comey's saying that he felt pressure from the president to drop his probe into Mike Flynn, the former national security adviser, Sen. John Cornyn (R., Texas) said he thought the assertion was "a little gratuitous." Mr. Comey testified that the president had said in private that he "hoped" the then-FBI director would end the investigation into Mr. Flynn.

"When you say 'I hope you

can see your way to letting this go,' that's not an order," Mr. Cornyn told reporters.

Mr. Flynn was later forced to resign.

Sen. Tim Kaine (D., Va.) called the hearing a "set of bombshells." Among them, he

### One Democratic senator called the Comey hearing a 'set of bombshells.'

said, was Mr. Comey's testimony that he "felt from the very first meeting this president was so likely to lie that he had to keep contemporaneous memos of his conversations."

The Trump administration

did come in for criticism from a senior Republican senator on a separate matter Friday. Sen. Chuck Grassley of Iowa, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, blasted the executive branch for not responding to requests for information from lawmakers other than committee chairs.

The seven-page letter, addressed directly to Mr. Trump, was prompted by an opinion by the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel concluding that the Trump administration had no obligation to turn over information to rank-and-file members of Congress—an opinion Mr. Grassley labeled as "nonsense."

A White House representative didn't respond to a request to comment.

—Kristina Peterson  
and Byron Tau  
contributed to this article.

# McConnell Doesn't Show Cards on Health

WASHINGTON—Before he began clicking through a PowerPoint presentation on Republican health-care options this week, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell delivered a private warning to his Senate Republicans: If they failed to pass legislation unwinding the Affordable Care Act, Democrats could regain power and establish a single-payer health-care system.

By Kristina Peterson,  
Stephanie Armour  
and Louise Radnofsky

Mr. McConnell (R., Ky.) has been nearly as downcast in his public comments about Senate Republicans' chances of passing legislation to overhaul the country's health-care system. Unlike House Speaker Paul Ryan (R., Wis.), who maintained a sunny optimism as the House GOP feuded, Mr. McConnell has taken a measured tone on the bill's Senate prospects while Republicans work to finish a draft bill as soon as early next week.

"We're getting closer to having a proposal," Mr. McConnell told reporters this week. Late last month, he said he didn't know how Senate Republicans would get the votes needed to pass the health bill.

The majority leader's approach has left lawmakers and aides in both parties guessing as to whether Mr. McConnell's stance reflects the sheer difficulty of passing polarizing legislation without losing more than two GOP votes—or whether a more complicated strategy is afoot.

Playing down the Senate GOP's chances of passing a bill could trigger less opposition from champions of the ACA, shielding Senate Republicans

from some of the pressure that deluged the House before its bill narrowly won approval. Mr. McConnell, GOP aides said, is always playing chess when others are playing checkers.

"There is always a wilier strategy where Mitch is concerned," said his fellow Kentuckian, Democratic Rep. John Yarmuth.

Known as one of the most skilled operators on Capitol Hill, Mr. McConnell's strategy is known to few, even among Senate Republicans. Among the biggest questions is whether he would bring a bill up for a vote even if it didn't have enough support to pass.

Such a step risks infuriating President Donald Trump, who has seen little of his agenda enacted by Congress. But should the bill lack support, voting on it anyway could demonstrate a health-care overhaul simply can't pass the Senate, enabling Republicans to move on to a rewrite of the tax code.

Senior GOP senators have said they expect Mr. McConnell would hold a vote even if the bill were likely to fail, though others note Mr. Ryan had pledged to do the same, right up until he pulled the bill in March. An altered version passed the House last month.

"There's a sense at present we need to have a vote regardless," said Sen. Bob Corker (R., Tenn.).

ACA supporters have targeted centrist Republican senators in recent days in a bid to peel them away from supporting the GOP bill, arguing that the bill-writing process isn't transparent and that the bill would reduce the insurance coverage gains under the ACA. Some of that campaign is playing out on Twitter under the hashtag #showusthebill.

## WASHINGTON WIRE

### ETHICS

#### White House Official Warned Over Tweet

The White House director of social media violated a federal law barring government officials from engaging in political activity when he tweeted that a GOP lawmaker should be defeated, an independent federal investigative agency found.

In the tweet, Dan Scavino called Rep. Justin Amash of Michigan a "big liability" and added: "Defeat him in primary." Mr. Amash is a regular critic of President Donald Trump, a fellow Republican.

The Office of Special Counsel said it had issued a "warning letter" to Mr. Scavino over the violation and that the White House Counsel's Office had "counseled" him about the law.

The federal investigative agency—in a letter responding to a complaint from the ethics advocacy group Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington—said it concluded that Mr. Scavino violated the Hatch Act, with his April 1 tweet, by "invoking his official position at the White House" when he posted the message.

A White House official said Friday Mr. Scavino had "worked closely with counsel" to resolve the situation "to the satisfaction of the Office of Special Counsel."

—Rebecca Ballhaus

### CONGRESS

#### Ryan Faces Pressure To Drop Border Tax

House Speaker Paul Ryan is facing increasing pressure, including from fellow House Republicans, to drop his plan for a border-adjusted corporate tax.

He isn't budging.

Mr. Ryan's critics said his insistence on the plan, which would tax imports and exempt exports, is holding up the broader rewrite of the tax system.

"There's not consensus," Rep. Mark Meadows (R., N.C.), a leader of the House Freedom Caucus, a conservative group, said Friday, pointing to divides within the Freedom Caucus. "It's not that we're trying to kill it. It's just the political reality is that it's dead."

AshLee Strong, a spokeswoman for Mr. Ryan of Wisconsin, said House Republicans will ultimately "coalesce around a unified Republican tax-reform plan."

—Richard Rubin  
and Siobhan Hughes



President Trump, right, spoke at a joint news conference with Romanian President Klaus Iohannis at the White House on Friday.

### Trump Commits To NATO's Article 5

President Donald Trump said he was "absolutely" committed to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's core tenet that an attack on one member nation is an attack on all, two weeks after declining to do so at the security alliance's summit in Brussels.

"I'm committing the U.S. to Article 5," Mr. Trump said Fri-

day, speaking in the White House Rose Garden at a joint news conference with Klaus Iohannis, president of Romania, which is a NATO member. His comment came in response to a question about his commitment to the provision.

Mr. Trump's omission last month of any public statement in support of NATO's common-defense provision, known as Article 5, left European diplomats dismayed.

The president had previously raised questions about

the U.S. commitment to the provision during his presidential campaign, citing monetary concerns. In July 2016, Mr. Trump said that if Russia attacked the Baltic States, which are NATO members, he would decide whether to defend them only after reviewing "if they have fulfilled their obligations to us."

Mr. Trump has repeatedly said that NATO allies "owed massive amounts of money" for past years and that members don't pay their fair share in the alliance, which has set a goal

for all members to spend 2% of their gross domestic product on defense. The Obama administration similarly urged European member states to spend more on defense, but it didn't tie U.S. common-defense commitments to the payment issue.

NATO has invoked Article 5 only one time in its history—in defense of the U.S. following the Sept. 11 attacks.

On Friday, Mr. Trump thanked NATO allies and Romania for lifting defense budgets.

—Rebecca Ballhaus

House official said Friday.

The Rose Garden event was intended to showcase Mr. Trump's commitment to North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies in Europe, which the president did, but that theme was smothered by the discussion about the Russia probe.

In addition to denying any attempt to block the Flynn investigation, Mr. Trump also said he hadn't told Mr. Comey that he expected his loyalty, as the former FBI director testified Thursday. "I hardly know the man. I'm not going to say, 'I want you to pledge allegiance,'" Mr. Trump said. "It hardly makes sense."

Mr. Trump also reiterated comments he made on Twitter earlier Friday that Mr. Comey's testimony had "vindicated" him, saying it showed that

there was "no collusion" between him and Russia and "no obstruction." He added: "James Comey confirmed a lot of what I said, and some of the things that he said just weren't true."

In his testimony, Mr. Comey confirmed Mr. Trump's claims that he had, during his time as FBI director, told the president he wasn't personally the subject of the FBI investigation.

However, he said that knowledge extended only to May 9, the day the president fired him.

Mr. Trump's reaction reflects the mixed nature of Mr. Comey's testimony. Mr. Comey made clear that Mr. Trump wasn't a target of the probe, backing Mr. Trump's statements to that effect. But Mr. Comey also recounted several occasions where he said he felt Mr. Trump was trying to pressure

him on the investigation or threaten his independence.

In his testimony, Mr. Comey declined to offer his opinion on whether he thought Mr. Trump was trying to obstruct justice, but he said that is something that the recently appointed special counsel would examine.

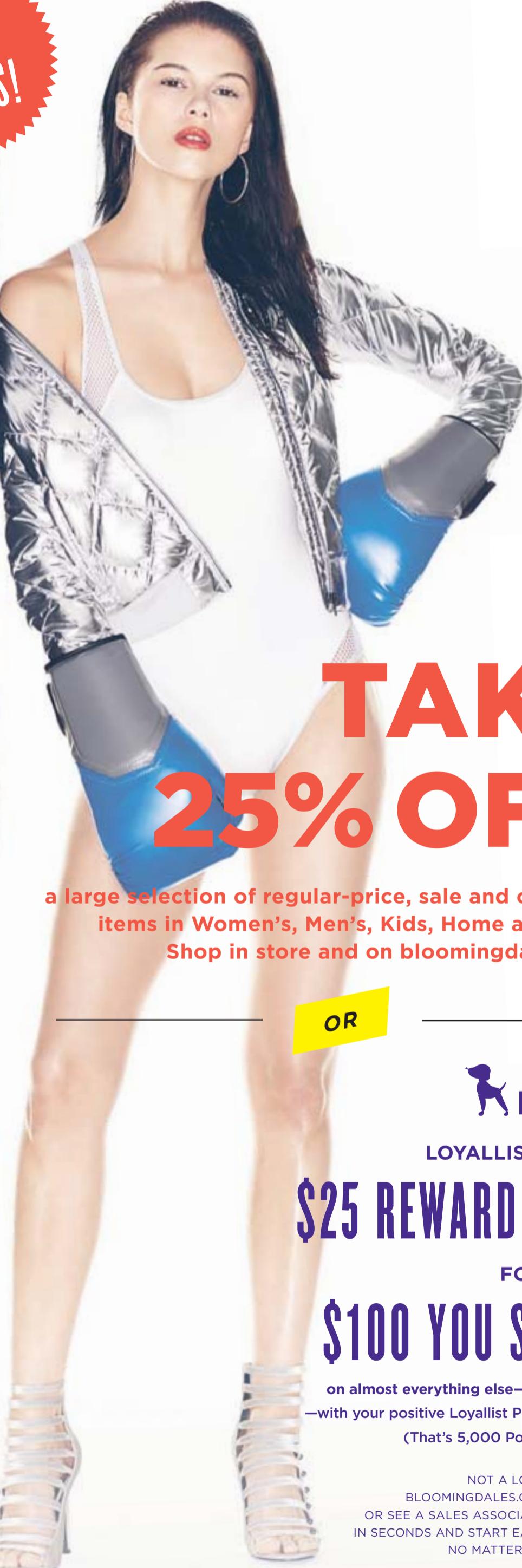
Thursday's hearing made clear Mr. Comey believed the president had tried to influence the course of the FBI's investigation into Mr. Flynn, Mr. Trump's first national security adviser, who was forced to resign after making false statements about his conversations with a Russian diplomat.

But the most damning accounts involved one-on-one encounters with the president—and Mr. Trump disputes Mr. Comey's version.

—Byron Tau contributed to this article.

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## WORLD NEWS

# London Attacker Didn't Hide Extremism

Some neighbors paid his radicalism no mind, but a few complained to the police about him

LONDON—Khuram Butt, one of the knife-wielding terrorists who killed eight in a rampage last weekend, wasn't a silent plotter blending unseen into immigrant neighborhoods. He was out and about, openly trying to draw others to his radical view.

By Max Colchester,  
Georgi Kantchev,  
and Joshua Robinson

Near a carpet shop on a side street in east London, the Ummah Fitness Centre bills itself as a spot for devout Muslims to box and lift weights. Men and women exercise separately, there are prayer breaks, and sayings from the Quran line the walls.

For Butt, the gym was a place to trumpet extremist opinions and, amid the punching bags and barbells, look for like-minded friends.

He would say "very surprising things," said Fahad Khan, a cousin of Butt's wife who frequents the gym. He would proclaim that "ISIS is doing a very good thing."

The Saturday-night assault and two others in the U.K. in under three months have exposed the difficulty authorities face in keeping tabs on the many threats.

The attacks also pose a policy conundrum for governments that honor liberty and free speech: How should they fight on an amorphous battlefield where conservative religious beliefs can shade into fanatical rhetoric and ultimately into terrorism?

Butt made no secret of his radical ideology. He can be seen in a television documentary, "The Jihadis Next Door," praying with well-known Isla-



DANIEL LEAL-OLOMOS/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

On the far right in this east London street scene is the entrance to a gym where London Bridge attacker Khuram Butt was a regular.

### Gym Was Hangout For One Attacker

The Ummah Fitness Centre in east London became a meeting point for young Muslims. In deference to Islamic sensibilities, it doesn't play music.

On a rack outside, behind a copy of Men's Fitness magazine, there was a pamphlet on how better to "Know Muhammad."

Attacker Khuram Butt was

seen often in the gym, where he sometimes sat behind its small reception desk and helped out, according to Qaiser Khan Niazi, who teaches taekwondo classes there.

Mothers who came to pick up their children grew frustrated when managers, and on one occasion Butt, wouldn't let them enter. "We always had arguments with the management," Mr. Niazi said. "It caused so many problems."

In the years since the 2005 London attacks, which left 52

people dead, Britain has largely succeeded in flushing extremism out of mosques, according to Bob Quick, a former Scotland Yard counterterrorism official. But "we've seen extremist ideology and recruitment drift away to other places, especially gyms," Mr. Quick said.

"Gyms offer a perfect opportunity for radicals," he said. "A lot of young guys go there, and these are prime targets for their extremist views."

—Saabira Chaudhuri  
and Joshua Robinson

mist preachers. He publicly confronted Muslim leaders he considered too moderate. He proselytized in parks.

Some who came into contact with Butt reported him to the police for expressing extremist views or, in one case, for trying to radicalize their child. Many others, in a place

where conservative religious beliefs are commonplace, shrugged off his words.

U.K. police said Butt was known to them but they had no evidence he was plotting violence.

The three attackers—Butt, a Pakistan-born British citizen, Youssef Zaghba, a dual Italian-

Moroccan national, and Rachid Redouane, a 30-year-old Libyan-Moroccan pastry chef—spent their final months living humdrum lives within miles of each other in east London.

Zaghba taught gymnastics to children at a sports center. In May, Butt and Redouane attended male-only swimming



METROPOLITAN POLICE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Khuram Butt

sessions at a public pool.

Days before the assault, the attackers met outside the Ummah gym. Just after midnight, they embraced each other and parted, camera footage shows.

The neighborhoods around Barking and nearby Ilford are working-class areas transformed by immigrants. Bark-

ing's main street serves African food. There is a Romanian convenience store.

"As nice a place as it is here, there are a few people in our community who think extremism is a good idea," said Stephen Timms, a local member of Parliament.

Butt, living a mile away in a tall gray apartment complex, had a young family, attended two mosques sporadically and went by the nickname Abz, short for Abu Zaitun, neighbors say. He had worked briefly for the London Underground.

Butt would sometimes greet children who lived in the complex when they returned from school, locals said. He enjoyed cycling and supported the Arsenal soccer club. He died during the attack, shot by police, wearing an Arsenal shirt.

Away from the neighborhood, Butt fraternized with several people who had formed the Al Muhamiroun group, whose stated aim is to establish a state governed by Shariah law. In 2013 he stood outside Parliament alongside Anjem Choudary, a radical preacher who helped found the group, at a rally showing support for the murder of an off-duty soldier by two Islamic extremists.

Despite his behavior, Butt remained popular with some of the locals. The weekend before his attack, he held a barbecue that was attended by 20 people.

Jean Morrison, a neighbor who was invited, said she didn't see his preaching about Islam as unusual. "Others do that too," she said.

Last Saturday, a neighbor invited Butt to come around and watch a soccer match on TV. He declined. Just after 9 p.m., a white van was seen screeching away from the apartment complex. An hour later the killing began.

—Margot Patrick, Mike Bird, and Riva Gold contributed to this article.

## What Happens Now? Know the Impact.

Following the results of the U.K.'s general election, key decision makers around the world are assessing a range of concerns surrounding Prime Minister May's leadership, a hung Parliament and the complexities of Brexit.

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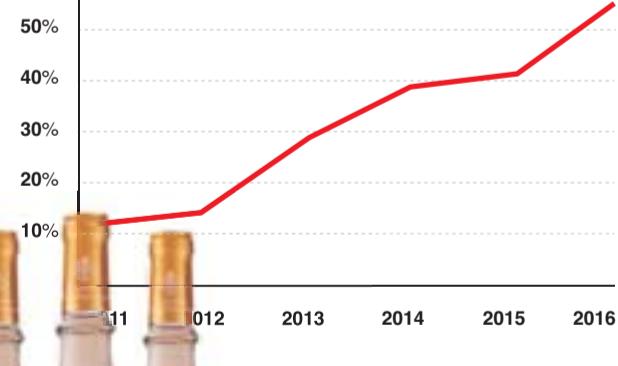
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## U.K. ELECTIONS

# Hobbled Leader Faces Brexit Talks

EU officials who expected to deal with a stronger Theresa May now get lesser figure

BY STEPHEN FIDLER

LONDON—The shock results from the British election reverberated around Europe on Friday. Instead of facing a strengthened British prime minister in negotiations over Britain's divorce ANALYSIS from the European Union as senior EU officials expected, the bloc's leaders will now be confronting a lesser figure.

Mrs. May called an election by choice and lost seats. She ended up in charge of a minority government, depending on a small party from Northern Ireland to stay in power. If before the election her cabinet served at her pleasure, now she serves at theirs.

Her ability to shape events has been sharply reduced. Her standing has been diminished in her party, among voters, and among the European governments with which she must now negotiate.

"One won't be able to avoid the question, 'Whom is she actually speaking for?'" a senior German official said.

She now has less than two years to negotiate Brexit. Mrs. May said Friday she was ready to begin talks with the EU as scheduled on June 19. But if she proceeds—assuming her minority government doesn't fall and her own party doesn't unseat her—she will be seen as a less-reliable interlocutor.

That increases the risk that talks could break down with no deal at all, a chaotic prospect that would jeopardize much of the economic interchange be-



Mrs. May's poor results diminished her standing and prompted calls from the opposition and protesters, above in London Friday, to resign.

tween the U.K. and EU.

There are other constraints on Mrs. May's ability to pursue the kind of Brexit laid out in her Conservative Party's manifesto, which anticipated a fundamental break with EU structures.

The party's promises included pulling the U.K. out of the EU's single market and its customs union. It pledged that a Conservative government would stop free movement of EU workers to the U.K. and end the jurisdiction of the EU's top court. It also said that no Brexit deal with the EU "is better than a bad deal."

Had she won, those pledges would have driven London's approach to the Brexit talks. They would also have forced, by British convention, the

House of Lords, Britain's unelected upper chamber, to fall into line. But she didn't win.

A debate is already underway in the Conservative Party over whether those pledges now have any force. Even if the Tories decide they still apply, no one else has to take notice.

"No deal is better than a bad deal" no longer appears to be official British policy.

"It's hard to see how the approach doesn't change from the manifesto," said Lucy Thomas, head of Brexit advice at the Edelman consultancy and a former deputy director of the Stronger In campaign in last year's Brexit referendum.

Ms. Thomas said the fact that the Conservatives can get to a thin majority only with the help of the 10-seat Democratic

Unionist Party from Northern Ireland also potentially imperils a plank of the government's strategy for Brexit: the Great Repeal Bill. This mammoth piece of legislation is meant to transpose EU law into U.K. law to prevent the emergence of legal vacuums after Brexit. Aspects of it may now fall prey to political opposition.

There is a further constraint on Mrs. May and any successor: the concessions likely to be extracted by the DUP.

The party favored Brexit and its manifesto called for a frictionless border with the Republic of Ireland and a comprehensive free trade and customs deal with the EU.

Critically though, DUP leaders have said these objectives shouldn't be achieved by giv-

ing Northern Ireland a special status in the U.K., reasoning that could set the province on a slippery slope toward unity with the republic.

If there is no special deal, the DUP's objectives for a "frictionless" Irish border may be achievable only if the U.K. stays inside the EU customs union. A "no deal" option would be ruled out, because one consequence of that would be that tariff barriers would be erected between north and south.

In all likelihood, Brexit will still mean Brexit, as Mrs. May has suggested since becoming prime minister in July 2016. But the radical break with the EU in prospect before the election now looks much less likely.

—Anton Troianovski contributed to this article.

## Party May Hold Key For Effort To Retain Power

BY JASON DOUGLAS

LONDON—Britain's election has given Northern Ireland's Democratic Unionist Party an unexpected shot at the political big time—and a chance to shape Brexit.

U.K. Prime Minister Theresa May said on Friday she would form a new government with DUP support after her ruling Conservatives fell short of winning an overall majority in a national election.

The party's 10 seats, added to the Conservatives' 318, would be enough to give Mrs. May a narrow majority in Britain's 650-seat Parliament and allow her to form a new administration.

The question now is what will the DUP demand as the price of propping up Mrs. May. The party stands out in the U.K. for its socially conservative views. Drawing its support overwhelmingly from Northern Ireland's pro-British

The Conservatives turn to Northern Ireland's Democratic Unionist Party.

community, which is mostly Protestant, the DUP has also set out a Brexit wish list that highlights demands aimed at protecting Northern Ireland's small economy, positions that could now have increased influence on the U.K.'s overall Brexit strategy.

In its manifesto, the DUP published a 30-point plan detailing its objectives for Brexit. Northern Ireland is the only part of the U.K. to share a land border with another European Union member—Ireland—and its economy is as closely entwined with its southern neighbor as it is with England, Scotland and Wales.

Many of the DUP's demands chime with London's objectives in Brexit talks. The party said it wants a "frictionless" border with Ireland and a comprehensive free-trade and customs deal with the EU. Mrs. May also wants a free-trade accord to replace the U.K.'s membership in the EU's single market, which sets common rules for goods and services.

In another point of agreement with the Conservatives, the DUP has called for maintaining the common travel area that for almost a century has allowed free movement of people between the U.K. and Ireland.

But the Northern Irish party is hostile to one of Mrs. May's signature positions: that no deal in Brexit talks is better than a bad deal. Senior DUP lawmakers have expressed concern that no deal would be the bigger threat to Northern Ireland's vital trade and travel ties with Ireland.

Analysts say these positions suggest Mrs. May could come under pressure from her new partner to deliver a Brexit deal on trade and not veer toward an abrupt break with the bloc, which until now had been her fallback strategy.

The party is also likely to want assurances that agricultural subsidies and economic development funds will continue to flow to Belfast.

Assuming it can get some assurances on such issues, the DUP won't offer much opposition to Mrs. May's plan for a clear break with the bloc, said John Springford, director of research in London for the Centre for European Reform.

More straightforward demands for extra cash to pay for new infrastructure for Northern Ireland may also be forthcoming. Graham Walker, a politics professor at Queen's University Belfast, said a perennial DUP concern is security, a legacy of decades of bloody violence known as the Troubles that came to an end with a 1998 peace deal.

"The DUP may press for extra funding for security and policing," he said.



Arlene Foster, leader of Northern Ireland party DUP, could be a kingmaker in a new government.

## MAY

Continued from Page One stayed home for the Brexit referendum a chance to make up for their inaction.

"We've had Trump, we've had Brexit, and both were instances where people thought it was never going to happen and didn't bother to vote," he said. "Those surprise results made it more important for people to vote for what they believe in."

On Friday, the prime minister seemed determined to cling to office, but some of her

Conservative colleagues suggested they have different ideas. If before the election her cabinet served at her pleasure, now she serves at theirs. And even if her battered party can avoid a damaging leadership battle, the instability of minority government means the country could soon be set for another general election.

The electoral debacle fueled public unease—and in some cases private rage—among Conservatives over Mrs. May's leadership. Anna Soubry, a Conservative lawmaker, said Mrs. May must think about her position as prime minister after running "a pretty dreadful campaign."

"She is in a very difficult place," Ms. Soubry told the British Broadcasting Corp. early Friday.

Fending off calls for her resignation, Mrs. May turned to the DUP, a small socially conservative Northern Irish party formed by firebrand preacher Ian Paisley in the 1970s, to give her the right to govern. The party's 10 seats

### Lawmakers See Missteps Behind Election Setback

LONDON—Theresa May's failed election gamble left Tory lawmakers questioning her authority and how the party drove itself into such an error.

"Our own campaign was hijacked by ourselves," Conservative lawmaker Nigel Evans told the British Broadcasting Corp. "It was an amazing own goal. We didn't shoot ourselves in the foot. We shot ourselves in the head."

Some blamed Mrs. May's own campaigning style. She often seemed ill at ease with voters, choosing to hold closed events with handpicked groups of supporters and sticking to carefully worded, repetitive stump speeches. Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn, by contrast, held large, spontaneous rallies, where supporters chanted his nickname, "Jezza! Jezza!" Party

are enough to give the Conservatives, who won 318 seats with one district still to declare, a majority in Britain's 650-seat Parliament.

"This will allow us to come together as a country and channel our energies towards a successful Brexit deal," Mrs. May said in a sober-faced appearance outside her Downing Street residence after receiving permission from the queen to form a government. She later told local broadcasters she was "sorry for all those colleagues who lost their seats who didn't deserve to lose."

DUP leader Arlene Foster said her party would enter discussions with the Conservatives to explore how to "bring stability at this time of great challenge."

The precise terms of the Conservatives' arrangement with the DUP are still to be hammered out, but past minority governments have been backed on critical votes by smaller partners in return for policy concessions. The question is what the DUP, whose conservative views on gay marriage and abortion stand out in the U.K., will demand.

Strategists had bet on Mrs. May's personal popularity, which soared high above Mr. Corbyn's at the start of the campaign.

Beyond that, a series of missteps, including a reversal on a key policy, undermined her slogan that she was a "strong and stable" leader. The party upset its older, core supporters with a proposal to reduce elderly social care, while it turned off younger voters by not laying out opportunities for jobs and affordable housing, some party lawmakers said.

The dynamics of the campaign shifted in the final stretch after the U.K. was struck by two terrorist attacks, in which 30 people were killed.

Mrs. May could have used the moment to explain how leaving the EU would enable the U.K.

to protect its borders, said Bernard Jenkin, a Conservative lawmaker, but instead she

came under pressure for a decision to cut police numbers while she was home secretary.

"We failed to connect the right to control who comes into our country with Brexit in this campaign," Mr. Jenkin said.

Another Conservative lawmaker, Crispin Blunt, said one of the party's key mistakes was underestimating Mr. Corbyn. "He has successfully made himself a lightning rod for the anti-establishment feeling," he said.

Others said the Conservative campaign was too negative, focusing on Labour's incompetence rather than the Conservatives' strengths. The party lost key seats in London, where Mr. Corbyn's platform of offering free college tuition and an end to cuts to public services resonated with younger voters.

On her last day of campaigning, Mrs. May and her husband were met with jeers of "Vote Labour!" by several butchers as she took an early-morning stroll through London's Smithfield meat market.

—Jenny Gross

The DUP has set out a Brexit wish list that highlights demands aimed at protecting Northern Ireland's small economy that could influence the U.K.'s overall strategy, including a call for agricultural subsidies for farmers after Brexit, ongoing access to EU development funds for poor regions and a "frictionless" border with EU-member Ireland.

Mindful of the economic risks, it is hostile to one of Mrs. May's signature pledges—that no deal in Brexit talks is better than a bad deal.

The prime minister had pitched herself as the best person to lead the country through Brexit, in a campaign frequently overshadowed by domestic issues and security concerns after the U.K. was hit by three terrorist attacks in three months.

Mr. Corbyn, her Labour opponent, energized some voters, hammering her party over austerity cuts, including to police spending, and called for nationalizing the railroads and raising taxes on high earners.

Young people appeared to have turned out in larger numbers than in recent elections. University towns and districts with a higher proportion of younger voters saw jumps in Labour's share of the votes in the double digits.

—Jenny Gross

contributed to this article.

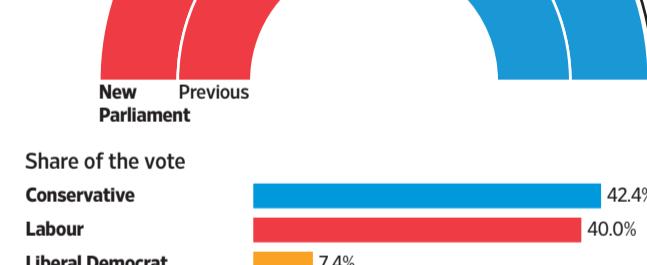
### Weakened Grip

The ruling Conservatives lost 13 seats and their majority, but the party hopes to form a government with the backing of the small Democratic Unionist Party.

#### Results of the U.K. parliamentary elections

Seats

Party	Seats	Change
Conservative	318	+13
Scottish National Party	35	-19
Liberal Democrat	12	+3
Other	13	-5



#### Share of the vote

Party	Share of the vote
Conservative	42.4%
Labour	40.0%
Liberal Democrat	7.4%
Scottish National Party	3.0%
Democratic Unionist Party	0.9%
Other	6.3%

Source: Press Association

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## U.K. ELECTIONS

# Young Voters Proved Pivotal for Labour

BY PAUL HANNON

LONDON—Young voters turned out at the polls in unexpectedly large numbers, and to the dismay of Prime Minister Theresa May and her Conservatives, a surprising number of Britons who favor the U.K.'s exit from the European Union didn't give them their vote.

Those were just two of the reasons behind the rebuke that voters delivered to Mrs. May and her party in Thursday's U.K. general election. Denied an outright majority in Parliament, she must now cobble together a government, thrusting the country into a new period of uncertainty as it prepares to depart from the EU.

Other explanations for the poor showing Mrs. May's Conservatives—and the better-than-expected performance of Labour, the U.K.'s other main political party—will emerge as exit polls and other data are examined in detail. But some patterns are already clear.

Overall, voter turnout on Thursday was high, with the proportion of voters who cast ballots rising to 68.7% from 66.1% in 2015, its highest level since 1997.

Also, both the Conservatives and Labour, led by Jeremy Corbyn, boosted their share of the vote at the expense of smaller parties, attracting 82.4% of votes cast—the highest combined share since 89.4% in 1970.

But Labour, in particular, was the main beneficiary of the increased turnout by the young, especially in districts where they formed a large part of the electorate. Although younger people wanted the U.K. to stay in the bloc, many stayed home in last year's vote, while older voters who wanted Brexit headed to the polling stations.

College towns and districts with a higher proportion of younger voters saw rises in the Labour's share of the vote, in the double digits.

A survey of 14,000 people who voted Thursday, commissioned by Michael Ashcroft, a former deputy chairman of the Conservative Party, found that 67% of those aged 18 to 24 voted for Labour. The Conservative Party was supported by 59% of those aged 65 and over.

Chloe Pizzey, a 19-year-old student at the University of Kent, voted in her first general election. Her district in south London remained in Labour's hands, with a 12.2% increase in its share of the vote. She said conversations with friends suggested the Brexit vote had made them more likely to vote.

"Brexit had a massive impact," she said. "Leaving the EU was a massive shock to loads of young people. They wanted to make sure they got the best outcome."

Canterbury, a Conservative district since 1918, saw a 20.1% rise in the Labour vote as it changed hands. That shift appears to have been driven by the large student population, among whom Labour's pledge to abolish tuition fees also proved popular.

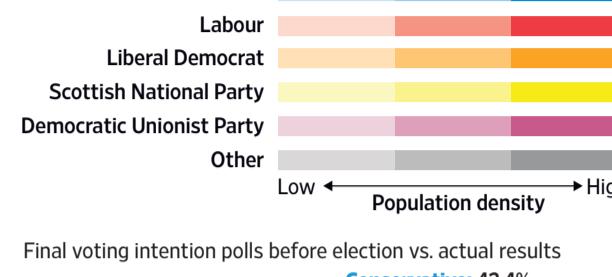
The number of people who voted in the district rose to 56,800 from 53,465 in 2015, pushing up turnout to 72.7% from 64% in 2015.

In Bristol North West, a dis-

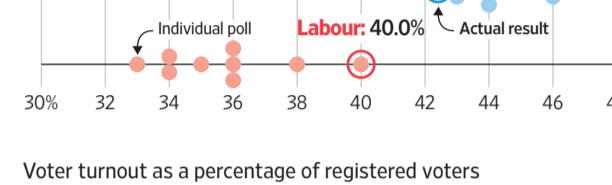
### Electoral Reversal

Enough voters turned away from Prime Minister Theresa May's ruling Conservative Party to deprive it of a majority. Among the factors: a high turnout—particularly among younger voters—favoring the opposition Labour Party, which also polled strongest in urban centers.

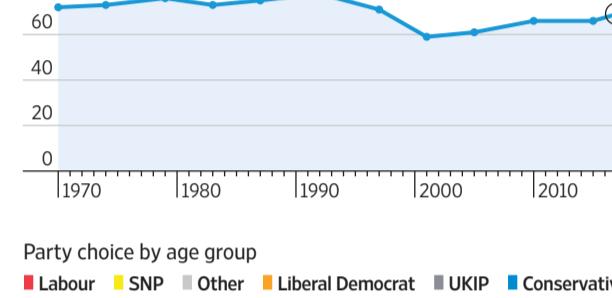
#### Winning party, by constituency and population density



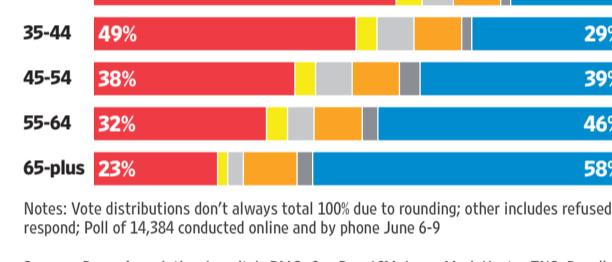
Final voting intention polls before election vs. actual results



Voter turnout as a percentage of registered voters



Party choice by age group



Notes: Vote distributions don't always total 100% due to rounding; other includes refused to respond; Poll of 14,384 conducted online and by phone June 6-9

Sources: Press Association (results); BMG, ComRes, ICM, Ipsos Mori, Kantar TNS, Panelbase, Survation, YouGov, Opinium; BBC, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (turnout); Lord Ashcroft Polls (party choice); Oak Ridge National Laboratory's LandScan population data (population density)

trict in England's southwest, Labour's Darren Jones became a lawmaker for the first time on the strength of a 16.2% increase in his vote compared with his losing effort in 2015.

Mr. Jones credited his success to his "unashamedly pro-European" stance, which he said attracted support from people who would otherwise have voted for other parties.

"A coalition of voters supported me, not just because I'm a Labour candidate," he said.

Mr. Jones said that across the country, Labour had outperformed in districts that supported continued membership of the EU, and had done less well in districts that favored Brexit.

Mrs. May called the election in April, betting she could substantially increase her party's 17-seat majority and strengthen her hand as she negotiated Brexit.

One of the party's hopes was that voters would abandon the UK Independence Party, which had long sought Brexit and seemed to have no further purpose.

UKIP's vote fell by almost 11% compared with 2015, but Conservatives weren't the only party to benefit. As a result, they failed to win seats they had hoped to gain from Labour in the northeast of England.



Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn in London on Friday. Increased turnout by young voters helped his party.

Contrary to expectations before Thursday's vote, Labour and the Conservatives drew almost the same share of voters who had abandoned UKIP, said Mr. Wells, the YouGov official.

While the Conservatives' anticipation of former UKIP support appears to have been wrongheaded, there were also some specifically regional trends that worked in the party's favor.

In Scotland, the Conservatives increased the number of districts they hold to 13 from one, as the pro-independence Scottish National Party lost ground.

That shift represented a unionist vote, as Scots who want to remain in the United Kingdom looked to the Conservative Party.

The country rejected independence in a 2014 referendum, but SNP leader Nicola Sturgeon, who leads the country's government, had suggested a rerun might be possible if the U.K. leaves the EU. After Thursday, that seems less likely.

This week's shocking results in the U.K. election forced investors again to react to an outcome different from what many expected and left them wondering how much they can rely on polls ahead of future votes.

In Thursday's vote, Prime Minister Theresa May lost her parliamentary voting majority, despite predictions she would increase it.

"Do we listen to polls? Yes. Do we trust them? No, we don't," said Charlie Diebel, head of rates at Aviva Investors.

The difficulties that polls had in two earlier surprises, Britain voting to leave the European Union in June 2016 and Donald Trump's victory in the U.S. presidential election last fall, left investors fearing that surveys were systematically underestimating a wave of antiestablishment sentiment around the globe.

In the final days before the British vote this week, opinion polls published by a dozen or so firms showed a wide variation in the size of the Conservative lead, from as little as 1 percentage point over the main opposition Labour Party to a 12-point gap. Still, Mrs. May had a lead of 8 points, according to a Wall Street Journal average of opinion polls, which many expected would be enough for her to deliver a comfortable win.

But some investors, scarred by recent polling misfires, were already skeptical.

Earlier this week, investors at Aberdeen Asset Management sat down in their central London office to discuss how to position their portfolio ahead of the U.K. election. They decided that,

Given their record over the past year, polls can't really be trusted this time around.

"Maybe it's the methodology, maybe it's shy voters, but there must be something they are missing," said Roger Webb, Aberdeen's head of European credit. "In any case, for us it means we can't really position ourselves based on polls."

Mr. Diebel said investors used to have greater faith in the accuracy of polls, but that was shaken with the surprise votes for Brexit and Mr. Trump.

—Georgi Kanchev and Christopher Whittle

# Businesses Face Uncertainty After U.K. Vote

BY NINA TRENTMANN

AND ROBERT WALL

LONDON—Executives from around the world agreed on one big takeaway from the Conservative Party's failure to win an absolute majority in the U.K. Parliament: anything they thought they knew about Brexit was out the window.

"Nobody knows what this means for Brexit," said Richard Carter, U.K. head of BASF AG, a chemical company, who was attending a dinner in London for the German Chamber of Commerce on Thursday, as exit polls indicated a so-called hung Parliament. "This will have huge implications."

Prime Minister Theresa May's Conservatives still hold more seats than any other party after the election, but her failure to secure a majority—and the strong showing by Labour and the Liberal Democrats—scrambles British politics just ahead of the start of

negotiations over the U.K.'s exit from the European Union.

Mrs. May said Friday she wouldn't step down as head of her party and would attempt to form a minority government, relying on other parliamentary parties to pass legislation. Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn has called for her resignation and said he would try to form a government—but Mrs. May has the first crack at doing so.

For businesses around the world, Brexit had presented plenty of uncertainty already.

Mrs. May called the election to bolster her thin majority and strengthen her hand in negotiations with Brussels over terms of the EU divorce. Those talks are slated to start this month, and Mrs. May has telegraphed she is prepared for a clean break, even if that meant exiting free trade and other agreements that have made cross-channel business easier.

The chief marketing officer of Ryanair Holdings PLC expressed similar hopes regarding Brexit on Friday. The airline, Europe's largest by passenger numbers, has been

many executives. Mrs. May's disappointing showing on Thursday could soften her position, raising hope among business leaders her stance may soften.

Ulrich Hoppe, director general of the German-British

Chamber of Industry and Commerce in the U.K., said he hoped the vote would "lead to the country reassessing its position on Brexit."

The chief marketing officer of Ryanair Holdings PLC expressed similar hopes regarding Brexit on Friday. The airline, Europe's largest by passenger numbers, has been

an outspoken supporter of the U.K. remaining in the EU.

"The U.K. election result shows that some people have changed their mind on Brexit. I would love to see a soft Brexit back on the agenda," tweeted Ryanair's Kenny Jacobs.

Some companies had already made concrete moves to protect themselves from Mrs. May's vision of Brexit. Whirlpool Corp., for instance, has said it would keep an English dryer factory open amid a wider European restructuring, so that it can continue supplying British consumers without having to worry about new tariffs or currency swings related to Brexit. Whirlpool Chief Operating Officer Marc Bitzer called it "industrial hedging" in an interview in May.

Now, that move might seem hasty, if the Conservatives are forced to water down their "hard" Brexit stance. A Whirlpool representative didn't respond to a request to comment.

on Friday.

The pound fell Friday, continuing a decline from late Thursday after exit polls indicated the likely election results.

The FTSE 100 index of blue chip companies rose Friday. The index is made up of internationally focused firms, many of which benefit from a weaker pound.

Other executives said it was early days in assessing the consequences of the election.

Fabrice Brégier, Airbus chief operating officer and president of Airbus Commercial Aircraft, said the company would take a "wait and see" approach. Airbus, which makes the wings for all its planes in the U.K., said it was taking a long view, rather than focusing on short-term currency fluctuations or even election outcomes.

"We will have to look at the long-term consequences of Brexit. This is what it is about," Mr. Brégier said.

Mr. Diebel said investors used to have greater faith in the accuracy of polls, but that was shaken with the surprise votes for Brexit and Mr. Trump. —Georgi Kanchev and Christopher Whittle

## WORLD NEWS

# Ravaged by War, Mosul Confronts Lasting Divisions

BY TAMER EL-GHOBASHY  
AND ALI A. NABHAN

MOSUL, Iraq—In eastern Mosul, the bomb-cratered streets are gone. Work crews in blue coveralls plant trees and fix downed wires. At least three liquor stores have reopened since Islamic State militants were ousted from that part of the city in January. Advertisements for women's lingerie and mobile phones—other products banned by the extremists—are visible again.

The picture is different across the Tigris River. In western Mosul, Iraqi forces are still battling Islamic State street by street. Airstrikes by

tor for Iraq.

Less than 10% of western Mosul is still under Islamic State control, according to Iraq's military. Explosions and plumes of smoke rising in the west can be seen by families in the east when they are out strolling through parks and lining up for ice cream on warm evenings.

"It's a dark future for us and for Mosul," says Ahmed al-Obaidi, a 45-year-old gold merchant who left his shop in western Mosul behind when he sought safety in the east, and now sits idle, waiting for a chance to return. "This city will be divided."

Basma Baseem, the head of the City Council, has been pushing for additional funding to rebuild parts of western Mosul that have been liberated already.

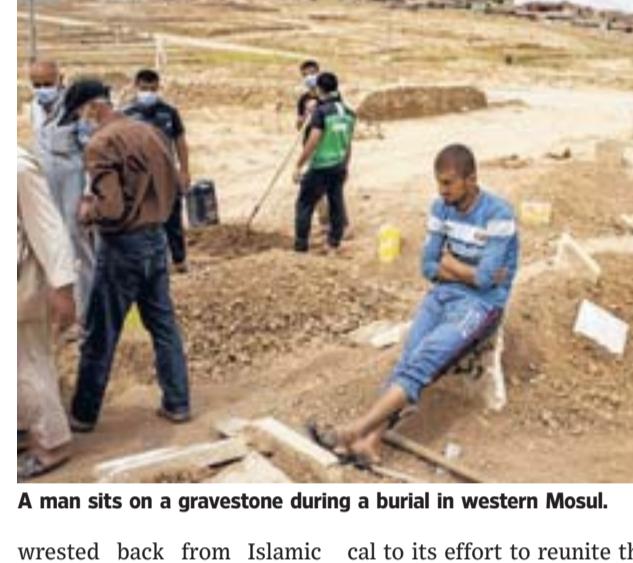
"People from the west have started to feel like second-class citizens," she said. Residents of western Mosul, she added, "blame us for not helping their side, compared to how quickly life got back to normal in eastern Mosul."

That feeling in western Mosul has historical roots, Ms. Baseem and others in the city said. People in western Mosul have been traditionally less prosperous than their neighbors and have been seen by many Iraqi military and government officials as sympathetic to extremists, dating back to the U.S.-led invasion in 2003. Ms. Baseem said she fears such stereotypes could color how the recovery of western Mosul is prioritized.

Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi of Iraq has said coordination between the federal government and the Nineveh provincial government, of which Mosul is the capital, has been a challenge because it is the largest area that has been



Omar Salim spends time in a park on the eastern side of Mosul, where a sense of normalcy has returned.



A man sits on a gravestone during a burial in western Mosul.

their lives return to normal.

Homes and businesses need to be rebuilt in western Mosul. Security and public infrastructure—in a part of the city that was the administrative hub for greater Mosul—must be restored.

But peace in western Mosul is a ways off. Last month, Iraqi forces began the final push into Mosul's Old City, considered the most difficult phase of the battle because the streets are narrow and the cornered militants are putting up a ferocious fight.

The fighting in western Mosul has sent more than two-thirds of its 700,000 residents to camps outside the city. Some return only to retrieve bodies from homes collapsed in the fighting. Those who remained line up for hours for clean water from tanker trucks.

A surge of people into eastern Mosul has driven up housing prices and packed schools so tightly that students are attending classes in shifts.

Nashwan al-Maadi, a goldsmith who is 45, estimated that he and his brothers have lost \$200,000 in income and equipment since fleeing western Mosul in December. He said they can't afford to reopen in the east.

"We feel like strangers here," he said.

wrested back from Islamic State. Mr. Abadi recently assigned a general coordinator to oversee the rehabilitation process.

As the fight for Mosul continues, U.S.-backed forces launched this week an assault on Raqqqa, Islamic State's de facto capital in neighboring Syria, which is the last city of significant size that the militants fully control.

The Iraqi government's goal is to rebuild Mosul and to restore the city to its pre-Islamic State population of about 1.5 million, which is seen as criti-

cal to its effort to reunite the country. Islamic State launched a drive in 2014 that ended up with the militants in control of about one-third of Iraq, and with Mosul their de facto capital in the country.

At the beginning of the operation to reclaim Mosul, the population of the entire city was estimated by Iraq's government to be 1.2 million.

Having endured the brutality of Islamic State, many in western Mosul are eager to rejoin the Iraqi state. Reconciliation with the nation, they say, will depend on how quickly

the fighting in western Mosul ends.

The talks signal a gambit by the White House to attempt some kind of cooperation with Moscow even as President Donald Trump is under fire for being too close to Russian President Vladimir Putin, and investigators in the U.S. continue to probe alleged Russian interference in last year's U.S. presidential election and possible connections between Trump associates and Russians. Russia has denied the allegation.

The officials familiar with the talks pointed to continued tensions in southern Syria between the U.S. and forces allied with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. Russia has provided military support for the Syrian regime.

The Pentagon has long opposed de-escalation zones because of concerns about coordinating with the Russians and worries that they could be costly to safeguard and could significantly deepen the U.S. involvement in the conflict.

Officials at the Russian Embassy in Washington didn't respond to a request to comment. A State Department official said the U.S. has "nothing to announce regarding reports of discussions about southern Syria."

# Talks Held To Create Safe Zones In Syria

BY FELICIA SCHWARTZ  
AND GORDON LUBOLD

WASHINGTON—The Trump administration has been holding secret talks with Russia for a de-escalation zone in southwest Syria, where Syrian government forces and rebels would be separated in hopes of ending hostilities in the region, officials familiar with the talks said.

At least two meetings have taken place. The meetings followed a visit by Secretary of State Rex Tillerson to Moscow in April.

The talks signal a gambit by the White House to attempt some kind of cooperation with Moscow even as President Donald Trump is under fire for being too close to Russian President Vladimir Putin, and investigators in the U.S. continue to probe alleged Russian interference in last year's U.S. presidential election and possible connections between Trump associates and Russians. Russia has denied the allegation.

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'People from the west have started to feel like second-class citizens.'

the U.S.-led coalition have flattened neighborhoods and knocked out all five bridges linking east and west, which the militants were using as supply lines.

The stark differences are adding urgency to the fight to fully recapture Mosul, Iraq's second-largest city. The long struggle for western Mosul risks creating lasting divisions and feeding resentment in a city that once offered Islamic State, and al Qaeda before it, a fertile recruiting ground, officials said.

"If it takes that part of the city a long time to be back to a functioning level, we can expect to have very difficult social tensions to manage," said Lise Grande, the United Nations humanitarian coordina-

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## U.S. Sends Mixed Signals on Qatar

BY FELICIA SCHWARTZ  
AND JAY SOLOMON

Trump's comments to back up their actions.

WASHINGTON—Mixed U.S. statements about a diplomatic crisis between key Arab allies threatened to prolong it, with President Donald Trump emphasizing Qatar's alleged ties to terrorism funding just as his secretary of state was trying to defuse the standoff over those links.

Secretary of State Rex Tillerson on Friday called for

Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt to ease their intensifying economic siege on Qatar. But shortly after that, Mr. Trump publicly criticized Qatar, accusing its leaders of funding terrorism at a very high level.

Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and their Arab allies on Monday cut diplomatic ties as well as closed their land borders and sea and air routes with the gas-rich Persian Gulf country. These Arab states charge Qatar's monarchs of providing funding for terrorist organizations in the region and promoting extremism through its Al Jazeera television network. Qatar has denied these charges.

The mixed messages out of Washington confused Arab and European officials. But Qatar's foes jumped on Mr.

Mr. Tillerson earlier on Friday said the embargo on Qatar, which hosts a large U.S. military base, was beginning to interfere in a U.S.-led military campaign against Islamic State.

"The blockade is hindering U.S. military actions in the region and the campaign against ISIS," Mr. Tillerson told reporters at the State Department. He said the blockade presented humanitarian challenges and harmed American business interests in the Gulf.

The Pentagon said the blockade could affect the coalition's ability to make long-term plans but hasn't harmed any current operations.

Qatar is home to Al Udeid air base, the largest U.S. military base in the region.

Senior Arab officials said they didn't believe Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates would heed Mr. Tillerson's request to reduce their economic pressure on Qatar. They would, however, make sure supplies made their way to Al Udeid.

Mr. Tillerson said the U.S. backs a formal mediation between the countries, which is being led by the emir of Kuwait. He tried to evenly cast blame on the countries for the crisis days after Mr. Trump weighed in publicly against Qatar, and then repeated that assessment again Friday.

## Iranians Mourn Lives Lost in Terror Attacks



GRIEVING: Thousands marched in a memorial in Tehran on Friday for the 17 persons killed in twin attacks in the capital Wednesday. The government said it arrested 41 suspected members of Islamic State.

# OBITUARIES

ADNAN MOHAMED KHASHOGGI  
1935–2017

## Saudi Go-Between Tried To Profit on War and Peace

BY JAMES R. HAGERTY

**H**e was best known as a mid-dleman arranging arms sales to Saudi Arabia, but Adnan Khashoggi was also happy to traffic in real estate, asphalt, livestock and even peace.

In the mid-1990s, when he was trying to spur peace negotiations and business dealings between Israel and neighboring states, a friend quoted Mr. Khashoggi as saying, "If we can't make peace, perhaps we can make money."

The problem was that peace never arrived, and nothing seemed to pay nearly as well as the arms deals he helped arrange in the 1960s and 1970s. Eventually, his reputation for flaunting wealth stirred resentments in the Saudi royal family. When Time magazine put him on its cover in 1987, his business empire was in trouble. His entanglement in the Iran-Contra affair and other controversies made him less appealing to Western companies seeking discreet help in tapping Arab markets.

Mr. Khashoggi lived his final two decades in relative obscurity. He suffered from Parkinson's disease and died Tuesday in London at age 81.

He was known to his employees as A.K. and once owned an 18,000-square-foot duplex in Olympic Tower on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. The Washington Post reported in 1984 that he also had homes in Paris, London, Rome and Madrid, among other places.

When he wasn't in one of those homes, he was likely to be aloft in one of his private planes or afloat in his 285-foot yacht, which made an appearance in the James Bond movie "Never Say Never Again" and later was owned briefly by Donald Trump.

He often traveled with a Korean bodyguard nicknamed Mr. Kill.



In the early 1960s, he married an Englishwoman, Sandra Jarvis-Daly. She converted to Islam and changed her name to Soraya. Their divorce led to a 1980 legal battle in California, during which she accused him of giving expensive gifts to executives of defense contractors, helping them open Swiss bank accounts and inviting them to parties attended by prostitutes. Mr. Khashoggi's lawyers at the time declined to comment.

Adnan Mohamed Khashoggi was born July 25, 1935, in Mecca. His father, a physician to Saudi King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud, sent him to Alexandria, Egypt, to study at Victoria College, a boarding school modeled on the elite English secondary schools. He later recalled discovering his calling there: One classmate's father had a factory making sheets and towels, and another's wanted to buy those items. Young Adnan made the connection and collected a fee.

He began studies at a state college in Chico, Calif., but dropped out after finding he could earn fees by arranging shipments of vehicles

to the Middle East.

The real money was in military jets and weaponry. He cultivated clients among defense contractors in the U.S., Britain and France. Lockheed Corp. disclosed it paid him commissions totaling \$106 million in the five years ended in 1975. Shortly after that disclosure, the Saudi government issued a decree banning companies that sold arms to the kingdom from paying commissions to agents.

Mr. Khashoggi was in the headlines in the late 1980s as the U.S. Congress unearthed details of how proceeds from secret arms sales to Iran were illegally diverted to fund Contra rebels in Nicaragua. An independent counsel appointed to investigate that scandal found that Mr. Khashoggi lent millions to a broker involved in the deal to facilitate the arms sales. (Mr. Khashoggi said he lost money on the deal.)

He amassed a Byzantine global network of businesses, including cattle ranching and real estate, and interests in furniture and meat packing. In 1987, nine U.S. firms he controlled filed for bankruptcy.

In 1989, Swiss police arrested Mr. Khashoggi at a luxury hotel, held him in prison for three months and then extradited him to the U.S. to face charges that he helped former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos and his wife, Imelda, loot their country to buy jewelry, art and real estate. A federal jury in New York acquitted Mr. Khashoggi and Mrs. Marcos in 1990. Ferdinand Marcos died in 1989.

A list of Mr. Khashoggi's survivors wasn't available.

He was unapologetic about his checkered career. "Where did I go wrong?" he asked during a 2009 interview with the New York Times. "Nowhere."

◆ Read a collection of in-depth profiles at [WSJ.com/Obituaries](http://WSJ.com/Obituaries)

FRED KUMMEROW  
1914–2017

## Biochemist Warned Against Trans Fats

Fred Kummerow, who began warning in the 1950s of the dangers of trans fats, rarely missed a chance to convey what was then a controversial and little-heeded message.

When his daughter Jean brought boyfriends home in the late 1960s, he sometimes showed them a preserved human aorta, encased in plastic, which he kept on a coffee table. The aorta, clogged with plaque, showed the risks of poor dietary choices, he explained.

"It was kind of an unusual way to get acquainted with the young man in my life," she said.

Dr. Kummerow, a maverick biochemist who spent most of his career at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, was finally vindicated in 2013 when the U.S. Food and Drug Administration proposed heavy restrictions on trans fats. The agency ruled two years later that, starting in 2018, food makers would have to seek its approval before using partially hydrogenated oils, a primary source of trans fats in processed foods.

"He was certainly ahead of his time," said Walter Willett, a professor of epidemiology and nutrition at Harvard University. Dr. Willett estimated that food makers already have eliminated 85% or more of the trans fats formerly used in their products.

Dr. Kummerow died May 31 at his home in Urbana, Ill. He was 102.

—James R. Hagerty

STANLEY WHITMAN

1918–2017

## Investor Lured Jet Set To Bal Harbour Shops

Today's tony shopping village of Bal Harbour, Fla., in the late 1940s was a swampy patch of land at the northern end of the barrier island known as Miami Beach. During World War II, it was used as a prisoner-of-war camp. After the war, Stanley Whitman, a real-estate investor and Navy veteran, moved into a former military barracks there so he and his young family could live near the beach.

In a vision few shared, he saw the potential for luxury shops in Bal Harbour to give jet-setters a diversion from the beach. The open-air mall he developed, Bal Harbour Shops, opened in 1965 and became one of the most lucrative in the U.S.

His success was partly due to persistence in courting executives of luxury retailers—and waiting for them in lobbies if they put him off. "It was nothing to go and spend a half a day waiting for a big shot to come out," he told the Miami Herald in 2013. "I was about as welcome as a skunk at a picnic."

When planning the mall, he rejected architects' suggestions that it should be enclosed.

Though a sophisticated world traveler, he sometimes described himself as "just an old gator skinner."

Mr. Whitman died May 24 at his home in Miami Shores, Fla. He was 98.

—James R. Hagerty

## WORLD NEWS

# Ukraine: Botched Killing Has Russia's Fingerprints

BY JAMES MARSON  
AND ALAN CULLISON

KIEV, Ukraine—A botched assassination attempt in Kiev is providing a glimpse into what officials here say is a string of killings orchestrated by the Kremlin, exposing a deadly underside of Russia's intervention in Ukraine.

Ukrainian authorities have arrested a Russian citizen who they believe traveled on a phony passport to Ukraine and was posing as a French journalist when he allegedly pulled a gun out of a gift-wrapped box and shot a Kremlin opponent he had invited to an interview last week.

The assassination attempt went awry when the victim's wife pulled a gun of her own and opened fire on the would-be killer. Both men were hospitalized and survived.

Ukraine has seen a spate of murders and attempted killings far from the front lines since Moscow's annexation of Crimea in 2014 and covert military interventions across its neighbor's eastern border.

The Kremlin denies involvement; Russia's state-controlled media often portray the killings as evidence of Ukraine's lawlessness.

Anton Gerashchenko, a lawmaker and adviser to Ukraine's interior minister, said Russia had sent waves of killers to Ukraine in an attempt to destabilize its neighbor.

"This is only one of the links in a chain," he said. "This is part of Russia's hybrid war against Ukraine." Ukraine's security service in January said it had prevented a Russian-led attempt on Mr. Gerashchenko's life. The Kremlin hasn't commented on that matter.

The suspect in last week's shooting, Artur Denisultanov-Kurmakayev, has long moved in criminal circles inside Russia, Ukrainian law-enforcement officials allege. Austrian police say they deported him to Moscow in 2008 after re-



A March 2015 photo of Adam Osmayev in Lysychansk, Ukraine.

ceiving a complaint that he threatened a Russian émigré there who was later killed by men linked to Chechen President Ramzan Kadyrov. Mr. Kadyrov has said he has no link to the murder in Austria.

Mr. Kurmakayev, posing as a journalist with a French newspaper, met three times with the target of last week's alleged attack, Adam Osmayev, and his wife, Amina Okuyeva, filming interviews and telling them that his publication wanted to

take the telephone and caught sight of a Glock pistol inside the gift box as Mr. Kurmakayev opened it, with the words: "Here's your present."

He fired two shots that hit Mr. Osmayev in the chest and arm, according to Mr. Osmayev and his wife. As Mr. Osmayev, 36 years old, fought back and wrestled for control of the pistol, he shouted, "Shoot! Shoot!" Ms. Okuyeva pulled her Soviet-era Makarov pistol, a gift from Ukraine's interior minister, and fired at the attacker, she said.

Her pistol jammed after a few shots, so she attacked his face with her hands as he shouted, "I surrender," apparently incapacitated after a bullet had lodged in his spine.

"He was creative, a good actor," Mr. Osmayev said. "But he wasn't very professional."

A Ukrainian court Wednesday ordered Mr. Kurmakayev arrested for two months. A lawyer representing him couldn't be reached to comment. A Ukrainian official who was in the court said the accused called the incident "a regrettable accident."

"He was creative, a good actor," Mr. Osmayev said. "But he wasn't very professional."

A Ukrainian court Wednesday ordered Mr. Kurmakayev arrested for two months. A lawyer representing him couldn't be reached to comment. A Ukrainian official who was in the court said the accused called the incident "a regrettable accident."

At a fourth meeting, Mr. Kurmakayev told them he wanted to give them a present, Mr. Osmayev and Ms. Okuyeva recalled. He asked them to sit in the back seat of his car with him in the passenger seat and handed his phone to Mr. Osmayev to video the presentation. Ms. Okuyeva

with a new pistol: a Glock.



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## IN DEPTH

# BAPTIST

*Continued from Page One*  
arm, the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission, Mr. Moore has tried to lead evangelicals in a new direction.

He hosted a conference to bring together Baptists with gay-rights leaders. He said white evangelicals must do more to combat racial injustice. Most notably, he said evangelicals must avoid being in lock-step with one party, and he criticized the priorities of the “religious right”—including many Southern Baptists who backed Mr. Trump.

“2016 has destroyed evangelical credibility,” Mr. Moore wrote last October on Twitter. The post linked to an opinion piece he had written in the Washington Post, which called evangelical leaders’ enthusiastic support for Mr. Trump “a scandal and a disgrace.”

His approach won him support among a younger, more racially diverse generation of evangelicals who are more suspicious than their parents of political parties.

It also led to a backlash from Southern Baptists who helped build the denomination into a political force within the Republican Party. Many of them saw Mr. Trump, despite his three marriages and ties to the casino industry, as the only realistic hope for the socially conservative agenda they have been pushing for decades.

### Open criticism

Dozens of pastors have openly criticized Mr. Moore since the election. Some have withheld funding for the national denomination in protest. Dozens more churches have left the denomination altogether, some citing Mr. Moore’s and other denomination officials’ support for Muslims who want to build a mosque in Bernards Township, N.J.

Mr. Moore’s board of trustees—the only entity that can fire him—issued an unusual endorsement of him in March in an attempt to quell the unrest.

But Mr. Moore has no access to Mr. Trump, fueling questions about how effectively he can do his job. Some Southern Baptists are talking about eliminating the public-policy group he leads at the annual meeting.

“The election revealed some differences among us, in the broader evangelical community as well as the Southern Baptist Convention,” said Frank Page, president of the denomination’s executive committee. “They aren’t going to go away after the election.”

Mr. Moore, through a spokesman, declined to comment for this article.

On Feb. 22, Mr. Moore dialed in to a conference call with some of the most influential



MELISSA GOLDEN FOR THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

*As I look back over the last year, I am grieved by the tensions in our denomination over the state of American politics and the role of religion in it.’*

Russell Moore, in a written statement in March to Southern Baptists

Southern Baptists in the country, according to several people who were on the call.

Prestonwood Baptist Church, a Texas megachurch led by Jack Graham, a former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, had announced days earlier that it was withholding \$1 million from the denomination, citing concerns about Mr. Moore’s organization.

Smaller congregations also were pulling funds, a rebuke that was depriving the national denomination of money for seminaries, missionary work and other needs.

Several pastors on the call, including Mr. Graham, were part of an evangelical advisory board Mr. Trump had assembled during his campaign.

When the call began, Mr. Graham thanked Mr. Moore for joining them. Mr. Graham said he didn’t want to get anyone fired, but there were certain things he didn’t have to pay for, according to the people who were on the call. His church, he said, felt strongly about it.

Pastors asked Mr. Moore whom he was talking about when he criticized the motivations of evangelicals who supported Mr. Trump. Did he mean them?

Some pastors said in interviews they weren’t sure Mr. Moore realized how out of step he was with most of the denomination. More than 80% of white evangelicals voted for Mr. Trump, according to exit polls.

Ted Traylor, pastor of Olive Baptist Church in Pensacola, Fla., said church members had been asking him, Pastor, are we paying this guy? After the call, he said, Mr. Moore began to understand “a little deeper” how his comments about Trump supporters had affected many Southern Baptists.

The last time the Southern Baptist Convention was so divided was during the 1980s, when theological conservatives reclaimed control over the denomination. Nearly 2,000 churches left to form their own denomination, the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, which now ordains women.

Mr. Moore’s predecessor, Richard Land, played a leading role in that denominational battle. As head of the public-policy arm, Mr. Land had turned the Southern Baptist Convention into a conservative political juggernaut. He helped push the GOP to the right on issues such as abortion and became a regular in the George W. Bush White House. Since then, evangelicals have consistently delivered votes for Republicans.

Last year, Mr. Land said a vote for Mr. Trump was the only realistic option for Christians, calling Hillary Clinton “the most pro-abortion presidential candidate ever nominated by a major party.”

Mr. Moore also is a vocal critic of abortion and opposes gay marriage, but he said he couldn’t endorse either major party candidate.

Ruth Malhotra, a 33-year-old Southern Baptist of Indian descent who lives in Atlanta, said her generation was looking to Mr. Moore and taking a more expansive view of being “pro-life”—not just opposition to abortion but also work on behalf of refugees and the poor.

“Our generation is becoming more diverse. We’re starting to say no, it’s not an automatic check-the-box for any Republican,” said Ms. Malhotra, who

voted for independent candidate Evan McMullin.

Like almost all major U.S. denominations, the Southern Baptist Convention is shrinking. Membership has declined for 10 consecutive years, falling from 16.3 million in 2006 to 15.2 million in 2016, according to the denomination.

Eighty-five percent of Southern Baptists are white, according to a 2015 Pew Research Center study, although the denomination is growing more diverse. Half of new churches are predominantly nonwhite, according to denomination officials, and in 2012 the convention elected its first black president, Fred Luter, who

**Mr. Moore said he couldn’t endorse either major party candidate.**

served a two-year term.

William Dwight McKissic Sr., pastor of Cornerstone Baptist Church in Arlington, Texas, said the backlash against Mr. Moore had “huge implications” for black Southern Baptists such as himself, who are far less likely than white evangelicals to support Republicans.

“The fact that he was targeted was very chilling,” Mr. McKissic said. “It sends the signal that anybody who speaks a word that is not in line with traditional Southern Baptist, Republican thought will face opposition, to the extent that their jobs will be threatened.”

Some critics of Mr. Moore said their frustration is more about his leadership style than his politics. In a denomination that likes to settle disputes quietly, some were rankled that he criticized Trump supporters on national television and didn’t speak to them directly.

“I’d have gone to a Jack Graham” before publicly criticizing Trump supporters like him, said Jay Strack, president of Student Leadership University and member of Mr. Trump’s advisory board, who called himself “a big fan” of Mr. Moore.

As churches began pulling funding, Mr. Moore went quiet. He made few television appearances and hardly said a negative word about Mr. Trump. He also visited Mr. Graham and met privately with others.

### Apology issued

In March, the board of the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission released a statement of support for Mr. Moore, who himself issued an apology.

“As I look back over the last year, I am grieved by the tensions in our denomination,” Mr. Moore wrote. “I...apologize for failing to distinguish between people who voted for Mr. Trump despite reservations and those who put politics over the gospel.”

In response, Mr. Graham wrote on Twitter, “This is a gracious and unifying statement from @drmoore.” Prestonwood Baptist announced in April it would resume giving to the national denomination.

“We’re in a truce,” Mr. Strack said of the situation, adding that Mr. Moore had taken important steps to mend fences. “I think he can build trust back, but now you have this debate internally.”

After feeling shut out during the Obama administration, evangelicals are now enjoying far greater access at the White House. Mr. Moore, however, has been shut out, according to evangelicals who work in Washington. A White House spokeswoman said Mr. Moore didn’t appear to have visited since Mr. Trump took office.

On March 3, about a month after Neil Gorsuch was nominated to the Supreme Court,

two dozen religious leaders gathered at the Eisenhower Executive Office Building to strategize how to help his Senate confirmation process. Mr. Graham was there, as was Tony Perkins, a Southern Baptist pastor and president of the Family Research Council, a conservative advocacy group. Mr. Moore was not.

At one point this spring, Mr. Moore’s staff had to search for a way to get in touch with the White House.

“Dr. Moore’s office reached out to ask if I could give them a good email address for the White House,” said Johnnie Moore (no relation to Russell Moore), 34, a Southern Baptist member of Mr. Trump’s evangelical advisory board and founder of the Kairos Co., a public-relations firm that represents many religious figures.

“It was a strange question from a multimillion-dollar public-policy organization. They apparently still couldn’t find the front door, despite that door being in plain sight,” said Johnnie Moore, who sent Mr. Moore an email address for the White House.

Erick Erickson, a conservative radio host and blogger who opposed Mr. Trump during the campaign, said there are plenty of people on Capitol Hill, and even White House staff, who pay attention to Mr. Moore.

“I know for certain, when the president signed the religious liberty executive order, people in the White House were mindful of what guys like Russell Moore would think,” Mr. Erickson said.

Still, some pastors are now going around Mr. Moore to lobby in Washington, building their own relationships with the White House or working with other conservative groups.

“I think this Russell Moore controversy was really a catalyst to begin asking a bigger question, which is whether the ERLC is even relevant anymore,” said Robert Jeffress, pastor at First Baptist Dallas and another member of Mr. Trump’s advisory board.

Mr. Land’s influence stemmed partly from his ability to speak on behalf of the vast majority of the denomination. During the Bush administration, he has said, the White House would call him to find out how Southern Baptists felt about a given policy.

Rod Martin, who will help run operations at the annual meeting, recently advocated the elimination of Mr. Moore’s public-policy commission, which has an annual budget of nearly \$4 million.

Mr. Taylor of Olive Baptist Church said such a motion “wouldn’t get to first base” at the annual meeting.

Yet bitterness remains even after Mr. Moore’s apology, and several churches are still withholding funding.

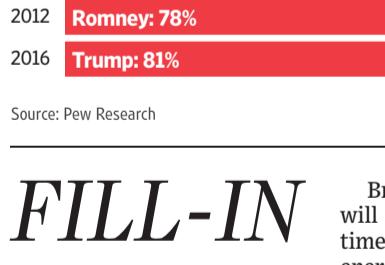
“A lot of younger people think he’s the greatest thing since sliced bread,” Craig Mitchell, a professor at Criswell College and former ERLC research fellow, said of Mr. Moore. “Some of the older people who didn’t like him before still don’t like him now.”

“What that leads me to believe is that anything can happen at this convention,” he said. “I hope there’s not going to be any ugliness.”

—Louise Radnofsky contributed to this article.

## Evangelical Politics

How white evangelical Christians voted in recent presidential elections



Source: Pew Research

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

## FILL-IN

*Continued from Page One*

will be a coronation for Broadway’s megawatt celebrities.

For a small niche of Broadway fans, however, social media is enabling them to indulge a quirky passion—watching fill-in performers. Standbys including Ms. Hurder often share news on social media about when they’ll be stepping into the lead and Broadway Understudies, a fan group, provides updates on multiple web outlets. The group’s Twitter feed has more than 17,000 followers and it goes so far as to talk about understudies in training and those who are going on in touring shows.

In May, it shared news about a fill-in at a Providence, R.I., road date of “Matilda the Musical.” It also noted that Paul Slade Smith, an actor from Connecticut, was beginning rehearsals as the understudy for the lead role of Willy Wonka in the new Broadway musical “Charlie and the Chocolate Factory.”

“Break legs, Paul! We can’t wait for you to go on!” the group tweeted.

Broadway obsessives, who will go to shows dozens of times, say they appreciate the energy and perspective understudies bring to their roles. Not unlike baseball fans who attend minor-league games to see the sport’s prospects, they admit to taking a kind of geeky pleasure in “collecting” understudies, noting which ones they have seen over the life of a production. Mo Brady, a former understudy who co-hosts The Ensemblist, a podcast about Broadway, calls such fans “completists.”

“They want to see every permutation of the show,” he said.

Hayley Goldstein said she attended “Something Rotten!”, a Shakespeare-spoofing musical that played on Broadway from April 2015 to the beginning of this year, some 40 times. Ms. Goldstein, a college student, is especially thrilled she saw Broadway veteran Eric Sciotti understudy in two of the show’s main roles over the course of its run.

Ms. Goldstein said her ultimate “get” would be seeing Colton Ryan, the understudy for Ben Platt, the Tony Award-nominated actor who plays the lead in the musical “Dear Evan Hansen.”

The reason? The star, Mr. Platt, has missed only two performances since the show bowed last fall, making sightings of understudy Mr. Ryan the Broadway equivalent of, say, sightings of a rarely seen owl among bird-watchers.

“Understudies always bring something completely different” to the part, Ms. Goldstein said, adding that when she makes plans to see a show, she considers it a plus if there is a fill-in. “At this point, I’m like, ‘Are there any

understudies on?’” she said.

Understudy Shoba Narayan, an actress from Pennsylvania of Indian heritage, started appearing as Natasha in “Natasha, Pierre & the Great Comet of 1812” earlier this year. It marked a rare appearance by a South Asian actress in a lead role on Broadway.

Ms. Narayan said as news spread of her occasional performances, dozens of fans, including many South Asians, started buying tickets. She said she received about 100 congratulatory letters and emails. One fan even sent a watercolor painting depicting her in the role. “It was touching,” said Ms. Narayan.

Not everyone is so thrilled about understudies. Many Broadway regulars admit to a degree of disappointment when they see that inserted slip of paper, especially given the cost of attending a show. The average price for a ticket hit a record \$109 this season, an increase of \$6 over 2015-16, according to the Broadway League, a trade group.

In a survey Broadway producer Ken Davenport undertook with a research firm, 73% of theatergoers had a negative response to having to sit through a replacement’s performance. In a blog post summarizing the survey, Mr. Davenport said most ticket-buyers felt “cheated.”

Don’t tell that to Melissa Anelli. A Broadway enthusiast and co-founder of BroadwayCon, a New York convention for fans, she has been tracking understudies since the pre-social media era of the ’90s. Back then, she had to check with cast members directly—she particularly followed the

award-winning musical “Rent”—to find out about replacement performances.

“We didn’t have what people have now,” said Ms. Anelli, who saw “Rent” many times and “stopped counting after 60” performances. She said fans like her “just want to support the show by supporting the people who are less celebrated in it.”

Perhaps the biggest fans of understudies are understudies themselves. “They’re always so good,” said Ms. Hurder, the understudy in “Chicago.” Like other understudies, Ms. Hurder has a regular role in the show; she plays the character Mona, when she isn’t subbing.

Still, even understudies understand replacements aren’t quite the stars. It was a point that hit home for Ms. Hurder when she went a few years ago to see the Tony Award-winning revival of “Pippin” and learned Charlotte d’Amboise, a favorite actress of hers, would be out for that performance. “I was very disappointed, to put it lightly,” said Ms. Hurder.

Earlier this year, when Ms. d’Amboise was starring in “Chicago,” Ms. Hurder was her understudy.



NICK GASWIRTH

Shoba Narayan, a Broadway understudy, appears as Natasha in “Natasha, Pierre & the Great Comet of 1812.”

“Break legs, Paul! We can’t wait for you to go on!” the group tweeted.

# OPINION

THE WEEKEND INTERVIEW with Philip Hamburger | By John Tierney

## The Tyranny of the Administrative State

New York

**W**hat's the greatest threat to liberty in America? Liberals rail at Donald Trump's executive orders on immigration and his hostility toward the press, while conservatives vow to reverse Barack Obama's regulatory assault on religion, education and business. Philip Hamburger says both sides are thinking too small.

Like the blind men in the fable who try to describe an elephant by feeling different parts of its body, they're not perceiving the whole problem: the enormous rogue beast known as the administrative state.

Sometimes called the regulatory state or the deep state, it is a government within the government, run by the president and the dozens of federal agencies that assume powers once claimed only by kings. In place of royal decrees, they issue rules and send out "guidance" letters like the one from an Education Department official in 2011 that stripped college students of due process when accused of sexual misconduct.

Unelected bureaucrats not only write their own laws, they also interpret these laws and enforce them in their own courts with their own judges. All this is in blatant violation of the Constitution, says Mr. Hamburger, 60, a constitutional scholar and winner of the Manhattan Institute's Hayek Prize last year for his scholarly 2014 book, "Is Administrative Law Unlawful?" (Spoiler alert: Yes.)

**Government by unelected experts isn't all that different from the 'royal prerogative' of 17th-century England.**

"Essentially, much of the Bill of Rights has been gutted," he says, sitting in his office at Columbia Law School. "The government can choose to proceed against you in a trial in court with constitutional processes, or it can use an administrative proceeding where you don't have the right to be heard by a real judge or a jury and you don't have the full due process of law. Our fundamental procedural freedoms, which once were guarantees, have become mere options."

In volume and complexity, the edicts from federal agencies exceed the laws passed by Congress by orders of magnitude. "The administrative state has become the government's predominant mode of contact with citizens," Mr. Hamburger says. "Ultimately this is not about the politics of left or right. Unlawful government power should worry everybody."

Defenders of agencies like the Securities and Exchange Commission or the Environmental Protection Agency often describe them as the only practical way to regulate today's complex world. The Founding Fathers, they argue, could not have imagined the challenges that face a large and technologically advanced society, so Congress and the judiciary have wisely delegated their duties by giving new powers to experts in executive-branch agencies.

Mr. Hamburger doesn't buy it. In his view, not only is such delegation unconstitutional, it's nothing new. The founders, far from being naive about the need for expert guidance, limited executive powers

precisely because of the abuses of 17th-century kings like James I.

James, who reigned in England from 1603 through 1625, claimed that divinely granted "absolute power" authorized him to suspend laws enacted by Parliament or dispense with them for any favored person. Mr. Hamburger likens this royal "dispensing" power to modern agency "waivers," like the ones from the Obama administration exempting McDonald's and other corporations from complying with provisions of the Affordable Care Act.

James also made his own laws, bypassing Parliament and the courts by issuing proclamations and using his "royal prerogative" to establish commissions and tribunals. He exploited the infamous Star Chamber, a court that got its name from the gilded stars on its ceiling.

"The Hollywood version of the Star Chamber is a torture chamber where the walls were speckled with blood," Mr. Hamburger says. "But torture was a very minor part of its business. It was very bureaucratic. Like modern administrative agencies, it commissioned expert reports, issued decrees and enforced them. It had regulations controlling the press, and it issued rules for urban development, environmental matters and various industries."

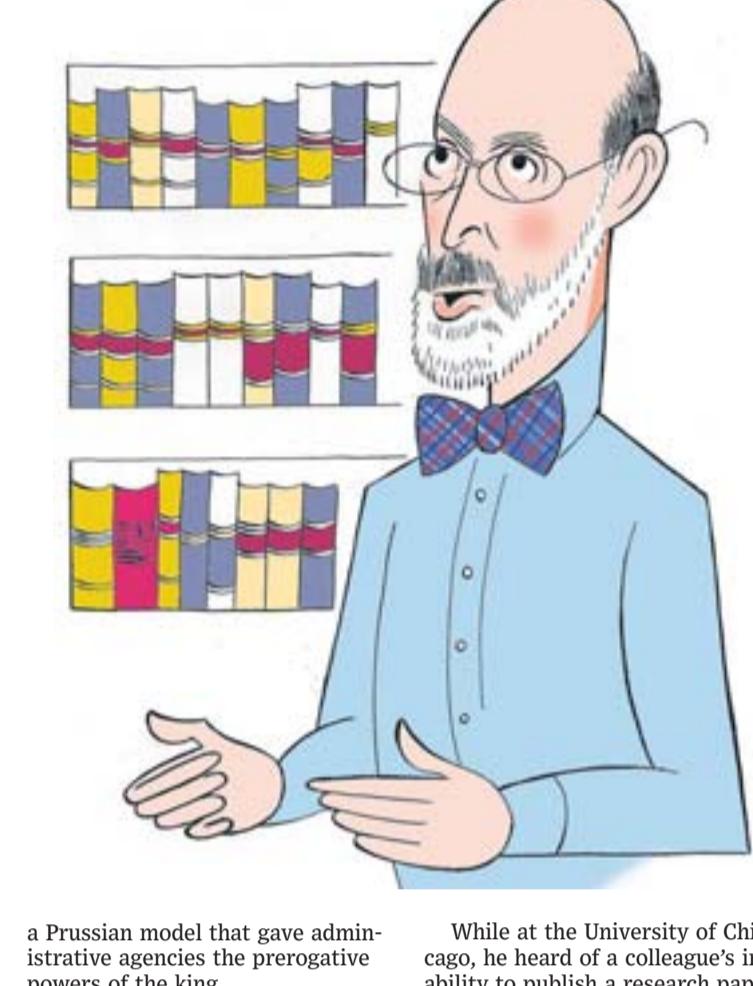
James's claims were rebuffed by England's chief justice, Edward Coke, who in 1610 declared that the king "by his proclamation cannot create any offense which was not an offense before." The king eventually dismissed Coke, and expansive royal powers continued to be exercised by James and his successor, Charles I. The angry backlash ultimately prompted Parliament to abolish the Star Chamber and helped provoke a civil war that ended with the beheading of Charles in 1649.

A subsequent king, James II, took the throne in 1685 and tried to reassert the prerogative power. But he was dethroned in the Glorious Revolution in 1688, which was followed by Parliament's adoption of a bill of rights limiting the monarch and reasserting the primacy of Parliament and the courts. That history inspired the American Constitution's limits on the executive branch, which James Madison explained as a protection against "the danger to liberty from the overgrown and all-grasping prerogative of an hereditary magistrate."

"The framers of the Constitution were very clear about this," Mr. Hamburger says, rummaging in a drawer for a pocket edition. He opens to the first page, featuring the Preamble and Article 1, which begins: "All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress."

"That first word is crucial," he says. "The very first substantive word of the Constitution is 'all.' That makes it an exclusive vesting of the legislative powers in an elected legislature. Congress cannot delegate the legislative powers to an agency, just as judges cannot delegate their power to an agency."

Those restrictions on executive power have been disappearing since the late 19th century, starting with the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887. Centralized power appealed to big business—railroads found commissioners easier to manipulate than legislators—as well as to American intellectuals who'd studied public policy at German universities. Unlike Britain, Germany had rejected constitutional restraints in favor of



a Prussian model that gave administrative agencies the prerogative powers of the king.

Mr. Hamburger believes it's no coincidence that the growth of America's administrative state coincided with the addition to the electorate of Catholic immigrants, blacks and other minorities. WASP progressives like Woodrow Wilson considered these groups an obstacle to reform.

"The bulk of mankind is rigidly unphilosophical, and nowadays the bulk of mankind votes," Wilson complained, noting in particular the difficulty of winning over the minds "of Irishmen, of Germans, of Negroes." His solution was to push his agenda using federal agencies staffed by experts of his own caste—what Mr. Hamburger calls the "knowledge class." Wilson was the only president ever to hold a doctorate.

"There's been something of a bait and switch," Mr. Hamburger says. "We talk about the importance of expanding voting rights, but behind the scenes there's been a transfer of power from voters to members of the knowledge class. A large part of the knowledge class, Republicans as well as Democrats, went out of their way to make the administrative state work."

**M**r. Hamburger was born into the knowledge class. He grew up in a book-filled house near New Haven, Conn. His father was a Yale law professor and his mother a researcher in economics and intellectual history. During his father's sabbaticals in London, Philip acquired a passion for 17th-century English history and spent long hours studying manuscripts at the British Museum. That's where he learned about the royal prerogative.

He went to Princeton and then Yale Law School, where he avoided courses on administrative law, which struck him as "tedious beyond belief." He became slightly more interested during a stint as a corporate lawyer specializing in taxes—he could see the sweeping powers wielded by the Internal Revenue Service—but the topic didn't engage him until midway through his academic career.

At this point, the idea of restraining the executive branch may seem quixotic, but Mr. Hamburger says there are practical ways to do so. One would be to make government officials financially accountable for their excesses, as they were in the 18th and 19th centuries, when they could be sued individually for damages. Today they're protected thanks to "qualified immunity," a doctrine Mr. Hamburger thinks should be narrowed.

"One does have to worry about frivolous lawsuits against government officers who have to make quick decisions in the field, like police officers," he says. "But someone sitting behind a desk at the EPA or the SEC has plenty of time to consult lawyers before acting. There's no reason to give them qualified immunity. They'll be more careful not to exceed their constitutional authority if they have to weigh the risk of losing their own money."

Another way of restraining agencies—one President Trump could adopt on his own—would be to require them to submit new rules to Congress for approval instead of imposing them by fiat. The president could also order at least some agencies to resolve disputes in regular courts instead of using administrative judges, who are departmental employees. Meanwhile, Congress could reclaim its legislative power by going through regulations, agency by agency, and deciding which ones to enact into law.

Mr. Hamburger's chief hope for reform lies in the courts, which in earlier eras rebuffed the executive branch's power grabs. Those rulings so frustrated both Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt that they threatened retaliation—such as FDR's plan to pack the Supreme Court by expanding its size. Eventually judges surrendered and validated sweeping executive powers. Mr. Hamburger calls it "one of the most shameful episodes in the history of the federal judiciary."

**T**he Supreme Court capitulated further in decisions like *Chevron v. Natural Resources Defense Council* (1984), which requires judges to defer to any "reasonable interpretation" of an ambiguous statute by a federal agency. "Chevron deference should be called *Chevron bias*," Mr. Hamburger says. "It requires judges to abandon due process and independent judgment. The courts have corrupted their processes by saying that when the government is a party in case, they will be systematically biased—they will favor the more powerful party."

Mr. Hamburger sees a good chance that the high court will limit and eventually abandon the *Chevron* doctrine, and he expects other litigation giving the judiciary a chance to reassert its powers and protect constitutional rights.

"Slowly, step by step, we can persuade judges to recognize the risks of what they've done so far and to grapple with this very dangerous type of power," he says. The judiciary, like academia, has many liberals who have been sympathetic to the growth of executive power, but their perspective may be changing.

"Administrative power is like off-road driving," Mr. Hamburger continues. "It's exhilarating to operate off-road when you're in the driver's seat, but it's a little unnerving for everyone else."

He says he observed this effect during a recent conversation with a prominent legal scholar. The colleague, a longtime defender of administrative law, was discussing the topic shortly after Mr. Trump's inauguration.

The colleague told Mr. Hamburger: "I am beginning to see the merit of your ideas."

*Mr. Tierney is a contributing editor of the Manhattan Institute's City Journal.*

## Fiestas and Apple Orchards: Small-Town Life Before Trump



*York Springs, Pa.*

President Trump has had a difficult time getting much of his agenda off the ground. But one thing I've already seen change under his administration: Immigration law is being enforced more aggressively. Out in rural Pennsylvania, in a county Donald Trump carried with 66% of the vote, this is already having a devastating effect on the economy and culture.

I live in York Springs, a no-stop-light town near Gettysburg, in the middle of what's known as the South Mountain Fruit Belt. Adams County grows more apples than any other in Pennsylvania and is fourth-highest producer in the nation. The fruit belt is not the Rust Belt, but the biggest employers are canning plants: Knouse, Rice and Mott's. Down the road in Biglerville, they call the high-school teams the Canners.

York Springs, known locally as "Little Mexico" or "Rednxico," has a population of 800 or so, 46% Hispanic, according to the 2010 census. This, I daresay, is now inaccurate: If you made the population 1,100 and 70% Hispanic, you'd be nearer the mark. Many people came to Adams County as seasonal apple pickers, and orchards need tending year round, so they stayed. Some became orchard managers, and some started businesses: hair salons and restaurants, grocery stores and landscaping companies.

The mix is a remarkable thing: Oaxaca in a Wyeth painting. With its red barns, rolling hills and blossoming trees, living in this part of rural America is like being in a calendar. It has rural American values too, which are instinctively traditional and oriented toward family and hard work. It's just that a lot of the folks living by these values today have brownish skin and speak Spanish. Some are citizens, some are not, often both within the same family.

Beautiful as it is, York Springs is

the sort of place people leave after they finish high school. When I moved here in 2012, real estate was cheap and abandoned houses dotted the back roads. The town was aging and dying, though Mexican

newcomers were already bringing green shoots. Over the past five years I've seen a steady renewal. Townspeople have fixed up many old houses and are raising families.

There has been a little tension, but York Springs in recent years has developed a vibrant, intersectional culture, insofar as that's possible in such a sparsely populated place. Almost anyone might hire Renta Fiestas for a party. There was, until recently, even street life of sorts

popping up: a Mexican food truck, children playing *fútbol*, the occasional interethnic teen couple holding hands at Gries Park.

Now, however, York Springs has become a target for immigration enforcement. Statistics by locality are hard to come by, but an attorney speaking at a community forum last month at the Adams County Agricultural Center said there were at least 15 actions in York Springs during February and March, with many more since, including street arrests and traffic stops that have resulted in detentions. People are held at the prison in the city of York, 25 miles down the road, and the phrase "they took her to York" has become the expression for someone who's been taken into the immigration system.

This is separating families, and people are living in fear. Children aren't playing out in the yard any longer. Parents are afraid to leave their homes even to walk their children to the bus, according to immigrants who spoke at the forum. The food truck is gone, and it's been a while since I

heard Mexican pop music.

This stringent enforcement of immigration law is destroying a rich, new rural culture. It's likely to destroy the economy, too. The orchards generate over \$500 million a year, and, one way or another, most of the jobs. But the local growers, many of whom have been operating the family orchards for generations, worry they won't have enough manpower this fall to harvest the crop.

Sure, a lot of the white folk out here voted for Mr. Trump. Even then, many of them had reservations specifically about his immigration stance. I heard them expressed by Trump supporters in line to vote at the Latimore Township building. Now as we spiral into a local depression that is personal, cultural and economic, a lot of them are going to regret voting for him anyway.

*Mr. Sartwell teaches at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pa. His most recent book is "Entanglements: A System of Philosophy" (SUNY Press, 2017).*

## OPINION

### REVIEW & OUTLOOK

## Britain's Lesson for Conservatives

Teresa May ran a re-election campaign on the theme of "strong and stable" leadership. Instead the Prime Minister looked weak, and British voters on Thursday chose a period of instability by electing a hung Parliament. This is what happens to parties of the right when they abandon growth economics.

Mrs. May said Friday she'll try to form a minority government with the help of the Northern Irish unionists, but this makes her humiliation only somewhat less severe. The Tories lost 12 seats in the House of Commons compared to their 2015 win under David Cameron and at 318 fell short of the 326 needed for a majority. Mrs. May didn't have to call an election until 2020 but did so to capitalize on Labour Party disarray under leader Jeremy Corbyn. Instead she squandered a 20-point lead, and the recent terror attacks weren't politically decisive.

Much of the blame goes to campaign malpractice. Mrs. May ducked televised debates and issued a policy manifesto that offered little for voters. She should have known better. Surprise victories for the British exit from the European Union and Donald Trump last year demonstrated that voters across the West are rebelling against politicians who take support for granted.

The outcome is also a rebuke to Mrs. May's wing of the Conservative Party. This contingent argues the Tories need to shed the "right-wing ideology" of the Margaret Thatcher era. Mrs. May embraced ideas like a cap on household energy prices that were lifted from old Labour manifestos, railed against business, and delivered speeches about "the good that government can do."

Despite his own ideological malleability, Mr. Cameron and his Chancellor George Osborne rebuilt a Tory majority by lifting the economy from its post-financial crisis mess. They cut tax rates to boost growth and moved toward a balanced budget. Mrs. May temporized about raising taxes. The strategy was to break into traditional Labour strongholds, but that failed as young people came out in big numbers for Mr. Corbyn's promise of free tuition.

Mrs. May has now succeeded in entrenching the radical Mr. Corbyn as opposition leader. Moderate Labourites' best hope for dislodging him was a thumping defeat, but his brand of so-

cialism will be around at least through the next election.

Mrs. May's defenders say her 42% share of the vote is larger than Mr. Cameron's 37%, which is true but ignores that Britain is returning to two-party dominance. The centrist Liberal-Democrats lost votes even as they gained some seats, and

the pro-Brexit U.K. Independence Party (UKIP) was all but wiped out. The Tories made gains against the Scottish Nationalist Party, mainly by opposing a new independence referendum. The warning for Tories—and America's "reformaco" Republicans—is that welfare-state conservatism struggles to build an electoral coalition that can win a two-party race.

One question is whether Mrs. May can continue to govern for long, and the Tories will certainly want a better leader for the next election. Boris Johnson, the former mayor of London, is one front-runner. He'd bring a dose of charisma, though he's not obviously a Thatcherite on economics. Home Secretary Amber Rudd performed well in the campaign but is a mystery on economics and has shown an antipathy to immigration in her current role.

The best option would be to recall Mr. Osborne, who chose not to run in this election but knows the policies needed to make Britain grow amid the uncertainty of Brexit negotiations. Another near-term election is possible, but without an economic agenda another vote would create more openings for Mr. Corbyn.

Britain may now ask the EU to extend the two-year deadline for Brexit talks to account for a hung parliament, and Brussels should consent. The EU has an interest in negotiating a deal that works for both sides. But the striking feature of this election is how little Brexit seemed to matter. Mrs. May pitched a tough "Brexit means Brexit" negotiating strategy, while Mr. Corbyn accepted Brexit while focusing more on British well-being.

Mr. Corbyn's policy solutions are wrong, but he did realize better than Mrs. May that voters are worried about the economic squeeze created by 3% inflation (caused in part by the falling British pound), slow wage growth and failing public services. With Mr. Corbyn's political influence growing, the Tories urgently need an economic strategy that can attract voters who otherwise might choose socialism by default.

## Mayor Pre-K Stiffs Success

Bill de Blasio campaigned for mayor of New York City on a universal prekindergarten entitlement, but apparently that didn't include anyone he and teachers unions don't like. Witness how a charter network was forced to fight for funding that the schools are legally entitled to receive.

On Thursday an appellate division of the New York Supreme Court ruled that Success Academy is owed \$720,000 for a year's cost of pre-K at three of the network's more than 40 schools. Success applied to run pre-K programs under the city's initiative, which is open to charters and other public schools. But the local Education Department refused to supply the money unless Success signed an invasive contract.

This contract micromanaged: field trips (limited to three a school year); how long students can be exposed to digital devices (15 minutes a day); curriculum; meals; staff training; and more, as Thursday's decision details. State law says that pre-K offerings should "encourage pro-

gram creativity through competition," not create a central command for how much time a 4-year-old can spend finger painting.

Universal education for everyone except those unions don't like.

Success and a group of parents alleged that under state law charters are held accountable by authorizers such as the state university, and charters can by law manage their own operations and compete with traditional public schools. This successful model is why charters are public enemy No. 1 of teachers unions—and Mayor de Blasio. Success has spent 18 months trying to win reimbursement, and the city may appeal this week's decision.

The costs are less legal than human: Success had to shut down its pre-K last year, even after receiving some 3,000 applicants for about 100 seats in Cobble Hill, Williamsburg, Harlem and elsewhere. Many are from low-income families. Keep in mind how Mayor de Blasio stiffed these kids next time he lectures about quality education for all.

## Tax Revenge in Kansas

The Kansas legislature on Tuesday overrode Governor Sam Brownback's veto to raise taxes by \$1.2 billion, and national progressives are giddy.

### Republicans and unions raise rates higher than in Massachusetts.

Their spin is that because the vote reverses Mr. Brownback's tax cuts in a Republican state that Donald Trump carried by more than 20 points, Republicans everywhere should stop cutting taxes.

The reality is more prosaic—and politically cynical. The press accounts gleefully talk of how "moderate Republicans" joined with Democrats to raise taxes to address exploding state deficits. But substitute "Republicans backed by teachers unions" for moderate Republicans, and the real picture comes into focus. At bottom the Kansas tax vote was as much about unions getting even with the Governor over his education reforms, which included making it easier to fire bad teachers.

The Kansas economy has struggled even after the 2012 tax cuts that reduced the top rate on personal income taxes to 4.9% from 6.45% and eliminated income tax for small businesses filing as individuals. Mr. Brownback was unlucky in his timing, given the hits to the agricultural and energy industries that count for much of the state economy.

But unemployment is still low at 3.7%, and the state has had considerable small-business formation every year since the tax cuts were enacted. The tax competition across the Kansas-Missouri border around Kansas City is one reason Missouri cut its top individual tax rate in 2014.

Mr. Brownback's reform mistake was that in eliminating taxes on "pass-through" small businesses, the Governor created a loophole

that allowed law firms, accounting agencies, consultants and many others to declare wage income to be business profit and pay little or nothing. This caused lower tax revenues than Mr. Brownback predicted, and bigger deficits when the legislature refused to cut spending. What do you know: Tax rates affect taxpayer behavior.

A good part of this tax increase is also personal payback. In 2012 Mr. Brownback campaigned against eight Republican incumbents who lost to more conservative GOP challengers. The losers had their revenge in last summer's primaries, when the conservatives were ousted by Republicans backed by the teachers union. Because the GOP dominates Kansas politics, the big policy disputes occur among Republicans, and public unions support the state GOP's liberal wing.

The upshot is that supposedly conservative Kansas will now have a higher top marginal individual income-tax rate (5.7%) than Massachusetts (5.1%). And the unions will be back for another increase as spending rises to meet the new greater revenues. This is the eternal lesson of tax increases, as Illinois and Connecticut prove.

Democrats would love Republicans to abandon rate-cutting or reform. Then they can fight over whether to raise taxes on the rich. The one relevant Kansas lesson is that Republicans in Washington need to be careful how they write any tax reform for "pass-through" businesses. One way to do that is to avoid letting pass-through tax rates get too much lower than rates on wage and salary income. Meanwhile, don't be surprised if Kansas voters punish the tax-raising Republicans in 2018.

&lt;/

## OPINION

# What Comey Told Us About Trump



DECLARATIONS  
By Peggy Noonan

Washington James Comey's written testimony outlining meetings and conversations with President Trump was telling and damning because believable. Whatever Mr. Comey's reputation, and it is mixed—an intelligent, accomplished professional who is plenty slick; state-of-the-art Beltway operator with an image of integrity, yet trailed by suspicions of slight smarm—he is a careful man. It is not strange for an official to take notes after a meeting or conversation with a president, and it is wholly understandable when the

The president has no understanding of the norms, rules and traditions of his job.

president is unusual, the circumstances heightened, the relationship potentially contentious. It begs credulity that Mr. Comey would have tapped out elaborate fictions in a one-man note-taking plot to bring down a president. And he must have known it possible the calls and meetings were taped, in which case the contents would be used to destroy him if he lied.

Mr. Comey first met with President-elect Trump in January. Afterward he broke with previous personal practice and documented the meeting in a memo. "To ensure accuracy, I began to type it on a laptop in an FBI vehicle outside Trump Tower the moment I walked out of the meeting."

On Jan. 27 he had dinner with the president at the White House. "It turned out to be just the two of us, seated at a small oval table in the center of the Green Room." The president asked if he wanted to stay on as FBI Director. Mr. Comey found this "strange," because Mr. Trump had already told him twice, earlier, he hoped Mr. Comey would stay. The director felt "the one-on-one setting, and the pretense that this was our first discussion about my position, meant the dinner was, at least in part, an effort to have me ask for my job and create some sort of patronage relationship."

Then: "A few moments later, the President said, 'I need loyalty, I expect loyalty.' I didn't move, speak, or change my facial expression in any way during the awkward silence that followed. We simply looked at each other in silence."

Near the end of the dinner Mr. Trump said he was glad Mr. Comey wanted to stay. "He then said, 'I need loyalty.' I replied, 'You will always get honesty from me.' [Mr. Trump] paused and then said, 'That's what I want, honest loyalty.' I paused and then said, 'You will get that from me.'

Thus ended "a very awkward conversation."

On Feb. 14 Mr. Comey met the president and other top officials for a counterterrorism briefing in the Oval Office. At the end the president said he wanted to speak to Mr. Comey privately. Attorney General Jeff Sessions lingered; the president said he wanted Mr. Comey alone.

"When the door by the grandfather clock closed, and we were alone, the President began by saying, 'I want to speak about Mike Flynn.' The president said: 'He is a good guy and has been through a lot.' Referring to the Russia investigation, Mr. Trump said, 'I hope you can see your way clear to letting this go.' Mr. Comey agreed Mr. Flynn was a good guy, but didn't say he'd let it go.



James Comey testifies Thursday at the Senate Intelligence Committee.

Mr. Comey thought the meeting "very concerning, given the FBI's role as an independent investigative agency." Later he told his boss, the attorney general, that it was "inappropriate" that Mr. Sessions was asked to leave the meeting and "it should never happen again." Mr. Sessions did not reply, Mr. Comey reports.

On March 30, the president phoned Mr. Comey at the FBI. He said the Russia investigation was damaging his ability to govern. "He asked what we could do to 'lift the cloud.'" Mr. Comey answered that they were investigating the matter as quickly as possible. Mr. Trump urged Mr. Comey to get out the word the president himself wasn't being investigated. "I told him I would see what we could do." He requested guidance from the Justice Department, which did not provide it.

Mr. Comey's testimony backs up Mr. Trump's assertion that the director told him he personally was not under investigation.

The worst part of the testimony is when the president pressed Mr. Comey for his personal loyalty. Presidents don't lean on FBI chiefs in this way. It is at odds with traditional

boundaries, understandings and protocols. It was embarrassing to read. It was the move of a naïf who's a cynic—I know how the big boys play. Actually it's not how the big boys play, it's how someone who learns about government by binge-watching "House of Cards" would play. It was bumptious with the special bumptuousness of those who think themselves savvy.

Still, as a Republican senator said after Mr. Comey's testimony was released, inappropriate does not mean illegal. Jonathan Turley, a law professor at George Washington University, wrote in USA Today that the desire for an indictable or impeachable offense by the president "has distorted the legal analysis" of the case "to an alarming degree." Mr. Turley's read on the testimony: Mr. Trump's conduct was "wildly inappropriate." Asking Mr. Comey to lay off Mr. Flynn was "wrong" and "grossly improper."

But "the legal fact is that Comey's testimony does not establish a prima facie—or even a strong—case for obstruction [of justice]." This is not the first president "to express dissatisfaction with an investigation by the Justice Department": Bill Clinton did

the same. Nor was it a surprise he wished to see the investigations end: He'd said so publicly.

On Thursday Mr. Comey told the Senate Intelligence Committee that he had authorized leaks about his memos after the president had tweeted a warning: "James Comey better hope that there are no 'tapes' of our conversations before he starts leaking to the press." Mr. Comey realized there might be corroboration. Thursday he said, "Lordy, I hope there are tapes." (That was rather Comey, to pull out the "Lordy.") He asked if they exist that they be released.

In the end Mr. Comey appears to have done himself little or no harm, but he harmed the president by documenting, again and persuasively, that Mr. Trump does not understand the norms, rules and traditions of his job. As I watched, I wondered how many other appointees, officials and White House staffers are writing themselves memos.

Will all this damage the president with his supporters?

What consumes Blue America does not consume Red America.

The photojournalist Chris Arnade reported on Twitter what he was seeing in Mountain Grove, Mo., Thursday morning as Mr. Comey testified. The conversation at the local McDonald's: "1) Yard work/lawn mowers, 2) Danger of Bees, 3) Cardinals sucking, 4) Friend who died, 5) Church." He asked a middle aged man in a T-shirt if he planned to watch the hearings. Kirk said no: "I got a lot of yards to mow."

Then again, a conservative intellectual with small-town roots wrote, during the testimony, that he thought this might be a break point, a moment when Mr. Trump's supporters would listen close and think he's not so much like them, and not so different from the swamp he means to drain.

I myself don't know.

By Joel Engel

History is in part the observation of consequential days,

tragic and joyous. Americans

celebrate July 4 and commemorate

Sept. 11. We remember Dec. 7 and

honor June 6. On those four days,

major events bore consequences that

changed the world.

But at no time in American history have there been three days like June 10-12, 1963, during which several unrelated events altered the nation's course as surely as had the attack on Pearl Harbor.

From Saigon to Mississippi to Washington, the events of June 10-12, 1963, were unusually consequential.

June 10, 1963, began with President John F. Kennedy's signing the Equal Pay Act, which required that women who perform the same jobs as men earn the same as men. The following day, three Buddhist monks waded into a busy Saigon intersection. One of them, Thich Quang Duc, assumed the lotus position. The other two doused him with gasoline. He then lit himself on fire and allowed the flames to consume him.

Hours later—still June 11 in the U.S.—Gov. George Wallace stood at a University of Alabama entrance and delivered his "Schoolhouse Door" speech in an attempt to prevent two black students from integrating the school. Assistant Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach and a contingent of federal marshals compelled Wallace to stand aside, and the students were escorted in—seven years after a court order had prohibited the public university from denying admission based on color.

That night, Kennedy addressed the nation to explain the moral imperative behind the civil-rights bill he

planned to send to Congress. "Today we are committed to a world-wide struggle to promote and protect the rights of all who wish to be free," he said, citing Berlin and Vietnam. "But are we to say to the world and, much more importantly, to each other that this is a land of the free except for the Negroes?"

The elation African-Americans and all Americans of good will felt was short-lived. Early the next morning, June 12, Medgar Evers, a 37-year-old civil-rights activist, stepped onto his Jackson, Miss., driveway and was assassinated. A white supremacist, Byron De La Beckwith, fired the fatal shot from across the street with a deer rifle.

As legislation, the origin of the Equal Pay Act could be traced to a 1944 bill introduced by Rep. Winifred C. Stanley, a Republican from upstate New York. That legislation was defeated, and versions of it were introduced in every subsequent Congress until 1963, when a compromise version—a clause inserted into the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938—passed 362-9 (with Democrats casting all nine nays), and by voice vote in the Senate.

The bill's overwhelming passage gave women their greatest victory since suffrage in 1920. In countless ways it boosted the movement that would be called "women's lib" before becoming known as "feminism."

The Evers assassination would become a catalytic moment for civil rights in ways similar to the 1955 torture lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till while he was visiting relatives in Mississippi. Till's mother, in Chicago, had opened her son's casket for all to see. She wanted mourners to be repelled by what her son had suffered at the hands of men who never paid the price legally. It was no coincidence that a year later came the successful Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott and the emergence of Martin Luther King as the leader of a movement that needed one.

Now King speculated that Evers's

martyrdom would "cause all persons of goodwill to be aroused," and awaken blacks "to rise up with righteous indignation."

Thich Quang Duc's protest suicide in Vietnam landed on American front pages and led the three network evening newscasts, thanks to the photo of the immolation shot by New York Times photographer Malcolm Browne. As JFK noted, "No news picture in history has generated so much emotion around the world as that one."

In the U.S., that emotion was primarily disgust. Americans wondered what could provoke a man to end his life in the most excruciating way possible. The answer was South Vietnam's longtime repression of Buddhists. Just a few weeks earlier, the brother of President Ngo Dinh Diem had ordered state security forces to fire into a parade celebrating

Buddha's birthday. The celebrants' crime? Flying Buddhist flags.

That South Vietnam was essentially an American client, and Diem presumably a puppet whom the Kennedy administration had been propping up for two years, made the sudden attention both domestically and geopolitically problematic. No longer was Vietnam out of sight and mind. Journalists had already begun claiming, and Kennedy had already begun denying, that the U.S. was stuck in a quagmire.

Diem claimed that Communists were behind the protests and refused to comply with the Americans' reform demands. Violence escalated through the summer. Four more monks self-immolated, as did a nun. And when Diem declared martial law in August, Kennedy's men began plotting his overthrow.

The Nov. 1 coup, with a select group of Vietnamese officers replacing Diem, was not supposed to result in his death. But the next day soldiers shot and killed him and his brother. Political chaos ensued, making it much more difficult for the U.S. to accomplish its military goals cleanly or exit Vietnam gracefully—especially after JFK's assassination three weeks later made Lyndon B. Johnson the new commander in chief. Beloved by no one, LBJ was determined to avoid losing Vietnam to the Communists the way Truman had been blamed for losing China.

June 10-12, 1963: otherwise ordinary days that deserve to live in glory and infamy.

Mr. Engel is author, most recently, of *L.A. '56: A Devil in the City of Angels.*

## Why Trump Wins



BUSINESS WORLD  
By Holman W. Jenkins, Jr.

Ex-FBI chief James Comey played well in Thursday's hearing to the audience he cares about, the media and bicoastal elites.

Donald Trump may well have scored a win among the audience he cares about,

Trump's America.

Much was made of Mr. Comey saying he didn't trust Mr. Trump not to "lie" about what transpired in their private meetings. Yet despite our president's dubious relation with veracity, President Trump was shown to be the source of important truths. Mr. Comey had indeed told him he was not under personal investigation in the Russia "collusion" matter. As Sen. Marco Rubio, not a big Trump fan, noted, this fact was remarkable for also being widely known among Senate colleagues and yet was the one fact that never leaked to the media.

Mr. Comey made much of conflicting statements about why he was fired. But it was Mr. Trump who, bellying his own White House flattery, stated candidly it was because of the "Russia thing." Even a non-Trump fan listening to the hearing could readily gather that Mr. Trump had reason to be frustrated that his administration was being paralyzed by insinuations of collusion for which there is zero evidence.

As a rule, when there is no evidence of a particular act, the FBI does not investigate. The FBI is investigating now only because Democrats and Trump opponents so filled the airwaves with unsubstantiated speculation.

Now here's a secret: Most Democrats understand the hunt will come a cropper. If a Trump associate brushed shoulders with a Russian-looking individual on the way to the men's room, it has leaked. The U.S. government sucks up and archives vast gobs of communication data.

Yet the earnestly desired evidence of collusion has not materialized, so Democrats have turned instead to charging "obstruction of justice," with many already baying for impeachment.

Here's another secret: Such "process" crimes don't impress voters when there is no underlying crime. If Mr. Trump leaned on his intelligence officials to remove the Russian cloud,

Will Robert Mueller investigate intelligence agencies for playing in domestic politics?

this was ill-advised on the part of a president whose specialty is the ill-advised.

But his behavior will also increasingly appear in a new light if it turns out Washington's tail-chasing has been partly driven by Russian fabrications.

The Washington Post and CNN reported late last month that the single most shattering series of events for the Hillary Clinton campaign—the events that began with FBI chief Comey's intervention in the race—was partly influenced by planted Russian fake intelligence.

Likewise the dossier of repulsive Trump allegations, assembled by a retired British spy supposedly tapping his Russian intelligence sources, also appears to have been a Russian plant and yet may have played a role in justifying the Obama administration's decision to launch an intelligence investigation of the Trump campaign.

Think about it: To the extent the fruitless hunt for collusion has been promoted by planted Russian intelligence, Russian fiddling is playing a bigger role in shaping our politics today than it did during the campaign.

By the way, we're not alleging supercompetence on Russia's part. Planting fake information is routine intelligence work. The World War II battle of Midway was won partly with fake information about water filtration on Midway Island.

Mr. Comey ducked questions on these subjects, saying he would address them only in classified briefings. President Obama's former national intelligence director, James Clapper, in Australia this week gave a speech that again put the question of Trump collusion, for which he admitted he had no evidence, at the center of investigation despite the multifarious ways Russia meddled for which there's actually evidence.

No surprise here: The FBI, CIA and NSA are eager to pose as scrupulous, disinterested arbiters of Russian meddling. They are not eager to be seen as victims and patsies of Russian meddling. To use Mr. Comey's phrase, the performance of our national intelligence directorate is the one rock that hasn't been turned over.

So here's a question for Special Counsel Robert Mueller, a former FBI chief himself. Will he accept the current framing that his Russia investigation is about *everything except* whether his former agency was semi-wittingly duped into some of its interventions by Kremlin dallings—there's nothing to see here, move along.

Or will he have the courage to ask the requisite questions the FBI, CIA and NSA don't want asked about their own, perhaps, gullibility and overeagerness to play in domestic politics because of their dislike of Mr. Trump?

Washington's desire to get to the bottom of Russian meddling is probably less than you imagine. If not, the places to start are the Trump dossier and the role of Russian disinformation in promoting Mr. Comey's intervention in the Hillary Clinton email matter.

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# SPORTS



SHAWN CLARK/GETTY IMAGES

Christian Pulisic scored both goals for the U.S. national team on Thursday night.

## WORLD CUP

# The Time Is Now For U.S. Phenom

It is clear that if the American men are going to advance to Russia, 18-year-old Christian Pulisic will need to carry them

BY MATTHEW FUTTERMAN

DENVER—The oft-repeated line around the U.S. men's national team these days is, "we have to be patient and give him time."

"Him" in this case is Christian Pulisic, the 18-year-old wunderkind of the American team, whose two second-half goals against Trinidad & Tobago in a crucial World Cup qualifier here Thursday night once again kept hope alive for a U.S. team that for long spells looks like the furthest thing from a World Cup-quality squad.

So here is the problem with the polite request for patience with Pulisic: U.S. Soccer simply doesn't have that luxury. The hard truth is that at the end of 90 minutes, it wasn't simply a 2-0 win for the U.S., it was every bit Christian Pulisic 2, Trinidad & Tobago 0.

"These guys don't come along very often," goalkeeper Tim Howard said of Pulisic after a game that was tied at the half and far more nerve-wracking than it was supposed to be. "We're certainly going to lean on him."

Indeed they are.

Halfway through the 10-game, final qualifying tournament, the Americans have proven that they are going to need Pulisic to perform an absurd number of tasks to get enough points to qualify for Russia.

He is the hub in the middle of the field who often gets the ball from the back and starts the attack. He is the creative mind up front, whose super-quick, slanted runs into the penalty area leave defenders twisting in search of him and the ball. He has to use that quickness and his young legs to track back on defense and help stymie the opponent's attack. When the only space open is on the wings he fits it.

Head Coach Bruce Arena recently told him to take the

free kicks and corner kicks. A showdown with Mexico is just two days away and it seems inevitable that Pulisic will be one of the few players to play another full game at more than more than a mile above sea level. If it were possible him to both cross and finish the same ball, the team might ask him to do that, too.

It is a lot to ask of an 18-year-old kid from Hershey, Pennsylvania, a year removed

The coaches are asking Pulisic to perform an absurd number of tasks.

from his senior prom, but U.S. soccer really has no choice.

After Thursday night's game, Trinidad coach Dennis Lawrence said he saw little difference between the two teams, that his team lost because it made two critical mistakes that allowed Pulisic to get free in the penalty area, where he is deadly. Lawrence wasn't far off.

That is sort of incredible given that his team represents an island nation of 1.2 million people with a gross domestic product of \$43 billion, which is about what New York City spends on its school system every 16 months. Only the crossbar, which stopped Trinidad striker Kenwyne Jones' header late in the first half, allowed the U.S. to head into halftime with a scoreless tie.

After two wins and a draw under Arena—installed in November to replace Jurgen Klinsmann following two ugly losses to open this tournament—the U.S. tenuously holds the third and final automatic qualifying place from its region, but there are still some big problems. The defense is unsteady, and gives up too many good scoring chances. Arena is

frustrated with how slowly the team transitions the ball through the middle of the field, as though they have never watched the Golden State Warriors play basketball, or the world champion Germans play soccer.

Fabian Johnson, the German-American midfielder who played inspired in 2014, rarely creates danger on the wing. Striker Clint Dempsey still starts but can't seem to beat a defender one-on-one. He was seriously salty when Arena subbed him out after an ineffective hour Thursday night, almost refusing to shake Arena's hand as he left the field.

Striker Jozy Altidore and midfielder Michael Bradley are in their late 20s and no longer getting better. Tim Howard is 38. Younger talents like DeAndre Yedlin and Jordan Morris aren't as advanced in their development as coaches expected them to be.

Then there is Pulisic, who is going to have to carry this team to Russia whether he likes it or not. Arena knows this. Moments after he said everyone needed to give the teenager time to develop, he was asked if he was actually doing that, given that he is already asking him to quarterback the team and score and do so many other things.

"Where would you have me play him?" Arena responded rhetorically.

Thursday night, Arena said Pulisic had been a little hesitant when told he was going to be taking the free kicks and corner kicks—a job that Bradley, the captain, used to fill. Arena told him not to worry, that if he got fired for giving the kicks to Pulisic he would be just fine with that.

"I guess I have to start taking more responsibilities," Pulisic said as he headed for the bus following the game.

For now, goalkeeping seems out of the question, but at this point anything seems possible.

BY JIM CHAIRUSMI AND ROB COPELAND

THERE IS AN intriguing subplot to Saturday's Belmont Stakes: Can Wall Street pull off its own triple crown?

Horses owned by high-profile traders Vincent Viola and Seth Klarman have already claimed the Kentucky Derby and Preakness Stakes, respectively, and at least three horses will break from the gate Saturday with ties to Wall Street financiers.

The victories are highlighting a shift in the racing world, after years in which the sport was dominated by Kentucky blue-bloods and Middle East oil magnates. Now, northeast-based U.S. investors are playing a larger role and in many instances bringing tactics from their day jobs to the track.

Hedge-fund manager Solomon Kumin, who part-owned 2016 Preakness champ Exaggerator, is an active trader, regularly swapping stakes in horses, sometimes shortly before races and often in conjunction with partners. Kumin, 41 years old, recently bought a 33% stake in Twisted Tom, a thoroughbred currently listed as a 20-1 dark-horse contender in the Belmont.

"He looks at each individual deal, kind of like it is a stock. 'Where are we buying it today? What can we afford to pay and what can we do with it?'" said Bradley Weisbord,

who manages Kumin's portfolio of more than 50 horses.

Kumin's strategy, Weisbord says, is to largely focus on minority stakes in proven horses, allowing him to own a relatively wide collection of horses that have a chance to win races immediately.

Klarman, the 60-year-old founder of Boston hedge fund Baupost Group, takes a more patient approach. A widely admired practitioner of so-called value investing, or making long-term bets on companies he hopes will appreciate, Klarman has spent tens of millions of dollars buying horses for more than two decades, according to people in the industry. His focus is on buying yearlings, or unraced horses under two years old, at auction in hopes they will develop into top contenders for the sport's biggest races.

Although Viola doesn't have a horse running in Saturday's Belmont, he does have a rooting interest. Weisbord said that Viola is one of several investors that purchased a share of Irish War Cry's future earnings at stud, in a deal that was finalized before the Kentucky Derby. Irish War Cry is the 7-2 favor

## BELMONT STAKES

# WALL STREET AIMS FOR ITS OWN TRIPLE CROWN



Vincent Viola after winning the Kentucky Derby.

GARRY JONES/ASSOCIATED PRESS

ite in Saturday's Belmont.

Wall Street is hardly new to the racing game but the recent wins have brought "more public knowledge that they are involved," said Andy Serling, a former options trader who is currently a handicapper for the New York Racing Association.

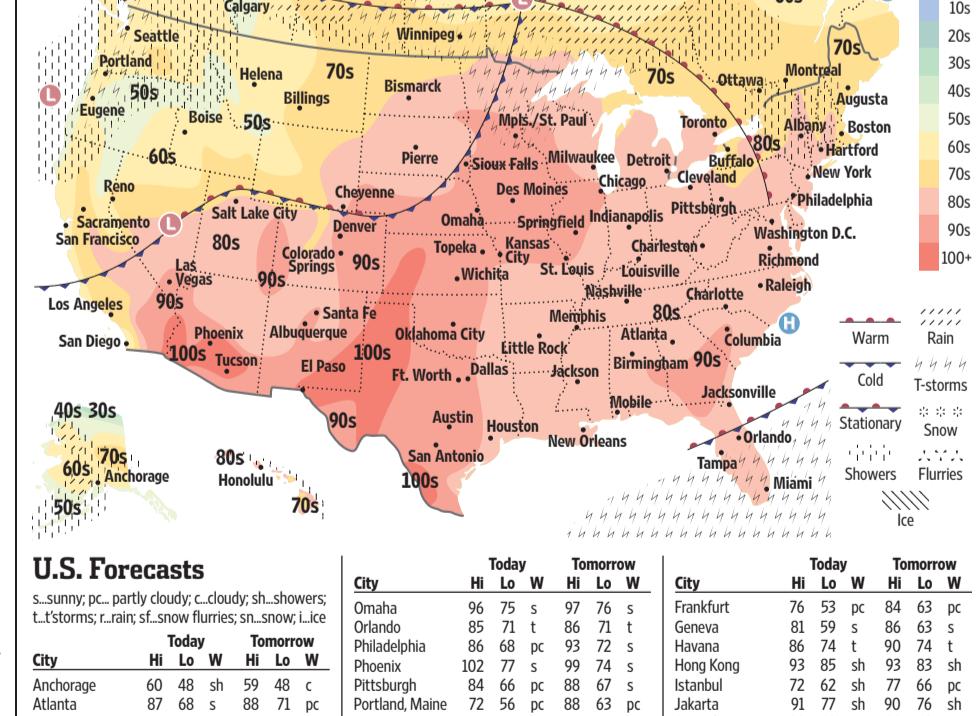
The winner of the Belmont Stakes will collect a purse of \$800,000 but even that tidy sum likely wouldn't be enough to put owners in the black.

For example, since 2000, horses co-owned by Klarman, who races under the name Klaravich Stables, and his partner William Lawrence have earned more than \$29 million, according to Equibase. Of the 43 Klaravich Stables horses that have run this year through Thursday, eight have earned more than their purchase price, the Equibase data show.

Klarman has told associates he doesn't see it as primarily a money-making venture.

Many horse owners aren't particularly concerned with profits, their involvement rooted in either their love of the sport or, in some cases, a search for a tax write-off. "I usually say to a newcomer in the game, 90% of the people lose money," says Weisbord.

## Weather



## U.S. Forecasts

Today Hi Lo W Tomorrow Hi Lo W

City Hi Lo W Hi Lo W

Omaha 96 75 s 97 76 s

Orlando 87 68 s 88 71 pc

Philadelphia 86 68 pc 93 72 s

Phoenix 102 77 s 99 74 s

Pittsburgh 84 66 pc 88 67 s

Portland, Maine 72 56 pc 88 63 pc

Portland, Ore. 62 50 t 69 53 c

Sacramento 75 50 pc 70 48 pc

St. Louis 91 73 s 95 74 s

Salt Lake City 81 64 pc 90 58 s

San Francisco 66 52 pc 63 52 s

Santa Fe 90 52 s 88 50 s

Seattle 66 50 pc 70 52 pc

Sioux Falls 92 69 s 94 67 pc

Wash. D.C. 89 71 s 94 73 s

## International

Today Hi Lo W Tomorrow Hi Lo W

City Hi Lo W Hi Lo W

Frankfurt 76 53 pc 84 63 pc

Geneva 81 59 s 86 63 s

Havana 86 74 t 90 74 t

Hong Kong 93 88 sh 93 88 sh

Istanbul 72 62 sh 77 66 pc

Jakarta 91 77 sh 90 76 sh

Jerusalem 82 62 s 82 63 s

Johannesburg 60 36 s 64 39 s

London 72 58 pc 69 53 pc

Madrid 97 69 pc 100 71 s

Manila 92 79 t 91 80 t

Melbourne 58 43 c 59 46 pc

Mexico City 81 56 pc 80 53 pc

Milan 89 66 s 89 70 s

Moscow 51 51 sh 69 53 c

Mumbai 87 80 sh 89 82 r

Paris 81 60 s 86 55 pc

Rio de Janeiro 72 61 s 74 66 s

Riyadh 111 79 s 113 80 s

Rome 83 61 pc 86 64 s

San Juan 89 78 sh 88 78 pc

Seoul 79 57 s 81 60 s

Shanghai 80 70 t 77 69 s

Singapore 89 80 t 88 79 t

Sydney 64 57 sh 67 53 sh

Taipei 91 79 t 94 80 t

Tokyo 83 66 pc 77 65 pc

Toronto 82 67 c 87 71 pc

Vancouver 63 48 pc 66 49 pc

Warsaw 77 54 t 75 55 pc

Zurich 79 53 s 85 61 s



TECH ASIA STEPS UP IN AI B3

# BUSINESS & FINANCE



RICARDO ARDUENGO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

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\* \* \* \* \*

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Saturday/Sunday, June 10 - 11, 2017 | B1

DJIA 21271.97 ▲ 89.44 0.4% NASDAQ 6207.92 ▼ 1.8% STOXX 600 390.39 ▲ 0.3% 10-YR. TREAS. ▼ 2/32, yield 2.201% OIL \$45.83 ▲ \$0.19 GOLD \$1,268.50 ▼ \$7.80 EURO \$1.1197 YEN 110.33

## Tech Stocks Suddenly Get Slammed

Five tech and internet stocks had accounted for 41% of the S&P 500's rise this year

By CHRIS DIETERICH, AMRITH RAMKUMAR AND BEN EISEN

Quick, everybody to the other side of the boat.

Red-hot technology and internet stocks were under sudden and heavy selling pressure Friday, jolting what had been a torrid run for the fast-growing shares in 2017.

Technology stocks tumbled 2.7% in the S&P 500, even as the broader U.S. stock market

mostly had shrugged off the surprise outcome of an election in the U.K. The S&P 500 fell less than 0.1% and the Dow Jones Industrial Average closed at a record.

Those massive tech stocks that for months led the market higher reversed course sharply. **Apple** Inc. dropped \$6.01, or 3.9%, to \$148.98 and **Microsoft** Corp. fell 1.63, or 2.3%, to 70.32. **Facebook** Inc. slumped 5.11, or 3.3%, to 149.60, Google parent **Alphabet** Inc. shed 34.16, or 3.4%, to 970.12 and **Amazon.com** Inc. declined 31.96, or 3.2%, to 978.31.

Headed into Friday, those five stocks have accounted for

41% of the S&P 500's market-capitalization advance this year.

Concerns that such a highly concentrated group of companies were leading the market higher have for weeks sowed worries that a reversal could be in the cards. A survey of nearly 200 fund managers last month by Bank of America Merrill Lynch found that money managers view the tech-oriented Nasdaq Composite Index as the world's "most crowded trade."

The recent rush into tech stocks, which have lured investors because they're growing sales at a time of sluggish U.S. economic growth, left the group vulnerable to a drop

should traders seek to take some of their chips off the table, analysts warned.

"It's a selling-begets-selling type situation," said Yousef Abbasi, global market strategist at JonesTrading Institutional Services. "Today was one of those perfect storms."

Friday's selling had the hallmarks of traders unwinding a popular trade, some said.

"The positioning is very crowded," said Binky Chadha, chief strategist at Deutsche Bank. He argues that tech stocks are still a good investment based on the longer-term prospects for earnings, but that such positioning may be a concern in the short-term.

Selling was broad-based across the tech sector. **Netflix** Inc. dropped 7.85, or 4.7%, to 158.03, while chip maker **Nvidia** Corp., which had doubled in price over the past seven months, sank 10.34, or 6.5%, to 149.60. Another chip maker, **Advanced Micro Devices** Inc., fell 62 cents, or 4.8%, to 12.28.

In another sign that tech stocks could be running out of steam, **Cloudera** Inc., a high-profile tech initial public offering in early 2017, fell 3.58, or 16%, to 19.41—its lowest close in more than a month—after its first quarterly results as a public company fell short of analyst expectations.

### Reversal of Fortune

On a year-to-date basis, stocks in the S&P 500 that declined Friday have outperformed ones that rose on the day.

Average year-to-date performance

17.96%



Source: WSJ Market Data Group  
THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## Magazine Ads Go Out of Fashion

By MATTHEW DALTON

PARIS—Luxury companies are turning away from glossy magazines, long the industry's main platform for trumpeting its brands to well-heeled consumers.

Louis Vuitton, Gucci and other houses are instead plowing money into digital campaigns—rooted in social media and online advertising—often sidestepping powerful fashion editors, such as Vogue's editor in chief Anna Wintour, who have long dictated fashion tastes to the masses through their print publications.

The luxury industry's global spending on digital advertising was \$1.01 billion in 2016, up 63% since 2013, according to ad-buying firm **Zenith Media**. Spending on magazine ads fell 8% over the same period to \$2.6 billion, Zenith says.

**Condé Nast**, publisher of Vogue, Glamour and other titles, has been snaring fashion-industry spending on digital

communications to help offset the drop in print advertising, says Pamela Drucker Mann, chief marketing officer of the group, which is owned by **Advance Publications** Inc. Its magazines are also boosting revenue and retaining their influence by tweaking their business models: Some titles are joining with fashion brands to create digital movies and other content.

"They're coming to Vogue to help them create their advertising campaigns and their custom content," Ms. Drucker Mann says. "We're starting to become a creative agency."

Ms. Drucker Mann maintains that Ms. Wintour is more influential than ever, with the new audience that Vogue and other Condé Nast websites have found online. Condé Nast titles have 100 million online readers each month and 174 million social-media followers.

While many industries began moving their ad dollars to

Please see ADS page B2

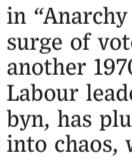


Gucci fashion on display last month in Italy. The brand has led the industry in seeking customers through social networks.

VITTORIO ZUNINO CELotto/GETTY IMAGES

STREETWISE | By James Mackintosh

## Don't Bet Your Money on Britain's Broken Politics



"I don't know what I want, but I know how to get it," snarled the Sex Pistols' Johnny Rotten in "Anarchy In The UK." A surge of voter support for another 1970s throwback, Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn, has plunged the U.K. into chaos, while leaving ob-

servers scratching their heads as to what the country actually voted for.

The snap election on Thursday backfired badly on Prime Minister Theresa May, leaving no party with overall control in Parliament and making a mockery of her "strong and stable" campaign theme.

But the voters didn't attach a message to the brick

they chucked through the political window.

The core result seems to be that Britain is evermore divided, making governing harder.

With negotiations over Britain's exit from the European Union just about to start, the country has no government and no mandate from voters for the difficult choices that have to be made.

Investors can be forgiven for being confused, too.

Consider just three aspects of the results:

Investing is all about decision making under uncertainty, but the uncertainty runs much deeper than usual now. The discussion isn't about what Britain might wring out of its former EU partners at the negotiating table in Brussels, but what it

will even ask for.

If the Tories are to remain in power, they will have to rely on Northern Ireland's Democratic Unionist Party for votes, and they stood on a pledge to stay in the single market—something Mrs. May ruled out.

Traders responded by dumping the pound. Sterling hit a low of \$1.264 on Friday morning, down 2.4% from

where it was before the first exit poll.

And there is no positive story about Britain coming from equities.

The Brexit negotiations drawn almost everything, and the medium-term outcome for sterling turns on a binary decision: Will the U.K. accept EU immigration to secure single-market access, or

Please see STREET page B2

## On a Quest to Lower 401(k) Fees

Jerome Schlichter thrives on representing 'the little person'

By ANNE TERGESEN

When Jerome Schlichter started filing 401(k)-fee lawsuits against big companies a decade ago, the personal-injury lawyer from St. Louis wasn't taken seriously.

"We had heard that a lawyer who did railroad-injury cases was advertising for

participants to sign up for litigation," said James Fleckner, an attorney

who defends companies in Boston. "We were unsure what to make of it."

Companies now are so worried about suits alleging mismanagement of these retirement plans that 401(k) industry consultants have coined a term for the threat: "getting Schlichterized."

Mr. Schlichter's firm,

**Schlichter Bogard & Denton LLP**, has secured \$334 mil-

lion in settlements for clients since 2010. Two years ago, it won a case before the Supreme Court, which ruled that employers with 401(k) plans have a continuing duty

to monitor the investments they choose.

Mr. Schlichter, 68 years old, said retirement plans previously didn't receive watchdog treatment from regulators or anyone else. "Nobody's bonus depended on how the 401(k) plan was managed," he said.

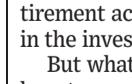
Last year, law firms filed more than 25 fee cases against 401(k)-type plans, according to Groom Law Group in Washington. That includes 14 from Mr. Schlichter's firm against employers including elite universities. The complaints allege, in part, that the plans failed to bargain for lower fees.

Consumer advocates say the litigation has saved 401(k) participants nationwide billions of dollars by helping to push down 401(k) fees, which declined 17% from 2009 to 2014, according to financial-information

Please see 401(K) page B2

INTELLIGENT INVESTOR | By Jason Zweig

## Message to Advisers: Just Hold My Hand



With the La-

bor Depart-

ment's fiduciary rule going

into effect June

9, investors

should recognize what finan-

cial advisers can, and can't, do.

The new regulation re-

quires anyone getti-

ng paid to provide

investment guid-

ance on a retire-

ment account to act solely

in the investor's best interest.

But what that means and

how to measure it are as

murky as ever. Do financial

advisers improve their clients' in-

vestment returns? If you think

so, you may be paying your ad-

viser for the wrong thing.

To be sure, individual in-

vestors can be their own

worst enemies, flinging

money at whichever assets

have gone up the most and

then bailing out at the bot-

tom, locking in losses.

The performance of a mu-  
tual fund, exchange-traded  
fund or other financial asset is  
typically calculated as if you  
put all your money in at the  
beginning and kept it there,  
without adding or withdraw-

ing anything, until the end of  
the measurement period.

But investors add and sub-  
tract money at will along the  
way—often at the worst pos-  
sible times, when they are in  
the grip of greed or fear.

Such buying high and sell-  
ing low leads to what is often  
called the "behavior gap" be-  
tween the performance of an  
investment and its investors.

That gap can only be es-  
timated. However, by adjust-  
ing a fund's returns for the  
amount of money investors  
put in and took out along  
the way, researchers can at  
least approximate a number.

Please see ZWEIG page B4



Attorney Jerome Schlichter says his work allows him to make a living and also 'live' his values.

DAVID TORRENCE FOR THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Please see 401(K) page B2

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## 401(K)

Continued from the prior page provider BrightScope Inc.

Critics contend that the fear of litigation is encouraging employers to focus on fees at the expense of service and innovation. They say the settlements have significantly benefited Mr. Schlichter.

His firm received about \$90 million since 2010, while the more than one million 401(k) participants covered by the settlements have received an average of \$283 each, according to Mr. Schlichter.

Mr. Schlichter counters that his fees cover more than 10 years of work related to the cases and that his clients stand to gain much more in the long run, thanks to the resulting changes.

The son of an airplane mechanic, Mr. Schlichter, who goes by Jerry, focused on 401(k) plans after a 2005 meeting with a union official at a unit of **Boeing** Co. in St. Louis.

In law school, he got involved in the civil-rights, labor and antiwar movements.

The workers were worried about their retirements, Mr. Schlichter said. "They didn't understand how the 401(k) plan worked," he said. "I decided to take a deep dive—not just into Boeing's plan but into the whole 401(k) industry."

At the time, the firm had no expertise in the federal law that governed 401(k) plans. It hired four lawyers who spent 18 months reading plan disclosures and seeking information from experts.

Mr. Schlichter found a study from the Labor Department, which regulates the plans, that he said pointed out jumbo plans can get fees for one-quarter the cost of retail mutual funds.

"We saw billion-dollar-plus plans paying retail fees that an investor" with a \$500 account had to pay, he said.

In 2006, the firm filed a dozen lawsuits against the 401(k) plans of companies including Lockheed Martin Corp. and Boeing. The companies, which declined to comment, didn't admit to wrongdoing.

Because his firm is paid only when it wins or settles cases, it could take years—if ever—to see a payoff. To pay attorneys' salaries and experts' fees in the early years, the firm used its profits and a line of credit.

In 2006, Mr. Schlichter mortgaged his family's four-bedroom home in St. Louis for millions of dollars. "We made a 'bet the firm' decision," he said.

The second of five children raised in Mascoutah,

Ill., Mr. Schlichter was the first in his family to attend college, graduating from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, in 1969 after three years. Rather than accept a scholarship to the law school there, he borrowed to pay out-of-state tuition at University of California, Los Angeles.

"My dad—a thrifty, hard-working person—could not comprehend what I was even talking about," Mr. Schlichter said. "He was appalled that I would even dream of turning down a scholarship." His father was also worried that he would become a hippie, Mr. Schlichter added.

In law school, Mr. Schlichter juggled law review with jobs as a legal researcher and janitor. He got involved in the civil-rights, labor and antiwar movements and said he spent a day in jail after being arrested while picketing with striking Teamsters.

Mr. Schlichter said he was drawn to the idea of representing the underdog while working one summer for an East St. Louis, Ill., firm that defended seven university students involved in a demonstration that resulted in damage to a U.S. Army building.

Mr. Schlichter says the firm's contingency-fee work appealed to him because it allowed him to "represent the little person" who couldn't afford a lawyer.

"I began to see how I could make a living and also live my values," he said.

After graduating, Mr. Schlichter returned to that firm, specializing in employment-discrimination and railroad-injury cases. In 1989, he started his own firm.

Mr. Schlichter weathered early setbacks in the 401(k) cases, including a 2009 appeals-court dismissal.

"Jerry rallied us," said Thomas Clark, a former colleague. "He gave us confidence that we were marching forward no matter what."

Mr. Schlichter said the firm broke even on the cases around 2014.

Retired partner Robert Bogard said: "Jerry sees the problems that I and many others see, but he has the determination and vision to do something about it. He refuses to lose."

### Fee Compression

A percentage-point gap in 401(k) fees makes a big difference in returns.

### Projected retirement balance\*

\$227,000	\$163,000
0.5% fee	1.5% fee

\*Assumes an employee with a current 401(k) account balance of \$25,000, making no further contributions, retires after 35 years and earns a 7% annual return.

Source: Labor Department

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

## BUSINESS & FINANCE

# Boeing Faces Trade Setback

BY ROBERT WALL  
AND DOUG CAMERON

The World Trade Organization Friday ruled the U.S. failed to adequately eliminate all illegal state subsidies to **Boeing** Co. in a move that could trigger retaliatory sanctions from the European Union next year.

The WTO's verdict levels the score in the long-running spat between the U.S. and the EU over financial support for Boeing and **Airbus** SE, with the latter already criticized by the trade body last year for funding it received from member states to develop new aircraft.

Boeing and Airbus, which is based in Blagnac, France, compete fiercely for airliner orders and for years have accused one another of winning business through illegal government handouts benefiting programs such as the A380 superjumbo and 787 Dreamliner.

Both Airbus and Boeing claimed victory in the case, arguing the ruling bolsters their cases that the other is unfairly benefiting from government handouts.

Airbus Chief Executive Tom Enders called it "a great victory" that demonstrated "how Boeing continues to seek the benefits from this extensive illegal support, at the great expense of a level playing field in the world-wide aviation industry."

Chicago-based Boeing said Airbus and the EU had suffered "another resounding defeat" as the WTO said the EU had failed to prove Airbus and its suppliers were disadvantaged by the majority of the support provided to Boeing. This included state benefits and research and development



The World Trade Organization ruled that Boeing still benefits unfairly from government subsidies.

funding provided by the Pentagon.

"The WTO again categorically rejected Europe's and Airbus' claims," said Michael Luttig, Boeing's general counsel, echoing comments Friday from U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer.

The latest WTO decision opens the door for the EU to impose tariffs against a range of U.S. goods and services beyond aerospace. However,

trade experts said this was unlikely because defendants can make small changes in their rules to avoid tariffs.

Simon Lester, trade policy analyst at the Washington-based Cato Institute, said the ruling will likely be appealed, though the process could be protracted with the panel backed up on numerous cases.

The decision follows a ruling last September when the

WTO determined that the EU had failed to comply with a demand to remove subsidies or void their effect on Airbus.

Aircraft-subsidy battles can take years to work their way through the regulatory process. The U.S.-European spat goes back 40 years.

The two sides settled a previous dispute over subsidies in 1992, but the U.S. walked away from that deal in 2004, arguing Airbus had an unfair advantage, and brought a case before the WTO. The EU soon after filed a tit-for-tat complaint.

The WTO in 2011 determined Boeing had benefited from state aid. The ruling was largely upheld a year later on appeal. In 2012, the U.S. said it had complied with the WTO's determination, which the EU challenged and alleged were expanded.

The EU has a second complaint running against the U.S. over aid to Boeing from Washington state.

Friday's ruling comes as the new U.S. administration reviews its participation in the multilateral trade group and Boeing presses a separate case against Canada over alleged predatory pricing of jetliners made by Montreal-based **Bombardier** Inc. that has strained relations between the countries.

In April, Boeing filed a petition with the U.S. Commerce Department and the International Trade Commission alleging Canadian state subsidies created an unfair competitive threat to its own 737 passenger jets. The commission voted Friday to press ahead with the case in the face of protests from the Canadian government.



## ADS

Continued from the prior page digital media years ago, fashion magazines suffered less from the trend due to their symbiotic relationships with the brands they cover. Magazines provide wall-to-wall coverage of fashion shows and other promotional events important to brands, which have long responded by buying reams of advertising pages that underpinned the glossies' business model.

Meanwhile, magazine editors have worked hand-in-glove with brands, designers and retailers, developing new looks and occasionally calling the shots on what appears on the runways.

Now, the industry is realizing the benefit of reaching out to its affluent customers on the internet versus print. Luxury executives say digital campaigns are highly effective, can reach people at relatively low cost and give advertisers loads of data to track how their

spending translates into higher sales.

François-Henri Pinault, the French billionaire and chief executive of luxury conglomerate **Kering** Co., has described "a real reallocation from what we spent on print to the internet." Mr. Pinault estimates that Kering, whose brands include Gucci and Saint Laurent, spends 35% to 40% of its communication budget on digital, compared with 15% to 20% some 18 months ago.

"If we were to launch a brand today, all the communication to start would be online," he says.

The industry has a welter of options other than Vogue, Marie Claire and Glamour to communicate with the public.

Brands can connect with clientele as well over Instagram, Facebook, Twitter and Snapchat, along with a host of new internet fashion websites.

**LVMH** Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy, the world's biggest luxury company, has hired San Francisco-based **Tribe Dynamics** to identify and interact

with "influencers"—those who talk about LVMH's brands on social networks, ranging from celebrities to people with just a few hundred followers on Instagram.

Tribes calculates a metric it calls "earned media value"—the amount of money a company saves on advertising because influencers are talking about its brands online.

"These influencers are themselves brands and micro-publishers, 'earned media' the same as Vogue," says Ian Rogers, chief digital officer at LVMH, whose brands include Louis Vuitton, Fendi and Christian Dior.

Mr. Pinault credits deft communication over social media for much of the runaway success of Gucci over the past two years. Sales in the first quarter surged 50%, beating expectations of even the most optimistic analysts.

Gucci and its creative director, Alessandro Michele, have been among the most aggressive in the industry in engaging customers on social net-

works. Gucci asked social-media artists to write "memes"—witty messages paired with an image—that would help launch the brand's new line of watches last quarter.

One meme selected by Gucci shows a 16th-century painting of a Spanish noblewoman staring glumly ahead, emblazoned with the phrase: "When he buys you flowers instead of a Gucci watch." The image was liked 91,000 times on Gucci's Instagram account.

**Prada** Spa is also shifting its communication to digital, says Stefano Cantino, the Italian fashion house's chief marketing officer. He estimates that 25% of Prada's communications budget goes to online campaigns, a significant increase over recent years.

But Prada remains cautious about using influencers to market itself, fearing that aligning the brand with the wrong person on social media could tarnish its image. "It's really key to keep the DNA of the brand," Mr. Cantino says.

## STREET

Continued from the prior page not? Such a move is anathema to many Tories, including Mrs. May, and seems highly unlikely.

In the longer term, an almost equally divided elec-

torate combined with Britain's first-past-the-post voting system means a weak government, and a weak government won't make hard decisions. Government spending won't be cut as much, difficult choices

about retirement and health care will be put off again, and more inflation will have

to be tolerated as a result.

This isn't the 1970s though. London may have led the ABBA revival, but unlike the '70s, Britain has a competitive labor market and remains open to trade and investment.

Inflation is rising and back above the Bank of England's 2% target thanks to

the plunge in the pound in the past year, but it is still only 2.7%—a far cry from the 20% plus that was reached in the '70s.

Britain is down, and it is going to hurt. But it is a long way from Johnny Rotten's ironic "God Save The Queen" lyric: "There is no future in England's dreaming."

## BUSINESS TECHNOLOGY

# Consumers Give Asia A Lift in AI

By TIMOTHY W. MARTIN  
AND DAN STRUMPF

HONG KONG—Hundreds of millions of newly connected consumers are giving Asian tech firms a leg up against Silicon Valley in key emerging technologies.

At The Wall Street Journal's D.Live Asia conference on Friday, Asia's top technology investors and companies outlined how information gleaned from a massive and growing smartphone user base has informed the continent's push into artificial intelligence, a type of machine learning that thrives on big helpings of consumer data.

Artificial intelligence, a field that is key to voice-activated digital assistants, driverless cars and robotics, has become a tech-world obsession.

But the sheer number of web users in Asia compared with the U.S. and Europe, combined with deeper knowledge of local markets, is creating a dynamic in which user feedback—as much as raw engineering power—is driving advances.

"AI is the new electricity," said Andrew Ng, a Stanford University professor and former top AI scientist at **Alpha-Bet** Inc.'s Google and Chinese internet giant Baidu Inc. "Whatever industry you work in, I think AI will likely transform it."

Mr. Ng's sentiments were echoed by other speakers at the WSJ's D.Live Asia event, where AI was among several attention-grabbing topics. Participants also discussed how doing business in China has changed, competition in mobile-payment services and unparalleled mobile adoption in Southeast Asia.

In the race to harness artificial intelligence, the U.S. had a clear advantage with the first wave of smartphone apps and software. But services like mobile payments, online shopping and messaging appear to be evolving more quickly in Asia, drawing on its greater scale in terms of web-connected users.

Connie Chan, a partner at Andreessen Horowitz, the Silicon Valley venture firm whose investments include Airbnb Inc. and Facebook Inc., sees instances where China's internet titans are leading the way for both major and startup U.S. firms. For instance, Ms. Chan said, Apple Inc. recently added payment services to its iMessage chat service, taking a page from Tencent Holdings Ltd.'s playbook.

"I love this reversal of what 'China copycat' can mean," Ms. Chan said. "It no longer just means a Chinese company copying the States, it can mean a U.S. company copying China."

The time-tested lessons in China are contrasted with the lesser-tapped markets of Southeast Asia, which is undergoing explosive growth in mobile use.

In Indonesia, the world's fourth-largest country with a population of more than 250 million, Singapore's GrabTaxi Holdings Pte. Ltd. and Indonesian **Go-Jek** are slugging it out.

Go-Jek, the motorcycle-hailing startup, said it was defending its home territory successfully, beating both Grab and **Uber Technologies** Inc. "In terms of competition, we're clearly number one across verticals," said Nadiem Makarim, co-founder of Go-Jek.

In the region, Grab co-founder Anthony Tan spoke of



A robot for cleaning office-building windows is displayed at The Wall Street Journal's D.Live Asia conference in Hong Kong

### Microsoft Becomes More 'Sharing'

HONG KONG—Microsoft Corp. has forged closer partnerships with Chinese companies as the market environment changed, said Alain Crozier, the company's chairman for Greater China.

"You have to change your business model," said Mr. Crozier, speaking at The Wall Street Journal's D.Live conference Friday.

the company's fast growth since launching in 2012, now covering 55 cities not only in Singapore and Indonesia, but also the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam and Myanmar.

J.D. Co. Inc., China's second-largest online retailer after Alibaba Group Holding Ltd., also has ambitious growth plans for the region. Other

"I share maybe more than I used to share."

In May, the software company said it completed a version of Windows 10 customized for the Chinese government through a joint-venture with CETC, a state-owned company. That version has yet to be listed on the Chinese government's procurement list, which would green light it for widespread adoption.

The customized version of Windows 10 marks "a very big change in how Microsoft ap-

proaches the market," he said, noting that it required close cooperation with the Chinese government and CETC, he said.

Mr. Crozier said customers can better protect themselves against cyberattacks like WannaCry by updating their software. China and Russia were hit hard in the WannaCry attacks, as large numbers of users were still running old or pirated versions of Windows, according to cybersecurity experts.

—Eva Dou

latest five-year economic plan, said Jenny Lee, managing partner of GGV Capital.

It is only in recent years that China has attained the technology levels needed to join the race in emerging sectors like artificial intelligence and cloud computing, she said. "Ten years ago, there was no cloud infrastructure in China," Ms. Lee said. "Today the story is very different."

China has already raced ahead in getting its consumers to do their shopping online, said Yuri Milner, founder of the prominent tech investment firm DST Global. But he expects the rest of the world to catch up. Only 6% of consumer spending world-wide takes place online, a figure he expects to rise to 15% by 2025, a number that "is pretty close to the Chinese number today."

—Eva Dou, Liza Lin and Newley Purnell contributed to this article.

# Merger of Department Stores Off the Table for Now

By SUZANNE KAPNER  
AND MATT JARZEMSKY

Takeover talks between **Neiman Marcus** Group Inc. and the parent of Saks Fifth Avenue have stalled, according to people familiar with the matter, leaving the department store owners to chart their own paths through a difficult retail landscape.

**Hudson's Bay** Co., the owner of Saks and Lord & Taylor, had approached Neiman Marcus about a potential combination earlier this year, The Wall Street Journal reported

in March. The two sides have been unable to reach an agreement on price and are no longer actively working on a deal, one of the people said, adding that the talks could resume.

In March, Neiman Marcus said it hired financial advisers to explore strategic alternatives, including a potential sale or debt restructuring. The luxury chain, which has been controlled by private-equity firms for a dozen years, has been grappling with a \$5 billion debt load and shrinking sales.

The transaction would have

been a complex move for Hudson's Bay, which sought to take control of Neiman without taking on its debt load, people familiar with the matter had said.

**Ares Management** LP and the Canada Pension Plan Investment Board bought Neiman Marcus in 2013 from another group of private-equity backers for \$6 billion including debt.

The retailer is expected to report its latest quarterly results on Tuesday.

Hudson's Bay on Thursday announced plans to cut 2,000

jobs in North America and lower its dividend payout, part of a \$350 million restructuring program to help the Canadian company cope with "the challenges of an evolving retail environment."

The company reported a 3% drop in retail sales and a wider loss for the latest quarter.

Its shares fell 9% Friday and are down by about a quarter since the deal talks surfaced in March, giving the company a market value of less than 2 billion Canadian dollars (\$1.5 billion).

"I continue to believe that there are opportunities around the world for us to create synergies and increase our market share in different markets," Hudson's Bay Chairman Richard Baker said on a conference call Friday. "Obviously, we have a lot to do here and we're very focused on it."

Department stores are struggling as shoppers make fewer visits to malls, and discounting by online rivals squeeze profits out of the industry. Some, like Macy's Inc. and J.C. Penney Co., have responded by closing stores.

Hudson's Bay has been exploring combinations that could give it greater scale and room to cut more costs, but the stalling of the Saks talks shows how difficult it is to strike deals in the current environment.

On Thursday, the founding family of Nordstrom Inc. said it was exploring the possibility of taking the company private and that the board had hired financial advisers to review any potential offer. The Nordstrom family owns about 30% of the Seattle-based company and runs the business.

# Carrefour Taps CEO for Digital Makeover

By NICK KOSTOV

**PARIS—Carrefour** SA named Alexandre Bompard as its next chief executive Friday, tapping someone who has gone toe-to-toe with **Amazon.com** Inc. to help close its e-commerce gap.

Carrefour, Europe's largest retailer, said current Chief Executive Georges Plassat would step aside next month.

Mr. Bompard, 44 years old, has been chief executive of Fnac Darty, where he has been credited with turning around the book, music and electronics retailer's online operations.

Carrefour is a brick-and-mortar behemoth that has struggled to compete with more nimble retailers online as well as smaller shops that are more conveniently located and price-competitive.

The French-based company's main format is the hypermarket—sprawling warehouses that sell everything from baguettes to bicycles. That model has fallen out of favor as clientele migrate online where they can shop with the swipe of a finger.

"Mr. Bompard adds the potential to improve their digital capability and increase the flexibility between online and offline," said Cedric Lecasble, analyst at Raymond James.

Carrefour had been searching



Carrefour, Europe's largest retailer, has struggled online.

and CEO was due to expire in May 2018.

Mr. Plassat took the helm of Carrefour in 2012 as the retailer was trying to overcome years of declining sales and strategic missteps. He shrank the company's global footprint, pulling out of a number of markets. In France, he focused on Carrefour's pricing strategy, cutting back on promotional sales and keeping prices low throughout the year, while investing heavily in an overhaul of its stores.

At Fnac, Mr. Bompard

quickly established himself by leading a digital transformation and cutting costs. He took the company public in 2013 and won a bidding war for white-goods retailer Darty last year.

That allowed the French-based company, whose main markets also include Spain, Belgium and Brazil, to build scale and better compete with large e-commerce companies. Fnac shares have nearly tripled in value since its listing.

Mr. Bompard's first priority at Fnac was to keep its cus-

### Shrinking Market

Carrefour clients are increasingly shopping in smaller stores and online.

#### Carrefour gross sales by segment



Source: the company

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

tomers from straying. He committed to matching competitors' prices and brought prices in line with Amazon's.

Fnac also increased advantages for its most loyal clients, while using data mining to target them. It also improved its website and mobile app.

At the same time, Fnac used its brick-and-mortar network to its advantage by asking vendors including **Samsung Electronics** Co. and **Apple** Inc. to set up their own branded areas in the shops. Mr. Bompard knew that his suppliers wanted Fnac to do well, particularly as a showroom for their higher-end products.

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## BUSINESS & BANKING

# Puerto Rico Deal Totters

By ANDREW SCURRIA

Wall Street investors battling Puerto Rico for payments had viewed the U.S. government's intervention as helping their cause. Now they fear the opposite may be true.

A \$9 billion restructuring deal covering the territory's electric utility debt is at risk of collapsing as U.S. officials supervising Puerto Rico's finances struggle to reach consensus on the merits of the agreement, according to people close to the matter. The settlement has lost support among the seven voting members of Puerto Rico's federal oversight board, leaving the viability of the deal in flux and creditors dubious about its fate, these people said.

Creditors were instrumental in convincing Congress to install the oversight board last year, saying an impartial financial management entity was needed to rehabilitate Puerto Rico's finances and facilitate voluntary agreements to renegotiate its debts.

Bondholders under the existing utility deal would receive new debt worth 85% of their claims, paid from a new charge on electricity customers. But the board's delay in deciding on the proposed terms has rattled investors who hoped the deal would set the tone for settlements of Puerto Rico's other debts. Without a settlement framework in place, the power monopoly known as Prepa could join in the territorial government's court-supervised bankruptcy, where a judge would decide who gets paid what.

"The oversight board's apparent stance in opposition to



Workers instruct inmates in early voting for Sunday's plebiscite on Puerto Rico's political status.

The Prepa agreement at this stage is highly concerning," said Stephen Spencer, a banker representing a group of utility bondholders.

The turmoil comes as the island is set to vote Sunday on whether to seek U.S. statehood, maintain territorial status or opt for independence,

Puerto Rico Electric Power Authority bonds have steadily weakened since early April when creditors revised their restructuring terms at the request of Puerto Rico Gov. Ricardo Rosselló, who sought additional debt concessions to ameliorate projected rate increases on consumers.

Local businesses and ratepayer advocates remain critical of the deal. Purging more debt would protect consumers from paying higher rates to re-

pay creditors, mitigating the drag on economic growth from the island's high power costs, said economist Gustavo Vélez.

The Prepa deal may not be popular locally, but its potential collapse is deepening tensions with congressional Republicans who created the board last year as part of a federal rescue package.

A GOP aide with the Natural Resources Committee, which has jurisdiction over U.S. territories, said the delay in concluding "what was a preordained negotiation" was "deeply concerning."

The rescue law was meant to give the board "no discretion" to veto the debt deal, said Bill Cooper, a lawyer and former staff director in the House Committee on Natural Resources who led the draft-

ing of the bill on Capitol Hill.

But board member Ana Matosantos told Congress in March that the board would review the deal to ensure it fostered a "comprehensive transformation" of Prepa.

Unrest has been growing for years in Puerto Rico over an unreliable energy service that costs consumers more than in every state but Hawaii.

Investors have been surprised at the board's aggressive stance toward debt reduction. A 10-year plan approved in March rejected some of Gov. Rosselló's deepest austerity suggestions and replaced earlier growth estimates with more conservative figures, leaving less money to broker settlements.

—Heather Gillers

contributed to this article.

RICARDO ARDUENGO/GETTY IMAGES

## ZWEIG

Continued from page B1

Investors in mutual funds, for example, earn average annual returns roughly 1 to 1.5 percentage points lower than those of their funds. Investors in hedge funds may trail those vehicles by up to 7 percentage points annually.

In theory, that is what a stockbroker or financial planner should prevent. "Advisers provide a human element that gives clients confidence and comfort in not deviating from a plan," says Dave Butler, co-chief executive of Dimensional Fund Advisors, a firm in Austin, Texas, whose funds aren't available to individual investors without an adviser. "The reaction to markets can be completely different when the adviser is in the loop."

Unfortunately, some advisers might not behave that way in practice.

Here's a tale of two funds. **Fidelity Select Biotechnology Fund I**, a \$1 billion portfolio nearly identical to the Select fund, ca-



CHRISTOPHE VORLET

tors making their own decisions. It averaged a 14% return annually over the past 10 years. The fund's investors fell considerably behind, averaging 10.1% annually.

Investors who got professional advice appear to have done worse. **Fidelity Advisor Biotechnology Fund I**, a \$1 billion portfolio nearly identical to the Select fund, ca-

ters—just as its name implies—to financial advisers. Over the 10 years through May 31, it gained an average of 13.6% annually. But its typical investor earned only 0.7% annually, estimates Morningstar, the research firm.

Here, it seems, so many advisers may have bought high and sold low that their clients made next to nothing.

(All these numbers ignore any annual fees advisers may charge directly to clients.)

It's important to note that at most of Fidelity Advisor's biggest funds, investors did better than at sibling portfolios where individuals probably didn't use an adviser.

Unadvised investors might have earned higher returns at the Select biotech fund "because they didn't have the benefit of understanding the extra risk that can be associated with this kind of fund," says Roger Hobby, head of private wealth management at Fidelity Investments. With no adviser to stop them, perhaps they took excessive risk that happened to pay off this time.

Or take **Davis New York Venture Fund**, also sold

through advisers. The Class A shares earned an average of 5% annually over the 10 years through May 31. The typical investor, however, lost 0.1% annually.

That is largely because many abandoned the fund years after its 40% loss in 2008. The Class A shares, which had \$20.1 billion in assets at the end of 2010, had

\$6.7 billion at the end of last month—even though the fund would have nearly doubled your money had you stuck around the entire time.

Shareholders remained more loyal than they did at many adviser-sold funds that had comparable performance, says Christopher Davis, chairman of Davis Advisors in New York, which manages New York Venture.

"Some investors did panic out," he says, "but probably in much lesser numbers than they otherwise would have if they didn't have an adviser."

Not all advisers chase performance, but all too many still do. Buying what's hot and dumping what's not, they are no less human than their clients.

So you should hire an adviser not for his or her investing prowess, but to help organize your finances, prioritize your goals, minimize your taxes and navigate the shoals of retirement and estate planning. Done right, those services can make you far richer—and happier—than the pipe dream of investment outperformance is likely to.

## Estate-Tax Portability Benefit Is Simplified

By LAURA SAUNDERS

The estates of many recently deceased American taxpayers will now more easily obtain a crucial tax benefit thanks to an Internal Revenue Service decision.

Revenue Procedure 2017-34, which takes effect immediately, gives the estates of many people who died in 2011 and after until at least Jan. 2, 2018, to make a "portability" election. This provision allows a surviving spouse to receive the unused portion of the partner's federal estate-tax exemption.

For example, the federal estate-tax exemption in 2017 is \$5.49 million per individual on assets other than those left to a spouse, which are tax-free. If a wife dies this year and leaves \$1 million to heirs other than her husband, then her executor can make a portability election and preserve her remaining \$4.49 million exemption—lifting the husband's total exemption to \$9.98 million.

Congress passed the portability provision in 2010, enabling married couples to make tax-saving moves after the death of the first spouse. Before it was enacted, the unused exemption of the first-to-die was often lost if the couple didn't set up special trusts.

But the new provision came with its own hitch: The portability election had to be made within months of death on an estate-tax return. Many executors and advisers were unaware of the benefit, especially if the estate wasn't taxable.

Since the provision passed, the IRS has received numerous requests for portability relief due to missed deadlines. Each request for relief has a fee of up to \$10,000, plus adviser costs.

The new procedure is simpler. Now, executors for estates of people who died from 2011 to Jan. 2, 2016, have until Jan. 2, 2018, to file an estate-tax return and make a portability election. Normally, the agency will accept it as long as the estate wasn't required to file a return and didn't file one.

Executors for estates of people dying after Jan. 2, 2016, have two years from the date of death to file an estate-tax return and make the election.

As Fiduciary Rule Is Phased In, What Now?

By LISA BEILFUSS

A landmark retirement-savings rule's fate remains uncertain, but one thing is clear: Starting June 9, retirement savers are entitled to investment advice that serves their best interest.

The Labor Department's fiduciary rule—which aims to eliminate conflicted advice on an estimated \$3 trillion in retirement assets—began kicking in Friday after a two-month delay that was part of a review ordered by the Trump administration to assess whether the regulation would reduce savers' access to investment advice or disrupt the financial-services industry.

While the review is set to continue through year's end and the rule wouldn't take full effect until Jan. 1, 2018, brokers must begin upholding a fiduciary standard, meaning they put clients' interests before their own.

Investors can expect changes to how their money is handled, the investment options they have and how they pay for advice. The degree of change will vary by firm and by account, and much will depend on how the Labor Department's review plays out.

Here are some things to watch:

### As of Friday ...

As of Friday, brokers and insurance agents must adhere to the best-interest standard, or the spirit of the fiduciary rule. That means advice must be based on clients' interests, rather than the financial interest of the adviser or firm.

It also means brokers can charge no more than "reasonable compensation" and have to offer more transparency around the compensation they earn, the transactions they make, and potential conflicts of interest.

While wealth managers and insurance sellers are on the hook to act as fiduciaries starting June 9, it is essentially on the honor system until Jan. 1.

The Labor Department pushed out the compliance deadline for certain parts of the regulation, including its enforcement, giving the industry more time to adjust and potentially preventing compliance with elements that could be revised after the review.

For example, advisers don't have to provide clients with a best-interest contract until January, and some client dis-

closures about compensation and conflicts aren't yet required.

### What happens to commission accounts?

The fiduciary rule includes a grandfathering provision that allows for certain commission-generating accounts to remain as-is after June 9. But investors must generally

forgo new investment advice and aren't able to make significant changes to the account if the manager of it is to stay compliant with the regulation.

Rather than have their commission accounts grandfathered, some clients may find themselves dropped. That won't necessarily happen immediately and such accounts may simply be frozen meanwhile.

Joseph Romano, president

of Evanston, Ill.-based wealth-management firm Romano Brothers & Co., said compliance costs and legal risks associated with the rule make it less lucrative to service relatively small accounts. As such, he said he has identified some smaller client accounts that he will shed if the Labor Department doesn't make substantial changes to the rule.

Those clients won't receive any notification yet, he said, but between June 9 and Jan. 1, "it's pretty much hands off" and his firm won't initiate trade on those clients' behalf.

### Will investment options change?

Most likely. Products that generate more than "reasonable compensation," such as high-fee mutual funds, are likely to be eliminated from retirement-account menus. And new products that generate fees are likely to emerge as demand grows for fee-generating choices versus those that pay commissions.

Christine Gill, head of investor solutions at Bank of New York Mellon Corp., said distributors such as broker-dealers and retirement-plan

platforms have been reducing the number of products they're offering to mitigate conflicts of interest.

For example, she said, the lineup of mutual funds on offer at some firms has been shrinking so that firms can do the due diligence necessary for compliance with the higher standard of care.

At the same time, new products are being created as more advisers seek investment options that make complying with the fiduciary rule easier.

For example, Lincoln Financial Group, which sells insurance products, this year launched a line of fee-based variable and fixed-income annuities.

The launch was in part tied to the fiduciary rule as annuities have typically generated commissions.

A new type of mutual-fund share has also been designed ahead of the fiduciary rule's deadline, though its adoption hasn't fully caught on amid the uncertainty.

"Clean shares" charge only the fee to manage and operate a mutual fund, and don't include payments to distributors that could violate the rule.

—Michael Wursthorn  
contributed to this article.

## COMMODITIES

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Metal & Petroleum  
Contract

<b>Oats (CBT)</b> -5,000 bu; cents per bu.		<b>Cotton (ICE-US)</b> -50,000 lbs.; cents per lb.		<b>Sept</b>	1.2784	1.2868	1.2675	<b>1.2767</b>	-.0218	26,402	
July 245.00 254.75	243.25	<b>252.25</b>	7.25	4,526	July 76.48	76.49	75.55	<b>75.69</b>	-.86	63,994	
Dec 232.00 240.50	232.00	<b>239.25</b>	6.25	1,592	Dec 72.93	73.19	72.26	<b>72.49</b>	-.61	140,331	
<b>Soybeans (CBT)</b> -5,000 bu; cents per bu.		<b>Orange Juice (ICE-US)</b> -15,000 lbs.; cents per lb.		<b>June</b>	1.0337	1.0341	1.0285	<b>1.0325</b>	-.0024	49,133	
July 937.00 944.00	932.75	<b>941.50</b>	3.50	291,154	<b>Sept</b>	1.0397	1.0400	1.0346	<b>1.0385</b>	-.0024	2,986
Nov 943.00 948.75	938.50	<b>948.25</b>	4.50	250,656	<b>Australian Dollar (CME)</b> -AUD 100,000; \$ per AUD						
<b>Soybean Meal (CBT)</b> -100 tons; \$ per ton.		<b>Treasury Bonds (CBT)</b> -\$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%		<b>June</b>	.7536	.7544	.7519	<b>.7528</b>	-.0018	121,536	
July 305.90 309.20	303.50	<b>305.90</b>	-.20	154,433	<b>July</b>	.7522	.7539	.7517	<b>.7525</b>	-.0018	494
Dec 309.60 312.20	307.20	<b>309.90</b>	.20	115,192	<b>Aug</b>	.7531	.7537	.7514	<b>.7522</b>	-.0018	302
<b>Soybean Oil (CBT)</b> -60,000 lbs.; cents per lb.		<b>Treasury Notes (CBT)</b> -\$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%		<b>Sept</b>	.7525	.7533	.7509	<b>.7518</b>	-.0018	8,817	
July 31.79 32.34	31.61	<b>32.29</b>	.44	160,264	<b>Dec</b>	.7516	.7522	.7495	<b>.7511</b>	-.0018	243
Dec 32.31 32.79	32.09	<b>32.74</b>	.42	128,993	<b>Mexican Peso (CME)</b> -MXN 500,000; \$ per MXN						
<b>Rough Rice (CBT)</b> -2,000 cwt; \$ per cwt.		<b>5 Yr. Treasury Notes (CBT)</b> -\$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%		<b>June</b>	.05480	.05514	▲ .05475	<b>.05489</b>	.00002	153,910	
July 1123.00 1133.50	▲ 1113.00	<b>1132.00</b>	9.00	6,413	<b>July</b>	1.1208	1.1220	1.1171	<b>1.1202</b>	-.0026	393,189
Sept 1147.00 1161.00	▲ 1141.50	<b>1160.00</b>	10.00	2,338	<b>Sept</b>	1.1264	1.1275	1.1225	<b>1.1257</b>	-.0026	69,329
<b>Wheat (CBT)</b> -5,000 bu; cents per bu.		<b>2 Yr. Treasury Notes (CBT)</b> -\$200,000; pts 32nds of 100%		<b>Index Futures</b>							
July 448.75 454.25	443.75	<b>445.75</b>	-.350	196,123	<b>Mini DJ Industrial Average (CBT)</b> -\$5 x index						
Sept 463.00 468.00	457.75	<b>460.00</b>	-.325	119,205	<b>June</b>	21139	21301	▲ 21217	<b>21251</b>	73	97,460
<b>Wheat (KC)</b> -5,000 bu; cents per bu.		<b>30 Day Federal Funds (CBT)</b> -\$5,000,000; 100- daily avg.		<b>Sept</b>	21109	21258	▲ 21081	<b>21207</b>	73	27,164	
July 453.00 458.50	447.75	<b>451.50</b>	-.225	129,822	<b>S&amp;P 500 Index (CME)</b> -\$250 x index						
Sept 469.00 475.75	465.00	<b>469.25</b>	-.150	67,005	<b>June</b>	2436.50	2445.20	▲ 2417.00	<b>2430.50</b>	-.20	72,284
<b>Wheat (MPLS)</b> -5,000 bu; cents per bu.		<b>10 Yr. Del. Int. Rate Swaps (CBT)</b> -\$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%		<b>Sept</b>	2424.40	2443.20	▲ 2413.00	<b>2428.30</b>	-.190	6,560	
July 604.00 614.75	602.25	<b>606.50</b>	.225	26,978	<b>Mini S&amp;P 500 (CME)</b> -\$50 x index						
Sept 608.00 619.00	606.25	<b>611.00</b>	.250	22,055	<b>June</b>	2427.25	2445.75	▲ 2414.75	<b>2430.50</b>	-.200	2,515,996
<b>Cattle-Feeder (CME)</b> -50,000 lbs.; cents per lb.		<b>1 Month Libor (CME)</b> -\$3,000,000; pts of 100%		<b>Sept</b>	2425.25	2443.50	▲ 2412.50	<b>2428.25</b>	-.200	643,602	
Aug 154.175 155.000	152.550	<b>154.175</b>	.225	33,304	<b>1 Month Libor (CME)</b> -\$100 x index						
Sept 153.350 154.200	151.950	<b>153.625</b>	.375	9,741	<b>June</b>	1747.20	1767.80	▲ 1742.20	<b>1756.90</b>	6.60	73,468
<b>Cattle-Live (CME)</b> -40,000 lbs.; cents per lb.		<b>Eurodollar (CME)</b> -\$1,000,000; pts of 100%		<b>Sept</b>	1749.90	1768.20	▲ 1745.40	<b>1756.90</b>	6.40	23,223	
June 131.200 131.700	130.475	<b>131.250</b>	-.125	16,277	<b>Mini Nasdaq 100 (CME)</b> -\$20 x index						
Aug 123.750 124.700	123.100	<b>123.850</b>	-.175	193,422	<b>June</b>	5872.5	5898.8	▲ 5660.3	<b>5740.5</b>	-.144.5	262,280
<b>Hogs-Lean (CME)</b> -40,000 lbs.; cents per lb.		<b>Mini Russell 2000 (ICE-US)</b> -\$100 x index		<b>Sept</b>	5885.0	5907.5	▲ 5669.0	<b>5748.3</b>	-.144.8	58,223	
June 82.400 82.600	82.250	<b>82.475</b>	.450	14,869	<b>June</b>	1410.10	1435.20	▲ 1409.00	<b>1422.40</b>	7.40	477,721
Aug 81.625 82.475	81.575	<b>82.050</b>	.375	74,520	<b>Sept</b>	1408.90	1434.60	▲ 1407.00	<b>1421.70</b>	7.40	144,824
<b>Lumber (CME)</b> -110,000 bd. ft. \$ per 1,000 bd. ft.		<b>Minil Russell 1000 (ICE-US)</b> -\$100 x index		<b>Dec</b>	1418.00	1418.00	▲ 1418.00	<b>1420.70</b>	7.40	80	
July 362.50 366.60	362.50	<b>364.40</b>	.80	2,803	<b>June</b>	1350.80	1355.50	▲ 1339.00	<b>1347.00</b>	-.110	7,216
Sept 352.20 355.80	352.10	<b>355.40</b>	3.00	1,163	<b>Sept</b>	1349.50	1354.20	▲ 1337.90	<b>1345.50</b>	-.130	2,754
<b>Milk (CME)</b> -200,000 lbs.; cents per lb.		<b>U.S. Dollar Index (ICE-US)</b> -\$1,000 x index		<b>June</b>	97.26	97.47	97.13	<b>97.24</b>	.34	79,392	
June 16.25 16.30	16.25	<b>16.28</b>	...	5,027	<b>Sept</b>	97.03	97.23	96.90	<b>97.01</b>	.36	6,646
July 16.53 16.67	16.53	<b>Source: SIX Financial Information</b>									
<b>Cocoa (ICE-US)</b> -10 metric tons; \$ per ton.											
July 1,970 2,028	1,940	<b>1,2731</b>	-.0217	218,683							
Sept 2,001 2,047	1,969	<b>1,2731</b>	-.0217	218,683							
<b>Coffee (ICE-US)</b> -37,500 lbs.; cents per lb.											
July 126.50 128.75	126.40	<b>126.55</b>	.20	77,884							
Sept 128.60 130.95	128.60	<b>128.85</b>	.20	69,306							
<b>Sugar-World (ICE-US)</b> -112,000 lbs.; cents per lb.											
July 14.39 14.43	14.18	<b>14.27</b>	-.07	284,529							
Oct 14.61 14.61	14.37	<b>14.47</b>	-.06	274,779							
<b>Sugar-Domestic (ICE-US)</b> -112,000 lbs.; cents per lb.											
Sept 28.01 28.01	▼ 27.99	<b>27.82</b>	.03	1,964							
Nov 27.58 28.00	27.58	<b>27.53</b>	...	1,289							

Friday, June 09, 2017

**28.0**      29.8      83.8

**Gold, per troy oz** **1268.20**

Engelhard industrial	<b>1268.50</b>	Cotlook 'A' Index-t	<b>*86.15</b>	Coffee,Brazilian,Comp	<b>1.2572</b>
Engelhard fabricated	<b>1363.42</b>	Hides,hvy native steers piece fob-u	<b>68.000</b>	Coffee,Colombian, NY	<b>1.4656</b>
Handy & Harman base	<b>1266.55</b>			Eggs,large white,Chicago-u	<b>0.6350</b>
Handy & Harman fabricated	<b>1405.87</b>	Wool,64s,staple,Terr del,u,w	<b>n.a.</b>	Flour,hard winter KC	<b>15.10</b>
LBMA Gold Price AM	<b>*1284.80</b>			Uspine 17.20 lbs AM-US,fab ..	<b>0.62</b>

LBMA Gold Price AM	1264.00	Grains
LBMA Gold Price PM	1273.10	
Kruggerrand, wholesale-e	1319.97	Barley, top-quality M
Maple Leaf-e	1332.66	Bran,wheat middlings
American Eagle-e	1332.66	Corn,No. 2 yellow,Cer
Mexican peso-e	1538.27	Corn gluten feed,Mid
Austria crown-e	1247.07	Corn gluten meal,Mic
Austria phil-e	1332.66	Cottonseed meal,u,v,
<b>Silver, troy oz.</b>		Hominy feed,Cent IL
Engelhard industrial	17.2200	Meat-bonemeal,50%
Engelhard fabricated	20.6640	Oats,No.2 milling,Mn
Handy & Harman base	17.2150	Rice, 5% Broken White
Handy & Harman fabricated	21.5190	Rice, Long Grain Miller
LBMA spot price	£13,5993	Sorghum,(Milo) No.2
		Soybean Meal,Cent IL
KEY TO CODES: A=ask; B=bid; BP=country elevator bids to producers; C=corrected;		
L=livericeindex.com; M=midday; N=nominal; n.a.=not quoted or not available; R=SA		
*Data as of 6/8		
<b>Borrowing Benchmarks</b>   <a href="#">WSJ.com/bm</a>		
<b>Money Rates</b>		
Key annual interest rates paid to borrow or lend money guide to general levels but don't always represent actual rates		
<b>Inflation</b>		
April index	Chg From (%)	
level	March '17	April '16
<b>U.S. consumer price index</b>		
All items	244.524	0.30
Core	251.642	0.14
<b>International rates</b>		
Week	—	52-Week —
<b>Policy Rates</b>		
Euro zone	2	Lat
Japan	1.4	
<b>Notes on data:</b>		

0.5900	Cheddar cheese,pk,Chicago	163.00	2.750	Spain 2	-0.310	▲	●	-0.314	-0.294	-0.088	<b>-164.8</b>	-162.8	-85.9
Mphs-u	Milk,Nonfat dry,Chicago lb.	90.75	1.500	10	1.437	▼	●	1.472	1.615	1.413	<b>-76.2</b>	-71.8	-27.3
*86.15	Cocoa,Ivory Coast-w	2293	1.750	U.K. 2	0.092	▼	●	0.118	0.165	0.382	<b>-124.7</b>	-119.6	-38.9
piece fob-u	Coffee,Brazilian,Comp	1.2572	4.250	10	1.007	▼	●	1.034	1.203	1.245	<b>-119.2</b>	-115.6	-44.2
l,uw	Coffee,Colombian,NY	1.4656											
n.a.	Eggs,large white,Chicago-u	0.6350											
<b>d Feeds</b>	Flour,hard winter KC	15.10											
s-u	Hams,17-20 lbs,Mid-US fob-u	0.63											
C-u	Hogs,Iowa-So,Minnesota-u	77.72											
L-bp,u	Pork bellies,12-14 lb MidUS-u	n.a.											
st-u,w	Pork loins,13-19 lb MidUS-u	1.1885											
est-u,w	Steers,Tex.-Okla.Choice-u	n.a.											
	Steers,feeder,Okla.City-u,w	174.69											
	<b>Fats and Oils</b>												
	Corn oil,crude wet/dry mill-u,w	38.1000											
	Grease,choice white,Chicago-h	0.3200											
	Lard,Chicago-u	0.3450											
	Soybean oil,crude,Centl IL-u	0.3104											
	Tallow,bleach,Chicago-h	0.3550											
	Tallow,edible,Chicago-u	0.3625											
	ianfra,Tordella & Brooks; G=ICE; H=Hurley Brokerage; I=Natural Gas Intelligence; Energy; S=The Steel Index; T=Cotlook Limited; U=USDA; W=weekly, Z=not quoted.												
	Source: WSJ Market Data Group												
	<b>Corporate Debt</b>												
	in that same company's share price.												
	<b>Investment-grade spreads that tightened the most...</b>												
Issuer	Symbol	Coupon (%)	Maturity	Current	Spread*, in basis points	One-day change	Last week	Stock Performance	Close (\$)	% chg			
SMBC Aviation Capital Finance DAC	<b>SMBCAC</b>	2.650	July 15,'21	120	<b>-17</b>			n.a.	...	...			
Morgan Stanley	<b>MS</b>	2.625	Nov. 17,'21	68	<b>-16</b>			80	44.91	<b>1.84</b>			
Shell International Finance BV*	<b>RDSALN</b>	1.375	Sept. 12,'19	30	<b>-15</b>			43	...	...			
Citigroup	<b>C</b>	2.700	March 30,'21	54	<b>-12</b>			63	64.45	<b>1.96</b>			
Ross Stores	<b>ROST</b>	3.375	Sept. 15,'24	69	-11			n.a.	61.96	<b>1.04</b>			
AT&T	<b>T</b>	5.875	Oct. 1,'19	75	-9			75	38.79	<b>0.75</b>			
Dell International	<b>DELL</b>	8.100	July 15,'36	302	-8			304	...	...			
Coca-Cola	<b>KO</b>	1.875	Oct. 27,'20	34	-8			26	45.32	<b>0.42</b>			
	<b>...And spreads that widened the most</b>												
ConocoPhillips	<b>COP</b>	4.950	March 15,'26	110	<b>17</b>			108	44.82	<b>4.06</b>			
CBL & Associates	<b>CBL</b>	5.250	Dec. 1,'23	395	<b>14</b>			368	8.10	<b>4.52</b>			
Morgan Stanley	<b>MS</b>	5.550	July 15,'49	123	<b>12</b>			n.a.	44.91	<b>1.84</b>			

11	320	...	...
12	36	...	...

**U.S.**      **4.00**    4.00    4.00    3.50    Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics

## **Dividend Ch**

Dividend announcements from June 9:					Company	Symbol	Yld %	New/Old	Amount	Payable/ Record	Next Rec'd Date
Company	Symbol	Yld %	New/Old	Frq	RMR Real Est Incm Fd	RIF	6.1	.33	Q	Jun30/Jun2	
Increased											
ExxonMobil	XOM	4.0	New	Q							

<b>Increased</b>					
4.65% Fltg. Rate STRATS	GJO	1.9	.035/.03455	<b>M</b>	Jun15/Jun14
STRATS Dom Res Ser 05-06	GJP	3.5	.0637/.06164	<b>M</b>	Jun15/Jun14
<b>Initial</b>					
Public Storage Pfd. SBI F	PSApF		.10372		Jun29/Jun14

31.81	-0.5	ProShShrtSC600	<b>SBB</b>	37.28	-1.
55.97	0.5	ProShUltraOil&Gas	<b>UOP</b>	19.84	-9.
60.27	-0.6	ProShUltraVIXET	<b>UVXY</b>	9.93	2.

30.17	-0.6	VanEckGlbAltEn	<b>GEX</b>	60.27	-0.6	ProShultVIXST	<b>UVXY</b>	9.93	2.
25.75	0.4	VanEckPoland	<b>PLND</b>	18.37	-0.4	ProShultShtDow30	<b>SDOW</b>	31.52	-1.
44.64	1.3	VanEckSriLanka	<b>SMHI</b>	89.72	3.9	ProShultSMAC400	<b>SPDR</b>	12.41	1.

Stock	Sym	Hi/Lo	Chg	Stock	Sym	Hi/Lo	Chg	Stock	Sym	Hi/Lo	Chg
<b>NYSE highs - 208</b>				Cemex	CX	9.27	.32	Forestar	FOR		
				Centene	CNC	78.63	-.02	GDL Fund	GDL		
				Shaw Industries	SPN	25.00	1.00	Sequoia Growth	SGU		

Aflac	AFL	78.15	3.7	CharlesRiverLabs	CRKL	95.83	-1.0	GabelliConv	GCV
AGCO	AGCO	67.52	2.7	ChesapeakeUPL	CUPK	77.75	-0.1	GabelliEquity	GAB
AbbottLabs	ABT	47.31	1.2	ChinaFund	CHN	18.66	0.2	GabelliHldgMutMed	GGT
AbbVie	ABBV	69.83	1.3	ChinaSoAirlines	ZNH	41.11	0.8	GabelliHldgRtp	GRXpB
AberdeenGrChinaFD	GCH	11.17	... Citigroup	Chubb	CB	146.66	1.1	Gallagher	AJG
				C		64.74	2.0	GlobusMedical	GMED

AdamsEquityFd	AET	14.45	-0.6	Globe&StearnsRlf	UFT	23.68	-0.0	GoDaddy
Aetna	AET	150.76	0.3	ColonyNthStPfH	CNShp	25.50	-0.3	GramercyProper
AlamoGroup	ALG	91.37	1.6	CommunityHlthcr	CHCT	25.99	1.3	GreenDot
AlbanyIntl	AIN	52.70	5.0	Coresite	COR	110.59	1.1	HDFC Bank
Albemarle	ALB	116.64	1.0	CorpOfficeFrc	OPFC	35.37	1.7	HFF
Alibaba	BABA	148.29	-2.0	CousinsProperties	CUZ	8.93	1.3	Harsco
Allstate	ALL	87.43	0.9	Cullen/Frost	CFR	95.84	3.0	HartfordInvSvcs
AlpineToDnyDiv	ADP	8.82	-0.3	DCT Industrial	DCT	54.45	1.3	HartfordFinl
AmherstWater	AWR	49.90	3.4	DDR Pfda	DRDPa	25.55	0.5	Hill-Rom
Ametek	AME	62.86	0.7	Deere	DE	127.04	...	ING Groep
Amphenol	APH	76.67	-0.6	DeltaAir	DAL	53.57	0.3	Invesco
AnnalyCap	NLY	12.18	-0.0	DuPont	DD	82.97	1.5	IDEX
AnworthMtg	ANH	6.20	1.0	DupontFabros	DFT	63.46	9.8	IllinoisToolWks
AnworthMtgPfd	ANH#p	29.95	1.0	ESCO Tech	ESE	16.25	2.4	InfrareIT
Aon	AON	132.81	0.7	EastGroup	EGP	84.88	1.6	IntegerHolding
AresDynamiC Credit	ARDC	16.30	0.6	EastmanChem	EMN	82.94	1.5	ICE
AristaNetworks	ANET	158.57	-5.0	EatonVance	EV	48.92	0.7	InvescoBondFund
ArmourRes	ARMR	26.45	0.6	EtnVtctyEncltyo	EOI	13.74	-0.2	InvescoHlncMt
ArmourResPfd	ARRB#p	24.85	-0.0	EtnVtctyEncltyo II	EOII	14.81	-0.4	Jabil
AsiaPacificFinc	APB	12.94	0.2	EtnVtctyTxAdvGbl	ETG	17.06	-0.4	J&J
BankOfButterfield	NTB	35.34	1.0	EtnVtctyTxMngOpp	ETOP	116.65	1.0	KB Fin
Bank Of Cdo	PCD	224.04	0.1	EtnVtctyTxMngOpp	ETOP	42.97	1.0	KMC Cl

# BIGGEST 1,000 STOCKS

## How to Read the Stock Tables

The following explanations apply to NYSE, NYSE Arca, NYSE MKT and Nasdaq Stock Market listed securities. Prices are composite quotations that include primary market trades as well as trades reported by Nasdaq OMX BXSM (formerly Boston), Chicago Stock Exchange, CBOE, National Stock Exchange, ISYE and BATS.

The list comprises the 1,000 largest companies based on market capitalization.

Underlined quotations are those stocks with large changes in volume compared with the issue's average trading volume.

**Boldfaced quotations** highlight those issues whose price changed by 5% or more if their previous closing price was \$2 or higher.

**Footnotes:**  
↑New 52-week high.  
↓New 52-week low.  
dd=Indicates loss in the most recent four quarters.  
FD=First day of trading.

**h-Does not meet continued listing standards**  
**If-Late filing**  
**q-Temporary exemption from Nasdaq Bankruptcy Code, or securities requirements.**  
**t-NYSE bankruptcy**

Wall Street Journal stock tables reflect composite regular trading as of 4 p.m. and changes in the closing prices from 4 p.m. the previous day.

Friday, June 9, 2017

YTD % Chg	52-Week			Yld %	Net % Chg		
	Hi	Lo	Stock	Sym	% PE	Last	Chg
<b>NYSE</b>							
20.31 25.82 18.72 ABB	ABB	3.0 2.5 25.35	0.01				
0.86 13.52 10.91 AES	AES	4.1 4.0 11.72	0.16				
12.07 78.15 66.50 Aflac	AFL	2.2 1.7 23.78	2.80				
-8.79 43.89 36.10 AT&T	T	5.1 4.9 38.79	0.01				
-0.49 71.06 51.33 AXIS Capital	AXS	2.3 1.4 64.95	0.20				
23.12 47.31 36.76 AbbottLabs	ABBV	2.2 2.4 49.79	0.29				
11.26 69.83 55.06 AbbVie	ABBV	3.7 1.8 69.67	0.91				
7.42 12.7 10.66 Accenture	ACN	1.9 2.1 125.82	-0.03				
-23.25 20.89 15.73 AcuityBrands	AYI	0.3 2.5 177.18	3.95				
15.05 76.09 39.67 Adient	ADNT	1.6 1.7 67.42	0.04				
14-24.10 17.78 123.49 AutoZone	AAP	2.2 2.3 128.36	2.44				
23.41 6.64 4.89 AvemarSengi	ASV	4.1 1.7 62.22	-0.17				
-8.50 5.84 3.36 Aegeon	AEG	5.8 4.8 50.06					
9.13 49.66 31.45 AerCap	AER	... 8.4 45.41	0.43				
20.79 150.76 104.59 Aereta	AET	1.3 4.7 149.79	0.01				
11.83 171.65 130.48 AffiliatedMgns	AMG	0.5 18 162.49	0.22				
29.96 61.15 41.98 AgilentTechs	A	0.9 33 59.21	-0.94				
14.76 60.10 35.05 AgnicoEagle	AEM	0.8 40 48.20	-1.47				
-5.57 111.88 87.62 Agrimur	AGU	3.7 1.7 94.95	3.85				
1.41 150.45 124.02 AirProducts	APD	2.6 2.3 145.28	-0.02				
1.35 101.43 54.51 AlaskAir	ALK	1.9 15 89.93	-0.61				
34.06 116.64 74.86 Albany	ALB	1.1 2.7 115.40	-0.15				
17.56 39.78 20.10 Alcoa	AA	... 33 0.01	-0.49				
6.75 120.96 96.63 AlexandriaRealEst	ARE	2.9 116.83	-0.03				
58.80 148.29 73.30 Alibaba	BABA	... 56 139.44	-2.90				
-2.74 66.79 15.101 Allegany	Y	... 50 49.43	0.22				
20.67 82 61.47 Allegion	ALLE	0.8 31 77.23	-0.42				
10.64 26.21 28.47 Allergan	AGN	1.2 8 232.36	2.95				
5.63 266.25 185.02 AllianceData	ADS	0.9 32 241.63	-0.06				
-0.85 25.12 20.40 AllianzCleerstein	ADM	7.9 11 23.25	0.25				
8.81 41.91 34.88 AlliantEnergy	LNT	3.1 2.5 41.26	0.01				
12.44 40.02 26.36 AllianzTrans	ALM	1.6 25 37.88	-0.09				
17.88 87.62 65.27 AllState	AOL	1.7 15 87.37	0.81				
3.52 23.62 14.84 AllyFinancial	ALLY	1.6 19 9.69	0.68				
11.59 76.65 60.82 Altria	MO	3.2 10 75.46	0.05				
14.40 13.85 7.22 AluminaChina	ACH	... 62 11.68	-0.19				
11.41 6.38 4.70 Amberv	ABEV	... 23 5.47	-0.16				
7.30 57.21 46.84 Ameren	AE	3.1 21 56.29	-0.06				
29.50 16.56 11.02 AmericaMovil	AMX	1.6 26 16.29	-0.02				
31.60 16.40 10.83 AmericanMobil	AMV	1.7 26 16.19	-0.02				
-4.82 54.56 44.65 AmCampus	ACC	3.7 3.7 47.37	0.22				
14.12 72.72 57.89 AEP	AEP	3.3 50 71.86	-0.04				
8.41 82 57.15 AmericanExpress	AXP	1.6 15 80.31	0.36				
12.89 100.58 69.06 AmericanFin	AFF	1.3 12 99.48	0.21				
4.86 23.98 17.53 AmerisourceBran	ARCN	1.8 12 90.20	0.22				
1.73 67.47 49.41 AmetekTechs	A	0.8 31 59.24	0.01				
23.28 13.72 99.72 AmerTowerREIT	AT	2.0 6 130.28	-0.69				
9.54 85.24 69.41 AmerWaterWork	AWK	2.1 9 79.26	0.57				
-9.37 50.11 42.45 Amerigas	APU	8.7 43 43.03	0.24				
14.02 135.20 84.92 Ameriprise	AMP	2.6 15 126.49	3.23				
17.79 94.50 68.38 AmeripriseBanc	ARBN	1.8 12 91.00	0.20				
28.35 62.86 43.28 Ametek	AME	0.6 28 62.38	0.42				
12.74 76.67 55.13 Amphenol	APC	0.8 27 75.76	0.24				
-3.19 73.33 46.54 AnadarkoPetrol	APC	0.4 44 47.98	1.35				
7.64 136.08 98.28 AlInBev	SUD	3.9 111.30	-0.98				
21.66 12.18 9.83 AnnalyCap	NLY	9.5 12 13.33	0.05				
-9.05 28.19 92.19 AnteroResources	AP	... 22 25.00	-0.01				
30.01 189.30 114.85 Anthens	ANTM	1.4 18 186.92	-0.67				
18.93 132.80 100.55 Aon	AON	1.1 26 132.64	0.01				
-23.84 69 45.95 Apache	APA	2.1 42 48.34	1.34				
-2.40 47.91 39.14 Apertamntv	AV	3.19 34.46	0.43				
41.68 28.05 14.25 ApolloGlobalMgmt	APO	7.1 9 27.43	0.53				
1.77 94.50 68.38 ArmericaSourceBanc	AR	1.8 12 90.20	0.12				
1.42 49.03 41.83 BCE	BCE	0.6 28 62.38	0.42				
12.74 76.67 55.13 Phenomol	BDP	5.2 33 60.69	-0.13				
-3.82 20.05 12.67 Braskem	BRB	... 67 12.69	-0.29				
1.71 27.2 19.02 BratCo	BRT	7.2 15 19	-0.76				
-14.53 68.59 41.94 BakerHughes	BHI	1.2 55 53.13	-0.01				
7.31 41.82 33.76 Ball	BLL	1.0 29 40.28	-0.23				
23.04 8.70 5.14 BancoBilbaoViz	BVB	6.8 13 8.33	-0.05				
10.07 19.95 15.82 Bandalan	BAYB	2.9 26 194.99	0.74				
18.14 46.74 35.42 Bangrid	BANG	3.4 21 44.75	-0.37				
2.05 35.27 25.55 AstaZeneca	AZN	24.3 18 34.07	-0.05				
1.77 49.78 24.74 AntelCoating	AXTA	... 12 22.59	0.26				
1.46 49.88 32.85 BB&T	BBT	2.7 17 44.11	-0.73				
1.12 26.20 33.06 BlackKnightFin	BKFS	5.6 38 54.01	-0.04				
1.99 49.14 31.70 BlackRock	BLK	2.4 21 48.50	3.27				
10.47 20.14 17.37 BCBR	BCB	1.7 14 37.33	0.07				
23.43 99.23 24.27 BlackstoneGroup	BX	10.4 21 33.07	-0.01				
-0.06 18.95 15.95 BoardwalkPipe	BWP	2.3 21 17.45	0.11				
12.08 22.95 14.79 BrixmorProp	BXP	2.5 22 18.07	3.06				
1.73 20.40 19.12 BrueggerBread	BRY	... 33 18.05	0.07				
1.50 26.02 17.29 BrueggerProp	BRY	... 32 18.05	-0				

## MARKETS DIGEST

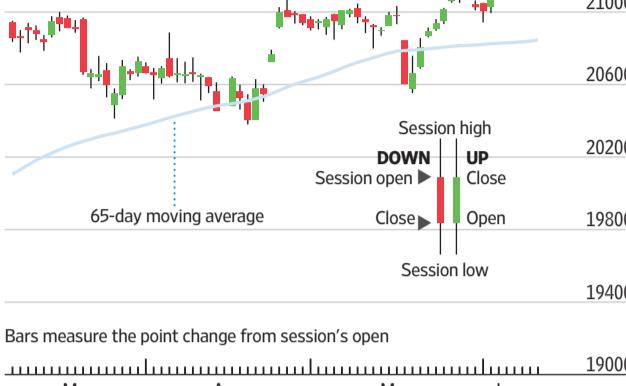
### EQUITIES

#### Dow Jones Industrial Average

**21271.97** ▲ 89.44, or 0.42%  
High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.

Trailing P/E ratio 20.70 19.07  
P/E estimate \* 18.02 17.20  
Dividend yield 2.33 2.58  
All-time high 21271.97, 06/09/17

Current divisor 0.14602128057775



Bars measure the point change from session's open

19000 2250 5530

Mar. Apr. May June

Weekly P/E data based on as-reported earnings from Birinvi Associates Inc.

#### S&P 500 Index

**2431.77** ▼ 2.02, or 0.08%  
High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.

Trailing P/E ratio 24.15 24.29  
P/E estimate \* 18.97 17.92  
Dividend yield 1.95 2.16  
All-time high: 2439.07, 06/02/17



2280 2310 2340 2370 2400 2430

Mar. Apr. May June

#### Nasdaq Composite Index

**6207.92** ▼ 113.85, or 1.80%  
High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.

Trailing P/E ratio \* 26.75 22.55  
P/E estimate \* 21.78 18.97  
Dividend yield 1.08 1.27  
All-time high: 6321.76, 06/08/17



5530 5770 5890 6010 6130 6250

Mar. Apr. May June

#### Major U.S. Stock-Market Indexes

	High	Low	Latest Close	Net chg	% chg	High	52-Week Low	% chg	YTD % chg	3-yr. ann.
	Dow Jones	Industrial Average	Transportation Avg	Utility Average	Total Stock Market	Barron's 400	21305.35	21159.45	21271.97	17140.24
Industrial Average	21305.35	21159.45	<b>21271.97</b>	89.44	▲ 0.42	21271.97	17140.24	<b>19.1</b>	7.6 7.9	
Transportation Avg	9370.52	9266.61	<b>9327.88</b>	-4.26	▲ -0.05	9593.95	7093.40	<b>20.1</b>	3.1 4.3	
Utility Average	725.10	719.40	<b>724.85</b>	0.08	▲ 0.01	732.63	625.44	<b>6.5</b>	9.9 9.9	
Total Stock Market	25354.88	25041.24	<b>25197.43</b>	-14.34	▲ -0.06	25257.37	20583.16	<b>16.5</b>	8.3 7.2	
Barron's 400	656.44	645.96	<b>649.85</b>	-0.47	▲ -0.07	650.32	491.89	<b>23.7</b>	8.0 7.0	

#### Nasdaq Stock Market

Nasdaq Composite	6341.70	6137.68	<b>6207.92</b>	-113.85	▲ -1.80	6321.76	4594.44	<b>26.8</b>	15.3 12.7
Nasdaq 100	5897.69	5657.76	<b>5741.94</b>	-143.35	▲ -2.44	5885.30	4201.05	<b>28.7</b>	18.1 14.8

#### Standard & Poor's

500 Index	2446.20	2415.70	<b>2431.77</b>	-2.02	▲ -0.08	2439.07	2000.54	<b>16.0</b>	8.6 7.6
MidCap 400	1767.58	1748.85	<b>1757.54</b>	6.78	▲ 0.39	1758.27	1416.66	<b>17.2</b>	5.8 7.5
SmallCap 600	869.67	858.64	<b>864.11</b>	6.23	▲ 0.73	864.11	670.90	<b>21.3</b>	3.1 8.5

#### Other Indexes

Russell 2000	1433.79	1413.61	<b>1421.71</b>	6.09	▲ 0.43	1421.71	1089.65	<b>22.1</b>	4.8 6.5
NYSE Composite	11754.75	11678.86	<b>11744.73</b>	65.78	▲ 0.56	11744.73	9973.54	<b>12.4</b>	6.2 2.5
Value Line	527.19	522.40	<b>524.57</b>	1.65	▲ 0.32	529.13	435.06	<b>13.4</b>	3.6 1.7
NYSE Arca Biotech	3721.26	3639.83	<b>3659.27</b>	-5.87	▲ -0.16	3690.05	2818.70	<b>16.7</b>	19.0 10.9
NYSE Arca Pharma	528.57	522.32	<b>528.24</b>	4.31	▲ 0.82	554.66	463.78	<b>2.0</b>	9.7 1.1
KBW Bank	94.01	92.32	<b>93.79</b>	2.08	▲ 2.27	99.33	60.27	<b>37.5</b>	2.2 9.3
PHLX® Gold/Silver	85.15	84.22	<b>84.37</b>	-1.30	▲ -1.52	112.86	73.03	<b>-6.7</b>	7.0 -0.8
PHLX® Oil Service	140.12	133.20	<b>138.19</b>	4.89	▲ 3.67	192.66	133.30	<b>-19.7</b>	-24.8 -22.5
PHLX® Semiconductor	1149.86	1068.56	<b>1090.05</b>	-48.20	▲ -4.23	1138.25	648.32	<b>55.9</b>	20.3 20.8
CBOE Volatility	12.11	9.37	<b>10.70</b>	0.54	▲ 5.31	25.76	9.75	<b>-37.2</b>	-23.8 -1.4

\$Philadelphia Stock Exchange

Sources: SIX Financial Information; WSJ Market Data Group

#### Late Trading

Most-active and biggest movers among NYSE, NYSE Arca, NYSE Mkt and Nasdaq issues from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. ET as reported by electronic trading services, securities dealers and regional exchanges. Minimum share price of \$2 and minimum after-hours volume of 5,000 shares.

#### Most-active issues in late trading

Company	Symbol	Volume (000)	Last	Net chg	% chg	After Hours High	Low
SPDR S&P 500	SPY	15,572.9	243.43	0.02	0.01	243.76	242.95
FT Brazil	FBZ	8,918.7	14.05	...	unch.	14.11	14.05
PwrShrs QQQ Tr Series 1	QQQ	6,904.0	140.12	0.14	0.10	143.59	139.08
Yahoo!	YHOO	5,739.5	54.02	...	unch.	55.08	53.88
Van Eck Vectors Gold Miner	GDX	4,679.1	22.83	...	unch.	22.91	22.81
VISA Cl A	V	3,886.5	94.55	-0.01	-0.01	94.74	94.24
Finl Select Sector SPDR	XLF	3,813.3	24.37	0.08	0.33	24.38	24.23
iShares Russell 2000 ETF	IWM	3,802.2	141.70	0.09	0.06	142.48	140.94

#### Percentage gainers...

Teekay Offshore Ptrs	TOO	13.6	2.74	0.15	<b>5.79</b>	2.74	2.60
New Senior Inv't Group	SNR	16.2	10.02	0.34	<b>3.51</b>	10.02	9.68
Progressive Corp	PGR						

## MUTUAL FUNDS &amp; STOCKS

## Explanatory Notes

Data provided by LIPPER  
Top 250 mutual-funds listings for Nasdaq-published share classes with net assets of at least \$500 million each. NAV is net asset value. Percentage performance figures are total returns, assuming reinvestment of all distributions and after subtracting annual expenses. Figures don't reflect sales charges ("loads") or redemption fees. NET CHG is change in NAV from previous trading day. YTD%RET is year-to-date return. 3-YR%RET is trailing three-year return annualized.  
e-Ex-distribution, f-Previous day's quotation, g-Footnotes x and s apply, i-Footnotes e and s apply, k-Recalculated by Lipper, using updated data, p-Distribution costs apply, l2b-1 r-Redemption charge may apply, s-Stock split or dividend, t-Footnotes p and r apply, v-Footnotes x and e apply, x-Ex-dividend, z-Footnote x, e and s apply, NA-Not available due to incomplete price, performance or cost data, NE-Not released by Lipper, data under review, NN-Fund not tracked, NS-Fund didn't exist at start of period.

Friday, June 9, 2017

Fund	NAV	Net Chg	YTD % Ret	Fund	NAV	Net Chg	YTD % Ret	Fund	NAV	Net Chg	YTD % Ret	
<b>A</b>												
American Century Inv	10.58	-0.52	16.3	IntCoreEq	NA	... NA	CpnCr r	10.06	-0.13	6.5		
Ultra	10.58	-0.52	16.3	IntVal	NA	... NA	DivInt'l	38.98	-0.17	17.1		
American Funds Cl A	11.47	-0.06	2.1	IntSmCo	NA	... NA	GroCo	163.01	-3.43	19.2		
AmcPca p	29.80	-0.13	9.4	US CoreEqI	NA	... NA	GrowCoK	162.90	-3.43	19.2		
AMutlA p	32.00	+0.10	7.0	US CoreEq	NA	... NA	InvGB	7.92	... 2.6			
BalA p	26.47	-0.06	7.1	US InvGrd	NA	... NA	InvGrd	11.27	-0.01	2.7		
BondA p	12.94	-0.01	2.5	US Small	NA	... NA	LowP r	53.39	+0.07	7.9		
CapIba p	62.01	... 8.5		US TgdVal	NA	... NA	LowPrStkR	53.38	+0.07	8.0		
CapWgrA p	49.27	-0.13	17.9	US VgdA	NA	... NA	Magn	95.67	-0.49	10.9		
EupacA p	53.17	-0.02	17.9	Dodge & Cok	NA	... NA	OTC	102.55	-2.37	23.1		
Fdlmva p	60.14	-0.27	10.8	Balanced	106.24	+0.34	4.9	Puritn	22.28	-0.08	8.6	
Gwtha p	47.53	-0.43	13.1	Income	13.83	-0.01	2.1	SrsEngmMktF	19.03	-0.13	20.9	
HI TrA p	10.46	... 4.3		TotalBnd	43.89	+0.01	15.2	SrlvngGrdf	11.28	-0.01	2.7	
ICAA p	39.19	-0.02	8.6	StrdInvlps	192.15	+0.93	6.2	TotBnd	10.69	-0.01	2.8	
IncoA p	22.82	+0.03	6.1	TotRtdBld	NA	... NA	Stock	12.15	-0.01	2.5		
N PerA p	41.47	-0.24	17.4	TotRtdBnd	NA	... NA	Stock	12.15	-0.01	2.5		
NEcoA p	42.26	-0.38	17.6	<b>F</b>								
NwWrdA	69.39	-0.28	17.4	<b>Federated Instl</b>	6.39	+0.02	9.7	<b>Fidelity Selects</b>	Biotech r	197.76	-0.78	13.6
SmCpa p	52.63	-0.23	12.5	<b>DoubleLine Funds</b>	NA	... NA	First Eagle Funds	58.29	-0.02	7.4		
TExA p	13.00	-0.01	3.5	<b>F</b>			FPF Funds	FPACs	34.41	+0.01	5.5	
WshA p	43.81	+0.06	7.5	<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	CA TF A p	7.50	... 4.3		
<b>AMG Managers Funds</b>				<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	Fee TF A p	12.07	-0.01	2.5	
Yacktnfd I	23.11	+0.09	8.0	<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IncomeAd	2.34	+0.01	4.9	
<b>B</b>				<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IntGrowY	40.55	-0.14	16.9	
Baird Funds	10.89	-0.01	2.8	<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IntGrowY	40.55	-0.14	16.9	
AgBldnst	11.24	... 3.0		<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IntGrowY	40.55	-0.14	16.9	
BlackRock Funds A	19.69	-0.02	8.0	<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IntGrowY	40.55	-0.14	16.9	
GblAllloc p	17.81	-0.02	7.6	<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IntGrowY	40.55	-0.14	16.9	
BlackRock Funds C	19.78	-0.02	8.0	<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IntGrowY	40.55	-0.14	16.9	
GblAllloc t	17.81	-0.02	7.6	<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IntGrowY	40.55	-0.14	16.9	
BlackRock Funds Inst	19.78	-0.02	8.0	<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IntGrowY	40.55	-0.14	16.9	
EqtyDivd	23.88	+0.23	6.4	<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IntGrowY	40.55	-0.14	16.9	
GblAllloc	19.76	-0.02	8.1	<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IntGrowY	40.55	-0.14	16.9	
HyIdbd	7.80	... 4.7		<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IntGrowY	40.55	-0.14	16.9	
StratnOpntlys	9.92	... 2.3		<b>Fidelity</b>			FrankTemp/ Franklin A	IntGrowY	40.55	-0.14	16.9	
<b>D</b>				<b>H</b>			<b>H</b>					
Del Invest Instl	20.16	+0.17	2.9	<b>H</b>			<b>H</b>					
Dimensional Fds	5.06	-0.01	1.7	<b>I</b>			<b>H</b>					
5GlbFxdnc	NA	... NA		<b>I</b>			<b>H</b>					
EmgMktVa	NA	... NA		<b>J</b>			<b>I</b>					
EmMktCorEq	NA	... NA		<b>J</b>			<b>J</b>					
John Hancock Class 1	15.44	-0.16	17.5	<b>J</b>			<b>J</b>					
Yacktnfd I	23.11	+0.09	8.0	<b>J</b>			<b>J</b>					
<b>B</b>				<b>J</b>			<b>J</b>					
Baird Funds	10.89	-0.01	2.8	<b>K</b>			<b>K</b>					
CorBldnst	11.24	... 3.0		<b>K</b>			<b>K</b>					
BlackRock Funds A	19.69	-0.02	8.0	<b>K</b>			<b>K</b>					
GblAllloc p	17.81	-0.02	7.6	<b>K</b>			<b>K</b>					
BlackRock Funds C	19.78	-0.02	8.0	<b>K</b>			<b>K</b>					
GblAllloc t	17.81	-0.02	7.6	<b>K</b>			<b>K</b>					
BlackRock Funds Inst	19.78	-0.02	8.0	<b>K</b>			<b>K</b>					
EqtyDivd	23.88	+0.23	6.4	<b>K</b>			<b>K</b>					
GblAllloc	19.76	-0.02	8.1	<b>K</b>			<b>K</b>					
HyIdbd	7.80	... 4.7		<b>K</b>			<b>K</b>					
StratnOpntlys	9.92	... 2.3		<b>K</b>			<b>K</b>					
<b>D</b>				<b>K</b>			<b>K</b>					
Del Invest Instl	20.16	+0.17	2.9	<b>L</b>			<b>L</b>					
Dimensional Fds	5.06	-0.01	1.7	<b>L</b>			<b>L</b>					
5GlbFxdnc	NA	... NA		<b>L</b>			<b>L</b>					
EmgMktVa	NA	... NA		<b>L</b>			<b>L</b>					
EmMktCorEq	NA	... NA		<b>L</b>			<b>L</b>					
John Hancock Class 1	15.44	-0.16	17.5	<b>L</b>			<b>L</b>					
Yacktnfd I	23.11	+0.09	8.0	<b>L</b>			<b>L</b>					
<b>B</b>				<b>L</b>			<b>L</b>					
Baird Funds	10.89	-0.01	2.8	<b>M</b>			<b>M</b>					
CorBldnst	11.24	... 3.0		<b>M</b>			<b>M</b>					
BlackRock Funds A	19.69	-0.02	8.0	<b>M</b>			<b>M</b>					
GblAllloc p	17.81	-0.02	7.6	<b>M</b>			<b>M</b>					
BlackRock Funds C	19.78	-0.02	8.0	<b>M</b>			<b>M</b>					
GblAllloc t	17.81	-0.02	7.6	<b>M</b>			<b>M</b>					
BlackRock Funds Inst	19.78	-0.02	8.0	<b>M</b>			<b>M</b>					
EqtyDivd	23.88	+0.23	6.4	<b>M</b>			<b>M</b>					
GblAllloc	19.76	-0.02	8.1	<b>M</b>			<b>M</b>					
HyIdbd	7.80	... 4.7		<b>M</b>			<b>M</b>					
StratnOpntlys	9.92	... 2.3		<b>M</b>			<b>M</b>		</			

## MARKETS

# U.K. Uncertainty Pressures the Pound

The pound slumped and domestically focused U.K. stocks tumbled Friday after Britain's ruling Conservative Party lost

*By Jon Sindreu,  
Christopher Whittle  
and Riva Gold*

its parliamentary majority in the general election, clouding the outlook for investors just days before Brexit negotiations were set to begin.

**WORLD MARKETS** Investors were divided over what the surprise results would mean for Britain's exit from the European Union, causing many of them to hold off on taking big positions. Some said less Conservative influence could lead to a softer Brexit, which could be good for the economy, but others argued that the increased uncertainty will make the divorce even more tortuous and unpredictable.

In the short term, however, the direction was clear. The pound was volatile, tumbling 1.7% against the dollar on Friday to \$1.2741 in late New York trading, its biggest one-day percentage loss since October and its lowest level since Prime Minister Theresa May called the general election in April. The currency was 1.6% lower than where it traded before an exit poll released Thursday evening pointed to a so-called hung parliament.

"The market is focusing on the uncertainty," said John Stopford, head of multiasset income at Investec Asset Management. "There are concerns about chaos, the risk of a bad deal and an inability to negotiate now the clock is ticking" on Brexit, he said.

Worries about the political outlook rocked shares of U.K.-focused lenders and regional house builders. Banking stocks came under pressure amid worries that the main opposition Labour Party would gain influence, or even form a government, having promised a shake-up of the sector.

A period of political uncertainty could also keep interest

rates lower for longer, which pushed down the yield of U.K. government bonds slightly to around 1.01%, according to Tradeweb.

The U.K.'s FTSE 250 index fell for much of Friday before ending little changed. The export-heavy FTSE 100 rose 1% as global companies that generate revenue abroad benefited from the weaker currency.

Still, traders described the environment Friday as relatively calm compared with past political shocks.

"The market is absorbing this result much better compared to the Brexit result, but a lot will depend on how things develop," said Geoffrey Yu, head of the U.K. investment office at UBS Wealth Management.

Investors' key concern is how the result will affect Britain's divorce from the EU, formal negotiations for which were set to start in 10 days.

The debate was whether the Conservatives' disappointing result will reduce the pressure for a more complete break from Brussels, which

## British Banks Brace For Election Wobble

LONDON—Shares of Britain's banks fell Friday on worries about the economy faltering in an uncertain U.K. political climate.

The stocks of Royal Bank of Scotland Group PLC, Barclays PLC, Lloyds Banking Group PLC and other domestic lenders improved only marginally from earlier losses after Prime Minister Theresa May's early Friday afternoon statement about Thursday's snap elections. The Stoxx Europe

600 index rose 0.3% on Friday.

Bank analysts said consumer confidence could wobble if Britain's plan to leave the European Union is delayed or threatened by political instability. U.K. economic growth slowed in the first quarter as consumers cut their spending, and banks have started to pull back from a four-year lending binge in unsecured credit.

Chirantan Barua, an analyst at Bernstein, said the election could be a catalyst for draining excess liquidity from the banking system. The U.K. could find it hard to draw in capital and investments until the political

situation clarifies, he said.

Royal Bank of Scotland's shares fell as much as 4% early Friday on the heightened chance of the main opposition party gaining power if a second election is needed; RBS closed 2.45% lower in London. The Labour Party in its election manifesto said it would break up RBS into smaller local lenders.

Lloyds Banking closed 1% lower and Metro Bank PLC fell 3%, while Barclays reversed earlier losses to post a 0.6% gain. Rising U.K. government-bond yields would add to banks' funding costs and squeeze margins.

—Margot Patrick

could be good for the pound, or whether the lack of a clear mandate for a governing party would weaken the country's hand in negotiations and add to uncertainty.

"A softer Brexit looks more likely, and a softer Brexit is also sterling positive," said Ben Kumar, investment manager at Seven Investment

Management. But any government will need more cross-partisan support to secure deals, he said.

While Brexit supporters argue that the U.K. would be able to carve out new deals with trading giants such as the U.S. and China, most analysts say the sort of clean break from the EU that Conserva-

tives have advocated would be negative for the British economy, throwing up tariffs and obstacles to trade with its biggest partner and hurting its large finance industry.

But investors say there are multiple moving parts, all of which are hard to predict.

—Alistair MacDonald contributed to this article.

## Qatar Restrictions Confuse Traders

Conflicting restrictions on Qatari oil and gas shipments have sown confusion among Middle East energy traders, as

*By Costas Paris, Summer Said and Sarah McFarlane*

the diplomatic rift between a Saudi-led group of Arab countries and Qatar widened on Friday.

**COMMODITIES** Qatar, the world's largest exporter of liquefied natural gas, and ships carrying its fuel have no access to ports or fuel stations in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. The measures were imposed after those two countries and Egypt and Bahrain broke off diplomatic ties with Qatar, ac-

cusing its leaders of supporting terrorism and meddling in their internal affairs.

The potential for the rift to disrupt vital energy arteries was underlined this past week when Qatar diverted two LNG tankers headed for Egypt's Suez Canal on their way to the U.K. The ships made U-turns and charted new courses, even though Egypt hasn't closed it to Qatari vessels.

Egypt has said Qatar is still allowed to use the Suez Canal, saying it would only restrict access to a country it was at war with. The Suez Canal, one of Egypt's largest sources of foreign currency, is the fastest shipping route between Europe and Asia, and Qatar has had other vessels use it this past week.

Qatari officials couldn't be

reached for comment on why they would forego the Suez, which its ships use hundreds of times a year.

According to a person with knowledge of the Qatari decision, one of the ships' masters didn't feel there was "definitive clearance" to use the Suez as tensions kept escalating between the arguing countries. The ship master didn't want to commit to going to the Suez only to be blocked there, a process that would take days, the person said.

"There is a lot of confusion out there," the person said.

According to shipping intelligence firm, Kpler, one of the ships appeared to have set a course Friday for a long journey to Great Britain around the southern coast of Africa. The other is now heading east

toward an unknown destination, Kpler said.

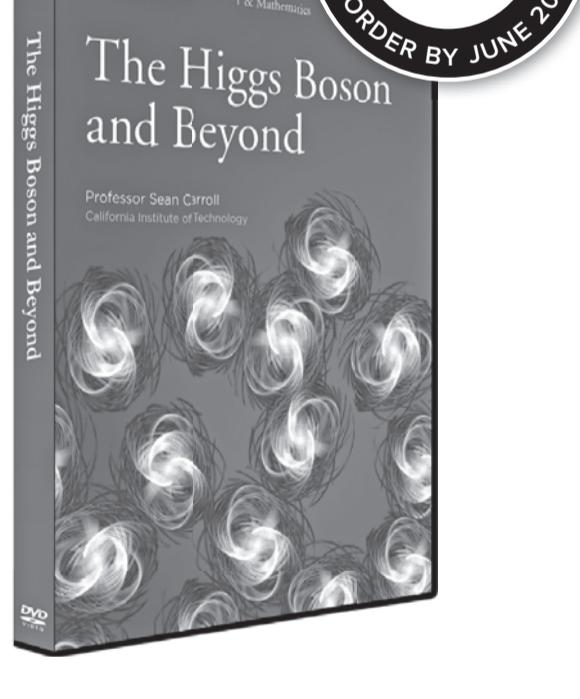
The diversions sent British natural-gas prices 4% higher on Thursday as U.K. traders rushed to secure gas for the country's power and heating systems.

As a whole, traders said, the diplomatic crisis has complicated the Persian Gulf energy business but hasn't stopped it in the same way that cargo-ship traffic was upended. Qatar's neighbors, Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E., closed off air, sea and land routes, but Qatari ships and tankers carrying its gas and crude still have access to international sea lanes. Its Asian exports were proceeding without problems, traders said.

—Nikhil Lohade contributed to this article.

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## MARKETS

# Investors Rethink Their Stock Selections

Uneasiness on some prior favorites comes on second-busiest trading day in 2017

By CORRIE DRIEBUSCH AND RIVA GOLD

The Dow Jones Industrial Average surged to its latest record Friday, hanging onto a daily gain as the S&P 500 and the Nasdaq Composite fell in choppy trading.

Stock-trading volumes were elevated, marking the second-busiest trading day of 2017 as measured by the number of shares changing hands on major U.S. exchanges.

U.S. markets had been relatively calm through a series of events this past week, including a European Central Bank meeting, a surprise result in the U.K. election and former FBI director James Comey's testimony.

But on Friday, technology shares tumbled as investors pulled back on one of the most profitable trades of the year so far, dragging down the tech-heavy Nasdaq but largely sparing the Dow, which benefited from gains in shares of banks and energy companies.

"Tech stocks have done so well, have made such a big move, and people are asking 'how much better can it get for them?'" said Dan Morgan, senior portfolio manager at **Synovus Trust** Co. Mr. Morgan, whose firm owns many of the big tech names, said he isn't selling because he believes there hasn't been a change in the earnings potential for those companies.

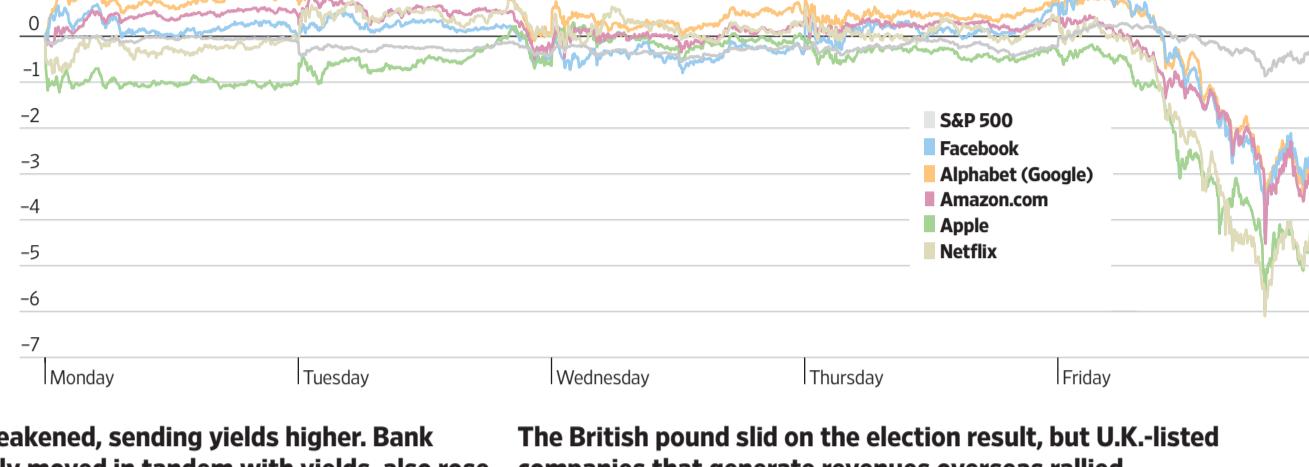
Large tech companies had pushed major indexes higher in recent months, with stalwarts such as **Facebook**, **Apple** and **Amazon.com** leading the rise. Those companies' outsize gains had prompted some uneasiness among investors in recent trading sessions, and a series of downbeat research notes about the group and

### Reversing Course

U.S. markets largely breezed through a series of major events this past week, including former FBI Director James Comey's testimony and another surprise U.K. election result. But technology shares, which have surged this year, pulled back late in the week.

**Internet, e-commerce and chip-maker stocks were some of the biggest decliners in Friday's session.**

Percentage change in stock price



**U.S. government bonds weakened, sending yields higher. Bank shares, which have recently moved in tandem with yields, also rose.**

**The British pound slid on the election result, but U.K.-listed companies that generate revenues overseas rallied.**

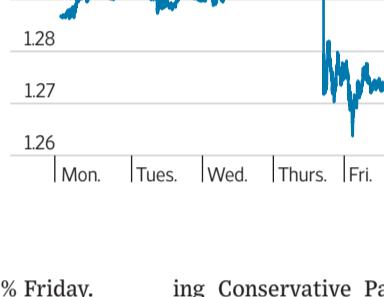
Yield on 10-year Treasury note



KBW Nasdaq Bank Index



How many dollars £1 buys



FTSE 100



Sources: FactSet (S&P, stocks, yield, bank index, forex); SIX Financial (FTSE)

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

climbing valuations sparked the Friday selloff, some traders and analysts said.

The Nasdaq Composite fell 11.85 points, or 1.8%, Friday to 6207.92. Technology companies in the S&P 500 sank 2.7%, dragging the broader index into the red. The tech-heavy Nasdaq Composite's 15% year-to-date gain is roughly double the Dow's rise, and S&P 500's tech sector is up 19%.

Facebook, Google parent **Alphabet**, Amazon and Apple all fell more than 3%, and **Micro-**

**soft** dropped 2.3% on Friday—though all five companies remain up by double digits for the year. Traders attributed the selloff in part to a research note by Goldman Sachs that called out the five companies' recent outperformance as potentially overheated.

Semiconductor companies, which make the chips that some of these larger tech companies use to build their products, also fell. The PHLX Semiconductor Index, which is up 20% in 2017 after gaining 37%

in 2016, fell 4.2% Friday.

The Dow spent much of the session higher on the day before dipping into negative territory in the afternoon and then rebounding to close at a record. The blue-chip index rose 89.44 points, or 0.4%, to 21271.97. The S&P 500 shed 2.02, or 0.1%, to 2431.77, posting a weekly decline of 0.3%.

In the U.K. on Friday, stocks tied to the economy fell and the pound dropped after British voters deprived Prime Minister Theresa May and her rul-

ing Conservative Party of a majority in Parliament. Investors fear a hung parliament would usher in a fresh period of political uncertainty and make it harder for the U.K. to secure a favorable deal in its negotiations to leave the European Union.

While this sort of event used to generate a more volatile-trading environment globally, "the world seems pretty calm about it," said Adam Karilsson-Willis, vice president of equity trading at INTL FCStone

Financial. "We have two years of question marks now," he said. "Everyone is sitting on their hands again to wait and see...nobody wants to make a distinct move either way."

Earlier, Japan's Nikkei Stock Average rose 0.5% as the dollar climbed against the yen, supporting exporters. **SoftBank** hit 17-year highs after a surge in the U.S. in **Alibaba**, in which it has a large stake.

Korea's Kospi rose 0.8% to a record, helped by a rise in **Samsung Electronics**.

## HEARD ON THE STREET

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS & COMMENTARY

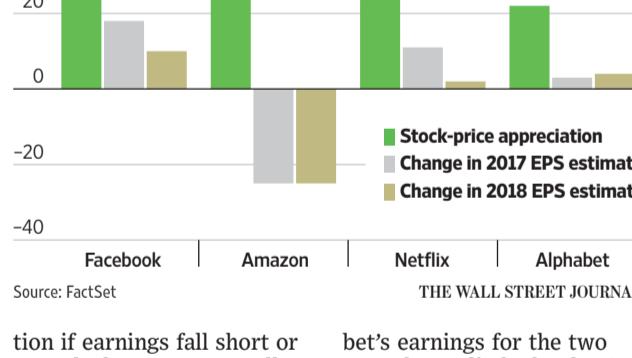
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# A Warning Signal for FANG Inc.

### Gap-Toothed

Year-to-date performance for FANG stocks



lion of outflows during all of 2016, according to Goldman Sachs. Actively managed funds are 32% overweight the information technology and internet and catalog retail sectors, according to Bank of America Merrill Lynch. Driving that, the bank says, is their 71% overweight position in Facebook, Amazon, Netflix and Alphabet.

Investors have increasingly been treating these cyclical growth stocks like steady consumer-staples companies, Goldman wrote in a research note Friday, citing their low volatility even relative to a historically calm market. "We believe low realized volatility can potentially lead people to underestimate the risks inherent in these businesses," it wrote.

The FANGs all fell more than 3% Friday. Netflix led the way with a fall of nearly 5%. Nothing changed except a wave of stories and analyst reports questioning the rally.

Investors enamored with highflying tech companies are learning that FANG can bite back.

—Miriam Gottfried

### OVERHEARD

No political party can really claim to have won the U.K. election, but one company can—**YouGov**.

The pollster, which is listed on the London Stock Exchange, was the only major forecaster to predict that no party would win an outright majority in Thursday's general election.

YouGov stock was up 1.3% in afternoon trading Friday, although it ended flat. But the link between forecasting excellence and stock-market returns isn't tight over the longer run. The company flunked the May 2015 general election, predicting a tie in its final poll; the Conservative Party won with 37% of the vote to the Labour Party's 31%. That prompted a lot of soul-searching about sampling errors and "shy Tories."

But the election turned out to be close to a bottom for YouGov's stock, which has more than doubled since. Now it trades at about 24 times earnings. Shareholders will have to hope that getting this year's election right doesn't mark the top.

### Producers of Shale Only Got Stronger

Three years after the start of the "sheikhs vs. shale" oil battle, the upstart U.S. shale producers were supposed to have been crushed by low prices. The gambit backfired.

Starting in 2014, the big Mideast oil exporters such as Saudi Arabia let oil prices fall in the hope they could permanently eliminate supply and ultimately boost prices. The decline put high-cost shale producers in a lot of pain but ultimately the pressure helped them boost their productivity. That is the worst-case scenario for the big exporters.

When prices began to drop, the Midland Basin, part of the prolific Permian Basin, was one of the most expensive shale plays at \$77 a barrel, according to BTU Analytics—meaning it was profitable at then-prevailing prices of more than \$100 a barrel. By January 2017, though, the break-even had tumbled to around \$50.

In the three most prolific shale plays, the Permian, Bakken and Powder River Basins, the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies estimated last year that the "estimated ultimate recovery factors," the barrels of crude equivalent that could be pulled from each well, had grown by 41% since 2014 when measured over the first 12 months of a well's life and by 22% over five years.

While the recent decline in crude prices to nearly multi-month lows is costlier to the bottom lines of still high-cost shale producers than the Saudis, the productivity genie can't be put back into the bottle. It has put a permanent dent in long-term oil prices, costing traditional exporters tens of billions of dollars in future revenue.

—Spencer Jakab

# What Prime Minister May's Setback Means for Brexit

### Safety Play

Yield on 10-year U.K. government bonds



why the pound hasn't fallen further on the voting result and remains higher than it was before the election was called in April.

To stay in power, the Conservatives will be relying heavily on the support of Northern Ireland's Democratic Unionist Party. The DUP is pro-Brexit in character, but still wants free movement of people and goods with the Republic of Ireland (a full member of the EU), access to some EU funding and protection for its farmers. In other words,

something not far from the current arrangements.

But even with the DUP's

10 members of Parliament, Mrs. May will enjoy the slimmest of majorities, just three more than the halfway mark of 326 seats needed for a basic majority. That thin cushion leaves her vulnerable to sabotage from the rabidly anti-EU wing of her own party, so in practice support from Labour and other opposition parties will be required to ratify a Brexit deal.

The worse alternative, of course, is that this chaotic and fluid domestic situation means Britain is unable to maintain a coherent negotiating position at all, which could lead to talks collapsing and the clock running down

with no arrangement: The U.K. could get no deal without ever knowing what the bad deal might have been.

Behind all this, the thing to watch closely is U.K. government-bond yields. They are now a haven for domestic investors and yields dropped slightly Friday, but the worry is that political instability leads foreign investors—who own more than one-quarter of the market, according to Nomura—to start drifting away.

Britain is very reliant on foreign investment and funding; losing that would be very bad indeed.

—Paul J. Davies

No deal and a hard break with the European Union would cost Britain trade in goods and services with its biggest partner. A weak U.K.

government makes the talks a more complicated balancing act between domestic and European aims and probably means a less drastic break. That helps explain

The dangers of siding entirely with the Saudis in their fight against Iran  
**C3**



# REVIEW



A tasty social history of the varied cuisine of the modern South  
**C5**

BOOKS | CULTURE | SCIENCE | COMMERCE | HUMOR | POLITICS | LANGUAGE | TECHNOLOGY | ART | IDEAS

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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# The Outspoken Campus

Communities of higher learning should work to make all of their members feel included, writes the president of Middlebury College—but not at the cost of free speech and debate.



BY LAURIE L. PATTON

**I**N MY INAUGURAL address as the new president of Middlebury College a year and a half ago, I spoke of my hope to create a robust public square on campus. I said that I wanted Middlebury to be a community whose members engage in reasoned, thoughtful debate openly and without fear, where we are resilient in argument and generous to those we disagree with, and where the conversational circle expands to take in more and more people. I had no illusions about how difficult and messy it might be to achieve these goals, but I also had no doubt that we needed to pursue them.

We experienced a hard test of these aims in early March, when student demonstrators at Middlebury shut down a speaking event featuring the political scientist Charles Murray. A rash of similarly disturbing incidents on other campuses this spring has reminded us of the fragility of the principle of free expression and why all of our institutions, but especially our institutions of higher learning, must be vigilant in safeguarding it.

At Middlebury's commencement last month, as I shook the hands of 550 graduating seniors,

it was difficult to overlook the challenge that lies before them. These young people—our newest alumni—are a remarkable group, full of promise and hope. But the unfortunate reality in America today is that they are embarking on their life's journey at a moment when our nation is sharply divided—politically, economically, culturally, and in seemingly every other way. As the historian Jon Meacham said to our graduates in his commencement address, "A decade and a half

## The disruption of Charles Murray's talk was especially disheartening to me.

into the 21st century, what do we love in common? The painful but unavoidable answer is: not enough."

It was precisely this dynamic of polarization that played out when Charles Murray came to Middlebury. Students from a conservative campus group, the American Enterprise Institute Club, had invited him to talk about his 2012 book "Coming Apart," which explores the roots of class division in white America. In publicizing the event, the students had cited the need for

vigorous discussion and asked the community to listen to Dr. Murray and challenge his ideas. His 1994 co-authored book, "The Bell Curve," which linked race with IQ, has long been the focus of controversy and served as the backdrop for how many on campus saw the event.

A number of groups at Middlebury were upset by the prospect of Dr. Murray's appearance and asked the administration to cancel the event. In the spirit of a robust public square, we thought it was important to allow students and others in the community to engage with Dr. Murray about the issues on their minds.

Students protested when Dr. Murray took the stage. They prevented him from speaking and went on to disrupt attempts to continue the program, including a question-and-answer session moderated by Prof. Allison Stanger, via video feed—a backup plan that we had created to ensure that the talk could continue even if it was disrupted in the hall. Later, when Dr. Murray, Prof. Stanger and a Middlebury administrator left the building, a crowd of about 20 people, most of them outsiders but some students as well, physically confronted them and surrounded their car. Prof. Stanger was injured in the melee.

*Please turn to the next page*

*Dr. Patton is the president of Middlebury College and a scholar of South Asian history, culture and religion.*

ILLUSTRATION BY PEP MONTSERRAT

## INSIDE



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## REVIEW

# Respect, Resilience and Robust Debate

Continued from the prior page

Like many at Middlebury, I was deeply upset by these events. As a community of learners, we must extend the same privileges and rights of speech to others as we would ask others to extend to us. Given my call for more resilient conversations and debate, the disruption of Dr. Murray's talk was especially disheartening.

The college immediately asked independent investigators to give us an impartial account of what happened. They reviewed photographic and video evidence, interviewed a number of eyewitnesses and gathered other statements and accounts. Their work provided the basis for disciplinary proceedings under the college's long-established, community-based judicial procedures. The college charged a number of students with violating policies that prohibit disruptive behavior at community events and that call on students to "respect the dignity, freedom and rights of others" and forbids "violence or the use of physical force."

The Community Judiciary Board (which is made up of students, faculty and staff members) heard the most serious of these charges, made the final determination of wrongdoing and assigned sanctions. Neither I nor anyone in the senior administration had the authority to impose penalties unilaterally.

In the end, the board took disciplinary action against 74 Middlebury students. Most received probation, which means that they will face more serious penalties if they violate these policies again. A few, who took an especially prominent role in the episode, received what we call "college discipline," which places a letter in their permanent file noting their infractions. Because students often must disclose such information in applications to graduate programs and employers, it is a serious penalty, with potentially long-term consequences.

For its part, the Middlebury Police Department investigated the events outside the hall and found no evidence to support criminal charges.

On campus and in press coverage of these events, some praised our effort to hold the students accountable, noting that we had followed Middlebury's longstanding policy of drawing a clear line between peaceful and disruptive protest. Some dismissed the sanctions as a slap on the wrist, and others criticized our actions as overly punitive, arguing that all protest is inherently disruptive. Not everyone was happy with the outcome of the disciplinary proceedings, but we were all committed to the integrity of our established practices, including the role of the community-based judicial body charged with deciding such cases.

For Middlebury and other schools where such confrontations are sure to arise again, it is now time to look ahead and to think about principles that can help us to avoid future escalation and to ensure respect for the rights of both speech and protest. I would suggest the following:

◆ **Embrace freedom of expression and inquiry as an educational value for everyone, regardless of their background or political views.** Controversial speech is especially difficult at a time when issues that should be addressed and debated become the exclusive province of the left or the right. In our current state of high tension, it is hard to explore vital, fraught topics such as the history of oppression or the nature of freedom, but we have a responsibility to teach and discuss them openly and honestly, with mutual respect.

◆ **Move beyond the false dichotomy between free speech and inclusiveness.** Our dual commitment to free expression and to making all students full members of our communities must be embraced fiercely and with conviction. But an educational institution does not become more inclusive by limiting freedom of expression. Nor does it achieve greater freedom by reducing

its commitment to building an inclusive, robust, brave public square where all students are equally welcomed and valued.

◆ **Let students know that, when these values come into conflict, as they did at Middlebury this past spring, educational institutions have a primary obligation to foster open and civil discourse.** Schools have to be prepared to enforce this commitment, as we did in this episode. Free speech lies at the heart of our purpose as an institution, and we cannot allow force or disruption to undermine it.

◆ **Ensure that students have a basic understanding of the First Amendment and its history,** as well as of historical and current models for creating a more inclusive public square. It is essential to include such topics in student orientations and to ask them to reflect on them at regular intervals throughout their careers.

◆ **Prepare students for our polarized politics by actively acknowledging and learning about the full range of perspectives on the important issues of the day.** Faculty should regularly ask themselves and their students if anyone is afraid to speak about his or her views—including conservative students, who tell us that they often feel alienated in the classroom and social settings of left-leaning campuses.

◆ **Reflect on who is and is not included in different public debates, and ask why.** Many students from underrepresented groups tell us that they get the message every day that they do not belong at elite colleges. Are there ways to create new traditions of dialogue and argumentation that can expand the definition of who belongs? Our public square must be as energetically invitational as it is educationally rigorous.

I believe that this dual commitment to free expression and inclusiveness is crucial to the well-being of our institutions of higher learning and to the health of American society as a whole. But I won't pretend that the tension between them is easy to negotiate or resolve. If we manage it well, however, it can be a force in our public life for creativity rather than for distrust and division.

At Middlebury and other schools, we must respect and engage students who have walked on the margins of American society. This means not turning our back on the accumulated injury that some of them have confronted in the history of our nation. But this is yet another reason to remain committed to the fundamental value of freedom of expression and inquiry: Once censorship becomes acceptable in principle, those who have walked on the margins will become even more vulnerable, putting at risk the gains we have made in reducing disparities in access and increasing participation.

We must prepare young Americans, whatever their background, to take on arguments that offend them; to enter the public square with better ideas supported with better reason, better research, better logic, and better data; to risk being offended and to argue back even when they might feel afraid.

Committed speech, reasoned speech, courageous speech, speech countering other speech—these are essential to higher education and to sound democratic politics. It is simply not acceptable to shut down speakers and interfere with the right of others to hear them, learn from them and challenge them. Only when we're able to listen to each other, across our many differences, will we begin to discover, for our own times, what we are still capable of loving in common.



STUDENTS TURNED their backs toward Charles Murray during his speaking event at Middlebury College, March 2.

## When Protest Crosses the Line

In a March 5 article on the American Enterprise Institute's AEIdeas blog, excerpted below, Charles Murray wrote about his experience at Middlebury:

In the 23 years since "The Bell Curve" was published, I have had considerable experience with campus protests. Until [the event at Middlebury], all of the ones involving me have been as carefully scripted as kabuki: The college administration meets with the organizers of the protest and ground rules are agreed upon. The protesters have so many minutes to do such and such. It is agreed that after

the allotted time, they will leave or desist. These negotiated agreements have always worked. At least a couple of dozen times, I have been able to give my lecture to an attentive (or at least quiet) audience despite an organized protest.

Middlebury tried to negotiate such an agreement with the protesters, but, for the first time in my experience, the protesters would not accept any time limits. If this becomes the new normal, the number of colleges willing to let themselves in for an experience like Middlebury's will plunge to near zero. Academia is already largely sequestered in an ideological bubble, but at least it's translucent. That bubble will become opaque.

Worse yet, the intellectual thugs will take

over many campuses. In the mid-1990s, I could count on students who had wanted to listen to start yelling at the protesters after a certain point, "Sit down and shut up, we want to hear what he has to say." That kind of pushback had an effect. It reminded the protesters that they were a minority. I am assured by people at Middlebury that their protesters are a minority as well. But they are a minority that has intimidated the majority. The people in the audience who wanted to hear me speak were completely cowed. That cannot be allowed to stand. A campus where a majority of students are fearful to speak openly because they know a minority will jump on them is no longer an intellectually free campus in any meaningful sense.



## MIND & MATTER: ALISON GOPNIK

### What the Blind See (and Don't) When Given Sight

**IN SEPTEMBER 1678,** a brilliant young Irish scientist named William Molyneux married the beautiful Lucy Domville. By November, she had fallen ill and become blind, and the doctors could do nothing for her. Molyneux reacted by devoting himself to the study of vision.

He also studied vision because he wanted to resolve some big philosophical issues: What kinds of knowledge are we born with? What is learned? And does that learning have to happen at certain stages in our lives? In 1688, he asked the philosopher John Locke: Suppose someone who was born blind suddenly regained their sight? What would they understand about the visual world?

In the 17th century, Molyneux's question was science fiction. Locke and his peers enthusiastically debated and speculated about the answer, but there was no way to actually restore a blind baby's sight. That's no longer true today. Some kinds of congenital blindness, such as congenital cataracts, can be cured.

More than 300 years after Molyneux, another brilliant young scientist, Pawan Sinha of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has begun to find answers to his predecessor's questions. Dr. Sinha has produced a substantial body of research, culminating in a paper last month in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*.

Like Molyneux, he was moved by both philosophical questions and human tragedy. When he was growing up, Dr. Sinha saw blind children begging on the streets of New Delhi. So in 2005, he helped to start Project Prakash, from the Sanskrit word for light. Prakash gives medical attention to blind children and teenagers in rural India. To date, the project has helped to treat more than 1,400 children, restoring sight to many.

Project Prakash has also given scientists a chance to answer Molyneux's questions: to discover what we know about the visual world when we're born, what we learn and when we have to learn it.

Dr. Sinha and his colleagues discovered that some abilities that might seem to be learned show up as soon as children can see. For example, consider the classic Ponzo visual illusion. When you see two equal horizontal lines drawn on top of a perspective drawing of receding railway ties, the top line will look much longer than the bottom one. You might have thought that illusion depends on learning about distance and perspective, but the newly sighted children immediately see the lines the same way.

On the other hand, some basic visual abilities depend more on experience at a critical time. When congenital cataracts are treated very early, children tend to develop fairly good visual acuity—the ability to see fine detail. Children who are treated much later don't tend to develop the same level of acuity, even after they have had a lot of visual experience.

**What visual powers are we born with?**

In the most recent study, Dr. Sinha and colleagues looked at our ability to tell the difference between faces and other objects. People are very sensitive to faces; special brain areas are dedicated to face perception, and babies can discriminate pictures of faces from other pictures when they are only a few weeks old.

The researchers studied five Indian children who were part of the Prakash project, aged 9 to 17, born blind but given sight. At first, they couldn't distinguish faces from similar pictures. But over the next few months, they learned the skill, and eventually they did as well as sighted children. So face detection had a different profile from both visual illusions and visual acuity—it wasn't there right away, but it could be learned relatively quickly.

The moral of the story is that the right answer about nature versus nurture is...it's complicated. And that sometimes, at least, searching for the truth can go hand-in-hand with making the world a better place.

## REVIEW



PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP and his wife Melania waved as they boarded Air Force One before leaving Saudi Arabia, Riyadh, May 22.

# The Risks Of Joining Team Saudi

A strong turn against Iran may worsen rifts, bring war

BY DANIEL BENJAMIN  
AND STEVEN SIMON

**NEW PRESIDENTS** like new approaches to old problems, so it isn't surprising that President Donald Trump has embraced a more confrontational policy toward Iran, one of the thorniest problems in U.S. foreign policy. Responding to a newly adventurous Saudi foreign policy, Mr. Trump has abandoned America's historic practice of tamping down tensions in the Middle East and lined up behind Iran's main rivals, Saudi Arabia and its Gulf Arab allies. But there are dangers in this shift, which threatens to destabilize the region, worsen sectarian rifts and drag the U.S. further into futile fights.

On Mr. Trump's recent trip to the Middle East, he signaled unqualified support for Saudi Arabia and its Sunni Arab friends in their rivalry with Iran, the region's Shiite power. The longtime competition between the two big Muslim powers has intensified since civil war broke out in Syria in 2011, pitting that now-wrecked country's Iranian-backed regime

against a Sunni majority. In Mr. Trump's speech in Riyadh, he blamed Iran "for so much instability in the region."

The president waded in deeper this week, threatening to end the longstanding U.S. partnership with Qatar (the lone Gulf Arab state with significant ties to Iran) and issuing a White House statement strikingly lacking in empathy after Islamic State claimed credit for a double terrorist attack in Tehran—a departure from Washington's practice of condemning terrorism no matter the victim. Mr. Trump's frequent criticisms of the 2015 nuclear deal with Iran and his support for more U.S. sanctions against Tehran suggest that the White House is now adopting a more hostile posture than previous administrations.

All of this amounts to a perilous change of course. The U.S. has been a staunch Saudi ally since 1945 and an implacable foe of Iran since its 1979 revolution, but under both Democratic and Republican presidents, the longstanding policy has been to avoid fanning Sunni-Shiite strains and inflaming regional tensions.

The consequences of Mr. Trump's new tilt were on stark display this week. For decades, Saudi Arabia has had a tense relationship with its wealthy, activist neighbor Qatar, but the dramatic severing of diplomatic ties with Qatar by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt and others was a jolt to the region. Most see the breach as having been sparked

partly by Qatar's amicable ties with Iran—and having at least the tacit support of Mr. Trump, who tweeted critically of Qatar on Tuesday. U.S. diplomats are now scrambling to patch things up, not least because Qatar hosts more than 10,000 U.S. service members at the main American base in the region.

It is no surprise that Mr. Trump is seeking to improve ties with Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Arabs, who complained endlessly about President Barack Obama's supposed fecklessness and slant toward Iran. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates in particular are longtime U.S. partners, with close intelligence relationships that are essential for combating terrorism.

But Saudi and Emirati interests are not necessarily identical with those of the U.S. The Saudis and the Emiratis, for example, are both cool to the Iran nuclear deal, even though most members of the American and Israeli security establishments have come to see it as a significant boost for regional stability.

The heightened tensions may push the Iranians to abandon the agreement. If Iran were to do that and resume its race to acquire a nuclear option, the U.S. could soon face difficult choices, including the possibility of a bombing campaign to deal with the threat. Few Americans, least of all Trump voters, are ready for such further misadventures in the Middle East.

Mr. Trump's uncritical embrace of the Saudis will also worsen another major problem. The U.S. is already too closely tied to the Saudi quagmire in Yemen, an unsuccessful intervention in a civil war that has caused widespread suffering and chaos. The Saudis' escalation helped to create conditions in which al Qaeda's

### The dramatic breach with U.S. partner Qatar jolted the region.

soon face difficult choices, including the possibility of a bombing campaign to deal with the threat. Few Americans, least of all Trump voters, are ready for such further misadventures in the Middle East.

As the clash with our longtime partner Qatar shows, things in the Middle East can fall apart fast. That hardly means that the U.S. should be evenhanded between Iran and Saudi Arabia: We have a 70-year partnership with the Saudis and will continue to need their oil, intelligence cooperation and financial investments. But Mr. Trump should insist on a policy that puts American interests first.

Given the possibility of reform in Iran, the U.S. needs to think strategically about the country's future once its repressive, ailing, 77-year-old supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, leaves the scene. Such hopes have been disappointed before, but this time reformers may well have a chance to alter the country's course.

The Saudis have made a Vietnam-like blunder, seeing Yemen's Houthi rebels as stalking horses for Iran rather than acknowledging that internal political jockeying has been the main driver of the Yemeni conflict. Iran has supplied the Houthis with some arms, but mostly to tie down Saudi forces; the U.S. has given the Saudis weapons and intelligence. Instead of plunging further in, we should be persuading the Saudis to cut their losses.

Another reason for Mr. Trump to reconsider his shift is that Iran may be changing. The recent reelection of President Hassan Rouhani was a sharp setback for the country's hardline ayatollahs. Mr. Rouhani is no Jeffersonian democrat and has done ruthless things in his career, but he is also a pragmatist and advocate of reform, economic growth and re-engagement with the outside world. His conservative opponent, Ebrahim Raisi, was roundly rejected at the ballot box, and the clerical establishment didn't dare to falsify the outcome, as it has done before. Iran-watchers took note of YouTube videos of postelection celebrations with hitherto forbidden music and dancing in such hard-line strongholds as the northeastern city of Mashhad.

Given the possibility of reform in Iran, the U.S. needs to think strategically about the country's future once its repressive, ailing, 77-year-old supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, leaves the scene. Such hopes have been disappointed before, but this time reformers may well have a chance to alter the country's course.

While the U.S. continues to fulfill its alliance responsibilities to the Saudis, it should also be a steady hand in the region. Though we should never give the Iranians a pass on bad behavior—supporting anti-Israel terrorism, arming Lebanon's Hezbollah, backing the murderous Syrian regime of Bashar al-Assad—we also should avoid playing into the hands of Iran's hard-line clerics by disrupting the re-engagement with the global economy that the reformers are banking on.

The Iranians are the source of many evils in the Middle East but hardly all of them. There are few governments in the region for the U.S. to admire or support uncritically—and that definitely includes the Saudis, despite the assiduous courting of Mr. Trump by the young Saudi deputy crown prince, Mohammed bin Salman.

As the clash with our longtime partner Qatar shows, things in the Middle East can fall apart fast. That hardly means that the U.S. should be evenhanded between Iran and Saudi Arabia: We have a 70-year partnership with the Saudis and will continue to need their oil, intelligence cooperation and financial investments. But Mr. Trump should insist on a policy that puts American interests first.

*Mr. Benjamin, the State Department's coordinator for counterterrorism from 2009-12, is director of the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding at Dartmouth College. Mr. Simon is a visiting professor at Amherst College and was senior director for Middle Eastern and North African affairs at the White House from 2011-12.*

## MEDICAL CARE MEANS MENTAL HEALTH, TOO

BY EZEKIEL J. EMANUEL

**AMERICAN SOCIETY** has historically segregated mental-health conditions from other health concerns. Doctors and laypeople alike often dismissed such problems as existing "just in people's heads," as if they lacked any real biological or genetic basis.

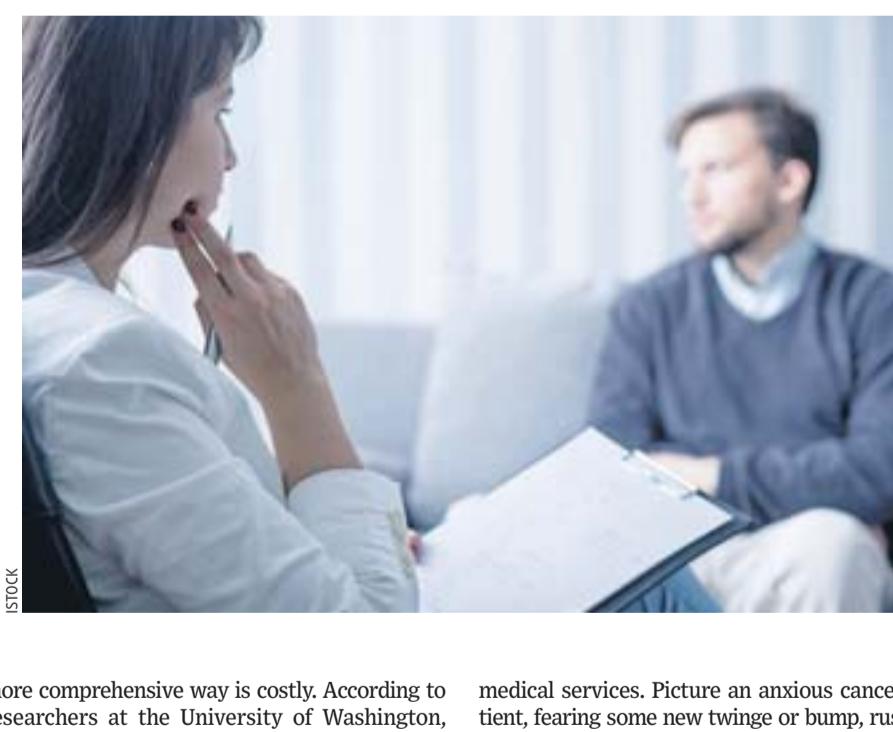
For decades, patients with serious mental-health conditions were shunted to isolated psychiatric hospitals, far from ordinary medical care. Americans with less severe mental-health conditions found that their insurance companies "carved out" mental-health benefits from basic coverage, and the benefits were skimpy compared with coverage for physical ailments.

As for clinical practice, mental-health professionals were kept separate from physicians treating patients for other medical conditions and rarely interacted with them. The rationale for this division was to avoid the stigma of mental disorders, but it only served to reinforce the stigma. At the cancer center where I trained, we had scores of oncologists and thousands of cancer patients—but just one psychiatrist.

Thankfully, this long era of separation and indifference seems to be coming to an end. In the decades ahead, there is every reason to expect that treatment for mental health will finally become integrated into mainstream medicine.

A key reason for the shift is the mounting evidence that depression, anxiety and substance abuse—as well as more severe conditions like schizophrenia and bipolar disorder—often occur alongside other chronic illnesses. A 2011 Robert Wood Johnson Foundation study suggests that some 30% of medical outpatients and patients admitted to general hospitals suffer from a range of mental illnesses, often undiagnosed and untreated.

The failure to address these problems in a



more comprehensive way is costly. According to researchers at the University of Washington, mental-health conditions account for some \$200 billion a year of U.S. health-care spending. But they also add to other medical expenses. When depression, anxiety and other conditions afflict patients with chronic illnesses, the costs shoot up. Consider patients with congestive heart failure. Their average monthly health care amounts to \$1,846, according to a 2008 Milliman research report, but when these patients also suffer from depression, the average cost shoots up to \$2,567 a month. Even for relatively simple chronic conditions such as hypertension, depression increases costs from \$550 a month to \$960.

These extra costs largely arise not from mental-health care but from extra dollars spent for

medical services. Picture an anxious cancer patient, fearing some new twinge or bump, rushing to an emergency room or demanding a CT scan.

Some innovators are already working to integrate mental health into general care. For years, the 16-physician group Central Medical Clinic in Honolulu routinely screened its patients for depression, anxiety and similar conditions—but, like many small practices, it couldn't provide proper mental-health treatment. A few years ago, the clinic invited psychologists in a separate practice to share their office space. Doctors can literally walk patients over to psychologists and get them same-day care if needed.

In Illinois, Advocate Health Care also uses "co-location" this way, employing 13 mental-

health providers in eight of its busiest primary care practices in the Chicago area. Advocate now systematically screens all patients 65 and older who are in the emergency room or admitted to hospital for depression and anxiety. Those who screen positive are seen by behavioral-health specialists within 24 hours.

Such consultations are increasingly done via telemedicine, since psychiatrists can be in short supply. At Kaiser Permanente's mid-Atlantic facilities, a psychotherapist is available 24/7 by video for patient consultations. This is especially useful for those needing urgent care for depression or suicidal thoughts.

Other pioneers are using technology to link physicians, patients and mental-health specialists in what they call "virtual collaborative care." One young company, Manhattan-based Quartet Health, uses predictive modeling to review claims and other data to identify patients who might have undiagnosed or poorly managed mental-health issues, such as those who make frequent emergency room visits for chest pain without being admitted for heart attacks. Quartet then performs a comprehensive online mental-health assessment and offers tailored solutions, including virtual or in-person therapy.

This shift in care remains a work in progress, but physicians and companies are remaking what was long an isolated, ignored area of medicine. Integrating mental health into routine care will make our health-care system more humane and affordable—and make all of us healthier.

*Dr. Emanuel is a vice provost of the University of Pennsylvania and the chairman of its Department of Medical Ethics and Health Policy. His new book is "Prescription for the Future," just published by PublicAffairs. He has spoken at Advocate Health Care and is a venture partner at a firm that invests in Quartet.*

## REVIEW

### WORD ON THE STREET: BEN ZIMMER

## The Roots of The 'What About?' Ploy

**IN HIS INTERVIEW** with NBC's Megyn Kelly on Sunday, Russian President Vladimir Putin employed the tried-and-true tactic of "whataboutism." When asked about Russia's reported meddling in American elections, he changed the subject to U.S. interference abroad: "Put your finger anywhere on a map of the world, and everywhere you will hear complaints that American officials are interfering in internal election processes."

As Michael McFaul, a former U.S. ambassador to Russia, observed on Twitter, "Putin plays classic whataboutism card when asked about interference in US elections."

"Whataboutism" is another name for the logical fallacy of "*tu quoque*" (Latin for "you also"), in which an accusation is met with a counter-accusation, pivoting away from the original criticism. The strategy has been a hallmark of Soviet and post-Soviet propaganda, and some commentators have accused President Donald Trump of mimicking Mr. Putin's use of the technique.

When the former Fox News host Bill O'Reilly called Mr. Putin "a killer" in an interview in February, Mr. Trump responded, "We got a lot of killers—what, you think our country's so innocent?"

The term was popularized by articles in 2007 and 2008 by Edward Lucas, a senior editor at the Economist. Mr. Lucas, who served as the magazine's Moscow bureau chief from 1998 to 2002, saw "whataboutism" as a typical Cold War style of argumentation, with "the Kremlin's useful idiots" seeking to "match every Soviet crime with a real or imagined western one."

But the roots of "whataboutism" actually go back to the decadeslong sectarian struggle between unionists and nationalists in Northern Ireland, known as the Troubles.

On Jan. 30, 1974, the Irish Times published a letter to the editor from Sean O'Conaill, a history teacher from the town of Coleraine in Northern Ireland.

Mr. O'Conaill wrote of "the Whatabouts," his name for "the people who answer every condemnation of the Provisional I.R.A. with an argument to prove the greater immorality of the 'enemy.'"

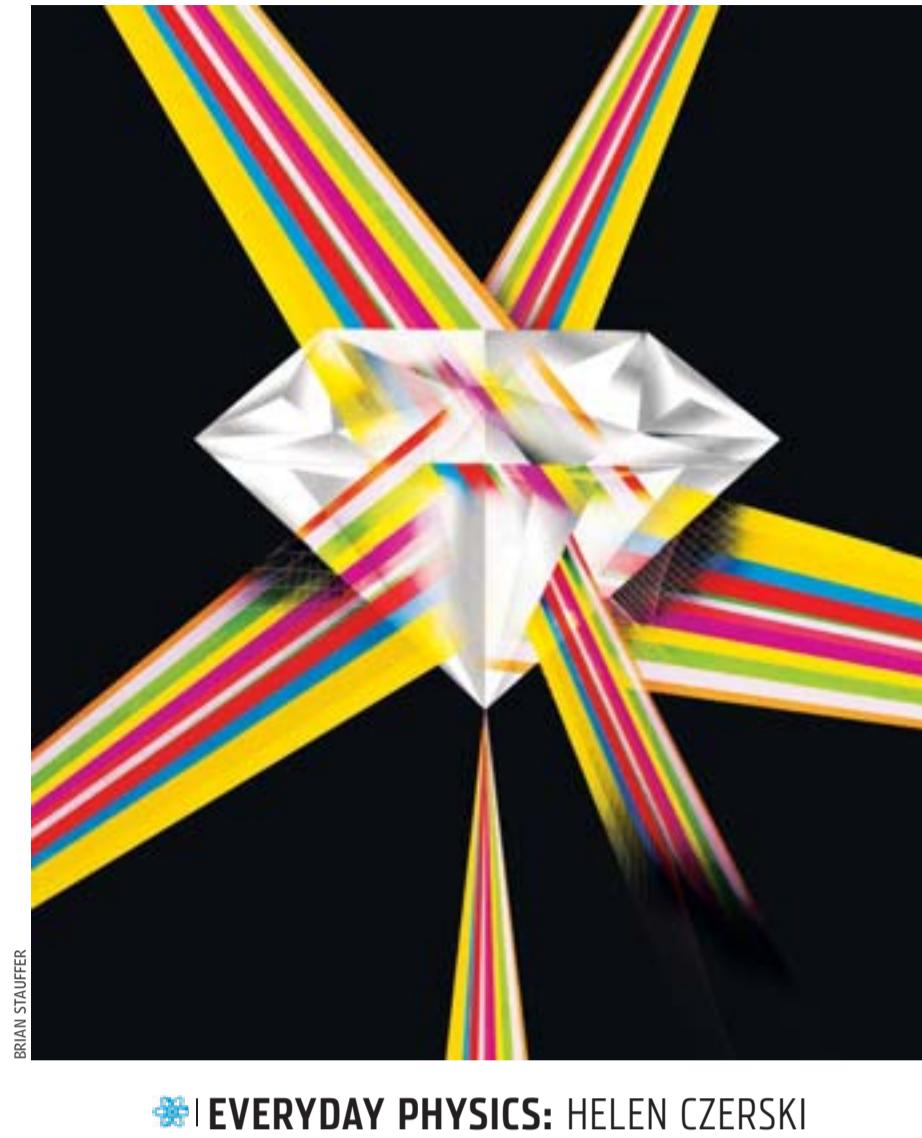
Three days later, in the same newspaper, John Healy picked up the theme in his

## From Ireland's Troubles to Putin's Russia.

"Backbencher" column, citing Mr. O'Conaill's letter. "We have a bellyful of Whataboutery in these killing days, and the one clear fact to emerge is that people, Orange and Green, are dying as a result of it," he wrote.

Commentators on the Troubles embraced the term "whataboutery" and frequently mentioned it in the ensuing years of strife. The "whataboutism" variant appeared as early as 1993, in Tony Parker's book "May the Lord in His Mercy Be Kind to Belfast": "And I'd no time at all for 'What aboutism'—you know, people who said 'Yes, but what about what's been done to us?'"

Reached by email, Mr. O'Conaill told me that he is surprised at how the "whatabout" idea has spread and mutated since his 1974 letter to the editor. "The phenomenon was waiting to be named, and others were soon observing it too, and naming it much the same way," he said. As for the "whataboutism" of Messrs. Putin and Trump, he added, "I claim no responsibility whatever for their shenanigans."



BRIAN STAUFFER

### EVERYDAY PHYSICS: HELEN CZERSKI

## Light at Diamond Speed

**A FEW WEEKS AGO**, a small pink rock was sold for \$71.2 million. It's a staggering amount of money—enough to buy a few mansions and a very shiny yacht, with plenty of spare change for a space tourist ticket to orbit the Earth. Of course, this was no ordinary rock; it was the 59.6-carat Pink Star diamond, the largest flawless pink diamond ever found and, as of April, the world's most expensive gemstone.

But high prices aren't the only extraordinary feature of diamonds. They're extraordinary in the world of science, too, and not just for their famed hardness. The diamond is nature's standard-bearer for the beauty of slowing things down, especially the fastest thing of all.

The next time someone offers you a glass of sparkling water with ice in it, take a closer look before your first sip. The air bubbles, the water, the glass and the ice are all transparent and colorless. The question is: Why aren't they invisible?

You get a bit of help from reflections off the outside, but not much. Light goes through them all, but the crucial subtlety is that it doesn't go straight through them all.

As light travels into the glass from the air, it slows down, which makes it swerve. The swerve is known to physicists as refraction, and the greater the change in speed, the greater the change of direction.

"The speed of light" is well known to be the fastest that anything can travel, but even light doesn't have to move at that speed. As light flows through glass, it is only traveling at about 67% of that maximum. Then it hits the water, and speeds up slightly, to 75%. Then air, then ice, and more water, speeding up, slowing down and swerving until what arrives at your eye is a contorted image of reality, with some parts missing and some magnified. Your brain is used to this contortion and correctly infers the existence of

the invisible components that caused it.

In fact, none of us has ever seen or touched light that is traveling at its full speed. Even the insubstantial air around us slows light by a few hundredths of a percent and bends it by a similar amount. At sunset, the moment you think the bottom of the sun's disk is just touching the horizon is actually when the sun has just passed below the horizon. You can see it because the air has slowed the light and bent its path around the Earth, so although it isn't straight ahead of you, it's still visible.

Diamond is the champion of this game, slowing light down to a languid 41% of its full speed, less than almost any other material that lets light through. The shimmy as light enters is enough to guide the beam all the way around the inside of the diamond and back out, making a facet opposite shine.

But the real beauty arises because different colors cross the jewel at different speeds: from 40.7% for violet light to 41.5% for red, with all of the rainbow spaced out in between.

The colors are split at the first swerve and split further on the way out, turning plain white light into vivid glittering sparkles. The pink color of the Pink Star is caused by something different: a minuscule shift in the gem's crystal structure. Deep inside the volcanic pipes where diamonds are forged, the pressure is immense, and even a diamond may yield slightly in the most extreme conditions, turning it pink.

So when you hold a diamond, you're as close as you'll ever get to holding light, as it dawdles through the crystal. This moment of serenity brings out the richness of that light, twisting and turning it in such a distinctive way that it's obvious the sparkle is caused by something special. Even slowing down a tiny bit gives us more to appreciate, and maybe that reminder is the real value of a diamond.

**It's as close as you'll ever get to holding light.**

### PHOTO OF THE WEEK



ARIF ALI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

### R&D: DANIEL AKST

## Counterfeitors Foiled by Paper

**CASUAL APPEARANCES** to the contrary, every sheet of paper is unique—even before anyone writes on it. This has long drawn the attention of scientists working to thwart counterfeiters.

Now researchers at Britain's Newcastle University and University of York have delved below the surface of the page to develop an authentication method that they say is cheap and tough to crack. Previous research has exploited surface variations in paper for similar aims, but the scientists in Britain went deeper because patterns within the paper are more complex than those on its surface—and harder to tamper with.

Sheets of paper are unique because of the way they are manufactured. Paper is typically made by pressing wood particles together (often along with whitening agents, dyes and coatings), a process that produces individual pages containing random and complex patterns. Those patterns, the scientists write, "are embedded within the bonded structure of the paper and hence are relatively well-protected against manual handling of paper."

For the new authentication technique to work, the scientists shine a light at a given piece of paper from behind and photograph it from the front, using an off-the-shelf digital camera and concentrating on a marked rectangle of roughly four square inches. The image is sent to a computer or smartphone, which uses software to translate data on the paper's texture into a QR code. That code is encrypted with a digital signature that assures its authenticity; otherwise, a malefactor might create a seemingly legitimate code matching the texture of a forged document.

The process takes just 1.3 seconds, and it has worked flawlessly in laboratory experiments, the scientists say, accurately identifying real and fake documents. Authentication was even largely impervious to scribbling on the page, soaking it or heating it, although crumpling the page hurt the technique's accuracy.

What might such a system look like in the real world? The scientists suggest imagining that every large bank note came with a digital "fingerprint" based on its unique beneath-the-surface pattern. A supermarket cashier receiving a \$100 bill with this QR code printed on its face could run the bill through a low-cost reader that focuses on a marked area to ensure that the hidden texture there matched the one reported by the code—and that the data was encrypted with the correct secret digital key. The scientists note that this approach is cheap and fast and would enable documents to be authenticated anywhere the necessary device was on hand.

A second approach using the same technology could use the internet to refer to a central database of paper codes. Imagine an immigration officer encountering a traveler who presents a passport. The traveler's fingerprint could be taken to make sure the person matches the passport—even as the passport's paper texture was read and compared with the texture recorded in a government repository. In this case, no QR code would be needed.

As for producing a counterfeit—a second piece of paper with precisely the same pattern as another—the scientists say forget about it. The inner pattern of paper is hugely complex; the researchers note that their technique yields a digital fingerprint more detailed than those commonly used in iris-based recognition, a well-established means of identifying people.

Said Feng Hao, one of the three scientists who worked on the project: "What we have shown is that every piece of paper contains unique intrinsic features, just as every person has unique intrinsic biometric features."

*"Texture to the Rescue: Practical Paper Fingerprinting Based on Texture Patterns," Ehsan Toreini, Siamak F. Shahandashti and Feng Hao, ACM Transactions on Privacy and Security (forthcoming).*

### Pasta on A Stick

A Pakistani man in Lahore on Thursday dried thin vermicelli used in sheer khurma, a sweet dish traditionally eaten during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan.

**Answers To the News Quiz on page C13**

**1.B, 2.A, 3.B, 4.D, 5.A, 6.C, 7.B, 8.C**

# BOOKS

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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## Endgame in the Pacific

In the war's grim final months, the human cost of invading Japan weighed upon America's leaders

### Implacable Foes

By Waldo Heinrichs and Marc Gallicchio  
Oxford, 711 pages, \$34.95

BY JAMES D. HORNFISCHER

**IN APRIL 1945**, as German troops surrendered en masse to American forces wheeling through the Ruhr Valley, news from the western Pacific seemed equally hopeful: Landings on the island of Okinawa had been largely unopposed. It was a high-water mark for public optimism regarding the prospects for the unconditional surrender of Japan and the return, at last, of peace.

That month, a U.S. government bureau forecast that an economy shackled by the restrictions of war production would make a smooth transition to normalcy. Although unpopular controls such as the curfew on nightclubs and bans on horse racing would soon be lifted, industrialists and labor unions alike were pushing back against the Army's voracious needs and the government's far-reaching management of the economy. President Harry Truman dared hope that Japan could be forced to quit before the home front finally turned on him, imperiling the yearslong struggle to defeat Japan on terms set long ago by Franklin D. Roosevelt and his Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Then Germany surrendered, and the Japanese emperor's Okinawa garrison showed its teeth. Those two developments threatened to change everything.

This startling, nearly forgotten story is well documented in "Implacable Foes," a valuable and revealing study by Waldo Heinrichs and Marc Gallicchio, historians at San Diego State and Villanova, respectively. The authors remind us how public weariness with the war and the difficulty of redeploying armies world-wide for a reckoning with Tokyo imperiled Truman's plan to defeat Japan and avoid the type of economic disruptions that tested the nation after World War I.

Though the military campaigns carried out by the forces under Gen. Douglas MacArthur and Adm. Chester Nimitz from February 1944 forward are covered in this book, those oft-told tales are not the main event. The authors' major contribution lies in bringing to life the turmoil of a home front "going sour," as Secretary of War Henry Stimson put it, which pushed the finale of the Pacific campaign toward the precipice of possible failure or abandonment. Though that outcome was never in actual view, war planners did fear, as casualties mounted, what the authors call "a public psychology of complacency, slackening effort, and a drift of labor



ONE ISLAND AT A TIME A still from a color film shot by a Marine photographer of the second flag-raising at Iwo Jima, on Feb. 23, 1945.

away from war work." The special military advisor to the president, Adm. William D. Leahy, believed that at some point the clamor to bring the boys home could become irresistible.

From day one, Iwo Jima was a meat grinder. In late 1944 the volcanic isle had been so lightly defended that it could have been taken by a regiment. But by D-Day, Feb. 19, 1945, it had become a hive of stone. The Marines suffered more than 25,000 casualties in taking it. Though MacArthur used his well-cultivated relationships in the press to lobby otherwise, his own campaigns were equally costly.

That winter, MacArthur's army in the Philippines was in the grip of crisis. The 32nd Division, having served there since November 1944, teetered at half-strength. By June, the larger Sixth Army's "non-battle" losses from fatigue and illness would surpass its combat casualties, more than 93,000 overall. Said a veteran sergeant, "How much of this is flesh and blood expected to stand?" a veteran sergeant remarked about American losses in the Philippines.

In Washington, political leaders were having similar concerns. It was not at all clear that the climactic inva-

sion of Japan could be successfully staged. High casualties made it critical to sustain an influx of replacement

troops, but the shortage became acute as MacArthur prepared to liberate Manila. The Army was surging newly trained soldiers to Europe to replace losses suffered in the Ardennes. The Battle of the Bulge dented the order of battle drawn up for the invasion of Japan as deeply as the campaigns in the western Pacific did.

It may seem counterintuitive, but victory in Europe did no favors to commanders looking to drive the costly effort against Japan. After V-E Day, Army Chief of Staff Gen. George Marshall was alive to the need to crush Tokyo swiftly, for delay threat-

ened the essential perishable commodities of momentum and national morale. But maintaining a fast pace exhausted soldiers, and the losses they suffered tended to dampen domestic political support.

The battle for Okinawa turned for the worse shortly after the first reports of unopposed landings hit the papers. It was secured in June for a price of more than 49,000 U.S. killed, missing and wounded, a 35% casualty rate. On June 18, Truman approved Operation Olympic, as the landings in Kyushu (Japan's southern-most home island) were known, and implicitly rejected the strategy of prolonged blockade and siege. At the same time, the political pressure to discharge veteran troops after V-E Day finally had its effect. Marshall developed a plan to bring some of the boys home.

A points system determined eligibility for discharge. As it was going into effect, another complex scheme was under way to redeploy three million troops from Europe to the Pacific to undertake the second phase of the invasion of Japan. With experienced troops going home, units were bled of critical know-how just as they were

arraying for another massive task. A shipping shortage helped produce what Marshall would call "the greatest administrative and logistical problem in the history of the world." The massive movement of troops over three continents, the authors note, relied on a Rube Goldberg-like system of ships, planes and trains crisscrossing the globe, operating on tight schedules with almost no allowance for delay. The system teetered under the combined weight of war and peace. Manila was a mess, so thoroughly destroyed by its Japanese occupiers during the vicious fight for its liberation that its harbor could not unload at the rate that the timetables required. Running a war from the midst of this ruin, MacArthur hoarded cargo ships in the Philippines for use as floating warehouses. Postponements spilled through the schedule of operations, giving Japan the gift of time in which to reinforce.

"By early August, the Army's plans were strained to the breaking point," Messrs. Heinrichs and Gallicchio write. On Aug. 4, as Adms. Ernest King and Nimitz discussed their

Please turn to page C6

## Southern-Fried Baloney

### The Potlikker Papers

By John T. Edge  
Penguin Press, 370 pages, \$28

BY PADGETT POWELL

A STUDENT OF MINE once had a character say, "I always thought of sex as a hot meaty thing, not something all fripperied up with talk." The line struck me as what I have heard called in boxing "a perfect opinion." I like it so much I believe I may have used it elsewhere, I hope giving the author, Kimberly Palmer, credit. I lost touch with Ms. Palmer or I'd have offered her \$20 for it, my going rate for one-line appropriations.

To transfer the aptness of Ms. Palmer's character's observation from sex to food does not require labor. Often hot, often meaty, sometimes not hot, sometimes not meaty, food, one would think, does not want frippering up with talk. But a frippering up it gets, buddyro. It gets more frippering up with talk, and with writing, that is to say food writing, and writing about food writing—we might say food writing to the second power—food gets more frippering up with talk than we ever thought about frippering up sex, half of literature, most of Hollywood and

clear-eyed vision' to see them in a contemporary light. The piece generated controversy, though not as much as Purvis's investigation into the racial dimensions of the practice of putting sugar in corn bread. 'Hon-

est to God, I really hate that hokey-joke Hey-us-Southerners-aren't-we-

stuff,' she told me. 'I've always

said that my beat is food and the

meaning of life.' I hear in Ms. Pur-

vis's "my beat is food and the meaning of life" something encouragingly close to, or at least not discouragingly far from, Ms. Palmer's hot meaty thing not all fripperied up with talk. Hold this thought.

Within days of getting this Letter From South Carolina, a letter from Mississippi comes in over the email transom. It is from the Southern Foodways Alliance, run by John T.

Edge (with Catarina Passidomo, Professor of Foodways at Ole Miss):

Through May 5, we are accepting proposals for papers, multimedia projects, and short documentaries that engage with the broad topic of social justice through the lens of Southern foodways or agriculture. We invite graduate students from a range of disciplines to exchange knowledge, experience, and scholarship in a constructive and synergistic environment that has garnered praise from past participants:

"I was most struck by the tone set right away by the conference hosts. Dr. Passidomo and Mr. Edge established immediately a truly welcoming and collaborative community within which grad students could feel at ease and able

to communicate with their hosts and

with one another organically."

"This was a supremely well organized and orchestrated conference that was perfectly designed to provide graduate students with the opportunity to share their research and network with peers

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GETTY IMAGES

## BOOKS

'I see a beautiful city and a brilliant people rising from this abyss . . . in their struggles to be truly free.' —Charles Dickens

# Revolutions in the Street

### The Unruly City

By Mike Rapport

Basic, 364 pages, \$32

BY DAVID POLANSKY

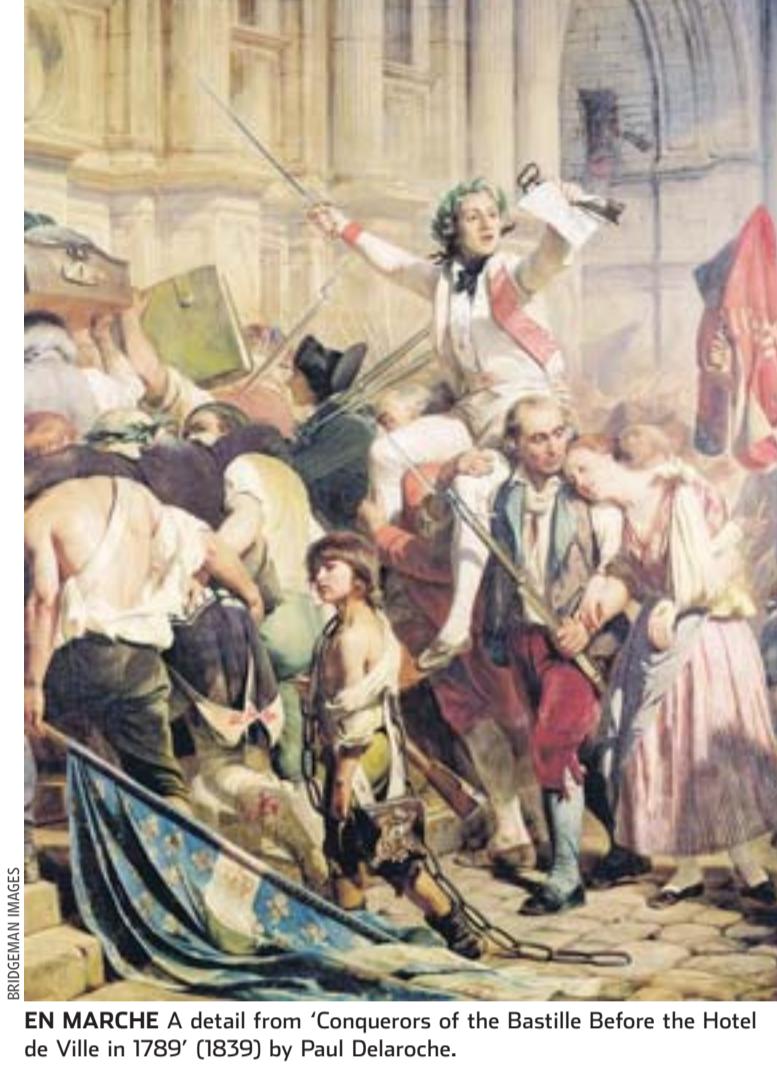
**IT WAS THE BEST** of times, it was the worst of times, and it was something in between. Mike Rapport's "The Unruly City"—his account of the experiences of Paris, New York and London during the Revolutionary Era of the late 18th century—runs the gamut. Throughout this highly readable book, the author interweaves the histories of the three cities from roughly the close of the Seven Years' War in 1763 through the Thermidorian Reaction in 1794, when the French Revolution turned against the Terror.

Compared to their current incarnations, all three were small and relatively compact. Yet they remained very much cities, with all their closeness and density, and their fusing of politics and commerce and industry made them "places of conflict" and crucibles of revolution, in Mr. Rapport's telling.

That said, there is an undeniable asymmetry in Mr. Rapport's scheme. Of the three cities, one, London, did not in fact undergo a revolution. Another, New York, was only briefly a capital, from 1785 to 1790. And though after the ratification of the U.S. Constitution it was the most populous city in America, New York's population was still not much over 30,000—an order of magnitude smaller than either Paris or London. Moreover, its revolutionary significance was at least rivaled by Boston and Philadelphia. By contrast, neither Paris nor London faced any domestic competitors for their titles.

Given the tenuousness of this overarching narrative, the individual chapters tend to stand or fall on their own merits. In his fifth chapter, "London Burns," Mr. Rapport cleverly traces the ways that the colonial revolution in America reverberated back against the metropole, with British reformers both inspired by and disdainful of the rebellious colonists. That revolution's national significance had particularly uneasy implications for the British Isles ruled by a (German) Hanoverian crown.

Mr. Rapport's accounts of the political and philosophical struggles in ancien régime France are also very good, in the vein of Simon Schama's magis-



**EN MARCHE** A detail from 'Conquerors of the Bastille Before the Hotel de Ville in 1789' (1839) by Paul Delaroche.

terial "Citizens" (1989). He paints a deft portrait of Parliament (a judicial body, not a legislative one) and its ambiguous status as an agent of both progress and reaction, in one moment pushing back against the overweening ambition of an absolute monarchy, in the next upholding a gruesome capital punishment for the crime of blasphemy. Above all, Mr. Rapport homes in on what would become the central question in pre-Revolutionary France (and not only there): Who actually represents the people and the nation, the king or the magistrates?

Other chapters do not justify themselves as well. While Mr. Rapport's depiction of the social and intellectual effects of the French Revolution on New York life is engaging, I'm not sure he presents anything to match the drama of its impact on, say, the friendship of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.

An old saw holds that political scientists can't write and historians can't think. Mr. Rapport can certainly do both, but one notes that the skillfulness of his fluid prose outclasses

**Paris, London and New York were breeding grounds for both reform and reactionary backlash.**

his conceptual scheme. He has an excellent eye for the arresting anecdote or apt quotation, as when describing the festivities that accompanied the arrival of the French warship *Embuscade* in New York Bay in 1793, which included a dockside crowd of New Yorkers "bellowing out the Marseillaise and . . . greeting the French crew with tricolour cockades," or recording novelist Daniel Defoe's exclamations of horror at London's expansion during the 18th century.

He also excels at literary portraiture, painting quick but vivid sketches of well-known figures from Mary Wollstonecraft to Maximilien Robespierre. But he is even better at bringing to light courageous lesser-known figures like John Wilkes, the London journalist, and the Scottish lawyer Thomas Erskine, who successfully defended radical reformers against charges of treason. And the dramatic set pieces mostly come to life; not just the obvious rousers like Paris during the Terror but smaller numbers like the pathetic fate of the pregnant wife of a London reformist, losing both her child and her life in the wake of a mob's assault. In these and other moments, Mr. Rapport makes good on his promise to record the "lived experience" of those years.

Near the outset of the book, he declares that the cities themselves will take center stage, even as they jostle with teeming humanity for the limelight. As the title would indicate, Mr. Rapport wants to demonstrate that revolution is in some crucial way a distinctly urban phenomenon. His book is too focused, however, to chase a macrohistorical thesis about the importance of cities, like Lewis Mumford's seminal "The City in History" (1961). At the same time, it lacks the theoretical ambition of pathbreaking works like "Nature's Metropolis" (1991), William Cronon's ecological history of Chicago, or Saskia Sassen's similarly named "The Global City" (1991), which overlaps with two of Mr. Rapport's cities. Similarly, despite Mr. Rapport's occasional reference to the importance of "spaces," the reader never quite gets a sense of the geography and topography of the three cities.

Indeed, though the cities are hardly absent, with their wharves and markets and taverns, they never do quite take center stage. Mr. Rapport is simply too interested in particular humans, in all their messy, strutting individuality. Perhaps the title was the problem. Might I suggest "The Unruly Urbanite"?

*Mr. Polansky is a doctoral candidate in political science at the University of Toronto.*

# Till Death or Distance Do Us Part

### Bound in Wedlock

By Tera W. Hunter

Harvard, 404 pages, \$29.95

BY MARK M. SMITH

TERA W. HUNTER'S remarkable book "Bound in Wedlock: Slave and Free Black Marriage in the Nineteenth Century" tells a story both professional and personal. Ms. Hunter, a professor of history and African-American studies at Princeton University, is descended from enslaved and free African-Americans with a complicated marital history. Her powerful, meticulously researched book describes how the grinding demands of slavery, white standards of marriage and the steady

of intimacy, commitment and marriage in uniquely poignant ways. "Why," asked former slave Harriet Jacobs, "does the slave ever love? Why allow the tendrils of the heart to twine around objects which may at any moment be wrenched away by the hand of violence?"

Properly resisting the temptation to analyze the black family through the lens of either "pathology" (per the 1965 Moynihan Report) or white family ideals, Ms. Hunter prefers to examine how the black family was shaped

African-Americans responded to these oppressive forces nimbly, embracing a range of meaningful alternative domestic arrangements. These included matrifocal, monogamous, bigamous and single-parent families, as well as the very common "abroad" relationships in which slaves married spouses on neighboring plantations.

Legally fragile slave marriages gave way to regularized marriages during and after the Civil War. All former slaves were granted the right to make contracts in the Civil Rights Act of

many men and women had as a result of forced separations and the unknown whereabouts of spouses," Ms. Hunter writes, suddenly constituted bigamy. And "whereas sex outside of marriage was required and expected of the enslaved," she points out, "under the new system it could be condemned as criminal fornication and adultery." Perversely, for many African-Americans, writes Ms. Hunter, "the right to marry became not the source of empowerment they had yearned for but a form of punishment."

Through careful use of difficult legal sources and close reading of slave narratives, ex-slave interviews, government agency reports, congressional debates, pension records and church minutes, Ms. Hunter gives resonant voice to the often illiterate people she studies. While the bulk of her evidence is drawn from the 19th century, she does not shy away from exploring the longer-term implications of her findings. She attributes the steady divergence in marriage rates by race since 1900—in 2008, 32% of blacks over 18 were married, compared to 56% of whites—not to slavery but to "the impact of racism on the social, economic, and political conditions that have shaped family formation in the intervening decades long after slavery ended." Her larger argument is that all groups who have historically been deprived of equal marriage rights discover, upon achieving them, "that they need to be supported by economic and social equality in order to truly afford the dignity and the choice intended."

Ms. Hunter has harvested stories of human resilience from the cruelest of soils. "Bound in Wedlock" is an impeccably crafted testament to the African-Americans whose ingenuity, steadfast love and hard-nosed determination protected black family life under the most trying of circumstances.

*Mr. Smith, a professor of history at the University of South Carolina, is the author of "The Smell of Battle, the Taste of Siege: A Sensory History of the Civil War."*



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

**UNION SOLDIER** Sgt. Samuel Smith and family.

by this particular historical moment. The relentless economic imperatives of the westward-moving cotton economy and its sinister handmaiden, the internal slave trade, splintered one third of first slave marriages, with countless more shattered by the long-term hiring out of individual slaves. Even free black married couples were afforded no legal protection and often found their marriages broken up by southern courts nervous about the further growth of a free African-American community. Heartbreakingly, some free black men and women spared their marriages by voluntarily re-enslaving themselves.

1866, including the contract of marriage. Between 1865 and 1866, most states passed laws not only recognizing pre-war marriages but also legitimizing the offspring from those marriages. In this context, marriage became tethered to the idea of freedom itself. As one black soldier immediately after the war insisted, "the Marriage Covenant is at the foundation of all our rights."

Freedom offered its own challenges, courtesy of prevailing Victorian mores about marriage and a class of importunate Southern planters anxious to re-institute control over black men and women. "The multiple partners that

# Pacific Endgame

*Continued from page C5*

doubts about the feasibility of invading Kyushu, the Joint War Plans Committee recommended a re-examination of the objectives. Day by day, Tokyo's strategy of bleeding America to the bargaining table seemed to become more plausible.

The authors have profitably plumbed official correspondence, studies of logistics and industrial policy, congressional records, and daily journalism to track the public mood and trace its effect on the way in which the final act of the war was planned, staged and fought. "Implacable Foes" is stronger on plans and policy than on combat operations and covers the Army more authoritatively than the Navy. But its novelty and freshness emerges in the interstices of the actual fighting. For readers familiar with the military campaigns, the book is essential reading for its lucid treatment of the pressures that imperiled critical operations in a truly global war.

**War is lived desperately in the moment—by planners, officers and presidents as well as by soldiers.**

As the tale proceeds to the familiar end, two heroes emerge. One is George Marshall. The native of Uniontown, Pa., graduated from Virginia Military Institute in 1901 in time to serve notably in World War I. As Army chief of staff he had a "powerful and perpetually inquisitive mind and an awareness beyond the garrison, of things in time, changing and unchanging. His soldierly skills operated within this worldly context," the authors write. He was alive both to domestic politics and to the war's needs and respected the principle of civilian authority during wartime. His temper remained a servant to his pragmatism. Though he stood aghast when MacArthur dallied self-indulgently in the Philippines, clearing southern areas at a time when prudence required a shift of resources toward Japan, Marshall tolerated the strategy because it promised to open badly needed ports. He acquiesced to the rickety divided command setup between MacArthur and Nimitz because it kept American forces moving west in a way that impressed a fickle public and promised the quickest end to the fighting. George Marshall was the adult in the room at all times.

The other hero is Truman. War's end, through his administration's careful work, produced "no sudden shock to the system, in large part because there would be a gradual drawdown in forces matched by equally measured cutbacks in procurement," the authors observe. A well-managed transition to peace became possible because of the competence of his administration's planners and bureaucrats—and no small amount of political courage from the commander in chief. Gallup polls showed that more than 60% of Americans wanted to try Hirohito for war crimes (though few even knew the emperor's name), and old hands at the State Department such as Dean Acheson and Cordell Hull regarded leaving him in power as a form of appeasement. But to achieve peace, Truman dared to preserve him on the throne.

The contribution of this vital book is its portrait of history as lived desperately in the moment; of the varied troubles that beset planners and commanders in the war's horrific last year; and of the mettle and vision of an American president whom history should underrate no longer. "Implacable Foes" shows war operations as a human ordeal even at the highest level, fueled by the exhaustible human spirit.

In the heat of August, salvation came from on high, when the Fat Man's core of enriched plutonium compressed over Nagasaki just as Dr. Oppenheimer intended, ending the calamity of the war in a flash. Afterward, Japan, like Western Europe, did not turn communist. The void created by its collapse was filled partly by Chinese and Soviet communism but also by robust American power, deployed forward for decades and even to this day, in the land of the Rising Sun. By defying the polls, Truman secured a very conditional surrender, delivering victory fast enough to bring a winnable peace.

*Mr. Hornfischer is the author, most recently, of "The Fleet at Flood Tide: America at Total War in the Pacific, 1944-1945."*

## BOOKS

'Tragedy is a tool for the living to gain wisdom, not a guide by which to live.' —Robert F. Kennedy

# How the Thug Became a Dove

### The Revolution of Robert Kennedy

By John R. Bohrer  
Bloomsbury, 372 pages, \$30

BY MICHAEL O'DONNELL

**WHILE SERVING** as attorney general, Robert Kennedy wore his hair close-cropped in the style of the early 1960s. After a trip to the barber it could almost resemble a crew cut. But after President Kennedy's assassination, he began growing it out. By the time he became a candidate for president in 1968, he had an unruly mop. Shrieking teenagers mobbed him like a Beatle, and his many enemies found an easy target. "All hair no brains," read one hostile protester's sign. Kennedy's hair grew at the same rate as his radicalism. The more he spoke with fervent vagueness about revolution, the more he had to hand-comb it off his forehead, in the eerily familiar manner of his late brother.

It may seem like a trivial detail, but as John R. Bohrer shows in "The Revolution of Robert Kennedy," Bobby's evolving look reflected a persona in flux. With JFK's death, he no longer stood on anyone's shoulders. As the 1960s wore on, Kennedy harnessed the most dynamic political force of his generation: the country's youth. He not only spoke their language and addressed their concerns but looked like them. And he offered that most intoxicating of political aphrodisiacs: authenticity. He was blunt to a fault, and his favorite campaign activity was arguing with college students. To many, his idealistic opportunism was irresistible.

It was an improbable reinvention. In his earlier life, Kennedy had developed a reputation as the family's attack dog. He was a hostile cross-examiner on Joseph McCarthy's Senate committee; a fixer and leg-breaker as JFK's campaign manager; an unforgiving and merciless cutthroat—his father's son right down to Joseph Kennedy's purported observation that "he hates like me."

Yet Bobby somehow became a liberal icon, an antiwar visionary who tried to outflank Lyndon Johnson's Great Society from the left.

The bookshelves already groan with Kennedy titles, but Mr. Bohrer makes a worthy contribution by examining a critical chapter in Robert Kennedy's public life, the period from 1963 to 1966. These were years in the wilderness, after his brother's assassination and before his own stolid campaign for president. During this time RFK learned who he was and decided who he wanted to be.

Mr. Bohrer ably captures Kennedy



BURT GLENN/MAGNUM PHOTOS

CAMPAIGNER Sen. Robert F. Kennedy and his wife, Ethel, in Indiana, 1968.

at his lowest moment, far from Camelot, as he traveled the world, took public-speaking lessons, overcame his fear of crowds and grappled with JFK's legacy. The loss of his brother nearly overwhelmed him. For months after the assassination he was prone to sudden tears and wore only black neckties. He showed a fierce devotion to the president's widow and had an understanding with the guards at Arlington National Cemetery, who let him hop the fence and visit JFK's grave after hours.

Never the most urgent voice on civil rights, Kennedy had taken his lumps from James Baldwin and other black radicals in a Manhattan apartment in May 1963. Kennedy had requested the meeting in order to better understand growing racial tensions. What he got was a three-hour scolding on the daily insults of black life in America. Mr. Bohrer writes that Kennedy "didn't let his pride overtake the lesson he learned that day" and that the word "insult" began appearing in his public remarks about race. Another mistake was Vietnam, a war Kennedy had helped engineer in his brother's administration. Uneasy with John-

son's escalation of the war, he nevertheless felt a certain ownership of the quagmire and was reluctant to criticize the new president. At first.

Devastated or not, Kennedy was canny and opportunistic. He flirted with seeking the vice presidency in a de facto challenge to Johnson, only to run for Senate in 1964

Vietnam gnawed at RFK with a special guilt, until he finally broke with the Johnson administration.

instead, in New York and not Massachusetts ("Teddy's there," he explained). "Is this the East River?" he asked his driver during a ride in New York City. His campaign was heavier on machine politics and screaming fans than substance. Emerging from crowds, he found himself covered in scratches, his pockets stuffed with notes.

As a senator, Kennedy began to merge his old and new personas. The old Bobby had no patience for parliamentary decorum, speaking

up sooner than a freshman should and leaving the chamber as his colleagues jawboned. Yet he also showed a substantive streak on matters of consumer safety, grilling auto- and tobacco-industry executives. In 1965, he defended the rioters in Watts and urged a massive influx of anti-poverty spending. But always he heard the distant thud of bombs far to the southeast and saw the flag-draped coffins returning. Vietnam gnawed at Kennedy with a special guilt until he finally broke with the administration, earning widespread condemnation from the press and the foreign-policy establishment. Mr. Bohrer writes:

"For all Bobby's ruthlessness and calculation, real and imagined, he showed tremendous courage on issues of right and wrong—along with hazardous abandon."

Throughout these years, Kennedy kept a wary eye on Lyndon Johnson, a rival and adversary. Their feud has been described in Shakespearean terms, but Mr. Bohrer portrays it as a kind of slow boil, characterized by distrust, suspicion and misunderstanding. In 1964, Johnson embarrassed Kennedy by making him wait to receive an honorary pen at the

signing of the Civil Rights Act. After winning his Senate seat, Kennedy seemed to thank everyone but the president. They praised each other in florid but hollow terms. The transcripts from Johnson's White House phone calls capture the awkward embrace of two men dancing with knives in both hands. "Let's, uh, let's, uh, let's, uh, let's stay as close together as he'd want us to," Johnson says to Kennedy, invoking JFK. "That'd be fine," replies Bobby stiffly.

You needn't think that Robert Kennedy would have saved the world to recognize him as a fascinating politician of unfulfilled promise. His transition from thug to dove is as striking a reinvention as can be found in modern politics. Surly but vulnerable, entitled but idealistic, more passionate than his brother yet less elegant, he was a complicated statesman. No one could have achieved all that his fans believed possible of him. Yet it is a shame he did not get a chance to try.

Mr. O'Donnell is a lawyer in the Chicago area. His writing appears in the *Atlantic*, the *Nation* and the *Chicago Tribune*.

## Southern-Fried Baloney

Continued from page C5

within a warm, mentoring, and intellectually invested organization."

I hear *food* in *Foodways*, but then what one sees is social justice, synergistic environment, welcoming community, organic communicating and warm mentoring, intellectually invested. I do not think Ms. Palmer's character was capable of so adroit a condensing of what might constitute the quintessential frippering up of food.

Within hours of these two letters I heard a British voice on NPR say that barbecue once connoted cannibalism and then "all forms of racism." I don't know it but I am fully primed to receive John T. Edge's new book, "The Potlikker Papers: A Food History of the Modern South." Which is to say, I am apprehending what a wrong audience I am for food writing to the 10th power. The titular *Potlikker Papers* refers to an exchange among Julian Harris and Huey Long and Franklin Delano Roosevelt that in 1931 inspired a national debate as to whether corn bread should be crumbled in pot liquor or dunked.

When I met John T. Edge I thought people were calling him Jaunty, because he is. Thinking him a food writer to the first power, I gave him a tip on the best barbecue place in South Carolina, because this is what barbecue people always must do (know the best, loudly assert it). The next time I met him it was apparent he had not checked out Cain's in Florence, and I thought less of Jaunty Edge. The next time I met him I had been back to Cain's myself

after 20 years' absence and found it in decline and had a respect for Jaunty Edge's not hewing to the whim of every barbecue idiot on Earth. What was almost coming into focus was that he had not gone not because he had the sense to eschew the advice of idiots but because he was not a food writer to the first power. "The Potlikker Papers" in hand tells you this right away and undoes the huge naïveté of thinking its author a food writer.

To disabuse myself of other delusions, I asked my informant in Oxford, Miss., where Mr. Edge lives, about the Jaunty. Good Southerners operate by having good informants, and Oxford is a ground-zero. "yes, he goes by the cute name of John T. he's a good guy who works on a lot of good causes around here, and works tirelessly at this food stuff. has a little fave named Lurleen, who recently wore a feathered boa in our Gay Pride Parade. has a poet wife. and a son. all nice ppl and more importantly around here, white democrats." As Trump might write: Valuable! Mr. Edge is cutting-edge political ("on the right side of history" in the lovely inane popular phrase), and his bag is "food stuff." "Stuff" contains in one unripped word the whole idea: Mr. Edge is writing about the political world—and people in the political world, whether they are protesting or acquiescing, winning or being beaten down, are eating. If something has happened on the plain of history, specifically Southern U.S. history in roughly the last 60 years, though these limits feel false, and food has been even tangential to the mo-

ment—we might say if there is a *redolence* of food, large (means of production) or small (Georgia Gilmore's pork chops given Martin Luther King at a Montgomery table planning the boycotting of buses)—John T. Edge has either heard about it, read about it, or been there. It's impressive. "Works tirelessly at this food stuff" comically understates the matter. One thinks of Calvin Trillin, whom Mr. Edge calls a "cultural spelunker," calmly and wisely and wittily working a cave while Mr. Edge rides historical miles and miles, like a cavalry

This 'Food History of the Modern South' is more focused on history than on the food itself.

officer with the slight air of a jaunty Musketeer, around the cave. He writes lyric passages of sweeping movement, abstractions constituting mythology, which is what this is, and smaller, nuggety moments of what happened and where the food was and what the food was when it happened. The infrastructure to this history is not the means of production, it's what people ate. It's what they ate beginning in the civil-rights bootstrapping of the 1950s through the back-to-the-land hippie communing of the '70s into what Mr. Edge calls Gentrification and New Respect (apotheosizing grits and elevating cooks to artisans) and into what is happening now, the latest New South, appropriately called Nuevo Sud.

My idea of an acceptable level of frippering up food with talk, before I saw the vision of Mr. Edge, was Julia Child and Jacques Pépin's sniping at each other over white versus black pepper. Julia, the American wanting to be properly French, calls for white pepper, as do the French, and Jacques, the Frenchman, calls for black pepper, wanting the thing to taste good, as do the French. You'd not expect politics in Monsieur Pépin. Mr. Edge tells us that Jacques Pépin arriving in the U.S. discovered the serious chefs in America to be black, realized that they made the salient contributions to Creole cooking generally credited to only the French and Spanish, and was surprised that they were not celebrated. "Pépin expected those black men to emerge as the stars, and was surprised when they did not ascend to the firmament during the American culinary renaissance of the late twentieth century. He didn't understand why they failed to get their due. As the years advanced and Southern food gentrified, his question would linger in the air, nagging and unresolved." Jack Hitt, rather suavely getting at the matter of food writing that is not food writing that I have by now so overwrought, says on the jacket, "Edge's book means to be about food, but quickly veers into a close examination of the Deep South, before revealing itself as the smartest history of race in America in a generation."

One does not expect politics of Tennessee Williams either, but Mr. Edge finds him on the plain of history that is food, food that is history. Williams, culinarily speaking,

was last seen so discombobulated by fame and fortune that he poured chocolate sauce, mistaking it for gravy, on his fancy-hotel room-service steak. And where does Mr. Edge find Tennessee Williams on the fruited plain of racial history? "Breaking the color line" by going to Dooky Chase's, the black restaurant that Ray Charles and Lena Horne and Sarah Vaughan visited. "Playwright Tennessee Williams," Mr. Edge tells us, "taxied down Orleans Avenue to eat lemon ice-box pie." Late in his career, and early too for that matter, Williams had a penchant for styling his plays after small, fond, found phrases, like "Small Craft Warnings." If he wrote one called "Lemon Ice-box Pie," yet undiscovered, Mr. Edge will be the first to find it.

We've been holding the thought, or we were instructed to hold it (though I confess I forgot to hold it myself, and I gave the instruction, way back up there in the early disquisition about food frippering), that "the Southern food-writing world has been unduly influenced [by] testosterone-fueled scribes" who dwell on hackneyed tales of Southern eccentricity without developing "the clear-eyed vision" to see them in a contemporary light." John T. Edge brings, indefatigably, the wanting clear-eyed, contemporary vision. He marched in the recent Oxford, Miss., gay-pride parade with his dog Lurleen, should that help us gauge his testosterone fueling.

Mr. Powell's most recent book is "Cries for Help, Various," a collection of short stories.

## BOOKS

'The blues require you to confront chaos as a fact of life and improvise on the exigencies of the situation.' —Albert Murray

FICTION CHRONICLE: SAM SACKS

# Lonesome Blues



KEVIN PACE, the painter who narrates Percival Everett's novel "So Much Blue" (Graywolf, 242 pages, \$16),

works in two studios. One is a normal building open to visitors in which he makes paintings to hang in galleries and sell to collectors. The other is a barn whose windows are covered and whose door is padlocked. Here he works on a single canvas that no one—not even his family—has ever seen. He has made provisions to ensure that, in the case of his death, the studio be destroyed before anyone can go inside.

If the premise rings a bell, that's because Mr. Everett has taken it from Kurt Vonnegut's 1987 novel "Bluebeard," about a little-known Abstract Expressionist who keeps hidden in a shed a secret canvas that holds the key to all his themes and fixations. And though Mr. Everett departs in many ways from Vonnegut's art-world satire—his book is melancholy rather than manic and scathing—he affectingly carries on his predecessor's inquiry into the troubled sources of creative inspiration.

The painter in "So Much Blue" is 56 and drifting, sober after years of heavy drinking but emotionally distant from his wife and teenage children—"camped out," Pace says, "on an uncharted island in the middle of myself." Two extended incidents that layer the narrative shed light on his alienation. Ten years earlier, during an exhibition of his work in Paris, Pace had a brief but uncharacteristically passionate affair with a younger woman. Decades before that, when he was a student, his best friend persuaded him to travel to El Salvador to help track down a brother in trouble with drugs. Unwittingly, the men rushed headlong into the country's burgeoning civil war.

Proceeding at a steady, entrancing pace, Mr. Everett pays out the lines of his story until he reaches the twin traumatic secrets at the core of Pace's personality. Thus "So Much Blue" powerfully explores the Faustian bargain by which artists fertilize their guilt and estrangement for the sake of their creations. "My depression actually fed my work, made my art better, gave it a gravity, a depth that it hadn't had before," Pace forlornly confesses.

Mr. Everett is a writer of staggering range, the author of reworked Greek mythology ("Frenzy"), racial satire ("Erasure"), postmodern detective stories ("Assumption") and, most recently, a brilliant experimental meta-



GETTY IMAGES

fiction ("Percival Everett by Virgil Russell"). "So Much Blue" is a comparatively accessible work yet still displays his narrative prowess, erudition and sense of enigma. It is, in short, an ideal place to start with this great but neglected novelist.

The melancholy artist in Don Lee's "Lonesome Lies Before Us" (Norton, 335 pages, \$26.95) is Yadin Park, an alt-country singer-songwriter who put out a few cult-favorite records before an inner ear disorder ended his music career. At 46 he's managed

A painter cultivates his guilt and alienation to the benefit of a secret masterpiece-in-progress.

to stabilize his hearing loss, find work in a small California town laying carpet and take up with a woman named Jeanette, a housekeeper at a nearby luxury hotel. Since he and Jeanette have never quite recovered from youthful heartbreak, theirs is a caring but cool relationship. "They might have been together more out of attrition than anything resembling ardor," she privately admits. Their arrangement is further strained when the old songwriting impulse revisits Yadin and he determines to sink his savings into recording and self-releasing one final album.

The story moves neatly between the points of view of Yadin and Jeanette, accelerating at the appearance of Yadin's first love, Mallory, who rose

to short-lived country-music stardom on the strength of some of Yadin's songs and now wants to take part in his comeback record. Mr. Lee plucks familiar chords with a sure hand, glancing on themes of grief, jealousy and second chances.

But what really stamps this book on the heart is Yadin's vulnerable spiritual journey from loneliness toward something like grace. He seeks "a connection to the numinous" in love, at church—even through poetry, after a librarian friend introduces him to Gerard Manley Hopkins. It's music, though, that keeps calling him back, giving him a way to transform his sorrows in spite of his disability. Yadin recalls a quote from his songwriting hero Townes Van Zandt: "There's only two kinds of music: the blues, and zippy-doo-dah." There's no doubt about which kind Mr. Lee is playing.

"One of the real problems with the breakdown of interpersonal relations in the digital age is that people don't know how to be intimate anymore," says Sloane Jacobsen, the central character of Courtney Maum's office comedy "Touch" (Putnam, 306 pages, \$26). "If we think about our youngest generation, they're exposed to screens and swipes and scrolling before sticks and mud and dirt." What we're raising, she says, summing up her diagnosis of contemporary loneliness, "is an entire generation of humans who are tactilely bereft."

Sloane is what the corporate world calls a trend forecaster, and she's been hired by the tech giant Mammoth to consult on new products that will anticipate the subconscious desires of the consumer class, particularly the

growing demographic who, like her, have chosen not to have children. To her surprise, her premonitions are leading her to the field of outsourced physical contact—hugging salons, rental relatives, handwriting classes to bring back the lost art of snail mail. A "slow friendship" movement resembling the slow food craze. Uber, but for companionship.

The foils to this irresistible set-up are Sloane's boss, Dax, who sees trends away from electronics as threats to his bottom line, and her longtime partner, Roman, a French thought leader who calls himself a "neo-sensualist." Roman becomes a cause célèbre by going out in public in an eyeless Lycra bodysuit and espousing a movement to abandon actual sex for virtual forms of stimulation. It's not what you want to hear from the person who shares your bed.

Ms. Maum's appealing debut, "I Am Having So Much Fun Here Without You," followed a husband's efforts to win back the love of his wife after being caught in an affair. Like that book, "Touch" uses antic humor to mask its rather stern traditional message about the importance of nuclear families and the magic of baby-making. The author's conservative streak occasionally dampens her storytelling. The book's settings, drably confined to conference rooms and the company car, could have used shaking up, and its ending is too easy to forecast. But it's impressive that Ms. Maum has managed to make a return to old-fashioned family values—and even commonplace acts of physical intimacy—seem daring and subversive. Maybe it will beckon a trend.

MYSTERIES: TOM NOLAN

## Rewinding The Film

STORYTELLING, AS one of the lawyer characters in Denise Mina's taut and shrewdly written period novel knows, "is

all about what's left in, what's left out and the order in which the facts are presented." In "The Long Drop" (Little, Brown, 236 pages, \$26), a slippery-truth tale of multiple murder in 1957 Glasgow, Ms. Mina is working from the rough materials of a true-life case: one in which a businessman, suspected of having his wife, sister-in-law and daughter killed, testifies in the trial of the eventually accused hit man, a hood with whom he took part in a strange 12-hour pub crawl some weeks after the crimes.

The two men are dissimilar. William Watt "looks like an actor playing a bumbling authority figure in a gentle comedy of manners. In some ways he is. He was a police reservist during the war and his duties were essentially walking around while being taller than other people." The villain Peter Manuel, though, "is in a very different film. His would be European, black and white . . . printed on poor stock and shown in art-house cinemas to an adults-only audience. There wouldn't be violence or gore . . . but the implication of threat is always there."

In a Glasgow courtroom in 1957, a hoodlum who may be a hired killer gives his twisted testimony.

"The Long Drop" is part courtroom drama and part bizarre colloquy between two men whose best interests can never coincide. The reader gapes in horrified fascination as the defendant inadvertently reveals his character in the course of a six-hour monologue of testimony in his own defense: "Peter Manuel does not know how other people feel. . . . He thinks he is telling them that Peter Manuel is a man in charge of situations, that other men respect him. Other men don't respect him. They are afraid of him because he is nuts." Despite this being a fiction turning on a real verdict already foretold, our interest never flags, thanks to the author's keen eye and canny tongue for the telling detail, the revealing gesture, the phrase that says it all.

# The Captive and the Free

Milosz: A Biography

By Andrzej Franaszek

Harvard, 526 pages, \$35

BY MICAH MATTIX

WHEN, IN 1980, Czeslaw Milosz won the Nobel Prize for Literature, his colleagues at the University of California were shocked. Students knew the 69-year-old professor for his popular course on Dostoevsky, but only a handful of members of the Berkeley community knew the importance of his poems, most of which were then available only in Polish.

At a press conference with the university's chancellor shortly after the Swedish Academy's announcement, Milosz read "A Magic Mountain," a recent poem about the isolation and apparent impotence of a political exile living in the strange eternal spring of San Francisco Bay and continuing to write in his native tongue. Why bother to write when "I won't have power, won't save the world?" the poet asks. "Did I then train myself, myself the Unique, / To compose stanzas for gulls and sea haze?" The answer is typical Milosz:

"One murky island with its barking seals / Or a parched desert is enough / To make us say: yes, oui, si. / . . . Endurance comes only from enduring. / With a flick of the wrist I fashioned an invisible rope, / And climbed it and it held me."

Andrzej Franaszek's award-winning 2011 biography of Milosz, now translated into English by Aleksandra and Michael Parker, is an enthralling account of the poet's work as well as the events he endured to create it. A reluctant defector whose poems were proscribed by the Polish People's Re-

public, he wrote for decades without a country or an audience—or so it seemed to him. In Communist Poland, however, to a degree unknown to Milosz, his verse secretly shaped an entire generation. In the wake of the Nobel Prize, it has become recognized world-wide as a testament to the power of art.

Long chapters, each covering anywhere from five to 20-odd years, give Mr. Franaszek the flexibility to handle tumultuous periods of Milosz's life in detail and depth. Aside from a childhood idyll on his maternal grandparents' estate in Lithuania, the poet's life

Though the poet was not aware of it, his work shaped a generation in Communist Poland.

was marked by displacement from the beginning.

In 1913, two years after Milosz was born in Szetejnie, Lithuania, the family moved to Siberia, where his father, the engineer Aleksander Milosz, built bridges and railroads for the Czarist government. When war broke out in 1914, the family returned briefly to Lithuania before following Aleksander to the front in a carriage. After the war, they moved to the capital, Wilno (Vilnius), where Milosz began his formal education. He excelled in reading and writing, and the focus on clarity in his Latin classes made a lasting mark. He studied law at the local university and spent his free time discussing poetry in various student clubs.

A trip to Paris in 1931 to visit his

uncle, the poet and Christian mystic Oskar Milosz, proved pivotal, sparking in him a religious awakening and confirming his literary calling. It is in part because of his uncle that Milosz came to believe that the true artist is always on the side of the particular, the individual. He wrote frequently against abstraction in art, which transforms artists into tools of propaganda, and argued for verbal simplicity and concreteness. For Milosz,

politics was "plain speech in the mother tongue." This specificity is the source of poetry's poetry. "Hearing it you should be able to see," he writes in his "Treatise on Poetry" (1956), "As if in a flash of summer lightning, / Apple trees, a river, the bend of a road. / . . . One clear stanza can take more weight / Than a whole wagon of elaborate prose."

"What is poetry?" Milosz asks in "Dedication" (1945), "which does not save / Nations or people?" His rela-

tionship to his own people, however, was complex, and Mr. Franaszek's meticulously researched account of the two decades bookending Milosz's 1951 defection to the West is particularly revelatory.

Politically, Milosz was a man of the left and wrote strongly against rising Polish fascism before World War II, but unlike many of his friends, he didn't throw his weight behind communism. Instead, he kept

his head down and wrote poems that, if not apolitical, avoided calls to political action. It could make him look like a self-absorbed aesthete. For Milosz, however, the artist is at his most political when he avoids politics and aims at purity of expression.

In 1945, shortly after joining Poland's diplomatic service, Milosz, then enjoying a reputation as one of the state's emerging poets, was named cultural attaché to the embassy in New York City. When, in 1950, he was relocated from Washington, D.C., to Paris, he left his pregnant wife and their 3-year-old son behind. Because he had family in America, and because he had never joined the Party, his loyalty to Poland was doubted by the Communist regime. During a visit to Warsaw, his passport was confiscated, and it was then that he defected to France. Separated from his wife, son, and now an infant boy whom he had never seen, the poet was alone, depressed, and secretly living in a small room in the Paris office of the Polish-language magazine *Kultura*. When he failed (according to certain influential Polish emigrants) to denounce communism with appropriate vehemence, his application for an American visa was rejected. He briefly contemplated sui-

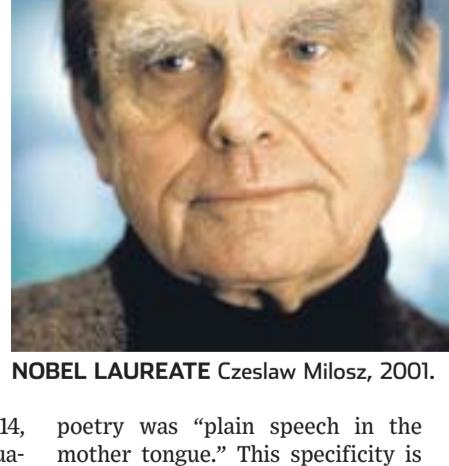
cide before finding solace in the encouragement of friends including Albert Camus and the Trappist monk and poet Thomas Merton.

Soon after he defected, he wrote openly, eloquently and damningly about the effects of totalitarianism on the individual psyche in his major prose work, "The Captive Mind" (1953). Unlike most other defectors, however, he refused to write for the American-funded Radio Free Europe and cast a jaundiced eye on Western consumerism.

His family eventually joined him in France, and in 1960 they moved to America when Milosz accepted a teaching position in the Slavic department at Berkeley. Milosz excelled in the classroom, but he occasionally found it difficult to write in a vacuum. In 1961, he complained to his Polish editor Jerzy Giedroyc, "No one writes to me. It is as if I ceased to exist." Ten years later, he wrote Giedroyc again: "I have just celebrated my sixtieth birthday. No one except those closest to me remembered it."

Milosz died in 2004, more than a decade after the collapse of the U.S.S.R. In 1981, the year following his Nobel Prize, he visited Poland during a brief thaw in Soviet-Western relations. He was moved to tears to discover that, 30 years after his defection, many Poles knew his poems by heart. The translator Richard Lourie visited Poland the year before and saw a monument to murdered shipyard workers in Gdansk during the 1970 strikes with a line by Milosz on it. A worker told him: "He was banned, but we always knew Milosz."

Mr. Mattix is an associate professor of English at Regent University and a contributing editor to the *Weekly Standard*.



NOBEL LAUREATE Czeslaw Milosz, 2001.

GETTY IMAGES

## BOOKS

'God may not play dice, but He enjoys a good round of Trivial Pursuit every now and again.' —Federico Fellini

# A Checkered History

### It's All a Game

By Tristan Donovan

Thomas Dunne, 292 pages, \$26.99

BY WAYNE CURTIS

**IN THE SPRING** of 1989, a new board game was released amid modest media hoopla. It was called Trump: The Game, and it was sold by Milton Bradley Co. "It's a much more sophisticated game than Monopoly," Donald Trump boasted at the unveiling. Based on his 1987 book, "The Art of the Deal," the game involved players amassing airlines, casinos and real estate, then cutting deals that would cut other players out.

Trump: The Game sold fairly well, and then it didn't. Within a year sales sagged; the price was slashed at Bloomingdale's. "The word of mouth was that the complexity of the game hurt it," Mr. Trump told a reporter. Others suggested that Mr. Trump's faltering business and collapsing marriage were to blame. "The Trump name is almost laughable," a Paine Webber analyst told New York's Daily News. "It has about as much value as the name 'Watergate' after the scandal."

Trump: The Game merits a few scant paragraphs in Tristan Donovan's "It's All a Game: The History of Board Games from Monopoly to Settlers of Catan." This is both disappointing and a relief. Certainly the game didn't have all that much influence in the history of board games, which is the focus of the book. But Mr. Donovan deftly deploys this tale to show how swiftly an idea can move from concept to market. In this case, the creators had a notion, wangled a meeting with Mr. Trump, got his blessing after a 10 or 15 minute sit-down, then persuaded Milton Bradley to sign on.

The game was meant to capture the spirit of the '80s. As Mr. Donovan tells it, the best-selling games do often capture the zeitgeist in miniature, whether it's Twister making a splash during the sexual revolution, Scrabble arising during the mania for crossword puzzles or Col. Mustard showing up as a character in Clue (originally Cluedo) in 1949, at a time when the English-speaking world couldn't get enough of crime novels in general and those set at British country houses in particular.

The author suggests that, unlike high-tech videogames, which create parallel realities into which we can escape, board games began in the ancient world as a way to organize reality—a simple throw of the dice was thought to aid in foreseeing the future. "Using games for spiritual guidance or to learn about the future might strike us as strange today," Mr. Donovan writes, "but it makes more sense when we understand that our



brains have a serious aversion to the concept of randomness."

"It's All a Game" starts off in Egypt and Mesopotamia, touching on archaeological finds such as the Royal Game of Ur, which dates to about 2600 B.C. and was rediscovered in the 1920s. This game involved the movement of pawns around 20 squares, although the precise rules are unclear. Then it's on to the appearance of chess in ancient Persia and its evolution in both play and design after it hitched a ride to Europe with marauding troops in the eighth century. The queen became the most powerful piece on the board during the 15th and 16th centuries, reflecting (Mr. Donovan suggests) "how female leaders were taking charge in kingdoms across Europe and showing they could rule as well as any man." Chess continued to evolve until relatively recently; not until 1849 did the board pieces finally ossify in the Staunton design familiar today, in which the shape of the pieces is inspired by the neoclassical architecture then in fashion.

Chapter by chapter, "It's All a Game" tracks the rise and fall of games both familiar and not. Backgammon (a likely descendant of the Royal Game of Ur) captivated Roman emperors and early American presidents alike. "Thomas Jefferson played it while taking a break from writing the U.S. Constitution," Mr. Donovan says. Prince Alexis Obolensky, a Russian exile living in New York, served as

the game's de facto emissary when he launched a splashy tournament at a posh resort in the Bahamas in 1964. The game caught fire, with high-stakes tournaments cropping up in Las Vegas and Monaco, attracting celebrities like Hugh Hefner and Mick Jagger. Eventually

**Board games tap into the zeitgeist, as Monopoly did during the Depression and Twister did during the sexual revolution.**

ally the stakes grew so high that the game was taken over by professionals. "The wealthy playboys, tycoons, and heiresses found backgammon wasn't fun anymore and stopped coming," Mr. Donovan writes. Backgammon's cachet cratered in certain circles.

If there's any identifiable trend in the history of board games, it's the way they've changed from enduring multigenerational pursuits to fleeting entertainments subject to whims and trends, becoming all the rage for a few years before edging toward the shadows. Think: The Game of Life, Mouse Trap, Operation.

Many of Mr. Donovan's chapters center on a single game, but not all. Some set off on intriguing detours—

such as how military intelligence outfitted Monopoly boards with false compartments during World War II to ship to prisoners of war in Germany and provide them with escape maps; how computers eventually came to dominate chess; and how more modern games have rejected competition to focus on cooperation, such as Pandemic, released in 2007 in the shadow of severe acute respiratory syndrome, or SARS: "Four diseases have broken out in the world," as the manufacturer lays out the goal, "and it is up to a team of specialists in various fields to find cures for these diseases before mankind is wiped out."

"It's All a Game" is a timely book—board games are proliferating again among millennials and hipsters, as are theories why. (I'm going with the argument that they offer a corrective to too much phone time, too many videogames and not enough face-to-face contact.) Coffee shops and bars host board-game nights, and even the Game of Ur has enjoyed a modest revival: One online offer on Kickstarter promises an "ultra premium model which is hand painted by artisans in the UK with premium Vallejo paints." As of this writing it has raised nearly 10 times its initial target.

One of Mr. Donovan's chapters focuses on the mega-hit Trivial Pursuit, which a pair of Canadian journalists invented after 45 minutes of brainstorming. The game shares certain

characteristics with his book—lots of throw-away facts and lore but not much of a dramatic arc. Mr. Donovan occasionally veers into padding: A history of uranium mining, for instance, is dutifully recounted to explain why the 1960 edition of Life had "Find Uranium Deposit, Collect \$100K." Many chapters begin with those soft leads once favored by newspapers but abandoned because readers found them irksome. The first sentence in the Trivial Pursuit chapter: "The afternoon air hit as Chris Haney walked through the streets of Montréal."

Overall, though, "It's All a Game" provides a wonderfully entertaining trip around the board, through 4,000 years of game history. It will certainly get you thinking, quite possibly about how you might devise your own game and reap a fortune.

At least it did for me. I've been thinking about an update of Trump: The Game. Just add in some tweetstorms that force all players to reverse direction and a stack of "headline" cards that ask you to determine if the news is fake or real; then set it all amid "Game of Thrones"-style infighting. Can someone help me set up a meeting with the president?

*Mr. Curtis is the author of, most recently, "The Last Great Walk: The True Story of a 1909 Walk From New York to San Francisco, and Why It Matters Today."*

# Fumbling With Pandora's Box

### Atomic Adventures

By James Mahaffey

Pegasus, 363 pages, \$29.95

BY GRAHAM FARMELO

**HOMO SAPIENS** had been on its hind legs for tens of thousands of years before it understood the potentially huge amounts of energy stored in the cores of atoms—in their nuclei. That was only little over a century ago. Since then, many people have tried to harness this energy in useful ways, and the attempts have ranged from the impressively efficient to the comically inept, as James Mahaffey describes in his rewarding book "Atomic Adventures."

The first indication of the sheer amount of energy stored deep inside the atom followed the discovery of radioactivity near the end of the 19th century. In 1909, the chemist Frederick Soddy commented in a prominent lecture that the radioactive chemical element radium, first isolated about a decade before by Marie and Pierre Curie, "gives out heat and light like Aladdin's lamp." He told his audience that the energy released in radioactivity could be "employed as an explosive incomparably more powerful in its activities than dynamite." Soddy's ideas stimulated H.G. Wells to write "The World Set Free" shortly before World War I. In that slight but visionary volume, he predicted accurately that energy released in radioactivity would first be used to generate electrical power in 1953, coined the term "atomic bombs" and even foresaw a nuclear war. Such a catastrophe would bring

humanity to its senses, he believed, and lead it toward pursuing many of his favorite social policies.

Wells would have been fascinated by "Atomic Adventures," especially by the ways its cast of scientists—who range from authentic experts to the shadiest of con artists—have tried to make use of atomic energy in war and in peace. Mr. Mahaffey, a former research scientist at Georgia Tech, is a knowledgeable narrator who plainly loves his subject. He knows how to tell a good story and, no less important, has an eye for unfamiliar and revealing details.

**H.G. Wells foresaw atomic bombs and nuclear war more than 30 years before Hiroshima.**

Mr. Mahaffey is at his best in his account of Japan's project to build a nuclear bomb during World War II. In common with the scientists working on the Manhattan Project, the Japanese wanted to build a bomb by harnessing the energy released when uranium nuclei split into smaller nuclei and other particles—the process known as nuclear fission. Spies working for the Japanese infiltrated the American project, though the intelligence reports reaching Tokyo were evidently of poor quality, since they gave the impression that the Manhattan Project was proceeding slowly. The Japanese nuclear experts concluded that they could take their time. In this

story's powerful conclusion, Mr. Mahaffey describes how, soon after 8:15 a.m. on Aug. 6, 1945, a Japanese naval captain saw his desktop light up briefly and felt the floor shake. Outside he saw "a huge, gray cloud... forming up where Hiroshima should have been." The world had just entered the Atomic Age," Mr. Mahaffey writes, "and all that Japan had contributed was the target."

After the war, nuclear technology was begging to be explored, with some visionaries convinced that it could supply electrical energy too cheap to meter. Argentine President Juan Perón generously funded an ambitious nuclear project pitched to him by the Austrian-born German Ronald Richter, whom Mr. Mahaffey dismisses as a "third-tier scientist" and "nutcase." The idea was to harness atomic energy not by inducing heavy nuclei to undergo fission but by fusing nuclei that have only a small mass. This process of nuclear fusion promised to yield energy in huge quantities without nasty radioactive byproducts. In March 1951, Richter announced that he had engineered a controlled process of nuclear fusion. His claims did not stand up, though,

and the entire venture folded in the following year. Perón had bankrolled Richter to the tune of \$300 million in today's money but generated nothing of lasting value, though some of the leftover apparatus proved useful to Argentine soldiers for target practice.

Optimism about nuclear fusion soared in 1989 after a press conference by the chemists Martin Fleischmann and Stanley Pons at the University of Utah. They announced that they had engineered the process, not at the ultra-high temperatures assumed to be essential but in a simple laboratory experiment at room temperature. Mr. Mahaffey's reaction was similar to that of most other scientists: Fleischmann (who died in 2012) and Mr. Pons either "had a lock on the Nobel Prize for physics or they were crazy." Mr. Mahaffey was one of the many investigators who plunged into cold-fusion research, but he and his colleagues, in common with many other experimenters, could not reproduce Fleischmann and Mr. Pons's observations. The cold-fusion dream was soon over. Elsewhere, international collaborations have con-

tinued to pursue conventional high-temperature fusion projects, but, as the cynics like to say, electrical power from nuclear fission always seems to be 40 years away.

Of the other adventures that Mr. Mahaffey describes in his book, two of the most compelling concern attempts to find ways of propelling aircraft and spacecraft using nuclear fuel. Neither venture has been successful, but Mr. Mahaffey's accounts make for instructive reading—a refreshing change from most popular presentations of research science, which too often play down failures, dead-ends and snafus. A slightly chilling chapter on "dirty bombs" makes one relieved that they have not become common. The danger from dirty bombs is more a lethal panic than direct mortality, so we should not be afraid of such weapons, Mr. Mahaffey counsels us, convincingly.

Even if "Atomic Adventures" is sometimes a tad dense with nerdy details, it is an enlightening read, and I'm sure it would have been an education for H.G. Wells. He lived about a year beyond the dropping of nuclear weapons on Japan but was apparently too frail to publish his reflections on the events. He would probably have been surprised to read in Mr. Mahaffey's book that progress has been slower than he envisaged in "The World Set Free." For sure, progress in nuclear energy has not set the world free but has made it a rather more frightening place for *Homo sapiens* to live.

*Mr. Farmelo is the author of "Churchill's Bomb" and "The Strangest Man."*



TICK-TOCK A military-issue radiation meter from the 1940s.

## BOOKS

'A man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green.' —Francis Bacon

### CHILDREN'S BOOKS: MEGHAN COX GURDON



FLYING EYE

## Into an Icy Chasm



**FROM HIS** authorship of the classic children's tales "The Ugly Duckling," "The Little Mermaid" and "The Emperor's New Clothes," we tend to think of Hans Christian Andersen (1805-75) as a writer for the young. As it happens, Denmark's greatest storyteller also brought his vivid prose style to bear in works for adults, and his gifts are on display in Paul Binding's new translation of "The Ice Virgin" (Overlook Press, 90 pages, \$17.95).

At once sparkling and frighteningly deep, like the glaciers that cut through the mountain passes of Switzerland in the 1850s, the story's setting, this fairy-tale novella traces the fate of a handsome chamois hunter who pursues a girl of higher social rank. As an infant, young Rudy had slipped with his mother into an icy chasm. She perished, and he was kissed by the terrifying glacier queen, the Ice Virgin, "with her long white-green hair, [and] dead eyes like two gun-barrels." Rescued, the boy grows up merry and brave, and when he beholds lovely Babette, daughter of a prosperous miller, he determines to run any risk to make her his own.

In fine fairy-tale style, "The Ice Virgin" marshals both surface and subterranean effects; we feel huge things moving beneath the crust of events. Andersen's writing is a joy. Several times I had to put the book down to recover from his exquisite descriptions of the Swiss landscape, such as this evocation of an Alpine sunset: "The spruce forests on the mountains acquired a mauve appearance, very much like heather in bloom, and where the trees left off and the rock protruded, it was glowing as if the mountain were transparent. The clouds in the sky were like red fire, the entire lake suggested a fresh, blushing rose-petal. The shadows, one and all, stole upwards towards the snow-clad mountains of the Savoy; these turned blue-black, but the highest peak of all maintained the shine of red lava." Can't you just see it? Nothing in this tale makes it inappropriate for younger readers—there's no bodice ripping or gory details—but older ones are likelier to find resonance in Andersen's ambiguous, sophisticated vision.

In fairy-tale style, a young man is rescued from a glacier queen and sets out on an Alpine adventure.

all. The massive moving object feared by local fisher folk on account of its boat-wrecking properties means no harm to anyone. Mr. Todd-Stanton's pictures (see above) are briny and glorious: In one breathless underwater image, Erin hangs suspended, her yellow mackintosh billowing and her pale hair floating like a sea creature as she takes in the true nature of the black rock. If 3- to 8-year-olds get an environmental message, it's one of amiable co-existence rather than of humankind's inventive villainy.

Small children of a compliant nature will find a kindred spirit in the mouse-hero of Kate Messner's entertaining easy-reader "Fergus and Zeke" (Candlewick, 52 pages, \$14.99). A dapper fellow with lavender fur, Fergus loves following the rules of Miss Maxwell's class. "When the students solved math problems, Fergus solved them, too," we read; "he always kept his eyes on his own work." But when teacher and children prepare to visit the natural-history museum without him, Fergus embraces his inner outlaw and stows away in a backpack. He soon falls in with Zeke, a gray mouse of insouciant temperament who scoffs at the idea of following "people rules." Cheery illustrations by Heather Ross add zip to this educational excursion for 5- to 8-year-olds.

### FIVE BEST: A PERSONAL CHOICE

## Anthony Horowitz on revenge

### Great Expectations

By Charles Dickens (1861)

**AS HEROES GO**, there is nothing very heroic about Pip Pirrip, who narrates Dickens's 13th novel. Brought up as an orphan in the marshlands of Kent, he becomes nothing less than a mean-spirited snob once he has inherited his mysterious fortune. It is perhaps the genius of the book that we never dislike him. But Pip is a victim himself, manipulated by the depraved Miss Havisham, who is taking revenge on all mankind after being jilted on her wedding day, her weapon being her beautiful adopted daughter, Estella. The original ending could hardly be more bleak, as Pip glimpses his lost love riding past in a carriage. When she stops to greet him, he takes solace "for, in her face and in her voice, and in her touch, she gave me assurance that suffering had been stronger than Miss Havisham's teaching and had given her a heart to understand what my heart used to be." Later, Dickens was persuaded to soften this. Pip and Estella meet again in the ruins of Miss Havisham's old manor house and may even have a future. But the mists are still there, rising all around them.

### Moonraker

By Ian Fleming (1955)

**A GREAT MANY** of Fleming's villains are motivated by revenge, but few of them launch quite such grandiose schemes as Graf Hugo von der Drache, also known as Hugo Drax, an ex-Nazi commander who plans to incinerate London with a nuclear warhead supplied by the Soviets. As if losing World War II



GETTY IMAGES

DRAZ-MAN Ian Fleming, ca. 1960.

wasn't bad enough, he had also suffered the indignity of an English education. "Bond could imagine that the hulking body with the ogre's teeth had not been very welcome at an English private school. And being a foreign count with a mouthful of names would not have helped much." For all that, the book is strangely believable, with the malfunctioning Shell advertisement that flashes HELL IS HERE and a Bond girl, Gala Brand, who for once does not end up in Bond's bed. To Noël Coward, it was "the best thing he has done yet," although many critics accused Fleming of self-parody. They should have seen the 1979 film!

### The Mirror Crack'd From Side to Side

By Agatha Christie (1962)

**LONG BEFORE** Midsomer became the go-to place to be killed, St. Mary Mead, the home of Miss Marple, was also a surprisingly dangerous location. In this book, which begins with the arrival of Marina Gregg, a famous American film actress who has bought a local mansion, there are no fewer than three deaths, starting with that old Christie standby, the poisoned cocktail. Revenge, of course, is a motif that can be found throughout Christie's work, but what makes this novel so peculiarly satisfying is the sympathy we feel for the killer, whose crime is, at the end of the day, understandable and who is finally allowed to escape justice. Generally, the Miss Marple stories are less clue-driven and perhaps more character-based than Christie's Poirot investigations. Miss Marple denies that she is even a detective. "It is simply that I have a certain knowledge of human nature—that is only natural after having lived in a small village all my life." In that sentence is the reason why English villages have always proved to be such a gift to writers of whodunits.

### Thérèse Raquin

By Émile Zola (1867)

**THE CRITICS** greeted this book with a churlish and horrified outcry," Zola wrote in his preface to the second edition. "Even the minor literary reviews . . . held their noses and talked of filth and stench." Thérèse and her lover, the would-be artist Laurent, seem to have



MR. HOROWITZ is the creator of 'Foyle's War' and the author of 'Magpie Murders.'

gotten away with the murder of her feeble husband, Camille, but there is never any doubt that there will be no happy ending as guilt, madness and retribution close in on the increasingly wretched pair. These take the tangible form of a suppurating wound—Camille had bitten Laurent as he was being drowned. But the most horrible part of the story is surely the fate of old Mme. Raquin, aware of what has happened but struck down by a stroke and unable to denounce her son's killers: "She was held rigid by the inertia of a corpse." She is there, an immobile witness to the inevitable tragic end.

### A Study in Scarlet

By Arthur Conan Doyle (1887)

**A DEAD BODY** has been found in an abandoned house in Lauriston Gardens, London. "On his rigid face there stood an expression of horror, and, as it seemed to me, of hatred, such as I have never seen upon human features," the narrator tells us. There is a clue. A single word has been scrawled on the wall in blood red letters: RACHE. The hapless police inspector is certain that someone was trying to write "Rachel" but was disturbed before they could finish—and it is left to the consulting detective who has been called to the scene to point out that *Rache* is the German word for revenge. So begins a crime story that might seem unremarkable and poorly structured. Much of the second part is set in Utah and feels oddly disjointed. But the detective is Sherlock Holmes, the narrator is Dr. Watson, and this of course is the book that introduced them to each other. It is the first modern detective story. "I know well that I have it in me to make my name famous," Holmes tells Watson. He is very quickly proved right.

## Best-Selling Books | Week Ended June 4

With data from NPD BookScan

### Hardcover Nonfiction

TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
<b>She Persisted</b> Chelsea Clinton/Philomel Books	1	New
<b>Al Franken, Giant of the Senate</b> Al Franken/Twelve	2	New
<b>Astrophysics for People in a Hurry</b> Neil deGrasse Tyson/W.W. Norton & Company	3	1
<b>Theft by Finding</b> David Sedaris/Little, Brown and Company	4	New
<b>Make Your Bed</b> William H. McRaven/Grand Central Publishing	5	2

### Nonfiction E-Books

TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
<b>Al Franken, Giant of the Senate</b> Al Franken/Grand Central Publishing	1	New
<b>On Wings of Eagles</b> Ken Follett/Penguin Publishing Group	2	-
<b>Theft by Finding</b> David Sedaris/Little, Brown and Company	3	New
<b>Astrophysics for People in a Hurry</b> Neil deGrasse Tyson/W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.	4	2
<b>Hillbilly Elegy</b> J.D. Vance/HarperCollins Publishers	5	4
<b>The Night Shift</b> Brian Goldman/Harper Perennial	6	-
<b>Escape from Camp 14</b> Blaine Harden/Penguin Publishing Group	7	-
<b>The Things Our Fathers Saw</b> Matthew Rozell/Matthew Rozell	8	-
<b>On Tyranny</b> Timothy Snyder/Crown/Archetype	9	-
<b>The Rothschilds</b> Virginia Cowles/Virginia Cowles	10	-

### Hardcover Fiction

TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
<b>Come Sundown</b> Nora Roberts/St. Martin's Press	1	New
<b>Oh, the Places You'll Go!</b> Dr. Seuss/Random House Children's Books	2	1
<b>Into the Water</b> Paula Hawkins/Riverhead Books	3	3
<b>Nighthawk</b> Clive Cussler&Graham Brown/G.P. Putnam's Sons	4	New
<b>Dragon Teeth</b> Michael Crichton/Harper	5	4

### Fiction E-Books

TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
<b>Come Sundown</b> Nora Roberts/St. Martin's Press	1	New
<b>Nighthawk</b> Clive Cussler&Graham Brown/Penguin Publishing Group	2	New
<b>White Hot</b> Ilona Andrews/HarperCollins Publishers	3	New
<b>Shadow Reaper</b> Christine Feehan/Penguin Publishing Group	4	New
<b>The Letter</b> Kathryn Hughes/Headline Book Publishing, LTD	5	1
<b>The Girl with the Make-Believe Husband</b> Julia Quinn/HarperCollins Publishers	6	New
<b>Promise Me Forever</b> Debbie Macomber/Random House Publishing Group	7	-
<b>Curious Minds</b> Janet Evanovich/Random House Publishing Group	8	New
<b>The Fix</b> David Baldacci/Grand Central Publishing	9	3
<b>Play Dead</b> Harlan Coben/Penguin Publishing Group	10	-

### Methodology

NPD BookScan gathers point-of-sale book data from more than 16,000 locations across the U.S., representing about 85% of the nation's book sales. Print-book data providers include all major booksellers (now inclusive of Wal-Mart) and Web retailers, and food stores. E-book data providers include all major e-book retailers. Free e-books and those sold for less than 99 cents are excluded. The fiction and nonfiction lists in all formats include adult, young adult, and juvenile titles; the business list includes only adult titles. The combined lists track sales by title across all print and e-book formats; audio books are excluded. Refer questions to Peter.Saenger@wsj.com.

### Hardcover Business

TITLE AUTHOR / PUBLISHER	THIS WEEK	LAST WEEK
<b>Strengths Finder 2.0</b> Tom Rath/Gallup Press	1	1
<b>Total Money Makeover</b> Dave Ramsey/Thomas Nelson	2	2
<b>Extreme Ownership</b> Jocko Willink & Leif Babin/St. Martin's Press	3	3
<b>The Graduate Survival Guide</b> Anthony O'Neal/Ramsey Press	4	4
<b>The Leadership Gap</b> Lolly Daskal/Portfolio	5	New
<b>The Energy Bus</b> Jon Gordon/John Wiley & Sons	6	-
<b>Emotional Intelligence 2.0</b> Travis Bradberry & Jean Greaves/TalentSmart	7	5
<b>Women Who Work</b> Ivanka Trump/Portfolio	8	6
<b>Radical Candor</b> Kim Scott/St. Martin's Press	9	9
<b>The Five Dysfunctions of a Team</b> Patrick M. Lencioni/Jossey-Bass	10	7

## REVIEW

'It seems like there are thousands of sources of political correctness.'

CELESTE SLOMAN FOR THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WEEKEND CONFIDENTIAL: ALEXANDRA WOLFE

# Michel Houellebecq

The controversial French writer has found a new milieu

**TWO YEARS AGO**, the French author Michel Houellebecq again found himself at the center of controversy with his novel "Submission," in which an Islamic political party wins the French election in 2022. After some time out of the public eye, he is now in the U.S. to promote the other artistic mode in which he has expressed his relentlessly dark view of modern France: photography.

His new show "French Bashing," at the Venus art gallery in New

York City, provides a bleak portrait of his home country, with photographs of highway toll booths, barbed wire fences, stark suburban housing sprawl and gaudy tourist areas. He wants to challenge the idea of France as a country of high culture, great architecture and fine food and wine; he sees it instead as a tourist destination and a place of rampant, ugly overdevelopment. The differences between France and America, he says, are diminishing, and he thinks it's particularly ironic to expose his own country from across the pond.

Mr. Houellebecq (pronounced *wel-beck*), 61, has long been one of France's best-known—and most no-

torious—writers. He is dismissive of political correctness and has been accused of misogyny, anti-Muslim bigotry and (more generally) nihilism, based in large part on the vulgar, resentful, unhappy characters in his novels. His first U.S. hit, "The Elementary Particles" (1998), featured a protagonist who is obsessed with sex. Mr. Houellebecq says that his fictions do not necessarily represent his own beliefs.

"Submission" came out in January 2015, on the same day that two terrorists claiming allegiance to al Qaeda's offshoot in Yemen killed 12 people in a massacre in the office of the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo. That week, a caricature

of Mr. Houellebecq happened to be on the magazine's cover.

The author, who lost a friend in the attack, canceled his promotional book tour and went into police protection because of fears that he might be targeted as well. (In 2001, he had called Islam "the dumbest religion.") Some accused him of feeding into an anti-Muslim agenda with "Submission," in which university teachers have to convert to Islam to keep their jobs and polygamy is allowed and even encouraged. The book sold more than 100,000 copies in France that week.

After spending time in Germany, his next big public appearance

came in 2016, with a show of photography at the Palais de Tokyo in Paris. Mr. Houellebecq has been taking pictures for decades, but previously had only one small show in Paris in 2014. When asked why he decided to show his photographs, he only says, through a translator, "I had the opportunity."

"French Bashing" includes his own photographs as well as items repurposed as part of the exhibition. One room of the gallery features his shots of bleak industrial scenes under a dim glow. The pictures are mostly empty of people. "He uses his pen for portraits and his lens for landscapes," says Venus founder Adam Lindemann.

In a second room, bright white light shines over images of kitschy tourist memorabilia from both France and elsewhere, such as photos of pastel beachside hotels and cheery signs and posters. Plastic place mats featuring different destinations cover the floor.

Sitting in the gallery one recent afternoon, drinking a bottle of Beck's beer and smoking an electronic cigarette, Mr. Houellebecq says that he chose to photograph the industrial areas outside of Paris after noticing how much they had changed since he was young. He grew up north of Paris with his grandmother after his mother moved to Brazil to be with a boyfriend. Back then, the area was mostly farmland. Mr. Houellebecq earned a degree in agricultural engineering, but the career didn't suit him.

In the years after he graduated in 1980, he was unemployed, got married, had a son, divorced and struggled with depression. He also began writing poetry. He went on to write six best-selling novels, including "The Map and the Territory" (2010), which won France's prestigious Goncourt prize. He now lives alone in Paris.

He has drawn criticism for his disparaging depictions of women and minorities in his books. He tends to brush it off. "It seems like there are thousands of sources of political correctness and thousands more sources every day," he says. In France, he adds, it's politically correct to be a vegetarian now, but "in six months, it'll be something else."

Mr. Houellebecq says that he doesn't see Islam itself as a negative force, only extremism. He is interested in the idea of the "homme économique," or economic man—the notion that people are driven just by material incentives and make choices rationally. The idea, he says, is "destructive and weighs you down." That's why, he thinks, some people look to religion as a way to "infringe on their freedom and limit their freedom."

Looking back to "Submission," Mr. Houellebecq says that the hardest parts to write were the sex scenes. "Language isn't really made for descriptions of sensual physical experiences," he says. "There's a dissolution of perceptions in sex which makes everything kind of blurry." Fear is clearer. "When one is scared, we have a tendency to remember the event really well because the senses are really precise," he says.

He won't say when he might return to writing. When asked what he plans to do next, he responds, "I don't know. I never know."



MOVING TARGETS: JOE QUEENAN

## Film Screenings for the Right Sort of Viewers

**THERE WAS** a great hue and cry recently when the Alamo Draft-house chain scheduled a number of females-only screenings of "Wonder Woman." But this is a film about empowering women, and who could doubt that women find it easier to feel empowered when they don't have to put up with noisy, obnoxious teenage boys and their equally repellent fathers? I'm sure that a lot of them would welcome females-only yoga classes as well. Just a hunch.

Personally, I don't see anything wrong with screenings limited to a specific gender, nationality, age or hat size. Last year, I was picking up my daughter at the airport and had a couple of hours to kill, so I went to see the only film showing at 8:30 p.m.: "Bad Moms." Right away, I knew I was out of my element. There were about 300 women in the theater. There were two men.

They sat by themselves. I felt like a jerk in that setting, like I had to laugh every time the movie ridiculed men, even when the ridicule got nasty and personal. I felt like I was crashing a party to which I had specifically not been invited. In the words of Nobel laureate Bob Dylan: "The moral of this story, the moral of this song, is simply that one should never be where one does not belong."

For Hollywood and the theater chains, selective screenings are a great idea whose time has come. Aficionados of a specific kind of film get the chance to enjoy it in the company of people with the same mind-set. Movies based on videogames like "Assassin's Creed" are aimed at young people who play videogames. Everybody else should stay out.

With that in mind, I propose Aussie-only screenings of films star-

**Female-only 'Wonder Woman' shows are just the first step.**



ring Cate Blanchett, Nicole Kidman, Hugh Jackman or Russell Crowe. No-millennials screenings of "Flashdance." Libertarians-only screenings of "The Outlaw Josey Wales."

How about special screenings of foreign films just for foreigners? If you can't speak Farsi, go home. If you can't say, "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose" with an impeccable Parisian accent, you will not be admitted to the 7 p.m.

show of the new Isabelle Huppert movie. Sorry, French Canadians, it's on again at 9:30.

How can theaters ensure that no one sneaks into a film that has been declared off-limits? If a man is determined to see "Wonder Woman" in a room full of women, he can always try to sneak in dressed up as Wonder Woman. If he gets in, there's not much anyone can do about that.

But other films make things easier on security—for example, movies that appeal only to slobs who want to see films in the company of other slobs and do not want nice, polite people who finished grade school wrecking the ambience. If you don't have terrible hair, at least three profane tattoos, a T-shirt with an offensive message emblazoned across it or pants that don't quite cover everything that needs to be covered, you're not getting in.

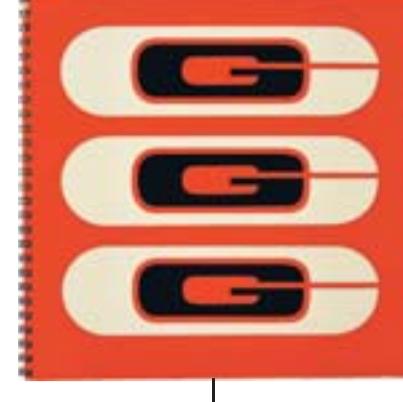
The same applies for holier-than-thou-only screenings. If you don't honestly believe that seeing movies about Mongolian female falconers or idiosyncratic beekeepers makes you a superior human being, we're not letting you in. And don't try faking it by wearing that Yo-Yo Ma T-shirt. The ticket-takers all went to MIT. They can spot you a mile away.

## REVIEW

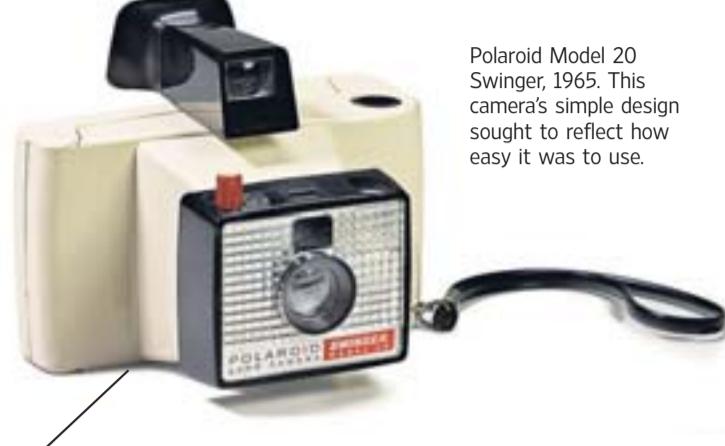
### EXHIBIT



Brevetti Robbiati  
Atomic espresso  
maker, 1950s. This  
sleek model was  
one of the first  
household items to  
cross from a functional  
device to an  
art object.



Connecticut General Insurance  
Stylebook, 1958. The company  
logo covered this manual, which  
outlined standards for company  
stationery and signage.



Polaroid Model 20  
Swinger, 1965. This  
camera's simple design  
sought to reflect how  
easy it was to use.



Design for a Millers Falls drill, 1951. This  
drawing "jumps off the page," says Mr.  
de Wit. The final version of the drill is  
covered in red and black plastic.



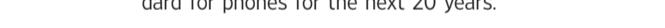
Herman Miller chair, 1960-61. This  
curved chair, designed by Charles and  
Ray Eames, has inspired many similar  
versions now found throughout schools.

## Corporate Creativity

IS MASS COMMERCE capable of producing elegant art objects? An exhibit at the Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University titled "Creativity on the Line: Design for the Corporate World, 1950-1975," looks at how designers such as Charles and Ray Eames, Dieter Rams and Eliot Noyes navigated that question. The show, which runs through Aug. 21, includes more than 125 objects, prototypes and manuscripts. With the growth of consumerism in the postwar years, corporations looked to bring more sophisticated design to their products, says curator Wim de Wit. As the British-American inventor and engineer Bernard S. Benson is quoted as saying in 1961, "The dilemma of the designer these days is, 'How can I have my cake and eat it?'" —Alexandra Wolfe



Olivetti Lettera 22 portable typewriter,  
1950. This streamlined machine was one  
of the first portable typewriters. It was  
light and easy to use and especially  
helpful for reporters on assignment.



Bell Telephone Laboratories model 500, 1953.  
This early model became the familiar stan-  
dard for phones for the next 20 years.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: ROCHESTER INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY; PRIVATE COLLECTION; SAN FRANCISCO MUSEUM OF MODERN ART; COOPER HEWITT, SMITHSONIAN DESIGN MUSEUM; LA COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART; © J. PAUL GETTY TRUST; COOPER HEWITT, SMITHSONIAN DESIGN MUSEUM

### PLAYLIST: ALAN ALDA



### Fab Four With Feeling

A song from 'Sgt. Pepper' stirs the actor's memories of family farewells

Alan Alda, 81, is a film, stage and TV actor who has won seven Emmy awards. He is the author of "If I Understood You, Would I Have This Look on My Face?" (Random House). He spoke with Marc Myers.

When I was 31, I bought the Beatles' "Sgt. Pepper" just after the album came out in June 1967. The more I listened to it, the more the album felt like a collection of really sharp show tunes. It was so unlike anything else. "SHE'S LEAVING HOME" is still a favorite and deeply personal.

Listening to the song today, I'm left with a grateful sense of melancholy. The song's lyric is beautifully constructed and illustrates both sides of the chasm between caring parents and a newly independent child.

Looking back, I wish I had made it easier on my parents when I was trying to break free. I'm sure I hurt them many times by saying what I felt or thought without softening the blow.

My mother was tender and easily hurt. One day when we were in Amsterdam just before I spent my junior year in college in Paris, she innocently said, "Your father and I are in Amsterdam, and you'll be in Paris. You can

come up and visit us."

I said, "I'm not coming up to see you all the time." My mother became upset and walked ahead of me. It was difficult to catch up to her.

The Beatles song opens with a strangely anxious harp solo. When Paul McCartney begins to sing the song's narrative, he's backed by a sorrowful cello and strings. The arrangement is haunting.

Meanwhile, John sings the parents' perspective as a Greek chorus—"We gave her most of our lives." In the song, the daughter leaves a "note that she hoped would say more," while her parents wonder, "How could she do this to me?" Two inner voices, each so far from understanding the other.

Recently, I listened to the song and recalled an incident with one of my daughters many years ago, when she was still in college. After she failed to win an audition, I wasn't as sympathetic as I could have been. She told me off in blunt terms.

Later, she called to apologize. I said, "I didn't mind. I thought you were just being colorful." But it was more than that. Now I realize that her outburst was probably the very moment she emotionally left home.

### A moment of pathos in 'Sgt. Pepper.'



THE BEATLES in their 'Sgt. Pepper' days, photographed in 1967.

### ASK ARIELY: DAN ARIELY



### Drivers of Bad Behavior

#### Dear Dan,

My daily commute takes about 40 minutes each way—and it feels even longer because so many of my honking fellow drivers are selfish and aggressive. How can we get drivers to show more respect for those around them? —Jamie

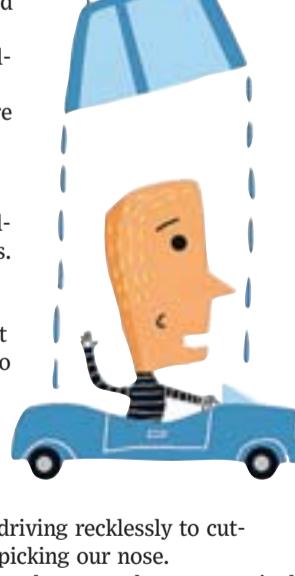
All relationships oscillate between good and bad—it's just part of the deal. The question for you is whether the downsides that you are experiencing are worth it for the upsides—and whether you can deal with the fluctuations.

What I can tell you is that you shouldn't

make big decisions about the future of your relationship when you're experiencing its bad side. When we are in a particularly strong emotional state, we often find ourselves consumed by that emotion and incapable of seeing how we could feel differently.

But emotions are transitory, and they often change more quickly than we anticipate. So assess your relationship only when you're calm and content.

You're more likely to find the right answer when you're thinking clearly, not emotionally. Good luck.



JAMES YANG

Driving often brings out the worst in us, and it can be shocking to see how myopic, self-centered and unaware we become behind the wheel—from driving recklessly to cutting into lines to picking our nose.

All of this is much worse than our typical behavior when we, say, walk down a crowded public street. Pedestrians aren't always polite, but they certainly don't exhibit the same type of risk-taking and selfishness. Being in proximity to other people makes us more aware of our own standards of decency, and we behave accordingly.

Noise-blocking (and often darkened) windows and the controlled environment of a car create an illusion of isolation, separating us from other drivers. It lets us feel that our actions are unobserved, which makes it easier for us to ignore our own standards.

#### Dear Dan,

How can I overcome my hot-and-cold attitudes toward my romantic partner? Sometimes I'm convinced that we aren't compatible, but at other moments, I feel perfectly content with our relationship. Are these fluctuations normal?

—Tina

When you work at a standing desk, you sometimes naturally feel the need to sit down—and once you do, of course, you'll rarely feel the urge to stand back up. I suggest setting a timer that reminds you once an hour to put your desk back in standing position, then stand for as long as you want.

This way, you won't sit forever. Those hourly reminders to get vertical again will probably make you more likely to stand periodically, even when you aren't feeling the urge.

### Have a dilemma for Dan?

Email [AskAriely@wsj.com](mailto:AskAriely@wsj.com).



# PLAY

## NEWS QUIZ: Daniel Akst

1. Who did President Donald Trump nominate to head the FBI?

- A. Christopher Wren
- B. Christopher Wray
- C. Johnnie Ray
- D. Fay Wray

2. "The Mummy" is Hollywood's latest attempt to launch a "cinematic universe"—a series of movies that aren't sequels but share characters and story elements. What's the series called?

- A. "Dark Universe"
- B. "Dark Shadows"
- C. "Dark Victory"
- D. "Dark Theaters"

3. New Zealand is pinning its hopes on Te Mana. Who or what is it?

- A. The Maori god of sports (to help the national rugby team)
- B. A new, fattier type of lamb (to reverse declining global consumption)
- C. A blend of Sauvignon Blanc and Chardonnay (to revive the wine industry)
- D. A favorable South Pacific current (to boost tourism with good weather)

4. Baseball has seen an upswing of interest in two-way players—who are what?

- A. Switch hitters
- B. Players (especially pitchers) who can throw with either hand
- C. Players of two pro sports
- D. Players who can both hit and pitch

To see answers, please turn to page C4.

From this week's  
Wall Street Journal

5. The late David Rockefeller's collection of art and objects could top a record \$700 million when it heads to auction next spring. Who snagged the sale?

- A. Christie's
- B. Sotheby's
- C. Bonhams
- D. Parke-Bernet

6. Based on the bones of ancient hunters newly unearthed in Morocco, about how many years ago did homo sapiens emerge in Africa?

- A. 100,000
- B. 200,000
- C. 300,000
- D. 400,000

7. Investors are piling into cobalt. Why?

- A. They're feeling blue.
- B. Demand is soaring for rechargeable batteries, which use the metal.
- C. Cobalt supplements showed huge benefits in a Swedish longevity study.
- D. Cobalt adds zest to fries.

8. Experts at the San Diego Zoo are trying to do something with their southern white rhinoceroses. What?

- A. Give them away
- B. Train them for a return to the wild
- C. Use them as surrogate mothers for northern white rhino embryos
- D. Extract enough DNA to clone them



## VARSITY MATH

This week, Coach Taylor has chosen two problems in honor of the upcoming Flag Day.

### Hard States

Whenever the number of states in the U.S. has changed, the arrangement of white stars on the blue field of the flag has had to change as well. Say a number  $s$  of states is "easy" if there is an arrangement of  $s$  stars into  $r$  rows with the following properties: (A) the lengths of any two rows differ by at most one star; (B) if there are two different lengths of rows, no two consecutive rows (from top to bottom) are the same length, and (C) there is a row of stars such that  $r$  divided by the number of stars in that row is between 1 and 2, inclusive. For example, 20 states is "easy" because you can arrange 20 stars into five rows of four, a pattern that satisfies all of the conditions. Fifty states is also "easy," as our current arrangement of nine rows alternately containing six stars and five stars shows.

What's the smallest number of states that's not "easy"?

Provided by the **National Museum of Mathematics**



ILLUSTRATION BY LUCI GUTIÉRREZ

For previous weeks' puzzles, and to discuss strategies with other solvers, go to [WSJ.com/puzzle](http://WSJ.com/puzzle).

### Great Star

One historic flag has stars arranged in a pentagram, a shape that consists of five points (the vertices) equally spaced around a circle, and five line segments (the edges) connecting each pair of vertices that are not adjacent around the circle. Imagine an arrangement in which you have one star with its center at each vertex

of a pentagram, and for each edge of that pentagram, at least one star whose center lies on that edge, not at a vertex. In addition, each edge should have the same number of stars with their centers on it.

What's the smallest number of stars that can be arranged in this fashion?

+ Learn more about the National Museum of Mathematics (MoMath) at [momath.org](http://momath.org)

## SOLUTIONS TO LAST WEEK'S PUZZLES

### Varsity Math

The area of square ABCD in last week's 3-4-5

Square is  $12+4\sqrt{6}$ , and the smaller square in

Thirds Squared has  $2/5$  the area of the larger square.

### Braking Points

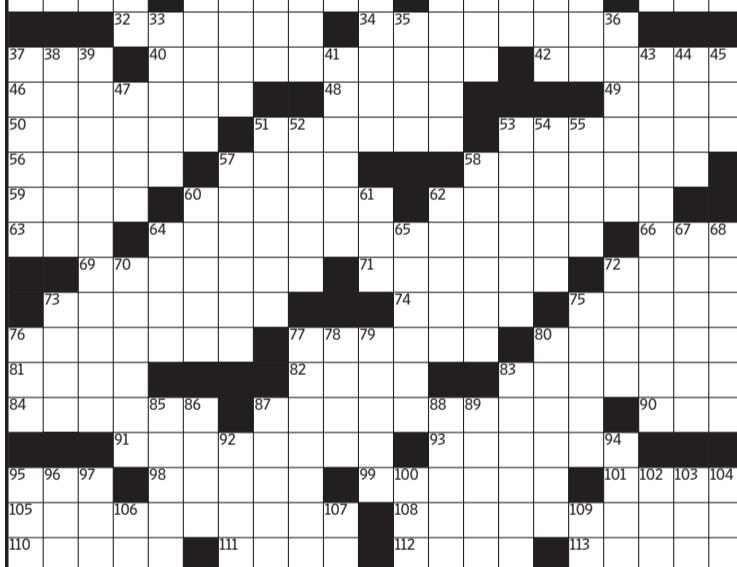


### Acrostic

Arthur Conan Doyle, "His Last Bow"—"His incredible untidiness, his addiction to music at strange hours, his occasional revolver practice within doors, his weird...malodorous scientific experiments, and the atmosphere of violence and danger which hung around him made him the very worst tenant in London."

A. Adventure; B. Richard I; C. Tortoise; D. Hindsight; E. Unheard of; F. "Rush Hour"; G. Capsaicin; H. Ohio River; I. Nightcap; J. Avionics; K. Nth degree; L. Detective; M. Onion dome; N. Yachtsman; O. Listen in; P. Exposure; Q. House-elf; R. Inchworm; S. Scintilla; T. Lestrade; U. Admonish; V. Soccer mom; W. Titanism; X. Bandwidth; Y. OneWorld; Z. Windiness

## THE JOURNAL WEEKEND PUZZLES Edited by Mike Shenk



### T for Two | by Harold Jones

#### Across

- 1 Alludes to
- 6 Cut \_\_\_ (dance)
- 10 Make a real impression on
- 14 Body part whose name comes from the Latin for "millstone"
- 19 Face with heart-shaped eyes, e.g.
- 20 Clinic quantity
- 21 Garfield's frenemy
- 22 Bouquet
- 23 Middle Eastern fruit merchant?
- 25 Groups of pirates responsible for carrying the treasure?
- 27 Suit
- 28 Nationwide staff
- 30 Person of parts
- 31 Popinjay
- 32 Moroccan stew
- 34 When Louis XV predicted "le déluge"
- 37 Believer
- 40 Ones in charge of the factory whistle?
- 42 Pot protector
- 46 Past tense?
- 48 Claim of innocence
- 49 Boarding site
- 50 Imagined
- 51 Investors' setbacks
- 53 Claws
- 56 They once came in Grape, Tangerine and Snow
- 57 Seventh avatar of Vishnu
- 58 Alpine abodes
- 59 Disintegrates
- 60 Light-sensitive layer
- 62 Louise Fitzhugh's titular spy
- 63 Colony member
- 64 Amphibian's will?
- 66 Kendrick Lamar specialty
- 69 Dorm duo, perhaps
- 71 Check recipients
- 72 Morgan's mom
- 73 Beach acquisitions
- 74 Sound intensity units
- 75 Biden's successor
- 76 First number in a subtraction problem
- 77 Prepares for a shot, as a cue
- 80 Rotating neutron star
- 81 Temple cabinets
- 82 Visibility lessener
- 83 Item in a tight tin
- 84 Madrid money, before the euro
- 87 Snapper deployed as a cushion?
- 90 Lange who played Isaac on "The Love Boat"
- 91 Renter-to-renter contract
- 93 Protested forcefully
- 95 Like
- 98 Dueling pistol part
- 99 Keep house?
- 101 Invites
- 105 Marge Simpson?
- 108 Outcome from a speeder's arrest?
- 110 Game leader
- 111 "The Cotton Club" star
- 112 Ointment additive
- 113 Lord Rataxes, in the Babar books, e.g.
- 114 Stunned, in a way
- 115 Words of approximation
- 116 Alabama or Kansas
- 117 Punch sound
- 1 Relinquish
- 2 Big-screen brand
- 3 Lug
- 4 Deplane, dramatically
- 5 Mind the kids
- 6 Slow movements
- 7 Capybara or cavy
- 8 Home to early newsgroups
- 9 "Lost in Yonkers" aunt
- 10 Happy colleague
- 11 John Glenn's portrayer in "The Right Stuff"
- 12 Barbara and Jenna, to Jeb
- 13 Battery components
- 14 Boarding school figure
- 15 Cinnabar or galena
- 16 Wonder unit
- 17 Rounds, e.g.
- 18 Utter gratingly
- 24 Well-seasoned stew
- 26 Hefty read
- 29 Greek island off the coast of Turkey
- 33 Superlattice components
- 35 Best of the early Beatles
- 36 "My thoughts exactly"
- 37 Jawaharlal's daughter
- 38 Sunday delivery
- 39 Swimsuit depicting cakes and cookies?
- 41 Totally amazing
- 43 Hauling job for a shipbuilder?
- 44 They resemble aitches
- 45 Tennis do-over
- 47 Carpet cleaners, for short
- 51 They may feature designs in the foam
- 52 Passes over
- 53 Bad things come in them, some say
- 54 Brings in
- 55 Stepped down
- 57 You can do it with a DVR (though not literally)
- 58 Arabian racers
- 60 Supply with a fresh crew
- 61 Hieroglyphic reptile
- 62 Banderas's "Desperado" co-star
- 64 Staff symbol
- 65 Laptop alternative
- 67 Understood by few
- 68 Looked curiously
- 70 Responsibilities
- 72 Combine
- 73 Kindly address
- 75 Creamy concoction
- 76 Guidebook feature
- 77 They're no fun to play with
- 78 Lukas of "The Revenant"
- 79 Tacopan people
- 80 Warehouse platform
- 83 Overly formal
- 85 Like some titmice
- 86 Skilled
- 87 Mail party
- 88 "The Little Mermaid" villain
- 89 Sells out
- 92 Specialized vocabulary
- 94 Russian retreat
- 95 Aid illegally
- 96 Mongolian monk
- 97 Compass drawings
- 100 Simple rhyme scheme
- 102 Pass over
- 103 Lotto kin
- 104 Put away
- 106 Player's peg
- 107 Early auto
- 109 Nettle

Answers fit into this grid in two ways: Rows and Trails. Each Row contains two answers placed side by side, clued in order. Each Trail answer begins in the corresponding numbered square and ends in one of the dotted squares, making one or more turns along the way. Trails will never overlap each other, nor will they make hairpin turns (that is, no two-by-two block of grid squares can be filled by a single Trail answer). Lengths of the Trail answers are given in parentheses. In the completed grid, each letter will be used once in a Row answer and once in a Trail answer.

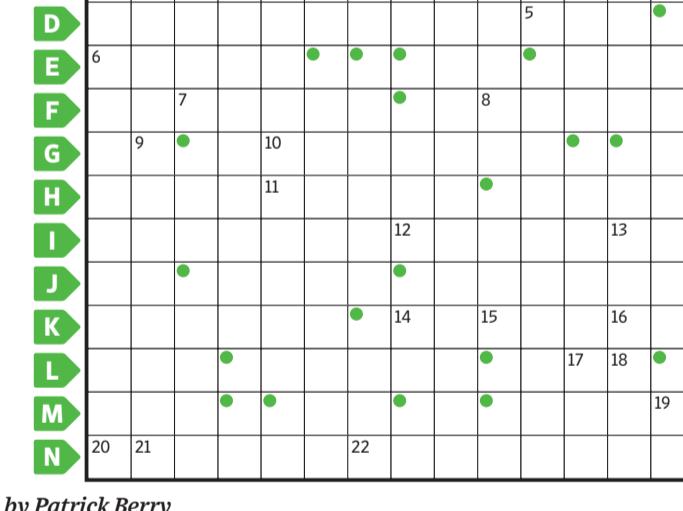
Trails must make at least one turn:

WRONG RIGH T

Trails can't occupy a 2x2 block of squares:

WNG RIGH

RO IGH



### Trail Mix | by Patrick Berry

Answers fit into this grid in two ways: Rows and Trails. Each Row contains two answers placed side by side, clued in order. Each Trail answer begins in the corresponding numbered square and ends in one of the dotted squares, making one or more turns along the way. Trails will never overlap each other, nor will they make hairpin turns (that is, no two-by-two block of grid squares can be filled by a single Trail answer). Lengths of the Trail answers are given in parentheses. In the completed grid, each letter will be used once in a Row answer and once in a Trail answer.

Trails must make at least one turn:

WRONG RIGH T

Trails can't occupy a 2x2 block of squares:

WNG RIGH

RO IGH

C Feel bad about Least convenient, perhaps

D WWI blockade craft (Hyph.)

Vehicle designed to travel across snow

E Talk show host who created "Carpool Karaoke"

Breakdown

F Like liquor, but not beer or wine

Perfect look-alike

G From that day until now (2 wds.)

Bridget's portrayer in "Bridget Jones's Diary"

H Mailing to a label, once (2 wds.)

Western Front feature

I Unable to relax

Philosopher who tutored Nero

J Starter's phrase (2 wds.)

"In \_\_\_ Fields" (1915 war poem)

K Creator of Centipede

Home to about 40% of Alaska's population

L Added to the hard drive, maybe

Small valleys

M Sweater material

Every living person adds to it (2 wds.)

N Pigpen containers

Rooftop patio

### Trails

- 1 Defendant acquitted in an 1893 murder trial (6,6)
- 2 Not off-the-rack (6-4)
- 3 What "Morocco leather" is (8)
- 4 1986 mystery film that earned Jane Fonda an Oscar nomination (3,7,5)
- 5 Animal on an old nickel (5)
- 6 Little Miss Muffet never finished hers (5,3,4)
- 7 Refused to support (5,7)
- 8 Rope that might have some wear? (11)
- 9 Modern-day follower of the "Pythagorean diet" (10)
- 10 With all one's heart (9)
- 11 Chimichanga wrap (8)
- 12 Most adroit (7)
- 13 Docket listings (5)
- 14 Oenophile's storeroom (6)
- 15 "Let's not get ahead of ourselves" (3,4,2,1,4)
- 16 Moon's makeup, in folklore (5,6)
- 17 Ring who wrote "Haircut" (7)
- 18 Spliced end-to-end (6)
- 19 British spy writer who once worked for MI6 (2,5)
- 20 Dance featured on "Dancing With the Stars" (5)
- 21 Dietary fiber, familiarly (8)
- 22 Author Marie Henri Beyle's pen name (8)

► Get the solutions to this week's Journal Weekend Puzzles in next Saturday's Wall Street Journal. Solve crosswords and acrostics online, get pointers on solving cryptic puzzles and discuss all of the puzzles online at [WSJ.com/Puzzles](http://WSJ.com/Puzzles).

## REVIEW



PAUL CÉZANNE painted 'Man in a Blue Smock' around 1897-1900. It's part of 'Portraits by Cézanne.'

### ICONS

# Was Cézanne A 'People Person'?

A three-museum exhibition focuses on portraits; a wife's 'blank look'

BY J.S. MARCUS

**FRENCH PAINTER PAUL CÉZANNE** reportedly vowed that he would astonish Paris with an apple—and with his tradition-defying depictions of fruit and the French countryside, he did just that. But Cézanne's portraits have rarely gotten the attention of his still lifes and landscapes. Now they are the focus of a Parisian exhibition, coming to the U.S. next year, which asks whether he was more of a people person than previously thought.

"It's true he wasn't a conventionally social person," says Mary Morton of Washington's National Gallery of Art, the show's American venue. Cézanne, she adds, probably didn't have "a terribly warm and affectionate relationship with his wife."

A few encounters with the elder Cézanne (1839-1906) led some people to speculate that he suffered from haphephobia, or a pathological fear of being touched.

Whatever the psychological hurdles he faced, they didn't keep the artist from portraiture. "Portraits by Cézanne" includes 60 paintings and a number of drawings. The show opens on June 13 at Paris's Musée d'Orsay and runs through Sept. 24, before traveling to London's National Portrait Gallery (Oct. 26-Feb. 11, 2018) and the National Gallery, starting March 25.

Organizers say that the exhibition is the first museum show devoted to the whole of Cézanne's portraits, which will be grouped according to subject—including the artist's wife, his uncle and Provençal peasants. One category that's missing: commissioned portraits to please elegant strangers—the bread and butter of many of the artist's contemporaries. Cézanne, born into a banker's family in the southern city of Aix-en-Provence, received a stipend from his father and never had to earn money that way.

Cézanne was "not interested in creating pleasing likenesses," says John Elderfield, the show's chief curator and chief curator emeritus of New York's Museum of Modern Art. Rather, the artist focused "on giving a vivid sense of the presence of the person he painted." The show has been several years in the planning.

The artist's refusal to be ingratiating, as Mr. Elderfield describes it, resulted in portraits that often seem to lack any emotional content whatsoever, leading more than one critic to compare Cézanne's often blank, masklike faces to his signature apples and pears.

This apparent lack of emotion is most apparent in the

many portraits of Cézanne's wife, Hortense. Four related portraits of her (1888-90) are displayed together in Paris. "All maintain the same blank look," says Mr. Elderfield, adding that in moving back and forth between them, "there is an odd sense that maybe they represent sisters rather than the same person."

The artist is "playing" with conventional expectations, says the National Gallery's Ms. Morton. "We are trained to look for psychological character in the eyes and face, but Cézanne often displaces that to color and space," as he would do in his still lifes and landscapes.

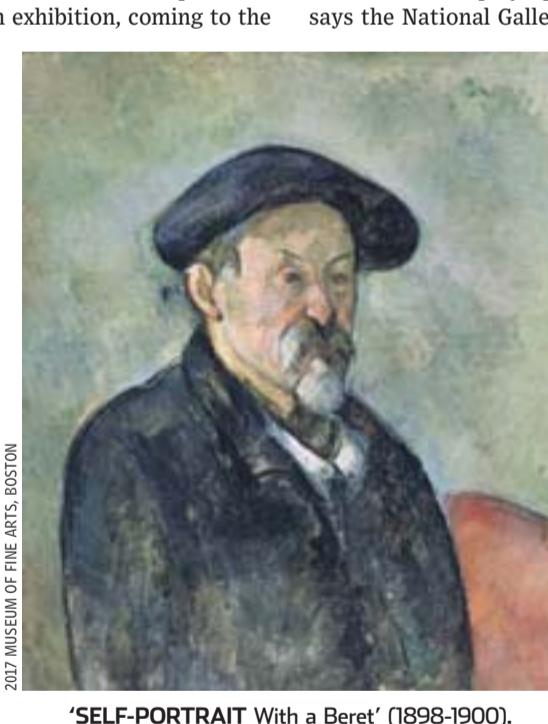
Besides friends and family, Cézanne painted art-world acquaintances—and, especially, himself. The earliest work in the Paris show is a self-portrait (1862-64), on loan from a private New York collection. Based on a photograph, it has the burning, direct gaze suggestive, today, of a defiant mug shot.

Mr. Elderfield says that Cézanne "was especially careful not to appear to flatter himself," from his first self-portrait to the last, "Self-Portrait With a Beret" (1898-1900), on loan from Boston's Museum of Fine Arts. The intense eyes of earlier self-portraits have disappeared, and a halo-like beret hangs over the artist's sunken stare.

In his last decades, living in the south of France, Cézanne was painting peasants, using the signature blues and reds of his landscapes and still lifes. The standout element in "Man in a Blue Smock," on loan from the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth, Texas, is the peasant's bright-red kerchief, which seems to shimmer red down to his hands.

French curator Xavier Rey, who worked on the d'Orsay version of the show, sees these depictions of what he calls "anonymous people" as the artist's final abandonment of traditional portraiture "to focus on questions of geometry and color." Mr. Rey adds, "There is a projection of the artist himself onto these peasants." In those last years, ill with diabetes, Cézanne spent much of his time apart from his wife and son, who lived separately from him, first in Paris then later nearby in Provence.

Cézanne had "some strong friendships as a young guy," says Ms. Morton, "but he ended up living more or less like a hermit." Though she thinks stories about his touch phobia "have been overplayed," she believes that he largely achieved "physical intimacy through painting" his portraits. He touched his sitters, she says, by applying brush to canvas.



'SELF-PORTRAIT With a Beret' (1898-1900).

**Critics cited blank, masklike faces.**

### MASTERPIECE:

'PIETÀ OF VILLENEUVE-LÈS-AVIGNON' (C. 1445),  
BY ENGUERRAND QUARTON

## UNSPEAKABLE GRIEF, UNIMAGINABLE RESTRAINT

BY JUDITH H. DOBRZYNSKI

STANDING BEFORE the painting known as the "Pietà of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon," visitors to the Louvre witness the heartbreak moment when the bruised body of Jesus Christ, having been taken down from the cross, has been given to his mother.

It is a common scene, rendered by hundreds of artists in thousands of ways over the centuries, with those by Giotto, Michelangelo and Annibale Carracci among the most renowned. This one, painted by Enguerrand Quarton (c. 1410-1466), would surely be as celebrated had it not been hidden in a dark, provincial chapel, its creator unknown and then disputed, for so long.

Among many art historians, the "Pietà of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon" (c. 1445) is considered the greatest artwork of 15th-century France. Original in many aspects, it conveys not just sorrow and spirituality but also, especially in Mary, acceptance of God's plan for his son and hers.

The painting was discovered in 1834 by a young inspector of historical monuments named Prosper Mérimée—later the author of "Carmen," the novella that inspired Bizet's opera. Mérimée found it in a church in Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, a little town on the Rhone opposite Avignon. Decades then passed before it was shown in Paris at the 1904 Exhibition of French Primitives, which featured some 700 works of medieval and early Renaissance art. The next year, it was purchased for the Louvre.

More time would elapse before Quarton was credited. Born in Laon, in the north of France, he had moved to Provence by at least 1444 (and probably before), where he became a prominent painter and illuminator. Quarton, familiar with Italian and Flemish art as well as French Gothic style, is known for two documented paintings: "The Virgin of Mercy" (1452) and "The Coronation of the Virgin" (1453-54), both more colorful, exuberant, highly detailed works that on first glance may seem unlike the stark, somber "Pietà."

But in 1959, Charles Sterling, a scholar of 15th-century French art who worked as a curator at the Louvre and then, part-time, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, dated it and identified Quarton as the author.

He noted resemblances in the facial bone structures and the long fingers of the figures in the three works, parallels in the drapery of their clothing, and other stylistic similarities, and he matched the portrayal of the patron in the "Pietà" with a similarly attired one in "The Coronation."

Quarton's haunting "Pietà" places Mary at the center. She is, unusually, old and weary. Her face is wrinkled, her nearly closed eyes have bags and her skin is as pale as her dead son's. Rather than being held in her arms, as in so many other depictions, he rests on her knee.

She is the voice for the Latin inscription from Lamentations on the painting's perimeter: "Oh, all you who pass on this road, look and see if there be any suffering like mine." Yet, with her hands folded in prayer, she is resigned to the sacrifice she has just witnessed and experienced. She aches in silence.

Steps away from Mary—one on either side—are St. John the Evangelist and St. Mary Magdalene. Like her, they are encircled with golden halos stamped with their names. They are youthful; there is color in their cheeks. John stoically cradles Christ's head with one hand and gently removes the crown of thorns with the other—an unusual sight. Over his shoulder, in the distance and against a gold background, lies the city of Jerusalem.

Mary Magdalene, her red hair trailing down her back, is still crying. Wiping her tears on the sculpted golden folds of her mantle, whose sheen is matched by that of the white underside of Mary's cloak, she plays her traditional role of anointing the body with oil, drawing from a jar decorated with stars.

Christ's thin, arched body, against the dark blue of Mary's mantle, heightens the painting's drama. Quarton has paid close attention to anatomy, as can be seen in Christ's scarred rib cage, knees and feet. A trickle of blood flows from the wound in his side, but none oozes from his head, which is ringed by golden rays signifying his divinity.

Throughout the painting, there are rhythmic spatial interrelationships. Christ's right arm parallels the diagonal of his legs, which is echoed in the tilt of Mary's head and the slant of Mary Magdalene's body. Hands are angled to parallel Christ's body or point to Mary. The heads of the main figures form an arc that is reflected back in Mary's hem. In fact, the painting would be nearly symmetrical were it not for the presence of the donor, dressed in canonical white, kneeling at left.

The painting, which measures more than 5 by 7 feet, contrasts with its overwrought neighbors of the same period in the Louvre, and therein lies its unusual power. It is a portrait of unspeakable grief achieved with unimaginable restraint.

Ms. Dobrzynski writes about culture for many publications and blogs at [www.artjournal.com/realcleararts](http://www.artjournal.com/realcleararts).



AMONG MANY art historians, it is considered the greatest artwork of 15th-century France.

Father's Day  
gift guide:  
Upgrade your  
dad's style  
(diplomatically)  
**D2**



# OFF DUTY



Concoct a  
classic salade  
Niçoise for four  
in a mere 20  
minutes  
**D6**

EATING | DRINKING | STYLE | FASHION | DESIGN | DECORATING | ADVENTURE | TRAVEL | GEAR | GADGETS

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Saturday/Sunday, June 10 - 11, 2017 | **D1**

## WALLPAPER: An A-to-Z GUIDE

Overwhelmed by choice? Hang two wall coverings in the same room. Here, 26 to mix and match, plus pro advice on seamless combinations

**M**  
IS FOR METALLIC

**Z**  
IS FOR ZOOLOGY

**F**  
IS FOR FLORAL

BY DEBRA JO IMMERGUT

**F**OR MANY HOMEOWNERS, walls papered in even one pattern are the stuff of nightmares. Haunted by memories of the blaring flower-power prints of the 1970s or the chintz-and-stripes overload of the '80s—and especially by the money and tedious hours spent remediating such fashionable forays—even design pros have shied away from wallpaper.

"I used to fear it," said New York interior designer Phillip Thomas. But water-soluble adhesives have supplanted oil-based pastes, he noted, making for easier paper removal that's kinder to drywall. Now that you can strip a room in only a few hours, he no longer shrinks from committing his clients to wallpaper.

Upping the ante, Mr. Thomas and his professional peers have taken to hanging more than one pattern in a single room—a bravado move in keeping with the eclectic exuberance of maximalism that has replaced the

Please turn to page D8

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**VIVE L'ESPAGNE?**  
Taking cues from their French cousins, Spanish Rosés are on the rise **D6**

**NEO-DEODORANTS**  
Take your pick of the new generation of natural stink squelchers **D3**

**ROUGHING IT, WITH EMPANADAS**  
An Alaskan wilderness retreat that, cuisine aside, serves nature in the raw **D4**

**DINING INS AND OUTS**  
As elite restaurants grow cost-prohibitive, the 'fast-fine' category is born **D7**

F. MARTIN RAMIREZ/THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, STYLING BY JILL TELESNICKI



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# STYLE & FASHION

## Better-Off Dad

At some point, the average paterfamilias stops evolving. Here, 10 Father's Day gifts to upgrade and update his look

**1. GET THE BLUES** Neither dumpy nor cornily distressed, Officine Générale's pale, slim pair is not your clichéd dad denim. Jeans, \$245, [officinogenerale.com](http://officinogenerale.com)

**6. ACE LACES** No more blah trainers. Save his soles with Adidas's new knit Stan Smiths. Sneakers, \$110, [adidas.com](http://adidas.com)

**2. TEAR DOWN THAT OLD WALLET** If he's got a filing cabinet in his back pocket, consider Bottega Veneta's space-saving alternative. Card Case, \$250, [Bottega Veneta](http://BottegaVeneta.com), 800-845-6790

**7. EASY DOZE IT** Keep dad sharp around the clock in posh pajamas from Britain's sleepwear specialists, Derek Rose. Pajamas, \$285, [derek-rose.com](http://derek-rose.com)

**3. WITTIER KNIT** New York label Meticulous Knitwear's mod cardigan is the antidote to a musty shawl-collar sweater. Cardigan, \$136, [Mirai](http://Mirai.com), 81-822-400-336

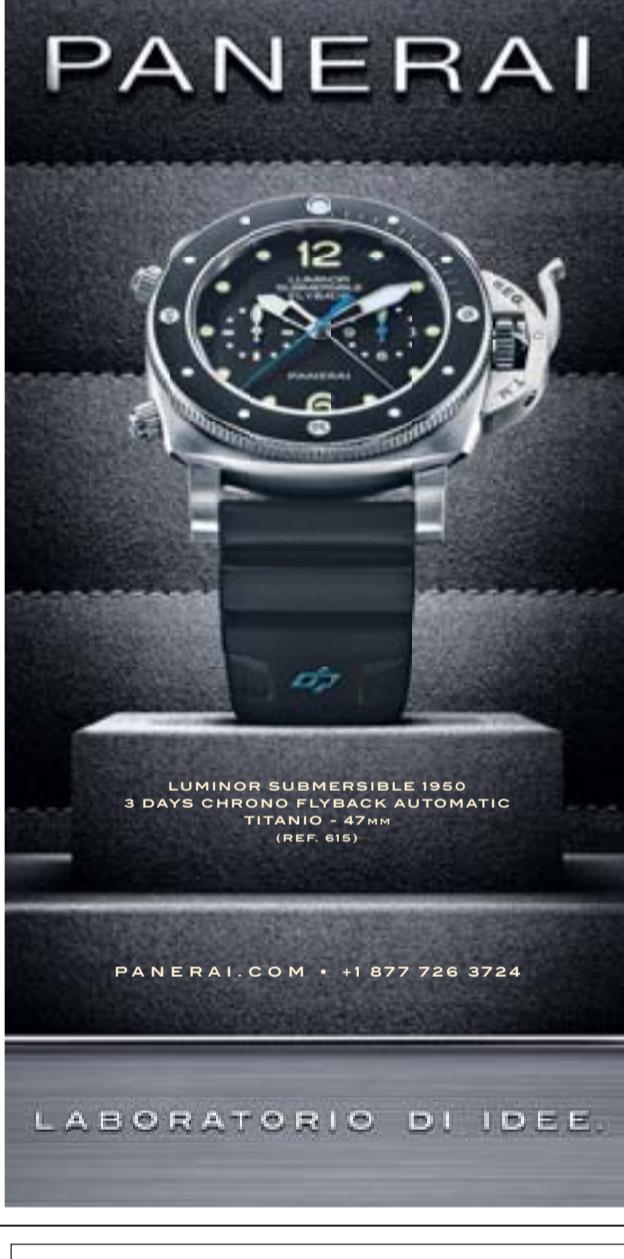
**8. FINDERS KEEPERS** With Tile's easy-to-use tracker, he will never lose his keys or wallet again. Tile Mate, \$25, and Tile Slim, \$30, [thetileapp.com](http://thetileapp.com)

**4. FLIP HIS LID** Our Legacy's neon cap is a bright upgrade for his worn-out newsie. Cap, \$123, [ourlegacy.se](http://ourlegacy.se)

**9. TOP GEAR** Stone Island's nylon windbreaker is a modern take on his beloved Members Only jacket. Jacket, \$603, [stoneisland.com](http://stoneisland.com)

**5. LOUNGE BRINGER** His La-Z-Boy should have never survived the 1990s. Instead: Design Within Reach's luxe leather version. Flight Recliner, \$2,500-\$2,990, [dwr.com](http://dwr.com)

**10. HEAR AND NOW** Master & Dynamic's handsome headphones make for easy listening, without the over-ear bulk. ME05 Earphones, \$199, [masterdynamic.com](http://masterdynamic.com)



### LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON...EVENTUALLY

How Off Duty's men's fashion editor and his dad eventually found common style ground

**MY DAD MUST** have owned more than one suit when I was growing up, but I only remember one: a standard-issue, boot-black two-piece, worn with an aggressively starched white shirt. Not a hair was askew on his head. To the world outside our suburban Maryland home, he was Patrick Gallagher, museum exhibition designer. To me and my brother, he was "The Inspector General." He didn't see me as a paragon of style

either, in my dingy band tees and skate shoes. He wished I'd tidy up. I wished he'd loosen up.

In my early teens, I discovered some of his old shirts in our attic—funny Aloha button-ups; he'd even painted the back of one. I wondered where that risk-taker had gone. I eventually traded ketchup-stained hoodies for smart patch-pocket jackets. He grew older and more successful, and began to embrace

fashion. I'd like to think I had something to do with that. Surely, he thinks the same about my style evolution. Now, I too wear white shirts, though mine are less starched. And he indulges in aubergine knit ties and vintage watches. Occasionally he'll pass along a "great new sweater company" he's discovered. Even if I've heard of it, I'll feign wonder. Sometimes a kid has to let his old man win. —Jacob Gallagher



PARENTAL GUIDANCE The author's father earlier this year.

FATHER'S DAY 2017: ITALIAN STYLE



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Saks Fifth Avenue Men's Store. 250 Vesey Street. 212.301.2440.



## STYLE & FASHION

# A New Natural Selection

With improved formulas and chic packaging, chemical-free deodorant is a blooming category

BY DANA WOOD

**D**EODORANT and antiperspirant have never possessed much prestige. They're typically functional, fairly garish, mass-market products kept hidden in medicine cabinets—as glamorous as Band-Aids. And natural deodorants? Most were viewed just as dimly, if not more so, since many were thought to be ineffective.

But a shift is under way: A wave of chemical-free beauty brands has turned natural deodorant into a more respected, and prettily packaged, category. Why now? "I think it's related to the wellness industry as a whole," said Tara Pelletier, co-founder of 8-year-old vegan beauty brand Meow Meow Tweet, which offers four natural deodorants.

"People are becoming more aware. It started with the food movement and spills into products we use."

Specifically, women are becoming aware of possible concerns surrounding aluminum chlorhydrate, the active ingredient in many antiperspirants. Susan Blum, an assistant clinical professor of preventive medicine at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital, cited a 2016 study on mice published in the International Journal of Cancer that linked aluminum to the transformation of mammary epithelial cells into tumor cells. Dr. Blum, who also runs the Blum Center for Health in Rye Brook, N.Y., said that in her practice, doctors suggest "that breast



ILLUSTRATION BY VICTORIA TENTLER-KRYLOV; F. MARTIN RAMIN/THE WALL STREET JOURNAL (URSA MAJOR, THAI CRYSTAL)

cancer patients avoid traditional deodorants and antiperspirants."

Beth Jonas, chief scientist at the Personal Care Products Council, a national trade association for the industry, countered Dr. Blum's assertion with two studies that show no connection. Dr. Jonas also pointed to the National Cancer Institute, which has stated that "no scientific evidence links the use of [antiperspirants or deodorants] to the development of breast cancer."

Still, with a slew of improved

natural options that are more sophisticated both in their product and their packaging, some women are trying a different approach. Meow Meow Tweet's Ms. Pelletier reports that customer demand has played an important role in her brand's sharpened focus on the naturally sweet smell of not sweating: "Instead of it being some hippie thing," she said, "people are saying, 'No, the texture has to be better. The scent is important to me.'"

Emily Doyle, co-founder of mini-

malist natural beauty brand Ursamajor, says that for much of its six-and-a-half year existence, deodorant has been the product customers requested most. Ursamajor finally introduced a natural version, called Hoppin' Fresh, in late 2015. Its active ingredients are hops, which are antimicrobial and antibacterial, as well as kaolin clay, which absorbs moisture.

And the brand recently debuted a new version of Hoppin' Fresh made without baking soda, a com-

mon ingredient in natural deodorants but one that can irritate sensitive skin. This variant's cheeky name is "No B.S."

Switching to a chemical-free product isn't always easy; often women keep a reliable, high-performance antiperspirant on hand for stressful moments. If she's facing an important meeting on a hot day, Jennie Panzeri, a yoga instructor in St. Petersburg, Fla., will use a traditional drugstore product. Though her preferred natural deodorant by Bodhi Basics "definitely helps with body odor," said Ms. Panzeri, "it's not as effective in preventing wetness." Still, when teaching yoga, she said, she goes natural.

That's a smart move, said Dr. Blum: "In general, you don't want to block sweating because it is one of the main ways that the body excretes toxins. Especially during exercise, it's better to focus on natural deodorants."

To find a natural deodorant that clicks with your pH and works effectively, you may need to test several, suggested Ms. Pelletier: "Everyone's body chemistry is different." You can improve your odds, however. "Without being too preachy," she added, "the place to start is your diet. Eat more plants, less dairy, less processed food and less sugar, and drink more water. You increase the chances that whatever natural deodorant you pick will work."

### ARID SUPPLY // WE TESTED 11 ALUMINUM-FREE DEODORANTS. THESE FIVE WERE THE MOST EFFECTIVE



**Luxe Lotion**  
Fig + Yarrow  
Underarm Lotion  
\$22, [figandyarrow.com](http://figandyarrow.com)

This easy-to-apply lotion gave us well-above-average wetness protection. Its power ingredients: sodium bicarbonate, which helps regulate pH balance, and sage, an axillary antibacterial cited by the NIH for efficacy in blocking odor.



**Dream Dab-On**  
Meow Meow Tweet  
Deodorant Cream  
\$14, [meowmeowtweet.com](http://meowmeowtweet.com)

Cream deodorants are economical—a pea-size dollop is sufficient for both underarms. This one deploys arrowroot powder, baking soda and kaolin clay to sop up wetness, while coconut oil softens the skin.



**Girlie Go-To**  
Tarte Clean Queen  
Vegan Deodorant  
\$14, [tarte.com](http://tarte.com)

This solid twist-up, with added skin softeners, leaves zero telltale white marks, and the velvety formula glides on where other solids can stick. During a 40-minute stint on the elliptical machine, I had no breakthrough odor.



**Cool Customer**  
Ursa Major Hoppin'  
Fresh Deodorant  
\$18, [ursamajorvt.com](http://ursamajorvt.com)

This one aced three sets of tennis in Florida's brutal early June heat. It's infused with eucalyptus and peppermint, which cool the skin on contact and give a tingly burst that dissipates—intentionally—within minutes.



**Rock Star**  
Thai Crystal  
Deodorant Stick  
\$8, [deodorantstones.com](http://deodorantstones.com)

It's not chic, but die-hards swear by this classic, introduced over 25 years ago—and used in Asia for much longer. It's made with potassium alum crystals that kill bacteria. Note: the alum has no relation to aluminum chlorhydrate.

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# ADVENTURE & TRAVEL

## Wilder Dreams

Hoping to avoid coddling and control-freak guides, a family heads to a lodge deep in Alaska where nature is served up raw

BY DIANA KAPP

**IN OUR WANDERINGS** over the years, from Japan to Italy, we have arrived travel-worn at lodges to be handed a flute of fresh-squeezed juice, or a frosty bottle of water. At a mountain hideaway in India, the proprietor received us by pressing a red-powder dot onto our foreheads. But at Tebay Lodge, nestled deep in Alaska's Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve, about two hours from Anchorage by amphibious prop plane, the welcoming gesture was an introduction to the air horn. "You will find an air horn in every room. Don't go anywhere without it," Jay Claus boomed to my family of five—myself, my husband, my two teens and a tween. "Blow it and I'll know there is a bear in camp. I'll come running with my gun," he said matter-of-factly. "Even to the bathroom in the middle of the night. Especially then."

Tebay Lodge, which opened last June on the banks of sapphire-blue Tebay Lake, sits in a major bear thoroughfare, midway to the animals' all-you-can-eat buffet that is the summer spawning ground of the Copper River salmon just up lake. Jay, a 28-year-old native, built his lodge by hand, first clearing a gravel runway so he could get there, then felling and debarking trees and shaping them into sturdy pillars and posts. It sleeps only about ten guests and in summer, you need to rent the property in full, which is what we did, meaning that we had Jay, another guide and the lodge chef, who also happens to be Jay's girlfriend—to ourselves.

Over our weeklong stay, Jay rarely made a move without his guns, a rifle slung casually across his chest and a discreet handgun at his waist. I learned to gauge grizzly danger by noting the trigger readiness of his calloused hands.

Nearing the end of our third day's outing, I saw Jay's fingers clench in high alert.

Returning from a daylong trek several thousand feet up to a mountain pass, we were still a mile from our clunky motorboat, our transport back to home base. Though



ARTURO POLO ENA (PARK, LODGE); DIANA KAPP (BEAR); MAP BY JASON LEE

**BROUGHT TO BEAR**  
Flying through Wrangell-St. Elias National Park. Below, from left: a grizzly sighted by the author; hikers returning to Tebay Lodge.

we'd spent a half-day climbing up to the pass, our descent had whizzed by in 90 minutes, as we glissaded down the snowfields in our hiking boots, slipping along like penguins. In my many guided hikes on snow, I had never been allowed, let alone encouraged, to glissade—"too dangerous, you can lose control!" the guides had warned.

A black bear streaks through the foliage 30 feet in front of us.

But Jay's core philosophy decreed that wilderness jaunts are meant to be a little wild. "When was the last time you experienced any unpredictability?" he queried my 16-year-old son, without waiting for a response before spouting his view that outdoor experiences have become overly controlled, almost hermetically sealed. I thought about the coddling we received on our other outdoorsy trips—like the time we trekked up Mount Whitney and our guide

kept us on a tight leash, even insisting on a strict schedule of rest stops. I can't imagine Jay would have approved.

Once the snowfields, then scree gave way to meadows lush with wild iris and columbine in a deep valley, we spied the pond ringed with dense vegetation where we had begun our hike. Our motorboat was moored in Lake Tebay, on the other side of the pond, but before we could reach it, Jay stopped cold. "Bear," he muttered. He spotted it across the valley heading toward the water, right in our direction. "We're going to meet," he announced. "There's no other way out."

"Ho bear. Hellooo," Jay called out, as we cowered behind him. "We're just passing through. We're not planning to invade your territory." "Hooooo bear," my husband echoed merrily. Seconds later, 30 feet away, the bushes shook and a smallish black bear streaked through the foliage, then bounded away. On seeing its small stature, we sighed with relief, but Jay immediately disabused us of our naivete. "These little guys are actually meaner," he said.

Two days earlier we'd en-



countered a much larger bear: We had just pushed off shore in the boat when we saw a gargantuan grizzly the color of cinnamon toast standing on his back feet at the water's edge. He was in Smokey stance. "He's scared of us," Jay reassured us. "These bears don't stand like that unless they're threatened." My daughter, clearly projecting, asked, "Did you worry a lot about bears as a little kid?" Grinning, Jay replied, "Nah. I started packing a rifle when I was five."

Jay's grandfather staked a land claim to 5 acres on the nearby Chitina River in the 1950s under the Homestead Act, and Jay's father raised his family 100 miles from the nearest road. Jay's forebears were among the first humans

to inhabit their valley deep in a 13.2-million-acre backyard, which, in 1980, became the Wrangell-St. Elias National Park (now America's largest). In the 1960s, the family opened the rustic-chic Ultima Thule Lodge, now hosting Hollywood starlets and tech titans for unique flight safaris. In 2014, looking for independence, Jay struck out to develop Tebay. Friends flew in to assist with roof alignment, the installation of solar panels and counters (using flat stones found nearby) and the building of a wood-fired sauna and the two most enjoyable outhouses I have ever used (stocked with incense and climbing magazines). Jay also refurbished an old trapper's cabin, where my husband and I bunked. It was quite deluxe, with a cowhide rug, a fur throw draped on the big bed and a mosquito net hung like a princess canopy, yet still felt plenty rugged with no heat or toilet.

Our final day began with great anticipation: All week Jay had talked up a day of water play on Tebay Lake, which seemed preposterous—the water was 55 degrees and we'd awoken to a sky full of mean, spitting clouds after two sun-bright days. But because we had lugged along wetsuits from California (as instructed), and because we had come to trust Jay's definition of fun, we were game.

### THE LOWDOWN // THRILL-SEEKING IN ALASKA

**Getting There** The fastest way to reach Tebay Lodge from Anchorage is to charter a float plane through Regal Air, which leaves from Lakewood Airport, about a 10-minute cab ride from Ted Stevens Anchorage International Airport. The flight is about two hours, and costs about \$2,700 each way for up to seven people. Alternatively, fly commercial on Alaska Airlines to Cordova, and then charter a float plane through Cordova Air for the final 50 minutes to Tebay Lodge. The cost is \$925 one-way for the charter, which holds up to four people (Cordova Air: 907-424-3289; Regal Air: 907-243-8535).

**Staying There** In summer, Tebay Lodge is open for exclu-



sive-use bookings only, for up to 10 people, from June to September (from \$5,000 a night for the entire lodge, including meals; [ultimathulelodge.com](http://ultimathulelodge.com)). The short winter season runs mid-March through April. You can rent the lodge in full or by the room (from \$4,200 a person for a six-night stay, including guided ski excursions, some ski-plane flights, meals and transfers from Anchorage, [pacificpineguides.com](http://pacificpineguides.com)).

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# EATING & DRINKING

ON WINE LETTIE TEAGUE



## You Say Rosé—But Why Not Rosado?

**THE WINES OF SPAIN** are unquestionably popular, but while the reds and whites sell very well, the rosés, well-made and affordable, often sit on the shelves. In fact, when I went searching for Spanish rosés, aka rosados, in recent weeks, I found the latest bottles from 2016 alongside quite a few left over from the previous vintage. Why had these wines failed to find buyers? The answer could be summed up in a single word: "Provence."

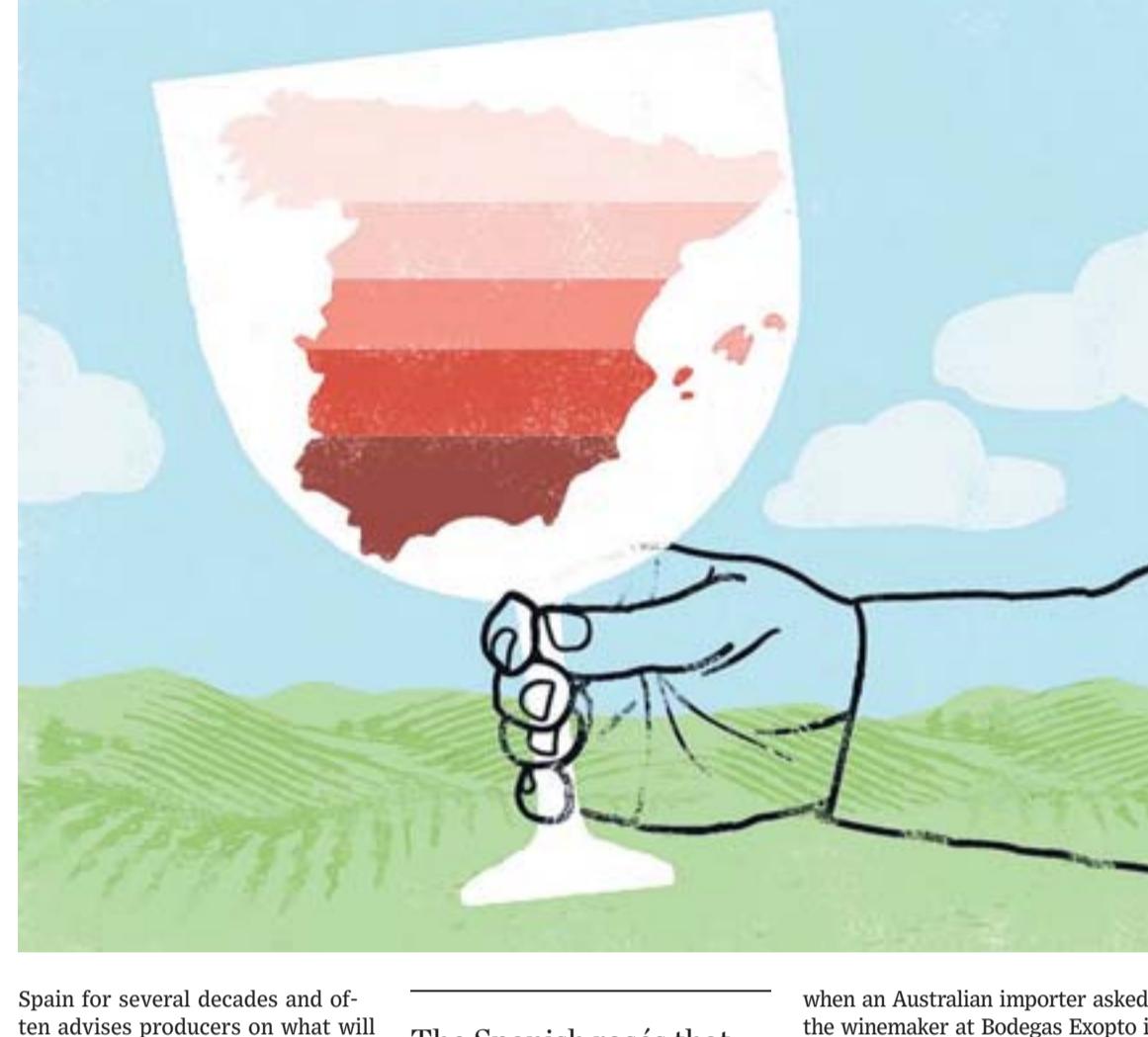
The pale, dry rosés from this region of southern France, ubiquitous in wine stores in this season, are the standard by which other rosés are judged. Whether made in Italy or Spain or the U.S., a rosé must look Provençal to sell. "It's the label, it's the packaging, it's the color," said Jon Visser, who was until recently the rosé wine buyer of Gary's Wine & Marketplace in Wayne, N.J.

I met Mr. Visser and the stores' proprietor, Gary Fisch, in front of a sizable rosé display. At each of the four Gary's stores in suburban New Jersey there are around 100 different rosés—the vast majority from France, and the vast majority of those from Provence. On the shelf in front of us, only six hailed from Spain. "We really have to listen to the customer," said Mr. Visser. "If they want Provence, that's what we have to give them."

Mr. Visser brought Spanish and French rosés to the store's tasting desk. The Spanish rosés that were pale and packaged with simple, tasteful labels like the Provençal wines did well, he said. The French know how to turn out bestsellers, as in the Château d'Esclans Whispering Angel from Côtes de Provence, whose pale hue and flagon-shape bottle helped make it a hit.

The 2016 Vega Sindoa rosé from Navarra, Spain, looked downright lurid by comparison, with its neon-bright label and dark red color. Such a wine has to be actively promoted by the staff, said Mr. Visser. It was, in retail parlance, a "hand sell."

Eric Solomon of European Cellars in Charlotte, N.C., has imported wines from France and



GWENDA KACZOR/F. MARTIN RAMIN/THE WALL STREET JOURNAL (BOTTLES)

Spain for several decades and often advises producers on what will sell stateside. For example, he counseled the winemakers behind Bodegas Izadi in Rioja on their 2016 Larrosa rosé, from production to packaging. The result—a pale-peach-colored wine—looks a lot like Whispering Angel, is quite refreshing and lively and, at \$12 a bottle, is a very good deal.

Mr. Solomon acknowledged that achieving the Provençal style was a driving force behind the design, but he also believes the paler Spanish rosés reflect a general retreat from big, dark Spanish wines. "It's a trend that mirrors the move away from extraction and the 'big is better' approach that defined much of the emerging Spanish wine landscape for red wines in the late 1990s and

The Spanish rosés that were pale and packaged with simple, tasteful labels like the Provençal wines did well.

early 2000s," he wrote in an email.

The portfolio of Polaner Selections, an importer based in Mount Kisco, N.Y., includes several pale rosés from various parts of Spain. "It's Provençal or Provençal-looking wines and then everything else," said Adam Rieger, Polaner's Spanish-wine portfolio director. One of my favorites among Polaner's offerings came about almost accidentally,

when an Australian importer asked the winemaker at Bodegas Exopto in Rioja—a Frenchman named Tom Puyaubert—to produce a rosé for Australia. Mr. Puyaubert had a vineyard, planted to Garnacha, that was a bit too cool to produce a fully ripe red but ideal for making a rosé. The result, the 2016 Bozeto de Exopto Rosado, was such a hit that Mr. Puyaubert began bottling more and selling it abroad.

According to Ana Fabiano, the North American trade director of the Denominación de Origen Rioja (DOCa) and the author of "The Wine Region of Rioja," her group counsels Rioja's rosado producers to label their wines rosés, as that is "the universal market term," said Ms. Fabiano. (Spanish producers can use either or both words on labels; in

Rioja, they can also use "clarete" to indicate a particular kind of pale wine with an orange tinge.)

"Probably about 90% of the rosés from Spain are made in Rioja," Ms. Fabiano said. Other rosé-producing regions include neighboring Navarra, whose rosés tend to be more deeply colored—much like Basque Txakolina rosés, which range from light-red to frothy and pink.

I found a few attractive Txakolines, including a delicious if rather expensive sparkling Ameztoi "Hijo de Rubentis" Txakolina rosé (\$28) and a lively still one from the same producer (\$18), as well as a couple of rosé cavas. The Jaume Serra Cristalino rosé, a fun, fruity, dark-red sparkler, goes for a mere \$10.

Still, the majority of the wines I bought were from Rioja, in the requisite pale-salmon color. Some were made entirely from Garnacha or a blend of Tempranillo, Garnacha and the white grape Viura. One of my favorites, a wine I buy year after year, the soft and beguiling 2016 Muga Rioja Rosé (\$12), has the prescribed pale color—though it was not made in response to the market, said Muga's export director, David de la Fuente. Muga has been making this style "since the foundation of the winery in 1932."

The pale Rioja rosés were refreshing and bright, apart from a few rather simple, dilute ones. The more substantial Rioja rosés paired well with food. The cherry-colored 2016 Bodegas Ilurce Rio Madre Rioja Rosé (\$8), for instance, had a richer, fruitier profile that proved a boon to sausage cooked on the grill.

Those unsold bottles on the shelves notwithstanding, the larger picture is bright for Spanish rosés. More than 40 Rioja producers are selling rosés in this country today, compared to just 15 in 2014. At Gary's Wine, sales are up 100% over last year, said Mr. Visser. Is it thanks to their pale color, better packaging and low prices, or is it simply because they're a real pleasure to drink?

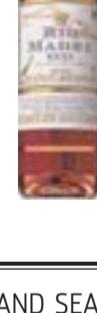
► Email Lettie at [wine@wsj.com](mailto:wine@wsj.com).

### OENOFILE // SPANISH ROSADOS, THE PALE AND BEYOND



#### 2016 Izadi Larrosa Rioja Rosé (\$12)

This all-Garnacha rosé is produced from a high-elevation old-vine vineyard in Rioja Álavesa. It's a delightfully floral and quite elegant rosé made in a "Provençal" style.



#### 2016 Bodegas Ilurce Rio Madre Rioja Rosé (\$8)

This full-bodied wine fairly bursts with aromas of red fruit—think cherries and strawberries. It looks almost like a red, and it drinks like one too. Made from the Graciano grape, it's the perfect rosé for grilled meat.



#### 2016 Muga Rioja Rosé (\$12)

This rosé debuted in 1932 and has been a mainstay in the American market since 1992. Made from a blend of Tempranillo, Garnacha and Viura, it's a soft, elegant, marvelously versatile wine—and a very good deal.



#### 2016 Bozeto de Exopto Rosado (\$18)

Made from equal parts Tempranillo and Garnacha, this pale-salmon-colored rosé is a compulsively drinkable wine marked by wild-berry aromas and a crisp, mineral finish.



#### 2016 Antxiola Rosado (\$18)

This is only the third vintage of a rosé from Txakoli producer Bodegas Zudugarai in the Basque region of Spain. Made from the native Hondarribia Beltza grape, it's soft and joyously juicy with a touch of effervescence.

### SLOW FOOD FAST SATISFYING AND SEASONAL FOOD IN ABOUT 30 MINUTES

## The Simplest Salade Niçoise



The Chef  
Günter Seeger

His Restaurant  
Günter Seeger in  
New York City

What He's  
Known For  
Precisely executed,  
elegant cooking  
that favors excellent  
ingredients and  
attention to detail  
over flourishes

**GROWING UP** in rural Germany, Günter Seeger learned the value of good ingredients. "My family owned a large produce business," he said. "Knowing the seasons and smells was our business." It clearly shaped the way he cooks.

Take this salade Niçoise, Mr. Seeger's third Slow Food Fast contribution, a plateful of seasonal bounty. The tomatoes, snappy green beans and hunks of potato become a substantial meal with the addition of soft-boiled eggs and flaky tuna.

Juicy, truly ripe tomatoes are a must here. If you can't find them this early in the season, swap in good cherry tomatoes.

When salted, either type will release its juices to bring the salad bright acidity. Add the potatoes and the green beans while they're still hot so the dressing fully penetrates. Cook the egg just long enough so its yolk remains soft and jammy.

Mr. Seeger doesn't mince words when it comes to low-grade canned tuna. "It's the worst of the worst," he said. Instead, use fillets jarred in olive oil. "It should have a clean, almost sweet flavor," he said.

Easy and uncluttered, this recipe lets that flavor shine. "This is as simple as it gets," said Mr. Seeger. "With a glass of rosé, it is summer." —Kitty Greenwald

TOTAL TIME: 20 minutes SERVES: 4

**8 new potatoes**

**2 ripe tomatoes, diced**

**Salt and freshly ground black pepper**

**1/4 cup olive oil, plus more**

**for seasoning**

**1 pound French green beans, cut into bite-size pieces**

**1/2 cup pitted Niçoise olives**

**4 eggs**

**8 ounces olive-oil-packed tuna, drained and flaked into large pieces**

**Juice of 1/2 lemon**

**1.** Bring a medium pot of salted water to a boil over high heat. Add potatoes and boil until fork-tender, about 15 minutes. Meanwhile, place tomatoes in a large bowl and season with a generous pinch of salt.

**2.** Once potatoes are cooked, use a slotted spoon to remove them from pot, keeping water on the boil. Pat potatoes dry, then cut into bite-size pieces and season with salt. Stir oil into tomatoes. Gently fold in potatoes to coat in tomato juices.

**3.** Add beans to boiling water and blanch until bright green and crisp-tender, about 2 min-

utes. Use a slotted spoon to transfer beans to a colander, keeping water on the boil. Rinse beans under cold water, then toss dry. Fold beans and olives into potato-tomato mixture.

**4.** Lower eggs into boiling water and boil until yolks are just fudgy at center, 8 minutes. Remove eggs and run under cold water to halt cooking. Peel eggs.

**5.** Gently toss vegetables with lemon juice to taste. Add more oil or salt, as needed.

**6.** To serve, top vegetables with tuna. Halve eggs and sprinkle with salt. Nestle eggs into salad. Drizzle with oil and serve.



**CHILL OUT** Remove the boiled eggs from the pot after exactly 8 minutes and immediately run under cold water. You want that bright-yellow, fudgy yolk.

## EATING & DRINKING

# A Grown-Up Guide to Fast-Fine

Two non-millennials navigate a dawning dining trend: dialed-back service with haute expectations

BY JANE BLACK

**M**Y DAD does not have bad taste in restaurants—far from it. But even he will admit he's a little old fashioned. He likes his dining rooms quiet and the service leisurely. The response to his order of a gimlet should be, “Yes, of course,” not a series of follow-up questions about newfangled brands of gin. For Dad, the food matters, but dining out is more about the occasion, the experience of sitting down and enjoying the meal.

Which makes my father both the best and the worst person I could have invited to Made Nice, in Manhattan, the new “fast-fine” restaurant from Will Guidara and Daniel Humm. The pair has pedigree: Their flagship, Eleven Madison Park, widely celebrated for cosseting its customers, won the number one spot on this year’s World’s 50 Best Restaurants list, the influential annual ranking published by UK-based William Reed Media Group. In contrast, the service at Made Nice is purposefully quick, and the ambience is decidedly casual (read: noisy).

The food is on trend, though thankfully not “vegetable-forward,” a buzzword that would send Dad’s eyes rolling dangerously far into the back of his head.

“This food is too good for a place like this,” Dad said. “It deserves to be appreciated.”

This is not just a tale of a pushy food writer and her father. It is a story that plays out over and over as long-held notions of what it means to dine out are challenged by a new breed of restaurants. Called “fast-fine” or “fine-casual”—no one in the industry can even agree on the jargon—these places are a hybrid of the assembly-line fast-casual format pioneered by Chipotle and the traditional fine-dining restaurant, where waiters deliver artfully arranged plates to your table.

Service models vary, but at most fast-fine restaurants you order at a counter, then waiters bring the food to your table and let you order more drinks or dessert without queuing up again. So it goes at Souvla, Barzotto and Corridor in San Francisco; Destroyer and burgeoning franchise Midici in Los Angeles; and Chop Shop in Denver.

The concept is shaped by mighty cultural and economic winds. Millennials crave value but demand sophisticated flavors, too, while restaurants seek to balance labor costs driven up by rising minimum wages and health-care costs.

Dad and I arrived at Made Nice at 1:10 p.m., soon after its April 24 opening, and saw a line stretching out the door. The customers in front of us were hunched over their cellphones checking the menu; at a table nearby, another was eagerly photographing a dish of a daffodil-colored cauliflower curry. “I’m the oldest person here by 40 years,” Dad shouted over the din. Then, looking at me, he conceded: “Well, at least 27 years.”

As we approached the front of the line, an open kitchen showcasing the restaurant’s

main selling point—the top-level culinary talent and technique behind its dishes—came into view. An affable young woman with an iPad took our order. Five minutes later, they called our name, and we carried our dishes from the counter to a table. Our food came chickly presented on what looked like slate trays (they are actually made out of old skateboards); our servings of New York state-made Cabernet Franc came in rather elegant but plastic tumblers. Dad tried the confit pork (\$14), surrounded by a wreath of salad greens and orange and purple carrots, followed by that emphatically Instagrammable cauliflower curry (\$11). “This food is too good for a place like this,” Dad said. “It deserves to be appreciated.”

The same features that cause my father to raise an eyebrow appeal to 20- and 30-somethings, who eat out, research shows, once, sometimes twice a day. At fast-fine restaurants, you get a proper meal, made to order, that allows you to sit down, briefly, then get back to work. The menus are modern and generally healthy-ish.

Will Guidara, who is 37, said Made Nice represents his attempt to create the restaurant he would want to go to every day: “My life is not one where I can sit down [for long], especially during the day. What that means is that a few times a week I eat well and the rest of the time it’s salads or burgers or tacos. This is our way of saying you can have restaurant-quality food without having to linger.”

The goal’s the same at Barzotto in San Francisco’s Mission. Diners order big bowls of pasta ranging from \$10 (paccheri with pecorino and black pepper) to \$17 (pappardelle with braised beef, mushrooms and Parmesan). Compare that to much-lauded full-service SPQR over in Pacific Heights, where a plate of bucatini with blue cheese, walnut, kale and brown butter goes for an eye-popping \$31.

At L.A.’s Destroyer, a \$13 plate of rice porridge, caramelized broccoli and puffed rice looks like a work of art, but the set-up and no-reservations policy require guests to jockey for the rickety tables. Service, comfort and—especially important to Angelenos—parking are all sacrificed to offer extraordianary food for an affordable price.

To date, millennials have favored fast-casual restaurants; 67% of them eat at them at least once a week compared to 59% of Gen-Xers and 45% of baby boomers, according to research firm Technomic. But fast-fine is “going to hit an all-new sweet spot,” said Eve Turow, author of “A Taste of Generation Yum: How the Millennial Generation’s Love for Organic Fare, Celebrity Chefs and Microbrews Will Make or Break the Future of Food.” To this younger demographic, she added, “it feels like an attainable, rational indulgence.”

Meanwhile, major cities have seen a recent spate of high-profile, fine-dining closings: Annisa and Da Silvano in New York; Bon Marché and Volta in San Francisco. The economics, restaurateurs say, no longer work. Rents are astronomical and minimum wages are gradually edging up to \$15 an hour. This means that the lowest-paid employee will get \$15 while managers are paid as much as \$30 per hour. To cover those costs, restaurants will have to raise prices. And there are only so



### HAVE IT YOUR WAY // A TAXONOMY OF CONTEMPORARY DINING



#### FAST FOOD

- The original grab and go; emphasis on crowd-pleasing fare (burgers, fried chicken) at low prices.  
Think Chipotle, Sweetgreen, Chop’t.

Your Server Cashier.

#### Your Server Disembodied voice at the drive-through.



#### FAST-CASUAL

Food made to order,

usually on an assembly line, at the customer’s direction.

Think Chipotle, Sweetgreen, Chop’t.

Your Server Cashier.

FAST-FINE or fine-casual. Composed dishes like those in a full-service setting, picked up at a counter. Booze usually offered.

Think Made Nice, Barzotto, Souvla.

Your Server Greeter with an iPad.



#### CASUAL DINING

Full-service restaurants with little pretension but the full slate of hosts, servers, cooks and bar staff. Includes chic independent eateries as well as national chains.

Think Momofuku Noodle Bar (New York), Delphina (San Francisco), Applebees and TGI Fridays (nationwide).

Your Server Waiter who takes order, brings food and bill to table; may or may not be waiting tables to support

an incipient screenwriting career.

**FINE DINING** Special-occasion destinations with scrupulous service—waiters, sommeliers, captains—and gourmet food served in high style. There is generally an unwritten but formal dress code.

Think Eleven Madison Park (New York), French Laundry (Yountville, Calif.), Alinea (Chicago).

Your Server Career professional trained in the arts of hospitality and wine service.

many people who are willing to shell out \$18 for a green salad and \$6 for an after-dinner cup of coffee.

For Charles Billiles, CEO of San Francisco fast-fine chainlet Souvla, the question was, “How do we operate a profitable business in a very challenging environment?” The number-one way: Reduce staff. From outside, Souvla looks a lot like a standard sit-down restaurant. There is no oversize menu board, no line of trash cans where guests bus their own plates. The food, a mix of rotisserie meats and vegetables, is served on sleek white-and-blue enamel

trays, while the all-Greek wines are poured into elegant stemware. Each evening candles are lit on every table.

But Souvla has no hostess, no sommelier and fewer servers than even a casual-dining restaurant. Its first location, a 42-seat space in Hayes Valley, serves, on average, 400 meals per service between sit-down, takeout and delivery, and has only two food runners delivering meals to tables. (A full-service restaurant of comparable size might be able to sell 100 meals in the same period, with a staff of about eight.) Mr. Billiles estimates his labor costs are as much as 15%

lower than a traditional restaurant’s, even though he provides medical benefits, paid vacation and a 401(k) plan to his 125 employees.

“You’ll see more and more of this out of need in expensive cities, and it will proliferate across the country,” said Mr. Billiles. “I firmly believe this is how people want to eat in 2017. They want quality, but they don’t want to pay an arm and a leg for it.”

At Made Nice, my father grasped this argument, though I could tell it challenged everything he believes about dining out. An artful bowl of porridge like those at

Destroyer was not something he’d want for breakfast, or maybe ever. But he couldn’t deny the appeal of paying just a few bucks more than you would for a sandwich for a chef-worthy meal.

In some quarters, change comes slowly. For my birthday last month, Dad took me to one of his favorite restaurants, La Chaumi  re, in Washington, D.C. At his urging, I ordered the Grand Marnier souff  , tall and golden brown. The solicitous waiter presented it with a flourish. It isn’t how I want to eat most of the time. But more than ever, it felt like a special occasion.

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## DESIGN & DECORATING

# OVER THE PAPER MOON



**ASIA MAJOR**  
An oriental theme unifies the wallcoverings in the hallway of London designer Solange Azagury-Partridge's country home.

Continued from page D1

measured neutrality of recent decades. "Mixing wallpapers, especially motifs with different patterns and scales, creates a chic 'jewelry box' look," said Kirill Istomin, based in Moscow and New York.

With this grand gesture, you can update a room. "You have to bring visual texture to a space," said Mr. Thomas, and a maximalist duet of wallpapers is one way. "Then you can keep the palette of fabrics simple and create a successful space."

The new, vast selection of papers is energizing designers, said industry veteran Dennis Shah, president of Studio Printworks in Hoboken, N.J. His company creates handmade papers via centuries-old processes such as block and screen printing, but he has also invested in digital printers, which can produce giant seamless panels, scale designs up and down to fit any wall and achieve effects not possible with analog methods, such as subtle watercolor-esque gradations and razor-sharp photorealism. With this flexibility, "designers are excited, unusual ideas are coming to fruition and rules are being broken," said Mr. Shah.

Indeed, powered in part by the ease of browsing and purchasing online, the wallcoverings industry is bouncing back after decades in the doldrums, said P.J. Delaye, president of York Wallcoverings in York, Penn., the largest U.S. manufacturer. His firm has seen wallcovering sales increase 6% over each of the past five years.

Over the same five years, a 27% jump in wallpaper sales to the hospitality and commercial realms (where trends that spread to homes typically surface) "speaks to where the residential market is going," said Matt Bruno, head of the Wallcoverings Association.

The cautiously curious might mix papers by sticking to one print in two colorways, said Farrow & Ball head of creative Charlotte Crosby: "You maintain the pattern but flex a bit with color." In the London living room shown here, she paired the coral and gray versions of her firm's Hornbeam print. Papered entirely in coral, the room might have overwhelmed, she said, but restricting the coral to underneath the chair rail "grounds the space."

Braver souls can choose two or more patterns that share a color scheme. In his small TV room, also shown here, Martyn Lawrence Bullard of Los Angeles stuck to gray palettes, covering the walls with a Moorish geometric print and the ceiling with a striped pattern that



**PATTERN PLAY** Martyn Lawrence Bullard adhered to black and gray on the walls of his Los Angeles den, above, while two colorways of a Farrow & Ball paper enliven a London living room.



mimics the look of Bedouin tents (both options come from his eponymous to-the-trade line). As a finishing touch, he bordered the two papers with black gift wrap. "It's like a Moroccan womb," he said.

The truly intrepid can take a third tack: outfitting a room with two or more disparate wallcoverings in a wide range of patterns and hues that hang together thematically. Designer Solange Azagury-

Partridge nailed this approach in her polychrome English country home. The key to working with seemingly chaotic mixes, she noted, lies in choosing papers with similar stylistic influences (all 1960s modern, for example). In her bedecked bedroom and its adjoining hallway, shown here, the walls all speak with an Asian inflection; she combined a wallpaper printed with a bamboo-trellis design and ornate chinoiserie fabrics found on eBay. Repeated notes of orange-red and citron also help the surfaces feel unified—and entrancing. "Sometimes when I'm supposed to be watching television, I'll just be looking at the wallpaper," Ms. Azagury-Partridge said.

So how does the design fan who's barely warmed to the idea of pattern on the wall navigate the options? Draw on this field guide to the flora, fauna and wild cards of the wallcovering world, with tips on how to master mixing.



**A**  
**IS FOR ART DECO**  
You can get this jazzy design—based on a 1930s French pattern—scaled up or down, or color customized, then printed on matte paper or vinyl. Geometric Art Deco, from \$15 per square foot, [rollout.ca](http://rollout.ca)



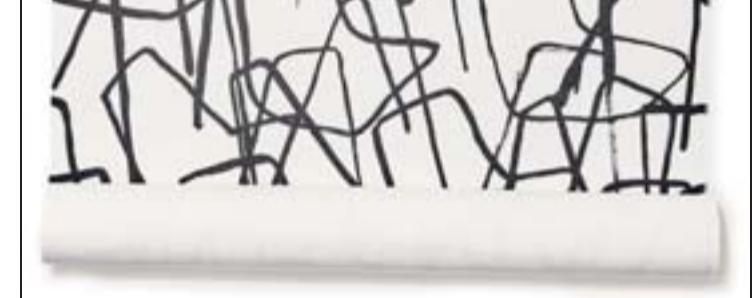
**F**  
**IS FOR FLORAL**

New York designer Anne Maxwell Foster recommends using bold florals—like this charming, hand-screened example by 20th-century Swedish designer Josef Frank—"as a starting point for the color scheme for a whole house." Exotic Butterfly in Multi, from \$588 per 4.5-yard roll, [fschumacher.com](http://fschumacher.com)



**G**  
**IS FOR GEOMETRIC**

Brooklyn's Callidus Guild builds layers of marble-dust plaster on a paper ground to create a bas-relief, then waxes, compresses and burnishes it. At once opulent and quiet, the resulting wall covering suits minimalists contemplating a move away from stark walls. Folded Origami, \$304 per yard, [callidusguild.com](http://callidusguild.com)



**L**  
**IS FOR LINEAR**

Ultrabold graphics pair well with organically shaped furnishings and natural surfaces, said Denver designer Andrea Schumacher. This blur of wiry chairs is achieved via a traditional gravure method, in which a metal cylinder engraved with a design is rolled onto paper. Cadires 1991-1 by Tres Tintas Barcelona, \$100 per 11-yard roll, [newwall.com](http://newwall.com)



**Q**  
**IS FOR QUIRKY**

For a tongue-in-cheek statement in a tiny urban kitchen, consider New York artist Sparrow King's reimagining of traditional Dutch Delft tile. Appropriately titled "New Amsterdam," it features quintessential sights of New York City, from dog walkers to straphangers. \$250 per 5-yard roll, [studioprintworks.com](http://studioprintworks.com)



**V**  
**IS FOR VESSEL**

For decades, Manhattan's Clarence House has produced this print, a riot of Chinese vases, but now offers it in 26 colorways. The original pattern came from influential British designer David Hicks, a 1960s-era maestro known for statement-making graphics and audacious color combos. The Vase, \$221 per 5-yard roll, [clarencehouse.com](http://clarencehouse.com)



**W**  
**IS FOR WILLIAM MORRIS**

House of Hackney's dynamic reinterpretation of a floral pattern by William Morris, the pioneer of the English Arts and Crafts movement, is digitally printed on paper or, for an extra Anglo touch, on 100% British velvet. Artemis Wallpaper, \$187 per 4 square meters, [houseofhackney.com](http://houseofhackney.com)

## WINNING COMBINATIONS // HOW TO CREATE AN

### K + N



### CAPITALIZE ON A COMMON THEME

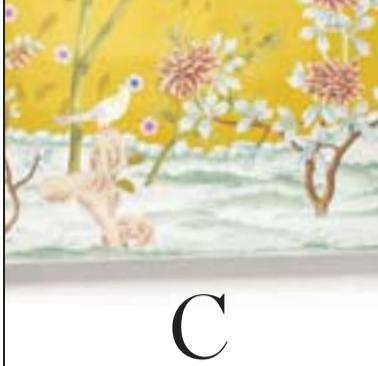
The Satori kintsugi wallpaper and the National Gallery's portrait print speak to each other in hushed tones about the hand of the artist, and the woman's skin picks up the Satori's peachy hues. "I would install the portrait paper at the end of a long hallway with the side walls washed in the softness and shimmer of the kintsugi," said Boston designer Melissa Hammond.

## DESIGN & DECORATING

**B**

### IS FOR BLOCK PRINT

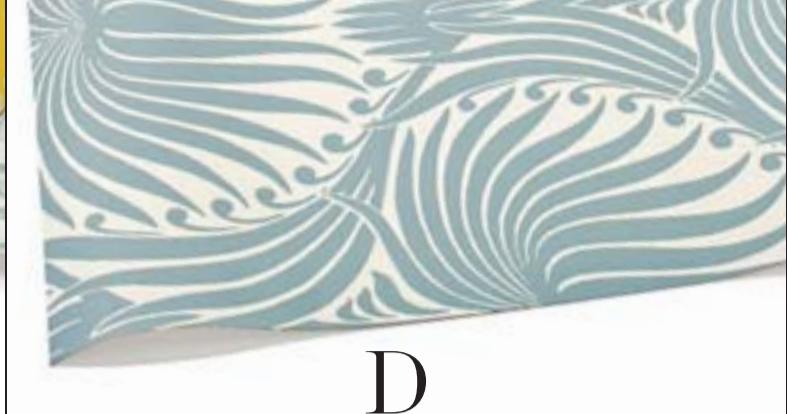
Painstakingly hand-blocked in Connecticut, this spiral motif is derived from Japanese Neolithic pottery circa 2000 BC. The design is monochromatic but interesting, in deep colors such as ink blue and eggplant. Renju, from \$120 per yard, [adrienneneff.com](http://adrienneneff.com)



**C**

### IS FOR CHINOISERIE

Sumptuous Asian-themed nature scenes have a distinct elegance, said Los Angeles designer Mark Sikes. This restrained mural features hand-painting and -embroidery on paper-backed silk. Paradiso Chinoserie, \$885 per yard, [fromental.co.uk](http://fromental.co.uk)



**D**

### IS FOR DAMASK

A textile with woven-in patterns, damask was first loomed in medieval France and Italy, then later used to upholster walls. Charleston designer Betsy Berry recently papered a room in light and dark violet versions of Farrow & Ball's damask-informed Lotus print for "a youthful twist on that classic pattern," she said.

Lotus, \$265 per 10-meter roll, [us.farrow-ball.com](http://us.farrow-ball.com)

**E**

### IS FOR EMBROIDERED

In a screen-swiping society, 3-D materials appeal, said Jonsara Ruth, professor of interior design at Parsons School of Design. For her, the semicircles in Custhom's digitally embroidered Arc paper hark back to "something more connected to history and physicality." \$249 per 5.5-meter roll, [custhom.co.uk](http://custhom.co.uk)



**H**

### IS FOR HAND-PAINTED

Usually carried out in much more traditional modes (see "C is for Chinoiserie"), hand-painting loosens up on this drippy, non-repeating wallpaper from Porter Teleo, a partnership between artist Kelly Porter and interior designer Bridgett Turner. Brushing highly pigmented inks onto handmade Japanese paper, the makers turn out eye-popping large-scale abstract florals—perfect for homeowners with nonexistent art collections.

Floral Graffiti from \$190 per yard, [porterteleo.com](http://porterteleo.com)



**I**

### IS FOR IMPERFECT

Flavor Paper's Galapagos Wall mural offers a slice of hipster history. The non-repeating image of a wall-sooty concrete and all—from renowned Brooklyn performance hall and nightclub Galapagos Art Space (1995–2014), can be scaled and cropped to fit any area. From \$9 per square foot, [flavorpaper.com](http://flavorpaper.com)



**J**

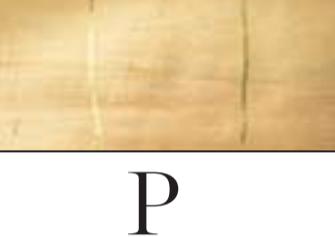
### IS FOR JUTE

Jute, often seen in rug form, climbs the walls in Arte International's Align pattern. This patchwork of jute rectangles on a foil base is available in five color schemes. "A fabric paper gives you a look of an upholstered wall, but the cost isn't too great," said Boston designer Melissa Hammond. "And it adds depth and texture that paint can't mimic." \$95 per yard, [arte-international.com](http://arte-international.com)

**K**

### IS FOR KINTSUGI

Inspired by kintsugi, a 500-year-old Japanese technique in which broken pottery is repaired with metallic lacquer, the Satori non-repeating paper is quietly marbled. "Muted tones are amenable to a space you would actually want to inhabit," said Rhode Island School of Design's Martin Smick, who teaches wallpaper as art. \$54 per square foot, [calicowallpaper.com](http://calicowallpaper.com)



**M**

### IS FOR METALLIC

Glitz kicks up controversy in the design world. Some pros find it cheesy, others love the light it adds. This chinoiserie-inspired paper—a sophisticated, non-repeating mural of three panels—may satisfy both camps. Beaujeu Metallic Paper by Aerin, \$1,990 per 108-inch-square mural, [leejofa.com](http://leejofa.com)



**N**  
IS FOR NATIONAL GALLERY

From misty Dutch landscapes to muscular Michelangelo nudes, any painting in the collection of London's National Gallery can be scaled to any size and digitally printed on vinyl—as a mural or a repeating pattern—by the British décor firm Andrew Martin. Selected and hung with care, and paired with furnishings that take their cues from the artist's palette, this daring decorating move meshes technology and tradition.

Andrew Martin x Kravet National Gallery Collection, \$260 per square yard, NY Design Center, 212-679-9500x19



**O**

### IS FOR ORIGAMI

The work of British artist and designer Tracey Tubb revels in wrinkles—usually anathema in the world of wallpaper. In her Folded Origami series, she crimps, pleats and stitches coated paper to form intricate textured panels. From \$500 per square meter, [traceytubb.co.uk](http://traceytubb.co.uk)



**R**

### IS FOR REMOVABLE

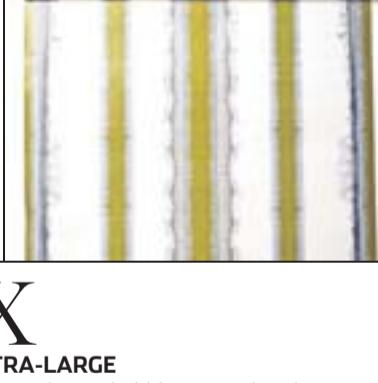
Evoking the irregularities and intricacy of hand stitching, Cross-hatch removable peel-and-stick fabric could dress up an entire room or line drawers where, said Ms. Berry, "small-scale prints add a custom touch and an element of surprise." \$40 per 2-by-4-foot panel, [chasingpaper.com](http://chasingpaper.com)



**S**

### IS FOR STRIPED

Per its designers at innovative U.K. firm Timorous Beasties, digitally printed Blotch Stripe paper "recontextualizes the blunder" with its witty faux water-staining. \$232 per 10-meter roll, [timorous-beasties.com](http://timorous-beasties.com)



**T**

### IS FOR TACTILE

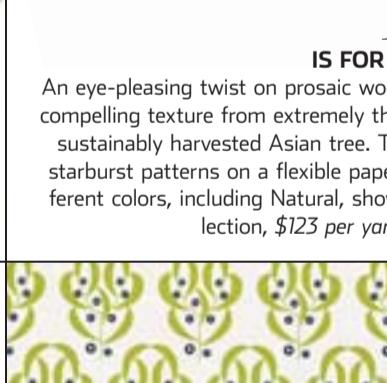
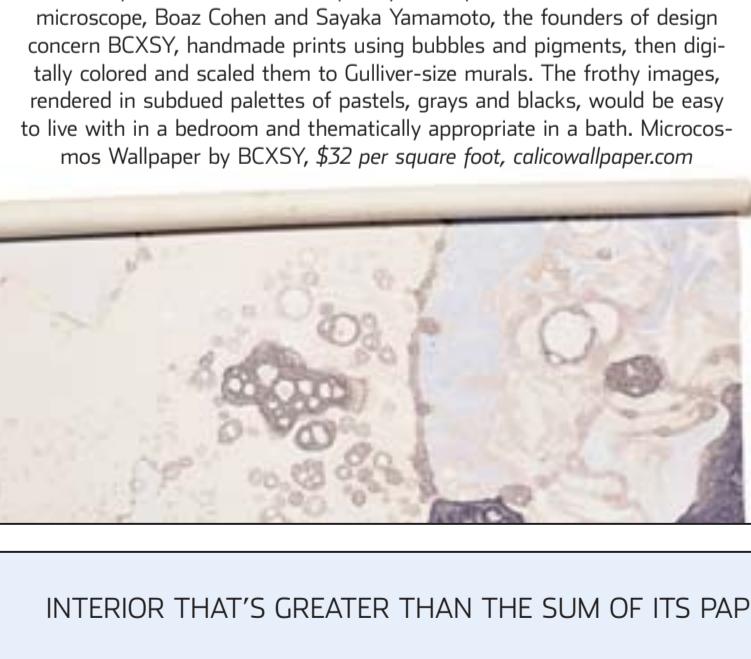
An eye-pleasing twist on prosaic wood paneling, this wallcovering gains its compelling texture from extremely thin strips of Paulownia, a fast-growing, sustainably harvested Asian tree. The wood-veneere strips are applied in starburst patterns on a flexible paper backing, then stained one of 15 different colors, including Natural, shown here. Sunburst from the Ajiro Collection, \$123 per yard, [mayaromanoff.com](http://mayaromanoff.com)



**X**

### IS FOR XTRA-LARGE

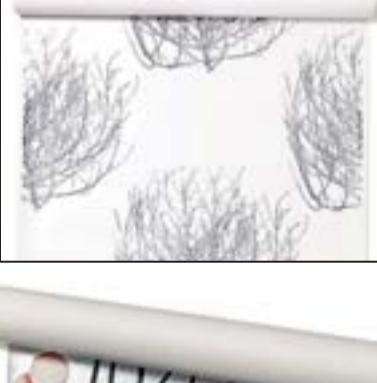
Struck by the universe-like complexity of soap bubbles viewed under a microscope, Boaz Cohen and Sayaka Yamamoto, the founders of design concern BCXSY, handmade prints using bubbles and pigments, then digitally colored and scaled them to Gulliver-size murals. The frothy images, rendered in subdued palettes of pastels, grays and blacks, would be easy to live with in a bedroom and thematically appropriate in a bath. Microcosmos Wallpaper by BCXSY, \$32 per square foot, [calicowallpaper.com](http://calicowallpaper.com)



**Z**

### IS FOR ZOOLOGY

"In a smaller room, don't be afraid to be very bold," suggested Ms. Hammond. A playful choice for such a space would be this almost-manic monkey print, inspired by a textile scrap from the 1920s and created by venerated London wallcoverings firm de Gournay. Hand-painted on sterling-silver-gilded paper, it could turn a blah bathroom into the glammest show on earth. Deco Monkeys, \$328 per yard, [degournay.com](http://degournay.com)



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Market Editor:  
Kelly Michèle Guerotto

## INTERIOR THAT'S GREATER THAN THE SUM OF ITS PAPERS

**M + J**

### LIMIT YOUR PALETTE

An easy path to a pleasing match: Hew to a single color scheme. For Charleston designer Betsy Berry, the warm whites and creams in Aerin for Lee Jofa's Beaujeu Metallic Paper (far left) and the palest colorway of Arte International's Align pattern blend comfortably, the overall effect being "elegance with an organic touch."



**G + Z**

### TURN UP THE CONTRAST

Dark versus bright, serene versus energetic: The right angles of Callidus Guild's geometric paper (far left) contrast with the curves and droops of the de Gournay print (here, in Terracotta), but the two designs share warm tones. They "feed off each other beautifully," said Mitchell Hill, a Charleston designer, who pictures the combo in a library or breakfast room.



**S + S**

### CUT AND PASTE

Get the lively mixmaster effect with a single wallpaper by hanging it both horizontally and vertically. This works best with lines (such as Timorous Beasties's Blotch Stripe), noted New York designer Richard Mishan, who called the look "a DIY Sol LeWitt," referring to the 20th- and 21st-century American artist who famously juxtaposed graphic patterns.

## GEAR & GADGETS

RUMBLE SEAT DAN NEIL



# Le Mans: A Race for the Future of the Automobile

**IN MY OPINION**, 99% of motor-sports competition is a pointless, brainless waste of time and gasoline. Drag racing is for morons and children, with a lot of Venn overlap between. Formula One is so numbing you could pierce my ears during the simulcast and I'd never know.

Le Mans is the 1%. The 24 Hours of Le Mans (this year, June 17-18) is the world's oldest endurance road-racing event, first staged in 1923 by the Automobile Club de l'Ouest (ACO) in the Sarthe department of central France. The modernized, 8.47-mile circuit combines sections of public roads—running through the villages of Arnage and Mulsanne—with geologically scaled features such as the mighty Indianapolis curves, through which the elite prototype cars stream at 180 mph, even at night, headlights slashing the darkness, apparitions cloaked in Doppler-warped roar. This is a landscape of giants.

Unlike Nascar—a lame and noisy ruse to sell chicken wings—the 24 Hours of Le Mans still means something. Using the world's most prestigious race as leverage, the ACO has required competing auto makers to lower consumption and invest in propulsion technology that might benefit a wider world. For example, some top-class Le Mans hybrid prototypes (LMP1's) have used lithium-ion batteries to store energy, while others have experimented with flywheels and supercapacitors.

Consider the anatomy of last year's winner, the Porsche 919 Hybrid: a 2.0-liter, turbocharged V4 gas engine (500 hp) combined with huge electric power in front (400 hp) and two separate systems to recuperate energy: regenerative braking and exhaust gas turbines, both charging the lithium-ion battery. The LMP1 cars are allowed 8 megajoules (2.2 kWh) of energy-recovery per lap.

However imperfect an instrument, the ACO's rules have gotten results. Last year's winning 919 Hybrid delivered about double the efficiency of Porsche's own Le Mans-winning GT1 of 1998; and the 919 covered hundreds of more miles in the process.

Beneath my romantic exterior, I



GETTY IMAGES

am a bitter cynic. I know international endurance racing is a business proposition, driven by global auto makers' money and marketing needs. Toyota, Porsche, Chevrolet Corvette come to Le Mans to sell cars. The ACO isn't exactly Unicef, either.

But once the *tricolore* flag drops at 15h00 local time, nothing of the mercantile and pecuniary matters. Over the next 24 hours, the good and the wicked are betrayed equally. That is Le Mans' teachable moment. As French philosopher Michel Foucault observed, human reality is teased out only in the fraying of extreme experience. Or as I like to say, racing proves there is no God.

Just ask Toyota. On a brilliant Sunday afternoon one year ago, the #5 Toyota prototype sports car,

driven by Kazuki Nakajima, was leading the race with six minutes to go, comfortably ahead of the pursuing Porsche 919, which had made a late stop for tires. Scripts had been loaded into the teleprompters; champagne was chilling in the garage; victory hats waited in boxes. The Japanese flag had already been moved to the winner's rostrum.

It's fair to say that everyone—friend and foe, even team members of Porsche—would have been happy to see the Japanese giant win, finally—a mood of *Please, put us out of your misery*. In 18 appearances on motorsports' biggest stage, and after spending the hundreds of millions of dollars required to develop spaceshiplike prototypes, Toyota had placed second on four previous occasions, each an abyss of regret for team and company. Now victory was at hand.

The last few minutes of a 24-hour endurance race are surreal anyway, as a whole day and night of heroic effort and purpose, armies of men and machines, all the genius and folly that is global motorsports become consecrated in just a few telling minutes.

It's at this point that the Zen of Le Mans emerges. All the wheel-to-wheel combat you see, the dicing, the brake rotors glowing like jack-o'-lantern? It's an illusion. To win, a car must cover the most distance in the elapsed 24 hours. Period. For example, last year's 919 Hybrid completed 384 laps while putting 3,252 miles under its carbon keel. As far as timing and

scoring goes, cars might as well be alone on the track.

The #5 Toyota was about this solitary mission when, at 14:54 local time, Mr. Nakajima radioed that the car had lost engine power (investigators later determined a failure in the turbocharger plumbing). The hybrid streamliner suddenly slowed, limping around the vast track until, pitilessly, it stopped at the start/finish line, between the packed grandstands and Toyota's own garages, which were even then swelling with dignitaries and guests.

Unlike Nascar—a loud and noisy ruse to sell chicken wings—the 24 Hours of Le Mans still means something.

In the grandstands, flags stopped waving and horns grew quiet, as a couple-hundred thousand fans fell into a groan of bemused awe. Perhaps Kaz thought the race was over? Moments later the #2 Porsche 919 Hybrid that had chased the Toyota for six hours blasted past in a ruthless blur, on its way to Porsche's record 18th overall win.

As millions joined the broadcast, race commentators groped for words: *cruel, unimaginable, gutting*. Somehow, Toyota had managed to lose at Le Mans again from a position of dominating speed and limit-

**HEAT LIGHTNING** The Toyota No. 5 TS050 Hybrid at last year's 24 Hours of Le Mans endurance race. The 2017 race will take place June 17 to 18.



Toyota driver Kazuki Nakajima (wearing helmet, at right) after losing the lead in the Le Mans race last year.

### TECH ESSENTIALS

#### BRIAN FEE

The director of Pixar's 'Cars 3,' out next week, on the decline of Prius design and why a BIC is still his go-to pen

I draw with whatever I'm holding, and most of the time I'm holding a **BIC Cristal** ballpoint pen. There's not a person in the world who would say this is the best tool to create art with, but as a kid I was always drawing, and most of my drawings were done with a ballpoint pen borrowed from my mom's purse. Throughout my life, I've created most of my art with it.

I spent a lot of time auditioning artists and [considering] songs for "Cars 3" using **Spotify** and **Pandora**. I have an hour's drive between Pixar and my home, and I'll listen to songs and imagine the movie in my head. It led to a cover of a Tom Petty song that's in the movie.



I don't like stale air. I don't like stagnant air. There's something about moving air—it makes me happy on a cave-man level. At home, I use a retro-looking metal fan that's not actually retro [similar model from Hunter shown].



I am not what you would call a gamer by any stretch, but I purchased an **Xbox** years ago. Sometimes, problems come up during the workday that won't leave you alone when you get home; they're like voices in your head. The Xbox works very well when I need to quiet those voices. After everyone's in bed, I can visit a different world and exercise a different part of my brain.



I've got a reissued **Fender Japan '62 Custom Telecaster** [similar model shown] that I put through a **Fender Hot Rod Deluxe Lacquered Tweed amp**. I played it in the rockabilly band we used to have here at Pixar. When you set the amp so you get a clean note with a little bit of grit on the edges and add some Fender reverb, it's just heaven.

My first car was a used **1982 Oldsmobile Cutlass Supreme**. It was not in good shape, the dashboard was cracked and it had a funny smell. But to me, it was freedom.

Today I drive a **2009 Toyota Prius**. I prefer it visually to the new Priuses—I'm not a fan of where the design is going on these cars. They were never beautiful to start with and I think they're getting worse. It's been a good car. It has well over 150,000 miles on it. It's gotta last me until the Tesla Model 3 comes out. —Edited from an interview by Chris Kornelis