



LAUREN DECICCA/GETTY IMAGES

Thai military personnel delivered water pumps Friday as rescue plans continued for a soccer team trapped in the Tham Luang Cave.

Divers Describe Dangers in a Thai Cave Rescue

This article is by **Richard C. Paddock, Muktitta Suhartono and Mike Ives.**

THAM LUANG CAVE, Thailand — Just reaching 12 boys and their soccer coach trapped in a cave in northern Thailand required a six-hour underground journey that is grueling and treacherous even for the most experienced cave divers: swimming in pitch blackness and vicious currents, squeezing through two-foot-wide passages and climbing over boulders several stories high.

One veteran diver, a former Thai Navy SEAL, lost consciousness and died early Friday after placing spare tanks along the route. Meanwhile, oxygen is starting to run low in the remote cavern where the children have taken refuge.

Three of those in the cavern are reported by the authorities to be weakening, and despite a round-the-clock pumping operation, the threat remains that monsoon rains could push water levels in their precarious refuge even higher.

The initial euphoria in Thailand and around the world that all 13 people had been found alive has given way four days later to deep anxiety over the challenge of getting them out. The option of waiting months until seasonal floodwaters recede now seems less promising, but the practical problems of ferrying 12 children and one adult safely through a nearly three-mile maze of perils remain daunting, all the more so since

none of the children are said to be able to swim, much less use diving gear.

“When we found the boys, we thought that the boys would be able to survive in there for a long time,” the Thai Navy SEAL commander, Rear Adm. Arpakorn Yoongkaew, told reporters on Friday. “But now, things have changed. We have limited time. We have to work hard.”

The oxygen level in the boys’ cavern is about 15 percent and decreasing, he said, which is cause for concern: Below 16 percent can cause hypoxia, which in extreme cases can be fatal.

So the rescue effort has grown more urgent. On Thursday evening, rescuers began running a hose toward the cavern in hopes

Continued on Page A8

Amid Scandal In Ohio, Howls Of ‘Deep State’

By CATIE EDMONDSON

WASHINGTON — Representative Jim Jordan is facing the kind of slowly percolating scandal that would bring down other politicians in other times, as new accusers step forward by the day to say the wrestling coach turned politician was aware of sexual misconduct at Ohio State University but did nothing to stop it.

But like the man Mr. Jordan doggedly supports, President Trump, the Ohio Republican has the kind of stalwart supporters who do not lose faith easily, and they are already defending the conservative powerhouse, saying he is the victim of the same “deep state” conspirators — liberal bureaucrats embedded in the government — who are trying to bring down the president.

Mr. Jordan, a 54-year-old congressman in his sixth term, was defiant Friday night on Fox News, in his first extended response to the emerging charges. He disparaged some of the former college wrestlers who have come forward to say he knew of allegations that the team doctor, Richard H. Strauss, had fondled them. He said he could not explain why other more friendly wrestlers had leveled similar charges.

“I never saw, never heard of, never was told about any kind of abuse,” said Mr. Jordan, whose in-your-face brand of politics has made him the choice for speaker of the House by an array of conservative groups. “If I did I would have dealt with it. A good coach puts the interests of his student-athletes first.”

When the show’s host, Bret Baier, read a quotation by a former Ohio State wrestler and Ultimate Fighting Championship star, Mark Coleman, that Mr. Jordan would have to have dementia to

Continued on Page A14



TORU HANAI/REUTERS

Ousted Brazil Leaves Field to Europe

Brazil’s Fernandinho turned a corner kick into his own net, as Belgium moved to the World Cup semifinals against France, winners over Uruguay. Only European teams remain. Page D1.

‘Always Like the First Day of School’ for Detained Young Migrants

By DANA GOLDSTEIN and MANNY FERNANDEZ

Felicia Baez teaches English as a second language at a shelter in South Florida where anywhere from 30 to 100 migrant children in federal custody live at one time. Most stay about two months, but some leave after only a few days.

“It’s always like the first day of

school,” Ms. Baez said of the turnover at the shelter, His House Children’s Home, in the suburb of Miami Gardens. And the wide range of academic ability among her students — some haven’t been in a classroom in years, while others graduated from high school in their home countries — means she is constantly making adjustments.

These are just some of the chal-

lenges of educating the thousands of migrant children now housed in youth shelters and family detention centers across the country.

Federal law requires that all children on American soil receive a free public education, regardless of their immigration status. As the Trump administration expands the number of people detained at the border, shelters and detention facilities are ramping up their

roles as makeshift schools, teaching English and civics classes, offering cooking lessons and setting up field trips to art museums.

But according to lawyers and educators with firsthand knowledge of the child detention system, the education offered inside the facilities is uneven and, for some children, starkly inadequate.

Continued on Page A11

As Pruitt Fell, Allies in E.P.A. Were Leaving

A Deregulatory Mission Muddled by Scandals

This article is by **Lisa Friedman, Eric Lipton and Coral Davenport.**

WASHINGTON — Scott Pruitt came to Washington and assembled an extraordinary team of like-minded conservatives — lawyers, energy lobbyists, free-market Republicans and close allies from his days in Oklahoma. All were committed not only to Mr. Pruitt, but also to his stated mission to be a regulation-buster at the Environmental Protection Agency.

In little more than a year, most of them were gone, chased away by scandal or disillusionment over what they viewed as a loss of focus by a boss distracted by the trappings of power — building an elaborate security team, traveling first class, seeking special benefits for his family — who then blamed his own staff for the mistakes.

Mr. Pruitt’s fall from the E.P.A. is a story of his diminishing relationship with many of his closest loyalists. Instead of focusing on making history by reshaping American environmental policy, they found themselves not only defending their actions before investigators, but also calling out Mr. Pruitt in ways that exposed him to public scrutiny and ultimately led to his downfall.

Among them is Samantha Dravis, Mr. Pruitt’s former top policy chief, who resigned in April. During her tenure, Mr. Pruitt asked her to help with personal matters, like reviewing his apartment lease. Last week she sat on Capitol Hill being questioned by a congressional panel investigating whether Mr. Pruitt had asked her

Continued on Page A12

LOOPHOLE The E.P.A., on Scott Pruitt’s last day, gave a break to “glider” trucks that lack modern emissions controls. PAGE A12

Late Edition

Today, sunshine and partly cloudy, humid, high 79. Tonight, clear, low 65. Tomorrow, sunny to partly cloudy, low humidity, warm, high 84. Weather map appears on Page C8.

TRADE WAR RISES, AND TRUMP PLAN REMAINS A PUZZLE

PATH TO GOALS IS MURKY

Strong Economy Softens Tariffs’ Bite, but Not for Every Industry

By ANA SWANSON and NEIL IRWIN

WASHINGTON — The United States and China hit each other with punishing tariffs on Friday as the two nations tipped into a long-feared trade war that is only expected to escalate.

President Trump has said that trade wars are “easy to win.” Now, as he opens a global skirmish with allies and adversaries alike, the question is whether he has a plan to achieve the results he wants or whether he is heading into a costly and futile clash without resolution.

The president appears to be betting that threatening trading partners like China, the European Union, Mexico and Canada with tariffs will eventually force them to bend to the United States.

His strategy is being buoyed by a strong economy that gives Mr. Trump more latitude to impose tariffs that might otherwise pose too much risk. Job growth was strong in June, according to a new government report, as employers added 213,000 net new jobs and the unemployment rate rose as more people entered the labor market and began looking for work. Manufacturing job growth was particularly robust.

Those numbers are backward-looking, but there is little reason to think that the initial batch of tariffs will knock the entire economy off course. The \$34 billion worth of Chinese goods subject to tariffs, and an equivalent retaliation by China, is tiny compared with the \$20 trillion United States economy. Global stock markets largely

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DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez is trying to leverage her political fame.

A Shooting Star Tries to Carry Female Officeseekers Upward

By VIVIAN WANG

In the aftermath of her upset over Representative Joseph Crowley in the New York Democratic primary, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez made it clear that her campaign work was not done.

As she stood atop a table in a packed Bronx billiards hall to deliver her victory speech, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez — who by morning would be one of the most talked-about names in American politics — reeled off a list of other progressive candidates she said needed to be sent to Congress: Ayanna Pressley in Massachusetts, for example, or Cori Bush in Missouri.

By morning, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez had also trumpeted Ms. Bush and

Ms. Pressley to her fast-growing Twitter following. Within the week, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez had dispatched her volunteers to canvass for Cynthia Nixon, Zephyr Teachout and Julia Salazar, candidates for New York governor, attorney general and State Senate.

Ms. Pressley gained 5,000 Twitter followers in 24 hours. More than 120 volunteers have signed up for Ms. Teachout’s campaign this week. In the same period, Ms. Salazar has raised more than \$20,000.

“All my social media went nuts, my email went nuts, and donations took off exponentially,” said

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NATIONAL A10-15

Falling Behind on Reunions

Facing a court-imposed deadline, the government asked for more time to track down migrant children separated from their families. PAGE A11

Her Mother, Her Inspiration

Amy McGrath, a former Marine fighter pilot running for Congress in Kentucky, has been shaped by her mother’s struggles and successes. PAGE A10

Giuliani Sets Interview Terms

Robert S. Mueller III, the special counsel, most likely won’t agree to the demands, setting up the possibility of a subpoena for the president. PAGE A14



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Pompeo Visits North Korea

The secretary of state, right, is on his third trip to Pyongyang to hold talks on getting Kim Jong-un to disarm. PAGE A5

Europe’s Question of Borders

It raises the issue of nationalism, which the European Union has avoided — until now. The Interpreter. PAGE A7

BUSINESS DAY B1-5

Strong Economy, More Jobs

An economy drawing people back into the labor force added 213,000 jobs in June. PAGE B1

When She Earns More

Despite advances in gender dynamics over the last half-century, certain attitudes may endure when it comes to men, women and money. PAGE B1

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

Top Seeds Fall; No. 181 Endures

Serena Williams, ranked 181, advanced at Wimbledon on a day when two more top-ranked women lost. PAGE D6

NEW YORK A16-17, 20

Ex-Senate Leader Takes Stand

Dean G. Skelos, the former leader of New York’s State Senate, unexpectedly testified in his own defense during his retrial on corruption charges. PAGE A16

ARTS C1-7

Obsessed With ‘Love Island’

A reality show featuring young Brits hooking up and breaking up is drawing millions of British viewers and no small amount of finger-wagging. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Bret Stephens

PAGE A19

THIS WEEKEND




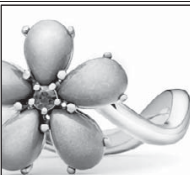
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Journalism on the Upbeat



OUR PHOTO OF THE WEEK
A pair of Teletubbies enjoy strawberries while courtside at the Wimbledon tennis championships.

The Week in Good News

Sometimes it seems as if we're living under a constant barrage of heavy news. But it isn't all bad out there. This feature is meant to send you into the weekend with a smile, or at least a lighter heart. Here are five great things we wrote about this week. **DES SHOE**

Dogs are hunting down a threat to bees. Honeybees are a vital work force in the food industry, pollinating about a third of America's crops. But highly infectious bacteria can decimate hives.

Send in the dogs! They're trained to sniff out bacteria and tell if any larvae have been killed before the hives are shipped away to help pollinate other farms.

Cybil Preston, the chief apiary inspector for the Maryland Department of Agriculture, and her Labrador retriever, Mack (whom she found living in a garage), inspected about 1,700 honeybee colonies last fall and winter. Four people working full time cover less than half of what Mack can. Ms. Preston recently received a grant to expand her program, which could serve as a model for other states.

Older, blind athletes competed in a boat race. They're called the Darkness Fighters. Their mantra is "Challenge the impossible."

They are Hong Kong's only visually impaired dragon boat team, and many of them are well past retirement age. Some are competing in an organized sport for the first time.

"It's hardest for newly blind people," said Lau Fat, 65, who lost his sight five years ago and has since learned Kung Fu and how to play an instrument. "They need to be convinced that they don't need to be home alone but should come out and do things."

Competing is an opportunity to avoid loneliness, to socialize and to exercise. The Fighters placed fifth of eight teams.

"We were all on point with our rhythms and didn't mess one another up," Mr. Lau said. "That alone is a win for us."

Children work with professional artists at a museum. "Art, Artists & You" at the Children's Museum in Manhattan is part gallery, part studio and part laboratory. It fosters interaction between artists and children: Work spaces for professional

artists from diverse backgrounds include stocked family studios, so children can work, too.

Yeon Ji Yoo, one of the artists, recalled that a little boy was shocked to see her tearing paper.

"He was like, 'What are you doing?' " she said. "Well, you can make artwork by ripping things up, too."

Benjamin Pavard wasn't expected to make France's team. He scored one of the best goals of the World Cup. Mr. Pavard's spectacular 20-yard shot against Argentina was all the more remarkable because no one saw it (or him) coming.

A little more than a year ago, the 22-year-old was playing in the German second division with Stuttgart. He was called up to France's national team in November, but he wasn't expected to make the World Cup roster. He certainly wasn't expected in the starting lineup.

But there he was. Since he scores so rarely, Pavard said he didn't know how to celebrate. He improvised well: sliding wide-eyed toward France's bench on his knees.

It may not be the end for the northern white rhinoceros. Sudan, the last male of the subspecies, died last spring. But Thomas Hildebrandt, a biologist, and his team used frozen sperm from northern white rhinos and eggs from closely related southern white rhinos to create hybrid embryos that could be implanted into surrogate mothers.

The achievement is a very early step toward resurrecting full-blooded northern white rhinos. The team hopes to see the first purebred born to a surrogate in three years, Dr. Hildebrandt said.

What would you like to see here? Email us at goodnews@nytimes.com. You can enjoy more of this feature at [nytimes.com/goodnews](https://www.nytimes.com/goodnews).

The Newspaper And Beyond

CORRECTIONS A20
CROSSWORD C3
OBITUARIES B6
OPINION A18-19
TV LISTINGS C7
WEATHER C8
CLASSIFIED ADS A17

VIDEO

Judges Amy Coney Barrett (below left), **Brett Kavanaugh** (below right) and **Raymond Kethledge** are among the frontrunners to replace Justice Anthony Kennedy. View some of their remarks on reproductive rights at [nytimes.com/video](https://www.nytimes.com/video).



LIST

To date, the Trump administration has sought to reverse more than 70 environmental rules, according to a Times analysis. See the continuously updated list at [nytimes.com/climate](https://www.nytimes.com/climate).



QUIZ

Who is Mexico's president-elect? Which country's government carried out a purge of its Supreme Court? Can you name the former refugee who composed "God Bless America"? Test your knowledge at [nytimes.com/newsquiz](https://www.nytimes.com/newsquiz).



AUDIO

On the Book Review podcast, Michael McFaul discusses "From Cold War to Hot Peace: An American Ambassador in Putin's Russia," and Ottesa Moshfegh talks about her new novel, "My Year of Rest and Relaxation." [nytimes.com/podcasts](https://www.nytimes.com/podcasts)



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Of Interest

NOTEWORTHY FACTS FROM TODAY’S PAPER

Earlier this year, a performance of the composer John Luther Adams’s outdoor work “Inuksuit” took place on both sides of the fence separating San Diego, Calif., from Tijuana, Mexico.

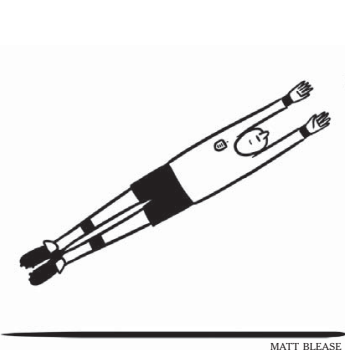
Merging the Sounds of Nature and Man C2

The 545 goods targeted by China for tariffs, which include beef, seafood, dairy and other farm goods, were chosen to hit President Trump’s supporters in the agricultural and industrial parts of the Midwest.

China Strikes Back on Tariffs, but Its Consumers Are Worried B1

South Africa is home to about 20,000 wild rhinos, more than 80 percent of the world’s population.

Men Seeking Rhino Horns Instead Find Hungry Lions A9



MATT BLEASE

In 2016, when the numbers reached their zenith, more than 62,000 people sought asylum in Germany on average every month. This year, that average has fallen to little more than 15,000 — the lowest since 2013.

A Man of the People or Germany’s Trump? A7

Half a century after the introduction of blind auditions, in which candidates are heard from behind a screen, women make up just over 47 percent of players in American ensembles.

Flutist Sues Orchestra Over Pay C1

Nearly a third of women who are married to or living with a man contribute at least half of the couple’s total earnings, according to a Pew Research Center survey last year.

When She Earns More B1

Most Soviet Union soccer teams were linked either to a governmental department or to a government-controlled industry. Dynamo Moscow was the sporting arm of the secret police, for example.

Heroes in the Gray Tones of Soviet History D2

The Conversation

FOUR OF THE MOST READ, SHARED AND DISCUSSED POSTS FROM ACROSS NYTIMES.COM

1. E.P.A. Chief Scott Pruitt Resigns Under a Cloud Of Ethics Scandals

A \$43,000 soundproof phone booth, \$1,500 in “tactical pants,” a \$3.5-million-a-year security detail and one used mattress request later, Mr. Pruitt has resigned his post at the Environmental Protection Agency. Among many public figures who shared the news on Facebook were the House Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi and Senator Jeff Merkley of Oregon.

2. Americans Are Having Fewer Babies. They Told Us Why.

This Upshot article about Americans’ decision not to have children — which, according to our survey’s respondents, can be chalked up largely to financial insecurity and the cost of child care — was particularly popular on Reddit.



BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

3. Thailand Cave Updates: Rescue Diver Dies, And Oxygen Is a Concern

This article’s headline has changed more than five times since Wednesday to reflect new updates in the case of the soccer team trapped in a Thailand cave.

4. The Secret Price of Pets

Peter Haldeman’s report on the financial lengths to which pet owners will go to maintain their pets’ appearances and well-being was Friday’s most emailed, for the second day in a row.

Spotlight

ADDITIONAL REPORTAGE AND REPORTEE FROM OUR JOURNALISTS

On Friday’s episode of The Daily, Annie Correal, a Metro reporter for The Times, shared with host Michael Barbaro what she learned while spending time with Yeni González, a migrant from Guatemala, on part of her journey to join her three children after more than five weeks apart after they were separated while trying to cross the border. Ms. Correal related some of the difficult conditions Ms. González described at the detention center in Eloy, Ariz., where she was held. A lightly edited excerpt follows.

Annie Correal They would only give them soup, this sort of runny soup, at 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. Sometimes she wouldn’t eat at all, and she couldn’t get the food down, and she would just take one or two spoonfuls as if it was medicine.

She said that they all slept very little, and they lost track of what time of day it was. They said the lights were always on, and sometimes they’d be startled to learn that it was 1 p.m. when they thought that it was the dead of night, and vice versa.

So they were living in this kind of perpetual twilight. Some of the mothers were fasting, as a sort of sacrifice or a way to supplicate so that God might have mercy on them and reunite them with their children.

She said that at the beginning, there had been children among them, and slowly, there were no children left. One detail she shared with me that I remembered is that when she couldn’t eat the soup anymore, she asked an agent or a guard if she could have a cookie or a cracker, and he said to her, ‘No, those are just for the children.’

And she felt that was a small cruelty, given that there were no children there anymore when he told her that.

Listen to the episode at [nytimes.com/thedaily](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily).

Sketchbook

INSECTS AND THE CITY

A new study suggests that bumblebees that live in London may be thriving, unlike their country cousins. Who else smells a sitcom?!



CHELSEA BECK

Quote of the Day

TRADE WAR RISES, AND TRUMP PLAN REMAINS A PUZZLE A1

“Trump is treating trade policy as though it were a real estate deal, where the goal is to beat your opponent, step on his throat and humiliate him.”

DANIEL IKENSON, the director of trade policy studies at the libertarian Cato Institute.

Here to Help

A RECIPE FOR CHEZ PANISSE’S BLUEBERRY COBBLER

This cobbler, which comes from the kitchens of Chez Panisse, prizes the berries above all, using only ½ cup of sugar. The dough rounds for the top are placed so they don’t cover all the berries, and the juice from the berries bubbles up around the dough. **MOLLY O’NEILL**

YIELD: 4 TO 6 SERVINGS
TIME: 1 HOUR 15 MINUTES

THE BERRIES

- 4½ cups fresh blueberries
- ⅓ cup sugar
- 1 tablespoon all-purpose flour

THE DOUGH

- 1½ cups all-purpose flour
- 1½ tablespoons sugar
- 2¼ teaspoons baking powder
- ½ teaspoon kosher salt
- ¾ cup heavy cream, plus additional for serving, if desired
- 6 tablespoons cold unsalted butter, cut into ½-inch pieces

- Heat the oven to 375 degrees. To prepare the berries, place in a bowl and toss with the sugar and flour. Set aside.
- To make the dough, mix the flour, salt, sugar and baking powder in a bowl. Cut in the butter until mixture resembles coarse meal. Add the cream and mix lightly, just until the dry ingredients are moistened.



CRAIG LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

- Put the blueberries in a 1 ½-quart gratin or baking dish. Make patties out of the dough, 2 to 2 ½ inches in diameter and ½-inch thick. Arrange them over the top of the berries. Bake until the topping is brown and the juices bubble thickly around it, about 35 to 40 minutes.

- Let cool slightly. Serve warm, with cream to pour on top, if desired.

For more recipes, visit [NYT Cooking](https://www.nytimes.com/nytcooking) at [nytcooking.com](https://www.nytimes.com/nytcooking).

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRETT GUNDLOCK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The recently renovated central square in Atlacomulco, in the state of Mexico, a longtime stronghold of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI.

ATLACOMULCO DISPATCH

Turning on a Town’s Identity to Elect New Leadership

By KIRK SEMPLE

ATLACOMULCO, Mexico — It’s in the names of streets and on some of the most prominent buildings. It’s embedded in the colorful murals that adorn the walls of city hall. It’s infused into the local history and lore. And most important, it’s reflected in the way the population has voted for decades.

For generations, the Institutional Revolutionary Party has been central to the identity of Atlacomulco.

The mostly rural municipality, about 50 miles northwest of Mexico City, is often called the cradle of the political party, known as the PRI, which has governed Mexico for most of the last century.

During the decades the PRI dominated Mexico, the centrist party perfected the art of political patronage and took good care of its own. This seems evident in Atlacomulco de Fabela, the municipal seat, a quiet town of narrow streets.

The town’s historic center looks as if it’s been given a fresh coat of paint. Renovations of the central square and a nearby plaza that fronts the covered market and the 17th-century church were completed recently, and a soccer field was replaced with a fancy new sports complex.

Nowhere in Mexico did loyalty toward the PRI run as deep as in Atlacomulco, and the bond seemed eternal: The party’s politicians have occupied the mayor’s office, without interruption, since 1929.

Then came Mexico’s general election on Sunday.

The leftist Andrés Manuel López Obrador won the presidency in a landslide, and the PRI lost most of its seats in Congress. It was also crushed in state and local elections across the country.

The party was eviscerated, part of a seismic shift that has left a new political landscape across the country.

But in perhaps the most symbolically devastating result of the day, the PRI even lost the mayor’s race in Atlacomulco — by a vast margin.

“I was surprised because the current president has done the work requested,” said Pedro Martínez, 58, an inspector for the municipality, gesturing toward the central square’s fresh paving stones. “But the people still turned on the party.”

For the party stalwarts here, the bludgeoning was emotionally devastating.

“A resounding defeat, meaning overwhelming, meaning hard, painful,” said Manuel González Espinoza, 60, a member of the PRI’s executive committee in the State of Mexico, which includes Atlacomulco.

“A tragedy,” he muttered, sitting in the PRI’s municipal headquarters in Atlacomulco, a two-story building gloomy with loss.

Some who voted against the party found it a wrenching decision.

For as long as he had been eligible to vote, Samuel Israde had cast his ballot only for PRI candidates. It was automatic.

But on Sunday, Mr. Israde, 54, who works in the municipal treasurer’s office, did what had once been unthinkable: He voted against the PRI in every race.

“When you’re voting against your party, it’s like a knife in your chest,” he said, mimicking a dagger plunging into



‘When you’re voting against your party, it’s like a knife in your chest. But it was a necessary change.’

SAMUEL ISRADE, 54, who had been a lifelong PRI voter

his heart. “But it was a necessary change.”

He added, “You do it for your children.”

Even voters who stuck with the PRI said they could understand how, in disgust, so many people turned their backs on it.

On a recent evening, Mr. Martínez, the municipal inspector, was standing on the main square keeping an eye on things. Children chased plastic hoops across the square as evening settled on the town and nearby mountains darkened to the color of a day-old bruise.

Mr. Martínez voted only for the PRI candidates last Sunday.

But he recognized that some of the same issues that propelled disgruntled voters around the nation to vote against the PRI were in play in Atlacomulco, including unpopular reforms. Voters across Mexico were also fed up with widespread corruption and impunity, rampant violence and economic inequality.

Rosario Cárdenas Cárdenas, too, stood by the party despite the economic hit her plant nursery has taken recently. Prices for soil and plant pots have gone up, she said, and her business had gotten more expensive to run.

Despite her misgivings about the state of the country, however, Ms. Cardenas, 30, cast her vote for the PRI’s candidates in local, state and national elections.

“It’s because I had hope,” she explained as she opened her nursery at dawn one morning this week in the rural community of San Lorenzo Tlacotepec. “And hope is the last thing to die.”

On the courtyard walls of the two-story municipal headquarters, murals depict the history and culture of Atlacomulco. There are scenes of indigenous people hunting a buck, weaving fabric, making pottery and farming.

One of the murals, on a wall outside the mayor’s second-floor office, is dominated by the portraits of six former PRI governors from Atlacomulco, including

Samuel Israde, left, and Pedro Martínez in front of a mural depicting the history of Atlacomulco, including portraits of six PRI governors.

the current president, Enrique Peña Nieto.

This municipality’s name has become synonymous with the party’s dominance in Mexico’s political life. People speak of the “Atlacomulco Group,” an infamous cabal of business and political leaders with roots in this region and a steering influence over the PRI, and so the nation.

On a recent evening, Mr. Israde paused in front of the mural, an impish glint in his eye.

“The PRI,” he said, making the sign of the cross. “Rest in peace.”

But die-hard supporters insist the party will survive.

“The PRI never dies,” declared Isaac Contreras Alcántara, 77, a party loyalist who runs a small restaurant in Atlacomulco. “It will be renewed.”

It is unclear, though, exactly how the party might rise from the ashes.

Mr. González, the state PRI official, said the party must begin its renaissance with an “objective and realistic diagnosis” of itself and its recent leadership at all levels of government, its choices of candidates and its performance during the campaigns and the elections.

“The PRI needs a reconstruction, a new foundation,” he declared.

As devastating as this week’s elections were, however, Mr. González somehow found something to admire in them.

“What happened Sunday is an expression of the democratic maturity in the country,” he said, sounding mostly convinced by his own words. “And that’s very important.”

This understanding, he said, was crucial to rebuilding the PRI, a process that promises to be long and arduous — if it happens at all.

Fraternité Offers Shield To Shepherd Of Migrants

By ELIAN PELTIER and RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

PARIS — “Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité” is not just France’s motto, it is the law. In fact, the nation’s highest constitutional tribunal decreed on Friday, it can now be a defense against prosecution.

In a landmark decision, the Constitutional Council said that a French farmer was not guilty of a crime when he smuggled migrants into the country because he acted under “the principle of fraternity.”

The national motto is enshrined in the Constitution in two places, the council noted, which trumps the statute making it a crime to help someone enter the country illegally.

The council’s ruling came in the case of Cédric Herrou, an olive grower, who was charged with shepherding migrants across the French-Italian border and into southern France’s Roya Valley.

He became something of a folk hero, with his supporters comparing him to the organizers of the Underground Railroad. But a court convicted him last year on charges of helping migrants and fined him 3,000 euros, or about \$3,200.

The Constitutional Council ruled on Friday, however, that Mr. Herrou acted within his rights. “The principle of fraternity confers the freedom to help others, for humanitarian purposes, regardless of the legality of their presence on national territory,” the council said, in a ruling that suggested the same defense would not apply to those who traffic migrants for money.

In a statement, the council said the ruling was the first in which it found “that fraternity is a constitutional principle.”

No constitutional principle guarantees foreigners the right to enter or remain in the country, and fighting illegal immigration is a legitimate government function, the court wrote. But, it added, “it is up to the legislator to reconcile the principle of fraternity and the safeguarding of public order.”

Under French law, a person who smuggles foreigners into the country faces up to five years in prison and a fine of up to €30,000.

A 2012 law allows people to provide aid to migrants, like food and shelter, for humanitarian reasons, but Mr. Herrou went further, organizing like-minded volunteers to lead people through mountain passes in the rugged terrain northeast of Nice.

During his highly publicized trial, the prosecutor requested an eight-month sentence, but public opinion appeared to be on the defendant’s side. Though the court convicted him, it declined to send him to prison and imposed a penalty that was widely seen as light.

At trial, Mr. Herrou defended his actions, questioning the morality of what he called an “ignoble” policy of turning away refugees. “I am a Frenchman,” he said.

“There are people dying on the side of the road,” he told the court. “It’s not right. There are children who are not safe.”

His reaction to the ruling on Friday was more muted. “In the name of fraternity, we will remain united,” he wrote on Twitter.

Border patrol officers turned back more than 85,000 migrants who tried to enter France in 2017, according to figures made public by the migrant charity La Cimade, with more than 46,000 of those refusals occurring at the French-Italian border.

Vincent Gasquet, a pizza chef who aids migrants at the border near Briançon, told The New York Times in January that he admired the work of Mr. Herrou. “The line is so thin, but solidarity and fraternity should prevail,” he said.

Elian Peltier reported from Paris, and Richard Pérez-Peña from London. Anne-Sophie Bolon contributed reporting from London.



SEBASTIEN NOGIER/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Despite defying laws, Cedric Herrou earned public support.

A Wary Pompeo Leads Talks to Suspend North Korea’s Nuclear Program

By GARDINER HARRIS

PYONGYANG, North Korea — Secretary of State Mike Pompeo met with a top North Korean official for several hours on Friday in talks aimed at persuading the North to give up its nuclear and ballistic missile programs — a mission that, in conversations with at least two outside experts, he said was doomed from the outset.

The dire assessment from Mr. Pompeo comes despite the fact that he is one of the Trump administration’s most visible proponents of talks with North Korea.

Mr. Pompeo has repeatedly said he believes that the country’s young leader, Kim Jong-un, is serious about negotiations. He is making his third trip to Pyongyang, North Korea’s capital, even as others — including his rivals in the administration — have been more skeptical of the diplomatic efforts.

And he has tried to plan for success. He is traveling with North Asia experts from the State Department, Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Council, and is spending many hours in meetings that will continue on Saturday.

Mr. Pompeo met for almost three hours on Friday afternoon with Kim Yong-chol, a former intelligence chief and a leading negotiator in the nuclear talks, followed by a nearly two-hour dinner on Friday night.

In remarks before the meeting, Mr. Kim said, “The more we meet, the deeper our friendship will be, I hope.” Mr. Kim called it a “really meaningful meeting,” and Mr. Pompeo said he counted on it “being very productive.”

The two resumed their discussions on Saturday.

Heather Nauert, a spokeswoman for the State Department, said on Saturday that the two had agreed to create working groups to hash out details, and had discussed the return of remains of American service members missing since the Korean War.

If the ultimate goal of North Korean denuclearization seems like a long shot, Mr. Pompeo’s proximate goal, according to one senior administration official, is at least to get North Korean officials to reveal their true intentions fairly quickly. Previous American administrations spent years in detailed and ultimately fruitless negotiations, giving the North breathing space to develop its lethal arsenal further.

John R. Bolton, Mr. Trump’s national security adviser, does not



Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, center, arriving in Pyongyang, North Korea, on Friday for talks on the North’s nuclear arsenal.

believe that North Korea intends to surrender its nuclear or ballistic missile weapons programs, he has told others.

If failure is inevitable, Mr. Pompeo wants it to come more quickly this time, so the administration can return to its maximum pressure campaign of sanctions and diplomatic isolation of North Korea, he has told advisers.

If the administration decides to return to a campaign of maximum pressure, officials have privately acknowledged, the administration may not again be able to persuade the world that Mr. Kim is out of control and cannot be trusted with nuclear weapons.

That was last year’s tactic, when President Trump branded Mr. Kim a “madman” and a murderer of his own people. Mr. Pompeo also then questioned whether Mr. Kim was rational and said, “I am hopeful we will find a way to separate that regime from” its nuclear arsenal.

In recent months, however, Mr. Trump has redeemed Mr. Kim, calling him “very honorable” and

“nice” while insisting that the North is “no longer a nuclear threat.” And Mr. Pompeo has repeatedly said in recent months that Mr. Kim is rational.

“After this meeting, Pompeo will probably again say that Kim Jong-un is intelligent and trustworthy, which is truly unfortunate,” said Sung-Yoon Lee of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. “I think we’re headed in the direction of giving up and accepting North Korea as a de facto nuclear state.”

Ms. Nauert, the State Department spokeswoman, denied that Mr. Pompeo saw negotiations with the North as bound to fail.

“Will this be tough? Yes,” she said of the expected many rounds of talks. “Will negotiations involve a lot of hard work? Of course. But the secretary is committed to implementing the plan agreed to by both leaders in Singapore.”

Defenders of the Trump administration’s strategy note that at least the North has ended its provocative missile and nuclear tests.

But in the meantime, the North

could continue perfecting its arms systems. And countries that have perfected their weapons technology, as Mr. Kim has said the North has done, rarely need such tests.

Pakistan, for instance, has not carried out a nuclear weapons test for 20 years but is widely acknowledged to be a nuclear power.

Michael Green, who negotiated with North Korea during the administration of President George W. Bush, agreed that the Trump administration would soon be forced to accept North Korea as a nuclear state.

“If the North Koreans don’t fire off missiles or nuclear weapons but instead just don’t comply with denuclearization, the administration is going to have a very hard time, having sold the Trump-Kim relationship the way they did, going back to China and the allies and saying in effect, ‘We were duped,’” Mr. Green said.

As they did the last time Mr. Pompeo came to Pyongyang, the North Koreans will most likely offer a parting gift. In May, they handed over three American de-

tainees whom Mr. Trump greeted in a triumphant ceremony at an air base outside of Washington.

This time, the North is considered likely to approve the transfer of what officials here will attest are the remains of American service members missing since the Korean War.

Whether any American bones are in the boxes will be determined only by later scientific tests. The last time such transfers were made, some remains were found to have come from animals and the kind of random human bones easily gathered from the country’s gulags — a main reason Mr. Bush ended the transfers.

During his visit, Mr. Pompeo will be pushing the North Koreans for “real action, real change” toward what he has said is Mr. Kim’s stated commitment for complete, verifiable, irreversible denuclearization.

So far, however, the only actions American intelligence agencies have detected have been efforts to expand weapons facilities and conceal the number of weapons it

has as well as the facilities used to make them, according to reports.

Still, Mr. Pompeo must keep trying to persuade Mr. Kim to reverse course for at least another few months, and probably until after November’s elections, largely because Mr. Trump will not stand for an earlier declaration of failure, according to those who have spoken with him about North Korea.

“Many good conversations with North Korea — it is going well!” Mr. Trump tweeted this week after reports of North Korea’s continued weapons development surfaced, adding, “If not for me, we would now be at War with North Korea!”

Such declarations have made Mr. Pompeo’s task here harder, analysts say, because they have let the North know that Mr. Trump is so deeply invested in dialogue that he will not declare the endeavor a failure anytime soon.

But corralling the president’s rhetoric on North Korea is only a part of Mr. Pompeo’s challenge on this trip, which includes later stops in Tokyo, Hanoi, Abu Dhabi and Brussels.

The trip to Brussels for the annual NATO summit meeting could be particularly fraught, with Mr. Trump planning to meet with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia days later in Helsinki.

Mr. Trump recently sent sharply worded letters to at least four NATO allies, saying that the United States was losing patience with what he said was their failure to meet shared security obligations. He has falsely claimed that countries such as Germany owe NATO money.

Last month, Mr. Trump attended a disastrous Group of 7 meeting in Quebec during which he reportedly told allies that “NATO is as bad as Nafta.”

But if Mr. Trump tells off NATO allies and soon after embraces Mr. Putin just as a trade war with Europe, Japan and Canada heats up, the foundations of the postwar order could shake.

In a recent interview, Mr. Pompeo tried to allay concern about the growing number of trade and strategic disputes with allies.

“The rift between the United States and Europe is much overstated,” he said, adding that “in the end the traditional values-driven alliance between Europe and the United States, that trans-Atlantic alliance, will remain strong as it has for coming on 70-plus years now.”

These next few days could prove whether he is right.

Former Leader of Pakistan Is Sentenced To 10 Years in Prison in Corruption Case

By SALMAN MASOOD

LAHORE, Pakistan — Former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was convicted and sentenced to prison in absentia by a Pakistani anticorruption court on Friday, in a verdict that is likely to further disrupt an already chaotic campaign for national elections this month.

The sentence, 10 years in prison and a fine of 8 million pounds, or \$10.6 million, came almost a year after Pakistan’s Supreme Court removed Mr. Sharif from office and less than five months after the court barred him from holding office for life. The case stemmed from the so-called Panama Papers leak that disclosed expensive and undeclared property owned by the Sharif family in London.

The verdict marked a further fall for Mr. Sharif, who has been Pakistan’s prime minister three times but never completed a term.

He has been a towering figure in modern Pakistani politics who now stands as an exemplar of two of the country’s most central issues: as a staunch defender of civilian governance amid military manipulation, and as a symbol of a venal Pakistani elite that has alienated much of the public.

From the start of Mr. Sharif’s legal troubles in 2016, his supporters have accused the country’s powerful military establishment of pressing the case against Mr. Sharif, whose first term ended in resignation under military pressure and whose second was cut short by an army coup.

Mr. Sharif’s daughter Maryam Nawaz Sharif and her husband, Muhammad Safdar, were also convicted, with Ms. Sharif sentenced to seven years in prison and a fine of 2 million pounds and Mr. Safdar sentenced to one year in prison. The court also ordered the seizure of the Sharif family’s four apartments at Avenfield House, a luxury building next to Hyde Park in London.

The Pakistani news media reported that Mr. Sharif and his daughter were in those apartments as they listened to the verdict.

Mr. Sharif, Ms. Sharif and Mr. Safdar have all denied any wrongdoing in the corruption case. But in the ruling that ousted Mr. Sharif from office last year, the Supreme Court concluded that he and his family members could not adequately explain how they were able to afford the expensive London apartments and that they



Nawaz Sharif, a former prime minister of Pakistan, in April.

failed to provide a money trail.

Now, the verdict and sentence, announced by Muhammad Bashir, a justice on the accountability court in Islamabad, could see them imprisoned. But at least on Friday, it appeared unlikely that either Mr. Sharif or his daughter would appear in Pakistan to go to jail.

The family is in London tending to Mr. Sharif’s ailing wife, Kulsoom Nawaz Sharif. She has cancer and has been on a ventilator, according to officials with Mr. Sharif’s political party, Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz. His request that the verdict be delayed for at least one week was rejected by the judge earlier on Friday.

Mr. Sharif, speaking to reporters in London late Friday, said he planned to return to Pakistan and was willing to go to prison in his effort to free Pakistanis “of the slavery imposed on them by some generals and judges,” He did not say when he would return.

Members of the Sharif family had said before the verdict that they would appeal any convictions, but they are unlikely to get relief from the higher courts.

The conviction also bars Maryam Sharif from contesting the July 25 elections, in a blow to Mr. Sharif’s ambitions for his daughter to play a leading role in national and party politics. Ms. Sharif has emerged in recent months as a powerful voice for civilian rule and against the military’s interference in politics.

Mr. Safdar, the son-in-law, is in Pakistan but was not in court when the verdict was announced. He is campaigning in his hometown of Mansehra in the country’s northwestern Khyber-

Pakhtunkhwa Province and was expected to hold a news conference later on Friday.

Mr. Sharif and his daughter have said that they are not afraid to go to jail, but it remains to be seen whether they will return to Pakistan before the elections. Political opponents have already said that the Sharif family is in an unannounced exile.

Their absence is bound to further worsen the fortunes of their party, known by the abbreviation PML-N.

Several other senior figures in the party have also been barred by courts from running in the July 25 elections. Others have defected to other parties or simply left, though the PML-N leadership says that those desertions have come under pressure from the military.

Outside the party’s offices in Lahore, a handful of pro-Sharif protesters gathered Friday evening.

“We don’t accept the court’s decision, but it will make our election campaign even stronger,” said Muhammad Ammar Ali, 32.



Military officials have denied taking any role in manipulating the upcoming elections. But at the same time, stark evidence of military pressure on the news media, the PML-N and an ethnic Pashtun rights and political movement has led rights advocates and others to describe the campaign season as more of a soft military coup than a democratic election.

“The crackdown has been very ham-fisted and heavy-handed,” said Ahmed Rasheed, a foreign policy analyst and author. “Yes, the PML-N is corrupt, but they don’t deserve to be harassed in elections like this.”

Mr. Rasheed called the PML-N and other family-run political parties “banana republics” but said the “key tragedy” in Pakistan was the military’s intervention in politics.


Shehbaz Sharif, the younger brother of Mr. Sharif and former chief minister of Punjab, is now the party’s standard-bearer, and he presented the party’s agenda on Thursday at the party secretariat in Lahore. He said the party would focus on economic development and social initiatives.

But in a fraught election season, the younger Sharif has seemed to lack some of the popular appeal of his brother, even as the party has come under heavy pressure.



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A balloon depicting President Trump as a baby in a diaper was approved for “Stop Trump” protests planned for the American leader’s visit beginning on Thursday.

‘Trump Baby’ Gets Ready to Fly in London in Protest of Visit

By CEYLAN YEGINSU

LONDON — A week before President Trump’s working visit to Britain, the mayor of London has allowed an additional participant in the city’s welcome reception: a giant orange balloon of the president depicted as a baby in a diaper.

The balloon was approved amid “Stop Trump” protests planned for the visit starting on July 12. Activist groups and trade unions organized an online petition calling on the mayor to allow the effigy to be flown over Parliament. It drew over 10,000 signatories.

Mr. Trump’s visit to Britain was originally scheduled to coincide with the opening of the new United States Embassy in January, but it was abruptly canceled with a message on Twitter from the president saying he did not want to inaugurate the building because the Obama administration had paid too much for it.

British and American officials speculated that the real reason Mr. Trump had pulled out of the trip was because of the risk of large-scale protests.

At the time, the mayor of London, Sadiq Khan — who has had a

long-running feud with Mr. Trump and his son Donald Trump Jr. — said the American president “got the message” from Londoners who “love and admire America and Americans” but find his policies and actions “the polar opposite of our city’s values of inclusion, diversity and tolerance.”

But later, the trip was on again. Prime Minister Theresa May extended the invitation to the president during a 15-minute meeting at the World Economic Forum in January — a decision that was met with great opposition from the British public.

Leo Murray, an activist and the creator of the inflatable “Trump Baby,” criticized Mrs. May for inviting Mr. Trump despite a petition signed by nearly two million people asking her to scrap the plan.

“It’s on everyone who knows the difference between right and wrong to resist this grotesque excuse for a president when he comes here,” Mr. Murray wrote in a column for the newspaper Metro. “He needs to be run out of town, figuratively at least. But how? This is a man who lacks the capacity for moral shame. Liberal outrage just makes him smirk

harder.”

Mr. Murray suggested that the only way to get through to the president is to “get down on his level and talk to him in a language he understands: personal insults.”

Mrs. May was the first foreign leader to visit Mr. Trump at the White House, in January, in a bid to strengthen relations with Brit-

A balloon was approved by the mayor, but the police still need to sign off.

ain’s single largest trading partner outside the European Union before Britain’s withdrawal from the bloc.

Aspokesman for the mayor said that Mr. Khan supported the right to peaceful protests and realized that planned demonstrations could take different forms.

“His city operations team have met with the organizers and have given them permission to use Par-

liament Square Garden as a grounding point for the blimp,” the representative said in a statement.

Chances are that Mr. Trump, accompanied by his wife, Melania, will steer clear of the protests in central London since most of his meetings with British officials and Queen Elizabeth II have been scheduled outside the city at a country residence and Windsor Castle.

After two days of meetings and a news conference, Mr. Trump will travel to Scotland, where he will spend the weekend, the Prime Minister’s Office said on Friday.

But the presence of the balloon in London could further strain relations between the mayor and Mr. Trump, who have been involved in a series of Twitter spats over the past year.

The organizers will still need final approval from the Metropolitan Police and from British air traffic control before they can fly the balloon, however.

“I’m really proud of our mayor, who is just about the only person who is standing up for our city’s values of respect, tolerance, and diversity,” said Louise Pratt, an-

other activist involved in the balloon campaign.

“As if our Brexit woes weren’t bad enough, Theresa May is now forcing us to get on our knees and beg for business deals from a crook,” Ms. Pratt added. “What has this country come to? It’s an utter disgrace.”

Mr. Trump has inspired other outsize protests. Last year, an artist and documentary filmmaker inflated a giant Trump chicken with a golden coif in view of the White House to try to make a statement about the president being a “weak and ineffective leader.” An anarchist group also displayed nude life-size orange statues of the presidential candidate in American cities.

Nigel Farage, the former leader of the anti-immigrant U.K. Independence Party and a Trump supporter, criticized the mayor’s decision to approve the balloon, saying on Twitter that it would make London look ridiculous. “This is the biggest insult to a sitting US President ever,” he wrote.

Aidan Kerr, a media officer for the Scottish Labour Party, begged to differ, retorting on Twitter, “We literally burned down the White House in 1814.”

British Leader Secures Deal Over Brexit Plan

By STEPHEN CASTLE

LONDON — After nearly two years of bitter factionalism within her governing Conservative party over what terms Britain should seek in its divorce from the European Union, Prime Minister Theresa May summoned her cabinet to her country home on Friday and told her ministers either to support her compromise plan or resign, turn in their government cars and find their own way home.

Her threats appeared to work, up to a point. At the end of the day she announced that she had won agreement from her team to back a negotiating position in talks with Brussels that would keep Britain effectively tied to many European Union rules. In doing so, she faced down supporters of making a cleaner break from the bloc, and gave her country its clearest view yet of how she wants to steer Britain into a post-Brexit future.

It is not clear that the truce among Conservatives will last, especially since Mrs. May’s negotiating stance is unlikely to be accepted by European Union leaders in anything like its current form. But her victory allows her to move into a more serious round of talks with Brussels in an effort to reach a deal by March, when Britain will leave the bloc whether or not is has come to terms on a new relationship.

It was a pivotal moment for Mrs. May, who played up the drama in her effort to herd the more rebellious elements of her cabinet into line. Ministers arriving at Chequers, a 16th-century mansion northwest of London, were instructed to hand in their mobile phones and smartwatches on arrival. The Times of London reported that replacements had been identified in the event that ministers quit in opposition to her plan, and that anyone resigning would be stripped of their ministerial limousine and forced to walk a mile down the driveway to meet a private car service.

In the end, her hard-line rivals, like Boris Johnson, the foreign

secretary, decided that this was not the day for a showdown. The meeting ended with a declaration that the cabinet had agreed to seek “a common rule book for industrial goods and agricultural products.”

In effect, that means Britain would sign up for Europe’s rules for manufactured goods, food and other farm produce without being able to shape them. Services, like banking and finance — big component of the British economy — would be dealt with under a separate framework that would give Britain much more flexibility to set its own regulations.

Mrs. May’s plan envisions that Britain would no longer abide by the European demand for free movement of people across borders, a key position of the most vociferous Brexit supporters that is sure to draw intense opposition from Brussels. But it foresees allowing goods to flow more or less unimpeded across the border between Ireland, a member of the European Union, and Northern Ireland, which is part of the United Kingdom — a position that would go a long way toward solving one of the most intractable problems facing negotiators.

The statement said Britain would ensure that “no new changes in the future take place without the approval of our Parliament,” though it acknowledged that failing to incorporate rule changes into British law “would have consequences” — presumably ending some access to the bloc’s big market.

However, for Mrs. May, pushing her proposals through without the cabinet blowing up was a victory. She appeared to have convinced even the most recalcitrant members that economic necessity dictated hewing closely to some of the European Union’s rules.

Mrs. May hopes her plan can provide a basis for negotiations with the bloc’s other 27 member countries, which had grown frustrated over the political paralysis in London.

Certainly, Mrs. May’s plan rep-



POOL PHOTO BY SEAN GALLUP

Prime Minister Theresa May on Thursday. She summoned her cabinet to a showdown on Friday.

resents a big reality check for proponents of Brexit who once argued that Britain would have the upper hand in withdrawal negotiations, gaining all the benefits of current membership in the single market while still enjoying the freedom to conduct an independent trade policy.

That sort of deal was never on offer from Brussels, where officials called it delusional on numerous occasions. A succession of warnings from big manufacturers, including Airbus and BMW, have recently underscored the crucial importance to big importers and exporters of keeping goods flowing easily through ports to and from continental Europe.

At the same time, Brexit hardliners know that adhering to European Union rules would amount to the “great betrayal” they have been swearing never to countenance.

But their options were limited. Even a rash of resignations would not have guaranteed Mrs. May’s departure. If they blocked her new plans, they ran the risk that Parliament might then feel constrained to vote later this

month to stay in the European Union’s customs union — an even more distasteful outcome.

Earlier, the cabinet office minister, David Lidington, had confirmed leaks in the British news media that Mrs. May’s proposal would include adherence to a common rule book for some sectors like industrial and agricultural goods in order to keep supply chains open and prevent food spoiling if stopped for checks.

“I’m pretty confident we will end up with a concrete position which everybody is able to sign up to,” he told the BBC.

One person who will take a lot more persuasion is Michel Barnier, the European Union’s negotiator, who on Friday said that “in the Brexit negotiations there are still too many questions and too few answers.”

The new plan, to be published as a white paper next week, will be judged by Mr. Barnier both on practicalities and against the European Union’s red lines.

Mrs. May’s preferred customs plan is seen by most officials in Brussels as unworkable. The European Union has insisted all along that Britain will not gain ac-

cess to the single market without accepting its core principles.

Other thorny issues include the extent to which British manufacturers would be subject to Europe’s state aid rules (to prevent unfair competition), the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice — another institution loathed by Brexiters — and European labor and environmental laws.

Friday’s declaration suggested that Britain would accept European antitrust rules but would want to set up new bodies to resolve trade disputes “founded on the principle that the court of one party cannot resolve disputes between the two.”

Brussels has so far insisted that Britain must either opt to stay in the single market fully — accepting free movement — or settle for a much more minimalist free trade deal like that with Canada. Mrs. May has always argued for something in between and has, in recent days, visited both the Dutch prime minister, Mark Rutte, and the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, to try to ensure that her plans are — if not exactly welcomed then — at least not dismissed out of hand.

Trudeau Says He Did Not Grope Woman 18 Years Ago

By IAN AUSTEN

OTTAWA — Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada has repeatedly denied accusations that he acted inappropriately with a young reporter at a charity event 18 years ago. On Friday, he said his accuser might have experienced their interaction differently.

“I do not feel that there was any inappropriate action of any type,” Mr. Trudeau said in an interview with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s Toronto radio station. “But, and this is the really important thing, it is not just my experience that matters in this.”

He added, “The way the same interaction can be experienced by different people is a really important thing to get our minds around.”

The accusation that Mr. Trudeau, Canada’s prime minister since 2015, groped the reporter when he was a schoolteacher and living in British Columbia appeared in 2000 in an unsigned editorial published by The Creston Valley Advance, a small newspaper in that province.

The editorial resurfaced in Frank, a Canadian political satire and gossip magazine, and a blogger who is a well-known critic of Mr. Trudeau then gave it new prominence shortly before Mr. Trudeau was host to the Group of 7 summit meeting last month in Quebec. Breitbart, the far-right website, then picked up the editorial.

Several media outlets, including The New York Times, subsequently reported on the accusations.

The accusations have received modest attention in Canada except from the opposition Conservative Party, which has repeatedly accused Mr. Trudeau — a self-described feminist who recently removed a member of Parliament from his cabinet for making lewd comments in a previous political role — of hypocrisy.

The incident took place when Mr. Trudeau attended the now-defunct Konkaneesh Summit Festival in Creston, British Columbia, to accept a donation for a charity to prevent deaths from avalanches. He had established the charity, with other members of his family, after the death of his brother two years earlier in an avalanche at a nearby park.

The editorial, published shortly afterward, said Mr. Trudeau had engaged in “inappropriately handling” of one of its reporters during the event. Citing the reporter, who is not named in the editorial, the paper said that Mr. Trudeau was disrespectful toward the woman because she was from a small newspaper.

“It’s not a rare incident to have a young reporter, especially a female who is working for a small community newspaper, be considered an underling to their ‘more predominant’ associates and blatantly disrespected because of it,” the editorial said.

It is unclear who wrote the editorial, which said that the reporter was also on assignment for The National Post and The Vancouver Sun. At the time, all three newspapers were owned by a company controlled by Conrad M. Black.

The editorial said that Mr. Trudeau apologized to the reporter by saying: “I’m sorry. If I had known you were reporting for a national paper, I never would have been so forward.”

Late on Friday, a woman named Rose Knight acknowledged in a statement to the C.B.C. that she was the reporter. When contacted last month by The Times, Ms. Knight, who is no longer a journalist, declined to comment and asked that she not be identified. She did not respond to requests for comment on Friday.

Ms. Knight wrote that she was making her public statement “reluctantly” and said that the incident described in the editorial “did occur, as reported.”

She added: “Mr. Trudeau did apologize the next day. I did not pursue the incident at the time and I will not be pursuing the incident further.”

Ms. Knight, who said she did not represent any organization, media outlet or “movement, political or otherwise,” said she would not comment further. “The debate, if it continues, will continue without my involvement,” she wrote.



CARLO ALLEGRI/REUTERS

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada on Thursday.

‘In Bavaria, we stand up for our values.’

MARKUS SÖDER



KSENIYA KULESHOVA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

THE SATURDAY PROFILE

A Man of the People or Germany’s Trump?

office hours to hear from voters directly, has made it his mission to lure back voters from the AfD, which has been gaining ground in Bavaria ever since its 500-mile land border with Austria became the main gateway for migrants into Germany in 2015 and 2016.

Though the number of new arrivals is back to pre-crisis levels, Mr. Söder, sounding a lot like the AfD, is warning that Germany’s migration crisis is coming back and that vast areas of the country have already become lawless no-go areas.

“People expect the state to show strength,” he said in an interview before his recent beer tent appearance. “Migration and the question of cultural identity have posed a new question and you can’t answer that with old recipes.”

His new recipe — ahead of hard-fought state elections in the fall — includes a striking disregard for facts. He sides with President Trump (rather than official German crime statistics) when he claims that migration is producing a crime wave. In fact, crime in Germany is at a 25-year-low.

Lies, Mr. Söder scoffs. “We have whole cities where law and order has withdrawn from neighborhoods,” he said, citing Berlin and cities like Duisburg in the old industrial heartland in northwestern Germany.

“How can the state judge crime statistics in Duisburg when there are no police anymore?” he said.

He also rejects the notion that the

actual migration crisis has subsided. In 2016, when the numbers reached their zenith, more than 62,000 people sought asylum in Germany on average every month. This year, that average has fallen to little more than 15,000 — the lowest since 2013. And the number of those registered elsewhere in Europe amounts to only a few hundred so far this year.

But Mr. Söder insists that “the numbers are going up,” though, again, he cannot cite any supporting data.

“New alternative routes are being planned, for example via Albania,” he said.

How did he know?

“Everyone is reporting this, you can sense a revival.”

Had he actually seen an increase in migrants at the German border?

“No, not yet,” he said. “But it’s only a question of time.”

THE world Mr. Söder paints is the same one Mr. Orban and other European populists have been sketching out — a world where mostly Muslim immigrants are threatening to undermine Christian Western culture, and where a conservative revolution is needed to unseat the liberal governments that have allowed them in.

“Germany made a historic mistake in 2015, by leaving the borders open,” Mr. Söder said. “Germany split Europe.” Germany, not Bavaria, he stressed.

“Bavaria was against it,” he said.

“We talk about Islam all the time and

don’t realize how insecure we are about our own roots,” Mr. Söder said. “In Bavaria, we stand up for our values.”

Before taking the top job three months ago, Mr. Söder ran a number of ministries in Bavaria, most recently the Finance Ministry, which includes the “heimat” brief, an attempt at celebrating identity and a sense of cultural belonging, as well as diverting public investment from urban centers to rural areas to combat globalization fears.

It proved to be a good fit for Mr. Söder, who was applauded even by some opponents for several tangible successes: He moved several government offices out of big cities (the ministry itself ended up in his native Nuremberg), invested millions in faster internet for rural areas and helped struggling communities pay the bills for public services.

“Heimat,” he says, “is the antidote to globalization.”

In a state where folklore is politics and politics is folklore few disagree.

But some are uneasy about a revival in ostentatious celebrations of Bavarian customs at a time when the language about migrants has hardened. “It has a feel of exclusion,” said Wolfgang Jirschik, the mayor of Baierbrunn, who listened to Mr. Söder in the beer tent the other night.

“He says he wants to calm people’s fears and at the same time he fans them,” Mr. Jirschik said. “Markus Söder has the ability to go right up to the limit of what is sayable before it becomes

far-right ideology.”

Others see it differently. “Söder is no Trump,” said Thomas Dopfer, an accountant, who was also listening. “He has a sense of what preoccupies people, and most think being tough on migration is the only way to fight the AfD.”

HE has always been a shrewd communicator. In the beer tent recently he spoke for nearly an hour without notes. A near-teetotaler, he drinks diet soda or water, unless there is a camera — then he will nip on a beer as well.

Strikingly tall — he stands about 6 feet, 6 inches tall, he is famous for his elaborate and themed disguises during carnival every year. One year he went as Marilyn Monroe, this year as a Bavarian king.

Mr. Söder, who once worked in television, knows how to tell a good story, including his own. He talks often about his modest roots in a working-class district of Nuremberg, less often about marrying the daughter of a wealthy businessman.

He became a conservative at 16 out of “conviction,” in a neighborhood that had historically voted left. While his friends worshiped soccer players and pop stars, Mr. Söder hung a poster of the arch-conservative Bavarian leader Franz Josef Strauss on the wall of his bedroom. Growing up near American Army barracks, Mr. Söder says he has always been a fan of the United States, “the land of unlimited opportunities.”

“In school you were either for Strauss or against Strauss, for America or against America,” he recalled. He was always, as he put it, “pro-Bavarian and pro-American.”

Long before migration became a hot-button issue, Mr. Söder built his reputation of a provocateur. German children should be called “Klaus” not “Kevin” he once said. Another time he proposed to have the entire Green Party sent for a drug test.

These days he expresses “respect” for Mr. Orban, a regular guest of honor in Bavaria, and for the Austrian chancellor, Sebastian Kurz, a fellow conservative who leads a coalition with the far right Freedom Party in Vienna.

Mr. Söder thinks that is not a big deal. Germany, he said, should stop being the “world champion of political correctness,” he said.

“There was a time when the Austrian government was sanctioned temporarily because it has a coalition with the Freedom Party,” he said. “Today, it’s normal.”

The Freedom Party is an ally of the AfD and other far-right parties in Europe. So, could an alliance between the conservatives and the AfD become “normal” in Germany, too?

“I don’t think so,” said Mr. Söder, who then paused, and added more firmly: “Never.”

Borders, Nationalism and the Fight for a Unified Europe

LONDON — The European Union has always been sold, to its citizens, on a practical basis: Cheaper products. Easier travel. Prosperity and security.

But its founding leaders had something larger in mind. They conceived it as a radical experiment to transcend the nation-state, whose core ideas of race-based identity and zero-sum competition had brought disaster twice in the space of a generation.

France’s foreign minister, announcing the bloc’s precursor in 1949, called it “a great experiment” that would put “an end to war” and guarantee “an eternal peace.”

Norway’s foreign minister, Halvard M. Lange, compared Europe at that moment to the early American colonies: separate blocs that, in time, would cast off their autonomy and identities to form a unified nation. Much as Virginians and Pennsylvanians had become Americans, Germans and Frenchmen would become Europeans — if they could be persuaded.

“The keen feeling of national identity must be considered a real barrier to European integration,” Mr. Lange wrote in an essay that became a foundational European Union text.

But instead of overcoming that barrier, European leaders pretended it didn’t exist. More damning, they entirely avoided mentioning what Europeans would need to give up: a degree of their deeply felt national identities and hard-won national sovereignty.

Now, as Europeans struggle with the social and political strains set off by migration from poor and war-torn nations outside the bloc, some are clamoring to preserve what they feel they never consented to surrender. Their fight with European leaders is exploding over an issue that, perhaps more than any other, exposes the contradiction between the dream of the European Union and the reality of

European nations: borders.

Establishment European leaders insist on open borders within the bloc. Free movement is meant to transcend cultural barriers, integrate economies and lubricate the single market. But a growing number of European voters want to sharply limit the arrival of refugees in their countries, which would require closing the borders.

This might seem like a straightforward matter of reconciling internal rules with public demand on the relatively narrow issue of refugees, who are no longer even arriving in great numbers.

But there is a reason that it has brought Europe to the brink, with its most important leader, Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, warning of disaster and at risk of losing power. The borders question is really a question of whether Europe can move past traditional notions of the nation-state. And that is a question that Europeans have avoided confronting, much less answering, for over half a century.

Backpedaling on Open Borders

In 2015, at the height of the refugee crisis, Ms. Merkel warned that if European countries did not “fairly” share the burden, then opportunistic leaders could exploit the issue to dismantle Europe’s freedom of internal movement. “It won’t be the Europe we want,” she said.

Three years later, Ms. Merkel has become the leader she warned about. To save her governing coalition in Berlin and bleed off populist sentiment, she has proposed imposing controls at the Austrian border to block refugees.

Most refugees arrive in Italy, Greece or Spain and are meant to remain there while waiting for asylum. In practice, though, many head north.

But how to pick out refugees from dozens of open roads and rail lines that connect Germany with Austria?

One option is to screen selectively for possible refugees; in essence, racial profiling. No one



AL FENN/GETTY IMAGES

“The keen feeling of national identity must be considered a real barrier to European integration,” Halvard Lange wrote in 1950.

is sure how this would work. Spotters on border watchtowers with binoculars? Random pull-overs? Any scheme seems likely to miss most refugees while harassing enough dark-skinned non-refugees to guarantee a backlash.

The other option is to set up checkpoints and screen everyone, making travel from Austria to Germany far more difficult, likely hurting both economies. In either scheme, Ms. Merkel’s plan calls for camps along the border to hold refugees seeking to cross.

As Ms. Merkel warned three years ago, this could break the European Union as we know it. It would tacitly encourage other countries to harden their own borders, if only to protect from becoming holding pens for stricter nations like Germany.

Should enough borders harden, refugees could end up stuck in Italy, Greece and Spain — an outcome Ms. Merkel has also warned could doom the bloc by encouraging those countries to leave.

Shutting down internal movement would withdraw some of the union’s most popular perks — ease of travel for work, vacation or family — and undercut trade and labor transfers, weakening the single market economy.

It might seem strange, then, that such a policy could be seen as indulging public demand. The fact that its ramifications would go so far beyond refugees, whose

arrivals are anyway down sharply, suggests that public demand is about more than anti-refugee sentiment.

Perhaps the drive to restore European borders is, on some level, about borders themselves. Maybe when populists talk about restoring sovereignty and national identity, it’s not just a euphemism for anti-refugee sentiment (although such sentiment is indeed rife). Maybe they mean it.

The Impulse to Close Ranks

Traveling Germany with a colleague to report on the populist wave sweeping Europe, we heard the same concerns over and over. Vanishing borders. Lost identity. A distrusted establishment. Sovereignty surrendered to the European Union. Too many migrants.

Populist supporters would often bring up refugees as a focal point and physical manifestation of larger, more abstract fears. They would often say, as one woman told me outside a rally for the Alternative for Germany, a rising populist party, that they feared their national identity was being erased.

“Germany needs a positive relationship with our identity,” Björn Höcke, a leading far-right figure in the party, told my colleague. “The foundation of our unity is identity.”

Allowing in refugees, even in very large numbers, does not

mean Germany will no longer be Germany, of course. But this slight cultural change is one component of a larger European project that has required giving up, even if only by degrees, core conceits of a fully sovereign nation-state.

National policy is suborned, on some issues, to the vetoes and powers of the larger union. That includes control over borders, which are partially open to refugees but fully open to other Europeans.

Though the backlash has focused on refugees, who tend to present as more obviously foreign, studies suggest that it is also driven by resentment toward European migrants.

Traveling recently through Yorkshire, a postindustrial swath of northern England, I heard complaints that began about refugees but shifted quickly to Polish workers, who have arrived in much greater numbers. Some spoke ominously, if implausibly, of towns where Polish was more commonly heard than English.

It is not easy for Europeans to abandon the old-style national identity, rooted in race and language, that has caused them such trouble. The human desire for a strong group identity — and for perceived homogeneity within that group — runs deep.

Germany for the Germans, Catalonia for the Catalans. A country of people who look like me, speak my language and share my heritage. These national impulses, however dangerous, emerge from basic human instinct. It makes us feel safe; losing it makes us feel threatened. It is reinforced in our popular culture and built into the international order.

New Orders, Old Instincts

European leaders hoped they could rein in those impulses long enough to transform Europe from the top down, but the financial crisis of 2008 came when their project was only half completed. That led to the crisis in the euro, which revealed political fault lines the leadership had long denied or wished away.

The financial crisis and an accompanying outburst in Islamic terrorism also provided a threat. When people feel under threat, research shows, they seek a strong identity that will make them feel part of a powerful group.

For that, many Europeans turned to their national identity: British, French, German. But the more people embraced their national identities, the more they came to oppose the European Union, studies found — and the more they came to distrust anyone within their borders who they saw as an outsider.

European leaders, unable to square their project’s ambition of transcending nationalism with this reality of rising nationalism, have tried to have it both ways. Ms. Merkel has sought to save Europe’s border-free zone by imposing one hard border.

Sebastian Kurz, the Austrian chancellor, has called for ever-harder “external” borders, which refers to those separating the European Union from the outside world, in order to keep internal borders open.

This might work if refugee arrivals were the root issue. But it would not resolve the contradiction between the European Union as an experiment in overcoming nationalism versus the politics of the moment, in which publics are demanding more nationalism.

That resurgence starts with borders. But Hungary’s trajectory suggests it might not end there. The country’s nationalist government, after erecting fences and setting up refugee camps, has seen hardening xenophobia and rising support for tilting toward authoritarianism.

As the euro crisis showed, even pro-union leaders could never bring themselves to fully abandon the old nationalism. They are elected by their fellow nationals, after all, so naturally put them first. Their first loyalty is to their country. When that comes into conflict with the rest of the union, as it has on the issue of refugees, it’s little wonder that national self-interest wins.

Tourist Boats Capsize Off Thai Resort Island, Leaving at Least 33 Dead

By **ANGIE CHAN** and **HANNAH BEECH**

HONG KONG — Two boats carrying tourists off the coast of Thailand capsized in 16-foot waves near the resort island of Phuket, killing at least 33 people and leaving over 20 missing, officials said Friday.

One of the boats, the double-decker cruise ship Phoenix PC Diving, was carrying 105 passengers — including 93 tourists, all from China — when it capsized Thursday after leaving Koh Racha, a popular snorkeling spot. Phuket officials said Friday evening that 33 bodies had been recovered so far, all of them Chinese nationals. Twenty-three other people are missing.

The second boat, the Serenita, sank Thursday off Koh Mai Thon, a small resort island off the coast of Phuket. There were 42 people aboard, all of whom were rescued, officials said.

The boats had gone out to sea despite a severe weather warning.

Somjing Boontham, who said he was the captain of the Phoenix,

Angie Chan reported from Hong Kong and Hannah Beech from Bangkok. Jean-Pierre Mestanza contributed reporting from Phuket, Thailand.



ROYAL THAI NAVY/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

said he had urged passengers to put on life jackets while crew members frantically lowered lifeboats as huge waves slammed and tilted the boat. Pictures from the scene showed lifeboats carrying up to 20 people, some of them children.

The capsizings came as Thailand has been transfixed by the efforts to rescue 12 boys and their soccer coach from the flooded Tham Luang cave in northern Thailand.

Wang Xudong, who is with a private search-and-rescue group

from China, had been assisting at the cave, but on Friday he was preparing to search for his countrymen lost at sea instead.

“I never expected to be here in Phuket for something like this,” he said. “We had good news at the cave, and I hope we can have

Tourists on life rafts were rescued in rough waters by the Thai Navy near the resort island of Phuket on Thursday.

some good news in Phuket, too. I want to help out any way I can, either for Thai people or Chinese people.”

The Chinese state news media said a total of 127 Chinese tourists were involved in the two episodes, including 37 people on one boat who worked for a furniture company in Zhejiang. Many of the tourists on the Phoenix were staying at major international resorts on Phuket.

On Friday morning, helicopters, police officers and fishing boats were swarming the area in search of survivors. The Phoenix PC was believed to be 120 feet below the surface of the water.

“We will conduct air searches and send divers to check inside the sunken Phoenix boat,” Phuket’s governor, Noraphat Plothong, said on Friday morning. “Police investigators said most of the tourists were wearing life jackets. I assume they are trapped inside the boat,” he said, adding that he hoped some had survived.

More than a quarter of the foreign tourists who go to Thailand are Chinese, according to government data. More than 10 percent

of Thailand’s economy depends on tourism.

A Chinese movie, “Lost in Thailand,” helped to drive the Southeast Asian country’s popularity as a holiday destination for Chinese visitors.

On June 28, a Chinese tourist drowned at Karon Beach on Phuket. Red flags, indicating that the water was not safe to swim in because of rip currents, had been placed on the beach.

Phuket, one of Thailand’s most popular destinations, was devastated by the Indian Ocean tsunami of 2004, which killed hundreds of people on the island. In the years since, Chinese and Russian tourists have flocked to Phuket, changing the character of tourism there. Many signs in Phuket are now in Chinese and Cyrillic, in addition to English.

The tourism infrastructure on Phuket and on nearby Andaman Sea islands has been strained by the influx. Maya Bay, famous for appearing in the Leonardo DiCaprio film “The Beach,” was ordered closed on June 1 by Thailand’s Department of National Parks in order to give the bay’s coastal and coral-reef ecosystems time to recover from the onslaught of day-trippers. The beach is on Koh Phi Phi Leh, not far from Phuket.

Divers Detail Dangers In a Thai Cave Rescue

From Page A1

of pumping in more air, in addition to carrying in air tanks for future use, as the diver who perished, Saman Gunan, 38, had been doing.

Divers are also working to run a communications line to the cavern so that officials can better coordinate the rescue attempt and allow the boys some contact with their families. As it stands now, messages must be sent in and out with divers, who risk an arduous 12-hour round-trip journey from cave mouth to the cavern and back.

Interviews with the most experienced of the 140 or so cave divers from Thailand and around the world who are here to help have centered on a stark fact: This was already one of the most difficult cave-diving challenges in the world, and now they must somehow keep the weakened boys reasonably healthy in oxygen-depleted air while trying to teach them to attempt an underwater escape. One cave diver called it the underground equivalent of climbing Mount Everest — but with no guides to make things easier.

Ben Reymenants, a Belgian cave diver who operates a dive shop in Thailand, was part of the group that first found the boys on Monday, after more than a week of searching. He said the muddy current pushing against him on his initial dive felt as powerful as the Colorado River’s.

“You’re literally pulling yourself, hand over hand, in zero visibility,” Mr. Reymenants, 45, recalled in a telephone interview. “You can’t read your depth gauge, you can’t read the time, so you’re basically flying blind in a direction you don’t know.”

Mr. Reymenants said he and other experienced cave divers initially thought finding the group would be impossible under such terrible conditions.

But after it was clear that Thai Navy commanders would continue sending their SEAL members in, Mr. Reymenants said he had volunteered to dive a second time.

“Those kids were at the age that they could have been my son,” he said. “A Navy SEAL can’t just sit there while these kids die in the cave. They have to show some ac-

tivity — and if you’re a Navy SEAL, yes, you’ll sacrifice yourself.”

More than 110 of the divers are Thai SEAL members, and they have set up a command center in a dry area of the cave known as Chamber Three, where crews are based around the clock. It is about a mile from there to the boys, but it is the hardest mile. Most of it is underwater with few air pockets.

“All is water and dark,” Admiral Arpakorn said. “There are many alleys, up and down. We can say this mission is very brutal.”

One American cave diver, an Air Force rescue specialist who is part of a team sent to help from Okinawa, Japan, said that bringing the boys out now would require shepherding them through underwater passageways as much as a quarter-mile long without air pockets above.

The cave complex, which has never been fully mapped, has many different formations, said the American, who could not be identified by name for security reasons.

It is not a single river running through the cave, he said, and not all of the waterways appear to be directly connected. Pumping water from spots near the cave entrance does not necessarily reduce the level in more distant parts of the network, like where the boys and their coach are.

Underwater, everything is 10 times as difficult as it would be above ground: communicating, solving complex technical problems, providing emergency care, just moving around, he said.

The terrain varies from one area to the next — from sandy bottom to deep mud to boulders the size of a house. In one place, waters converge to create occasional geysers.

Currents can flow quickly, especially when it has been raining outside and the water level in the cave rises.

In some places, he said, one can see waterlines high on the walls of the cave — much higher than today’s levels — showing how high the water has risen in the past.

Some passages are excruciatingly narrow — as small as 2 feet by 2½ feet, Mr. Reymenants said. But the circumstances compelled him to explore the cave in a way that was risky even for a professional who had dived in dangerous spots across the globe, he said.



YE AUNG THU/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Family members, above, prayed near the cave on Thursday. The boys and their soccer coach, below left, on Monday after they were found alive in a cavern almost three miles from the cave’s mouth. Below right, diving cylinders were prepared on Friday.



THAM LUANG RESCUE OPERATION CENT, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



LINH PHAM/GETTY IMAGES

“Normally, I’d just turn around,” he said, “but then normally I don’t have 12 boys, and their entire lives, as an endpoint.”

Even as the divers and rescue officials navigate the challenges of that environment, concern over the depleting oxygen in the boys’ cavern has become a main concern, Thai officials said.

The governor of Chiang Rai Province, Narongsak Osotanakorn, who is overseeing the search-and-rescue operation, said Thursday night that three people

in the cave were getting weaker, although they remained in reasonably good condition.

One of the three is believed to be the coach, Ekkapol Chantawong, who is said to have given his share of the meager food supply to the boys during their 10-day ordeal before they were found.

Reduced oxygen can also cause serious problems. Dinko Novosel, the president of the European Cave Rescue Association, said in a telephone interview that with an oxygen concentration of 15 per-

cent or less in a cave — roughly where it is now — “You can survive, but you cannot walk around or do anything. It’s like being in the high mountains.”

Early Saturday, Mr. Narongsak said officials had decided not to try moving the group out of the cave yet because the boys were not ready for the challenging undertaking.

Admiral Arpakorn said divers would continue the work that Mr. Saman had been doing, bringing in air tanks and placing them at

designated points along the route to the group’s cavern.

King Maha Vajiralongkorn Bodindradebayavarangkun, who has closely monitored the rescue operation, directed that Mr. Saman receive a royal-sponsored funeral and that his family be taken care of.

A video clip shared widely on Twitter showed Mr. Saman wearing sunglasses as he stood near the steps of an airplane.

“We will bring the kids home,” he said.

Charity Worker Charged With Selling Baby

By HARI KUMAR

NEW DELHI — A nun and a charity worker were accused this week of selling a baby at a shelter for unmarried mothers in eastern India run by an organization founded by Mother Teresa.

The police said Thursday that they had arrested the two women, who worked at the Missionaries of Charity-run shelter in Ranchi, the capital of the eastern state of Jharkhand.

The police said the shelter worker told them she had sold three other children at the home in Ranchi in recent months. The two were charged with illegally selling a child and could face up to 10 years in prison if convicted.

“Both the women confessed,” Amish Gupta, the police chief of

Ranchi, said by telephone, adding that they had been taken into custody.

“Those who had given and those who had bought and those who had intervened have committed a crime,” he said. Other people are also under investigation, he said.

Rupa Verma, chairwoman of the state-run Child Welfare Committee in Ranchi, alerted the police after an inspection last month at the shelter, known as Nirmal Hriday, showed that the number of children registered on the books did not reflect how many were actually there.

“I had a very good image of Missionaries of Charity, but this case came to us with hard evidence,” Ms. Verma said. “Now we are wondering what was going on there.”

The police said they arrested the shelter worker, Anima Indwar,

on Tuesday, who then implicated the head nun, Sister Concilia. They arrested her on Wednesday.

Ms. Verma — who rendered the nun’s name differently, as Sister Koshneliea Bakhla — said Ms. Indwar had been tending to a mother and her 2-week-old son when she heard about a childless couple looking to adopt. Ms. Indwar approached the couple and offered to sell the baby for about \$1,750, which they accepted, Ms. Verma said.

The biological mother didn’t want to keep the boy, and the couple took him home on May 15 without registering the adoption, the police said.

Ms. Verma said she uncovered the episode after conducting a routine inspection of the shelter late last month.

“I immediately felt that something was wrong,” Ms. Verma said. “But with the good image of



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

the Missionaries of Charity in my mind, I wondered how can this be?”

Ms. Indwar, alarmed by Ms. Verma’s inquiries, contacted the couple and asked them to return with the child for some formalities. She then returned the baby to his biological mother without

telling the couple, Ms. Verma said.

After they demanded the child back, filing a complaint with Ms. Verma, she confronted Ms. Indwar. Ms. Verma went to the police after the shelter worker told her that the child was the fourth she had sold illegally in recent months, in some cases for as little

A nun, center, hid her face while awaiting a hearing on child trafficking charges in Ranchi, India, on Thursday.

as \$750.

The couple, who have not been identified, are appealing for custody of the child but could also face charges.

Sunita Kumar, a spokeswoman for the Missionaries of Charity, expressed doubt about the accusations.

“The sisters are not happy about it. They say it can’t be true,” Ms. Kumar said, adding that the charity would investigate the episode as well. “In all these years no such incident has happened.”

Mother Teresa was an Albanian-born Roman Catholic nun who moved to India in 1929 before founding the Missionaries of Charity, an organization that is active in more 100 countries. She died in 1997 and was canonized in 2016.

Maria Abi-Habib contributed reporting.

Syrian Refugees Face Disease and Dehydration in Border Camps

By MEGAN SPECIA

Thousands of Syrians who fled a government offensive in the southwestern province of Dara'a are now at risk from scorpions, snakes, disease and dehydration.

At least 15 Syrians have died in camps near the Jordanian border because of "scorpion bites, dehydration and diseases transmitted through contaminated water," according to a report published this week by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. Twelve of the dead were children; two women and one elderly man also died.

More than 320,000 people in the Dara'a region have been displaced by the fighting, according to the United Nations. Most are living in campsites near the Jordanian border and the Israeli-controlled Golan Heights without adequate shelter, food or water. Thousands are sleeping in the open desert.

Temperatures there can climb above 110 degrees Fahrenheit during the day, and then plunge at night.

On Friday, Syrian government forces captured the main border crossing with Jordan as part of a deal with rebels in the area. The deal put the government back in charge of the critical transit point for the first time since 2015 but it was unclear whether it would help the displaced people camping on the border.

While the exact terms of the deal were not made public, the rebels' spokesmen said it also called for them to hand over their heavy weapons in exchange for the withdrawal of government forces from some villages. As in previous agreements between rebels and the government, the rebels would be given the choice of remaining in the area and accepting government control or being bused to rebel-held territory in northern Syria.

If the deal holds, it would mark a new victory for the government of President Bashar al-Assad, which has gradually consolidated its control of much of the country after routing rebel forces. Holding the Nasib border crossing with Jordan could give the government an additional boost by reopening a key trade route that linked Syria with other Arab countries.

The Russians were to guarantee the safety of returning civilians, the rebel spokesmen said, but there was no sign yet that civilians were returning.

Jordan and Israel are not allowing the refugees to enter their territory, though both are providing some aid near the border. Jordan, which has taken in about 1.3 million Syrian refugees during the

Ben Hubbard contributed reporting from Beirut, Lebanon.



NABAA MEDIA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



AHMAD ABDO/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

seven-year war, fears it could be destabilized by the arrival of hundreds of thousands more. It closed its border with Syria after a 2016 car bomb attack that killed six members of the Jordanian security forces at a military post on the border.

Filippo Grandi, the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees, has urged Jordan to consider allowing the new wave of displaced people to enter the country temporarily.

"The hostilities in the border area are life-threatening and leave many no choice but to seek safety in neighboring Jordan," he said on Thursday. "Given the im-

mediate dangers, I am advocating for granting temporary refuge in Jordan to those in need of safety and for the international community to provide immediate and substantive support to Jordan, in a spirit of solidarity and responsibility sharing."

Since June 27, United Nations humanitarian convoys have been unable to cross the border and enter Dara'a because of violence and a lack of security guarantees, according to a statement from the United Nations humanitarian agency.

Video taken on the Syrian side of the border shows families clustered around blue tarps or lying

Syrians fleeing shelling in Dara'a Province are moving to camps, above, near Syria's border with Jordan. Left, Syrian adults with children arriving at a medical outpost near the Jordanian border.

on the earth, as soldiers stand guard behind the border fence.

The International Rescue Committee has a mobile health clinic in a buffer zone near the border crossing between Nassib, Syria, and Jaber, Jordan, where around 60,000 people have gathered after fleeing Dara'a and the surrounding area.

The team there — one doctor, one nurse and one midwife — has been providing care for the past three days and has treated at least 50 people.

Rachel Howard, the International Rescue Committee's acting health coordinator in Jordan, said several pregnant women were among those in medical distress who had been referred to them. While the organization has yet to treat any cases of scorpion stings or snake bites, Ms. Howard said that is most likely because they are focusing their efforts on reproductive health.

But exposure to the elements was another source of concern.

"In addition to pregnancy, we saw diarrhea, dehydration and heat stroke. The environmental elements are quite harsh and the shelters are makeshift," Ms. Howard explained. "They're visibly distressed — who wouldn't be?"

The fighting is inching steadily closer to the Jordanian border. On Friday, Syrian state media reported that government troops had reached the border at Nassib.

Ms. Howard said the biggest difference between Thursday and the previous day was that rising smoke was visible on the Syrian side of the border, and the boom of artillery fire could be heard from where she was stationed on the Jordanian side.

"We could hear it in the distance," she said.

For those who have fled, there is little to do but wait for a resolution to the battle. The United Nations Security Council met on Thursday to discuss the situation in southwestern Syria. The Syrian government's attack on the area, with the backing of its ally Russia, violated a cease-fire agreement negotiated last year that deemed the area of Dara'a Province part of a de-escalation zone.

Several members of the Security Council, including Sweden, represented by its ambassador Olof Skoog, called on all parties involved in the conflict to consider a cease-fire. Speaking with reporters before the meeting, he also urged Jordan to "urgently step up protection of the civilians."

Men Seeking Rhino Horns Instead Find Hungry Lions

By KIMON de GREEF

CAPE TOWN — In the cold hours before dawn this week on a South African game reserve, a dog began barking. It was a special breed of Belgian sheepdog, and its job was to listen for poachers.

The dog's handler, trained to guard rhinoceroses, could hear a pride of lions in the distance. He decided it was a false alarm. But that Monday evening, rangers came across the remains of men suspected of being poachers.

"One of our guys found what he thought was a soccer ball," Nick Fox, the owner of the private game reserve in Eastern Cape Province, said on Friday. "It turned out to be a skull."

The next morning, rangers and police officers said that as many as three men suspected of being rhino poachers had been killed by lions in an area densely packed with thorn bushes.

"There was nothing we could do before that," Mr. Fox said. "It was getting dark — too unsafe to be on foot." He added, "Once lions have taken down a human, you cannot be on the ground with them."

To get to the remains, the rangers had to shoot the lions with darts to knock them out.

The men killed had been carrying a high-caliber rifle and an ax for chopping off the horns of the animals they planned to hunt, Mr. Fox said. They also had food to last several days — "mostly bread," Mr. Fox said — and wire cutters for getting through fences. His estimate of three victims was based on counting their clothes and shoes.

Rhino horn is worth about \$9,000 per pound in Asia, driving a lucrative and illicit trade. It is a prized ingredient in Chinese traditional medicine and is considered a status symbol.

South Africa is home to about 20,000 wild rhinos, more than 80 percent of the world's population. About one-third of the animals are owned by private breeders. Since 2008, more than 7,000 rhinos have



RENEE GRAHAM/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Rangers said that several men suspected of being rhino poachers were killed this week by lions on a South African game reserve.

been hunted illegally, with 1,028 killed in 2017, according to the South African Department of Environmental Affairs.

Capt. Mali Govender of the Eastern Cape police service confirmed the deaths and said that the remains had been sent for forensic testing. But she said it "was not possible to speculate" how many victims had died.

Of the rifle recovered from the scene, which had been fitted with a silencer, Captain Govender said, "You don't take a pellet gun to a game farm."

People suspected of being poachers have been killed by lions in South Africa before. In February, a man's mauled body was found in a reserve near Kruger National Park.

Mr. Fox, who established his game reserve, called Sibuya, in 2003, said there was "virtually no poaching at all" in the Eastern Cape until 2010, when suddenly it became a "serious problem."

A single rhinoceros was

poached in the Eastern Cape in 2007, according to the province's environment department. In 2016, poachers killed 19.

"There are more poachers now, and they are very well equipped," Mr. Fox said. To protect the rhinos on his property, he said, he had set up an antipoaching unit with guards, dogs and patrol vehicles.

"You literally need to have your own private army now," he said, estimating the cost to him at more than \$73,000 a year.

He would not confirm how many rhinoceroses were on his farm, heeding a nationwide moratorium on publicizing the numbers. In March 2016, he lost three rhinos to poaching, he said.

"It's devastating when that happens," he said. "This time, there's a huge sense of relief."

According to Annette Hübschle, a researcher at the University of Cape Town's Center of Criminology, rhino poaching has been expanding from Kruger National

Park, in northeastern South Africa, because of militarized antipoaching crackdowns.

"You now have traveling poaching gangs," Dr. Hübschle said, adding, "Rhino horn has huge value, so even low-level poachers can make a lot of money."

"Selling a single horn can exceed the yearly income of most rural people," Dr. Hübschle said.

The Eastern Cape is South Africa's poorest province, with a gross domestic product of less than \$3,700 per capita. The unemployment rate here, including people who have given up looking for work, exceeds 45 percent, significantly higher than the national average.

"Behind poaching there's a bigger story of structural inequality," Dr. Hübschle said. "People were chased off their land during colonialism and apartheid, losing their customary hunting rights and tenure. Today, many local communities experience some trickle-down from poaching, while

attitudes are generally negative towards private game owners and protected areas."

Responding to the death of the men, some residents saw a moral lesson. Annamiticus, a wildlife crime advocacy group, wrote on its website that "a gang of rhino killers apparently received a dose of their own medicine." On social media, many users saw it as "karma."

"Whenever the death of a poacher is reported, there's this horrendous outpouring," Dr. Hübschle said. "People seem absolutely delighted at the death of local people."

Julian Rademeyer, a project leader of Traffic, a nonprofit group that monitors illegal wildlife trades, and the author of "Killing for Profit" about rhino poaching in South Africa, said: "It is doubtful that these deaths will deter other poachers. The middlemen will simply up the price they are prepared to pay, and more young men will line up to kill or die."

Video Shows A Journalist From Japan Still Missing

This article is by Tiffany May, Makiko Inoue and Hisako Ueno.

HONG KONG — A Japanese journalist who went missing in Syria three years ago and who is believed to be a hostage of terrorists appeared in a new video aired on Japanese television on Friday.

Junpei Yasuda, a freelance reporter who often covered war zones, disappeared after traveling to Syria from Turkey in 2015, intending to cover the Syrian civil war. He was believed to have been taken hostage by the Nusra Front, which now calls itself Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham, a group known to capture foreigners for ransom.

Nippon News Network said it had obtained the video from a person connected to Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham, whom it would not name, who told the network that it had been recorded by the group that captured Mr. Yasuda. Another channel that obtained the video, ANN News, would not identify its source.

Neither channel broadcast the entire video.

Tarik Abdul Haq, a Syrian who has said he is in contact with Mr. Yasuda's captors, said in an exchange through Facebook Messenger that he had handled the sale of the video to Japanese channels for a commission, but declined to name his source.

In the video, Mr. Yasuda noted that it was October 2017, a reporter for Nippon News Network said in its broadcast, so it is not clear whether it reflected Mr. Yasuda's current condition.

His hair grayer and his beard longer since his last video appearance, Mr. Yasuda spoke to the camera against a black backdrop. Edited jerkily, the clip appeared to be stitched together from multiple takes and did not show Mr. Yasuda speaking continuously.

"I hope all of my family is fine," Mr. Yasuda said in the video. "I want to see you."

A few seconds later, a network voice-over in Japanese began summarizing the video's contents, while continuing to show Mr. Yasuda speak.

The segment that ANN News broadcast showed him saying: "Don't forget. Don't give up."

Mr. Yasuda's wife, Myu Yasuda, told ANN News that she hoped he would make it home soon.

"His face looked a bit pale and he seems to have lost some weight," she said. "I am just hoping that he will soon return to Japan safely, safely, safely."

The State Department designated the Nusra Front a terrorist group in 2012 and renewed that designation this year to reflect the name Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham. The group declared its affiliation with Al Qaeda in 2013, but claims to have cut those ties.

Mr. Yasuda was last seen in a video in 2016, in which he addressed his family while sitting behind a table in a room with white walls. It was posted on social media by Mr. Abdul Haq.

Two months later, Japanese news organizations published a photograph showing Mr. Yasuda holding a handwritten note in Japanese that reads: "Please help. This is the last chance." Mr. Abdul Haq reportedly provided the photo, as well.

On Friday, Mr. Abdul Haq posted a screenshot of the latest video of Mr. Yasuda on his Facebook and Twitter accounts. He claimed to mediate on behalf of the group holding Mr. Yasuda captive, though he told the newspaper The Japan Times in late June that he had stopped negotiating the terms for Mr. Yasuda's release because the Japanese government had not responded to the demands of the hostage takers.

With the new video, Mr. Yasuda's captors could be signaling that they want to renew hostage bargaining.

In the past, the Japanese government has refused to pay ransom for hostages, and after the first video of Mr. Yasuda was posted online, Yoshihide Suga, a chief cabinet secretary, reiterated the government's stance. "We don't acknowledge a request for ransom money," he said.

The Japanese have also been unsympathetic to captives who go into danger zones and are taken hostage.



KYODO NEWS, VIA REUTERS

Junpei Yasuda, a reporter who covered war zones, in 2015.

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The New York Times

‘She’s the Reason I Am Successful’

A former Marine pilot running for Congress in Kentucky draws inspiration from her mother.

By MICHAEL TACKETT

EDGEWOOD, Ky. — The story of how Amy McGrath went from United States Naval Academy graduate to Marine combat aviator to candidate for Congress really begins on the Sunday before Labor Day 1951 in the Pittsburgh suburb of Bellevue.

That was when her mother, Marianne, only 10 at the time, stumbled as she tried to climb the stairs to her room. The day before, she had had a horrible backache and fever. She made it to her bed, but after she lay down, she could not move her left leg. Her father, a physician, pricked her leg and she felt nothing. “He knew,” Marianne McGrath said. “The look on his face, I will never forget. He was devastated.”

In a year with a record number of women running for Congress, Amy McGrath did not have to look far for inspiration. Like other female candidates, Ms. McGrath, 43, was jolted into political action by President Trump’s election. But she had her mother already driving her.

Though polio restricted her mother’s life, it did not define her. Marianne went on to become a pediatrician after enduring rampant sexism at the University of Kentucky College of Medicine. But after suffering from post-polio syndrome, she lost the use of her left leg and could not stand for her rounds as a pediatrician. So she went back to school at night, completing a residency in psychiatry.

Now her daughter is running for Congress as a Democrat in Kentucky’s Republican-held sixth district on the power of an origin story that shows the same resolve as her mother. Amy McGrath knew her mother could not run, so she pushed herself to be a three-sport star athlete. She knew her mother had broken barriers, so she felt empowered to challenge the male-dominated norms of the military. And she knew her mother had endured pain and emotional hardship, so she pushed herself to do the same.

“She’s the reason I am successful in anything,” Ms. McGrath said.

Polio was a scourge of the 20th century’s first half, and Franklin D. Roosevelt was the national personification of the virus. People avoided swimming pools and physical exertion and cleaned their homes obsessively. Among those who were infected, terror spread as paralysis crept through their bodies from legs to arms, to the torso, sometimes to the brain.

On that warm late-summer afternoon in 1951, an ambulance took Marianne McGrath to the contagion ward at Presbyterian Hospital, where her polio was confirmed. It was the only reported case of polio in Pittsburgh’s Allegheny County that year, she said.

After three months in the hospital, she spent nine additional months in the D.T. Watson Home for Crippled Children, a converted mansion that overlooked the Ohio River.

She was isolated and frightened. The therapy — painful deep tissue massage, stretching, hot compresses of foul-smelling steamed wool — was “torture,” she said. She avoided an iron lung, but not the rocking bed, which moved her up and down to simulate respiration.

She lay in a windowless cubicle and could not turn over without assistance. Other than brief visits at holidays, on a stretcher bed, she did not return home for a year.

“When I went to the hospital to see her, people there were in iron lungs,” said her younger brother, Ray, whom the family called Fritz. “I was scared to death she would end up in one of those.”

Near the end of her stay, another Pittsburgh physician who knew her father, Dr. Jonas Salk, was looking for patients who had contracted polio to test his experimental vaccine. Her father volunteered his oldest child.

When Marianne returned home, she could walk with braces and crutches. Before polio, Marianne wanted to be an Olympic figure skater or the first woman to play Major League baseball. Now, when they played stickball, Marianne would bat and Fritz would run for her.

Mothers took their children to the other side of the street when they saw her approach. “That was a powerful message to me about how frightened people were and how little they knew,” she said. Only after Dr. Salk’s vaccine became widely available in 1955 did the fears about the virus subside.

She began taking street cars to art classes at Carnegie Tech on her crutches. “It taught me that, damn it, if I want to do it, I can do it,” she said. Her favorite book as a child was “The Little Engine That Could.”

Then her father was transferred to work at a Department of Veterans Affairs facility in northern Kentucky. She hated high school because she was “different,” always using crutches, but she did well academically.

At Villa Madonna College, she decided she wanted to be a doctor. She was accepted to the University of Kentucky College of Medicine, which had only a few female students, only to find colleagues questioning why she was “taking a man’s spot.”

“In those days what we call sexual harassment today was the norm,” she said. “You knew as a woman that if you were going into a man’s profession, you had to decide how to deal with it.”



MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dr. Marianne McGrath at home in Edgewood, Ky. Her daughter Amy McGrath, a congressional candidate, has been shaped by her struggles and successes.



When Dr. McGrath was studying at the University of Kentucky College of Medicine, she was one of only a few female students enrolled there. Left, Dr. McGrath helping Ms. McGrath with homework.



MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dr. McGrath contracted polio as a child, and also battled breast cancer while Ms. McGrath was in high school.



MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ms. McGrath talking backstage with her mother after winning the Democratic primary for Kentucky’s Sixth Congressional District in May. The high school graduation photos of mother, left, and daughter are displayed together.

She became a pediatrician and married her husband, Donald, a high school teacher, then had three children: Jane, a lawyer, Matthew, a high school history teacher who holds a doctorate, and Amy.

“We generally just look at my mom and say she is able to do anything,” said Jane Sora, her eldest child. “We look at our lives and we think the same thing.”

Amy McGrath’s two older siblings were so academically advanced, they skipped junior high school. She did not, in part because she was intent on playing sports.

“A lot of that was because Mom couldn’t,” Ms. McGrath said.

She was accepted to the only school to which she applied, the Naval Academy.

Ms. McGrath recalled tearing a ligament in her knee, requiring surgery ahead of prom.

“I was crying and feeling sorry for myself. Prom? Can’t dance!” she said. “And then I look at my mom, and she can barely walk. Shut up, Amy! It was always that way.”

Her mother did not push her children so much as provide constant and reliable support.

“From a very early age, she gave me enough balance of guidance, but also she did such a good job of letting the strings go from mother to daughter, not making me feel bad that I was gone,” Ms. McGrath said.

While her daughter was in high school, Dr. McGrath learned she had breast cancer. She overcame that, too.

Her daughter’s realization of her dream to be a pilot both heartened her mother and filled her with fear. She once refused to look at a picture of her daughter in Iraq, wearing a gas mask at a time of great concern about chemical weapons. Dr. McGrath also had to overcome a fear of flying so she could visit Amy when she was posted stateside.

The stresses of being in combat were many, and Amy McGrath said she turned to her mother more than her fellow Marines.

“I wanted to be available to her because I knew that she trusted me to listen and to not say anything to anyone,” said Dr. McGrath, 77.

Ms. McGrath joked: “Who has a psychiatrist on speed dial? Nothing ever got to the point of a total crisis because I got to talk it through with her.”

Ten years ago, Donald McGrath, who had not been seriously ill in 45 years, was told he had head and neck cancer. The disease progressively worsened, robbing him of his ability to chew. So Dr. McGrath essentially forswore her love of cooking and made soups and other liquefied foods that he could tolerate. She cared for him more as a nurse than a doctor and retired from her medical practice two years ago to do so full time.

“She told me once that she lost the music in her soul,” said her sister, Margie Kleese.

One night in April, as they sat in their living room, and while their daughter was making a campaign appearance more than an hour’s drive away, Mr. McGrath died unexpectedly. At the funeral home, the line was so long that Dr. McGrath had to stand for nearly four hours, too.

And then, she had to quickly pivot to her daughter’s campaign for the House.

“Did I think she would run for office? No,” Dr. McGrath said. “Not until this last presidential campaign, and the more I heard of it and the more I thought of it, ‘Oh, damn, she’s going to want to get caught up in doing something about this.’”

“I just wish she would do something easy.”

The 45th President Immigration

In Migrant Shelters, ‘It’s Always Like the First Day of School’

From Page A1

Teachers at the schools are sometimes not state-certified as teachers, according to these accounts. Some shelter instructors cannot communicate effectively in Spanish, and in other cases the curriculum is so limited and classes are so wide-ranging in age groups that students seem bored and disengaged.

Daniela Marisol, a 16-year-old migrant from Honduras, has been held at a series of shelters since August. She has not been able to fully participate in classes because she is partly deaf and has not received hearing aids, said Holly Cooper, a lawyer representing Daniela and other migrant children in a class-action suit against the Trump administration.

Leecia Welch, another lawyer for the plaintiffs, said children held at the Shiloh Treatment Center in Manvel, Tex., had been so heavily dosed with psychiatric drugs, purportedly to treat such ailments as depression and anxiety, that they fell asleep at classroom desks for hours at a time.

“You can only imagine the children surrounding them, how that impacts their education,” she said. The management at Shiloh declined to comment about its education programs.

At the largest migrant youth shelter in the country — a former Walmart in Brownsville, Tex., where the nonprofit Southwest Key Programs houses and educates 1,500 boys ages 10 to 17 — officials made it a point to show off the facility’s classrooms on a media tour in June.

Parts of the shelter resembled a typical school: brightly lit, white-walled rooms with white boards and rows of desks, and long hallways decorated with elaborate murals. One hallway displayed a giant construction paper cutout of a tree — an illustration of the three branches of government. Part of the curriculum at the shelter at the time focused on American civics and government, to coincide with the Fourth of July holiday, but there seemed to be a permanent emphasis on American patriotism and geography.

One wall in the cafeteria showed a map of the country, with the outlines of the states in bold colors. Elsewhere, the walls were emblazoned with images and quotations in Spanish and English from American presidents, from Lincoln to Trump.

The Southwest Key officials on the tour were proud of the shelter’s educational focus. But there are more than 100 facilities across the country where migrant children are detained — some run by nonprofits such as Southwest Key, others by private prison companies and government agencies — and the overall quality of the education they provide largely remains a mystery because much of what happens in the shelters is rarely seen by the public.

At Berks County Residential



LOREN ELLIOTT/REUTERS

Migrant children at a shelter in Brownsville, Tex. Detention facilities for migrants are ramping up their roles as makeshift schools.

Center, an ICE facility in Pennsylvania, there are two classrooms, one for children ages 2 to 11 and another for children 12 to 18, according to Eleanor Acer, of the nonprofit Human Rights First. Ms. Acer, who has visited the center several times, said that the wide age span left the older children in each group bored, and that much of the instruction was done through computers and worksheets.

She added that some teachers were unable to communicate effectively in Spanish, and that classes cycle through the curriculum every two weeks, meaning students who stay longer repeat the same material.

“The impression is that they are not really taught much of anything,” Ms. Acer said.

Adrian Smith, a spokesman for ICE, said that teachers at Berks are either certified in English as a second language or working toward such a certification. Children are grouped across age ranges, he said in a written statement, because of the “varying academic abilities of students.”

In general, federal immigration officials say that their contracted facilities are complying with federal requirements to provide at least five hours a day of instruction at facilities overseen by ICE and six hours a day at shelters operated by the Department of Health and Human Services.

Mark Weber, a spokesman for the department, said he could not comment on the cases of individual children detained in the agen-

cy’s shelters. Since 2002, the department has provided migrant children with “quality and age-appropriate care and a speedy and safe release to a suitable sponsor,” he said in an email.

The New York Times reached out to several shelter contractors to discuss their education services, but many declined to comment, including Shiloh Treatment Center and two of the biggest providers, Southwest Key and BCFS.

Should the Trump administration succeed in its attempts to hold migrant parents and children for longer periods, rather than releasing them as their cases make their way through the immigration courts, it will create more pressure on the schools within these facilities, and perhaps require them to provide more sophisticated services.

“The right thing to do is to get the kids out quicker,” said Bob Carey, who served under President Barack Obama as the director of the Office of Refugee Resettlement, the health department agency that administers the migrant shelters. Educators, he added, have to weigh their desire to help detained children against the knowledge that detention itself could have a detrimental impact on children’s academic growth and emotional health.

“If you’re a social worker or educator, you have professional ethical standards,” Mr. Carey said. “Now you’re party to a process, seeing children traumatized by your own government.”

A 1997 agreement between the federal government and advocates for immigrant children, known as the Flores settlement, specifies what education should look like for children in detention: instruction in the English language, science, math, social studies, reading, writing and physical education.

According to Health and Human Services guidelines, all residents of the children’s shelters, most of which are managed by independent social service agencies, should receive an educational assessment within 72 hours of arriving, and have access to schooling that takes into account their “linguistic ability” as well as “cultural diversity and sensitivity.”

ICE standards say children held at family detention centers should have a curriculum and state-certified teachers essentially identical to those at a regular public school. The standards say children should be assessed for disabilities and have access to translation services.

Advocates for migrant children say these requirements are not consistently met. Yet some who work in the system say they are proud of what they are able to accomplish, given the many hurdles.

At St. Peter-St. Joseph Children’s Home in San Antonio, migrant students are assessed for special educational needs and rotate through seven different classrooms, receiving instruction in all the major academic subjects, said Reynaldo Acosta, vice president

of programs at the shelter. They have had guest lessons on cooking and aviation, and took a field trip to a local bakery. They leave the program with the academic transcript and identification paperwork necessary to enroll in public school.

The shelter is affiliated with Catholic Charities, which contracts with the federal government, but the school is managed by the University of Texas Charter School system. All the teachers are fluent in Spanish, according to Mr. Acosta. They teach both the migrant children and, in separate classes, children who are in the custody of the State of Texas. Many organizations housing detained migrant children also work with children in state foster care systems.

In South Florida, the schools in two shelters that house migrant children are managed by the local public school system — an atypical arrangement. One of the shelters is His House Children’s Home, where Ms. Baez teaches. The Miami-Dade County school district receives state funding to educate the detained students, and the teachers and counselors at the shelters are state certified, said Alberto Carvalho, the Miami-Dade superintendent.

Despite the challenges of teaching there, most teachers at the home considered it one of the best jobs they had ever had, Ms. Baez said. “The kids are very responsive,” she said, “very glad to be in school learning and very eager to learn English.”

Immigrant families at a bus station in McAllen, Tex. Some parents of young children now in foster care have already been deported.



ILANA PANICH-LINSMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

United States alone and are released to an adult who claims to be a parent. In those cases, protections are needed to make sure children are not handed over to adults seeking to exploit them.

But such exhaustive protections, including home visits and the fingerprinting of every member of a household where a child will be residing, are slowing down reunifications, said the lawyer, Lee Gelernt.

“It doesn’t make sense,” Mr. Gelernt said. “You have taken the child from the parent.”

Last week, Judge Sabraw gave the government until July 10 to reunite children younger than 5 with a parent. He set July 26 as the deadline for older children.

The Trump administration began separating families who crossed the border illegally in the spring as part of its stepped-up enforcement measures along the border. Last month, the president issued an executive order halting the practice after it drew outrage from elected officials from both sides of the aisle as well as from the general public.

“There really has been a massive effort to get the resources in place and on the ground to make reunification happen,” Sarah B. Fabian, a government lawyer, said on Friday.

However, she added, “There are

some groups for which the reunification process is more difficult.” In those cases, she said, more time would be necessary to link parent and child.

Alex Azar, the secretary of health and human services, said in a conference call with reporters on Thursday that nearly 3,000 children were in federal custody as a result of family separations intended to deter illegal immigration and that about 100 of them were under the age of 5. But records connecting children to their parents have in some cases disappeared, according to some of those working on the reunifications, leaving the authorities struggling to confirm connections between family members.

Mr. Azar said the logjam was due to previous policies and court decisions that prevent migrant families from being held in detention for extended periods. “Any confusion is due to a broken immigration system and court orders,” he said. “It’s not here.”

Some parts of the federal judge’s ruling are already being complied with, the government said: Families are no longer being separated at the border, and arrangements have been made for children and parents to communicate with each other, a provision which the judge had specified was to be in place by Friday.

The government’s lawyer said that reunification was happening more rapidly when parents were still in the custody of Immigration and Customs Enforcement rather than after they were released.

In its motion, the administration asked the judge to clarify whether the court’s order on reunifications applies to parents who have been deported. There are reports that some migrants agreed to be quickly deported, believing it would speed up the recovery of their children — only to board a plane and realize that their child would be left behind.

“ICE does not have the ability to go into those countries,” said Ms. Fabian of the immigration enforcement agency.

Other problems have occurred because parents and children are so widely separated. Many children were sent to facilities thousands of miles away from their parents, and some are too young or scared to provide accurate information about their parents or their journey.

The executive order that ended family separations did not lay out steps for reuniting families.

The ACLU had filed a lawsuit before the separation practice was officially in place and before the president’s executive order.

In his ruling on June 26, Judge Sabraw said that children can be separated at the border only if the adults with them present an immediate danger to them. He also said that adults cannot be deported from the United States without their children.

In his written opinion, the judge criticized the government, saying, “The facts set forth before the court portray reactive governance — responses to address a chaotic circumstance of the government’s own making.”

Pence Says Calls for ICE To Disband ‘Must Stop’

By ALEXANDRA YOON-HENDRICKS

WASHINGTON — Calling Immigration and Customs Enforcement officials “American heroes,” Vice President Mike Pence doubled down on the Trump administration’s defense of the maligned agency on Friday and demanded that Democrats end their “irresponsible” push to disband it.

Mr. Pence, visiting the agency’s headquarters, said that to cede to activists and politicians’ calls to abolish it would jeopardize the country’s national security.

“So today, I want to make it clear to all of you and all of those looking on, under President Donald Trump, we will never abolish ICE,” Mr. Pence said. “And as the president said, we will never fail to applaud, and expand, and empower this agency with the resources that you deserve.”

ICE has been a source of mounting criticism among protesters, several Democratic politicians and even some of the agency’s investigators as the Trump administration’s “zero tolerance” immigration policy led to the separation of migrant families at the southwestern border. Though ICE officials were not responsible for the separations — which the president has ordered an end to and were conducted by Customs and Border Protection — some have come to see the agency as a representation of Mr. Trump’s aggressive approach to immigration enforcement.

“The American people have a right to their opinions, but these spurious attacks on ICE by our political leaders must stop,” Mr. Pence said Friday.

He specifically called out Senators Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts, and Kirsten Gillibrand, Democrat of New York, as well as Cynthia Nixon, who is seeking New York’s Democratic nomination for governor and recently called the agency a “terrorist organization.”

“We need to rebuild our immigration system from top to bottom, starting by replacing ICE with something that reflects our morality and that works,” Ms. Warren said last weekend at an anti-family separations rally in Boston.

Mr. Pence, who did not mention the family separations during his speech on Friday, called such positions extreme. “Just when you thought the Democrats couldn’t move farther to the left,” he said, “leading members of the Democratic Party, including candidates for higher office, are actually openly advocating for the abolition of ICE, an agency that protects the American people and our communities every single day.”

Mr. Pence said that “the calls to abolish ICE are not just outrageous, they’re irresponsible,” adding later that “the men and women of this agency over the last 15 years have played a critical role in ensuring that no major terrorist attack occurred on our shores.”

President Trump has vocally defended ICE in recent weeks, posting praise for the agency on Twitter and hitting back against Democrats’ criticism.

“Every day, the brave men and women of ICE are liberating communities from savage gangs like MS-13,” Mr. Trump tweeted on Thursday. “We will NOT stand for these vile Democrat smears in law enforcement. We will always stand proudly with the BRAVE HEROES of ICE and BORDER PATROL!”

Before his speech on Friday, Mr. Pence, along with the homeland security secretary, Kirstjen Nielsen, met with ICE staff members to learn more about the efforts of the agency, whose responsibilities include detaining and deporting unauthorized immigrants and investigating human trafficking and drug and arms smuggling.

At one point during his speech, Mr. Pence rattled off a list of statistics to highlight the work the “incredible patriots” were doing.

He said that last year, ICE made nearly 33,000 arrests of “individuals who came into this country illegally and then pursued crime against our people,” and seized nearly a million pounds of narcotics. He added that in 2017, ICE agents made 4,818 gang arrests, including 796 members of MS-13 — a gang that the Trump administration has held up as a prime example of the risks of illegal immigration, despite law enforcement officials’ saying that the threat may be overstated.

“Abolishing ICE would mean more violent crime,” Mr. Pence said, as well as “more vicious gangs” and “more drugs in our schools and our streets.”

Later, as Mr. Pence was greeting ICE employees and taking photos with them, a pool reporter asked him if “child separations is a Christian thing to do.” The vice president did not respond.

U.S. Asks for More Time To Get Families Reunited

By MIRIAM JORDAN

LOS ANGELES — The Trump administration on Friday asked a federal judge for more time to reunite migrant families separated by authorities at the southwest border, highlighting the challenge of confirming familial relationships between parents and children who now may be thousands of miles apart.

Parents of 19 of the 101 detained children who are under the age of 5 have been deported, a lawyer for the Justice Department reported Friday, though the government has said it was taking precautions not to deport parents whose children are still in custody.

In the case of 19 others, the parents have been released and their whereabouts are unknown, government lawyers said.

Judge Dana M. Sabraw of Federal District Court in San Diego had set a deadline of Tuesday for reuniting the youngest children with their parents, and in a conference Friday, the judge did not issue a blanket extension. Instead, he gave the government until Saturday evening to come up with a list naming all 101 of the youngest children, along with an explanation of why it would be impossible to promptly restore them to a parent.

Only after the government provided such a list, Judge Sabraw said, “can we have an intelligent conversation Monday morning about which child can be reunited by July 10, which will not — and then the court can determine whether it makes sense to relax the deadline. But I need more information.”

The Trump administration has been scrambling to streamline the

Julie Hirschfeld Davis contributed reporting from Washington.

Trump Starts Trade War, but the Path to Success Is Unclear

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shrugged off the trade war on Friday.

But the tariffs are still inflicting pain on some industries in particular, including farmers and small manufacturers who have long supported Mr. Trump. And with little sign of a negotiated resolution between the United States and China — or any other trading partner — the conflict threatens to escalate, eventually affecting hundreds of billions of dollars of additional products.

“Trump’s soundest argument in his election campaign was that he would not waste American lives and treasure in pointless wars of choice,” Adam Posen, the president of the Peterson Institute for International Economics, wrote in March in an op-ed article. “His launching a trade war would prove, however, to be his economic Afghanistan — costly, open-ended, and fruitless.”

On Friday, the Trump administration took its most aggressive step yet as it imposed tariffs on \$34 billion worth of Chinese goods, including medical devices and airplane parts, and threatened billions of dollars more in the coming months. The Chinese immediately responded with tariffs on an equal volume of American soybeans, pork, automobiles and other products.

Mexico, Canada and the European Union have similarly retaliated against Mr. Trump’s steel and aluminum tariffs and have threatened to push back if the president moves ahead with his threat to place a 20 percent tariff on imported cars and car parts.

The president and his advisers insist that history is on their side and that Mr. Trump’s approach will yield better results than years of diplomatic niceties.

“We have the worst trade deals in the world. We lose money with everybody,” Mr. Trump said last week. “Every country is calling every day, saying, let’s make a deal, let’s make a deal. It’s going to all work out.”

His approach has garnered support from certain corners of American industry, particularly sectors that have seen significant job losses connected to China’s rise.

“These aren’t the first shots of a new ‘trade war,’” Scott Paul, the president of the Alliance for American Manufacturing, which represents steelworkers and manufacturers, said Thursday in a Twitter post. “China’s been conducting a highly effective war on American workers,” he said, adding that the “difference now is that we are systematically pushing back.”

But many of Mr. Trump’s supporters say they are unsure, exactly, how the trade war will work out, given the escalating threats and the lack of a clear strategy.

Mr. Trump’s steel and aluminum tariffs had barely gone into effect before he upped the ante and threatened auto tariffs on those same allies, pushing trade relations with Europe and Canada to their rockiest point in decades.



GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump on Thursday at a rally in Montana. He said last week, “Every country is calling every day, saying, let’s make a deal.”



MARK SCHIEFELBEIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Monitoring stock prices in Beijing on Friday. China placed tariffs on American products after an opening move by the U.S.

With China, the president’s advisers have vacillated between asking Beijing to purchase more American products to lower the United States’ trade deficit and pushing for more substantive economic reforms. And talks to revise the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico remain stalled over deep differences with the United States.

If the conflict with China is not resolved soon, Mr. Trump has threatened to place tariffs on nearly everything China exports to the United States, in addition to tightening Chinese investments in the United States and limiting visas for Chinese citizens. While many supporters describe the president’s bold statements as a negotiating tactic, talks between the Chinese and the United States have faltered for now, with no additional discussions in sight.

“Trump is treating trade policy as though it were a real estate deal, where the goal is to beat your opponent, step on his throat and humiliate him,” said Daniel Ikenson, the director of trade policy studies at the Cato Institute.

Even if it works and nations like China blink, Mr. Ikenson said, “the cost to that will be trust in the U.S., and it will encourage other governments to behave this way when their backs are against the wall.”

Many farmers and manufacturers remain staunch supporters of Mr. Trump. But their faith is starting to waver as tariffs take effect and they feel the impact of reduced market access and higher costs.

“I would just like the administration to be clear, at least with us, on the goal,” said Jay Hollowell, the mayor of Helena-West Helena,

CHINESE CONSUMERS WORRY

Shoppers in China could be hurt by the trade war as tariffs limit exports and make basic types of food more expensive. Page B1.

Ark., an area that produces soybeans, which are now being heavily taxed by China.

“People’s livelihoods are on the line here,” Mr. Hollowell added.

For now, the current trade measures affect a small portion of the economy and come at a time of economic strength, giving Mr. Trump more latitude to take the type of aggressive measures that, in weaker economic times, would provide a drag on the economy much more quickly.

Businesses have been warning for months that tariffs will cause them to scale back on hiring and investment, and pass higher prices on to consumers. But those effects are not evident in the data, so far.

Oxford Economics, for example, calculated that the tariffs with China would shave only 0.1 percent off both American and Chinese gross domestic product in the next two years, though that would rise to 0.3 percent if the Trump administration followed through on threats to expand the tariffs to \$200 billion worth of goods.

But tariffs could still cause plenty of trouble in specific sectors and industries, even if the levies do not provide a significant drag on overall economic growth.

For example, soybean futures prices have fallen 15 percent since May 25 in anticipation of the Chinese retaliatory tariffs. With a stiff tax on soybean imports, American

farmers will face lower demand from overseas and a hit to their incomes. Those farmers, in turn, would spend less on equipment and materials, which could eventually trickle through to the broader economy.

John Heisdorffer, a soybean grower from Keota, Iowa, and the president of the American Soybean Association, said he and others in the industry had spent years trying to develop markets in China that were now being closed with the stroke of a pen. “My son, who farms with me, is going to spend the rest of his lifetime trying to get that back, and that scares the hell out of me,” Mr. Heisdorffer said.

The United States trade representative said Friday that it would allow American companies to apply for exclusions to the tariffs if the product they need to import is not available outside China, or if the tariffs on it would cause “severe economic harm.”

Some of the products involved in earlier phases of the Trump administration’s trade battles offer evidence of how American consumers may eventually be affected.

In January, the president announced new tariffs on imported washing machines. Since then, the price of laundry equipment is up 10 percent, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

For now, the economy appears strong enough. The question is what will happen if things continue to escalate.

“If we get up to a trillion dollars in the cross hairs, then that means we’re talking about 25 percent of trade in goods,” Mr. Ikenson said. “People will begin to notice that.”

On Last Day For Its Chief, E.P.A. Grants A Loophole

By ERIC LIPTON

WASHINGTON — In the final hours of Scott Pruitt’s tenure as administrator, the Environmental Protection Agency moved on Friday to effectively grant a loophole that will allow a major increase in the manufacturing of a diesel freight truck that produces as much as 55 times the air pollution as trucks that have modern emissions controls.

The move by the E.P.A. came after intense lobbying by a small set of manufacturers that sell glider trucks, which use old engines built before new technologies significantly reduced emissions of particulates and nitrogen oxide that are blamed for asthma, lung cancer and other ailments.

It was just as strongly opposed by an unusual alliance of public health groups like the American Lung Association, environmental groups like the Environmental Defense Fund and major industry players like United Parcel Service, the largest truck fleet owner, and Volvo Group, one of the largest truck manufacturers.

The shift in agency policy came quietly late Friday, the last day of work for Mr. Pruitt, who resigned after several ethics scandals. But agency officials confirmed to The New York Times that, through the end of 2019, the E.P.A. will not enforce an annual cap of 300 gliders per manufacturer that had been imposed in January.

The glider truck concept began so the engines of relatively new trucks that had been involved in accidents could be transferred to new truck bodies. But as the emissions control requirements went into effect in recent years, companies like Fitzgerald Glider Kits of Crossville, Tenn., began to attract thousands of buyers from around the United States — including many small fleet owners — that wanted to evade the new rules, getting trucks they argued were cheaper to run.

Fitzgerald made about 3,000 of these trucks in 2017, a production rate that it will now be allowed to return to. An estimated 10,000 glider trucks were sold nationally in 2015 — about 4 percent of new heavy-duty truck sales — and production could soon return to that level.

“The Agency is exercising its enforcement discretion in 2018 and 2019,” Molly Block, an agency spokeswoman, said in a statement late Friday, meaning that it is notifying glider manufacturers that even though the limit legally remains in place, the companies can effectively ignore it.

The agency, she said, is also considering formally delaying the 300-unit cap until December 2019 — by which point it hopes to have permanently repealed the cap.

The rollback was immediately condemned by environmental groups, which have appealed to the White House to block the E.P.A. from creating the loophole.

One year’s worth of truck sales was estimated to release 13 times as much nitrogen oxide as all of the Volkswagen diesel cars with fraudulent emissions controls, a scheme that resulted in a criminal case against the company and more than \$4 billion in fines.

Mr. Pruitt had championed the rollback, claiming that the E.P.A. did not have the legal authority to force companies like Fitzgerald to significantly reduce production of glider trucks. But that move came only after Fitzgerald donated tens of thousands of dollars to Representative Diane Black, Republican of Tennessee, who is a candidate for governor there, and who asked Mr. Pruitt to reverse the rule.

Mr. Pruitt announced his intention to eliminate the 300-unit limit last year, but it was slowed down by the White House. Agency officials said the White House asked the E.P.A. to do a more comprehensive study of the environmental and economic impacts of his proposal — an unusual move during the Trump administration.

Executives at Fitzgerald did not respond Friday to a request for comment. But in an opinion piece written in April, Tommy Fitzgerald Sr., its chief executive, praised Mr. Pruitt and blamed industry competitors, like Volvo, that sell new trucks for the now-delayed regulatory effort.

Emails released through a Freedom of Information request show that E.P.A. officials had been working with an executive from Volvo Group North America to do tests on glider trucks that would be used to challenge the effort by Mr. Pruitt.

“The new truck industry conspired with the Obama EPA to try to put us out of business,” he wrote, adding, “Our goose was cooked until President Trump and Pruitt came to town.”

Pruitt’s Allies Inside the Agency Were Leaving as Scandals Deepened

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to help his wife land a lucrative job.

“I was explicitly asked by Administrator Pruitt to help his wife find work, Ms. Dravis told the investigators, according to a transcript of her interview released Thursday afternoon, shortly after Mr. Pruitt resigned. She added, “There’s no reason I can think of why I would want to insert myself into such a situation.”

Mr. Pruitt became similarly isolated from many of his closest confidants, said David Schnare, a 34-year veteran of the agency who served on President Trump’s transition team and who left the E.P.A. himself after a falling-out with Mr. Pruitt over the rules governing ethanol use in gasoline.

“Who did he have left?” Mr. Schnare said. “He didn’t have much of anybody left.”

Mr. Pruitt has proud supporters, among them Michael McKenna, a Republican energy lobbyist who describes him as the outsider that the E.P.A. needed, someone who had built a career far from Washington and therefore could forcefully shake up the status quo. “Like all of us, he’s his own worst enemy,” Mr. McKenna said, but he was changing the culture of the agency and eliminating government regulations.

“A big part of the reason why the left went after Scott is because they disagreed with what he was doing at the agency,” Mr. McKenna added.

Senator James Inhofe, an Oklahoma Republican and longtime supporter of Mr. Pruitt, praised his “great work to reduce the nation’s regulatory burdens.” In recent months, Mr. Inhofe had criticized some of Mr. Pruitt’s actions, but on Thursday, shortly after the

resignation, he said Mr. Pruitt was crucial to Mr. Trump’s mission. “He was single-minded at restoring the E.P.A. to its proper statutory authority and ending the burdensome regulations that have stifled economic growth across the country,” Mr. Inhofe said.

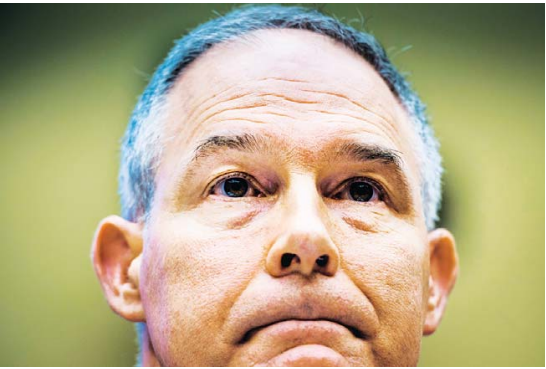
Nevertheless, even as Mr. Pruitt proposed historic rollbacks of government rules, jokes about a used mattress, a Chick-fil-A fast food franchise and a \$50-a-night condo became shorthand in American culture for an E.P.A. under fire as ethics crises consumed his top aides one by one.

Millan and Sydney Hupp, sisters and Pruitt family friends from Oklahoma, became Mr. Pruitt’s Washington gatekeepers, helping book trips nationwide to meet with oil executives, coal miners, farmers and other groups. But Mr. Pruitt also asked Sydney Hupp to set up a meeting with Chick-fil-A to seek a franchise for his wife. She resigned last summer.

Millan Hupp stepped down in June after Mr. Pruitt blamed her for telling investigators that, among other things, she helped him try to buy a used mattress from the Trump International Hotel. The same day she quit, so did Sarah Greenwalt, Mr. Pruitt’s senior counsel overseeing water policy. Ms. Greenwalt and Ms. Hupp were given substantial pay raises that Mr. Pruitt denied having approved and later rescinded.

The E.P.A. did not respond to requests for comment on Mr. Pruitt’s relationship with his senior aides. Mr. Pruitt’s spokesman, Jahan Wilcox, has denied any wrongdoing on the part of the administrator.

Perhaps the highest-profile departure was that of Kevin Chmielewski. He had arrived at the E.P.A. in April 2017 and was



PETE MAROVICH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Many of Scott Pruitt’s closest aides, disillusioned by what they saw as his loss of focus, had left before he resigned Thursday.

soon named deputy chief of staff for operations.

He came with unimpeachable Republican credentials, having served as an aide to several major Republican presidential candidates in the past two decades, including Mitt Romney and John McCain. He had worked on the Trump campaign from its start.

But in his first months at the agency, Mr. Chmielewski said on Friday, he began to question whether some of Mr. Pruitt’s actions were hurting the deregulation mission he had signed on for. He cited Mr. Pruitt’s spending on security measures and first-class flights as well as his requests that aides handle personal tasks for him, like picking up dry cleaning, while also keeping some meetings off his publicly released schedule.

“You can’t do that stuff,” said Mr. Chmielewski, who left in February after his own falling-out with Mr. Pruitt. “I was always waiting for the vice president’s of-

fice or somebody at the White House to step in and say, ‘Wait a minute, guys, this has to stop.’ But it never happened.”

Ryan Jackson, the E.P.A. chief of staff, has disputed Mr. Chmielewski’s depictions of the agency and Mr. Pruitt, characterizing him in an interview this week as a disgruntled former employee.

Over the course of his 16 months as E.P.A. administrator, Mr. Pruitt unveiled numerous major policy initiatives, such as the rollback of Obama-era rules on vehicle tailpipe emissions and the scaling back of a regulation on water pollution. However, some of the policies faced criticism for being hastily assembled in ways that made them vulnerable to challenge.

That is at least in part because he resisted advice from career E.P.A. staff members as well as his senior political aides, Mr. Schnare said. For example, Mr. Pruitt preferred not to have Kevin Minoli,

the agency’s principal deputy general counsel and top ethics official, attend senior staff meetings, Mr. Schnare said, because Mr. Minoli’s expertise put him in a position to push back against policies.

Mr. Minoli declined to comment.

And as Mr. Pruitt’s senior staff members began to question some of his actions, he retaliated. Instead of targeting the “deep state” — the idea, favored among some conservatives, that the government bureaucracy and liberal interests team up to block their aims — Mr. Pruitt blamed his own staff.

In three cases, Mr. Pruitt’s team tried to ease out staff members who had questioned his actions or had clashed over his management by telling them to resign but offering two to three months of extra pay, according to three former E.P.A. officials, including Mr. Chmielewski, who said he had been offered this arrangement and had declined.

Another instance occurred last summer when Mr. Jackson and Mr. Chmielewski fired Mr. Pruitt’s scheduler, Madeline G. Morris, after she raised concerns that she was being asked to break the law by deleting details about meetings on Mr. Pruitt’s calendar. At the time she was fired, the two E.P.A. officials arranged for her to receive an additional six weeks of pay, according to an email between Ms. Morris and Mr. Jackson released as part of a lawsuit over public records by the Sierra Club.

Federal rules prohibit paying an employee for work not performed.

The 45th President The E.P.A.

After an Aide Questioned the Deletion of Meeting Details, She Lost Her Job

This article is by Coral Davenport, Lisa Friedman, Eric Lipton and Steve Eder.

WASHINGTON — Before he resigned on Thursday, Scott Pruitt, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, was facing new questions about whether aides deleted sensitive information about his meetings from his public schedule and potentially violated the law in doing so.

Last summer one of his senior schedulers, Madeline G. Morris, was fired by Mr. Pruitt's former deputy chief of staff, Kevin Chmielewski, who said he let her go because she was questioning the practice of retroactively deleting meetings from the calendar. Mr. Chmielewski has emerged as a harsh critic of Mr. Pruitt after a bitter falling out that led to his departure from the agency as well.

Ms. Morris, who started work as Mr. Pruitt's scheduler in June 2017, confirmed Wednesday that she was fired after she raised objections about the deletions, which she believed were illegal, although she said that Mr. Chmielewski did not tell her his reasons for firing her. One case involved the deletion of several of Mr. Pruitt's meetings during a spring 2017 trip to Rome, including one with a cardinal then under investigation for sexual assault.

President Trump announced on Thursday that Mr. Pruitt, who had been the subject of numerous investigations into claims that he used agency resources for personal benefit, had resigned.

The E.P.A. acknowledged in a series of legal memos last year that it did in fact direct an agency scheduler — although it did not name the person — to revise Mr. Pruitt's daily calendar retroactively. The agency said it was doing so to remove errors that had been left in the electronic record after various events were canceled or happened differently than expected.

Ryan Jackson, Mr. Pruitt's chief of staff, dismissed Mr. Chmielewski's criticism as a fabrication by a disgruntled former employee. "Whatever he's telling you about altering calendars is not correct," Mr. Jackson said.

Ms. Morris was called last July by two agency lawyers, who told her that the changes she was making to Mr. Pruitt's schedule might be illegal, according to a person familiar with the conversation. The following month, Ms. Morris noticed that a number of changes had been made to the record of a trip Mr. Pruitt had taken to Italy. Ms. Morris questioned the legality of the changes to Mr. Chmielewski and Mr. Jackson, and a few days later was fired, he said.

A retroactive deletion of meetings and attendees from a cabinet official's public records could violate the Federal Records Act, which requires agencies to maintain and preserve public documents, as well as a law prohibiting intentional distortion of federal records. In another potential violation of federal law, the E.P.A. continued to pay Ms. Morris for six weeks after she was fired from the agency.



MARK MAKELA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kevin Chmielewski, above, who was a top official at the E.P.A. before a falling out with Scott Pruitt, said the agency had fired an aide who raised a concern about possibly illegal activity. Ryan Jackson, at right, who was chief of staff, disputed that account.

Asked to explain Ms. Morris's departure from the E.P.A., as well as his own email correspondence indicating that she was being paid for time not worked, Mr. Jackson declined to comment. He also declined to comment on whether Ms. Morris was simply being asked to reconcile calendars.

The E.P.A. spokesman and the agency's general counsel declined to comment.

Ms. Morris had nearly a decade of experience in Washington and solid Republican credentials, according to her résumé. She worked for former Representative Denny Rehberg, a Montana Republican, as an assistant and scheduler, before working as a federal affairs specialist for Koch Companies Public Sector, the lobbying arm of Koch Industries, the conglomerate long run by the conservative brothers David H. and Charles Koch.

Ms. Morris, whose start date at the E.P.A. was June 18, was an executive scheduler with an annual salary of \$90,350. She handled a variety of planning needs for Mr. Pruitt, including requests for meetings with executives from Toyota and Chevron.

The account of the calendar deletions and the aftermath is based on interviews with four people who were working at the agency at the time, including Mr. Chmielewski and three others who asked not to be identified out of concern for retaliation.

In July 2017, according to Mr. Chmielewski, Ms. Morris was instructed by him and Mr. Jackson to retroactively delete some meet-

ings Mr. Pruitt held with lobbyists and replace them with staff meetings in the calendar, which was maintained in Microsoft Outlook. He and other people familiar with the calendar also said Ms. Morris was asked not to enter some of Mr. Pruitt's meetings on the official calendar.

Mr. Chmielewski cited an August 2017 meeting with billionaire Denver-based businessman Philip Anschutz, a prominent donor to Republican Senate candidates and owner of an energy company regulated by the agency. Mr. Pruitt's calendar for that day, which was publicly released, does not include the meeting.

Mr. Anschutz declined to comment, and didn't dispute that the meeting occurred.

Three agency memos drafted last year as these changes were being made offer an alternative explanation for the work that Ms. Morris was doing.

"Scheduling staff corrected inaccurate entries by adding meetings that occurred but were not originally reflected on the schedule, removing meetings that were on the schedule but did not occur or that Administrator Pruitt did not attend," said one memo from last September, signed by Mr. Jackson.

But the agency, as it undertook this process, realized itself that it was doing something wrong: It was deleting items from Mr. Pruitt's calendar, meaning it was wrongly modifying a public record. Moving forward, the agency agreed to block out incorrect details, instead of deleting



CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES

meetings, before it made the schedule public.

After Ms. Morris made earlier deletions, the two E.P.A. attorneys — who became aware of the issue after receiving Outlook emails notifying them that their names had been removed from a past meeting — told Ms. Morris to stop making deletions to the calendar, according to a person familiar with the call.

About a month later, Ms. Morris noticed that a number of meetings had been deleted from a trip Mr. Pruitt had taken to Italy, according to Mr. Chmielewski. The Rome events that were removed from the official calendar included a series of visits at the Vatican — including a special tour of the necropolis below St. Peter's Basilica — as well as one meeting with Cardinal George Pell, a prominent Vatican leader who was then being investigated on allegations of sexual abuse. (He has denied the allegations.)

Mr. Jackson in May told The Times that he did not know why Cardinal Pell's name was not on

Mr. Pruitt's calendar and denied any discussion about removing him.

But last week Mr. Jackson acknowledged to the House Oversight and Reform Committee, one of the bodies investigating Mr. Pruitt's management practices, that he instructed staff to remove references to Cardinal Pell from the public schedule. According to a committee aide familiar with the interview, Mr. Jackson told investigators that he ordered Cardinal Pell's name to be removed because he considered it a "personal dinner" and because no E.P.A. business was conducted. About 15 people attended the dinner at which Mr. Pruitt discussed climate change, according to agency emails.

Ms. Morris pointed out the changes and the possibility that they were illegal to Mr. Chmielewski, he said, as well as to Mr. Jackson. On Aug. 31, a few days after Ms. Morris raised these objections (and two and a half months after she had started at the agency), Ms. Morris was told

There Was Change at Top But Agenda Is the Same

By BRAD PLUMER

Scott Pruitt is gone. But the big regulatory rollbacks he set in motion at the Environmental Protection Agency are still very much alive.

The E.P.A.'s new acting administrator, Andrew Wheeler, will pick up where Mr. Pruitt left off, working to scale back rules on power plant emissions, vehicle standards and water pollution.



Andrew Wheeler

Environmentalists have already vowed to fight these moves. In substance, at least, Mr. Wheeler is expected to closely resemble his predecessor, carrying out President Trump's wishes to dismantle Obama-era climate policy and reorient the E.P.A. in a more industry-friendly direction. But Mr. Wheeler's low-key style and deep familiarity with Washington — he was an E.P.A. official and a Senate Republican staff member for nearly two decades before becoming an energy lobbyist in 2009 — could make him more effective at deregulation than Mr. Pruitt, observers said.

"Pruitt was certainly interested in the politics of these issues, but he was not always as involved in the policymaking," said Jeffrey R. Holmstead, a partner at the firm Bracewell and a former E.P.A. air chief. "Whereas Andy under-

stands how to work with E.P.A. staff to get things done. He's much more interested in the day-to-day work of the agency."

Here are five big E.P.A. policy battles that lie ahead under Mr. Wheeler's tenure:

1. Shrinking Obama's Signature Climate Policy

In 2015, President Barack Obama finalized the Clean Power Plan, a sweeping rule to cut carbon dioxide emissions from coal-fired power plants and the centerpiece of his plan to tackle global warming. President Trump, who called the plan "stupid" and "job-killing," ordered a repeal, and Mr. Pruitt formally began to undo it in October.

The E.P.A. is still legally obligated to regulate greenhouse gas emissions. So, under Mr. Pruitt, the agency drafted a much weaker alternative to the Clean Power Plan that would require only modest tweaks to existing coal plants. This proposal still has to go through public comment and review before it can be finalized, and environmental organizations have said they will challenge it in court.

Some conservatives have urged the E.P.A. to take a bigger step and refuse to regulate greenhouse gases altogether, by overturning a 2009 legal opinion known as the endangerment finding. But Mr. Wheeler, who has questioned the established science on climate change, appeared to shy away from this option during his Senate confirmation hearing for his current post, telling Democrats he considered the finding "settled."



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST, VIA GETTY IMAGES

2. Fighting With California Over Vehicle Standards

The E.P.A. has also been working with the Transportation Department to loosen Obama-era rules on greenhouse gas emissions from cars and light trucks. Their proposal, which is under review by the White House, would seek to halt any rise in fuel-economy standards after 2021 and rescind California's authority to set its own, tougher standards for automobiles.

California has vowed to challenge this move in court, and some automakers have expressed unease at a legal fight that could drag on for years and potentially fracture the nation's vehicle market. One question is whether Mr. Wheeler will try to negotiate a compromise with California and other states in order to avoid risky litigation.

"This will be an early test," said Jody Freeman, a law professor at Harvard who was the counselor for energy and climate change in the Obama White House. "Does he follow Pruitt and take a big legal risk by aggressively going after California? Or does he try to pull back in search of a deregulatory result that everyone can live with?"

3. Scaling Back The Clean Water Rule

Last year, Mr. Pruitt signed a proposal to pare back an Obama-era regulation known as the Waters of the United States rule, which sought to clarify which streams and wetlands get automatic protection under the Clean Water Act. Farmers and developers had criticized the Obama-era policy as overly intrusive, and Mr. Pruitt sought to suspend the rule while

writing a new, much narrower regulation that would extend protections to fewer waterways.

But that proposal faces an uncertain fate in the courts: In drafting a replacement, Mr. Pruitt's E.P.A. planned to follow guidelines laid out by Justice Antonin Scalia in 2006 — in an opinion that did not receive majority support on the Supreme Court. Mr. Wheeler will be tasked with trying to write a regulation that is legally defensible.

4. Changing the E.P.A.'s Use of Science

In April, Mr. Pruitt unveiled a proposal to change the way the E.P.A. relies on scientific research, by limiting the use of studies in which the underlying data is not publicly available. Scientific researchers criticized the move, noting that the proposal could exclude some

that it would be her last day.

Mr. Chmielewski confirmed the sequence of events and acknowledged that by firing Ms. Morris for refusing to modify the calendars he was in effect endorsing the practice. "She refused — and I didn't blame her — she refused to falsify the schedule," Mr. Chmielewski said in an interview, adding, "It was me and Ryan that fired her."

Asked why Ms. Morris was fired, Mr. Jackson said, "I don't really think Maddy would appreciate me talking about the circumstances of her separation from here."

After being fired, Ms. Morris stayed with her sister's family in Pittsburgh, and described to them what had happened.

"She told us that she had alerted her chief of staff that some things had disappeared from the schedule, and that it was illegal, and that later that week she was called in and they told her she was being dismissed," said Christopher Marshall, Ms. Morris's brother-in-law. "She was told she would never find out why."

He added, "Maddy thought it was probably because of the scheduling thing, but we could never be sure."

In an unusual arrangement, Ms. Morris also continued to receive pay for six weeks after she left the E.P.A., according to agency emails that were released as part of a public records lawsuit by the Sierra Club, an environmental group, as well as a United States Office of Personnel Management document obtained by The New York Times.

The personnel record shows Ms. Morris remained on the payroll through Oct. 14. Paying a federal employee for work not performed is prohibited.

"We have not put in any paperwork on you so no one is aware of any actions," Mr. Jackson wrote in a Sept. 22, 2017, email to Ms. Morris. Earlier that day, she had asked about not having received a paycheck she was expecting after she had stopped working.

"I've never heard of anything like this — this is highly irregular and appears to flout the rules," said Jeffrey Lubbers, a professor of administrative law at American University, of the terms of Ms. Morris's dismissal and payment.

Mr. Pruitt is facing 13 federal investigations over ethics and other issues, including an inquiry by the Office of Special Counsel, an independent federal investigative and prosecutorial agency, which is examining Mr. Pruitt's personnel practices and allegations that he may have used his E.P.A. office for political purposes, people with knowledge of the investigation have told The Times.

Speaking to reporters aboard Air Force One on Tuesday, Hogan Gidley, a White House spokesman, said of Mr. Pruitt: "The reports that have come out are something the president is concerned about, and there are many of those reports." But he added that Mr. Trump felt the administrator had done a "really good job at deregulating the government."

Outside the offices of the Environmental Protection Agency. President Trump's allies at the agency are expected to stick to the plan of deregulation.

of the most important studies available on the harms from air pollution or pesticides, because those studies frequently redacted confidential health information about their participants.

Mr. Wheeler is expected to move forward on this policy, but he may be forced to make changes. Several business groups, including pesticide makers and the National Association of Home Builders, recently expressed worry that Mr. Pruitt's proposal was overly broad.

5. Finding a Compromise On Biofuels

Before his resignation, Mr. Pruitt came under fire from a number of Senate Republicans — not because of his ethics issues, but because of ethanol.

In recent months, Mr. Pruitt emptied more than two dozen small oil refineries from a mandate to use renewable fuels, like ethanol made from corn. Behind the scenes, he also worked to revise the E.P.A.'s biofuels rules to lighten the burden on the oil industry. But those moves provoked the ire of corn-state senators like Charles E. Grassley, Republican of Iowa, who threatened to call for Mr. Pruitt's resignation.

Some experts think that Mr. Wheeler may try to steer clear of this fight altogether. In a research note to clients on Thursday, analysts at ClearView Energy Partners wrote that the E.P.A. could now be less inclined to revamp the biofuels mandate and offer exemptions to small refineries, "particularly after the quagmire these decisions created."

Giuliani Sets Steep Terms For a Mueller Interview

By **MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT** and **MAGGIE HABERMAN**

WASHINGTON — President Trump's lawyers set new conditions on Friday on an interview with the special counsel and said that the chances that the president would be voluntarily questioned were growing increasingly unlikely.

The special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, needs to prove before Mr. Trump would agree to an interview that he has evidence that Mr. Trump committed a crime and that his testimony is essential to completing the investigation, said Rudolph W. Giuliani, the president's lead lawyer in the case.

His declaration was the latest sign that the president's lawyers, who long cooperated quietly with the inquiry even as their client attacked it, have shifted to an openly combative stance.

Mr. Giuliani acknowledged that Mr. Mueller was unlikely to agree to the interview demands. Mr. Mueller could subpoena Mr. Trump to answer questions if he does not agree to voluntarily sit for an interview. Mr. Giuliani left open the possibility that the president, who has said in the past that he would be eager to sit down with the special counsel, would still agree to be interviewed.

Mr. Giuliani appeared to be in part trying to shift responsibility onto the special counsel for the lengthy negotiations over an interview — and was most likely prolonging them himself.

“If they can come to us and show us the basis and that it's legitimate and that they have uncovered something, we can go from there and assess their objectivity,” Mr. Giuliani said in an interview. He urged the special counsel to wrap up his inquiry and write an investigative report. He said Mr. Trump's lawyers planned to write their own summary of the case.

A spokesman for the special counsel's office declined to comment.

The president's lawyers want Mr. Mueller to explain how the Justice Department gave him the authority to investigate possible obstruction of justice by the president in what began as a counterintelligence investigation into Russia's election meddling. The order appointing Mr. Mueller authorized him to investigate possible links between Moscow's interference and Trump associates, as well as any matters that arose from the inquiry.

The lawyers also want evidence that the special counsel exhausted every other investigative measure before asking the president to answer questions, and that he is the only person who could provide them with the information they are seeking.

The gambit by Mr. Giuliani was the latest maneuver in an all-out assault by the president and his legal team in recent months to alter public opinion about the inquiry. They have come to believe that, if the Democrats win control of the House in November, the chamber will vote on whether to begin the impeachment process no matter the outcome of Mr. Mueller's investigation. So they want to sway Americans — and by extension, lawmakers.

To that end, Mr. Trump has publicly complained about the investigation more frequently in recent months — tweeting about a “witch hunt” 59 times since March, compared with 20 times in all of 2017 — and Mr. Giuliani regularly appears in the media attacking the investigation.

Mr. Trump's lawyers are quietly more combative, too, contesting a request from the special counsel to interview John F. Kelly, the White House chief of staff. Emmet T. Flood, the lead White House lawyer in dealing with the investigation, has demanded to know what investigators want to ask Mr. Kelly and has tried to narrow the scope of their questions. A month after the request was made, Mr. Kelly has not been questioned, though a White House official said he was willing to be.

“That's the new position. If they had made the request eight months ago, they would have said yes because they thought there was a group of people on Mueller's team who had an open mind and were objective,” Mr. Giuliani said of the president's previous lawyers, most of whom have left the legal team.

The effort appears to be bearing some fruit. According to a Washington Post-Schar School poll released on Friday, 45 percent of Americans disapprove of how Mr. Mueller is handling the investigation, a 14-point increase from January.

“Nobody is going to consider impeachment if public opinion has concluded this is an unfair investigation, and that's why public opinion is so important,” Mr. Giuliani said.

The strategy is a departure from the legal team's playbook during the first year of the special counsel investigation, when Mr. Trump's lawyers were more cooperative. They waived executive privilege, handed over documents and made White House aides available for interviews, convinced that it would hasten the end of the inquiry.

But in April, Mr. Trump concluded that Mr. Mueller and Justice Department officials were determined to find wrongdoing after federal investigators in New York, acting on a referral from the special counsel, raided the office, hotel room and home of Mr. Trump's longtime personal lawyer Michael D. Cohen.

After the raid, Mr. Trump decided to double down on his more aggressive strategy, according to people close to him. He hired Mr. Giuliani to replace his lawyer John M. Dowd, who had convinced Mr. Trump of the value of the earlier, more cooperative approach. Mr. Giuliani immediately

Ohio Abuse Scandal Spurs Blaming of the ‘Deep State’

From Page A1

have forgotten what happened, the congressman offered little explanation.

“I feel sorry for him,” he said of Mr. Coleman. “It's just not accurate.”

Instead, Mr. Jordan continued to fan conspiracy theories connecting the emergence of the charges to his aggressive questioning last month of Deputy Attorney General Rod J. Rosenstein, the man many Trump supporters hold responsible for the Russia investigation.

“I think the timing is suspect when you think about how this whole story came together after the Rosenstein hearing and the speaker's race,” he said.

Next week will be another big moment for Mr. Jordan: He will be front and center in joint House hearings with the F.B.I. agent Peter Strzok, the man in the middle of what some see as the federal law-enforcement plot to take down Mr. Trump.

Ahead of that moment, the president weighed in with his unqualified support. “Jim Jordan is one of the most outstanding people I've met since I've been in Washington,” Mr. Trump told reporters on Thursday. “I believe him 100 percent. No question in my mind.”

Mr. Jordan served as an assistant coach on the Ohio State wrestling team in the late 1980s and early 1990s, during which time Dr. Strauss is accused of showering with athletes and touching them inappropriately. The university announced in April that it had begun investigating the

allegations against the doctor, who killed himself in 2005.

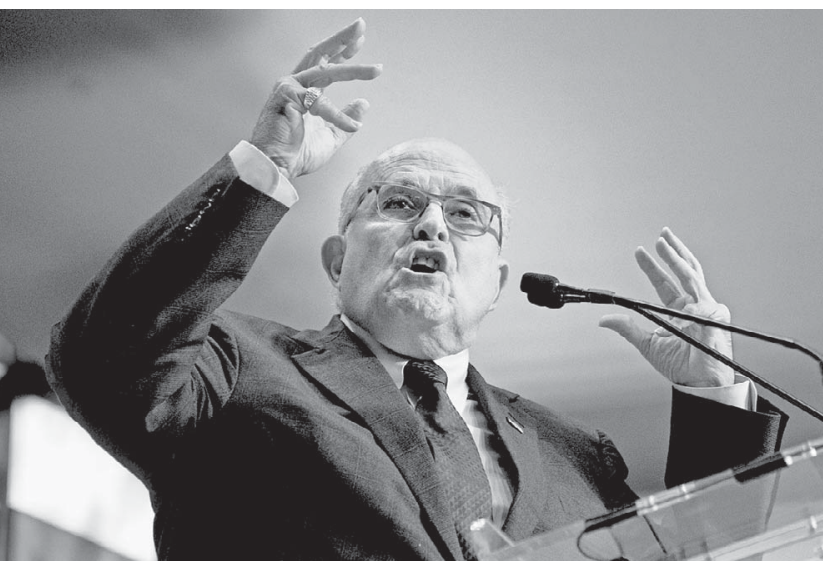
Mr. Coleman and four other wrestlers have now said that Mr. Jordan was aware of the abuse but did nothing to stop it. Another former Ohio State wrestler, Mike Schyck, said in an interview on Friday that he and other former team members planned to “collectively say some things together,” adding that the scandal is not about Mr. Jordan.

But even as more wrestlers step forward, Mr. Jordan's base has mounted a defense. The conservative news media has questioned the motives and truthfulness of his accusers.

One of those accusers, Mike DiSabato, scoffed at suggestions that his motivation in calling out Mr. Jordan was political or part of a personal vendetta.

“There were two choices for Jim when he was asked about this situation: He could have told the truth that he saw it, he was there, he was in the showers and saunas with us,” Mr. DiSabato said. “He could have told the truth and stood with us, or he could have played politics.”

The allegations have cast a cloud over the congressman at a time when he is ascendant. Mr. Jordan has emerged as one of the president's staunchest defenders, helping to lead a Republican counterinvestigation of F.B.I. and Justice Department officials who are looking into potential connections between the Trump campaign and Russian election interference. A founder of the House Freedom Caucus, Mr. Jordan has also been floated as a possible successor to



Rudolph Giuliani said the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, below right, is unlikely to consent.



John Dowd, President Trump's former lead lawyer for the special counsel inquiry, broke with Mr. Trump over whether the president should agree to questioning, a person briefed on the matter said.



began a public relations assault on Mr. Mueller. Mr. Flood, who is known for his strong view of the president's powers to shield his communications and documents from investigators, was brought on in May.

Mr. Giuliani has sown doubt and confusion by pushing dubious theories about the case. He has made claims like accusing Mr. Mueller's office, without evidence, of trying to frame Mr. Trump. Mr. Giuliani has also pushed unfounded theories, like an assertion that the F.B.I. implanted a spy in Mr. Trump's campaign.

The president and his lawyers have also tried to undermine key witnesses like James B. Comey, the former F.B.I. director fired by Mr. Trump, to force the public to decide whether to believe them or the president. That is a tall task — the president's penchant for half-truths, exaggerations and outright falsehoods is well established.

But Mr. Trump and his lawyers contend that Mr. Comey damaged his credibility as a witness during his book tour this spring by showing that he played by his own rules when he ran the F.B.I., and that the findings of a recent inspector general report critical of the F.B.I.'s handling of the Hillary Clinton email investigation buttressed their case.

Mr. Giuliani views the tactics as

an early success. “Right now, public opinion is going in our direction big time,” he said.

His approach also extends to his public portrayal of the negotiations with Mr. Mueller over a presidential interview. Even as they have delayed any agreement for at least six months of negotiations, the lawyers have condemned the special counsel for dragging out the inquiry, saying he has had more than enough time to complete his investigation.

Mr. Giuliani has gone back and forth about whether the president will agree to be questioned and given varying timetables. He once said Mr. Trump would make a decision after his meeting with the North Korean leader, Kim Jong-un, last month, then changed that deadline to July. The president's lawyers have set other deadlines that came and went without resolution.

This stalling has all but dared Mr. Mueller to subpoena Mr. Trump to testify, potentially setting off a monthslong battle in court about whether the president can be compelled to answer questions under oath.

Also prompting a shift in the president's strategy was the conclusion by his lawyers that even if Mr. Mueller finds evidence of wrongdoing, he will adhere to Justice Department memos that say the president should not be in-

dicted, and is likely to instead send a damaging report on Mr. Trump's conduct to Congress.

Critics see the array of delay tactics as aimed at stalling an investigative report to Congress until after November's midterm elections. The more time Mr. Trump and his lawyers have to influence Americans' views of the inquiry, the better their chances to undermine its credibility and pressure lawmakers not to impeach Mr. Trump.

Legal experts are skeptical that the new tactics will be effective. “It's a gambit because if there's damaging information that comes out down the line — like primary source documents or testimony — then you've spent your capital trying to create a public narrative that is belied by hard evidence,” said Stephen I. Vladeck, a professor at the University of Texas School of Law and an expert on constitutional law.

Mr. Dowd said that the public did not appreciate the damage the investigation had done to both Mr. Trump and the presidency over the past year. He said he had come around to Mr. Trump's view, first voiced by the president last summer, that Mr. Mueller is acting in bad faith.

“That's the way the president was at the beginning,” Mr. Dowd said, “and the president was right.”



Representative Jim Jordan, Republican of Ohio, said he was “never told about any kind of abuse.”

Speaker Paul D. Ryan of Wisconsin, who has announced he will retire at the end of the year.

Some of his backers have suggested that Mr. Jordan's accusers are also part of a “deep state” conspiracy to derail his political future.

“Jim Jordan goes against the powerful interests at the F.B.I. & deep state to expose them & hold them accountable for their crimes,” tweeted Mike Tokes, a founder of The New Right, a conservative political organization. “Now all of a sudden there is a concentrated smear campaign against him in a deliberate attempt to discredit his work? The American people know better.”

His supporters have tried to amass evidence of that conspiracy. One of the leading talking

points, which Mr. Jordan referenced on Friday night, is the choice of the investigative law firm retained by Ohio State in the Strauss matter. The firm, Perkins Coie, worked for Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign and the Democratic National Committee, and helped to pay for a dossier of unconfirmed accusations linking the Trump campaign to Russian intelligence.

The Daily Caller has also encouraged its readers to question the accusers' motivation and scrutinized their “sketchy history,” reporting that one of the accusers served an 18-month jail sentence for a fraud scheme.

Mr. Jordan has tried to discredit his accusers, especially Mr. DiSabato, and his office has sent statements to the press from fig-

ures in the wrestling world defending the Ohio Republican, including from the team's former coach.

Other Republicans have taken a cooler tone, either staying silent on the allegations or offering muted statements. “The university has rightfully initiated a full investigation into the matter,” a spokesman for Mr. Ryan said in a statement. “The speaker will await the findings of that inquiry.”

As Congress prepares to return to Capitol Hill next week, Mr. Jordan indicated on Friday that he would continue to maintain his innocence.

“What bugs me the most,” he said, “is that these athletes who you spent so much time with are saying things that just are not true.”

FACT CHECK

WHAT WAS SAID

“But I will tell you, the secretary general, Stoltenberg, is Trump's biggest fan. He says, ‘Those NATO nations are going like this: less money, less money. Why not? And when you started talking, it went like a rocket ship.’”

President Trump, speaking at a campaign rally in Great Falls, Mont., on Thursday

THE FACTS

This is exaggerated. It's unclear what Jens Stoltenberg, the secretary general of NATO, has said to Mr. Trump. But the notion that Mr. Trump single-handedly and drastically reversed military spending by members is inaccurate.

As The New York Times has previously explained, each of NATO's 29 members has pledged to spend at least 2 percent of its gross domestic product on its own defense each year. Just four countries — the United States, Britain, Greece and Estonia — met that goal in 2017, according to NATO. (Poland reached 1.99 percent.)

Average spending by members other than the United States has generally been declining since the end of the Cold War, dipping to 1.4 percent of G.D.P. in 2014 and 2015 before increasing to 1.42 percent in 2016 and 1.45 percent in 2017.

So NATO members began to spend more on their militaries before Mr. Trump took office. It's possible that Mr. Trump's dedication to the issue has spurred NATO members to continue to do so, but they are also motivated by Russia's aggressive actions, experts have previously told The Times.

WHAT WAS SAID

“They make the sources up. They don't exist in many cases. Any time you say — you know, I saw one of them said ‘15 anonymous sources’ — I don't have 15 people in the White — I mean, forget it.”

THE FACTS

False. As he accused news outlets of quoting nonexistent sources, Mr. Trump cut himself off before he could finish his incorrect claim that the White House employs fewer than 15 people.

The “White House” can broadly refer to the Executive Office of the President, which includes the Office of Management and Budget, the National Security Council, the Council of Economic Advisers and the Office of the United States Trade Representative, among other domestic policy arms and support staff. Mr. Trump's budget for the 2019 fiscal year estimated that more than 1,800 full-time employees work for these offices.

The term can also refer specifically to the White House Office, which is one of the oldest sub-agencies of the executive office and where many of the president's personal aides work. It alone employs 374 people, according to its latest report to Congress on salaries, which was dated June 29.

WHAT WAS SAID

“Since the election, we have lifted three million people off of food stamps.”

THE FACTS

This requires context. Participation in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program did decline to 40.1 million people in March 2018 from 43.2 million in November 2016, according to the most recent data from the Agriculture Department.

Mr. Trump, of course, was not yet president in November 2016. From February 2017, his first full month in office, to this March, nearly 2.2 million fewer people participated in SNAP.

It's also worth noting that participation has been declining in recent years as the economy improves from the financial recession. For example, in the year before Mr. Trump became president, SNAP enrollment declined by more than 2.4 million from December 2015 to January 2017.

LINDA QIU

The 45th President The Court

President Has the Perfect Template for His Second Nominee: His First

Finalists Who Have a Lot in Common With the Court’s Most Recent Justice

By **MARK LANDLER**
and **MAGGIE HABERMAN**

WASHINGTON — All four of President Trump’s candidates for the Supreme Court are white, middle-aged, federal appeals court judges with reliably conservative legal records.

One of them, Brett M. Kavanaugh, went to the same high school as Mr. Trump’s last nominee, Neil M. Gorsuch — Georgetown Prep, outside Washington. Another, Raymond M. Kethledge of the Sixth Circuit, so resembles Justice Gorsuch in background, philosophy, hobbies — both are outdoorsmen who like fishing — and even physical appearance, that some conservatives have taken to calling him “Gorsuch 2.0.”

As Mr. Trump holed up Friday in the private residence at his golf club in Bedminster, N.J., to make his decision — determined to wring some residual drama from a process that is not, on the merits, all that dramatic — the similarities to Justice Gorsuch may prove as important as any other qualification.

Mr. Trump, aides said, views the Gorsuch nomination as one of the unalloyed triumphs of his presidency, a model for how he would like to fill the seat soon to be vacated by Justice Anthony M. Kennedy. The president’s goal is a replay of January 2017, when he unveiled Judge Gorsuch in a much-anticipated ceremony in the East Room of the White House, presenting him to an rapturous audience of Republican lawmakers almost as if he were the winner of a “Survivor” episode, Supreme Court edition.

“I think you’re going to really love it, like Justice Gorsuch,” Mr. Trump said Tuesday at a dinner in White Sulphur Springs, W.Va. “We hit a home run there, and we’re going to hit a home run here.”

So Mr. Trump has said he will introduce his second nominee in a prime-time TV appearance on Monday after spending the week-end mulling his options and, apparently, deciding on Sunday. In addition to Judge Kavanaugh and Judge Kethledge, aides said he is weighing Judges Amy Coney Barrett and Thomas Hardiman.

“I’m very, very happy with them, and we will pick somebody who will be outstanding,” Mr. Trump told reporters on Thursday. “Those are very terrific people. The whole list is extraordinary.”

But Mr. Trump, two people close to him said, has narrowed the contest to Judge Kethledge — with whom aides said he had an excellent interview — and Judge Kavanaugh — who has the enthusiastic backing of the White House counsel, Donald F. McGahn II, but is handicapped by his links to President George W. Bush, for whom he served as staff secretary. Judge Kavanaugh’s wife, Ashley, was a personal secretary to Mr. Bush.

A photograph of Mr. Bush’s political guru, Karl Rove, throwing a comradely arm around a younger Mr. Kavanaugh has circulated among conservatives who oppose his candidacy. Mr. Trump, aides said, deeply resents Mr. Rove for his criticism of his presidential campaign.

Mr. Trump’s disdain for Jeb Bush, the former Florida governor who was favored to beat him in the 2016 Republican primary race but who suffered a humiliating defeat in one contest after another, has also remained intact.

At a rally on Thursday in Great Falls, Mont., Mr. Trump even took a rare swipe at President George Bush, who is 94 and in frail health, mocking one of his signature campaign slogans.



CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES

Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh, left, in 2006 with then-Senator Bill Frist, is a leading candidate.

“Thousand points of light,” Mr. Trump said. “What does that mean? I know one thing. ‘Make America Great Again’ we understand. Putting America first we understand. Thousand points of light, I never quite got that one. What the hell is that?”

Mr. Trump recently told an associate that “the Bushies in the White House are out to get me,” without specifying who or what he meant, according to a person with knowledge of the conversation.

The most prominent former aide to George W. Bush who has worked for Mr. Trump was Joseph W. Hagin, who helped orchestrate the president’s recent summit meeting in Singapore with Kim Jong-un, the leader of North Korea, which Mr. Trump credited with defusing the nuclear showdown with the North. Mr. Hagin recently announced he would retire.

Still, Mr. Trump’s interview with Judge Kavanaugh went well,

according to the people close to the president. White House officials played down the significance of his arguments for impeaching President Bill Clinton, made nearly 20 years ago when he was an author of the report of the independent counsel, Kenneth W. Starr.

Critics and some people close to Mr. Trump have expressed concern that Democrats could use those arguments to make his Senate confirmation hearing a referendum on the standards for impeaching Mr. Trump.

But it is not as if Mr. Trump was without criticism of even Justice Gorsuch. For all of his sheen and his televised debut, Justice Gorsuch did briefly ran afoul of Mr. Trump, as well, when he distanced himself from some of Mr. Trump’s Twitter posts about the legal system.

Conservatives have found things to question in the decisions of both Judge Kavanaugh and

Judge Kethledge.

Judge Kavanaugh dissented from a majority ruling on whether his court had the jurisdiction to hear a case on the constitutionality of the Affordable Care Act. Judge Kethledge ruled in favor of immigrants in a handful of cases, leading the right-wing website Breitbart to question whether he was soft on immigration.

Mr. Trump has indicated to some associates that Judge Kavanaugh’s ruling on the Affordable Care Act could be problematic. On the other hand, his academic pedigree — like that of Justice Gorsuch — is impeccable: Yale and Yale Law School. And as he demonstrated with Justice Gorsuch, the president seems to put a high value on a candidate’s credentials.

“It is an extraordinary résumé — as good as it gets,” Mr. Trump said of Justice Gorsuch, who graduated from Columbia University and Harvard Law School, and has

a doctorate in law from Oxford. Several aides said Mr. Trump was determined to name someone from either Yale or Harvard.

Judge Kethledge is a graduate of the University of Michigan and its law school, while another finalist, Judge Barrett, attended Rhodes College in Memphis, Tenn., and Notre Dame Law School. She remains in the mix, officials said, but her interview with Mr. Trump was brief and her star has faded.

Mr. Trump, his aides said, is calling friends for advice while in Bedminster. His chief of staff, John F. Kelly, is with him — noteworthy, given the spate of reports that he is about to leave the White House. Mr. McGahn, aides said, has backed off Judge Kavanaugh a bit, telling colleagues he would be happy with at least three of the candidates.

The president’s advisers are counting on him making a clear choice so they can begin a campaign promoting his pick — one that is likely to include television ads, according to a person briefed on the plans. The White House is preparing background packets for Congress on Judge Kavanaugh, Judge Kethledge, Judge Barrett and Judge Hardiman, though he seems an also-ran, as he was last year.

Judge Hardiman had a cameo role in Justice Gorsuch’s nomination when a camera crew spotted him driving across his home state, Pennsylvania, hours before Mr. Trump was to announce his choice. White House officials planted the idea that he was part of a ruse to distract curious reporters, though Judge Hardiman said he was merely visiting a fellow judge in Altoona.

Either way, the White House managed to keep the Gorsuch appointment largely under wraps, and when Mr. Trump finally introduced the judge and his wife, Louise, at the White House, he could not resist gloating over his own showmanship.

“So was that a surprise?” he asked. “Was it?”



JOE LAMBERTI/CAMDEN COURIER-POST, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Olivier Duverneau on Wednesday after becoming a citizen during a naturalization ceremony aboard the U.S.S. New Jersey.

They Came Here to Serve, But for Many Immigrants The Service Isn’t Interested

By **DAVE PHILIPPS**

Recruit Zhang, an immigrant from China, joined the United States military on the promise that enlisting would lead to American citizenship. He swore an oath to uphold the Constitution and was handed an Army T-shirt. But, after two years of delays, there came a sudden discharge that has left him reeling.

“They just said one word: I was ‘unsuitable,’” said the 30-year-old, who has a wife and child and a business management degree. He asked that only his last name be used. “I came here legally, made an agreement to stay legally, and they have not kept the agreement.”

A growing number of foreign-born recruits who joined the United States military through a special program created to recruit immigrant troops with valuable language and medical skills are being terminated before they can qualify for citizenship. Lawyers for the recruits say at least 30 have been discharged in recent weeks and thousands more are stuck in limbo — currently enlisted but unable to serve — and may also be forced out.

They are being cut even as the Army has been unable to meet its 2018 recruiting goals.

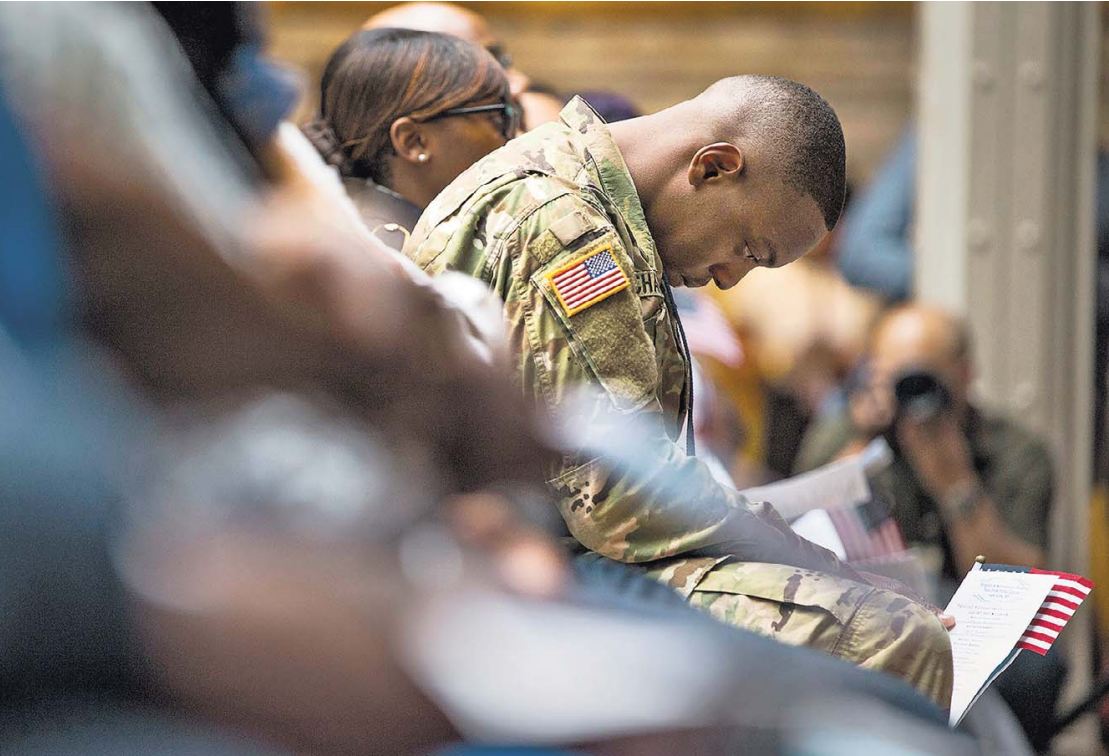
Mr. Zhang’s parents, a factory worker and a city official in southeast China, sold their house to

support him while he waited two years to be called to boot camp. Now he may be deported, and worries he could be punished by the Chinese government for enlisting in a foreign army.

“There’s no explanation for this except xenophobia,” said Margaret D. Stock, a retired Army Reserve lieutenant colonel and immigration lawyer who helped create the program. Known as the Military Accessions Vital to the National Interest or Mavni, the program, created during the George W. Bush administration, allows legal, nonpermanent resident immigrants to join the military and get fast track citizenship.

More than 10,000 troops have joined the military through the program — almost all of them in the Army. At its start, the Army touted its foreign recruits, holding naturalization ceremonies with top brass in places like Times Square. But in recent years the Defense Department has tightened regulations, and thousands have been caught up in extra layers of security vetting. Increased scrutiny for the program began in the last months of the Obama administration over national security concerns.

To screen out possible terrorist or espionage threats, the military requires extensive background checks that have grown more complex in the last two years. The C.I.A. and F.B.I. do background checks, and screenings include criminal history and credit, a review of at least a decade of finances, an exhaustive questionnaire and numerous lengthy interviews. Relatives, employers and neighbors are also interviewed.



MICHAEL NOBLE JR./ASSOCIATED PRESS

Shane Cardel after taking the naturalization oath last week during a ceremony at the flagship branch of the New York Public Library.

The layers of clearance have grown so complex that a backlog of several thousand cases has piled up. A Defense Department official testified in a recent deposition that it would take 10 years to clear those currently waiting to serve.

“We were told they didn’t have the resources to go through all the investigations,” said Robin Jung, a South Korean immigrant and college student who enlisted through the program. In 2014, his brother went through the program and was given citizenship in just a few months. Mr. Jung has been waiting two years.

A number of recruits have filed lawsuits claiming the delays and denials violate constitutional guarantees of equal protection.

The Defense Department responded to interview requests about the delays and increase in the number of discharges with a short statement, saying that any recruit, including those recruited through the Mavni program, “who receives an unfavorable security screening is deemed unsuitable for military service and is administratively discharged. Each recruit undergoes an individualized suitability review and the length of time for the review is dependent upon each individual’s unique background.”

So far, though, recruits in the 10-

year-old program have not posed an undue security threat, according to a 2017 report by the RAND Corporation. The report, which was never officially released, found that the program’s recruits were generally better educated and better performing than the average enlisted soldier. It also found that there had been no in-

For some, it’s a discharge; for thousands of others, it’s life in limbo.

stances of terrorism or espionage connected to an immigrant recruit.

Before the Vietnam War, all legal immigrants could enlist regardless of permanent status, and throughout American history a large slice of the troops who fought the nations battles have been immigrants, from Lt. Col. Alexander Hamilton to the more than 700 immigrants who have been awarded the Medal of Honor.

Still, very few recruits have made it through the vetting process in the last two years, Ms. Stock said. They are kept waiting,

unable to work civilian jobs or go to basic training and start their military careers.

In the past two months, lawyers have seen a stark uptick in troops getting discharged after being notified they have failed background checks. Ms. Stock said it could be a result of an effort to clear the backlog.

Recruits say they are not told why they failed background checks and have no way to appeal.

One Pakistani immigrant, worried about the long wait, was able to get his security report in May through a Freedom of Information Act request. The report noted the immigrant, an electrical engineering student recruited to repair generators, had dreamed of moving to the United States since he was 5, and had an American flag cover on his cellphone.

The recruit, the report stated, “has such a deep and longstanding loyalty to the U.S., that he can be expected to resolve any conflict of interest in favor of the U.S.”

“I jumped for joy, I was literally dancing when I read this because I knew there would be no problem,” said the recruit, who asked not to be named because he fears he could be harmed in Pakistan if he is deported.

In June he was told he had failed his security background check

and was being discharged.

“I cried,” he said. “I feel like I have been kicked out of my own home.”

Private Second Class Lucas Calixto, a Brazilian immigrant who moved to the United States with his parents when he was 12, was discharged this spring after enlisting in the Army Reserve two years ago.

Since enlisting, he had been going through drills regularly in Massachusetts, where his unit had supported him, he said.

In June he was abruptly discharged for “personnel security,” according to a form. He was given no other explanation.

Last week he sued the Defense Department in federal court, saying the discharge, with no warning and no explanation, violated department regulations and “the fundamental requirements of due process.”

“It was my dream to serve in the U.S. military. Since America has been so good to me, I wanted to give back and serve in the United States Army,” Private Calixto said in an email. “I know this is not coming from my military unit. They have been very nice to me. It seems as if the decision is being made by higher-ups who don’t know me and are just trying to complicate things.”

Everything you need to know your business day is in Business Day. The New York Times

Surprise Witness at Retrial of Former Senate Leader: The Defendant

By VIVIAN WANG

Dean G. Skelos, once one of the most powerful players in New York State government, unexpectedly took the stand in his own defense on Friday during the retrial of a federal corruption case that two years earlier had resulted in a five-year prison sentence.

Mr. Skelos, the former majority leader of the Senate Republicans, was convicted in 2015 of bribery, extortion and conspiracy; neither he nor his son, Adam B. Skelos, who was also found guilty, chose to testify at that trial. Their convictions were overturned last year, after a Supreme Court ruling narrowed the legal definition of corruption.

Prosecutors quickly vowed to retry the case, contending that the evidence was sufficient to overcome the definition of corruption being narrowed to formal and concrete government actions or decisions, not political courtesies like setting up a meeting.

The outcome of this new trial may now hinge upon two key differences from the first: the narrowed definition, and Mr. Skelos's at times emotional testimony on Friday, in which he provided an intimate account of his upbringing and his relationship with Adam Skelos, who is also on trial. Adam Skelos is not expected to

testify.

Mr. Skelos is accused in Federal District Court in Manhattan of abusing his powerful perch to pressure officials at various companies to give his son roughly \$300,000 via consulting work, a no-show job and a direct payment of \$20,000.

He testified on Friday that he had been acting only as a concerned father requesting the assistance of longtime friends. He emphatically denied that he had ever taken official actions to benefit his son. "I was with friends. I didn't see any problem with it," he said of a conversation he had with one executive he is accused of asking to send business to his son. "Quite frankly, I've asked a lot of people to help my son. If I had the opportunity to ask somebody to help Adam, I did it."

When his lawyer, G. Robert Gage Jr., asked if he had ever intended to trade his office in exchange for that help, Mr. Skelos was explicit. "Absolutely not. And that's not the way I was brought up," he said. "Never," he said when asked again later. And again: "Never would."



Dean G. Skelos

Indeed, much of Mr. Skelos's roughly 90 minutes of testimony centered around how he had been brought up and how he had brought up his son. Defense lawyers, speaking to the judge before the jury was brought in, made their aim clear: They said Mr. Skelos's personal history, his son's troubled past and the two men's relationship were critical to helping the jury understand that Mr. Skelos had acted out of love, not criminal intent.

Prosecutors sought to bar the defense from going into detail about those struggles, calling such information a transparent play for jurors' sympathy. But the judge, Kimba M. Wood, said it was relevant to understanding the thought process of Mr. Skelos, who will return to the stand on Monday.

On the stand, Mr. Skelos appeared to slip quickly back into the role of the charismatic politician. In rambling answers, often speaking directly to jurors, he recalled his mother's death at a young age; reminisced on working in his grandfather's bakery; and joked about losing 30 pounds on the campaign trail from knocking on constituents' doors. He described giving speeches as a young father while holding his son in his arms, and calling him two or three times a day when he was away in Albany.

He said his son had struggled with substance abuse, anger management and learning issues.

"Very hard for me to talk about this," Mr. Skelos said at one point, noting that his son "could get a bit abrasive, a bit difficult. Sometimes it could be a little ugly."

He was committed to helping him through those times, he said: "There's nothing more important than being a

Testifying that his actions were those of a concerned father who loves his son.

parent and doing that for your child."

Part of Mr. Skelos's testimony also seemed devoted to disproving prosecutors' theory that he had single-handedly controlled the legislative agenda in Albany. Prosecutors have argued that the quid pro quo of Mr. Skelos's corruption stemmed from his threats to kill legislation that the company officials needed for their businesses, if they did not bend to his and his son's wills.

"Sometimes I did have to make a major decision," Mr. Skelos said of his philosophy as majority leader. "But I enjoyed having the input of my conference members."

He suggested that his aides had dictated most of the legislation he pushed through. "We all think we're the brightest lights in the world, but we're not," he said of state legislators. "The staff knows the intricacies of the bills."

A defendant testifying on his own behalf is often seen as risky, and lawyers usually try to dissuade their clients from doing so, especially to shield them from often-grueling cross-examination by prosecutors, said Rebecca Roiphe, a professor at New York Law School. (Prosecutors said they expect to cross-examine Mr. Skelos on Monday.)

Professor Roiphe said the decision to put Mr. Skelos on the stand was a "little bit of a Hail Mary," suggesting that his lawyers may be hoping that Mr. Skelos could charm the jury into an acquittal.

"It seems to me, strategically, it's a bit of acknowledgment that they're having trouble," she said of the defense lawyers. "It may be their last hope and last shot — that somehow they can prep him to be appealing to the jury, and if they hear his side, maybe they'll believe him."



Rockaway Beach Is Open. But the High Tide Has Veto Power.

By WILLIAM NEUMAN

In late May, Mayor Bill de Blasio dropped a pre-summer bombshell: A treasured stretch of beach in the Rockaways would be closed indefinitely because of heavy erosion.

A week ago, pressured by local merchants and residents, the Department of Parks and Recreation quietly reopened a small portion of the beach to swimmers, but with the caveat that it could be used only when the tide conditions were right.

The newly reopened beach area sits in front of the boardwalk concession stands at Beach 97th Street, the heart of the most popular section of the long Queens shoreline.

But when can a swimmer actually go in the water? During a recent visit to the beach, that was a difficult question to answer. The beach greeter in the lime green parks department polo shirt said that she did not know. The maintenance supervisor in the tan parks department polo shirt said that he did not know. The parks enforcement officer in the crisp white uniform shirt with lots of insignia said that she did not know.

The one person who seemed to have some idea — a lifeguard lieutenant, Daniel Gil — was not saying. At one point Mr. Gil, who wore a white polo shirt, could be seen observing the beach from the closed gate, where a small sign offered some guidance: "The beach will be closed for a period of time around high tide. Beach will reopen when receding tide is past the tide marker."

The tide marker was a tall pole stuck in the sand. As high tide neared, the gentle waves lapped the sand a foot further down the beach. Mr. Gil stood gazing out at the water.

He said that questions should be submitted to the parks department press office. Asked when the beach would open, he did not answer. Asked what he was looking at he said, "The beautiful ocean."

Lack of a Set Schedule Frustrates Beachgoers and Vendors

Beachgoers have been doing that at the Rockaways for a long time. But they also like to go in the ocean.

The de Blasio administration made that more difficult this year with its surprise decision to close a stretch of beach to swimmers, from Beach 88th Street to Beach 102nd Street. (Other parts of the beach remain open.) No one could swim or even walk along that section, except for a couple of blocks where surfing would be allowed on the western end of the closed area.

The reason, officials said, was that so much sand had eroded off the beach there that the lifeguard chairs could not be set far enough back from the water to give lifeguards an adequate view of swimmers. And they said that beachgoers might inadvertently trample the dunes, planted with beach grass, that the city had established behind the beach as a buffer after Hurricane Sandy devastated the area.

Beachgoers, merchants and local leaders objected, but the city held firm. Then last week, the parks department agreed to open the beach in front of the Beach 97th Street concession area — but only when the tide conditions allowed lifeguards to do their job.

The absence of a clear schedule has led to new frustrations. The beach first reopened on June 30, and the vendors said they saw a jump in sales that weekend. But by July 4, exasperation at the seemingly arbitrary nature of the arrangement had set in. Vendors said that the beach did not open until about 2 p.m. on the holiday.

"For a Fourth of July, we were at about 50 percent of what we estimate our potential sales to be on a sunny holiday," said Elizabeth Gilchrist, a co-owner of La Frutería, which sells coffee, juices and



PHOTOGRAPHS BY RYAN CHRISTOPHER JONES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The city reopened a small portion of Rockaway Beach in Queens to swimmers, top, but it is open only when the tide conditions allow. The result for boardwalk merchants has been fewer sales, they said.

avocado toast at the Beach 97th Street concession.

"Our morning was packed," she said, adding that many beachgoers arrived expecting to be able to swim in front of the concession area. But when the beach did not open until 2 p.m., she said, "They diverted to other beaches."

Overall, Ms. Gilchrist said that her business's sales, which have grown steadily from year to year, have fallen by about a third from last year. Michael Powers, an owner of the Low Tide Bar nearby, said its revenues were also significantly lower.

The parks department plans to evaluate vendor revenues and has offered to temporarily defer a portion of rents.

On Thursday, a day after the holiday, lifeguards opened the beach by the Beach 97th Street concession at about 10 a.m. and it quickly filled up. But they told beachgoers to leave shortly after noon: High tide was at about 1:20 p.m. The beach did not reopen until almost 3 p.m.

During the morning beach opening, Virginia Cambeiro, a public school kindergarten teacher from Brooklyn; Maureen Pereira, a nurse from the Bronx; and Bernadette Vicente, a retired hospital administrator from Queens, told how for years they had rendezvoused on summer days at the spot on the beach — just below the Beach 97th Street concessions — along with many other friends they had met there.

"We've always come here so when they closed it we were very upset," Ms. Cambeiro said.

Ms. Vicente said that she blamed Mr. de Blasio. "The mayor should have done something about this beforehand," she said. "He certainly had time to figure it out. Quote me: 'He has a lot of nerve.'"

Liam Kavanagh, the first deputy commissioner of the Parks Department, acknowledged the problems in a telephone interview on Friday. "It's a tough one to message," he said. "We have to do better in order to get our staff comfortable in explaining what's going on."

Mr. Kavanagh said that the city was considering a plan to dredge sand and pump it onto the beach, a temporary fix estimated to cost about \$10 million. He said that officials were evaluating technical concerns of such a plan, adding that the city's procurement process might not allow it to happen in time for this year's beach season. "The summer is moving more quickly than our procurement system is," Mr. Kavanagh said.

The community has long favored the construction of rock formations known as groynes — similar to jetties — which jut into the ocean and hinder sand erosion. The Army Corps of Engineers says that it will move ahead with a project to build them, but it could still be years before they are in place.

John Cori, president of the Rockaway Beach Civic Association, was frustrated by the city's emphasis on protecting the planted dunes, which are fenced in, from the possibility that beachgoers might damage them. He showed areas of the beach where the force of the waves had eaten deep into the dunes, and he said that widening the beach with new sand would help protect them.

"If they want to protect the dunes they need to get more sand in here ASAP," Mr. Cori said. "It's not people killing the dunes, it's the ocean."

The Chancellor Saved A Failing Harlem School, But Can It Be Salvaged?

By SHARON OTTERMAN

At a celebratory concert in May, the new schools chancellor, Richard A. Carranza, stepped onto the stage of the Wadleigh Secondary School for the Performing and Visual Arts in Harlem to belt out “El Rey,” a mariachi classic.

Mr. Carranza, in one of his first moves as chancellor, had just reversed a Department of Education plan to close Wadleigh’s middle school for poor performance. In his brief remarks before launching into song, he rallied the crowd by casting those who had doubted the school — including the very department he now leads — as the villain.

“There are people out there that don’t think you can make it happen at Wadleigh,” he told the students, faculty and community members gathered in the auditorium. “There are people that don’t think that Wadleigh has the spirit to rise like the phoenix and be the school that it has always been.”

The truth is that Wadleigh, which serves grades six through 12, has been a struggling school for years, especially its middle school, which was scheduled for closing in 2012, only to be saved by the efforts of politicians and community leaders, including Bill de Blasio, then the public advocate. In 2014, Wadleigh was placed in Mr. de Blasio’s program for failing schools, Renewal, giving it access to new resources and strategies.

Despite those efforts, not a single middle school student passed the state math test in 2015, 2016 or 2017. Enrollment plummeted, with only 47 children enrolled in the middle school by the 2016-17 school year. The historic school on West 114th Street became caught in what David Bloomfield, an education professor at Brooklyn College and the City University of New York Graduate Center, calls “a death spiral,” in which “low scores engender low enrollment, and that engenders lower scores, and then even fewer people will send their kids there.”

But within weeks of his arrival in New York, Mr. Carranza met with elected officials, community leaders, alumni, parents and rank-and-file staff who believed in Wadleigh, and listened to why they felt the school deserved another chance.

With their input, he announced a plan to save Wadleigh’s middle school. The plan will center on increased collaboration with another middle school in the building, Frederick Douglass Academy II. A new Wadleigh advisory board of community leaders will

work out the details. The idea is that they will be able to hold school leaders accountable if necessary changes are not made.

“Everyone in the community recognized that we need to be a lot more hands-on with what’s happening in the school, and we can’t just leave it to the powers that be,” said Gigs Taylor-Stephenson, the school’s parents’ association president. “The only way you get answers to questions sometimes is to have a seat at the table.”

Mr. Carranza’s actions may signal his approach to other failing schools throughout the city, emphasizing community involvement. It is a shift from Carmen Fariña, the last chancellor, who spent most of her time working on improving schools from within. And it is a sea change from the Bloomberg administration, which closed dozens of schools it deemed to be failing, with little regard for community pushback.

Mr. Carranza summed up his philosophy in a statement: “We can’t do things to communities, it is not enough to do things for communities, we have to do things with communities,” he said.

But whether the plan can actually change Wadleigh for the better is an open question.

Aaron Pallas, a professor of sociology and education at Teachers College, Columbia University, noted that Wadleigh has trouble with order, safety, teacher-principal trust, instructional leadership and the coherence of its teaching, according to city statistics. Only 53 percent of Wadleigh’s teachers, for example, agreed that order and discipline were maintained there.

How the new plan will result in “better leadership, better teaching, more trust, more order and safety is still a big mystery to me,” Mr. Pallas said.

The school’s supporters — including nearly the entire political establishment of Harlem, the president of the N.A.A.C.P.’s New York branch and the head of the Harlem Chamber of Commerce — argue that its abysmal test scores are not the whole story. The school, which moved to its Harlem location in 1902, had met two-thirds of its Renewal school benchmarks, though the rigor of those requirements has been questioned.

Enrollment in the middle school increased to 70 students last year, they pointed out, with some 300 city families listing the school on their middle school applications. And its test scores, as low as they were, were only slightly worse than those at schools with similar



SARA NAOMI LEWKOWICZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



SARA NAOMI LEWKOWICZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



KEVIN HAGEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Richard A. Carranza, the schools chancellor, asked Harlem leaders to sign a “covenant of unity” agreeing to work with the city on improving Wadleigh’s middle school, where not a single student passed the state math test in 2015, 2016 or 2017. Gigs Taylor-Stephenson, far left, president of the school’s parents’ association, is committed to the plan.

back the idea of a merger, saying community leaders preferred a less formal collaboration.

Omitted from the plan was any mention of the third middle school in the building, the high-performing charter school on the fifth floor. At Success Academy Harlem West, some 91 percent of middle school students passed the state math test last year. But there is little collaboration between the two district middle schools and the Success Academy school, because tensions in the building are high.

Success Academy’s chief operating officer, Eva S. Moskowitz, sued the city to get more classrooms in the building, pointing out that as Wadleigh’s enrollment shrinks, it has far more space per child in the building than her growing middle school.

“Charters are treated from a space perspective as second-class citizens,” Ms. Moskowitz said in an interview. “At Wadleigh, for some time, it has been particularly egregious. We have been

asking for diminished discrimination.”

The charter school was the “elephant in the room” in the meeting with Mr. Carranza, but it wasn’t mentioned, Senator Benjamin said. It is difficult to overstate the antipathy some of the gathered leaders have toward the Success network, whose 46 schools now teach 15,500 children citywide.

“We will fight till hell freezes over,” said Hazel Dukes of the N.A.A.C.P. “Whatever she got now, that’s all she’s going to have.”

The details of the turnaround plan will be developed in collaboration with the new community advisory council, Ms. Taylor-Stephenson said. Wadleigh will continue to receive additional resources and instructional time through the Renewal program, and Wadleigh’s high school will receive an infusion of money through the Arts High School Planning Process to help it become a popular citywide arts school. A leadership change has not yet been announced.

In Wadleigh’s district, District 3, children choose the middle schools they want to attend, so part of the school’s challenge will be getting families to put it on their lists despite its difficulties. One argument for saving Wadleigh’s middle school was so it could serve as a feeder for neighborhood children into the high school. But the high school at Wadleigh has problems, too.

Last year, 51 percent of its students were chronically absent, meaning they missed 10 percent or more of the school year, according to city statistics. Though many students graduated with accomplishments in the arts, only 27 percent of them graduated college-ready, compared with an average of 47 percent citywide.

Mr. Pallas of Teachers College said he thought Mr. Carranza’s decision to save Wadleigh as a first act seemed more about building a political constituency than about crafting a detailed turnaround plan. Asking community leaders to sign a written pledge, he said, seemed like a strategy to share responsibility, and perhaps blame, if something goes wrong.

On stage at the school on May 7, Mr. Carranza told the crowd that proving Wadleigh’s doubters wrong was not just his responsibility, but theirs, too.

“I’m going to ask you this,” he said, his voice rising. “If you are here today, I want you to join with us, and let’s make a solemn promise, that we are going to do everything we can to not only show those haters that we can do it, but we are going to show them just how good we can be.”

Robbery Suspect Shoots Detective in Leg

By BENJAMIN MUELLER

A man wanted in connection with an armed robbery shot a New York City warrants detective in the leg on Friday morning in Brooklyn as the detective pursued him, the police said, before officers returned fire and shot the man in the forearm.

The detective, Miguel Soto, and the man, Kelvin Stichel, were expected to survive, though the detectives’ union said the shot that hit Detective Soto just missed his femoral artery.

Detective Soto, a member of the Brooklyn North Warrant Squad, was driving in an unmarked van with three other officers on Fulton Street in Bedford-Stuyvesant around 6:40 a.m. The officers, all in plainclothes, were not specifically looking for Mr. Stichel, but they noticed him walking and pushing a cart in the other direction on Fulton near Kingston Avenue, police officials said. They recognized him from past encounters and knew he was wanted in connection with the robbery of a girlfriend or family member with a gun, the police commissioner, James P. O’Neill, said at a news conference.

Since that robbery, in March, the police had been trying to track down Mr. Stichel, 33. Officers had tried to arrest him and a woman he was with last month, but the woman sprayed the officers with Mace and she and Mr. Stichel escaped, two police officials said. The woman was also being sought on a warrant at the time.

On Friday morning, the van of officers made a U-turn after they saw Mr. Stichel, prompting him to run around the block, Mr. O’Neill said. They steered their car in front of him and then got out to chase Mr. Stichel, identifying themselves as police and telling him to show his hands, Mr. O’Neill said.

But Mr. Stichel pulled out a .45-caliber handgun and fired, hitting Detective Soto in the right thigh, Mr. O’Neill said. The bullet passed in and out of the detective’s leg.

Three officers returned fire, striking Mr. Stichel in the forearm. After a search, the police found him in an apartment building on Kingston Avenue and discovered a gun that investigators believe



ANDREW HINDERAKER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The police converged on Kingston Avenue in Brooklyn on Friday after officers tracked down a man who they said shot a detective.

was his in a nearby garbage can.

Detective Soto, who has been a police officer for seven years, was treated at Kings County Hospital Center and released later on Friday.

Michael Palladino, the president of the Detectives’ Endowment Association, the union that represents New York City detectives, said in a statement: “They are all extremely lucky to be alive, especially Detective Soto, whose leg wound missed being fatal by millimeters.”

Mr. Stichel was being treated at a different Brooklyn hospital.

He fired about six rounds during the encounter, Mr. O’Neill said. The commissioner did not specify how many rounds police officers had fired back at him.

Mr. Stichel had been imprisoned for several stretches in New York after convictions on charges of attempted robbery and possession of a controlled substance. He had also been convicted on a charge of running over a police officer’s foot.

The shooting happened a day after the Police Department commemorated the one-year anniversary of the killing of Miosotis Familia, an officer who was shot in the head in a command post truck in the Bronx and posthumously promoted to detective.

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NOTICE OF ELECTION TO PURCHASE
COMMON UNITS REPRESENTING LIMITED PARTNER INTERESTS OF
BOARDWALK PIPELINE PARTNERS, LP

JUNE 29, 2018

Reference is made to the Third Amended and Restated Agreement of Limited Partnership, dated as of June 17, 2008, as amended (the “**Partnership Agreement**”), of Boardwalk Pipeline Partners, LP, a Delaware limited partnership (the “**Partnership**”). Unless otherwise specified, capitalized terms used herein and not defined herein shall have the meanings given to such terms in the Partnership Agreement.

This document constitutes a Notice of Election to Purchase pursuant to Section 15.1(c) of the Partnership Agreement and serves as notice that Boardwalk GP, LP, a Delaware limited partnership and the general partner of the Partnership (the “**General Partner**”), has exercised its right pursuant to Section 15.1(b) of the Partnership Agreement to purchase all of all Limited Partner Interests Outstanding held by Persons other than the General Partner and its Affiliates.

The only class of Limited Partner Interests of the Partnership Outstanding that is not entirely held by either the General Partner or its Affiliates is that consisting of Common Units. All conditions precedent to the exercise by the General Partner of its right pursuant to Section 15.1(b) of the Partnership Agreement have been fulfilled. The General Partner hereby elects to purchase all Common Units Outstanding held by Persons other than the General Partner and its Affiliates, upon surrender of Certificates representing such Common Units in exchange for payment of the Purchase Price set forth below, at the offices of American Stock Transfer & Trust Company, LLC, the transfer agent for the Common Units (the “**Transfer Agent**”) set forth below.

Securities to Be Purchased:	All Outstanding Common Units held by Persons other than the General Partner and its Affiliates
CUSIP:	096627 10 4
Purchase Date:	July 18, 2018 (the “ Purchase Date ”)
Purchase Price:	\$12.06 per Common Unit (the “ Purchase Price ”), which is equal to the average of the daily Closing Prices on the New York Stock Exchange per Common Unit for the 180 consecutive Trading Days ending on June 29, 2018.
Aggregate Purchase Price for All Common Units to Be Purchased:	\$1,504,010,427
Address and Telephone Number of the Transfer Agent:	American Stock Transfer & Trust Company, LLC Operations Center Attn: Reorganization Department 6201 15th Avenue Brooklyn, New York 11219 1-877-248-6477

This Notice of Election to Purchase is being mailed on July 3, 2018 to holders of record of the Common Units as of the close of business on June 27, 2018.

On or prior to the Purchase Date, the General Partner shall deposit with the Transfer Agent cash in an amount sufficient to pay the aggregate Purchase Price of all Common Units to be purchased. If on or prior to the Purchase Date the deposit described in the preceding sentence has been made for the benefit of the holders of Common Units subject to purchase, then from and after the Purchase Date, notwithstanding that any Certificate shall not have been surrendered for purchase, all rights of the holders of such Common Units (including any rights pursuant to Articles IV, V, VI and XII of the Partnership Agreement) shall thereupon cease, except the right to receive the Purchase Price (determined in accordance with Section 15.1(b) of the Partnership Agreement) therefor, without interest, upon surrender to the Transfer Agent of the Certificates representing such Common Units, and such Common Units shall thereupon be deemed to be transferred to the General Partner on the record books of the Transfer Agent and the Partnership, and the General Partner shall be deemed to be the owner of all such Common Units from and after the Purchase Date and shall have all rights as the owner of such Common Units (including all rights as owner of such Common Units pursuant to Articles IV, V, VI and XII of the Partnership Agreement).

All Certificates surrendered for payment must be accompanied by a letter of transmittal in the form to be mailed to holders of record of the Common Units as of the close of business on the Purchase Date. Copies of the form of letter of transmittal may be obtained from and after the Purchase Date free of charge upon request directed to the Transfer Agent at the address or telephone number set forth above. At any time from and after the Purchase Date, a holder of an Outstanding Common Unit in certificated form subject to purchase as provided herein may surrender such holder’s Certificate evidencing such Common Unit, together with a completed letter of transmittal in the prescribed form, to the Transfer Agent in exchange for payment of the amount described herein, without interest thereon. The method chosen for the delivery of Certificates representing Common Units to the Transfer Agent is at the option and risk of the holder. If delivery is by mail, use of registered or certified mail, properly insured, is suggested.

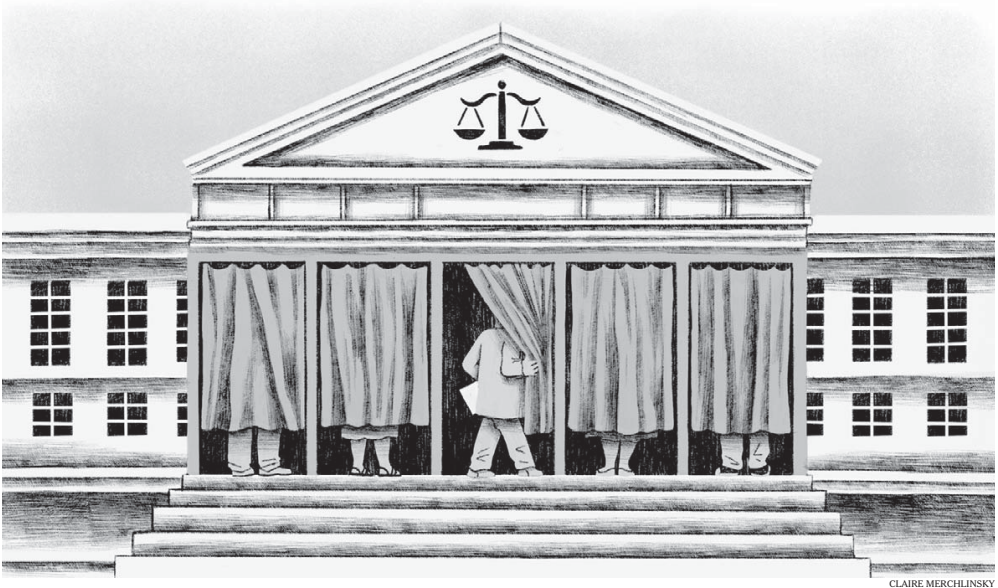
Common Units held through The Depository Trust Company (“**DTC**”) should be surrendered for payment in accordance with DTC’s procedures therefor. Payment of the Purchase Price with respect to Common Units held in uncertificated or book-entry form on the books of the Transfer Agent will be made in accordance with the applicable procedures of the Transfer Agent.

For more information regarding this Notice of Election to Purchase, you may contact the Transfer Agent at the address or telephone number set forth above.

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Opinion

The New York Times



EDITORIAL

Judges as Umpires in Robes? Hardly

With Republicans controlling the Senate and the judicial filibuster dead, the Democrats’ odds of denying President Trump a second Supreme Court appointment are slim. Barring some unforeseen development, the president will lock in a 5-to-4 conservative majority, shifting the court solidly to the right for a generation.

This is all the more reason for Democrats and progressives to take a page from “The Godfather” and go to the mattresses on this issue. Because this battle is about more than a single seat on the nation’s highest court. With public attention focused on all that is at stake with this alignment, this is the moment for Democrats to drive home to voters the crucial role that the judiciary plays in shaping this nation, and why the courts should be a key voting concern in Every. Single. Election.

This call to arms may sound overly dramatic. It’s not. As hyperpartisanship, gridlock and a general abdication of responsibility have rendered Congress increasingly dysfunctional, the judiciary is taking an ever-greater hand in policy areas ranging from immigration to guns to ballot access to worker rights. As John Boehner, the former Republican House speaker, mused in 2016: “The legislative process, the political process in Washington, is at a standstill and will be regardless of who wins. The only thing that really matters over the next four years or eight years is who is going to appoint the next Supreme Court nominees.”

Of course, it’s not only Supreme Court picks that count. Lower-court appointments matter enormously as well, a reality of which the Senate majority leader, Mitch McConnell, is exquisitely aware, as demonstrated by his efforts to ram through circuit court nominations at a dizzying clip. Thanks to Mr. McConnell’s labors, Mr. Trump installed a record number of federal appeals judges in his first year. This bench packing will be one of the Republican lawmakers’ prime talking points on the campaign trail this fall.

The trillion-dollar question is whether Democrats can also use this battle to turn out their voters. This is not a given. If progressives wind up feeling as though their team didn’t fight fiercely enough against Mr. Trump’s nominee, they could be less inspired to show up at the polls. But even if Senate Democrats pull out all the stops, the political reality is that Republicans have been far more effective than Democrats at galvanizing their base around the judiciary.

Certainly this was the case in 2016: Whatever impact the former F.B.I. director James Comey or Russian hackers had on the race, Mr. Trump owes a big chunk of his win to Mr. McConnell for shamelessly refusing to fill Justice Antonin Scalia’s empty seat until after the election. Even conservatives turned off by Mr. Trump’s sexual creepiness could be rallied around the prospect of claiming that seat. In his endorsement of Mr. Trump, Senator Ted Cruz of Texas listed the Supreme Court as his top reason, warning supporters, “We are only one justice away from losing our most basic rights, and the next president will appoint as many as four new justices.” Even the maverick, country-before-party Senator John McCain of Arizona vowed that, if Hillary Clinton won the presidency, a Republican-controlled Senate would block *any* nominee that she put forward. Despite Democratic outrage over the blockading of President

Barack Obama’s court pick, more Trump supporters than Clinton supporters cited the appointment of justices as “very important” to their vote.

This is not to suggest that Democrats don’t care about the judiciary. The issue just hasn’t resonated as widely and viscerally with their base as it has with Republicans, where the threat of judicial activism has become a reliable, enduring motivator. At least since early in the Obama era, Democratic voters have held a generally more positive view of the Supreme Court than their Republican counterparts. Survey data also show that Democrats, at least until recently, have tended to see the court more as what it is supposed to be, a neutral, independent arbiter. Republicans, by contrast, have been more likely to see it as a hostile force to be overcome. And, of course, the dream of one day overturning *Roe v. Wade* helps keep social conservatives fixated on remaking the judiciary.

Democrats must organize to match Republican intensity on judicial appointments as a crucial voting issue.

The rise of Mr. Trump has created an imperative to change all this. Even before Justice Anthony Kennedy announced his retirement last week, nervous progressives had started working to close the urgency gap. This spring, the Committee for a Fair Judiciary, which advocates progressive judicial values, beefed up its lobbying shop. Around the same time, a gaggle of Democratic operatives formed a nonprofit group, Demand Justice, aimed at energizing voters around the courts. Demand Justice hopes to change the current political dynamic, in which Democrats and progressive interest groups typically mobilize to battle a specific court nominee, after which their energy and attention quickly dissipate. Through a combination of education and activism, the group wants to make judicial appointments a core electoral concern for progressive voters and a standard talking point for Democratic politicians. Among other efforts, they plan to set up a database that enables the public to track which Democratic senators vote for which jurists at all levels, making it easier to hold lawmakers accountable at election time. Yes, that seems like a pretty obvious and basic tool — and the fact that it doesn’t already exist speaks volumes about Democrats’ failure to draw attention to the radicalization of the judiciary.

The fire now raging against Mr. Trump and his nominees can’t be sustained indefinitely. Before it burns out, Democrats need to tap some of the energy to help make the courts an enduring cause for their voters. Because of the destructive game played most cynically, and with the greatest indifference to judicial integrity, by Mr. McConnell, the notion of jurists as unbiased umpires in robes has become, for now, dangerously naïve. We wish it weren’t.

Long after Mr. Trump is nothing but a toxic memory, the federal judiciary — from the Supreme Court on down — will bear the smear of his fingerprints. The coming confirmation battle will be fierce, but no matter what happens, the fight cannot end there. On Nov. 6, voters will have their first chance to arrest Mr. Trump’s warping of the judiciary. Reversing the damage already done will require a much longer-term commitment.

LETTERS

Pruitt Is Out, but the Damage Will Last

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “Mired in Scandal, Pruitt Is Forced to Exit E.P.A. Post” (front page, July 6):

The long-awaited, good-riddance departure of Scott Pruitt as administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency will justifiably be applauded by everyone who values what he opposes.

Mr. Pruitt’s tenure, which was tarnished by a seemingly endless stream of ethics violations, likely ended only because these revelations reached a point where President Trump, who constantly heaped praise on Mr. Pruitt, concluded that his own image was at risk.

Scott Pruitt lasted as long as he did in his job because he was fulfilling the mission he was charged with by his boss — the dismantling of environmental protection by reversing four decades of successes at the agency he was appointed to lead. This will no doubt define his legacy and that of his boss. Ethics violations, for all their outrage, may well prove to be a footnote.

ROGER HIRSCHBERG
BONDVILLE, VT.

TO THE EDITOR:

The corrupt activities of Scott Pruitt point out a serious weakness in the staffing of leadership positions in government agencies and departments. As a retired career scientist at the Environmental Protection Agency, I can say confidently that it should be possible to throw a stick at any E.P.A. staff meeting and hit someone better qualified than Mr. Pruitt to head the agency.

It is a good thing for all of us that he is gone from the E.P.A. Unfortunately, his desk and “cone of silence” will now be occupied by one of his equally unqualified cronies as interim administrator.

Senior career government employees are skilled and dedicated. They know the history and objectives of the organization better than

Support for Gender Equality

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “The Gender War Is On! And Fake” (column, July 3):

David Brooks is correct to dispute the idea of a “rising war between the sexes.” Support for gender equality in the most recent General Social Survey (2016) is now higher than at any time since the survey began asking about this topic in 1977, with most of the increase accounted for by men’s egalitarianism.

Indeed, the gap between men’s and women’s support for gender equality is now at its narrowest ever.

It’s true that since 1994 the percentage of high school students preferring a family arrangement in which the woman does the bulk of caregiving has increased. But this may have more to do with their families’ experience with America’s abysmal work policies than with their actual preference.

When respondents are asked about their preferred family arrangements and given the option of supportive work-family options, most choose shared breadwinning and child-raising. When they don’t have such options, their preferences for egalitarianism decline.

STEPHANIE COONTZ
OLYMPIA, WASH.

The writer is director of research and public education at the Council on Contemporary Families.

anyone. They live their careers within the strict legal and ethical requirements of government employment. The idea that they need to be regularly “led” by uninformed political appointees is ridiculous.

That these appointees are at liberty to fill important senior staff positions with their political allies is shameful. How much better it would be to have capable and experienced public servants in charge.

Appointees like Mr. Pruitt tarnish the good name of government service everywhere. It is time that the rules are changed, and agency heads are selected from the ranks of career staff.

RICHARD W. POETON
BENNINGTON, VT.

TO THE EDITOR:

Lest environmentalists cheer at Scott Pruitt’s departure, let us remember that when President Trump fired Rex Tillerson as secretary of state, he replaced a former Exxon Mobil chief executive with the oil-industry shill Mike Pompeo.

Our only hope lies in The Times’s prediction that the process for nominating and confirming Mr. Pruitt’s successor “could take months and potentially stretch past the November midterm elections.”

In the meantime, we need to do everything we can to elect a Congress that recognizes, rather than ridicules, the dangers we face from human-induced climate change.

JUDY GELMAN MYERS, NEW YORK

A Migrant’s Struggle

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “Tracking a ‘Package’: The Perils, and Price, of Migrant Smuggling” (front page, July 1):

Congratulations to The Times and to your reporter Nicholas Kulish for the eye-opening article about Christopher Cruz’s journey to the United States. It was just like an account of a slave’s journey on the Underground Railroad from 175 years ago.

History will judge those impeding these refugees’ journey the same way it views the bounty hunters who caught and returned runaway slaves from the American South: with harsh condemnation.

CHUCK HARDY, BALA CYNWYD, PA.

Trump’s Uppercase Quirk

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “Executive Privilege and Abuse of Shift Key” (news article, July 5):

As a high school English teacher and a retired grammar textbook writer, respectively, we have both devoted our professional lives to writing instruction.

That said, we are more concerned with President Trump’s loose relationship with the truth, his cruelty to children and their parents, and his lack of understanding of the basic tenets of democracy than we are with his use of capital letters.

REBECCA TUCKER-SMITH
LINDA SCHECHET TUCKER
WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.

ONLINE: MORE LETTERS

➡ *There’s a better train route to La Guardia Airport than the ones being considered.*
[nytimes.com/opinion](https://www.nytimes.com/opinion)

TIMOTHY EGAN

Down and Out in San Francisco, on \$117,000 a Year

IT’S BEYOND laughable that a one-bedroom apartment can sell for \$1.5 million in San Francisco — and get multiple offers within a day. Or that dumpsters sport satirical “for rent” signs. Or that the asking price for a side order of brussels sprouts at many restaurants is \$16.

Beyond laughable because such stories pass like a Bay Area breeze in the city named for a pauper from medieval Assisi. But the latest assessment of the out-of-reach quality of one of the world’s great places to live came as a real jolt:

A family of four earning \$117,000 a year is now classified as low income in the San Francisco area. This threshold, used to determine eligibility for federal housing assistance, is the highest in the nation — and no surprise.

Once upon a time in the American West, the most exclusive places — Sun Valley, Aspen, Lake Tahoe, the San Juan Islands in Washington State — were known as “golden ghettos,” an imperfect term used by trendy demographers.

But now the entire West Coast, from San Diego to Vancouver, British Colum-

bia, is a string of gilded megalopolises. These are the tomorrow cities, the tech cities, the cities of the young and educated. And each of them is struggling with a prosperity crisis that threatens the very nature of living there.

A New Yorker would say, “So what, get used to paying through the nose to live in a tiny space on limited land.” Manhattan, Brooklyn and now Queens have seen it all. But people on the West Coast, perhaps naively, are not ready to say, “Fuhgeddaboutit.” Not yet. With varying degrees of success, they are fighting for the soul of their cities.

Residents of San Francisco are troubled by the same things that we are in my hometown, Seattle — the homeless and the high cost of living. The issues are linked, but not entirely.

“Walking the streets of San Francisco can be a frightening, demoralizing, even unhealthy experience for residents and tourists alike.” This comment came not from the medical association that just pulled its convention because its members no longer feel safe in a city of 7,500 homeless people. It came from the wom-

an just elected mayor of San Francisco, London Breed.

Raised in poverty, and the first African-American woman chosen to lead the city, Breed has vowed to remove homeless encampments within a year. There is nothing compassionate or financially sound in spending \$250 million a

The entire West Coast has become a string of gilded megalopolises.

year on homeless services that still leave thousands sleeping on the street.

In order to do the other thing that Breed wants to do, build more housing of all kinds, she has to secure the social contract. That is: Can people accept more crowded neighborhoods, in a city that is already the second-most-densely populated among big cities in the nation, if they feel that elected leaders do not have a decent plan — or a clue?

As Breed notes, San Francisco has cre-

ated only one home for every eight new jobs between 2010 and 2015. She may not be ready to utter a hard truth that some residents already have: that not everyone who wants to live there can.

In Seattle, the nation’s fastest-growing city for this decade, the social contract is nearly broken. The city used to be run by creative problem solvers. Now, an ideologically driven City Council dreams up new things to anger residents while seeming to let the homeless have the run of the place.

The latest backward move was a tax on jobs — quickly repealed after a citizens’ revolt. While the council was trying to target Amazon, the city’s biggest private employer, the tax would have also hurt grocery stores and family-run businesses, as if they had caused the homeless crisis and spike in real estate.

An unholy alliance of socialists and developers threatens to destroy the city’s single-family neighborhoods with a major upzoning — further disrupting trust between residents and politicians. If the intent is to make Seattle more affordable, this approach has failed. The city has

built more new units of housing over the last five years than in the prior half-century. And yet Seattle continues to lead the nation in home price increases.

Vancouver has taxed speculation, hitting foreign buyers and those who own homes that sit empty. Prices have stabilized somewhat. But the globalization of the housing market is a problem more particular to British Columbia.

No matter what you hear anecdotally, people will continue to move to the West Coast. The City of St. Francis has seen far worse than the present crisis. More than half the population was homeless after the 1906 earthquake. But by midcentury, it was the American city, birthplace of the United Nations.

We need a new urbanism. For all the grumping about how great the cities facing the Pacific used to be, they can be greater still if the bright minds now trying to “disrupt” a grilled cheese sandwich can focus on the biggest challenge of this generation. We know what doesn’t work. The task is to find a creative mix of solutions that do. □

A Moment Of Truth For Trump

Victoria Nuland

PRESIDENT TRUMP'S next two summits, first with NATO allies in Brussels, then with Russia's President Vladimir Putin in Helsinki, Finland, will either restore American global leadership or kill it off, depending on how he plays our hand.

Unity at NATO, followed by a firm encounter with Mr. Putin, would demonstrate American resolve to stand with allies and stand up to strategic competitors. Or Mr. Trump could squander all the power and leverage of the United States by abusing and dividing our allies, then lavishing praise and freebies on an autocrat he admires who is set on undermining our democracy and global position. It all depends which President Trump shows up in Brussels and Helsinki — the one his national security adviser says wants a strong NATO, or the man who regularly calls NATO “obsolete.”

Traditionally, an American president gains when he meets a Kremlin boss with the wind of allied unity at his back. If he uses the NATO meeting to coordinate his message to Moscow, he multiplies the impact by speaking for dozens of free countries, not just America. And a Trump-Putin summit is overdue. The mountain of problems we have with Russia requires leader-to-leader talks because Mr. Putin has neutered decision-making at all other levels of his government.

The Trump team, led on alliance issues by Defense Secretary Jim Mattis, is poised to have a successful NATO summit if the president can take “yes” for an answer. The combined defense budget of NATO nations has grown by \$14.4 billion since Mr. Trump took office (increases began under Barack Obama). All but one of 28 allies are increasing spending, and 26 are sending more troops to NATO missions. Sixteen are on track to spend 2 percent of their gross domestic product on defense by 2024, NATO's target.

Rather than thrash allies, the president should celebrate this success, take credit for it, and accelerate bilateral work to help close remaining spending gaps. Other NATO achievements worth celebrating include two new military commands that will increase the readiness of alliance forces and speed deployments. These moves, directed against any further territorial ambitions Moscow may have, should strengthen Mr. Trump's hand at Helsinki.

The leverage NATO gives Mr. Trump at the Putin summit will be wasted, however,

Will the president stand tall beside NATO . . . or beside Putin?

if the message from Brussels mirrors the president's presentation at the Group of 7 meeting last month: Allies are feckless free-riders, America doesn't need them and it's the planet's autocrats who deserve our respect.

Mr. Putin, the biggest winner from any disunity in NATO, is counting on the second outcome. The only additional thing he needs to make his Helsinki meeting a success is money. Here, Mr. Trump is holding a hand nearly as strong as Ronald Reagan's in 1982 — if he plays it right. Mr. Putin survives on a governance model that requires \$60-per-barrel oil, total political control of his citizenry and a kleptocratic stranglehold on the economy. The reform Russia needs is impossible without more power-sharing than he will allow.

A population that he once intoxicated with military deployments in Crimea and Syria now cares most about improvements in Russia's hospitals, according to recent polls. And after four years of those costly deployments, along with sanctions and low-to-zero growth, Mr. Putin's government is broke. He has run through half of the sovereign wealth Russia saved in the oil boom of his first two terms as president, starting in 2000; the cost of living has increased for most Russians by 15 percent or more; and last week, the Russian Duma had to raise value-added taxes and the pension age to increase revenue.

Mr. Putin, therefore, needs more from the United States and the West than we need from him. He needs sanctions relief. He needs direct foreign investment and trade. He needs the New Start nuclear accord extended when it expires in 2021 so he doesn't have to pay for a new generation of weapons. He wants the United States out of Syria so that Russian forces can take over the eastern oil fields we now protect, and use income from those fields to pay for the war, among other motives. He knows that if Russia's financial situation doesn't improve, he could be presiding over a 21st-century “Upper Volta with rockets,” as Dean Acheson once called the Soviet Union.

This gives Mr. Trump considerable leverage in Helsinki if he plays our hand strongly, as Reagan would have. Rather than ceding Crimea, forgiving Mr. Putin's interference in our elections and offering sanctions relief free, Mr. Trump — with NATO at his back — can make American diplomacy great again if he demonstrates to Mr. Putin that normal relations with us require civilized global behavior by Russia. The alternative — a NATO in tatters and a re-energized Mr. Putin — would leave America weaker and Mr. Trump the loser in the great power competition he himself has declared. □

VICTORIA NULAND, a 32-year veteran of the United States Foreign Service, is the chief executive of the Center for a New America Security.

Soldiers in the Cross Hairs



Rob Cuthbert

THIS month is the 70th anniversary of President Harry Truman's executive order to end discrimination in the military according to “race, color, religion or national origin.” Attaining equality for all has always been slow going, but Truman's order — signed during Jim Crow — is a reminder that the military has often led the way in promoting civil rights.

Yet in recent weeks, President Trump has shown that the military can also be manipulated to serve a nativist agenda. The Department of Defense has unconsciously committed to assisting in the prosecution and interment of asylum seekers. And, over the past few months, Mr. Trump and the civilian leadership of the military have begun to demolish an honorable path to citizenship for immigrants in our armed services.

Mr. Trump is using the military as a tool to segregate citizens from immigrants who lack citizenship, and, by doing so, compromising the structural and moral integrity of the armed forces. Congress must take the initiative to protect the thousands of immigrants who serve in our military from this xenophobic commander in chief.

On Thursday, The Associated Press reported that at least 40 immigrant Army recruits — some from countries that speak languages critical to national security — were suddenly discharged or are having their legal status questioned before they have served long enough to qualify for expedited naturalization. Some of these immigrants will now carry discharge documents that unjustly and incorrectly label them a security risk. Moreover, their path to citizenship will be delayed, perhaps permanently.

Between 2001 and 2017 — a time of punishing wars for the armed services —

125,452 service members were naturalized. The example set by our last Republican president, George W. Bush, offers a sharp contrast to Mr. Trump's actions.

In 2002, Mr. Bush put about 15,000 immigrant troops on a fast path to citizenship. And, soon after, in one heart-wrenching case, Mr. Bush granted posthumous citizenship to an immigrant Marine, Lance Cpl. José Gutiérrez, who was killed in Iraq.

Lance Corporal Gutiérrez grew up as an orphan in Guatemala. When he reached adulthood, he came to the United States without legal documentation, and he

Immigrant recruits have become targets for Trump's xenophobia.

claimed to be a minor in order to stay. He entered the foster-care system, and, eventually, was granted a green card.

Many American stories — and many military careers — have begun with a fib like Lance Corporal Gutiérrez's. We often celebrate the chutzpah of grandparents and warriors who told small lies, breaking laws for the greater good of the family — and the country. In fact, last year, the Supreme Court unanimously decided to protect Americans who made inconsequential false statements as they sought citizenship.

Regardless of Lance Corporal Gutiérrez's moxie and his honorable military service, we can be sure that Mr. Trump would have us believe that Lance Corpo-

Immigrant recruits have become targets for Trump's xenophobia.

only thing lost if Roe is overturned. If Roe is reversed, the question of whether abortion should be legal or whether it should be a crime reverts to the states, and this could produce additional concerns for the right. If state legislatures decided not to criminalize abortion, frenzied Republican accusations of “judicial activism” — the liberal judicial overreach Roe is claimed to symbolize — would ring hollow.

There is also important evidence that citizens themselves, even in red states, are not entirely sure they want abortion to be a crime. A recent Kaiser Family Foundation legislative tracking poll shows that two-thirds of Americans do not want Roe reversed. In addition, the last several red state referendums asserting that legally protected personhood begins at conception failed.

Ordinary people — not anti-abortion politicians — may have a more intimate understanding of what is at stake for them in banning abortion absolutely. Women of all parties and religions have abortions or want the right to one should they be faced with the calamity of an unwanted pregnancy.

The prospect of criminal abortion in the United States may also light a fire under younger generations of Americans who have become complacent about reproductive freedoms. For over 40 years, abortion and contraception have been legally available, so, like, that can't change, right? Women and men of reproductive age may be about to discover the answer might be yes — and this could energize them to elect more Democrats who will support reproductive rights.

Jubilation now reigns among those who want to go back to the bad old days of illegal abortion — marked as they were by shame, misery and a huge class divide regarding access to abortion. Republican strategists may not wholly appreciate Mr. Trump's gift of Roe's reversal. And there is, of course, the possibility that the justices may decide to follow the path of two prior courts and leave the core legality of reproductive rights alone. □

CAROL SANGER, a professor at Columbia Law School, is the author of “About Abortion: Terminating Pregnancy in 21st Century America.”

Reversing Roe Could Hurt the G.O.P.

Carol Sanger

OVERTURNING Roe? Watch what you wish for, Republicans.

The imagined implications of Justice Anthony Kennedy's resignation for the future of legal abortion have brought visions of long-awaited sugar plums to anti-abortion politicians and activists. In his 2016 campaign, Donald Trump pledged to appoint anti-abortion justices to the Supreme Court, saying that two or three such appointments would mean the end of Roe v. Wade.

Next week, we expect to get the name of President Trump's second pick. Mr. Trump's anti-abortion supporters are now confident that it is just a matter of time until Roe is overturned.

Yet the celebration around Roe's demise seems premature, if not downright dangerous for the Republican Party. For starters, there is muted recognition that even under a Supreme Court populated by conservative Trump appointees, Roe v. Wade may *not* be overturned. This is because judges of all leanings are guided not only by their views on specific issues but also by foundational jurisprudential principles.

These include stare decisis, which holds that unless there is a very strong reason for overturning a prior decision, that decision should stand as the rule for similar cases in the future. Early in our history, Americans rejected the idea of courts swaying to whatever political breeze blew in at election time. Citizens should be able to rely on the durability of constitutional law no matter who is in office.

Indeed, the last big challenge to Roe was decided on the basis of stare decisis. In 1992, conservative-leaning justices refused to overturn Roe in Planned Parenthood v. Casey. They explained that although they might have voted against Roe had they been on the court in 1973, they would not vote to overturn it two decades later. They found that nothing in the law had changed in the interim to justify overturning Roe.

But let's assume, as both the left and the right seem to do, that of the nine justices, five of them can see their way clear to overturning Roe. How could that be

bad news for Republicans?

Since the 1980s, when Ronald Reagan brought the anti-abortion movement into the Republican tent, a coalition of Republicans and evangelicals has focused on abortion generally, and Roe in particular, as the superfuel that energizes the right.

The Republican commitment to eliminating legal abortion by overturning Roe was evident in the 2016 election. Then, 70 percent of conservative voters said that the issue of Supreme Court appointments was very important to how they planned to vote, more than any other group.

From this perspective, what's not to like about Roe's reversal?

Counterintuitively perhaps, there are quite a few things. Getting rid of Roe would deprive the far right of one of its most crowd-pleasing, rabble-raising, go-to issues. After all, there is plenty to

The right would be deprived of one of its most energizing issues.

dislike about abortion, if one is so inclined: the assumed sexual promiscuity of careless women and disobedient girls; the view that abortion is murder; and the power Roe gave to women by liberating them from their traditional place in the home. Roe-bashing is a powerful source of solidarity; its absence would deprive Republican politicians and Fox News of the issue that stands at the ready to roil the political pot.

This is especially true now that fewer targets are available for Republican moral outrage. It used to be that you could always count on anti-abortion and anti-gay hostilities to stoke the base. But gay people and certain gay rights have become more familiar. There is now a right to marry the adult partner of your choosing. To be sure, there has been a presidential full-court press aimed at replacing gays with immigrants as the new subverters of the American way. Yet the last few weeks have revealed that mistreatment of immigrant families can cause popular, religious and legislative blowback, including from conservatives.

Claims of moral rectitude are not the

BRET STEPHENS

Democratic Socialism Is Dem Doom

A POLITICAL NOVICE who calls herself a “democratic socialist” wins an unexpected Democratic Party primary victory, and now political taxonomists are racing to explain just what the term means. Here's my definition: political hemlock for the Democratic Party.

I write, of course, of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. She's the onetime Bernie Sanders organizer whose victory last month over long-term New York congressman and party boss Joe Crowley is being compared to Tea Partier Dave Brat's 2014 primary defeat of the Republican House majority leader, Eric Cantor — a sign of what's to come, both for the Democratic Party and the country at large.

Well, maybe. It wasn't long ago — March — that Marine reservist and former federal prosecutor Conor Lamb was feted as the Democratic future for winning a House seat in a Pennsylvania district that Donald Trump had carried by 20 points. The shared secret of Lamb's and Ocasio-Cortez's success is that they ran energetic campaigns, reflected the values of the people they sought to represent, and faced lackluster or entitled opponents.

Not every political contest is a battle of ideas. Sometimes it's just a matter of showing up.

Still, it should be said: “Democratic socialism” is awful as a slogan and catastrophic as a policy. And “social democracy” — a term that better fits the belief of more ordinary liberals who want, say,

Ideas popular in Berkeley can help Trump in Dayton.

Medicare for all — is a politically dying force. Democrats who aren't yet sick of all their losing should feel free to embrace them both.

Start with democratic socialism. The Democratic Socialists of America, of which Ocasio-Cortez is a member, believe in economies defined by state-owned enterprises and worker-owned cooperatives. Versions of this have been tried to varying degrees before: Israel in its first decades; post-independence India; Sweden in the 1960s and '70s.

It always led to crisis: hyperinflation for Israel in 1980s; an I.M.F. bailout for India in 1991; a banking meltdown for Sweden in 1992. It's usually a recipe for corruption: State-owned enterprises such as Pemex in Mexico or Eskom in South Africa are local bywords for graft and mismanagement. It frequently leads to dictatorship. Hugo Chávez was also a democratic socialist.

People used to know this stuff. That someone like Ocasio-Cortez apparently doesn't is a fresh reminder that, in politics as in life, the most obvious lessons are the ones you can least afford to stop teaching.

What about social democracy? Isn't it the norm in Europe, and isn't it working pretty well? You wouldn't know it by the way Europeans are voting. France's Socialists ran a left-wing candidate in last year's presidential election, and crawled away with barely 6 percent of the vote. Germany's Social Democrats had their worst electoral result since 1933. Italy's center-left was trounced by a combination of populists and right-wingers in March.

You can argue that the major goals of social democracy — universal health care and other social provisions — were achieved long ago in Europe. But they aren't so fully realized, and are thus potentially popular, in America, never mind our own robust welfare state.

But that misses the deeper point. Today's social democracy falls apart on the contradiction between advocating nearly unlimited government largess and nearly unlimited immigration. “Abolish ICE” is a proper rallying cry for hard-core libertarians and Davos globalists, not democratic socialists or social democrats. A federal job guarantee is an intriguing idea — assuming the jobs are for some defined “us” that doesn't include every immigrant, asylum-seeker or undocumented worker.

Trump gets this, as does the far right in Europe, which is why they attract such powerful working-class support. Want to preserve the welfare state? Build a wall — or, in Europe's case, reinstate border controls. Want more immigrants and amnesty? Lower the minimum wage and abolish the closed shop.

But please choose. It's one or the other. It's possible Democrats will surrender to the illusion that they can have both, puffing the sails of Ocasio-Cortez and her fellow travelers. But a Democratic Party seriously interested in defeating congressional Republicans in the fall and Trump in 2020 isn't going to win by turning itself into a right-wing caricature of the left, complete with a smug embrace of whatever it conceives to be “socialism.”

If Trump is the new Nixon, the right way to oppose him isn't to summon the ghost of George McGovern. Try some version of Bill Clinton (minus the grossness) for a change: working-class affect, middle-class politics, upper-class aspirations.

I've written elsewhere that a chief danger to democracy is a politics in which the center bends toward the fringe instead of the fringe bending toward the center. It's the way Trump became president. But the antidote to one extreme isn't another, and Democrats will only win once they reclaim the vital center of American politics.

The center is Dayton and Denver, not Berkeley and Burlington. The center is Harry Truman and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, not Eugene Debs and Michael Harrington. Democrats who want to win should know this. □

Gail Collins is on book leave.



ANNIE TRITT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

After upsetting Representative Joseph Crowley, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez began reaching out to help other progressives. “It has totally changed our race,” said one.

Shooting Star Tries to Carry Female Officeseekers Upward

From Page A1

Ms. Bush, who watched the victory speech in tears from her home in Missouri. Like Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, Ms. Bush is challenging a longtime Democratic incumbent. “It has totally changed our race.”

It is by no means certain that Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s victory over Mr. Crowley, the No. 4 Democrat in the House, can be replicated. Her grass-roots organizing, politics and persona were an ideal match for a district that has undergone sharp demographic and geographic changes since Mr. Crowley was first elected; other candidates may also find that Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s brand of democratic socialism will be a harder sell outside New York.

Nonetheless, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, a 28-year-old community organizer who has never held political office, is trying to leverage her fame to promote other progressive candidates — many female, and almost all viewed, as Ms. Ocasio-Cortez was, as long shots. She has waded into races on the federal, statewide and local levels, with the same message: The time for discounting female and outsider candidates has passed.

Women in politics have long banded together to craft formal policy and to share informal tips. Emily’s List, the influential na-

everything from volunteer lists to tips for handling criticism of their physical appearance.

“What I’ve seen is a lot of activity on Twitter and Facebook of women saying, ‘Hey, pay attention to these other women,’” Ms. Bush said. “We were doing it before, but after Tuesday, now it’s like, ‘Hey, no, pay attention, because this is for real. These women can win if we just get behind them.’”

Ms. Teachout, who unsuccessfully challenged Mr. Cuomo in the 2014 Democratic primary, remembered the feeling of being snubbed by community leaders at the time, even though she would go on to win more than a third of the vote.

“There’s this tradition of not taking outsider women seriously,” said Ms. Teachout, who endorsed Ms. Ocasio-Cortez in May. For those women now to support each other, she continued, is “to say, ‘We’re not going to allow that to happen anymore.’”

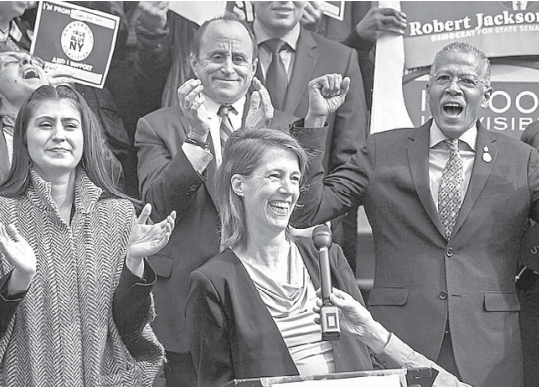
The most visible manifestations of this support have unfolded on social media, where Ms. Ocasio-Cortez has also touted several other insurgent candidates, such as Kerri Harris, a Senate candidate in Delaware. But the cross-pollination has taken more logistical forms, too.

In the week before New York’s primary, Ms. Salazar helped Ms. Ocasio-Cortez with get-out-the-vote efforts, as did an organizer for Ms. Pressley, who traveled from Boston to participate. Since the election, volunteers for Ms. Ocasio-Cortez (who is virtually guaranteed victory in November’s general election in her predominantly Democratic district) have migrated to those of Ms. Teachout and Ms. Salazar; Ms. Teachout’s aides, who previously coordinated volunteers via phone calls, have begun dispatching them through a group chat on WhatsApp, a tactic adopted from Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s campaign.

Ms. Salazar, who like Ms. Ocasio-Cortez is a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, said she had heard from Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s volunteers before their campaign was even over.

“There used to be a tendency to operate with this vision of scarcity, rather than a vision of abundance, when it comes to political capital,” Ms. Salazar said. “I think that we see a shift.”

Our Revolution, the progressive organization led by alumni of Bernie Sanders’s 2016 presidential campaign, is planning to unroll a project, called Our Revolu-



HOLLY PICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



JEFF ROBERSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

After Ms. Ocasio-Cortez asked her supporters to help progressive candidates Zephyr Teachout, top, and Cori Bush, above, Ms. Teachout gained 100 new volunteers for her campaign for New York attorney general. Ms. Bush, an activist who is running for Congress in Missouri, said “donations took off exponentially.”

tion(ary) Women. The effort is designed to help the female candidates in New York it has endorsed, including Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, Ms. Salazar and Ms. Nixon, amplify each other’s platforms.

Rebecca Katz, an adviser to Ms. Nixon’s campaign to unseat Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo in New York, said such a spirit of partnership was previously unthinkable in the transactional world of politics.

“Do you know how long it takes for someone to send an email on your behalf?” said Ms. Katz, a veteran strategist who has worked for Mayor Bill de Blasio and the former Nevada senator, Harry Reid. “For women candidates, especially, that has been extremely hard. There’s usually so much back and forth, back and forth, please, can I have an endorse-

ment?”

Ms. Nixon had struggled to attract the endorsements of prominent elected officials. But since Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s win, she has secured the support of several, including the former New York City Council speaker, Melissa Mark-Viverito, who cited Ms. Ocasio-Cortez in her announcement.

Kelly Dittmar, a professor at Rutgers University’s Center for American Women and Politics, said alliances among female politicians, while not unprecedented, appeared to have increased significantly in pace, profile and extent this election cycle. She attributed the change to technology, the proliferation of female candidates and the heightened attention they have attracted.

And while past collaborations

had often focused on more intangible goods such as encouragement or ideas, “what goes a little bit further, which is the sharing of actual resources, in some ways, of the campaign — that, I’m not aware of historically,” Professor Dittmar said.

It is also uncertain if the nationwide excitement she has generated for candidates such as Ms. Nixon or Ms. Bush will energize the specific constituencies they need to elect them.

But with many of these female candidates facing challengers whose fund-raising dwarfs theirs, collaborating may be a product not just of camaraderie but also of necessity.

“They’re folks that aren’t necessarily endorsed by the party or don’t have access to the party networks,” Professor Dittmar said. “So in order to build that support base — among voters, but especially in terms of finances and volunteers — they have to build something new or at least draw from existing infrastructure for progressive candidates.”

The ties among women’s campaigns are far from limited to those in the radius of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s star power. Liuba Grechen Shirley, who won the Democratic nomination for a House seat on Long Island, said she had spoken to other candidates across the country, as well as women who said they were considering running because of the Federal Election Commission’s landmark decision that she could use campaign funds for child care.

An informal cheering group has emerged among three female congressional candidates who all graduated from the Naval Academy: Mikie Sherrill of New Jersey, Amy McGrath of Kentucky, and Elaine Luria of Virginia have frequently exchanged encouraging Twitter posts.

“I trust them in ways that I just don’t have the trust from regular politicians,” Ms. McGrath said of her fellow Naval Academy graduates. “They aren’t one, and I’m not one.”

But most female candidates agreed that the most important outcome of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s victory was the legitimacy it lent to networks of women that many had previously dismissed.

“I do sense a huge difference now,” Ms. Ocasio-Cortez said.

“I think when people see that we are using this bullhorn for something that’s not self-interested,” she added, “they’re more likely to pay attention.”

Title Insurers Can Resume Schmoozing, Judge Rules

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

The luxury box suites, steakhouse dinners and champagne-fueled parties can return to an obscure corner of the real estate world, after a judge ruled that New York State’s efforts to ban entertainment in the title insurance industry had overstepped its authority.

The State Department of Financial Services had banned title insurers from such entertainment earlier this year, arguing that the millions of dollars spent on schmoozing was inflating the closing costs for New Yorkers trying to buy homes.

Home buyers in New York purchase title insurance, a guarantee of clear ownership, when buying property. The costs — roughly \$2,700 for a \$500,000 home around New York City — are lumped into various closing fees. Buyers rarely shop around because rates are the same for almost every insurer.

Maria Vullo, who heads the State Department of Financial Services, had argued that those rates were artificially high because of all the entertaining the industry had done to win the favor of real estate agents, brokers and the rest of the industry.

But after she pushed through an entertainment ban, the industry sued.

Justice Eileen A. Rakower of State Supreme Court in Manhattan “annulled” the ban late Thursday, arguing that it was up to state legislators to take such a step, not regulators.

“The Legislature is in the best position to balance any social and economic ramifications purportedly created by certain practices in the title insurance industry,” she wrote, saying the notion that lawmakers intended to prohibit companies from marketing themselves was “an absurd proposition.”

The industry cheered the decision.

“The court’s thorough decision was very clear: These sweeping regulations exceeded the scope of D.F.S.’s statutory authority and

A state ban on gifts, dinners and the like is deemed overreach.

should never have been adopted,” said Mylan L. Denerstein, a partner with Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher, who represented the New York State Land Title Association. “As Judge Rakower explained, the regulations are internally ‘irreconcilable and irrational,’ and the notion that the Legislature intended to ban the industry’s ordinary marketing activities is an ‘absurd proposition.’”

State legislators had begun debating legislation on the topic earlier this year after a lobbying push by the industry to overrule Ms. Vullo’s more stringent rules. A bill that passed the State Senate would prohibit entertainment only if the gifts were directly exchanged for business. Ms. Vullo called it a “license to commit bribery.”

Ms. Vullo’s department had previously conducted an investigation into industry practices that showed spending on everything from strip clubs to luxury boxes; title insurance firms’ names have been emblazoned on private suites at Madison Square Garden in the past. She said an industry known for its lavish parties, complete with cigar bars and carving stations, was wrongly passing on costs to consumers.

In her ruling, the judge also removed a prohibition on so-called “title closers” — the people who showed up at home closings on behalf of insurers — earning gratuities. And she tossed out state efforts to cap certain fees for document searches done by title companies, saying regulators did not show that the new caps were based on an “empirical determination.”

After the ruling, Ms. Vullo called the regulations a “necessary supervisory tool to ensure appropriate market conduct and to protect New York consumers.”

“We remain certain of our legal opinion and are confident we will prevail on appeal,” Ms. Vullo said.

Corrections

INTERNATIONAL

Because of an editing error, an article on Friday about the relaxation of vaccination requirements in Italy misstated Matteo Salvini’s decision about his children. He said they had been vaccinated; he did not say they had not been.

NATIONAL

An article last Saturday about the outlook for female candidates in light of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez’s victory misstated the percentage of male challengers who won elections for the Virginia House of Delegates. It was 12 percent, not 7 percent.

An article on Wednesday about Imran Awan, a former congress-

sional technology worker who pleaded guilty to bank fraud, referred incorrectly to a transfer of money by Mr. Awan. According to his lawyer, Mr. Awan sent money to Pakistan to help his father; he did not send it to his father directly. The article also misstated where his father was living when the transfer was made. Before his death in January 2017, his father had been living in Virginia, not Pakistan.

NEW YORK

An article on Friday about the trial of Alain Kaloyeros and his ties to Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo misstated the given name of a former deputy director for state op-

erations in New York. He is Andrew Kennedy, not Anthony.

WEEKEND ARTS

An article on June 29 about “Ocean Wonders: Sharks!,” a new display at New York Aquarium in Coney Island, omitted one of the firms that consulted on the project. In addition to the architects of record, Edelman Sultan Knox Wood, the Portico Group of Seattle contributed.

An article on June 15 about the novelist Sayaka Murata misstated when her “Of Bones, of Body Heat, of the White-Colored City” won the Yukio Mishima Prize. It was five years ago, not four. And it was

only last year that Ms. Murata quit her part-time job at a convenience store to pursue writing full time.

ARTS & LEISURE

A column on Page 7 about three dark documentaries available on Netflix mischaracterizes a farm attached to Jacob’s Ladder, a rehab facility. It is not a dairy farm. The column also misstates the given name of the founder of Ja-

cob’s Ladder. He is Kevin Blankenship, not Keith.

OBITUARIES

An obituary on Thursday about the sprinter and long jumper Irena Szewinska misspelled the given name of one of her sons. He is Andrzej, not Andrej.

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

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Wealth Matters

Bringing In a Referee

Family business owners like Duncan Taylor hire chief learning officers to limit squabbles. **4**



Your Money Adviser

Starting Off Right

New college graduates should get on top of their student loans and then do a cash-flow analysis. **4**

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Business Day

The New York Times

SATURDAY, JULY 7, 2018



MONICA GARWOOD

213,000 New Jobs As Economy Advances

By PATRICIA COHEN

Despite sharpening trade tensions, a hefty rise in payrolls has provided the latest evidence that the American economy is strong enough to keep pulling benched workers back into action.

Six hundred thousand people joined the work force in June and started actively hunting for a job, the Labor Department said Friday in its monthly report. Of those who found one, three-quarters had been outside the pool of those officially ranked as unemployed.

The number of Americans working part time because of their inability to find a full-time position fell — as did the number of those too discouraged to bother searching.

“I’m really excited to see that

Robust hiring pushes more to return to the labor force.

the labor force is growing,” said Catherine Barrera, chief economist of the online job site ZipRecruiter.

Over all, the economy added 213,000 jobs. The unemployment rate ticked up to 4 percent, but Ms. Barrera was unruffled, saying, “There were some people who weren’t participating in the labor force who are now being encouraged to return.”

For workers, the modest 2.7 percent increase in the average hourly wage over the past year was disappointing; pay raises are a nose behind some measures of inflation. But the slow pace does undercut arguments that the economy is in danger of revving too fast.

“This should take a little bit of pressure off the Federal Reserve to step up the pace of tightening,” said Jim O’Sullivan, chief economist of High Frequency Economics, referring to the debate over how quickly to raise benchmark interest rates.

The jobs report caps a string of encouraging economic readings. Some estimates for growth in the second quarter are bouncing above 4 percent. The manufacturing sector buzzed with activity last month, and spending on construction rose. New jobless claims are at historically low levels. And many consumers displayed their confidence in the economy by kicking off the summer with a new car purchase.

“JOBS, JOBS, JOBS!” President Trump said Friday on Twitter after the Labor Department’s data for June was released.

Continued on Page B2

When She Earns More

Despite advances, gender role attitudes still cause stress.

By TARA SIEGEL BERNARD

For most of the 12 years of Nick and Natalie Foy’s marriage, Ms. Foy has been the primary breadwinner.

She started a career in banking right out of college. Mr. Foy took a more circuitous path, working as a youth pastor before deciding to get what he called a “real job.”

During the transition, he and his wife had intense conversations about whether he was trying hard enough to

find work. “That nontraditional role added pressure that neither of us foresaw,” said Mr. Foy, 36, who now runs a financial planning practice in Charlotte, N.C.

Over the past half-century, gender roles in the United States have become much more egalitarian. Women now outnumber men in college and collect more degrees. A rising share of women earn more than their husbands, and men are taking on more responsibility at home.

What may come as a surprise — espe-

cially to those under 30 — is that despite these shifts, certain expectations persist when it comes to where men fit into the household dynamic.

“We have held on to that idea that men are supposed to provide, but have loosened up on the idea that women have to be homemakers,” said Alexandra Killewald, a Harvard sociology professor.

Today, nearly a third of women who are married to or living with a man con-

Continued on Page B3

China Strikes Back on Tariffs, But Its Consumers Are Worried

By RAYMOND ZHONG

SHANGHAI — Accusing the United States of “typical trade bullying,” China on Friday imposed \$34 billion in retaliatory tariffs on American soybeans, cars and other products, suggesting dim prospects for resolving a potentially bruising trade war between the two economic powerhouses.

Beijing said on Friday that its levies had kicked in immediately after the Trump administration’s tariffs went into effect, just past midnight in Washington. The 545 goods targeted by China for tariffs, which include beef, seafood, dairy and other farm goods in addition to automobiles, were chosen to hit President Trump’s supporters in the agricultural and industrial parts of the Midwest.

As it has in the past, China used the moment to cast itself as a defender of the global trade order. Beijing officials have portrayed Mr. Trump’s threats to tax as much as \$450 billion worth of Chinese goods as a threat to global prosperity.

“The wrong actions of the U.S. have

brazenly violated the rules of the World Trade Organization, attacked the whole world’s economic sustainability and obstructed the global economy’s recovery,” Lu Kang, a spokesman for China’s Foreign Ministry, said in a daily news briefing. “It will bring disaster to multinational corporations, small and medium businesses and normal consumers across the world.”

China’s state-controlled news media echoed the sentiment.

“As the American side has gradually closed in on China, it has aroused the ire of Chinese society, and made Chinese people more clearheaded, more united,” said an editorial on the website of Global Times, a nationalist tabloid owned by the Communist Party. “Washington has obviously underestimated the giant force that the world’s opposition and China’s retaliation can produce.”

But Chinese news outlets have stopped short of language that would suggest appetite for a major escalation,

Continued on Page B2



BRITTANY GREESON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Stock Market for Sneakerheads

Josh Luber of StockX, a co-founder of an online platform for luxury goods. Page B3.

A Nasdaq for Sneakerheads? A Way to Tame the High-End Market

By DAN HYMAN

DETROIT — Standing among more than 350 pairs of sneakers in his converted attic, Josh Lubner, a self-proclaimed “sneakerhead,” held a pair of nearly identical Nike Air Jordan IVs in each hand. He eyed them as if they were rare biological specimens.

One was a standard model of the shoe that typically sells on secondary markets for \$160; the other was an ultrarare model designed by the rapper Eminem that can fetch more than \$20,000.

“This is the sneaker industry right here,” he said, referring to how brands use scarcity and buzz to drive up prices in secondary markets and create brand cachet.

That price volatility helped inspire Mr. Lubner to found StockX, an e-commerce platform for luxury goods. The familiar model of buying and selling high-end shoes “leads to chaos,” Mr. Lubner argued. When limited-edition sneakers are released, people camp in line for days to get their hands on a pair, and the opportunity to make a quick profit can lead some to bribe store workers. It can even turn to violence: In 2015, a Brooklyn teenager was shot in his foot for cutting in line.

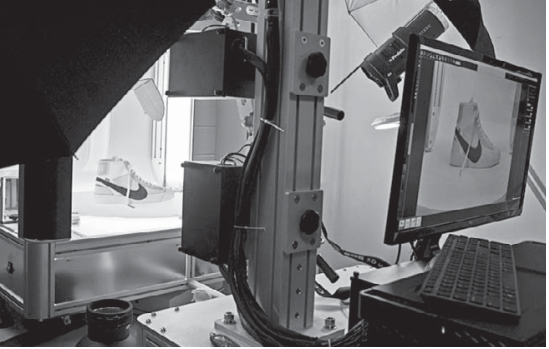
So Mr. Lubner, the company's chief executive, and his co-founders, including Dan Gilbert, the billionaire founder of Quicken Loans, came up with what they believe to be an elegant solution to determine the value of high-end goods: Treat them as if they were stocks.

On StockX, products, which include streetwear, handbags and watches in addition to sneakers, are assigned ticker symbols. Sellers put out asking prices, and buyers bid. Users can see data like recent sale figures from across the internet, price volatility, and 52-week highs and lows. Once a bid and an ask coincide, the sale is automatically made.

Niche marketplaces for high-end goods are not new: Before sneakerheads connected on the internet, there were consignment shops reselling shoes and stores that specialized in just one brand of watches. But when people have access to hard data on how a product is selling across the market, they can best understand its true value, which has the potential to bring down prices, Mr. Lubner argued.

His goal is to work directly with retailers and have products open on StockX in an initial public offering of sorts. He said that this would provide more pricing stability, and that allowing average consumers access when new products were released could help brands expand their customer bases.

“Brands love the fact that, ‘Oh, yeah, people waited three days outside of the store to get my product,’” Mr. Lubner said of traditional product releases. “Our whole idea



PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRITTANY GREESON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

is, ‘Look, there’s just a different way to benefit from that that adds order to it.’”

In April, 150 of StockX's most loyal buyers and sellers, selected from more than 5,000 applicants, gathered in Detroit for the second StockX Day. Some attendees treated Mr. Lubner as if he were a celebrity. During a question-and-answer portion, a 24-year-old woman from New York told him that his 2015 TED Talk on the sneaker industry had inspired her to become an entrepreneur.

“You are why we exist!” Mr. Lubner, wearing a pair of Air Jordan I sneakers customized for StockX by Jake Ferrato, a shoemaker in Cleveland, told the crowd. The attendees included employees from Nike and Complex, owners of resale businesses, and rabid collectors, including the 12-year-old son of a Venmo executive who had flown in for the event. To the

crowd's delight, the 12-year-old scored an autographed LeBron James basketball jersey during a raffle.

Onstage, Mr. Lubner, 40, teased the 56-year-old Mr. Gilbert, wearing a pair of brown hiking boots, like a son poking fun at his decidedly unhip father. Three years as business partners, “and I still can't get you to wear a pair of sneakers,” Mr. Lubner said.

Mr. Lubner, who, like many sneakerheads, speaks of his footwear collection as if it were an ever-expanding portfolio, started collecting at age 10. In 2012, while an analyst at IBM, he founded Campless, a website he described as the Kelley Blue Book for sneakers. When he met with brand representatives, he would describe his dream of a marketplace that treated sneakers as if they were assets. Companies were interested in his data but uninterested

in overhauling their sale process.

In April 2015, Mr. Lubner was summoned to a meeting with Mr. Gilbert, who had started an in-house incubator and was exploring new business ideas. Mr. Gilbert was intrigued by the idea of a stock-market model for e-commerce and, as the father of a teenage sneakerhead, was convinced that sneakers were a perfect starting point to test the concept.

To protect against knockoffs, sellers ship purchased products to StockX, which authenticates the items and sends them to buyers by day's end, similar to services provided by other high-end marketplaces. StockX takes a 9.5 percent commission on each sale.

Since starting in February 2016, StockX has grown to more than 10,000 transactions per day. It has added nearly 170 of its more than 370 employees since the end of

April.

“We’ve gone from zero to \$700 million in sales in two years, and most of the world doesn't even know this exists,” said Greg Schwartz, 37, a co-founder and now the company's chief operating officer.

As a test of the model of an initial offering, StockX teamed up with Nike in January to release limited-edition LeBron James shoes, with the prices determined by an open auction. The sneakers sold for an average of \$6,000 per pair. Winning buyers could resell the shoes on the platform without ever taking physical ownership of them.

“This then becomes true commodities trading,” Mr. Lubner said. It's not dissimilar from trading oil futures, he said. In fact, because the items were resold without physically changing hands, StockX worried the shoes might

Attitudes on Gender Roles Can Still Cause Stress

From First Business Page

tribute at least half of the couple's total earnings, according to a Pew Research Center survey last year. By comparison, in 1980, just 13 percent of married women earned more than, or roughly the same as, their husbands.

But seven in 10 adults also told Pew that for a man to be a good husband or partner, it was “very important” that he be able to support his family. Only about three in 10 said the same about women.

The academic literature is mixed on how disparities in earnings affect marital relationships. A 2015 University of Chicago study found that opposite-sex couples in which women were the top earners reported greater relationship strife and were more likely to split up. The study also suggested that women who earned more did more housework in order to make their husbands feel better about the situation.

More serious marital troubles may be tied to whether a husband simply has a job at all: Professor Killewald's research, from 2016, found that when married heterosexual men weren't employed full time, their risk of divorce was greater. But as long as they had full-time jobs, men who earned less weren't at higher risk of divorce.

Professor Killewald knows from her own experience, however, that more traditional ideas can erupt when you least expect them to.

She and her boyfriend were in graduate school when they started to talk about getting married. At one point, her boyfriend, who later earned a Ph.D. in physics, blurted out: “But I can't support you.”

Professor Killewald was completely perplexed. “What exactly do you think is going to happen when we get married?” she recalled saying.

“He absolutely didn't think I was going to quit grad school,” she added. “He's totally a feminist, this feeling just came out of some deep place that one should be able to support a wife if one is going to

Though expectations are changing, the pace has been slow.

be a husband.”

They got married anyway, and she still earns more than him.

Attitudes may be changing, if slowly. Another study, from 2016, detected a generational shift: Couples who married in the 1990s or later were at no greater risk of splitting up when a woman out-earned her husband, compared with couples married in the 1960s and 1970s, when a higher-earning wife was more likely to lead to divorce.

Financial planners and therapists who specialize in financial issues have found that certain feelings and patterns recur among heterosexual couples with female breadwinners, and that there are several ways to address them. (Most of the strategies apply to anyone with a partner, including same-sex couples or men who earn more than their wives.)

Set, and adjust, expectations. Derek Tharp, who runs a financial planning firm in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, said he believed the assumptions that each partner brought to a relationship were the biggest potential sources of conflict.

“If they are open-minded and adjust their roles accordingly — e.g., he may pick up more household labor as her responsibilities in the labor market become more demanding — then things generally work out just fine,” Mr. Tharp said. “But if either spouse is uncomfortable with the outcome — he may feel that he's failing as a husband or she may feel that he's not carrying his own weight — then the risk for conflict may be high.”

Lazetta Rainey Braxton, chief executive of the financial planning firm Financial Fountains, said she had seen earning-related stress arise later, when a woman wanted to relinquish her bread-winning role, often to spend time with children or change to a more

flexible, and possibly less lucrative, career.

“It can put a great deal of pressure on men to step up and figure out the income differential,” she said. When such situations arise, she helps couples figure out how much flexibility they have to make adjustments — stretching out student loan payments, for example — that affect their current situation and long-term goals.

Divide and conquer. Research shows that men are handling more household responsibilities, but they still aren't doing as much as their wives. When women feel they are doing more than their fair share, their relationships have been found to suffer.

It's amazing what a little more help around the house can accomplish: Another study, from last year, found that women whose jobs gave them greater professional status than their husbands were more likely to feel resentful or embarrassed by their husbands' lower position — but those feelings didn't hurt their relationships when the men provided tangible support, like caring for children or older relatives.

“Make a list of whose responsibility it is to take out the trash, make sure the car insurance gets paid, decide how much to spend on groceries, etc.,” said Sonya Britt-Lutter, an associate professor of financial planning at Kansas State University, who recently developed a program to guide couples through financial conversations.

“Then,” she added, “discuss what happens if one person starts a new job or advances in their position to the point of requiring more time away from the home.”

She suggests revisiting the topic annually to see how each partner feels about her or his current “assignments” and to consider changes.

Share goals, with some independence. Research shows that heterosexual married women who are breadwinners tend to play down their status, but Carrie Gallaway, a financial planner in New York, has found that husbands of breadwinning wives are

proud of their accomplishments.

But, as can happen no matter who the breadwinner is, conflict can arise when a wife makes more financial decisions without including her husband (and the same is true when the roles are reversed).

“It is a shift that, over time, can create resentment, and the non-dominant money controller feels more anxiety because they don't understand what is happening,” Ms. Gallaway said. “Part of it is just being heard.”

When a relationship has a dominant breadwinner, there are a few ways for partners to maintain some autonomy while still working together.

Some experts suggest setting a specific dollar threshold at which spending decisions require one partner to check in with the other.

Others suggest keeping a shared account for all joint savings and expenses, with what's left going into individual accounts. Or an agreed-upon monthly sum can be set aside for each partner to spend without criticism, with the unspent money carrying over.

“Regardless of who earns more, each has an amount that they have exclusive control over,” said Barbara Ristow, a financial adviser in Fairfax, Va.

As for the Foyes, Ms. Foy still provides a majority of the household's income. They have found that keeping everything in a single pot works best for them, and Mr. Foy often advises his clients to do the same.

He said that a shared account helped them both see where their money went and it also let them work toward shared goals like saving for college tuition or a big trip. Tools like Betterment, a so-called roboadviser, work well for this, he added.

“I find when you are intentional about setting goals and then monitoring them together,” Mr. Foy said, “you end up with a joint focus that you wouldn't necessarily have otherwise.”

And a joint focus, Ms. Foy said, keeps resentment about spending and income from festering. “Money,” she said, “isn't the end goal.”



KIM HEE-CHUL/E.P.A., VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

A Samsung Electronics gallery in Seoul. Sales of smartphones have begun to plateau, weighing on Samsung's bottom line.

Samsung's Lofty Profits Dip As Prices for Chips Decrease

By JAMIE CONDLIFFE

Falling chip prices have cut into Samsung's margins and put an end to almost two years of increasing profits.

The Korean technology company has forecast that its operating profits for the second quarter of 2018 would be 14.8 trillion won (about \$13.2 billion). That would be a decrease from 15.64 trillion won in the first quarter of 2018 and mark the first time its operating profits pulled back since the third quarter of 2016.

Samsung owed much of its success over the past 18 months to its sales of memory chips, which account for just under a third of its revenue. Prices of those semiconductors grew sharply last year and lifted Samsung's profits.

But since the start of 2018, the prices of two main types of memory chips, known as NAND and DRAM, have fallen 37 percent and 16 percent, The Wall Street Journal reported.

Sales of smartphones — a huge market for memory chips — have begun to plateau, weighing on the price of memory chips. There are now far fewer first-time purchasers of smartphones and fea-

Clockwise from top: The StockX office has a replica of the Quicken Loans Arena basketball court; a worker checks shoes for authenticity; a Nike shoe is photographed.

be considered futures and “spent a lot of time talking to lawyers making sure we weren't running afoul of any securities laws,” Mr. Lubner said.

With a billionaire co-founder, capital has not been an issue, but StockX has still sought out investors who Mr. Schwartz said “provide outside value” or cultural cachet: Eminem and his manager, Paul Rosenberg; the actor Mark Wahlberg; Scooter Braun, Justin Bieber's manager; and Steve Case and Tim Armstrong, former chief executives of AOL.

Noting that AOL aimed to give more Americans access to the internet, Mr. Case said StockX was similarly centered on giving average consumers access to scarce luxury goods, which are often scooped up by insiders. There's no guarantee those consumers will be able to afford the items, but the prices will at least be fairer, he said.

Outside of capital investment, Mr. Gilbert's involvement has been a major boon to StockX. The company had access to Quicken's resources and employee benefits and to cross-promotional marketing opportunities, such as a Super Bowl ad this year for Rocket Mortgage featuring a teenager wearing a StockX baseball cap. StockX's offices occupy almost an entire floor of Detroit's towering One Campus Martius building, where Quicken has its headquarters.

StockX has two authentication centers and more than 100 authenticators, who go through a 90-day training course. As the authenticators receive items, the details of the product and the sale are available on a computer screen at their station. Once they have performed all the steps in the authentication — which can include smelling the shoe — a shipping label is printed and the seller is automatically paid.

When StockX started, Mr. Lubner personally authenticated sneakers in a room of the office before taking them downstairs to be shipped. “And then if the freight elevator would break down for the day, we'd be like, ‘Oh, our whole business is done,’” Mr. Schwartz recalled with a laugh.

But Mr. Lubner said the business wasn't just an excuse to play with sneakers.

“Everyone feels like it's impossible to get a pair of Off-White Jordans for retail” unless you have insider connections, Mr. Lubner said, adding: “There was a reason the Foot Locker manager's brother won the raffle every time.”

Other points of view on the Op-Ed page seven days a week. The New York Times

PERSONAL BUSINESS

WEALTH MATTERS

Family Businesses Hire New Type of Executive: Referee

By PAUL SULLIVAN

Families that share a business or other financial interests can struggle like any other. But their squabbles can do more than ruin an awkward summer barbecue. At stake is the economic stability of the business as well as the financial comfort of the family members.

In these disputes, money can act like kerosene on the flames of family discord. The typical reaction after a fight with a relative is to take a break, but those linked by financial interests are more likely to hire lawyers and fight for what they believe is theirs.

In an effort to keep a bad situation from getting worse, families are turning to so-called chief learning officers to help them learn to work together. The

Chief learning officers limit squabbles and focus on training relatives.

hope is that a more aligned family will make better decisions that will benefit its members and its business.

The chief learning officer is well established at large companies. In 1990, Jack Welch created the role at General Electric when he was chief executive. In the last three decades, people filling this position have acted as corporate educators. Their focus is on creating programs to train employees to make them and the company more productive.

In family operations, the role has morphed slightly: The focus is on training the relatives to be business owners and to think about the future of the enterprise.

Greg McCann, founder of McCann & Associates, acts as a chief learning officer for family businesses as well as a counselor to those who want to assume his role in a family enterprise. He said that getting families to shift their focus toward unity could be difficult, but that in the long run, they had more clarity about who they were and what they wanted. And sometimes, they chose not to stay together.

“I always ask them, ‘Do you want to be the last but most efficient Blockbuster store owner?’” he said. “The world is changing really quickly. You can’t just make the Blockbuster store layout better. You have to think, ‘How do we go from Blockbuster to Netflix?’ Most families get that.”

Mr. McCann said the process started with the family itself. “We say the family defines success, but what’s needed is a definition of family goals,” he said.

Haws, a 100-year-old family company in Sparks, Nev., that makes drinking fountains and emergency equipment, found itself needing to redefine its corporate structure when a member of the family left the company abruptly.

“We had family members in the business and assumed they were looking after each other,” said Tom White, the chief executive and the husband of



LUKE SHARRETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

one of the owners. “They weren’t.” Stephanie Kilroy, his sister-in-law and an owner of the company, said the family business hadn’t been mismanaged; it had been “unmanaged.” So the family created governance policies to help align its members and run the business more efficiently.

But it became clear that more help was needed, so the family brought in Mr. McCann. In the process, it decided that the best solution would be for Ms. Kilroy and her sister, Mr. White’s wife, to buy out the other relatives.

“We had tiptoed around the deeper issues that related to family dynamics, and it really caught up to us,” Ms. Kilroy said. “We worked on resetting the family ownership group and committing to the emotional intelligence aspect of families in business together.”

The task can be long and arduous. Mr. McCann said the first year was particularly intense and time-consuming because it required the families to talk about issues that they may have been glossing over for years.

One thing families must consider is making the leap from a family business to a family enterprise, which could comprise several related businesses, financial assets or separate holdings that allow different branches to do their own thing.

The families that have thought about personal and professional growth are

typically the most successful; those whose members are not committed to one another on a personal level often struggle because they fail to see the purpose in keeping the business together.

Some families stop the process when they realize what it entails, Mr. McCann said. “They’d like to be in shape, but they don’t want to run or lift heavy things,” he said.

Ruth E. Steverlynck, a chief learning officer and a founding partner of Your Family Enterprise, said she spent years with her clients. She said many families thought that once they had the legal documents like wills, trusts and partnerships in place, their job was done. Likewise, they might be thinking about family governance, but still need guidance.

Chief learning officers, she said, are available “to help families learn and develop, to really help families get excited about learning together and why it matters.”

Duncan Taylor has been running Taylor Made Sales Agency, an equestrian sales and boarding company in Nicholasville, Ky., with his brothers for more than 40 years. After working with McCann & Associates, he learned his leadership style was not a good match for his brothers’ way of working.

“I’ve always been the brother coming into the meeting pushing and pushing

Duncan Taylor at Taylor Made Sales Agency in Nicholasville, Ky. He sought help from a chief learning officer after running the company for over 40 years.

an agenda,” he said. “I’m a thinker, not a feeler, and I have three brothers who are feelers. When I get into the room, I shouldn’t push so much. I should throw the idea out on the table and ask for input.”

Chief learning officers can help break through an impasse by showing each side how the other is thinking. Mr. Taylor said he was listening to his brothers more and asking more questions.

“Before, they were thinking I wasn’t respecting them, when I was thinking I’m just trying to get things done for the business,” he said. “Now, they’re giving their thoughts more. They’re not so easily caving in just because they want to get out of the meeting.”

He said this revelation had come at a crucial time for them because their children were beginning to show interest in the business.

A chief learning officer at a top corporation earns around \$140,000 a year, according to job sites like Indeed and LinkedIn, and those who work for family businesses make about the same. Mr. McCann said that he charged \$400 an hour, and that the first year of a project typically ran \$80,000 to

\$150,000.

Being the chief learning officer in a family-run business is different from being one in a larger company because family members have different levels of involvement. Some work in the business, while others are merely shareholders. A chief learning officer has to consider the qualifications of the relatives as well as the potential for clashes with others.

“The ability to have the difficult conversation is the best way to ensure families last 100 years,” Mr. McCann said. “It’s the difference between hiring one sibling versus having a hiring policy.”

What most of the founders are looking for is a way for their children to run the company together or find a way to part amicably. But a chief learning officer’s role is to be realistic.

“I say, ‘If we roll the clock ahead 20 years, what do you want it to look like?’” Ms. Steverlynck said. Some families may not want to remain in business together, she said, while others want to build a dynasty.

Either way, they have to take the first step. And that’s a learning exercise for any family.

YOUR MONEY ADVISER

Fresh Out of College? It’s Time to Take Stock of Your Finances

By ANN CARRNS

After the tassels have been turned and the mortarboards thrown into the air, many college graduates are about to be on their own for the first time.

Their first step, financial experts recommend, should be taking stock of their finances.

“Grab hold of your financial life,” said Jill Schlesinger, a certified financial planner and “ambassador” for the Certified Financial Planner Board of Standards, which certifies and sets standards for planners.

Much about managing money depends on habit, she said. “If you form good habits early,” she said, “you continue them throughout your life.”

The top priority? Get a handle on student loans.

Most federal student loans come with a grace period after graduation — typically, six months — during which borrowers don’t have to make loan payments. So use this time to make sure you have a repayment plan you can afford, said Diane Cheng, associate research director at the Institute for College Access and Success, a nonprofit organization.

“This is a really important time for recent graduates to get on top of their loans,” Ms. Cheng said.

Note the amount, the interest rate and the expected monthly payment of each loan, she said. If the total is unmanageable, consider applying for a payment option that links your payments to your income. You’ll usually pay more in interest over the long term, but you’ll gain financial breathing room now. Recent federal data shows that borrowers with the standard, 10-year student loan repayment plan are more likely to have trouble keeping up with monthly payments than those in some

other plans that tie payments to your income, Ms. Cheng said.

Also, she advised, update your contact information with your loan servicer — the company that collects your payments — to make sure you get statements and other information on time.

Student loans, of course, are just one expense that new graduates face. Michael Eisenberg, a member of the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants’ National C.P.A. Financial Literacy Commission, advises new graduates to do a simple “cash flow” analysis.

“How are they going to manage what comes in,” he said, “with what’s going out?”

For a first step, Mr. Eisenberg prefers an old-school approach: Get a piece of paper and draw a line down the center. On one side, write down the money coming in from your paycheck or part-time gigs. (Having a steady job is more likely this year for new graduates, he said, because of a strong job market.)

On the other side, list the money going out. Focus first on fixed costs, he said — not just student loans but also rent, car payments, insurance and the like. Be sure to include an amount, even if it’s small, for emergency savings. Then list variable expenses, like week-end getaways, summer vacations, perhaps saving for a special gift for a girlfriend or a boyfriend.

If there’s a big gap between income and expenses, Mr. Eisenberg said, adjustments are in order.

If money is tight, new graduates can think about what they might do without, Ms. Schlesinger said. Do they really need a car and its associated costs? If they live in a city like New York, she said, probably not. In some cities, she noted, options have expanded beyond public transportation and ride-hailing apps to include scooter- or bike-sharing services.



MINH UONG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Living at home, at least temporarily, is another option, especially if you get along with your parents and they aren’t charging you rent. Mr. Eisenberg said one of his own young relatives had chosen to live at home after graduation and to use the money that would have gone to rent to pay down student debt.

“Free is good,” Ms. Schlesinger said.

Leah Glouberman, an aspiring actor who graduated last year from the University of Southern California, said she was “very fortunate” to have no student loans and was grateful to be living rent free with her mother in Los Angeles, where the cost of living is high.

“I didn’t even second-guess it,” she said of the arrangement. “I’m saving a lot of money.”

Ms. Glouberman, 23, said living with her mother allowed her to work part-time jobs, keeping her schedule flexible in case she is called on short notice for possible acting jobs. She is building a savings account, which will help her get settled when she is ready to move into an apartment, or perhaps can serve as a down payment for a small house.

Ms. Schlesinger said that while living at home could be beneficial, parents

and their new graduates should communicate about expectations. Even if you’re paying rent, she said, “ask, ‘How can I contribute to the household?’”

Also, it’s wise to discuss how long the situation is likely to last. If the child is thinking two years and the parents are thinking six months, conflict is bound to brew. “Define what’s reasonable,” Ms. Schlesinger said.

When you’re ready to move out, getting an apartment with a roommate, or two, can help ease the transition and keep costs manageable. But keep an eye on spending, especially if your friends have bigger incomes than you do, Mr. Eisenberg said. Make dinner for friends at home, he suggested, so you can still socialize without having to pay for pricey restaurant meals.

Young adults are typically tech savvy, so digital tools — Mint and the like — can help track spending, Ms. Schlesinger said. Levi Sanchez, a fee-only financial planner in Seattle who specializes in millennials (people now generally in their 20s and 30s), said he often suggested that his clients try You Need a Budget.

Mr. Sanchez said he recommended that new graduates make sure to take full advantage of any benefits offered by their employer, such as a 401(k) retirement plan. At a minimum, he said, try to invest enough in the 401(k) to get any matching contribution offered by the employer — often 3 to 5 percent. When you start making more money, you can save more.

Some questions and answers about managing finances for new graduates:

How can I estimate what my student loan payments will be?

Ms. Cheng recommends using the Education Department’s online payment estimator for federal loans. The tool will show monthly amounts under various repayment options. (For private loans, contact your loan servicer.)

A top priority: Get a handle on student loans. Next, build a budget.

What sort of health insurance plan should new graduates choose?

If you’re on your parents’ health plan, you can generally stay on it until you turn 26, under the Affordable Care Act.

If you’re offered coverage through your job, one option that young, healthy, single adults might consider is a plan with a health savings account, Mr. Sanchez said. “It’s one of the better choices” if your medical expenses are typically low, he said.

These accounts are available only with certain high-deductible health plans, so you may pay more out of pocket when you’re sick. But they have tax benefits: Money is deposited before taxes, grows tax free and is withdrawn tax free when used for health and medical needs. If you use the money for other purposes, you’ll pay a penalty. But after age 65, the penalty goes away, and you’ll simply pay regular income tax on the withdrawals, regardless of what you spend it on.

Mr. Sanchez said he urged clients to pay for current health needs out of pocket, if they could afford it, and let money grow in their health savings account. “It can act like an additional retirement account,” he said.

How much should I save in an emergency fund?

For young, single people, Mr. Sanchez said, two to three months of expenses should suffice. He suggests keeping the cash in a high-yield savings account, like those offered online by Ally or Synchrony, which tend to pay higher interest rates than traditional banks.

Alfred Alberts, 87, Who Found Way to Banish Bad Cholesterol, Dies

By GINA KOLATA

Alfred W. Alberts, a largely unknown hero behind the first cholesterol-lowering statin approved in the United States, died on June 16 in Fort Collins, Colo. He was 87.

His son Eli confirmed the death, at a rehabilitation facility. Mr. Alberts had a heart attack two weeks earlier and then bypass surgery. A resident of Wyckoff, N.J., he had been visiting his son in Colorado at the time.

Mr. Alberts's story was an unlikely one. He lacked the usual credentials for a medical scientist — an M.D. or a Ph.D. — and started out as a lab technician. Yet he ended up as a peer to established researchers like P. Roy Vagelos, a biochemist who became chairman of Merck, the giant pharmaceutical company.

“He was my right-hand man,” Dr. Vagelos said in a telephone interview. “We were more like brothers, like twins.”

In the late 1970s, Mr. Alberts discovered the chemical compound that led to the drug lovastatin, a leading remedy for high cholesterol. (Statins are a class of drugs that help lower cholesterol levels in the blood.)

But even fellow scientists did not always know who Mr. Alberts was.

“He never sought publicity outside Merck,” said the Nobel laureate Dr. Michael S. Brown, of the University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center in Dallas. “He never sought attention. He was basically a shy person.”

As a result, he said, Mr. Alberts “hasn’t gotten a lot of credit.”

(Dr. Brown and his colleague Dr. Joseph L. Goldstein were awarded the 1985 Nobel Prize in Medicine or Physiology for discovering the protein on cell surfaces to which cholesterol binds.)

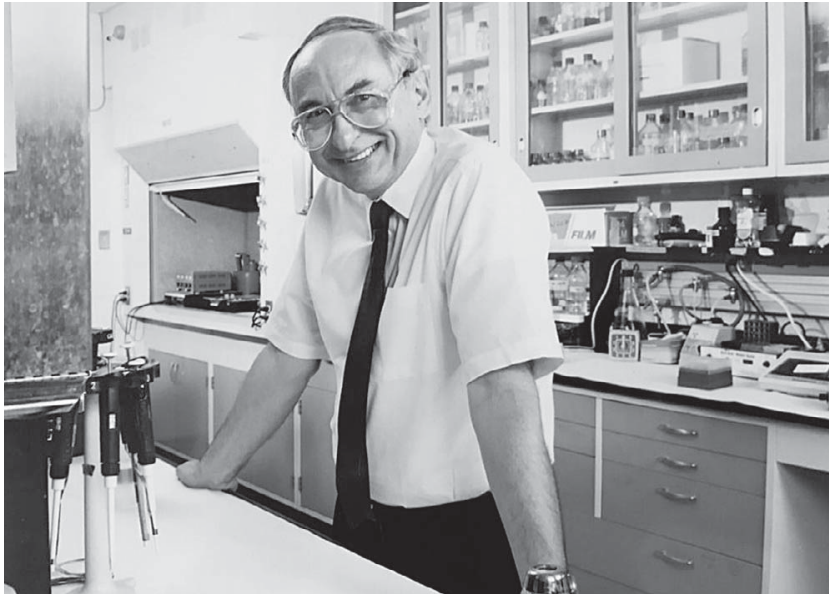
At the time of Mr. Alberts's discovery, cardiologists and public health experts had been at a loss to help people with high cholesterol levels. Diet and exercise had modest effects, at best. Although a few drugs were available, they produced difficult side effects.

But since 1964 scientists had known that there was a path to a better drug, and that it depended on the discovery of a compound that blocked what some called the pacemaker enzyme. That enzyme, HMG-CoA reductase, is needed to synthesize cholesterol. The more of it that is around, the faster cholesterol will be made.

The challenge was to find that compound and ensure that it would be safe for humans to take as a drug. There were many claims to success, but none held



MERCK



Alfred Alberts in the 1960s, left, and in 1995, above; he discovered the chemical compound that led to the first cholesterol drug, lovastatin. But Mr. Alberts shunned the limelight and fellow scientists did not always know who he was. “He never sought publicity outside Merck,” a scientist said.

up.

Dr. Vagelos, who had just begun a job as head of research at Merck, suggested that Mr. Alberts take on the task.

Almost immediately, Dr. Vagelos learned that Merck had a competitor. Dr. Akira Endo of the Japanese drug company Daiichi Sankyo had already found such a compound, and his company had tested it in the laboratory and in dogs and was starting tests in people.

“I said, ‘Oh, my God, we are behind already,’” Dr. Vagelos recalled. “Then I said: ‘The hell with it. We are a lot faster than they are. Let’s go ahead.’”

Soon Mr. Alberts found a similar compound secreted by aspergillus, a fungus. The compound, he found, proved effective in the laboratory and in animal studies, so Merck began tests in people, and it did exactly what it was supposed to — reduce levels of LDL cholesterol, the dangerous kind.

Suddenly Daiichi Sankyo stopped all tests of its compound. The company would not say why, but the rumor was that it was causing tumors in dogs.

That did not bode well for Merck.

“Their compound was an inhibitor of HMG-CoA reductase,” Dr. Vagelos said. “Ours was an inhibitor of the same enzyme. If the ru-

mor was true, that it was causing tumors in dogs, the implication was that it would cause cancer in humans. We could not put humans at risk. I decided we would stop all studies.”

He continued: “Al was depressed by this. He was emotionally tied to the compound and was sure it would ultimately be found to be safe.”

With the drug, in which he had invested so much hope, yanked from clinical studies, Mr. Alberts considered leaving Merck, his wife, Helene Alberts, said in an interview. He stayed, though, while the company’s safety assessment team tested the drug. It ultimately concluded that lovastatin did not cause cancer.

Lovastatin, the first statin on the market, was approved in 1987. Mr. Alberts, whose own cholesterol was elevated, took it himself. The drug’s success was the triumph of his life.

“Behind every drug there are heroes,” Dr. Brown said, and Mr. Alberts was “an unsung hero” of lovastatin.

When Mr. Alberts recently displayed the first signs of a heart attack, he was on vacation with his family in Steamboat Springs, Colo. He went to a small nearby hospital, where an emergency room doctor called Mr. Alberts’s doctor in New York.

to support his family.

One day, at the end of a biochemistry course, the professor, Earl Stadtman, a biochemist at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Md., asked his students, “Does anybody need a job?” If so, he said, see him.

Mr. Alberts leapt at the opportunity. He abandoned the Ph.D. program, even though he had done all the required research and had

‘He never sought attention. He was basically a shy person.’

only to write a dissertation, and took a job as a lab technician at the Institutes. He assumed he would be working with his revered professor, Dr. Stadtman. Instead, in 1959, he ended up working for Dr. Vagelos, who taught him biochemistry.

In 1966, Dr. Vagelos accepted a job as head of the biochemistry department at Washington University in St. Louis. Mr. Alberts wanted to come along, although Dr. Vagelos advised him not to, reminding him that he had a secure government job at the N.I.H.

“I warned him not to come because he did not have a Ph.D.,” Dr. Vagelos said.

But Mr. Alberts insisted on going, and he succeeded there. He was promoted to assistant professor and then associate professor of biochemistry with tenure.

Besides his wife and his son Eli, Mr. Alberts is survived by another son, Mitchell; a daughter, Heather Alberts; and two grandchildren. After his bypass surgery, Mr. Alberts was taken from the university hospital in Aurora to the Fort Collins rehabilitation facility to be near Eli.

In 1975, when Merck offered Dr. Vagelos a job as head of research, Mr. Alberts again wanted to join him, and again Dr. Vagelos warned him away, reminding him that he had a secure position at the university and that his future at Merck would by no means be assured.

Once again, Mr. Alberts ignored the advice and chose to accompany Dr. Vagelos, signing on with Merck at its headquarters in northern New Jersey.

Although Mr. Alberts shunned publicity and did not like to write medical papers, Dr. Vagelos cited him as a co-author on many of his. But he gives Mr. Alberts full credit for lovastatin.

“That was Al’s discovery,” he said.

Deaths

Corrigan, Joseph
Hogerton, Kathleen

Schlein, Betty
Stewart, Carole

CORRIGAN—Joseph P. passed away peacefully on July 4, 2018. He is survived by two daughters, Caitlin Corrigan Fitzsimons and Mairead Beaumont, two sons-in-law, three grandchildren, and two brothers, John and Robert. Please visit <https://ballardurand.com/obit/joseph-corrigan/> for further details.

HOGERTON—Kathleen McNulty, of Quogue, NY on July 4, 2018. Beloved wife of the late John F. Hogerton and devoted mother of Kate Hogerton. Funeral service Monday at 11:00am, Immaculate Conception Church in Westhampton, NY. In Memoriam donations to East End Hospice.

SCHLEIN—BETTY, A founding director of Eleanor’s Legacy and a feminist and progressive powerhouse, Betty changed New York and the Democratic Party for the better. May her memory be for a blessing.

Board of Directors,
Eleanor’s Legacy

STEWART—Carole A. (nee Price), Passed away peacefully in the presence of her family on July 4th, 2018 at the age of 65. Beloved wife and best friend of Alex Stewart. Cherished mother of Michael (Sarah) Stewart and Douglas (Chantell Evans) Stewart. Loving sister of Susan Price and daughter of Marcia Nebel. Further survived by other loving relatives and dear friends. Passionate about her work in psychotherapy and mental health, Carole treated Milwaukee-area children and families for more than 35 years. Memorial contributions may be made to the Wisconsin Humane Society. The Stewart Family

In Memoriam

SILVERMAN—Kenneth. “If ever two were one, then surely we.” I love you forever. Jane

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED FROM WITHIN N.Y.C. TO (212) 556-3900, OR OUTSIDE N.Y.C. TO TOLL FREE 1-800-458-5522; OR SUBMITTED ONLINE AT ADVERTISING.NYTIMES.COM (SELECT “IN MEMORIAM”) FOR THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS: Until 5:30 P.M. the day before for Tuesday through Saturday editions, until 5:00 P.M. on Friday for Sunday’s Nationwide Edition, until 12:45 P.M. Saturday for Sunday’s New York Region edition, until 2:00 P.M. Sunday for Monday’s editions. Photos must be submitted by noon the day prior to publication Tuesday through Friday. Photos for Saturday, Sunday and Monday must be submitted by 12 noon on Friday.

Michelle Musler, 81, Courtside Perennial at the Garden

By HARVEY ARATON

Michelle Musler, whose four-decade devotion to the New York Knicks in a seat behind the team’s bench made her one of the most recognizable mainstays at Madison Square Garden, died on June 28 in Stamford, Conn. She was 81.

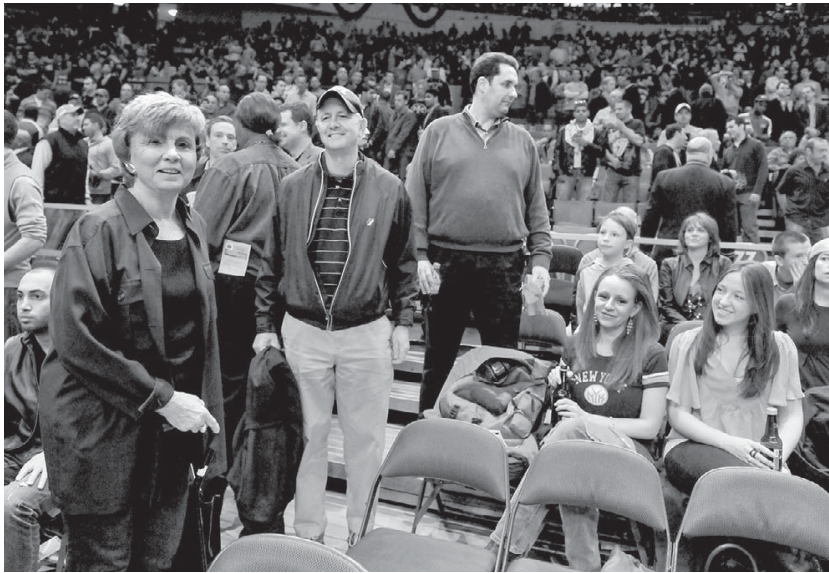
The cause was cancer, her family said.

Ms. Musler, then an executive for the Xerox Corporation, became a season-ticket holder at the Garden after the Knicks’ second and last championship season, 1972-73. Eventually she was sitting within arm’s reach of the players and coaches, and on occasion taking advantage of the proximity.

“Whenever I would walk out on the floor, disheveled with my collar up or my tie crooked, she would come up from behind, fix it and just step back to her seat with a smile but without saying a word,” Jeff Van Gundy, the former Knicks coach and now a television sportscaster, said in an interview. Of the many Knicks coaches she sat behind, Mr. Van Gundy was Ms. Musler’s favorite, in large part because he was, at 5-foot-9, the shortest. By the time he appeared for pregame introductions, Mr. Van Gundy said, Ms. Musler was “always in her seat, never late.”

“And you knew she was there for the game,” he added, “not to be seen.” Yet because of her seat’s location and her longevity in occupying it, Ms. Musler became one of the team’s most identifiable fans not associated with the entertainment industry, well known to many courtside spectators, Knicks employees and reporters who covered the team.

Articles about her appeared in the New York newspapers, detailing the lengths to which she went not to miss important games. With pride, she told of taking a flight from Hong Kong after a long day there on business during a playoff series. She would record games on multiple devices in the event she could not get home. “She was as big a staple at the Garden as Spike Lee,” said Lori Hamamoto, a former Knicks public relations executive. Ms. Hamamoto had a seat at the Garden near Ms. Musler’s, in view of the perennial bag at Ms. Musler’s feet that was typically stuffed with that day’s newspapers.



JASON SZENES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Michelle Musler, left, sat behind the New York Knicks’ bench at Madison Square Garden. She was well known to many courtside spectators, Knicks employees and reporters who covered the team.

Ms. Musler’s professional expertise was in human resources; she was later a coach of sorts — of corporate executives — through her own consulting company. She lived comfortably, not luxuriously, and became a public voice of fans who were priced out by a sport

The Times that she would have to struggle mightily to hold on. She rationalized doing so because, as she said, “It’s been a big part of my life, and I’ve made so many good friends.”

She also complained that some of those friends would no longer be able to socialize with her before the game.

“They’ve segregated the sections,” she said, meaning that she, as a premier ticket holder, had access to a more prestigious dining club.

The frills were never the attraction for her. Nor were Mr. Lee and other celebrities in the choicest seats. Ms. Musler lamented the increasing number of courtside fans who were constantly snapping photos of entertainers and talking on their smartphones during a game. Even the notion of the Knicks City Dancers, organized in 1991, was an affront to her.

“Timeouts, halftime, is for schmoozing — about basketball!” Ms. Musler wrote in a letter to Dave Checketts, then the Knicks’ president.

Mostly, Ms. Musler held out hope for another Knicks championship. When the team was one

victory away during the 1994 N.B.A. finals, she ditched a client, procured tickets to Games 6 and 7 in Houston and suffered as Patrick Ewing and company went down to heartbreaking defeat.

She was born Michelle Bassell on Aug. 18, 1936, in Hartford. Quarantined with tuberculosis, she missed a year of high school but recovered to earn degrees from St. Mary’s College in South Bend, Ind., and the University of Connecticut.

In addition to working at Xerox and running her own company, she worked for Chase Manhattan Bank, Warner Communications and PepsiCo. She also had a seat on the board of the School of Visual Arts in Manhattan.

Her marriage to Joseph Musler, who died in 2008, ended in divorce. She is survived by three daughters, Darcy, Devon and Blair Musler; two sons, Brandon and Bruce; and three grandchildren.

Ms. Musler also leaves a vast collection of Knicks memorabilia in her Stamford home — stuff that, despite all her promises to the contrary, she could never bring herself to discard.

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Arts

The New York Times



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‘Love Island’ Takes Hold of Britain

A reality show featuring hookups and breakups is attracting millions of viewers, and many rebukes.

By ALEX MARSHALL

LONDON — Scott Bell and Jamie Murray Pullan were sitting in the TV room of their student dorm recently, watching one of England’s most popular shows and pondering a pressing question of the moment. “There’s no way he’s 22!” Mr. Bell said of Adam Collard, a contestant on “Love Island” who was onscreen chatting with some women. “I don’t know why they aren’t staring at him, mouths open, going, ‘How are you 22? You look about 30,’” Mr. Pullan said.

It took the dogged reporting of The Daily Mail to put the national debate to rest, obtaining Mr. Collard’s birth certificate showing he was, in fact, just 22. “Love Island,” now in its fourth season, is at first glance just another romantic reality show. A group of mainly 20-somethings from Britain are thrown into a villa on the Spanish island of Majorca for eight weeks. They are immediately forced to couple up, then six nights a week, the program documents their relationship ups and downs. But “Love Island” has turned into a phenomenon here, bringing millions of viewers to a minor TV channel, stoking chatter from pubs to Parliament, and becoming the go-to show for people looking to assess the state

of British life, or at least pontificate about it. Last year, the prevalence of smoking in the show led to a debate in the House of Lords about whether broadcasting rules around smoking should be strengthened. (The program no longer shows smoking.) This season, Mr. Collard’s behavior has led to debate about how men treat women and accusations of “gaslighting,” a form of emotional manipulation. Less seriously, the show has even been blamed for a trend: the disappearance of chest hair. Some of the biggest rows surrounding the show have, often uncomfortably, focused on contestants’ intellect. Reality shows are not exactly known for high-minded conversa-

Continued on page C6

Foreground, from left, Adam Collard, Rosie Anna Williams, Alex George and Samira Mighty on “Love Island,” the hit reality show. Mr. Collard’s happiness to chase women, while stringing along those he was already with, has stirred examination of male behavior in relationships.

Sit Down for Discomfort

A play about race goes too far for some and not far enough for others.

By ALEXIS SOLOSKI

Since June 17, playgoers have clapped for Jackie Sibblies Drury’s divisive “Fairview” at Soho Rep. But they’ve also cried and raged and staggered out stunned. At the theater, in the street outside and later on social media, spectators have sorted through knotty responses that no string of emojis can capture. On a recent Saturday, Ms. Drury prepared to greet a matinee audience of family and friends. As she stepped into Afiejo, a restaurant just down the street from the theater, a table of 20 broke into applause. Other tables started applauding, too. It must have seemed like the thing to do. Ms. Drury, 36, looked pleased and embarrassed and also a little relieved. “Fairview” begins as an easygoing comedy about a middle-class black family gathering for a birthday dinner and ends somewhere else entirely. A play about race, though not only about race, it includes a series of gestures and invitations that divide the audience. Divide the audience figuratively? Sure. That, too. In The New York Times, Ben Brantley suggested that “Fairview” would have you squirming in your seat. “You will also wind up questioning your basic right to sit there,” he wrote. The play will run for at least another

month, so describing just how it achieves this unease doesn’t seem quite fair. But Ms. Drury, the play’s associate director, Garrett Allen; and a couple of the actors were willing to speak about why they are making audiences so uncomfortable and how it feels to rattle them matinee after matinee, night after night. Ms. Drury’s earlier plays, “We Are Proud to Present a Presentation . . .,” about a group of theatermakers; “Really,” about a photographer’s white mother and black girlfriend; and “Social Creatures,” about, well, zombies, were already interested in questions of identity and perception. “Fairview,” which expands on these questions, began a few years ago when Ms. Drury and the play’s director, Sarah Benson, began having conversations about surveillance culture and the place of black bodies in public spaces. (Ms. Benson was out of the country and unavailable for an interview.) Theater is itself a public space of sorts, and Ms. Drury wondered what it meant for audiences, especially white, middle-class audiences, to consume stories about marginalized communities. She worried that

Continued on page C6

The playwright Jackie Sibblies Drury, right, with the actress MaYaa Boateng at Soho Rep. Ms. Boateng said that when she first read the “Fairview” script, “I was like: ‘What is going on? This is crazy!’”



ANNIE TRITT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Flutist Sues Orchestra Over Pay

Gender equity suit is first under a Massachusetts law.

By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER

The top flutist of the Boston Symphony Orchestra has filed a gender pay discrimination suit against the ensemble, claiming that her compensation is only about 75 percent that of her closest comparable colleague, the orchestra’s principal oboist, who is a man. The suit, which was filed on Monday by Elizabeth Rowe, the orchestra’s principal flutist and one of its most prominent musicians, appears to be the first under a new law in Massachusetts that requires equal pay for “comparable work.” The law was passed in 2016, but it did not go into effect until Sunday, after employers had two years to rectify disparities. Ms. Rowe’s complaint also appears to be the first pay equity lawsuit brought by a leading orchestral musician, suggesting that the debate over

Continued on page C4

Forget the Vuvuzela, He Prefers the Organ

By GIULIA PINES

“Football is a simple game,” the legendary Scottish soccer manager Bill Shankly once said. The sport, he added, is “made complicated by people who should know better.”

He probably had a point: Two teams, two goals and a ball. Around a simple framework, a multibillion-dollar global industry revolves, with the top players catapulted to fame and entire countries practically shutting down for the biggest matches.

But 10 years ago, the German musician Carsten-Stephan Graf von Bothmer looked at the game and saw it in a different light: as a silent film in need of a musical score.

“With soccer there are scenes of success, of tension, of great passion; all the emotions that come from watching films also come from watching soccer,” he said in a telephone interview from Berlin recently.

During this year’s World Cup, Mr. von Bothmer has again been bringing silent film improvisation to a live audience, playing the organ in the Church of the Twelve Apostles in Berlin to accompany select matches. He has been doing similar accompaniments to games at major international soccer tournaments since 2008.

Mr. von Bothmer has built a reputation, both at home and abroad, for his silent film concerts, events at which he plays a church organ — or one of the two theater organs left in Berlin — to classic movies.

By his count, he’s scored nearly 1,000, including German masterpieces such as “Metropolis” and “Nosferatu,” and comedies by Harold Lloyd, Buster Keaton, and Laurel and Hardy. In 2007, he played along to the German director Ernst Lubitsch’s entire oeuvre in a near-30-hour marathon.

The idea for doing something similar with soccer came during the prelude to the 2008 European Championship. As bars, restaurants and beer gardens prepared for raucous public screenings of the matches, Mr. von Bothmer was in talks with a Berlin church about putting together a program of organ concerts.

“I’m not sure who said it first,” he said, “but this idea came up that films and soccer are very similar, and should be accompanied.”

They began talking about the possibility of Mr. von Bothmer giving soccer the same treatment as the movies, watching the games with the audience while simultaneously improvising a soundtrack. He said that he had been convinced they were on to something unique, but that he had also wondered whether staunch soccer fans would take a chance on such a strange idea.

He need not have worried: When he arrived at the church, he said, “there were eight people standing at the door an hour and a half before the show. When it started, there were about 500.”

Since then, his European and World Cup performances have drawn viewers from a wide spectrum, including many who are neither silent-film fans nor even particularly ardent soccer followers.

What they experience is Mr. von Bothmer playing the Darth Vader theme from “Star Wars” as referees call fouls and flourish yellow and red cards. They hear the score of a spaghetti western as a player dodges and feints. And they get Mr. von Bothmer’s ren-

dition of a team’s national anthem at particularly triumphant moments.

The running musical commentary gives the games an air of high drama, slapstick comedy and various gradations in between.

While Mr. von Bothmer usually watches a movie several times before accompanying it in public, taking notes on crucial plot twists and moments of melodrama, he said he still partly improvises in those shows. With soccer, he has no choice but to wing it.

“When you’re a normal film composer, you’re only reacting to the film,” he said. “Here, the audience reacts to the game, but also my music. And I react to the game, but also the audience.”

That feedback loop was evident during the Iceland-Croatia match last week, which Mr. von Bothmer accompanied at the Church of the Twelve Apostles, the fourth of eight performances that he was to give there. At one point, he played a few bars of a Strauss waltz as players flitted across the pitch. At another, the organ joined the audience in the church, echoing the onscreen spectators as they performed the characteristic gestures and whoops of the Icelandic “Thunder Clap” chant.

Once it was clear that the Iceland team was done for, Mr. von Bothmer took out a harmonica to play a plaintive blues melody. This got a laugh and a standing ovation as the audience filed out into the still-bright Berlin evening.

The next afternoon, Mr. von Bothmer saw just how well he could rally the fans of a losing team. He was booked to play the decisive Germany-South Korea game at a private screening for inmates at a prison in Berlin. He supplemented the prison chapel’s electronic organ with two of his own Korg synthesizers. The roaring crowd of prisoners was loudest, he reported, “when the camera panned across the stadium and showed beautiful women in the audience.”

It was a tough gig. In a huge shock, Germany lost to South Korea and crashed out of the tournament at the group stage. Not surprisingly, the crowd at the prison was none too happy, but Mr. von Bothmer said he thought the music had helped keep the game in perspective.

“With the music, I’m able to steer their attention to the game, so that the guests look more closely and pay attention,” he said. “Somehow this makes the loss easier to bear, because it’s more about the sport than it is about winning.”

During the second half, when Germany was chasing a goal, Mr. von Bothmer said he played some “techno-esque, psychedelic music” to mirror the frantic search for a breakthrough.

Faced with the unenviable task of narrating a national disappointment, Mr. von Bothmer said he had also drawn inspiration from a game at a previous World Cup.

“Back in 2010, the Germans played so incredibly badly, I was kind of frantic,” he said. “When there are absolutely no goals at all, what do you do? Someone actually screamed at me, ‘Go faster!’ — as if the Germans would run faster if I played faster!”

It was an affirmation that the illusion was complete: In the audience’s mind, soccer and organ accompaniment had become one.

“I couldn’t have had a better compliment,” he said.



‘With soccer there are scenes of success, of tension, of great passion.’
CARSTEN-STEPHAN GRAF VON BOTHMER

The German organist, left, started improvising to major soccer tournaments in 2008. For this year’s World Cup, he’s performing during select matches at the Church of the Twelve Apostles in Berlin, below.



ANTHONY TOMMASINI | MUSIC REVIEW

Merging the Sounds of Nature and Man

‘Inuksuit,’ is performed by 60 players scattered throughout the Caramoor grounds.

KATONAH, N.Y. — Sunday afternoon was steamy, with temperatures in the 90s and thick humidity. But that didn’t deter 60 intrepid percussionists and about 700 curious music lovers from attending a free performance of John Luther Adams’s outdoor work “Inuksuit” at Caramoor, the summer music festival here.

Mr. Adams, who lived for years in Alaska, has written that “Inuksuit” was inspired by the stone sentinels constructed over centuries by the Inuit indigenous people of the Arctic. The music is haunted by visions of melting polar ice.

There is no master score for the 60-minute piece, which can be performed by up to 99 percussionists on whatever instruments are available. Instead, the players draw from a collection of musical materials to create their own realization. The result

depends crucially on the character of the site where it is performed. (Earlier this year, a performance took place on both sides of the fence separating San Diego from Tijuana, Mexico.)

Over the weekend, as the musicians rehearsed, they started mordantly referring to “Inuksuit” as “Inuksweat.” Both players and listeners did plenty of sweating on Sunday. But everyone seemed too involved to care.

Doug Perkins, a percussionist who directed the performance, decided more or less where the players would be placed: standing on patches of lawn in the sun or under trees in the shade, kneeling on mulch-filled paths in the woods or hovering over drum sets within the Sunken Garden. The piece began with all the musicians gathered in a group for a period of meditation.

Then, quietly at first, individual performers started blowing through conches, twirling plastic tubes and shaking boxes of tinkling bells to produce an array of drones and whistles, some of them evocative of bird calls. (Mr. Adams is an avid birder.) Slowly,

Caramoor
The summer festival runs through July 29 in Katonah, N.Y.; 914-232-1252, caramoor.org.

Below left, the Orchestra of St. Luke’s, with Ludovic Morlot conducting, in the Venetian Theater at Caramoor. Right, Josh Quillen, one of dozens of percussionists at the festival.

the musicians moved to various sets of drums, gongs, cymbals and more, placed here and there, and began playing. Delicate, halting riffs grew into nervous bursts and, before long, pounding rhythms.

The audience was invited to stroll around close to the players, creating their own individual experiences of the music. Many of the small children in attendance, including Lily, a 2-year-old who had come with me, seemed at once riveted and a bit scared by the pounding rhythms. One little boy standing next to a percussionist flailing away at drums reacted by smiling and dancing.

For me, the music was richest when I stood in one place for a while and let sounds from distant players mingle with nearby flourishes. As the end approached, the music settled down and thinned out, until there seemed to be only tinkling chimes, like the actual bird calls that had been part of the music all along.

On Saturday evening, Caramoor presented a more traditional event: a splendid concert by the festival’s resident Orchestra

of St. Luke’s in the open-air Venetian Theater. The conductor Ludovic Morlot, departing next year as the music director of the thriving Seattle Symphony, began with a bracing account of Smetana’s “Dance of the Comedians.” Then Benjamin Beilman was the soloist in an exciting performance of Tchaikovsky’s Violin Concerto. Playing with rich sound and plenty of brilliance, Mr. Beilman conveyed both dreamy lyricism and heated intensity.

The New York premiere of Matthew Aucoin’s “Evidence” revealed an elusive yet engrossing orchestral piece. The 20-minute work is layered with shape-shifting elements: droning low sonorities; restlessly oscillating figures; sonic masses that come in and out of focus; blocks of chords that heave and sway; and, in one surprising turn, a beguiling melodic episode that yearns to settle in but never quite does. For all the contrasts, the piece holds together with unflinching dramatic purpose.

The evening ended with a bold account of Tchaikovsky’s “Romeo and Juliet Fantasy Overture.”



PHOTOGRAPHS BY GABE PALACIO

Arts, Briefly

NEWS FROM THE CULTURAL WORLD

Tumor Removal Sidelines Costello Tour

Elvis Costello (right) has canceled the remainder of his European tour to recover from a cancer operation.

The British singer-songwriter, whose real name is Declan Patrick MacManus, said in a statement on his website on Friday that he had to undergo surgery for a “small but very aggressive” cancerous tumor.

The 63-year-old said he hoped he would be able to continue with the tour, but needs to take more rest. He said, “I must reluctantly cancel all the remaining engagements of this tour.”

The canceled concerts, part of the “Elvis Costello and the Imposters European Tour,” were slated for Britain, Croatia, Austria, Norway and Sweden; the tour was to end originally on July 16.

Mr. Costello is best known for his post-punk hits from the 1970s, including “Alison,” “Oliver’s Army” and “Watching the Detectives.” His 1999 cover of “She” was featured on the soundtrack for “Notting Hill.”

He has collaborated with artists including Burt Bacharach, Paul McCartney and the rock band Fall Out Boy. In 2003, Mr. Costello was nominated for an Academy Award for “The Scarlet Tide” from the movie “Cold Mountain.”

The type of cancer Mr. Costello received treatment for was not specified, but in the statement he urged men to take medical advice for concerning symptoms. “Seek your doctor’s advice if you are in doubt or when it is timely and act as swiftly as you may in these matters,” he said. “It may save your life.”

ANNA CODREA-RADO

Postal Service Pays Price For Lady Liberty Goof

In a 2010 stamp design, the United States Postal Service mistook a Las Vegas-based replica (above right) for the real Statue of Liberty. Now a federal court has ruled that the post office must pay the replica’s sculptor \$3.5 million for violating his copyright.

The statue by the artist Robert



JUANJO MARTIN/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Davidson sits at the New York-New York casino in Las Vegas, thousands of miles away from the mint-green figure in New York Harbor.

Yet an image of his sculpture made a surprise appearance on the post office’s Lady Liberty Forever stamp in 2010. Mr. Davidson filed a copyright infringement lawsuit against the post office in 2013, claiming it illegally used the image of his piece, and on Friday a federal court agreed, awarding him damages after he established that his piece was different enough from the original to be protected. Mr. Davidson argued in the case that his version is “sexier” and more “fresh-faced” than the French gift to America.

Made of plaster mud, acrylic-based coating and foam, the replica is half the size of the real Statue of Liberty and sports more defined eyes and lips. Mr. Davidson argued in court that his mother-in-law’s face inspired the Las Vegas sculpture. He said he made the statue’s appearance “a little more modern, a little more feminine” than the original’s “masculine” features.

The post office had originally picked the photo by searching Getty Images, the stock-photo agency, and believed it showed the real statue. After sizing and



JOHN LOCHER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

cropping the photo to fit on a stamp, the post office released it to the public in December 2010.

It wasn’t until 2011, after 3 billion of the stamps had been printed, that a stamp collector noticed it pictured the wrong Lady Liberty, and the post office changed the information in materials dispersed about the stamp. The post office took no further action until the court case, where it argued that Mr. Davidson’s piece was too similar to the original to be protected by copyright.

The post office discontinued the design in 2014 — but only

after bringing in \$2.1 billion from the sale of 4.9 billion stamps. Originally, Mr. Davidson earned \$233,000 from the creation of the casino-based statue after manufacturing costs.

The post office declined to comment on the case’s outcome. Todd Bice, Mr. Davidson’s attorney, did not immediately respond to a request for comment, but said in an emailed statement to The Associated Press that his client was pleased that the court recognized the significance of his “highly unique and attractive” work of art.

AMANDA SVACHULA

R&B Singer Arrested For Battery in Florida

The R&B singer Chris Brown was arrested Thursday night before a concert in West Palm Beach, Fla., on a charge of felony battery stemming from an April 2017 incident in Tampa.

He is accused of punching a photographer, Bennie Vines, at an event there at Club Aja, according to the police.

Officials notified Mr. Brown’s team of the imminent arrest before the concert, said Eric Davis, spokesman for the Palm Beach County Sheriff’s Office. The authorities escorted him out of the Coral Sky Amphitheater shortly after the concert and booked him into the Palm Beach County Jail at 11 p.m. He was released at 11:52 p.m. after paying a \$2,000 bond.

Mr. Vines, a Tampa-based photographer, was hired by the nightclub to take photos at an event in April 2017. He told the police he was sitting near Mr. Brown, when Mr. Brown motioned to him to move away, according to a statement from the Tampa Police Department. Mr. Vines tried to explain to Mr. Brown that he was taking photos of the crowd. Mr. Brown then punched him in his upper lip, according to Mr. Vines and other witnesses.

The case was investigated by the Tampa Police Department and a warrant for his arrest was issued on Aug. 11, 2017.

This is the latest in a string of violent incidents for Mr. Brown, who is 29. In May, a woman sued him, saying he held her against her will at his Los Angeles house last year while a friend of his raped her. He was arrested in 2016 on a charge of assault with a deadly weapon after a standoff at his home. In 2009, he pleaded guilty to one account of felony assault on his then-girlfriend Rihanna.

Mr. Brown’s lawyer had not immediately responded to a request for comment.

Mr. Brown was to continue his “Heartbreak on a Full Moon” tour on Friday at the MidFlorida Credit Union Amphitheater in Tampa, according to the venue’s box office.

AMANDA SVACHULA

Ready, Set, Go

YOUR DAILY ARTS FIX



‘LITTLE ROCK’ A play about the black students who first attended their city’s formerly segregated white high school. 3 and 8 p.m. at the Sheen Center. 866-811-4111, sheencenter.org.



RANDY WESTON AFRICAN RHYTHMS QUARTET Jazz and African musical traditions meet. 7 p.m. at the Jamaica Performing Arts Center. 718-618-6170, jcal.org.



‘FIREWORKS’ An animated science fiction love story. At the IFC Center. ifccenter.com.

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— LEE CHILD

FROM

Cristina Alger

AUTHOR OF THE DARLINGS

Read an excerpt at PRH.com/BankersWife

PUTMAN

Crossword

Edited by Will Shortz

- ACROSS**
- 1 Loud, as a radio

7 What stars do

14 Repeatedly hit

15 Some petroleum

16 Play out, as events

17 “I wanna hear everything”

18 Pioneer in steam engines

20 Complete coverage?

21 Early people who used a base-20 numerical system

22 Sorrowful cries

23 Rapper ____ Rhymes

24 What closes on Sundays?

25 Cut

27 Fun bit of trivia

32 ____ Tech (former for-profit school)

33 Olympic gymnastics gold medalist Raisman

34 “Children of the Albatross” author

35 Vietnamese soup

36 Doesn’t snap

40 Billies
- DOWN**
- 41 Packing ____

42 They may have stained-glass windows

45 Playbill bit

46 Police line?

47 Cut

48 Internet in-jokes that have gone viral, in modern lingo

50 Individual’s unique use of language

52 How dishes are usually sold

54 Martial arts holds that are hard to escape

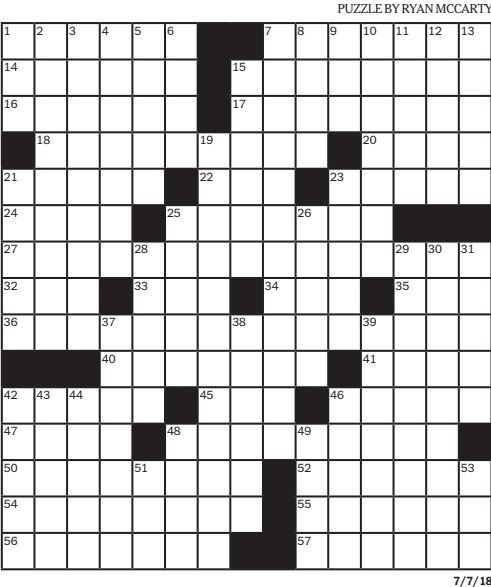
55 President Bartlet on “The West Wing”

56 One waiting for the captain?

57 Invites out for

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

C	L	E	O	P	A	T	R	A		E	J	E	C	T
A	I	S	L	E	S	E	A	T		M	U	N	R	O
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P	A	S	T	Y		U	M	P	T	E	E	N	T	H



7/7/18

- 3 Close friend of Hamilton, in “Hamilton”

4 Fighter of Ferocious Flea in 1960s cartoons

5 Hamilton and 3-Down, in “Hamilton”

6 Quashes

7 “Absolutely unacceptable!”

8 Cartoonist Kelly

9 Breed

10 Travel from site to site?

11 Screwballs

12 Calculus calculation
- 13 Multi-time W.N.B.A. All-Star ____ Delle Donne

15 Be a homebody

19 Mary Jane

21 Zayn formerly of One Direction

23 “ ____ chance!”

25 Bud inducted into Cooperstown in 2017

26 Belts

28 Performs some light surgery?

29 Loss of a sound at the start of a word, as “opossum” to “possum”

30 Spot in the third balcony, say
- 31 Trespassing and defamation

37 Chemical compounds in so-called hospital smell

38 Poisons

39 1994 Jim Carrey comedy

43 Man of the cloth

44 Moves at a crawl?

46 Mexican bread

48 Art ____

49 Goya subject

51 Alley-oop starter

53 Tennyson’s “You Ask Me, Why, ____ Ill at Ease”

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SORRY TO BOTHER YOU
10:00, 11:30AM, 12:30, 2:05, 3:05, 4:40, 5:40, 7:15, 8:15, 9:50, 10:50PM, 12:00AM

LEAVE NO TRACE
10:00AM, 12:15, 2:45, 5:15, 7:45, 10:35, 11:50PM
“O&A: AFTER 7:45PM SHOW”

THREE IDENTICAL STRANGERS
10:10AM, 12:30, 2:50, 5:10, 7:30, 9:50PM, 12:05AM

WON’T YOU BE MY NEIGHBOR?
10:00AM, 12:10, 2:30, 4:50, 7:10, 9:30PM

RBG
10:00AM, 12:15, 2:45, 5:10, 7:30, 9:50PM

film society lincoln center
RYUICHI SAKAMOTO: CODA
12:30PM, 2:30, 4:45, 7:30, 9:30PM
SAKAMOTO AND DIRECTOR IN PERSON AT 4:45PM & 7:30PM SCREENINGS.

LOVE, CECIL
1:15PM, 3:15, 7:15, 9:15PM

ARABY 5:15PM
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1−				1−			
				1−		2−	1−
2÷				8+			
4−		60×		3÷		2−	5+

Answers to Previous Puzzles

3	2	1	4
4	3	2	1
2	1	4	3
1	4	3	2

1	3	5	2	4	6
5	2	3	6	1	4
4	1	6	3	2	5
2	5	1	4	6	3
3	6	4	1	5	2
6	4	2	5	3	1

Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

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Flutist Sues Orchestra Seeking Equal Pay

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
gender equality in the historically male-dominated classical music world may be moving into new territory.

Half a century after the introduction of blind auditions, in which candidates are heard from behind a screen, women make up just over 47 percent of players in American ensembles, according to a 2016 report by the League of American Orchestras.

But according to Ms. Rowe's lawsuit, which seeks \$200,000 in unpaid wages, pay disparities can be significant. Ms. Rowe, 44, is paid about \$70,000 less each year than John Ferrillo, 62, the principal oboist, based on data in the lawsuit and tax records. That is despite the fact that they play next to each other and are both "leaders of the orchestra in similarly demanding artistic roles," according to the lawsuit, which was first reported by The Boston Herald.

Ms. Rowe, who previously held positions in Baltimore, Washington and Indiana, joined the Boston Symphony in 2004. She has been a featured soloist with the orchestra 27 times, more than any other principal musician, according to the lawsuit. Critics for The New York Times have called her playing "ravishing" and "splendid."

She has also been a "face of the orchestra," the lawsuit says, frequently featured in marketing campaigns, donor-relations events and tours, like last year's visit to Japan, when she and the principal harpist Jessica Zhou — the only other female principal player — were the only musicians from the orchestra featured as soloists.

Setting pay for orchestral musicians is complex. Collective bargaining agreements guarantee a minimum base salary, but principal players and others generally negotiate significant "overscales" based on solo fees, costs of instrument ownership, promotional duties and other variables.

Drew McManus, an arts consultant who has advised musicians on contract negotiations, said that many orchestras fail to be rigorous in quantifying a musician's value, allowing room for bias.

"It's hard to make apples-to-apples comparisons between individual musicians," he said, but "a mix of tradition and apathy conspires with a lack of formal compensation policies to produce a system that practically begs for problematic outcomes."

Ms. Rowe's suit claims that in addition to being paid less than Mr. Ferrillo (who made \$286,621 in 2015, according to tax filings), she was also paid less than the orchestra's principal trumpet, viola, timpani and French horn players, all of whom are men.

Even after adjusting for seniority within the orchestra, the lawsuit claims, Ms. Rowe was still paid only about three-quarters of Mr. Ferrillo's compensation. The suit also claims that Mr. Ferrillo and some other male players got automatic pay increases each time the base pay was increased, while Ms. Rowe did not.

A spokeswoman for the Boston Sym-



PIOTR REDLINSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Elizabeth Rowe, right, the Boston Symphony Orchestra's principal flutist and one of its most prominent musicians, with the Boston Symphony Chamber Players in Central Park in 2015.

phony, Bernadette Horgan, said that the orchestra could not comment on pending litigation but said that it "is committed to a strong policy of equal employment opportunity and to the practice of comparable pay for comparable work, as well as abiding by the Massachusetts Equal Pay Act."

Mr. Ferrillo expressed support for Ms. Rowe's claims about their comparable value to the orchestra. "I consider Elizabeth to be my peer and equal, at least as worthy of the compensation that I receive as I am," he said in a statement to The Boston Globe.

According to the suit, Ms. Rowe made several previous attempts to have her pay

A central issue is salary history, which the suit calls a 'tainted variable.'

adjusted, beginning in 2015. The orchestra not only declined to equalize her pay with Mr. Ferrillo's, the suit claims, but also retaliated against her for trying to discuss the issue publicly.

Last December, according to the lawsuit, the orchestra's management asked her to appear in a National Geographic documentary about gender equity hosted by Katie Couric. But when Ms. Rowe told the orchestra's administration that she planned to talk about current gender issues, including "known salary discrimination," the lawsuit says, the invitation was "immediately rescinded."

Central to the suit is the issue of salary

history, which it calls a "tainted variable." Laws forbidding employers from asking job candidates about previous salary have been passed recently in Massachusetts, Delaware, California, New York City, Philadelphia and elsewhere.

"There's a growing recognition that an obvious source of perpetuating the pay gap comes from relying on past salary," said Gillian Thomas, a senior staff attorney at the American Civil Liberties Union's Women's Rights Project.

The new Massachusetts law, like others, also says that salary history cannot be used as a justification for gender disparities. According to the lawsuit, Mr. Ferrillo, who was hired in 2001, had his compensation set at 200 percent of the orchestra's base rate, to match his previous pay at the Metropolitan Opera, where he was principal oboist from 1986 to 2001.

The suit says Ms. Rowe was hired in 2004 at 154 percent of the base rate. Her current salary, the suit argues, fails to take into account her "accumulated experience" since joining the orchestra, which it calls "substantially equal to what Mr. Ferrillo had when he was hired."

Elizabeth Rodgers, Ms. Rowe's lawyer, said in an email that her client hoped to reach "an amicable resolution" with the orchestra, which will hold its annual trustees and overseers week this month at Tanglewood, its summer home in the Berkshires. She added that Ms. Rowe "sees this as a wonderful opportunity for the B.S.O. to make a positive stand on the right side of one of the most critical social issues of the day."

Curator Accuses Museum of Bias

MoMA PS1 is said to have rescinded an offer because of a baby.

By MELENA RYZIK

It was a tantalizing job opportunity for Nikki Columbus: a chance to direct the performance program at MoMA PS1, the Queens museum known partly for its robust and inventive live art, music and dance series. After months of meetings and conversations with two of the museum's leaders, Ms. Columbus was formally offered a position as curator of performance in August 2017. But just a few weeks later, after Ms. Columbus mentioned to the museum's chief curator that she had just had a baby, Ms. Columbus says, the offer was rescinded.

Now Ms. Columbus, 43, has filed a complaint with the New York City Commission on Human Rights, asserting the museum discriminated against her in violation of the city's laws on caregivers, pregnancy and women's rights.

"This is a blatant violation of the law," said Elizabeth S. Saylor, one of Ms. Columbus's lawyers. "This type of discrimination, like sexual harassment, stymies women's advancement in the workplace."

In her complaint, Ms. Columbus said the museum tried to assert, inaccurately, that she had turned down its job offer. But the museum on Friday would not discuss the matter, citing its respect for privacy in personnel matters.

It did release a statement, though, that said it does not tolerate discrimination or harassment. "MoMA PS1 is committed to a work environment in which all ap-

'I was told by every woman I spoke with, don't discuss your pregnancy until you get the job.'

NIKKI COLUMBUS

plicants and employees are treated with respect and dignity," the statement said.

Ms. Columbus, a Harvard graduate, had worked as a curator abroad and as an editor for Artforum and another art publication, Parkett.

When the previous curator of performance left, Ms. Columbus says in her complaint that Peter Eleey, the museum's chief curator, recruited her for the job. Already five months pregnant, she turned to friends and associates who had also been job hunting while pregnant for advice, before meeting with Mr. Eleey in April 2017.

"I was told by every woman I spoke with, don't discuss your pregnancy until you get the job," Ms. Columbus said. "I just went forward thinking that this is not their business, it's not relevant to the job and to my abilities."

In the complaint, she said that during her interview, Mr. Eleey noted that the museum's former performance curator had been "much less present" after she had a baby. His comment solidified Ms. Columbus's view that she should not mention her pregnancy.

Federal and state laws bar discrimination against pregnant people, who are not legally obligated to disclose a pregnancy to a prospective employer. But recent research, including an investigation by The New York Times, has shown that such discrimination is rampant in the workplace, from blue-chip trading firms to retailers like Walmart.

Ms. Columbus's lawyers said they chose to pursue her complaint with the Commission on

Human Rights because it has made fighting pregnancy and caregiver discrimination a priority. The commission has the power to investigate employers and to award damages.

Throughout last spring and summer, when she was clearly expecting, Ms. Columbus continued to have face-to-face meetings, conversations and correspondence with Mr. Eleey and with Klaus Biesenbach, PS1's director, according to the complaint. In fact, she says she saw Mr. Biesenbach just eight days before she gave birth to her first child, a son, in late July.

She was formally offered the position on Aug. 12, after telling Mr. Eleey that she "would love the job," the complaint said. The offer specified a start date of Sept. 11. But hoping for a slightly higher salary and mindful about finishing out her time at Parkett, the art magazine she edited, Ms. Columbus said she began negotiating with Mr. Eleey about her start date and wages.

"We can be flexible on the transition into the role here," Mr. Eleey wrote her on Aug. 17, in an email The Times reviewed. He suggested that she could begin working a few days a week at first, as she concluded her Parkett duties. "I feel confident we can find a solution for that interim period," Mr. Eleey wrote. Mr. Biesenbach also texted her, expressing enthusiasm that they would be "teaming up soon."

In late August, Ms. Columbus called Mr. Eleey, she said, to finalize details about the job. She suggested that she start part time in September and go full time in October, "along the lines of the schedule Eleey had proposed earlier," the complaint said. She wanted to work from home at first because, she said, she was recovering from recently having a baby.

Mr. Eleey, she said, seemed shocked. "Why didn't you tell me this two months ago?" he responded, according to the complaint.

A few days later, Jose A. Ortiz, PS1's chief operating officer, emailed Ms. Columbus. "We are sorry that we are unable to tailor the position on the terms you have proposed," he wrote, adding that the museum interpreted her questions about schedules, wages and start dates as a rejection of the job offer.

Ms. Columbus responded the next day, clarifying that she very much wanted the job, at the salary that was originally proposed, and was eager to put together a part-time schedule for September, as Mr. Eleey had first suggested. She did not ask for maternity leave, she said.

Mr. Ortiz replied that her conversations with Mr. Eleey "indicated that you would not be able to perform the job as it was structured," and informed her that the offer was "no longer active."

Ms. Columbus said she felt destabilized. Her old magazine closed, and well-meaning friends warned her about making a fuss.

But the #MeToo movement inspired her to take action, she said. "I'm very lucky. I'm privileged, I'm a middle-class white woman, I have a partner with a good job who's able to support me if the worst happened," and she couldn't find work. "I thought, if I'm afraid to speak up, who will speak up?"

She approached A Better Balance, a nonprofit that lobbies for more work-life equity. Ms. Saylor, the attorney, is on the board; both her firm and the nonprofit took Ms. Columbus's case.

Still, Ms. Columbus has yet to find a full-time job and remains unsure about her professional future if even the progressive art world seems unwelcoming to working mothers.

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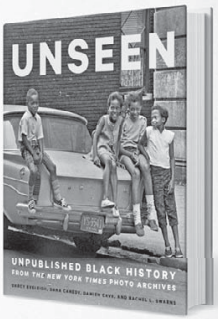
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IN HARDCOVER AND E-BOOK



GEORGE ETHEREDGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nikki Columbus said being a mother "was not relevant to the job."

Classical Music

A Daring Operatic Leader Says Au Revoir

Bernard Foccroulle chooses his favorite Aix-en-Provence Festival productions.

By ZACHARY WOOLFE

I knew, on my first visit to the Aix-en-Provence Festival in 2012, that this wasn't your grandmother's Aix, a sleepily pretty assemblage of Mozart productions.

Jean Michel Bruyère's "Une Situation Huey P. Newton" didn't take place in one of the festival's spiffy theaters in the idyllic center of this city in the south of France. It sprawled around the grounds of a public housing complex in the scruffy, ethnically mixed Jas de Bouffan neighborhood on the outskirts of town. Billed as an opera, it was a stylized reflection on the Black Panthers and racial activism that was a little bit music performance, a little bit consciousness-raising street fair, a little bit installation art.

Moody, surreal, funny, ominous, it captured the goal Bernard Foccroulle, the festival's director, set that year for Aix, and for opera in general: to be a "mirror of the world."

Mr. Foccroulle's happy tenure ends this summer. During the last 11 years he has made the Aix festival — which runs through July 24 — feel more connected: to young artists, whom it has assiduously fostered; to new work, which it has commissioned in quantity and quality; to the operatic canon, which it has refreshed with provocative stagings and musical visions; to new audiences; and to its Mediterranean region, which it has celebrated with forays into North African and Middle Eastern styles without seeming patronizing.

"You cannot preserve opera just as a Western and European art form," said Mr. Foccroulle, who is departing to focus, after many years as an impresario, on performing (he is an organist) and composing. (His successor is Pierre Audi, also the artistic director of the Park Avenue Armory in New York.)

"Culture has a large political impact," Mr. Foccroulle added. "And in Europe, the world of opera could be much more influential, if we were to address more the questions of diversity, equity, creation."

Aix has done its part. I've seen new works there like "Kalila wa Dimna," a chamber opera in French and Arabic with a score for a mixture of Western and Middle Eastern instruments. I've seen a brutal staging of Mozart's "Cosi Fan Tutte," updated to colonial East Africa in the 1930s.

Asked to name the five highlights of his tenure, Mr. Foccroulle first said he could easily give 21. Then he insisted on six.

'WRITTEN ON SKIN' The British composer George Benjamin's tense opera, a collaboration with the librettist Martin Crimp that told the story of a medieval love triangle, was directed by Katie Mitchell. A sensation at its premiere in 2012, the production was created in conjunction with a broad array of companies, and has been seen dozens of times. "It's been a very important world event," Mr. Foccroulle said. "It was also, I have to say, the end of a 12-year relationship with George Benjamin. It didn't come in three or four years. Of course, that in-



PHOTOGRAPHS BY PASCAL VICTOR



creases my emotion and pleasure."

'ELEKTRA' Another coproduction, with partner companies including the Metropolitan Opera, Patrice Chéreau's bleak take on this Strauss opera had its premiere in Aix in 2013. It was conducted by Esa-Pekka Salo-

nen, who, Mr. Foccroulle said, "was crucial to create the transparency in the orchestra that Chéreau needed to make his theater work."

'DON GIOVANNI' The Russian director Dmitri Tcherniakov created a claustrophobic, con-

tentious take on the Mozart classic in 2010. "It was very unexpected and controversial, but I think Tcherniakov is one of the best directors today," Mr. Foccroulle said. "The way he conceives his staging is just amazing."

'OEDIPUS REX'/'SYMPHONY OF PSALMS' This Stravinsky double bill, directed by Peter Sellars, traveled to Aix in 2016. "It was so powerful, so economical, so focused on the music, on the singing, on the meaning of those pieces," Mr. Foccroulle said.

'THE MONSTER IN THE MAZE' This participatory opera by Jonathan Dove combined the London Symphony and Mediterranean Youth orchestras with 300 amateur choristers from the Aix region in 2015. "It was the first time a project with professionals and amateurs was part of the festival," Mr. Foccroulle said. "The emotion and energy that comes from amateurs is just sensational."

'ALCINA' Another psychologically charged production by Katie Mitchell, a fixture of the past decade at Aix, this time a Handel masterpiece in 2015. "Every time she's staging a piece, she brings a woman's touch to it," Mr. Foccroulle said. "We definitely need to increase that female understanding of the world, and critical look at the world."

Above, Bejun Mehta and Barbara Hannigan in George Benjamin and Martin Crimp's "Written on Skin," which had its premiere at the Aix Festival in 2012. Left, Evelyn Herlitzius in the foreground in "Elektra" at Aix in 2013.

ZACHARY WOOLFE | OPERA REVIEW

A Locavore Consumes the English Countryside

Stefan Herheim's production is set in a manor house.

LEWES, ENGLAND — Stefan Herheim sets his new production of Debussy's "Pelléas et Mélisande," which opened at the Glyndebourne festival on Saturday and runs through Aug. 8, in a location startlingly close by: a room in the countryside manor house here where the festival takes place.

But this won't surprise those who have followed, and admired, this Norwegian director's career. After all, when he did Verdi's "Les Vêpres Siciliennes," which had its premiere at the Paris Opera in 1855, he placed it at the Paris Opera in 1855. An influential "Parsifal" he made for the Bayreuth Festival in Germany began in — you guessed it — the Bayreuth, Germany, of Wagner's era.

In these stagings and others, Mr. Herheim acts as an operatic locavore: cooking with what he finds around him, blending the stories of the works at hand with the history and atmosphere of the places in which his audiences consume them.

The results can be heady and dense. Mr. Herheim takes complex operas and renders them more so; "Pelléas," the enigmatic tale of a love triangle among members of an obscurely melancholy, aristocratic family, is no exception. In Mr. Herheim's quiet, poetic, suggestive, ultimately rather wispy staging — which he also moves from the libretto's Middle Ages to around the time the festival was founded in the 1930s — he doesn't provide a decoder ring for Debussy's sea of symbols. He greets an opera of unmatched ambiguity with a web of associations.

What about Glyndebourne fired Mr. Herheim's imagination? (He has said that he initially planned to stage "Pelléas" here on a space station after the end of the world.) And why has he chosen to set the piece in a magically expanding and contracting version of the estate's Organ Room, which audience members can walk through just a few steps from the opera house?

Perhaps Mr. Herheim was reminded of Glyndebourne by the opera's tangled cast of relatives: Three generations of a family are represented, though it remains unclear precisely how everyone is connected. As it happens, three generations of the Christie family have run the festival; John Christie be-

gan seriously presenting opera here after marrying a much younger soprano from Canada who appeared in an amateur production at the estate.

Under Mr. Herheim's influence, you can't help but connect that founding couple to Golaud, the prince who, at the start of Debussy's opera, discovers the much younger Mélisande, a lost foreigner; brings her back to his ancestral castle; and marries her. And it can't have escaped this director's notice, in dealing with an opera defined by repetitions echoing through families, that Gus Christie, John's grandson and Glyndebourne's current executive chairman, is married to an Australian-American soprano he met when she sang at the festival.

As for the set, designed by Philipp Fürhofer: Before founding the festival, John Christie acquired an organ-building firm, which made a handsome instrument

Pelléas et Mélisande
Through Aug. 9 at the Glyndebourne festival, Britain;
glyndebourne.com.

A recurring motif: As people describe what they're seeing, they often avert their own eyes and cover the eyes of others.

for Glyndebourne's Organ Room in the 1920s. It now stands silent, the pipes having been donated to various churches as part of their rebuilding efforts after World War II.

Family traditions; an insular world; romances with outsiders; yawning differences of age; music and silence; the vague and persistent specter of violent conflict. Mr. Herheim's "Pelléas" gently riffs on these facets of the opera in his cleanly acted, dreamily slow-moving staging.

Painting is a recurring motif, with artworks, palettes and empty easels popping up. This works to emphasize how the characters tend to imagine and, indeed, create — rather than strictly observe — the scenes around them; in Mr. Herheim's staging, as people describe what they're seeing, they often avert their own eyes and cover the eyes of others. (This is appropriate in a work in which a central location is known as

"the fountain of the blind.")

Mr. Herheim has said that his production seeks to snare the moment when the festival was "heading into a drastic new age." But while John Chest's ardent Pelléas and Christina Gansch's refined Mélisande do seem significantly younger than Christopher Purves's sturdy, ferocious Golaud, the staging fails to evoke any real tension between old and new.

It's true that as Arkel, the family patriarch (acted on Saturday by an ill Brindley Sherratt, and sung from the side of the stage by the robust Richard Wiegold), declares that Mélisande will "open the door on the new era I foresee," an actor dressed as Jesus Christ appears up in the organ loft, a lamb slung over his shoulders. It's a striking image that comes to make more sense when, in the next scene, the innocent young boy Yniold hears sheep being guided to their slaughter. And when Golaud, bleeding from his forehead, claims he scratched himself on a thorn, it felt like a newly profound nod to Jesus's crown of thorns.

I wish there had been more strange yet evocative coups of this sort in Mr. Herheim's polished-looking, well-executed, not-quite-persuasive production. His constellation of associations — Glyndebourne's history, the interplay of the visual and sonic arts, the whisper of war — doesn't quite come together. No "Pelléas" should be expected entirely to cohere, and I admire Mr. Herheim's confidence in layering mystery atop mystery. The trouble isn't just that his work here is confusing; it's scattered and wan. (Never wan, though, is Robin Ticciati and the London Philharmonic Orchestra's lush, often lurid performance of the score.)

At the very end, the family's servants re-enter the Organ Room, now dressed as 21st-century opera goers in evening wear: representatives, that is, of the black-tie, picnicking audience watching in the theater. If the identification wasn't already more than clear, they look out at us as the final notes softly sound.

It's a bit too cute of an idea, and caps a staging that is not Mr. Herheim's conceptually tightest, nor the most riveting. But it is yet another of his welcome reminders that the operas we love were created at particular moments — and now exist as volatile combinations of that ever-receding time and place, and ours.



RICHARD HUBERT SMITH/GLYNDEBOURNE PRODUCTIONS

Sit Down for Discomfort



EMON HASSAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

people might exercise their empathy “by going and seeing the show and because you’ve done it there, then there’s no need to change anything about your life,” she said over a hurried glass of wine before she walked over to Añejo.

“Fairview” is purpose-built to offer more of a workout. Sitting down, shutting up, clapping at the end — that’s what most shows demand of an audience. But “Fairview” is different. It rips up that social contract, suggesting that spectatorship might not always be innocent or passive or nice. The piece went “through all these different ideas about different ways to have an audience aware of being watched and watching other people and making judgments,” Ms. Drury said.

During rehearsals there were many hypothetical conversations about how audiences might respond to the piece and what the actors should do in volatile situations. (Backup is in place in case a confrontation goes too far. It hasn’t yet been needed.)

“There was a general curiosity in terms of how this play would go over,” said Heather Alicia Simms, who plays Beverly, speaking by telephone. She had never done a play like this. Neither had anyone else in

the room. No one knew what to expect.

Now that it has been running for weeks, they still don’t. “It’s never comfortable,” Ms. Simms said. Those conversations continue.

When it comes to how an audience handles the play, “there are a billion and one possibilities,” said Mx. Allen, the associate director, who prefers the gender-neutral honorific. “Every response is incredibly valid.”

Discomfort doesn’t seem to divide along racial lines. White audience members and audience members who don’t identify as white have enjoyed it. White and nonwhite audience members haven’t. There have been complaints — on Twitter, on Show-Score — that the play went too far and complaints that it didn’t go far enough. (One Show-Score was a paragon of cognitive dissonance: “Ambitious, Great acting, Indulgent, Provocative, Bloated.”)

That’s O.K. with the playwright. “A lot of people who have been upset by it have also intellectually engaged with it and I don’t know that being upset is wrong,” she said.

Reactions vary widely not only from one performance to another but also within the same performance, which can be jarring. “I think that the play is asking people to realize that their individual responses to the

MaYaa Boateng in “Fairview.” Ms. Boateng interacts directly with audience members and many of their more forceful responses have been directed at her.

‘A lot of people who have been upset by it have also intellectually engaged with it and I don’t know that being upset is wrong.’
JACKIE SIBBLIES DRURY
AUTHOR OF ‘FAIRVIEW’

play are theirs alone and that other people are having different responses,” Ms. Drury said.

MaYaa Boateng, an actress who graduated from drama school only last year, interacts with the audience most directly. Many of the more forceful responses have been directed at her, and she understands why some people might have them. The first time she read the script, “I was like: ‘What is going on? This is crazy!’” she said, speaking by telephone.

Every performance demands new choices, new improvisations. Her scene partner, she said, is the whole room, so the final moments never play the same way twice. She knows that what she says and does will make people uncomfortable and she has embraced that. “People need to be uncomfortable and they need to be shook a little bit,” she said.

She’s been shaken, too. She spent a recent night off at “Othello” at Shakespeare in the Park, grateful for the chance to “see some regular theater, take a break from this show,” she said. (That’s right. “Fairview” is so taxing that Ms. Boateng now considers “Othello,” a devastating tragedy of race and sex, relaxing.) Even there, she couldn’t help watching the audience.

“Fairview” seems like the kind of play that would offer talkbacks, but Soho Rep just underwent a pricey renovation to bring it up to code, and talkbacks require more resources. Besides, as Ms. Drury said: “In a talkback, it gets very explain-y really fast. People feel the need to ask the artists to explain what the play meant, and that seems really destructive to this idea of asking people to try to take their own meanings from this show.”

So that early dinner at Añejo was probably the closest thing to a talkback that Ms. Drury would engage in.

The Añejo party included both Ms. Drury’s mother, Pat Sibbles, who is black, and her mother-in-law, Eleanor Drury, who is white. They’d both enjoyed the play, both been moved by it, both found it very funny. “If you asked me if my daughter was funny I would never say that she was funny,” Ms. Sibbles said. “It comes out in her writing.”

And still they had different responses.

“I will be very honest,” the elder Ms. Drury said. “I’ve never thought about the power that white people have to create a space and then to expect people of other races to exist in that space comfortably.”

“It’s there,” Ms. Sibbles said. “What can I say?”

‘Love Island,’ a Reality Show, Takes Hold of Britain

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

tion, but newspapers went into overdrive in June after one contestant, Hayley Hughes, a 21-year-old model from Liverpool, appeared not to know about Brexit, the term for Britain’s imminent departure from the European Union.

A report that more people had applied to be on “Love Island” than had tried to get into Oxford and Cambridge provoked perhaps the strongest reactions. Giles Coren, a columnist for The Times of London, called the show “a vile, sexist, apocalyptically tasteless, immoral, sick, vomitous abomination, made by morons for morons.”

Objections aside, the show has been a genuine hit for its broadcaster, ITV2, with audiences growing every season since its debut in 2015. It has been attracting some three million viewers a night, an enormous number for a lesser-known network. And it is drawing around 40 percent of 16- to 34-year-olds watching television in its time slot, a higher proportion of this advertiser-coveted audience than some major-network shows like “The X Factor,” according to Overnights.tv, a British ratings company.

Though “X Factor” and some other shows attract many more viewers over all, Stig Abell, editor of the Times Literary Supplement and a regular commentator on British life, said “Love Island” had made itself seem far more important — in part thanks to plotlines irresistible to the media.

“I think a lot of middle-class, middle-aged journalists like putting this preposterous intellectual scaffolding on it, saying it’s a bit like Shakespeare or Jane Austen,” Mr. Abell said. “It’s obviously not. It’s a lot of people with no body hair trying to get off with each other.”

Still, he acknowledged, “there’s pleasure in pruriently peering into people’s love lives, especially when they’re not wearing many clothes.”

There’s more “Love Island” on the way. An Australian version is being filmed. A second series of Germany’s begins in September. Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish and Danish versions are starting this autumn. (The first three British seasons are available in the United States on Hulu.)

New viewers will not find the format hard to grasp. The villa is always on a European



Above, Australia’s version of “Love Island” is being shot at a different Majorcan villa. Left, Jack Fincham and Dani Dyer on “Love Island.”

testants waiting to be flown in at a moment’s notice, including some people’s exes.

The public decides on the winning pair, who are given two envelopes, one of which contains 50,000 British pounds (about \$66,000). Whoever opens it can decide to keep it for themselves, or share it with their supposed love.

Richard Cowles, one of the show’s creators, said part of its draw is the ability to see relationships forming and breaking apart in real time. “We can all look at everyone else’s relationships, all of our friends, and we say what’s right and what’s wrong — that’s what everyone’s doing when they watch the show,” he said last month.

If some people write off the show as a tasteless celebration of hookup culture, Mr.

Cowles notes that two former contestants are getting married this summer, and that another couple had already had a child. He said the show is “honestly, genuinely trying to cast people who are looking for love.”

Of course, it does not hurt ratings when the camera catches them finding love under a comforter. As Mr. Pullan, the fan, put it, “It’s such trash you just get sucked into it.”

Mr. Collard’s love life in particular has sucked in the British public this season.

A chiseled, 6-foot-4 personal trainer from Newcastle, Mr. Collard assumed the role of the reality show villain. One recent afternoon, he walked over to the villa’s pool and chatted with Jack Fincham, a stationery salesman, about the grief he was getting from Rosie Anna Williams, a lawyer from Wales he had just dumped, even though they had an under-comforter experience. Ms. Williams sat nearby, in tears.

In a pitch-black cabin just yards away, Mike Spencer, one of the show’s editors, watched it all happen on one of the 83 video feeds he has at his disposal to create that evening’s one-hour show. “We’ve all been a Rosie,” he said with a sigh.

Mr. Collard’s happiness to chase women, while stringing along those he was already with, has stirred examination of male behavior in relationships. Ms. Williams was his second partner, but he expressed interest in two other women while with her.

Women’s Aid, a charity, called Mr. Collard’s actions unacceptable. “In a relationship, a partner questioning your memory of events, trivializing your thoughts or feelings, and turning things around to blame you can be part of pattern of gaslighting and emotional abuse,” the group said in a news release last month.

He did apologize on camera to Ms. Williams, and appeared ready to redeem himself further, becoming genuinely enamored with his next partner, Zara McDermott, a civil servant.

When she was voted off by the other housemates, Mr. Collard even expressed a desire to leave with her.

Within three episodes, he was kissing a new partner, though he later confessed that he still had feelings for Ms. McDermott.

He can now find out if she still has feelings for him. On Thursday, he was voted off.

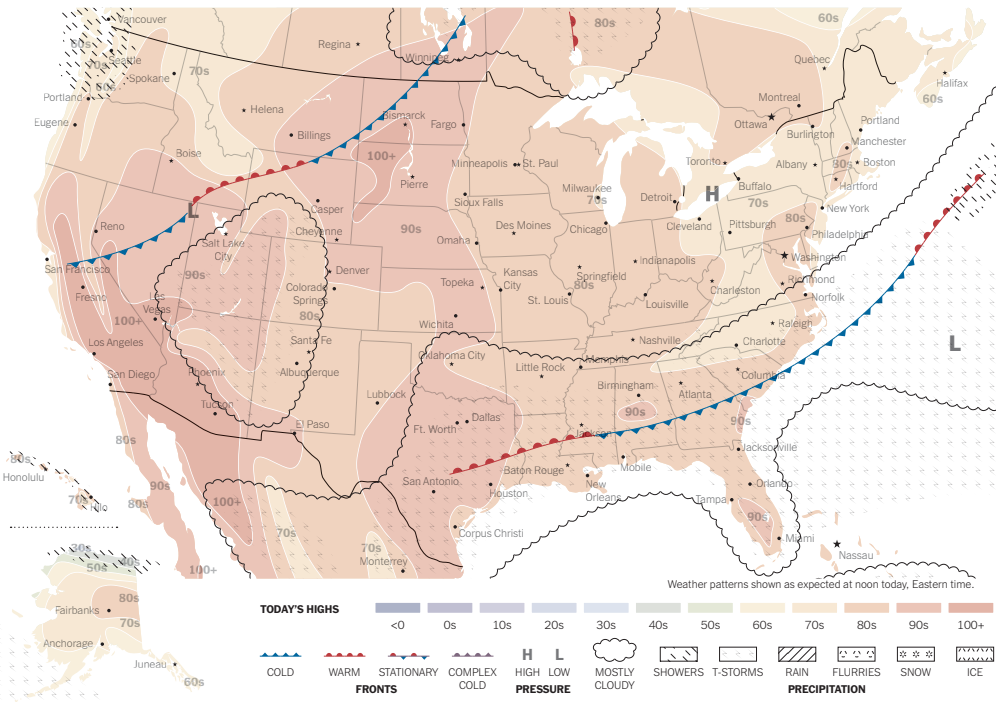
EVENING											
	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	12:00
2	wCBS	Paid Program Paid programming. (G)	Paid Program Paid programming. (G)	Me, Myself & I "Field Trip." (N) (PG)	Me, Myself & I "Home Alone." (N) (PG)	Living Biblically (N) (PG)	Living Biblically "Submit to Thy Husband." (N)	48 Hours "Red Notice for Murder." A Russian is suspected of murder. (PG)	CBS 2 News at 11P (N)	Blue Bloods "Mob Rules." A mob attacks Gormley outside his home. (14) (11:35)	
4	wnbc	Nascar Racing Monster Energy Cup Series: Coke Zero Sugar 400. From Daytona International Speedway in Daytona Beach, Fla.							News 4 NY at 11	Saturday Night Live Sterling K. Brown; James Bay performs. (11:29)	
5	wnyw	M.L.B. Boston Red Sox vs. Kansas City Royals.						Fox 5 News at 10 (N)	Whacked Out Sports	Whacked Out Sports	FIFA World Cup Tonight
7	wABC	Jeopardy! (G)	Wheel of Fortune "Summer Vacation." (G)	America's Funniest Home Videos A music montage featuring dinosaurs. (PG)		Truth and Lies: Waco Seige on the Branch Davidian compound.			Eyewitness News at 11 (N)		Scandal "A Stomach for Blood." (14)
9	wwor	Major Crimes "Acting Out." A former child star is found dead. (14)		Family Feud (PG)	Family Feud (PG)	Family Feud (PG)	Family Feud (PG)	Anger Management (14)	Anger Management (14)	Giants Access Blue	American Latino TV (N) (PG)
11	wPIX	The Jeffersons (PG)	The Jeffersons (PG)	All in the Family (PG)	All in the Family (PG)	The Honeymooners (G)	The Honeymooners (G)	PIX11 News at Ten (N)		The Honeymooners (G)	The Honeymooners (G)
13	wnet	The This Old House Hour Installing a beam. (G)		Doc Martin "Education, Education, Education." (PG)		★ North by Northwest (1959). Cary Grant, Eva Marie Saint. Swank espionage sprinter, Manhattan to Mount Rushmore. Grade-A Hitchcock.			Lovely, Still (2008). Martin Landau, Ellen Burstyn. (PG) (11:25)		
21	wLW	MetroFocus	Firing-Hoover	Midsomer Murders (Part 1 of 2)		Midsomer Mur.	Inspector George Gently (G) (9:40)			Paul Thorn Mission Temple	Paul Thorn
25	wnye	Her Big Idea	Build N.Y.C.	Globe Trekker Uses for chocolate.		★ Penny Serenade (1941). Gary Canty, Irene Dunne.			A Day's Work	Profiles	In the America
31	wPNK	Law & Order: Special Victims Unit		Law & Order: Special Victims Unit		Law & Order: Special Victims Unit		Law & Order: Special Victims Unit		Law & Order: Special Victims Unit	Law & Order
41	wfUT2	Frontier Force "Marijuana Factory."		Panic 9-1-1 (14)		Crime 360 "Blunt Force Killer." (14)		Crime 360 "Overkill." (14)		Rescue 911 (G)	Rescue 911 (G)
47	wnuJ	Viva el Mundial y más		Hotel Transylvania (2012). Voices of Adam Sandler, Andy Samberg. (PG)		El César		El César		Noticiero 47	Titulares y Más - Fin de Semana
48	wRNN	Food for the	Phil Collins	Andy Williams	Springsteen	Stooges	Hair Today	Skin Secrets	Paid Program	Paid Program	Paid Program
49	cPTV	Craft-Legacy	Joe Bonamassa,	British Blues Explosion Live		★ East of Eden (1955). James Dean, Raymond Massey. (PG)			Father Brown "The Tree of Truth."		Antiques
50	wnJN	N.Y.C. Arts	State of the Arts	This Old House		This Old House		Death in Paradise (PG)		Father Brown (PG)	Endeavour
55	wLNY	2 Broke Girls	Toni on NY	Mike & Molly	Mike & Molly	WLNY News at 9PM (N)		Skin Care	Judge Judy (PG)	Entertainment Tonight (N)	Toni on NY
63	wMBC	Credit?	Regrow Hair	Organic	Cebria Solution	Paid Program		Ult. Vitamin	Cleanse, Detox	Air Fryer Oven	Air Fryer Oven
68	wFUT	El chapo (MA)		El chapo (MA)		El chapo (MA)		República Mundialista	Noticias e información de los partidos del Mundial.		
											Pepe (1961).

PREMIUM CABLE											
FLIX	The Game (1997). (R) (5:30)	Separated (G) (7:45)	Employee of the Month (2006). Two store clerks vie for coveted award. More tired than a Wal-Mart greeter at the end of a Saturday shift. (PG-13)			Superhero Movie (2008). Drake Bell. Dragonfly bite turns loser into hero. Harmless, mindless grab bag. (PG-13)			The Sum of All Fears (2002). Ben Affleck, Morgan Freeman. (PG-13)		
HBO	Wonder Woman (2017). Gal Gadot, Chris Pine. (PG-13) (5:30)	Justice League (2017). Ben Affleck, Henry Cavill. Batman and Wonder Woman recruit a team. Has glimmers of life. (PG-13)			● Bill Maher: Live From Oklahoma (N) (Live) (MA)			Justice League (2017). Batman and Wonder Woman recruit a team. Has glimmers of life. (PG-13) (11:02)			
HBO2	It (2017). Jaeden Lieberher, Jeremy Ray Taylor. (R) (5:45)	Last Week To-night-John			VICE Iraqi Kurdistan; spacia junk.			★ E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial (1982). Henry Thomas, Drew Barrymore. Spielberg's stranded little alien. Children's classic. (PG) (10:40)			
MAX	C.B. Strike "Career of Evil: Part 1." Strike receives a dismembered leg.	The Pelican Brief (1993). Julia Roberts, Denzel Washington. Gisham's law student with dangerous knowledge. Disintegrates into empty skullduggery. (PG-13)			★ Courage Under Fire (1996). Inquiry into actions of gulf war helicopter pilot and Medal of Honor candidate. Skillful moves under familiar rules. (10:25)			Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest (2006). Johnny Depp, Orlando Bloom. (PG-13)			
SHO	★ Braveheart (1995). Mel Gibson, Sophie Marceau. 13th-century Scots in revolt against England. Won best picture Oscar. Spectacular. (R) (6)	Marshall (2017). Chadwick Boseman, Josh Gad. Future justice defends black man accused of rape. Modest, likable biopic. (PG-13)			Ghost in the Shell (2017). Scarlett Johansson, Pilou Asbaek. Cyborg cop battles cyber-enemies in futuristic Japan. Thrill-free thriller. (PG-13)			★ G.I. Jane (1997). Navy Seals recruit endures rigorous training. Ferocious and suitably spare. (R) (10:50)			
SHO2	The Gunman (2012). Amanda Seyfried. Troubled waitress searches for kidnapped sister. Moronic. (PG-13) (7:25)	Jumanji: Welcome to the Jungle (2017). Dwayne Johnson. Magical game, now on video, traps four teens. Works extra hard to please. (PG-13)			Power "Everyone is Implicated." (MA) (10:02)			Wrong Man "Christopher Tapp: The Confession." (MA) (11:03)			From Dusk Till Dawn (R) (12:01)
STARZ	U-571 (2000). Matthew McConaughey, Bill Paxton. (PG-13) (6)	★ Goldfinger (1964). Sean Connery, Honor Blackman. James Bond in Miami, Britain, Alps and Fort Knox. Smashing entertainment. (PG) (8:07)			Spartacus: Vengeance "Sacramentum." (MA)			★ Rounders (1998). Law student as high-stakes gambler. Entertaining, but less than meets the eye. (R) (10:58)			
SIZENC	★ The Taking of Pelham 123 (2009). Denzel Washington. (R) (6:19)			Sleepwalkers (1992). Brian Krause, Madchen Amick. (R)			The Hills Have Eyes (1977). Susan Lanier, Robert Houston. Cannibal mutants, via Craven. Cheesy horror. (R)			Sleepwalkers (1992). (R)	
TMC	Lord of War (2005). Jared Leto. Relentless Interpol agent tracks arms dealer. Builds a case against guns while simultaneously glorifying them. (R) (6:55)										

					CABLE							
	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	12:00	
A&E	Live PD "Live PD, 06.29.18." Riding along with law enforcement. (14) (5)		Live PD: Rewind "Live PD: Rewind No. 126." (N) (14)		Live PD "Live PD, 03.09.18." Riding along with law enforcement. (14)							
AHC	Project Nazi: The Blueprints		The Mafia's Black Sheep (14)		The Mob Cops (14)		The Last Don (14)		The Mafia's Black Sheep (14)		The Mob Cops	
AMC	★ The Godfather (1972). Marlon Brando, Al Pacino. Puzo's Mafioso novel. Scalding and memorable. (R)								★ The Godfather (1972). Marlon Brando, Al Pacino. Puzo's Mafioso novel. Scalding and memorable. (R) (11:05)			
APL	Dr. Jeff: Rocky Mountain Vet (PG)		Dr. Jeff: Rocky Mountain Vet (N)		Dodo Heroes (N) (PG) (9:01)		Vet Gone Wild: Even Wilder (N)		Dr. Jeff: Rocky Mountain Vet (PG)		Dodo Heroes	
BBCA	Planet Earth: Blue Planet II (G)		Planet Earth: Blue Planet II (PG)		● Planet Earth: One Amazing Day (2017). Documentary. (G)				Planet Earth: Blue Planet II (PG)		Planet Earth	
BET	Tyler Perry's Good Deeds		Madae's Family Reunion (2006). Tyler Perry, Blair Underwood. Matriarch must keep the peace through family strife. Promises slapstick comedy, then veers off. (PG-13)									
BLOOM	American Med.		Larry K	Andy Williams	Stooges	Springsteen	Red Skelton	Barry White	Johnny Carson	Bloom. Studio	Bloom. Markets	
BRV	Obsessed (2009). Idris Elba, Beyoncé Knowles. (PG-13) (5:38)		Mr. & Mrs. Smith (2005). Brad Pitt, Angelina Jolie. A husband and wife, unaware that each is an assassin, are assigned to kill each other. A goof and a drag. (PG-13) (8:10)								Mr. & Mrs. Smith (2005). Brad Pitt, Angelina Jolie. (PG-13) (10:50)	
CBSSN	Arena Football Philadelphia Soul vs. Albany Empire. (6)		Major League Rugby Seattle Seawolves vs Glendale Raptors.									
CMT	Grumpier Men		Pure Country (1992). Giving up glitter of success. Forced and slower than molasses. (PG)				Grumpy Old Men (1993). Jack Lemmon, Walter Matthau. (PG-13) (10:15)					
CN	Summer Camp		Summer Camp		Cleveland Show	Family Guy (14)	Rick and Morty	Rick and Morty	Family Guy (14)	Dragon Ball	My Hero Ac.	
CNBC	Undercover Boss "Roto-Rooter." The President of Roto-Rooter. (PG)		Undercover Boss "Hamburger Mary's." Ashley and Brandon Wright.		Undercover Boss "Krust Krut Caribbean Bakery & Grill." (PG)		Undercover Boss "Utah Jazz." (PG)					
CNN	CNN Newsroom With Ana Cabrera (N)		CNN Newsroom With Ana Cabrera (N)									
COM	Mr. Deeds (2002). Adam Sandler, Winona Ryder. Small-town pizzeria owner inherits \$40 billion. Shambles of a comedy remake. (PG-13) (6:50)						Grown Ups (2010). Adam Sandler, Kevin James. Five childish men relive their childhoods. It doesn't get worse than this. (PG-13)			Mr. Deeds (2002). Adam Sandler, Winona Ryder. (PG-13)		
COOK	Chopped Junior (N) (G)		Chopped Junior (N) (G)		Chopped Junior (N) (G)		Chopped Junior (N) (G)		Chopped Junior (N) (G)		Chopped Junior	
CSPAN	Economic Club of NY		Philadelphia World Affairs Council: Mass									
CSPAN2	Scott Stern, The Trials		Kristin Lawless, Formerly Known		Clint Watts, Messing With		After Words (N) (G)		Book TV		Gary Krist	
CUNY	Eldridge & Co.		Tony Guida		One to One		Theater Talk (G)		★ The 39 Steps (1935). Innocent man on the run. Super old Hitchcock thriller.		Smith Sabatino	
DIS	How to Build a Better Boy (6)		Raven's Home (G) (7:45)		Raven's Home (G) (8:10)		Bunk'd "By All Means." (8:35)		Bunk'd "A Whole Lotta Lobsta." (G)		Bunk'd "No Bones About It."	
DIY	Sir Mix-A-Lot's House Remix (G)		First-Flippers		First-Flippers		First-Flippers		First-Flippers		First-Flippers	
DSC	Expedition Unknown "Samurai Sword of Power." (PG)		Expedition Unknown "Yamashita's Gold." (PG)		Expedition Unknown "Incan King's Mummy." A long-lost Incan mummy.		Expedition Unknown "Nazis in Argentina." Josh treks to Argentina. (N)		Expedition Unknown "Cloning The Woolly Mammoth." (PG)		Expedition Unknown (PG)	
E!	Mean Girls (2004). Lindsay Lohan, Rachel McAdams. (PG-13)				Mean Girls (2004). Lindsay Lohan, Rachel McAdams. (PG-13)				Baby Mama (2008). Tina Fey, Amy Poehler. (PG-13)			
ELREY	Conan the Barbarian (2011). Jason Momoa. (R) (6)		The Forbidden Kingdom (2008). Jackie Chan, Jet Li. (PG-13)		★ Braveheart (1995). Mel Gibson, Sophie Marceau. (R)							
ESPN	N.B.A.		N.B.A. Summer League Basketball Phoenix Suns vs Sacramento Kings.		Boxing Jose Ramirez vs. Danny O'Connor. From Fresno, Calif.		N.B.A. Summer Basketball					
ESPN2	2018 World Series of Poker Main Event. From Las Vegas. (6)				N.B.A. Summer League Basketball Bulls vs Cavaliers				SportsCenter			
ESPNCL	College Football (6)		College Football Sugar Bowl, played Jan. 4, 2011.				College Football From Dec. 31, 1973.				College Football	
FOOD	Diners, Drive		Diners, Drive		Diners, Drive		Diners, Drive		Diners, Drive		Diners, Drive	
FOXNEWS	Fox Report with Jon Scott (N)		Watters' World (N)		Justice With Judge Jeanine (N)		The Greg Gutfeld Show (N)		Watters' World		Justice With Judge Jeanine	
FREEFRM	★ Finding Nemo (2003). Voices of Albert Brooks, Ellen DeGeneres. (G) (6:20)		The Parent Trap (1998). Lindsay Lohan. Separated twins plot to reunite divorced parents. Super-cute. (PG) (8:50)		Space Jam (1996).							
FS1	U.F.C. Prefight Show		U.F.C. 226: Miocic vs. Cormier - Prelims From Las Vegas.		FIFA World Cup Tonight		M.L.S. Orlando City SC vs. Los Angeles FC.					
FUSE	The Parkers (PG)		Belly 2: Millionaire Boyz Club (2008). Ex-con falls for policewoman. (R)		State Property (2002). Beanie Sigel, Omillio Sparks. (R)		State Property 2					
FX	The Avengers (2012). Robert Downey Jr. Chris Evans. (PG-13) (5)		Guardians of the Galaxy (2014). Chris Pratt, Zoe Saldana. Ragtag band of aliens defends planet from attack. Appealingly old-fashioned. (PG-13)		Iron Man 3 (2013). Robert Downey Jr. Gwyneth Paltrow. A powerful enemy tests Tony Stark's true mettle. (PG-13)							
FXM	Turbo (2013). Voices of Ryan Reynolds, Paul Giamatti. Animated. Snail gains superspeed. Adequate morsel of family entertainment. (PG)		Turbo (2013). Voices of Ryan Reynolds, Paul Giamatti. Animated. Snail gains superspeed. Adequate morsel of family entertainment. (PG) (8:55)		The Book of Life (2014). Animated. Young man embarks on adventure. Beautiful and moribund. (PG)							
FXX	The Heat (2013). (R) (5:30)		The Boss (2016). Melissa McCarthy, Kristen Bell. (R)		The Boss (2016). Melissa McCarthy, Kristen Bell. (R)							
FYI	Parking Wars		Parking Wars		Parking Wars		Parking Wars		Parking Wars		Parking Wars	
GOLF	L.P.G.A.		Golf Central		P.G.A. Tour Golf A Military Tribute vs. The Greenbrier, third round. From White Sulphur Springs, W.Va.							

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Highlight: More Heat and Thunderstorms Next Week

Heat will continue in the western and central parts of the country while building in the East next week. Thunderstorms will be most common in the Deep South and southern Rockies. Spotty thunderstorms will rumble from North Dakota to Minnesota.



National Forecast

Cooler and less humid air will settle into part of the interior South and will sprawl from much of the Midwest to the Northeast today. Much of the Great Lakes, Ohio Valley, Middle Atlantic and New England can expect sunshine. The press of dry air will stop short of the Deep South. Areas from the southern Atlantic Seaboard to central Texas can expect steamy conditions with showers and heavier thunderstorms. Meanwhile, a tropical storm may develop off the Carolina coast this weekend. If so, seas and rainfall may ramp up in the area. Beryl, over the south-central Atlantic, will approach the Lesser Antilles. As heat builds over the central and northern Plains, storms will riddle the interior Southwest amid hot conditions. Expect showers to dampen western Washington.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C	Clouds	S	Sun
F	Fog	Sn	Snow
H	Haze	SS	Snow showers
I	Ice	T	Thunderstorms
PC	Partly cloudy	Tr	Traces
R	Rain	W	Windy
Sh	Showers	-	Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	80/ 74 0.23	79/ 65 S	84/ 68 S
Bridgeport	83/ 75 0.35	79/ 66 S	83/ 67 S
Caldwell	83/ 74 0.15	79/ 59 S	84/ 60 S
Danbury	79/ 73 0.19	76/ 54 S	82/ 58 S
Islip	82/ 75 0.56	77/ 63 S	82/ 65 S
Newark	85/ 73 0.38	79/ 64 S	85/ 65 S
Trenton	84/ 75 0.61	79/ 59 S	85/ 61 S
White Plains	81/ 73 0.31	77/ 60 S	83/ 62 S

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	83/ 55 0.52	79/ 59 S	86/ 62 S
Albuquerque	86/ 68 0	88/ 68 PC	88/ 66 T
Anchorage	73/ 59 0	71/ 55 C	63/ 55 Sh
Atlanta	89/ 71 0.04	83/ 70 T	82/ 69 PC
Atlantic City	83/ 67 0.36	77/ 65 S	80/ 61 S
Austin	94/ 72 0.05	93/ 72 T	92/ 73 T
Baltimore	86/ 64 0.15	80/ 60 S	83/ 62 S
Baton Rouge	88/ 74 0.05	87/ 73 T	83/ 73 T
Birmingham	90/ 69 0	85/ 72 T	84/ 71 PC
Boise	93/ 66 0	94/ 65 S	99/ 68 S
Boston	84/ 62 0.52	76/ 63 S	83/ 66 S
Buffalo	74/ 56 0.30	79/ 58 S	83/ 66 S
Burlington	80/ 52 0.36	80/ 60 S	87/ 65 S
Casper	97/ 62 0	98/ 60 S	93/ 61 S
Charlotte	90/ 70 0	78/ 66 T	84/ 63 PC
Chattanooga	89/ 70 0.11	82/ 69 Sh	84/ 68 PC
Chicago	79/ 60 0	82/ 61 S	86/ 65 S
Cincinnati	82/ 61 0.08	81/ 61 S	86/ 64 PC
Cleveland	75/ 59 0.21	77/ 58 S	84/ 65 S
Colorado Springs	83/ 59 0	89/ 61 S	90/ 59 S
Columbus	80/ 57 0.10	80/ 57 S	86/ 62 S
Concord, N.H.	83/ 47 0.30	79/ 50 S	87/ 56 S
Dallas-Ft. Worth	93/ 75 0	94/ 73 T	92/ 75 PC
Denver	92/ 62 0	89/ 65 S	96/ 65 S
Des Moines	84/ 61 0	83/ 58 S	87/ 62 S
Detroit	79/ 58 0	81/ 62 S	86/ 65 S
El Paso	93/ 75 0	93/ 74 PC	93/ 74 PC
Fargo	83/ 67 0	93/ 72 S	88/ 65 T
Harford	85/ 56 0.20	80/ 57 S	86/ 61 S
Honolulu	88/ 75 0.04	85/ 75 Sh	85/ 75 Sh
Houston	91/ 73 0.15	90/ 74 T	86/ 73 S
Indianapolis	82/ 58 0.08	80/ 59 S	86/ 67 PC
Jackson	93/ 73 0	85/ 69 T	89/ 71 T
Jacksonville	88/ 72 0.18	89/ 73 T	87/ 74 T
Kansas City	87/ 63 0.13	85/ 61 S	88/ 67 S
Key West	90/ 80 0	90/ 82 S	89/ 83 PC
Las Vegas	111/ 89 0	106/ 89 S	109/ 90 PC
Lexington	80/ 59 0.38	82/ 63 S	86/ 66 PC

Little Rock	94/ 72 0	87/ 71 S	87/ 72 PC
Los Angeles	106/ 80 0	100/ 73 PC	94/ 72 PC
Louisville	84/ 62 0.08	84/ 67 S	89/ 72 PC
Memphis	92/ 73 0.18	88/ 71 S	87/ 72 PC
Miami	89/ 76 0.14	89/ 77 T	90/ 77 T
Milwaukee	73/ 59 0	78/ 62 S	83/ 65 S
Mpls.-St. Paul	82/ 64 0	84/ 69 S	88/ 71 PC
Nashville	89/ 67 0.48	86/ 71 S	88/ 72 PC
New Orleans	88/ 75 0	88/ 76 T	87/ 77 T
Norfolk	91/ 75 0	80/ 72 C	82/ 72 S
Oklahoma City	92/ 69 0	89/ 67 PC	89/ 68 S
Omaha	86/ 66 0	87/ 63 S	89/ 66 S
Orlando	86/ 71 0.16	88/ 73 T	89/ 74 T
Philadelphia	83/ 62 0.38	80/ 61 S	84/ 65 S
Phoenix	112/ 93 0	112/ 92 S	109/ 88 T
Pittsburgh	80/ 65 0.62	77/ 55 S	82/ 58 S
Portland, Me.	83/ 54 0.26	78/ 57 S	83/ 62 S
Portland, Ore.	80/ 58 0	80/ 57 PC	85/ 58 PC
Providence	82/ 60 0.32	79/ 59 S	84/ 62 S
Raleigh	90/ 67 0	77/ 63 Sh	84/ 63 S
Reno	92/ 65 0	95/ 64 S	96/ 64 S
Richmond	89/ 67 0.86	82/ 60 PC	84/ 60 S
Rochester	75/ 54 0.30	79/ 57 S	85/ 64 S
Sacramento	89/ 60 0	96/ 58 S	94/ 59 S
Salt Lake City	102/ 76 0	99/ 75 PC	95/ 75 PC
San Antonio	92/ 73 0.06	91/ 73 PC	90/ 75 T
San Diego	86/ 74 0	89/ 74 PC	83/ 73 PC
San Francisco	77/ 60 0	75/ 59 PC	75/ 59 PC
San Jose	85/ 61 0	84/ 59 S	83/ 58 S
San Juan	88/ 79 0	87/ 80 PC	86/ 78 PC
Seattle	75/ 59 0	75/ 57 PC	80/ 58 PC
Sioux Falls	81/ 63 0	86/ 70 S	88/ 69 S
Spokane	86/ 57 0	78/ 55 PC	87/ 61 T
St. Louis	87/ 63 0.08	84/ 62 S	88/ 70 S
St. Thomas	88/ 78 0	88/ 79 PC	88/ 79 Sh
Syracuse	75/ 52 0.39	78/ 55 S	83/ 63 S
Tampa	87/ 75 0	89/ 76 T	91/ 76 PC
Toledo	80/ 53 0.05	80/ 57 S	85/ 63 S
Tucson	106/ 84 0	104/ 81 T	99/ 79 T
Tulsa	96/ 71 0	93/ 67 S	92/ 70 S
Virginia Beach	89/ 73 0	79/ 70 C	80/ 70 S
Washington	88/ 67 0.22	81/ 66 S	84/ 66 S
Wichita	89/ 69 0	93/ 66 PC	94/ 70 S
Wilmington, Del.	84/ 60 0.36	80/ 61 S	85/ 62 S

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	86/ 63 0	95/ 71 PC	91/ 68 PC
Cairo	100/ 77 0	99/ 76 S	99/ 78 S
Cape Town	75/ 44 0	74/ 47 S	74/ 49 S
Dakar	86/ 78 0	85/ 78 PC	85/ 77 PC
Johannesburg	55/ 32 0	57/ 39 PC	60/ 42 C
Nairobi	74/ 50 0	72/ 51 R	91/ 54 C
Tunis	91/ 73 0	89/ 70 PC	93/ 70 S

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	117/ 86 0	115/ 84 S	114/ 84 S
Bangkok	93/ 77 0.29	92/ 80 T	94/ 79 T
Beijing	95/ 75 0.10	84/ 72 T	79/ 70 T
Damascus	99/ 67 0	99/ 66 S	100/ 65 S
Hong Kong	91/ 84 0.11	90/ 84 PC	90/ 80 T
Jakarta	90/ 72 0	91/ 76 S	91/ 75 S
Jerusalem	88/ 68 0	87/ 66 S	88/ 67 S
Karachi	93/ 82 0	93/ 85 PC	94/ 85 PC
Manila	86/ 79 0.68	86/ 77 Sh	84/ 77 T
Mumbai	88/ 79 0.34	86/ 79 T	85/ 79 Sh

New Delhi	99/ 82 0	105/ 85 PC	107/ 88 PC
Riyadh	107/ 88 0	112/ 85 S	112/ 88 S
Seoul	81/ 70 0	83/ 66 S	84/ 69 C
Shanghai	92/ 73 0.39	86/ 79 C	92/ 79 T
Singapore	89/ 77 0	85/ 79 T	86/ 77 Sh
Sydney	75/ 56 0	65/ 49 W	63/ 50 S
Taipei City	93/ 83 0.03	97/ 80 T	93/ 78 Sh
Tehran	107/ 77 0	104/ 82 S	104/ 82 S
Tokyo	81/ 68 1.14	83/ 77 C	85/ 77 PC

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	77/ 60 0.01	75/ 57 PC	73/ 58 S
Athens	92/ 75 0	92/ 75 S	87/ 71 T
Berlin	73/ 59 0	79/ 57 PC	81/ 60 PC
Brussels	81/ 58 0	81/ 58 PC	79/ 55 PC
Budapest	81/ 63 0.10	79/ 60 R	79/ 60 T
Copenhagen	73/ 58 0	75/ 61 S	75/ 59 S
Dublin	70/ 52 0	74/ 56 PC	76/ 53 PC
Edinburgh	72/ 48 0	74/ 57 PC	74/ 52 PC
Frankfurt	82/ 64 0	82/ 58 PC	81/ 60 PC
Geneva	73/ 60 0.42	81/ 60 PC	82/ 60 PC
Helsinki	72/ 55 0.19	76/ 59 T	72/ 57 PC
Istanbul	84/ 72 0	86/ 72 S	85/ 73 S
Kiev	84/ 62 0	78/ 59 T	77/ 61 PC
Lisbon	77/ 62 0	80/ 63 S	81/ 64 S
London	86/ 62 0	88/ 63 PC	87/ 62 PC
Madrid	80/ 62 0	83/ 67 S	85/ 68 S
Moscow	73/ 56 0.04	70/ 56 R	69/ 57 Sh
Nice	82/ 70 0	84/ 72 PC	83/ 74 S
Oslo	79/ 56 0	76/ 53 S	80/ 55 PC
Paris	84/ 59 0	87/ 65 PC	86/ 61 PC
Prague	73/ 61 0.07	76/ 55 PC	75/ 58 PC
Rome	83/ 69 0	88/ 67 T	85/ 68 S
St. Petersburg	67/ 56 0.82	65/ 56 T	65/ 56 R
Stockholm	76/ 54 0	72/ 52 PC	76/ 53 PC
Vienna	76/ 65 0.20	80/ 58 PC	78/ 61 PC
Warsaw	81/ 61 0.04	81/ 59 T	81/ 55 T

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	91/ 79 0.05	89/ 79 T	89/ 78 T
Bermuda	83/ 77 0	83/ 77 PC	82/ 76 Sh
Edmonton	86/ 55 0	71/ 46 PC	74/ 50 PC
Guadalajara	81/ 60 0.05	82/ 61 T	79/ 60 T
Havana	88/ 74 0	91/ 72 PC	90/ 73 PC
Kingston	91/ 79 0.04	91/ 69 T	92/ 79 S
Martinique	86/ 78 0.06	86/ 75 Sh	86/ 76 R
Mexico City	73/ 51 0.21	72/ 54 T	71/ 51 T
Monterrey	89/ 68 0	86/ 72 PC	86/ 70 PC
Montreal	82/ 69 0.17	81/ 61 S	85/ 64 S
Nassau	89/ 76 0	89/ 78 PC	89/ 79 PC
Panama City	78/ 75 0.01	88/ 73 T	89/ 76 T
Quebec City	86/ 76 0.67	76/ 58 PC	82/ 64 C
Santo Domingo	91/ 72 0	90/ 74 S	93/ 74 S
Toronto	76/ 61 0	80/ 61 S	85/ 64 S
Vancouver	68/ 59 0.09	69/ 57 Sh	72/ 58 PC
Winnipeg	82/ 53 0	83/ 65 S	84/ 67 PC

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	54/ 41 T	56/ 47 R	57/ 39 PC
Caracas	86/ 75 0	87/ 76 T	86/ 75 T
Lima	66/ 61 0	67/ 60 PC	68/ 61 S
Quito	72/ 50 0	75/ 49 PC	73/ 51 PC
Recife	82/ 72 0.29	82/ 70 Sh	83/ 71 PC
Rio de Janeiro	81/ 69 0	83/ 69 PC	87/ 69 S
Santiago	57/ 42 0.55	61/ 35 PC	63/ 39 S

Metropolitan Forecast

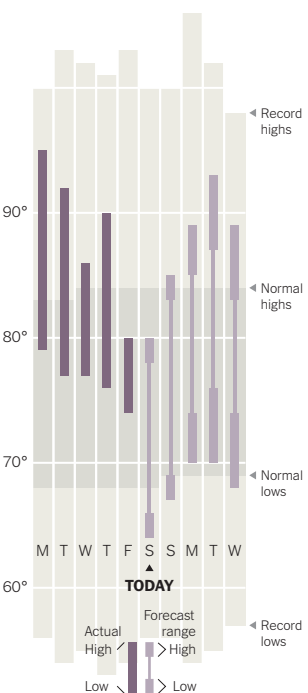
TODAYCooler and less humid
High 79. An area of high pressure building east in the wake of a cold front will provide a less humid day and lower temperatures across the area along with a mostly sunny sky.

TONIGHTClear
Low 65. An area of high pressure will continue to build east into the area. This will result in a clear and dry night across the area with seasonable temperatures and low humidity levels.

TOMORROWMostly sunny
High 84. High pressure anchored overhead will allow sunshine to hold. Temperatures will rise back to more seasonable levels as humidity levels remain low.

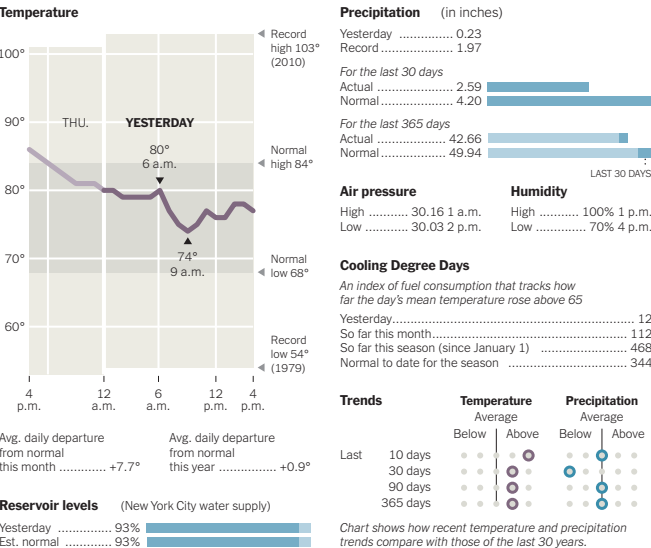
MONDAYSunny to partly cloudy
High pressure will remain in control as it begins to move away from the area. This will result in a very warm day with sunshine and patchy clouds. But humidity levels will not be too high.

TUESDAYWarm, more humid
WEDNESDAY
Tuesday will be mostly sunny, hot and rather humid. The high will be 90 degrees. Wednesday will be warm and humid with periodic clouds and sunshine. The high will be 86 degrees.

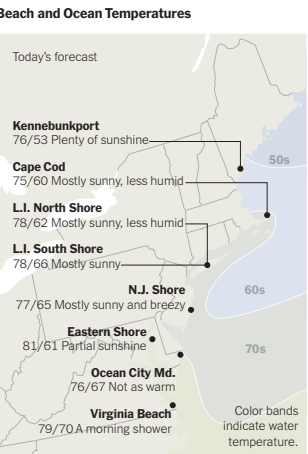
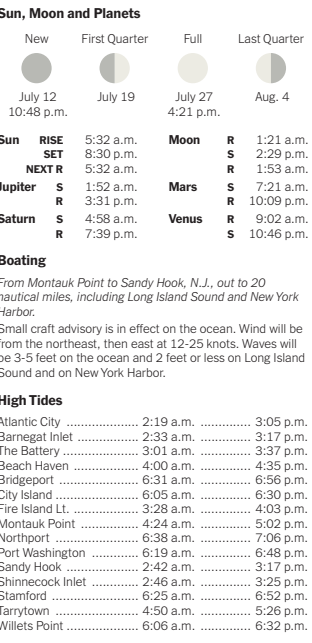


Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.



Recreational Forecast



Much lower humidity will prevail at the beaches in the wake of a cold front, with plenty of sunshine returning. However, there will be clouds and a morning shower around Virginia Beach. High temperatures will largely range from the 70s to the lower 80s. Tomorrow will be mostly sunny with low humidity.

Store

FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

Archives reveal the shifting nature of the truth about Russia’s legends.



Martina Navratilova recalls her first title at Wimbledon being tinged with pain.

BELGIUM 2, BRAZIL 1 QUARTERFINALS

History Is No Match for Belgium



EMMANUEL DUNAND/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



ALEX LIVESEY/GETTY IMAGES

France Reaches Semifinals

Raphaël Varane, second from left, with his teammates after scoring for France in a 2-0 victory over Uruguay in a World Cup quarterfinal on Friday. Page D3.

Red Devils Oust Five-Time Champion Brazil
To Secure Their Place in the Semifinals

KAZAN, Russia — It is a fine line between respect and deference, and in the days before they came face to face with Brazil, Belgium’s players and staff did all they could to navigate it.

RORY SMITH

ON SOCCER

There was “no weakness” in Brazil’s team, according to striker Romelu Lukaku, although “defensively, they can be taken” on.

Belgium’s coach, Roberto Martínez, would concede only one advantage to his opponent before his team beat Brazil, 2-1, on Friday. “The difference is, we have not won the World Cup, and they have won it five times,” he said. “Brazil has got that

psychological barrier out of the way.”

That weight of history, of course, is what lends Brazil its magic. It is what makes Brazil the world’s most prestigious national team, a byword not just for taste and style but for success, too. That ultimate marriage of style and substance is what makes the sight of those canary yellow jerseys, blue shorts and white socks so enchanting, what makes the colors gleam just a little brighter.

To see them is to remember Pelé and Jairzinho, Romário and Ronaldo, all of the single-name stars who emerged, every four years, to light up a tournament and so many childhoods. It is to recall the goals they scored and the World Cups they won, the stories of their indelible greatness the world was told when it was young.

It is the same whether you are a fan or a player: Brazil is different; Brazil is spe-

Continued on Page D3

Kevin De Bruyne put Belgium ahead, 2-0, when he sent a shot past several Brazilian defenders off a feed from Romelu Lukaku in the 31st minute.

Saturday’s Games
QUARTERFINALS

Sweden vs. England
10 a.m. Fox, Telemundo

Russia vs. Croatia
2 p.m. Fox, Telemundo

Times are Eastern

Russia 2018

The first goal key in the game! It took the sting and energy out of Uruguay. Pity Cavani wasn't fit! France worthy winners after that.

@Gnev2, on France's win and the absence of Uruguay striker Edinson Cavani because of injury

Gael Monfils acknowledges that the first thing he asked after his win was what the score was of the France-Uruguay game.

@NailaJeanMeyers, reporting from Wimbledon

Thought Lukaku was brilliant, thought Hazard was brilliant, but Kevin de Bruyne was just extraordinary. Against that class of opposition, too.

@RorySmith, on the performance of Belgium midfielder Kevin de Bruyne against Brazil

For the first time in #WorldCup history none of Brazil, Argentina or Germany will be in the semifinals. That is crazy

@JPW_NBCSports, after Brazil's loss to Belgium

Heroes in the Gray Tones of Soviet History

Archival records reveal the shifting nature of the truth around the country's towering soccer figures.

By RORY SMITH

MOSCOW — Each dossier holds close to 300 sheets of paper, so thin they are almost transparent, some filled with precise, clipped handwriting, others with symmetrical rows of type. Some contain allegations and accusations, but most are transcripts of interrogations carried out at the height of Stalin's Great Terror by the feared agents of the secret police.

For 75 years, the files have remained locked away in the archives of Russia's state security service: The country's laws dictate that only after that amount of time can classified documents be released. In the last few months, the first two of nine volumes related to this case have been declassified. The remaining seven are scheduled to be opened next year.

Yet even when those thousands of sheets of paper have spilled their secrets, even when the allegations and accusations of the K.G.B.'s network of agents and informers are known, the picture of the man at their center will not be complete.

Nikolai Starostin is perhaps the most significant figure in Russian soccer history. He was a player, a manager, an executive, a pioneer and a promoter, a leading light in the game here for more than half a century.

Most important, as a founder of Spartak Moscow, he represents a "kind of Noah figure" to the club, said Sergei Bondarenko, a researcher for Memorial, a civil rights organization focused on uncovering and understanding the hidden history of the Soviet Union. Bondarenko is the man responsible for persuading the F.S.B. — the K.G.B.'s successor — to open Starostin's files.

His face adorns the museum at Spartak's stadium in Moscow. There is a statue of him in a park not far from Luzhniki Stadium, where this year's World Cup final will be held. He is rippling with muscles, a towel draped around his neck, cast in bronze.

And yet quite what that legacy is, exactly who this icon was, is not yet set in stone. On Saturday, Russia's current generation of players will face Croatia in Sochi knowing that a victory would leave Stanislav Cherchesov and his team, against all odds, as little as 90 minutes from the World Cup final. They will have a chance to take their place in Russian soccer history. That is a history, though, that is still being written.

Heroes, and Legends

In his black shirt and distinctive cap, Lev Yashin stands front and center on the official poster for the 2018 World Cup, unveiled last year by its designer, the artist Igor Gurovich, and Russia's deputy prime minister, Vitaly Mutko.

It is the first time that a real player has featured so prominently on a World Cup poster, traditionally a much more figurative space. When Gurovich was commissioned to create the poster, in that distinctive post-Constructivist Soviet style, though, it was obvious that Yashin should be included. "He is a symbol for all Russian fans," Mutko said at the launch ceremony.

Not just Russians, in fact: Yashin, widely regarded as the finest goalkeeper in soccer history, is the one Soviet player whose fame crossed the Iron Curtain. He came to Western attention at the 1958 World Cup, the first to be televised; his dark-blue outfit earned him the (technically incorrect) nickname the Black Spider. In 1963, he became the first, and so far the only, goalkeeper to win the Ballon d'Or, the European player of the year award.

Yashin is a unique figure in other ways, too. He is, Bondarenko argues, the only Russian player whose legacy is uncontested and whose status has survived the transition from the Soviet Union into modern Russia entirely unscathed. "We have just the parade version of his history," he said. "And no one is interested in investigating his story in more depth."

Most of the other potential members of Russia's soccer pantheon are far more enigmatic. This is a country with a long, rich history in the sport, but one whose iconography still remains somehow indistinct. In part, that is because Soviet reality itself was mutable, shifting. Those who were revered one day were regarded as undesirable the next.

To some extent, though, it is a modern process, too. As researchers and historians have been able to uncover more about the lives the characters lived, they have shed more light on exactly who they were. In some cases, though, that has served only to showcase the differences between shades of gray.

That can work both ways. In the case of Eduard Streltsov, a player in the 1950s and 1960s known as the Russian Pelé — he is famed as the inventor of the back heel — the chimera of Soviet history has helped burnish his reputation. Streltsov, a teenage superstar for Torpedo Moscow and the U.S.S.R. who had a hard-drinking, womanizing lifestyle, was arrested in 1957 after an incident at a party and, eventually, convicted of rape.

He spent five years in the gulags before being released in 1963. Two years later, he



YURI KOCHETKOV/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

The official World Cup poster depicts Lev Yashin, who is considered the best goalkeeper in history and whose fame, in the Soviet era, crossed the Iron Curtain.

returned to his club, helping Torpedo win the Russian championship and, in 1967, he was voted Soviet player of the year.

The stain of his rape conviction did not seem to affect his popularity. As the years have passed, it certainly has not diminished his status. That can be attributed, most likely, to the doubt — both contemporaneously and in hindsight — most had about the validity of Soviet justice.

Either way, it is hard to tell if Streltsov was a hero or a villain, or both. The truth is what you want it to be. Though the circumstances are very different — and the process almost the polar opposite — Nikolai Starostin's place in history is just as elusive.

Spartak and Symbolism

Spartak Moscow, the team Starostin and his brothers founded, was not just the Soviet Union's most popular team, one capable of packing stadiums wherever it traveled. For many years, it was also — in the eyes of some of its fans, though by no means all of them — a social signifier.



TASS, VIA GETTY IMAGES



HERITAGE IMAGES, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Under Communism, most teams were linked either to a governmental department or to a government-controlled industry. Dynamo Moscow was the sporting arm of the secret police, C.S.K.A. the team of the Red Army. Spartak was different: There was no affiliation to a powerful agent of the state.

In the words of Robert Edelman, a pre-eminent historian of Soviet sport at the University of California, San Diego, choosing which team to support was a "matter of identity, and preferences had political meaning." It was one of the few areas of Soviet life where the individual had agency, uninstructed by the state.

To choose Spartak, then, was seen as a safe act of defiance, perhaps even a quiet rebellion.

"Giving your heart to Spartak, you hung on to hope that this team was apart from all that surrounded it," as the historian Aksel Vartanyan put it. In the words of one Soviet scholar, Starostin and his family were cherished as a "small way of saying no" to the regime.

The remarkable story of the brothers'

lives helped burnish that image. They grew up in Presnia, a tough, cramped quarter of Moscow. They consorted with actors and musicians and artists in the chic nightclubs on Tverskaya, one of Moscow's main boulevards, in the 1920s and '30s; and their team, Spartak, defied the might of the secret police and, in particular, its fearsome head, Lavrenti Beria, to become the powerhouse of Soviet soccer, what Edelman called the People's Team in the Workers' State.

Then, in 1942, the Starostins — Nikolai and his brothers, Andrey, Aleksandr and Pyotr — were arrested, initially on a far-fetched charge of plotting to assassinate Stalin. They were eventually sentenced on lesser economic charges, to a decade each in the gulag. When they returned, after Stalin's death in 1953, they were restored to their positions of primacy, their legends not only intact, but enhanced.

At first glance, the dossiers held in the F.S.B. archive confirm what Bondarenko refers to as the "myth of their lives, beautifully written by them." The two volumes that have been opened so far detail how the secret police had watched Nikolai Starostin since 1933, with the help of a co-opted Spartak teammate. The transcripts of the interrogations show how the invented charges of treason were transformed into quite different offenses: profiting from the black market, introducing bourgeois morals into Soviet sport, procuring so-called white tickets — exemptions from front-line army service once the U.S.S.R. had been drawn into World War II — and other luxuries for Spartak players.

What Bondarenko has found, though, is that much of the Starostins' story is much more complex than a simplistic narrative of Nikolai and his brothers as mavericks defying the establishment.

"Nikolai represents a lot of things," he said. "He is the founder of our biggest club, a politician in his own strange way, a symbol for silent resistance and 'our man' for the intelligentsia. But at the same time, the Starostins' legacy is problematic."

Bondarenko agrees with Edelman's verdict that the brothers were "very Soviet," not so much rebelling against the regime as simply trying to operate within it.

What he has found in the archives — though he is quick to point out that much of the "evidence" in the files is not beyond doubt — bears that out: allegations of using the "black economy, bribery, some unpleasant political things." The Starostins had friends in high places, too: not Beria, a devoted Dynamo supporter, or his secret police, but elsewhere in the Politburo, looking after their interests.

In Bondarenko's mind, none of this diminishes the Starostin legacy. "We can see in their lives that you cannot be good, or even a saint, in the circumstances of Stalinism," he said. "They were too scared then and did anything just to save their lives. Often, those things weren't pretty."

He does not feel it makes Nikolai Starostin or his family any less great, however. It does not diminish what they should mean to Spartak, to Russian soccer, to the country as a whole. It simply places them in their true context; it allows Russian soccer to understand its history a little better. From the dark silence of the archives, it casts light on the shades of gray.

WORLD CUP SCHEDULE

QUARTERFINALS

Friday, July 6
Nizhny Novgorod
France 2, Uruguay 0
Kazan
Belgium 2, Brazil 1
Saturday, July 7
Samara
Sweden vs. England, 1400 GMT
Sochi
Russia vs. Croatia, 1800 GMT

SEMIFINALS

Tuesday, July 10
St. Petersburg
France vs. Belgium, 1800 GMT
Wednesday, July 11
Moscow (Luzhniki)
Sochi winner vs. Samara winner, 1800 GMT

THIRD PLACE

Saturday, July 14
St. Petersburg
Semifinal losers, 1400 GMT

FINAL

Sunday, July 15
Moscow (Luzhniki)
Semifinal winners, 1500 GMT

MATCHES

BELGIUM 2, BRAZIL 1

Belgium 2 0 — 2
Brazil 0 1 — 1
FIRST HALF—1, Belgium, Fernandinho (OG), 13th minute; 2, Belgium, Kevin De Bruyne, 31st.
SECOND HALF—3, Brazil, Renato Augusto, 76th.

Shots—Belgium 8, Brazil 26.
Shots On Goal—Belgium 3, Brazil 9.
Yellow Cards—Belgium, Toby Alderweireld, 47th; Thomas Meunier, 71st.
Brazil, Fernandinho, 85th; Fagner, 90th.
Offsides—Belgium 0, Brazil 1.
Fouls Committed—Belgium 16, Brazil 14.
Corner Kicks—Belgium 4, Brazil 8.
Referee—Milorad Mazic, Serbia. Assistant Referees—Milovan Ristic, Serbia; Dalibor Djurdjevic, Serbia; Daniele Orsato, Italy. 4th Official—Jair Marrufo, USA.
A—42,873.

Belgium: Koen Casteels, Thibaut Courtois, Simon Mignolet; Toby Alderweireld, Dedyck Boyala, Alexander Dendoncker, Vincent Kompany, Thomas Meunier, Thomas Vermaelen, Jan Vertonghen; Yannick Carrasco, Nacer Chadli (Thomas Vermaelen, 88rd), Kevin De Bruyne, Moussa Dembele, Marouane Fellaini, Thorgan Hazard, Youri Tielemans, Axel Witsel; Michy Batshuayi, Eden Hazard, Adnan Januzaj, Romelu Lukaku (Youri Tielemans, 87th), Dries Mertens.
Brazil: Alison, Cássio, Ederson; Fagner, Filipe Luis, Pedro Geromel, Marcelo, Marquinhos, Miranda, Thiago Silva; Renato Augusto, Philippe Coutinho, Fernandinho, Rod, Paulinho (Renato Augusto, 73rd), Willian (Roberto Firmino, 46th); Douglas Costa, Roberto Firmino, Gabriel Jesus (Douglas Costa, 58th), Neymar, Taison.

FRANCE 2, URUGUAY 0

France 1 1 — 2
Uruguay 0 0 — 0
FIRST HALF—1, France, Raphael Varane, 40th minute.
SECOND HALF—2, France, Antoine Griezmann, 61st.

Shots—France 11, Uruguay 11.
Shots On Goal—France 2, Uruguay 4.
Yellow Cards—France, Lucas Hernandez, 33rd; Kylian Mbappe, 69th. Uruguay, Rodrigo Bentancur, 38th; Cristian Rodriguez, 69th.
Offsides—France 0, Uruguay 0.
Fouls Committed—France 15, Uruguay 17.
Corner Kicks—France 3, Uruguay 4.
Referee—Nestor Pitana, Argentina. Assistant Referees—Hernan Maidana, Argentina; Pablo Belatti, Argentina; Massimiliano Irrati, Italy. 4th Official—Alireza Faghani, Iran.
A—43,319.
France: Alphonse Areola, Hugo Lloris, Steve Mandanda; Lucas Hernandez, Presnel Kimpembe, Benjamin Mendy, Benjamin Pavard, Adil Rami, Digne, Sidibe, Samuel Umtiti, Raphael Varane; N'Golo Kante, Steven Nzonzi, Paul Pogba, Corentin Tolisso (Steven Nzonzi, 80th); Ousmane Dembele, Nabil Fekir, Olivier Giroud, Antoine Griezmann (Nabil Fekir, 90th), Thomas Benar, Kylian Mbappe (Ousmane Dembele, 88th), Florian Thauvin.
Uruguay: Martin Campana, Fernando Muslera, Martin Silva; Martin Caceres, Sebastian Coates, Jose Gimenez, Diego Godin, Maxi Pereira, Gaston Silva, Guillermo Varela; Rodrigo Bentancur (Cristian Rodriguez, 59th), Diego Laxalt, Nahitan Nandez (Jonathan Urretaviscaya, 73rd), Cristian Rodriguez, Carlos Sanchez, Lucas Torreira, Matias Vecino; Maxi Gomez, Cristian Stuani (Maxi Gomez, 59th), Luis Suarez, Jonathan Urretaviscaya, Giorgian de Arrascaeta.

France Exploits a Soft Spot in Uruguay's Defensive Wall

By TARIQ PANJA

NIZHNY NOVGOROD, Russia — France's players and coaches had spent the buildup to their World Cup quarterfinal against Uruguay talking up their opponent's defensive capabilities.

FRANCE	2	bore out the wariness with which the French approached the game:
URUGUAY	0	

Quarterfinal

Uruguay's goal had been breached just once in 2018, and not by a France team for five consecutive games, a run stretching to 1985.

Yet by the end of a poor game played at Nizhny Novgorod Stadium, those concerns appeared misplaced. Uruguay's gnarled back line, which had built its reputation on years of repelling some of soccer's most potent attacks, handed Didier Deschamps's team safe passage into a semifinal in St. Petersburg on Tuesday, conceding two soft goals in a 2-0 defeat.

Raphaël Varane, France's central defender, opened the scoring in the first half, easily losing his marker, Matias Vecino, and planting a header off Antoine Griezmann's free kick beyond goalkeeper Fernando Muslera. Worse was to follow.

Muslera, among a group of Uruguayan players appearing in their third World Cup, made a hash of saving a routine shot from Griezmann and fumbled the ball into his own net. With that, Uruguay's stay in Russia was effectively over, and the game petered out to its inevitable conclusion.

"I told all my players after the match that they can be very proud, keep their heads high," said Óscar Tabárez, the 71-year-old coach who has transformed Uruguay's soccer fortunes since taking charge of the team 12 years ago. "I don't have anything bad to say against them. We all saw that it was not a very common goal, but Muslera has been a very important pillar in all our work up until now."

In reality, France did not need to play particularly well to overcome a second South American team in the knockout stages. It did not, for example, require Kylian Mbappé, its 19-year-old attacking phenom, to show anywhere near the level of threat he did in the swashbuckling 4-3 victory over Argentina in the round of 16.

A subdued performance from Mbappé



Defender Raphaël Varane, right, heading the ball into Uruguay's net for the first of France's two goals on Friday.

was in keeping with a generally low-key game that was played at times in an eerily quiet atmosphere that did not reflect the prize on offer to the victor.

It was perhaps apt that it was Griezmann who did as much as any other player on the field to liven up the proceedings.

Griezmann, 27, arrived at the stadium clutching a gourd containing mate tea and a flask of hot water, a strange accoutrement for a member of the French contingent to carry but a perfectly normal one for an Uruguayan, for whom the tea is a national staple. It symbolized a peculiar fondness, verging on devotion, that the skillful forward Griezmann has developed for the South American country.

Normally Griezmann commemorates his goals with choreographed celebrations, but on this occasion, he demurred. The reasons were manifold. The coach who set him on his path to stardom was

from Uruguay, as are José Giménez and Diego Godín, the central defensive pair who are Griezmann's teammates at the club level but lined up against him on Friday. Godín is also godfather to one of Griezmann's children.

"When I started as a professional, I was supported by a Uruguayan who taught me about the good and the bad, so I have a lot of respect for Uruguay as a country and I was also playing against my friends," Griezmann said after the game. "I thought it was normal not to celebrate my goal."

A game shorn of the drama that has defined much of the tournament was defined by two almost identical moments shortly before halftime.

First, Varane stole ahead of Vecino before beating Cristhian Stuani to the ball to head it beyond Muslera, who could not get near the ball as it sped into the goal. Five minutes later, Hugo Lloris, in the

French goal, produced a world-class save to keep out Martín Cáceres's header, which seemed destined to creep into the bottom corner of the net.

Lloris's performance for France stood in contrast to that of Muslera, who even before his mistake looked vulnerable, failing to deal with crosses into the box that on another occasion French forwards would probably have pounced on.

"Only those that don't do anything don't make mistakes," Tabárez said in comments typical of his long tenure, in which he has stood by his players even when they have erred.

Tabárez declined to reveal what he had said to Muslera, choosing instead to describe him as a vital element in a multi-year process that has allowed Uruguay to return to the top ranks of world soccer.

Tabárez is referred to as El Maestro in Uruguay, not only for his schoolteacher roots, but also for the professorial way in

which he has nurtured a generation of players to become the pride of a country of 3.5 million inhabitants sandwiched between the South American superpowers Argentina and Brazil.

Speaking before the game, Tabárez, who walked with a crutch as he battles a chronic illness that affects his nerves, explained that for a nation like his, obsessed with soccer but hampered by shortages of people and infrastructure, it was important to imbue the squad with characteristics particular to the country's place in the world, its reality.

Without access to the number of high-quality players its South American neighbors can typically call on, Uruguay has built its success on a blend of street smarts, toughness and determination, a combination known locally as the claw of

A goaltender fumbles a shot into his own net, sealing his team's fate.

the Charrúa, a reference to the indigenous population that inhabited the country at the time it was colonized by Europeans.

Against France, Uruguay — missing Edinson Cavani, a half of its feared strike force, the other member of which is Luis Suárez — belatedly showed its fighting spirit, and only then to participate in an ugly multiplayer melee after Mbappé and a substitute, Cristian Rodríguez, clashed.

Tabárez will return to Uruguay as a record breaker. No other coach has overseen more World Cup games. Whether that run is now over, and the fruits of more than a decade of hard work — Tabárez oversees all elements of Uruguay's soccer program — will be left to someone else remains unknown. Tabárez said it was not the time to talk about his future.

For France, on the other hand, the focus remains on the present. The team, among the youngest at the tournament, looks fresh and full of possibilities.

"We have some margin to get even better," Deschamps said.

Brazil and Its History Are No Match for Belgium in Quarterfinals

From First Sports Page

cial. Martínez is quite right — that effect must count for something, at some level, however deep in the subconscious. It must bewitch those who find themselves tasked with stopping the thing that so inspired them.

And yet if those jerseys are intimidating to see, they are surely no less daunting to wear. All those ghosts, all those ghosts, on your shoulders and on your back, reminding you of what you are supposed to achieve, who you are supposed to be, that only victory counts as success and everything else is failure.

But Martínez was also quite wrong. Brazil might have won five World Cups, but this Brazil team — this Brazil generation — has not won any, and it will be painfully, crushingly aware of it.

There are five stars on Brazil's jersey representing those championships, but the last one was added in 2002. After this defeat, the soonest a sixth can join it is in 2022, a wait of two long decades for a nation that — for all the romance of jogo bonito — values only victory. This team, like the three that have gone before it, has failed.

There has not even been a succession of near misses. Brazil fell in the quarterfinals in 2006 and 2010, just as it has in Russia. It went one step further on home soil in 2014, but found only humiliation, the sort that can scar a nation, waiting there.

Every time, the rhythm of the country's reaction has been the same. There is a bout of soul-searching; the manager is sacked; a new coach promises to make the team more resilient, more tenacious. He does this by playing with more defensive midfielders. It does not

A coach conceded that Brazil entered with a psychological edge.

work. The cycle begins again.

This time, it is even harder to believe such a response would be proportionate. Brazil was not embarrassed by Belgium: Tite's team created more than enough chances to have forced extra time, at the very least. It can regard itself unfortunate not to have been awarded a penalty for a foul on Gabriel Jesus. It can believe itself cursed that, in the first half in particular, Belgium defended so effectively by accident, rather than by design.

Not every defeat is proof of some spiritual failing. Not every defeat means everything is wrong. Certainly, there is no shortage of talent on this Brazilian squad, just as there was no shortage of talent in any of the squads since 2002. Neymar is not a mirage, and neither are Jesus, Philippe Coutinho, Douglas Costa and the others.

There are some aging legs in the back line, and something of a dearth of young, dynamic fullbacks, but this is a country that exports thousands of players every year. It is a place where players will continue to grow.

That is what has allowed Brazil to build its history, that endless flowering of talent, one star replaced smoothly by another, year after year, cycle after cycle, decade after decade.

What has happened since 2002, though, suggests this is no longer the

advantage it once was. The playing field has been leveled: Brazil is no longer pre-eminent in the way it once was, possessed of enough raw brilliance to carry it through. The explanation for that does not lie in Brazil's shortcomings, but in someone else's strengths.

It is not a coincidence that all four of this year's World Cup semifinalists, whatever happens in the second set of quarterfinals, are from Europe. This is, increasingly, a European competition. All four of the most recent world champions have been European. Since 1990, what might be broadly termed soccer's modern era, there have been eight World Cups. Brazil has won two. Europe will have picked up the rest.

At least one manager here has confided privately that Europe's power — in terms of finance, influence, and physicality — has become almost impossible to compete with, certainly for Africa, Asia and North America, and increasingly for South America, the game's other traditional stronghold.

The major nations of the Old World have industrialized youth development



Belgium goalkeeper Thibaut Courtois with Coach Roberto Martinez. Belgium will face France on Tuesday.

so effectively that France, Germany and Spain can now rival Brazil and Argentina as a source of players. Its smaller countries have such easy access to best practices that their size is

no longer an issue. Their players and coaches can be exported easily to the best leagues in the world. The latest developments in coaching, sports science, nutrition and the rest can be imported rapidly. It is that process that allowed Iceland to draw with Argentina, and be a little disappointed it did not win. It is that process that has left Belgium in the World Cup semifinals, and Croatia and Sweden with hopes of joining them.

And it is that process that has seen Brazil come and go from four World Cups, all without success. Each one, each failing, simply adds to the pressure that awaits the next team to try to end the wait, to try to overcome all of the advantages that Europe can call on.

The players in those yellow jerseys know as well as anyone that Brazil has won five World Cups. They know more than everyone that they have not contributed to any of them. Increasingly, those victories are not a psychological barrier that lies broken at their feet, but one that towers above them, standing in their way, casting them into shadow.

Spot the Ball



MATTHIAS HANGST/GETTY IMAGES

Messi's gone. Ronaldo's gone. And, now so is Neymar. But Spot the Ball has survived the World Cup knockout round! To celebrate, we have pulled some photos from the round of 16 and made one very important change — we removed the ball. See if you can guess where it was in this shot from England's victory against Colombia on Tuesday. **Answer, Page 4.**



TORU HANA/REUTERS

Neymar became the latest big name to exit as Brazil lost in the quarterfinals for the third time since 2006, leaving only European teams in the field.

SCOREBOARD

Mets’ Mejia, Barred for Life, Is Reinstated

By DAVID WALDSTEIN

Jenrry Mejia, the Mets closer who became the first player in Major League Baseball to be barred for life for using performance-enhancing drugs, has been conditionally reinstated.

Rob Manfred, the commissioner of baseball, announced on Friday that Mejia, who received the lifetime ban in 2016 after a third failed drug test, could play again in 2019, provided he behaved.

According to the provisions of baseball’s Joint Drug Prevention and Treatment Program, a player who receives a lifetime ban may apply for reinstatement after two years. Mejia will be allowed to begin workouts under the Mets’ supervision after the All-Star Game this month and to start a minor league rehabilitation assignment in mid-August.

If he meets conditions set by M.L.B., including strict testing, Mejia will be eligible to resume all baseball activities when spring training starts in February, at the Mets’ discretion.

Mejia, who was initially defiant after his lifetime ban and accused baseball of conspiring against him, apologized directly to Manfred in a meeting several months ago, accepting full responsibility for his transgression.

“I’ve had a long, difficult time away from the game to contemplate the mistakes I’ve made both with regard to my positive drug tests and also the

false allegations I made about Major League Baseball’s investigation into my testing history,” Mejia said in a statement issued through the players’ association on Friday. “Baseball is my profession, my passion and my life, and for those mistakes I am truly sorry.”

Mejia, who turns 29 in October, has been tested regularly during his sus-

After three failed drug tests, a former closer is given another chance.

pension.

“Mr. Mejia expressed regret for poor choices he made in the past and assured me that, if reinstated, he would adhere to the terms of the program going forward,” Manfred said in a statement.

Mejia, who recorded 28 saves for the Mets in 2014, has appeared in only seven games since then and has forfeited roughly \$6 million in potential earnings.

Chris Leible, the vice president of the Legacy Agency, which represents Mejia, applauded the commissioner’s office for its handling of the situation. “Baseball was fair and thorough

throughout the process,” Leible said.

Mejia was suspended for 80 games in April 2015 after a positive test for Stanazolol, a drug popular among bodybuilders. He returned in July 2015, appeared in seven games, then was barred for 162 games after a positive test for Stanazolol and Boldenone, a steroid known primarily for its use in horses. The third suspension, in February 2016, was for a positive test for Boldenone.

Several weeks later, Mejia accused M.L.B. of a conspiracy against him, claiming he was told by an unidentified baseball official that if he challenged or appealed his second positive test he would be found guilty a third time.

Mejia pitched in winter leagues in the Dominican Republic, his home country, and in Venezuela the past two seasons.

The Mets have the discretion to offer Mejia a contract for 2019 for a little under \$1 million, but they could also release him and make him a free agent. During his rehabilitation assignment this year he will not earn any money, and he will be drug tested more frequently than other players because of his past.

“We appreciate his regret and renewed commitment to comply moving forward,” the Mets said in a statement. “We will evaluate his progress on the field and assess the situation and our options in the coming months.”

Spot the Ball Answer



MATTHIAS HANGST/GETTY IMAGES

Jordan Pickford saved a penalty kick by Colombia’s Carlos Bacca on Tuesday to help England advance on penalties, 4-3, in a round of 16 match.

GOLF

Mickelson and Woods Contemplate Showdown

Tiger Woods and Phil Mickelson are in talks to play each other in a \$10 million, winner-take-all, 18-hole showdown, Golf.com reported.

Plans to stage the made-for-television event on July 3 in Las Vegas fell through, the website said, but representatives of the two golfers, who between them have won 19 majors, remain committed to making it happen.

“Why don’t we just bypass all the ancillary stuff of a tournament and just go head-to-head and just have kind of a high-stakes, winner-take-all match,” Mickelson said.

Woods said: “I’m definitely not against that. We’ll play for whatever makes him uncomfortable.”

On Forbes magazine’s 2018 list of the top-earning athletes, Woods, 42, ranks first among golfers, at \$43.3 million, and Mickelson, 48, ranks next among golfers, at \$41.3 million.

Mickelson said he and Woods hoped to play a couple of exhibitions a year worldwide, potentially joining forces to face global rivals such as Rory McIlroy and Ian Poulter.

Mickelson said his interaction with Woods, captured on microphones, would be part of the attraction. “You will hear a lot of the comments that you don’t hear on regular TV,” he said. “We both like to talk smack, and we both have fun with what we’re doing.” (AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE)

KRAFT LEADS AFTER 63 Kelly Kraft shot a seven-under 63, a career best, in the second round of A Military Tribute at the Greenbrier in West Virginia to take a one-stroke lead over the first-round leader Webb Simpson and Anirban Lahiri. Kraft’s round, the best of his career, left him at 127.

KIRK FALLS TO THIRD Sei Young Kim took advantage of a rough day for the first-round leader and defending champion Katherine Kirk to open up a four-stroke lead at 16-under 128 after the second round of the Thornberry Creek LPGA Classic in Oneida, Wis. Kim carded a seven-under 65. Her score through two rounds is a new course record and a personal best. Kirk, who shot a course-record-tying 62 on Day 1, is part of a five-way tie for third at 11-under.

MCILROY SLIPS TO 73 Ryan Fox of New Zealand, Matthieu Pavon of France and Erik van Rooyen of South Africa shared the halfway lead in the Irish Open at eight under par as putting woes left the tournament host, Rory McIlroy, seven shots off the pace. Van Rooyen shot a course-record 65. McIlroy, who won the tournament in 2016, shot 73.

BASEBALL

Colon’s Bid for Record Is Thwarted

Jordan Zimmermann denied Bartolo Colon’s bid at baseball history, striking out 11 batters in eight innings as the host Detroit Tigers beat the Texas Rangers, 3-1. Colon was trying to break a tie with Dennis Martinez for the most wins by a Latin American. Each has 245.

He pitched well, allowing three runs — including homers by James McCann and JaCoby Jones — in an eight-inning complete game, but Zimmermann (4-0) was better.

At 45 years, Colon (5-6) became the oldest pitcher to throw a complete game since Jamie Moyer, who was 47, did

it in 2010.

AROUND THE MAJORS Pinch-hitter Mark Reynolds led off the bottom of the ninth inning with a home run that lifted the host Washington Nationals past the Miami Marlins, 3-2. • The Houston Astros crushed the visiting Chicago White Sox, 11-4, helped by a seven-run outburst in the eighth inning, keyed by Evan Gattis’s three-run homer. Lance McCullers Jr. raised his record to 10-3 with seven innings of three-hit, one-run, 12-strikeout pitching. • Tyler Mahle (7-6) won his fourth straight decision as the Cincinnati Reds beat the Chicago Cubs for the fifth straight time. The visiting Reds won for the 14th time in 18 games. • J. D. Martinez hit his 27th home run and Chris Sale (9-4) struck out 12 in six innings as the Boston Red Sox beat the Royals, 10-5, in Kansas City.

SOCCER

E—Solarte (5), Andujar (5), LOB—New York 9, Toronto 9, 2B—T.Hernandez (20), Grichuk (10), A.Diaz (10), HR—A.Hicks (16), Smoak (12), SB—Gardner (8), Pillar (11).
New York IP R ER BB SO
LHP L57 2 6 5 5 2 4
Hale 5 1/3 1 1 1 1
1 Shreve 1/3 0 0 0 0 0 0
Toronto IP H R ER BB SO
Gaviglio 4 1/3 4 2 1 3 3
6 Blagin W1-5 1 1/3 0 0 0 0 0
1 Loup H8 1/3 0 0 0 0 1 1
On H10 1/3 0 0 0 0 1 1
Axford H5 1 0 0 0 0 1 2
Clippard 2 1 0 0 0 0 2
HBP—by Gray (Pillar), WP—Gray 2
Umpires—Home, Andy Fletcher; First, Lance Barrett; Second, John Lubke; Third, Bill Welke. T—3:07. A—24,236 (43,506).

Coach Leaves Second-Place Bulls

Red Bulls Coach Jesse Marsch has left the Major League Soccer club to pursue other opportunities, the team announced. His assistant Chris Armas was named to succeed Marsch.

The move came amid reports that Marsch, 44, would take a new coaching role with the Bundesliga team Leipzig, which is owned by the group that runs the Red Bulls. He has the Red Bulls off to a strong start to the season, with 10 wins and two draws in 16 matches.

Armas, a 45-year-old New York native, was a midfielder who played 66 matches for the national team. He played for the Los Angeles Galaxy and the Chicago Fire in Major League Soccer. (AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE)

HOCKEY

Charges in Humboldt Crash That Killed 16

The driver of a semi-trailer that collided with a bus in an April crash that killed 16 people and injured 13 involved with a Canadian youth hockey team, the Humboldt Broncos, was arrested on criminal charges, authorities said.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police said the driver, Jaskirat Singh Sidhu, 29, would appear in a provincial court in Saskatchewan next week. He faces 16 counts of dangerous operation of a motor vehicle causing death and 13 counts of dangerous operation of a motor vehicle causing bodily injury.

AUTO RACING

Hall of Fame Class Announced

The three-time NASCAR champion Tony Stewart, the three-time Indianapolis 500 winner Dario Franchitti, the hot-rod legend Don Schumacher and the automotive and racing pioneer Augie Duesenberg are among seven people chosen for induction into the Motorsports Hall of Fame of America.

The 2019 class was announced at Daytona International Speedway in Florida.

BASEBALL

A.L. STANDINGS

East	W	L	Pct	GB
Boston	60	29	.674	—
Yankees	56	29	.659	2
Tampa Bay	43	44	.494	16
Toronto	41	46	.471	18
Baltimore	24	63	.276	35

Central	W	L	Pct	GB
Cleveland	49	37	.570	—
Minnesota	37	48	.435	11 1/2
Detroit	39	51	.433	12
Chicago	30	58	.341	20
Kansas City	25	62	.287	24 1/2

West	W	L	Pct	GB
Houston	59	31	.656	—
Seattle	56	32	.636	2
Oakland	48	40	.545	10
Los Angeles	44	44	.500	14
Texas	39	50	.438	19 1/2

FRIDAY

Toronto 6, Yankees 2
Mets 5, Tampa Bay 1
Detroit 3, Texas 1
Cleveland 10, Oakland 4
Houston 11, Chicago White Sox 4
Minnesota 6, Baltimore 2
Boston 10, Kansas City 5
L.A. Dodgers at L.A. Angels
Colorado at Seattle

SATURDAY

Yankees (Severino 13-2) at Toronto (Happ 10-4), 4:07
Tampa Bay (Snell 11-4) at Mets (Matz 4-5), 4:10
Baltimore (Gausman 4-6) at Minnesota (Gibson 2-6)
Chicago White Sox (Shields 3-9) at Houston (Morton 10-2), 4:10
Colorado (Freeland 8-6) at Seattle (Paxton 8-2), 4:10
Oakland (Jackson 1-0) at Cleveland (Kluber 12-4), 4:10
Texas (Harnels 4-7) at Detroit (Fiers 5-5), 4:10
Boston (Price 9-6) at Kansas City (Keller 2-3), 7:15
L.A. Dodgers (Stripling 6-2) at L.A. Angels (McGuire 0-1), 7:15

N.L. STANDINGS

East	W	L	Pct	GB
Atlanta	49	38	.563	—
Philadelphia	47	37	.560	1/2
Washington	44	43	.506	5
Mets	35	49	.417	12 1/2
Miami	36	54	.400	14 1/2

Central	W	L	Pct	GB
Milwaukee	53	35	.602	—
Chicago	49	36	.576	2 1/2
St. Louis	45	41	.523	7
Pittsburgh	40	46	.465	12
Cincinnati	39	49	.443	14

West	W	L	Pct	GB
Los Angeles	47	39	.547	—
Arizona	48	40	.545	—
Colorado	44	43	.506	3 1/2
San Francisco	45	44	.506	3 1/2
San Diego	38	51	.427	10 1/2

FRIDAY

Mets 5, Tampa Bay 1
Cincinnati 3, Chicago Cubs 2
Washington 3, Miami 2
Milwaukee 5, Atlanta 4
Philadelphia at Pittsburgh
San Diego at Arizona
L.A. Dodgers at L.A. Angels
Colorado at Seattle
St. Louis at San Francisco

SATURDAY

Tampa Bay (Snell 11-4) at Mets (Matz 4-5), 4:10
Cincinnati (Harvey 4-5) at Chicago Cubs (Chatwood 3-5), 2:20
Philadelphia (Arrieta 5-6) at Pittsburgh (Taillon 5-6), 4:05
St. Louis (Martinez 5-4) at San Francisco (Samardzija 1-4), 4:05
Atlanta (Sanchez 3-2) at Milwaukee (Wilkerson 0-0), 4:10
Colorado (Freeland 8-6) at Seattle (Paxton 8-2), 4:10
L.A. Dodgers (Stripling 6-2) at L.A. Angels (McGuire 0-1), 7:15
Miami (Chen 2-5) at Washington (Scherzer 10-5), 7:15
San Diego (Ross 5-6) at Arizona (Ray 3-1), 10:10

BLUE JAYS 6, YANKEES 2

New York	ab	r	h	bi	Toronto	ab	r	h	bi
Gardner lf	5	0	2	0	Gmndrs dh	5	1	1	1
Judge rf	5	0	0	1	T.Hmnd lf	5	0	1	1
A.Hicks cf	3	1	2	0	Solarte 3b	4	0	1	0
Stanton dh	3	1	3	0	Smoak 1b	5	1	2	3
Grigus ss	4	0	0	0	Pillar cf	3	0	1	0
Andujar 3b	4	0	1	0	R.Mrtin c	4	0	0	0
Brd lb	3	0	0	0	Chirich f	4	1	1	0
Adams c	4	1	1	0	Al Diaz ss	4	1	1	0
N.Wiker 2b	3	0	0	0	D.Trivis 2b	3	1	1	1
Totals	32	2	5	2	Totals	35	6	11	6

New York	001	010	000—2
Toronto	050	000	01x—6

E—Solarte (5), Andujar (5). LOB—New York 9, Toronto 9. 2B—T.Hernandez (20), Grichuk (10), A.Diaz (10). HR—A.Hicks (16), Smoak (12). SB—Gardner (8), Pillar (11).

New York	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO
Gray L57	2	5	5	5	2	4
Hale	5 2/3	5	1	1	1	

Shreve	1/3	0	0	0	0	0
Toronto	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO
Gaviglio	4	1/3	4	2	1	3
6						
Biagini W1-5 . . .	1	2/3	0	0	0	0
1						
Loup H8	1/3	0	0	0	1	1
Oh H10	2/3	0	0	0	0	1
Axford H5	1	1	0	0	1	2

Clippard 1 0 0 0 0 0
HBP—by Gray (Pillar). WP—Gray 2.
Umpires—Home, Andy Fletcher; First, Lance Barrett; Second, John Libka; Third, Bill Welke.
T—3:07. A—37,254 (53,506).

METS 5, RAYS 1

Tampa Bay	ab	r	h	bi	New York	ab	r	h	bi
Krmaier cf	4	0	1	0	Nimmo cf	4	2	0	0
M.Duffy 3b	4	0	0	0	J.Btsta rf	3	1	1	4
Bauers 1b	4	0	0	0	Cabrera 2b	4	0	1	1
W.Ramos c	3	0	0	0	Cnforto lf	4	0	1	0
H.Wood pr	0	0	0	0	Flores 1b	4	0	0	0
Sucre c	0	0	0	0	T.Frzer 3b	3	1	1	0
Wendle lf	4	0	1	0	Msoraco c	3	1	2	0

Dan.Hbr 2b	3 0 1 0	A.Rsrio ss	3 0 0 0
M.Smith rf	4 0 1 0	deGrom p	3 0 0 0
Adames ss	4 1 1 1	Familia p	0 0 0 0
Stanek p	0 0 0 0	Do.Smith ph	1 0 0 0
Field ph	1 0 0 0		
Yrbrugh p	0 0 0 0		
Cron ph	0 0 0 0		
Kolarek p	0 0 0 0		

D.Cstill p	0	0	0	0				
Gomez ph	0	0	0	0				
Alvrado p	0	0	0	0				
Roe p	0	0	0	0				
Totals	31	15	1	1	Totals	32	56	5
Tampa Bay	000	010	000	—1				
New York	001	000	004	—5				

E—M.Duffy (7), Adames (3). LOB—Tampa Bay 7, New York 7. 2B—Kiermaier (2), T.Frazier (8). 3B—M.Smith (5). HR—Adames (3), J.Bautista (6). SB—Gomez (5), J.Bautista (2). CS—Dan.Robertson (2). S—A.Rosario (3).

Tampa Bay	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO
Stanek	2	1	0	0	1	4
Vandusen only	2	1	1	0	2	4

PRO BASKETBALL

Rockets Are Said to Be Interested in Anthony if Thunder Release Him

By MARC STEIN

The Houston Rockets are interested in signing Carmelo Anthony when the former All-Star forward secures his free agency this summer after an expected separation from the Oklahoma City Thunder, according to two people with knowledge of Anthony's situation.

The Thunder plan to explore trades for Anthony during the off-season but ultimately intend to release him if necessary to save millions in luxury-tax payments, according to the people, who were not authorized to discuss Anthony's future publicly.

On Friday, ESPN reported what had been expected around the league since Anthony, a former Knick, opted in to the final season of his current contract: Oklahoma City wants to sever ties with him before the start of next season after the failure of the one-year Anthony experiment.

The New York Times first reported on June 22 that Anthony was passing up the chance to terminate his contract and proceed directly to free agency, seeking instead to lock in next season's guaranteed \$27.9 million salary. Oklahoma City can save an estimated \$90 million in luxury tax alone by waiving and stretching Anthony — although such a move would keep Anthony on the team's books for the next three seasons at \$9.3 million each year. The All-Star forward Paul George committed to stay with the Thunder in the early minutes of free agency.

The Rockets managed to resign their All-Star guard Chris Paul in free agency and remain strong favorites to come to terms with their restricted free-agent center Clint Capela. But Houston has lost the defensive specialist Trevor Ariza in free agency to the Phoenix Suns and is on the hunt



MICHAEL WYKE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Carmelo Anthony, left, and Chris Paul are close and could become teammates in Houston.

for roster upgrades to close the gap with the Golden State Warriors after the teams played a memorable seven-game series in the Western Conference finals.

Anthony, 34, is close with both Paul and the Los Angeles Lakers' marquee signing, LeBron James.

But it is unclear whether the Lakers would join the Rockets in pursuit of Anthony. The Portland Trail Blazers' star backcourt of Damian Lillard and C J McCollum recruited Anthony aggressively last summer when the Knicks made him available via trade, but Anthony — who has a no-trade clause in his contract — preferred a deal with Oklahoma City.

A return to Houston would reunite Anthony and Rockets Coach

Mike D'Antoni after their strained partnership with the Knicks during parts of the 2010-11 and 2011-12 seasons. But D'Antoni won N.B.A. coach of the year honors in his first season with the Rockets and is fresh off tweaking his offensive system significantly last season to accommodate both Paul and the N.B.A.'s most valuable player, James Harden, on the way to a league-high 65 wins.

The Thunder persuaded Anthony to waive his no-trade clause in September 2017 and acquired the high-scoring forward from the Knicks in the hope that he could develop chemistry with George and the All-Star guard Russell Westbrook on par with the league's top trios. But Anthony av-

eraged just 16.2 points and 5.8 rebounds while shooting a career-worst 40.4 percent from the field. He steadily lost minutes during the postseason.

After Utah ousted Oklahoma City in the first round, Anthony announced that he did not want to return to the Thunder in the same diminished role or by switching to sixth man.

"For me, my focus would be on kind of figuring out what I want out of the rest of my career, what I want in my future, what am I willing to accept, and if I'm willing to accept that at all," Anthony told reporters in April. "I think everybody knows that I've sacrificed kind of damned near everything — family, you know, moving here

BASEBALL

Put to Test In Toronto, Gray Again Falls Short

By DAVID WALDSTEIN

TORONTO — Sonny Gray stood in the visitors' clubhouse at Rogers Centre late Friday night going over what had happened a few hours before. He mentioned a

BLUE JAYS 6 walk here, a bad pitch
YANKEES 2 there and several dubious pitches in between.

As he recalled his outing, almost batter for batter because it was so brief, he settled on the obvious conclusion with a shrug.

"Another poor performance," he said.

Even at Rogers Centre, where Gray was nearly dominant over seven previous starts, he was utterly ineffective. In his shortest outing of the year, Gray allowed five runs, six hits and two walks in only two innings as the Toronto Blue Jays beat the Yankees, 6-2, for Gray's third consecutive loss.

It created a tie in the loss column of the American League East between the Boston Red Sox and the Yankees, who fell two games behind Boston.

Gray, now 5-7 with a 5.85 earned run average, not only surrendered a three-run home run to Justin Smoak in the Jays' five-run second inning, but also threw two wild pitches and hit a batter with a pitch.

Manager Aaron Boone said Gray would make his next start against the Orioles in Baltimore on Wednesday and added that it was unlikely the Yankees would remove Gray from the rotation before the All-Star break, which begins July 16.

"Part of it right now is we feel like he's our best option," Boone said. "That's certainly part of it."

Boone said he still had faith in Gray but wondered if he was trying too hard to make perfect pitches, compounding his recent troubles. Boone added that it was up to everyone on the team, including himself, the pitching coach Larry Rothschild and Gray's teammates, to help him through this difficult period, if possible.

"Yeah, I'm concerned," Boone



TOM SZCZERBOWSKI/GETTY IMAGES

Justin Smoak, far right, celebrating Toronto's win, drove in three of the Blue Jays' five runs.

said. "But we also believe in the stuff. As best we can, we've got to try and help him right the ship."

One thing that should help the Yankees is that Masahiro Tanaka is due back from the disabled list on Tuesday. Tanaka injured both of his hamstrings while running the bases last month at Citi Field against the Mets. He pitched in a rehabilitation start on Wednesday for Class AAA Scranton/Wilkes-Barre and tossed 69 pitches over five innings.

There could be other options in the offing, too. On Saturday, the Yankees will get a close look at Toronto's J.A. Happ, the left-handed starter who could conceivably join the Yankees rotation in the coming weeks. The Blue Jays, who have fallen out of the pennant race, are expected to trade Happ before the non-waiver deadline at the end of the month, and the Yankees, like several other teams, could have strong interest.

Before Friday's game, Boone was asked if he would watch Happ more carefully than usual. He said he always watched the opposing pitcher carefully, but he lauded Happ's talent in general terms.

"He's been a really good pitcher in this league for a while," Boone told reporters in the dugout.

Gray was asked if he was concerned that his place in the rotation could be in jeopardy.

"I'm going to go out there and compete as long as they will allow me to," he said.

Friday's game was especially alarming because Gray had a 1.88

E.R.A. in his seven other starts here. Boone said he took no special meaning from the fact that Friday's game was a deviation from Gray's usual performances in Toronto. Still, the outing was striking.

Gray was fortunate to escape from a bases-loaded, two-out situation in the first inning without giving up any runs, by striking out Russell Martin.

But in the second Toronto cashed in. Randal Grichuk led off with a double and scored on a single by Devon Travis, who then scored on a single by Curtis Granderson. Three batters later,

Smoak put his stamp on the proceedings with a blast to right-center field, his 12th home run.

The Yankees had a good chance to get back in the game in the fifth when they loaded the bases with one out. But reliever Joe Biagini struck out Giancarlo Stanton, and then Didi Gregorius lined out to left fielder Teoscar Hernandez to end the Yankees' best threat.

"I mean, we all want him to come through and always get a big hit," Boone said of Stanton. "But you'll beat your head into the wall. Bottom line is, more often than not, you're not going to come through."

CALENDAR

TV Highlights

Auto Racing	6:30 p.m.	Monster Energy Cup Series, Countdown to Green	NBCSN
	7:00 p.m.	Monster Energy Cup Series, Coke Zero Sugar 400	NBC
Baseball	2:00 p.m.	Cincinnati at Chicago Cubs	MLB
	4:00 p.m.	Atlanta at Milwaukee	FS1
	4:00 p.m.	Tampa Bay at Mets	SNY
	4:00 p.m.	Yankees at Toronto	YES
	7:00 p.m.	Boston at Kansas City	FOX
	10:00 p.m.	San Diego at Arizona	MLB
Boxing	9:30 p.m.	Jose Ramirez vs. Danny O'Connor	ESPN
Football / Arena League	6:00 p.m.	Philadelphia at Albany	CBSSN
Golf	7:30 a.m.	Irish Open, third round	GOLF
	1:00 p.m.	A Military Tribute at the Greenbrier, third round	GOLF
	3:00 p.m.	A Military Tribute at the Greenbrier, third round	CBS
	3:00 p.m.	Lecom Health Challenge, third round	GOLF
	5:30 p.m.	Thornberry Creek Classic, third round	GOLF
Soccer	10:00 a.m.	World Cup, Sweden vs. England	FOX, TELEMUNDO
	2:00 p.m.	World Cup, Russia vs. Croatia	FOX, TELEMUNDO
	11:00 p.m.	M.L.S., Orlando at Los Angeles F.C.	FS1
Tennis	8:00 a.m.	Wimbledon, third round	ESPN

This Week

HOME AWAY	SAT 7/7	SUN 7/8	MON 7/9	TUE 7/10	WED 7/11	THU 7/12	FRI 7/13
METS	TAMPA BAY 4 p.m. SNY	TAMPA BAY 1 p.m. SNY	PHILADELPHIA 4 p.m. (DH) SNY	PHILADELPHIA 7 p.m. SNY	PHILADELPHIA 7 p.m. SNY	WASHINGTON 7 p.m. SNY	WASHINGTON 7 p.m. SNY
YANKEES	TORONTO 4 p.m. YES	TORONTO 1 p.m. YES	BALTIMORE 4 p.m. (DH) YES	BALTIMORE 7 p.m. YES	BALTIMORE 7 p.m. YES	CLEVELAND 7 p.m. YES	CLEVELAND 7 p.m. YES
LIBERTY		DALLAS 3 p.m. MSG			CONN. 11:30 a.m. MSG+		
N.Y.C.F.C. 7 PM. SUNDAY			FS1	N.Y.C.F.C. 7 PM. SUNDAY			RED BULLS FS1

A former Knick has become too costly for his current team.

by myself, sacrificed my game — for the sake of the team, and was willing to sacrifice any and everything in order for this situation to work out.

"So it's something I really have to think about — if, you know, I really want to be this type of player, finish out my career as this type of player, knowing that I have so much left in the tank and I bring so much to the game of basketball."

The hefty contracts of Westbrook, George and the veteran center Steven Adams have the Thunder on course to operate with a combined payroll and luxury-tax bill that would exceed \$300 million next season if they were also to keep Anthony. A divorce has thus been considered an inevitability since Anthony opted in for next season, whether through a trade, an outright release or a buyout in which Anthony gives some salary back so he is free to find a new landing spot.

PARKER LEAVES SPURS The first high-profile defection from the San Antonio Spurs this off-season was not the disgruntled All-Star forward Kawhi Leonard but instead their long-serving point guard Tony Parker.

After playing a key role on four of San Antonio's five championship teams, Parker, 36, is joining the Charlotte Hornets in free agency on a two-year deal worth \$10 million — choosing that option over remaining with the Spurs at a lower salary — according to multiple news outlets.

News of Parker's departure be-

gan to spread Friday afternoon when his longtime teammate on the French national team and soon-to-be Hornets teammate Nicolas Batum sent out on Twitter a welcome-to-Charlotte message, saying "see you soon in Buzz City my big bro."

Anyone in San Antonio holding out hope that the Spurs can still repair their fractured relationship with Leonard will perhaps see Parker's departure as a potential boost. Among the developments that had rankled Leonard most this past year was Parker's late-season assertion that his own quadriceps injury sustained during the 2017 playoffs was "100 times worse" than the quadriceps issues that limited Leonard to nine games in 2017-18.

In Charlotte, Parker will be reunited with the former Spurs assistant coach James Borrego, who was recently hired as the Hornets' new head coach. Parker is a six-time All-Star and is expected to back up Hornets guard Kemba Walker.

Parker lost his starting spot in San Antonio last season to the up-and-coming Dejounte Murray but ranks as one of the most accomplished players in Spurs history — highlighted by his N.B.A. finals Most Valuable Player performance in 2007.

Parker was immediately installed as a starter by Coach Gregg Popovich after the Spurs made the then-teenager the 28th overall pick in the 2001 draft.

"It's difficult to put into words how important Tony Parker has been to the Spurs' franchise over the past two decades," Popovich said in a statement. "From his first game in 2001 at 19, T. P. has impressed and inspired us — day after day, game after game, season after season — with his passion, dedication and desire."



AL BELLO/GETTY IMAGES

Jose Bautista, center, after hitting the game-winning grand slam against the Rays in the ninth inning of Friday night's game.

Bautista's Slam Gives Mets A Jolt at the Perfect Time

By The Associated Press

Jose Bautista's grand slam with two outs in the bottom of the ninth inning lifted the Mets to a 5-1 win over the Tampa Bay Rays on Friday night at Citi Field. It was Bautista's first career game-ending homer.

METS 5 "I was
RAYS 1 aware of it,"

Bautista said of the fact that he had not previously hit a walk-off home run. "I guess sometimes it just takes a while."

The Rays' Chaz Roe (1-2) walked Todd Frazier at the start of the inning, and Devin Mesoraco singled before Amed Rosario's sacrifice advanced the runners. Roe then got pinch-hitter Dominic Smith on a comebacker and intentionally walked Brandon Nimmo, loading the bases.

Roe tried to go inside with a sinker on his first pitch to Bautista, who has logged 32 home runs in 157 careers games against Tampa Bay and made him pay this time.

"Tried to get ahead early with the sinker and got too much of the plate," Roe said. "I knew he was swinging there."

It was Bautista's sixth homer of the season and gave the Mets their third win in their last 19 games at home.

The Mets were not sure what to expect once Bautista was available. He was part of a crop of free agents who were still waiting for contracts once spring training ended.

Bautista signed a one-year deal with Atlanta on April 18 and was promoted to the majors on May 4. He appeared at third base — a position he had not played in years — and barely produced at the plate, hitting just .143 (5 for 35) with a two homers and five R.B.I. in 12 games before he was released May 20.

Lacking some much-needed power in the lineup after Yoenis Cespedes went on the disabled list, the Mets took a chance on Bautista two days later.

In 39 games with the team, Bautista, 37, has hit .227 with four home runs and 18 R.B.I. But over

his last 17 games, he is hitting .330 (15 for 50) with four homers and 15 R.B.I.

He has certainly impressed Manager Mickey Callaway.

"I think that from what we've seen as a Met, it's been outstanding," Callaway said. "Top-tier production out of a guy that we got from Atlanta, who let him go. So that's surprising. Now the guy himself, who has a body of a 25-year-old, stays in shape? Can never count those guys out."

Tampa Bay had a chance to take the lead in the top of the ninth against Mets closer Jeurys Familia (4-4) but came up short.

After Familia hit Daniel Robertson with a pitch, loading the bases, first baseman Wilmer Flores got pinch-runner Hunter Wood out at home despite a high throw. Umpires confirmed the call after Tampa Bay challenged. Familia then struck out Willy Adames, ending the threat.

Jacob deGrom was once again stellar for the Mets, allowing just one run and four hits while striking out eight and issuing one walk over eight innings.

It was the ninth no-decision for deGrom, the staff ace.

"Like I said before, the goal is to win, whether I get the win or somebody else," deGrom said. "The goal is to win baseball games and we got a win tonight."

Asdrubal Cabrera gave the Mets a 1-0 lead in the third with a run-scoring single.

DeGrom, who has a 1.80 E.R.A. in his nine starts at Citi Field this season, made his lone mistake of the night when he gave up a tying solo homer to Adames, his third of the season, in the fifth.

INSIDE PITCH

Manager **MICKEY CALLAWAY** said it would be "ideal" for **NOAH SYNDERGAARD** to start July 13 against Washington if all goes well with his rehabilitation start Sunday at Class A Brooklyn. . . . The right-hander **PAUL SEWALD** was called up from Class AAA Las Vegas, and the left-hander **JERRY BLEVINS** was placed on the bereavement list.

FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

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‘Bittersweet’: Navratilova Recalls First Major Title

By CINDY SHMERLER

Martina Navratilova’s voice was rising, inching higher and more animated with each word, each thought. She apologized for sounding so emotional, but she couldn’t help herself.

“What’s happening at those detention centers in Texas is unconscionable, just beyond belief,” said Navratilova, the top-ranked woman in tennis for much of the 1970s and ’80s. “All these people who are lying through their teeth, saying, ‘The kids are O.K. — it’s like summer camp.’ I’m like, ‘Are you kidding me?’”

“We complain about Boko Haram taking the girls in Nigeria, and here we are doing it to these women and men. And the kids are marked for life. Some will never be reunited. Some parents will never know what happened to their kid.”

Navratilova’s concern about families being separated is borne of personal experience. After fleeing Communist Czechoslovakia at 18 to seek political asylum in the United States during the 1975 United States Open, Navratilova went nearly four years without seeing a member of her own family. She has said it was the most painful time in her life.

During that period, on July 7, 1978, Navratilova won the first of her record nine Wimbledon singles titles, kick-starting a career that would eventually include 18 Grand Slam singles championships.

“I was so happy, but it was bittersweet because my parents weren’t there and I didn’t even know if they were going to be able to see the match,” said Navratilova, who is tied with Billie Jean King with a record 20 Wimbledon titles in singles, doubles and mixed doubles. “That’s when you put the blinders on and just keep going. It was all very emotional, but

Separated from relatives after fleeing Communist Czechoslovakia.

you don’t dwell on it because, if you do, you can’t play.”

“I found out after the match that they drove to Pilsen, on the German border, and watched on TV,” she added. “And somehow, my dad called me in the locker room which was so difficult back then. I never asked him, ‘Wait, how did you get the number?’”

Navratilova played her first Wimbledon as a 16-year-old in 1973 and won the women’s doubles event in 1976 with her good friend Chris Evert. Two years later, Navratilova reached her first final there — against Evert.

Navratilova had beaten Evert in the final of a warm-up event in Eastbourne, England, 9-7 in the third set, claiming only her fourth victory in their 24 career meetings up to that point. Her fifth would come in the form of a 2-6, 6-4, 7-5 win at the All England Club.

Forty years later, Navratilova, now 61, recalls the details, big and small.

“I served it out at love, but I just remember my heartbeat,” said Navratilova, who played, and won, her last Wimbledon match, the mixed doubles final with Leander Paes, at age 46 in 2003. “I’ve never heard my heart beat like that before. It was so loud, but I wasn’t out of breath. It was like an out-of-body experience. I felt like the whole stadium could hear my heart beating.”

After Evert, the top seed, won the first set comfortably, the second-seeded Navratilova was serving at 3-2, 15-30, in the second when, after a drop-shot exchange, both players found themselves

at the net. Evert hit an uncharacteristic high forehand volley that smacked Navratilova squarely on the head, prompting her to fall back in feigned pain.

The players laughed, and Evert patted her opponent on the forehead. Navratilova proceeded to save two break points and hold serve for 4-2, which, Evert said, swung momentum in her favor.

“Martina was just supreme on the grass,” said Evert, who was 23 and a two-time Wimbledon champion at the time. “I was always the underdog, running uphill to beat her on a surface that her game was perfectly suited to. Especially being a lefty and a serve-and-volleyer, it was a battle every time.”

Evert was surprised to hear that of her nine meetings with Navratilova at Wimbledon — five of them finals — seven went to three sets.

“Maybe one of the problems was that, when I went into matches with her, I was kind of negative because I felt like she was always the favorite,” Evert said.

But she has another explanation for the loss to Navratilova in ’78, especially after she let a 4-2 lead in the third set slip away and lost 12 of the match’s last 13 points.

“I have to laugh, but that was the Wimbledon I fell in love with John Lloyd,” Evert said of her first husband, a British player whom she married in 1979 and divorced in 1987. “I was love struck, we were dating and we went out every night. I was really distracted and I wasn’t fully engaged or focused on winning Wimbledon. Sorry, Martina.”

Navratilova won Wimbledon again the following year. Coaxed by a plea from the Duchess of Kent, the Czechoslovakian government issued a travel visa to Navratilova’s mother, Jana, who arrived on the eve of the tournament to watch her daughter play. It would be several more years before the whole family, including a sister, Jana, would be reunited.

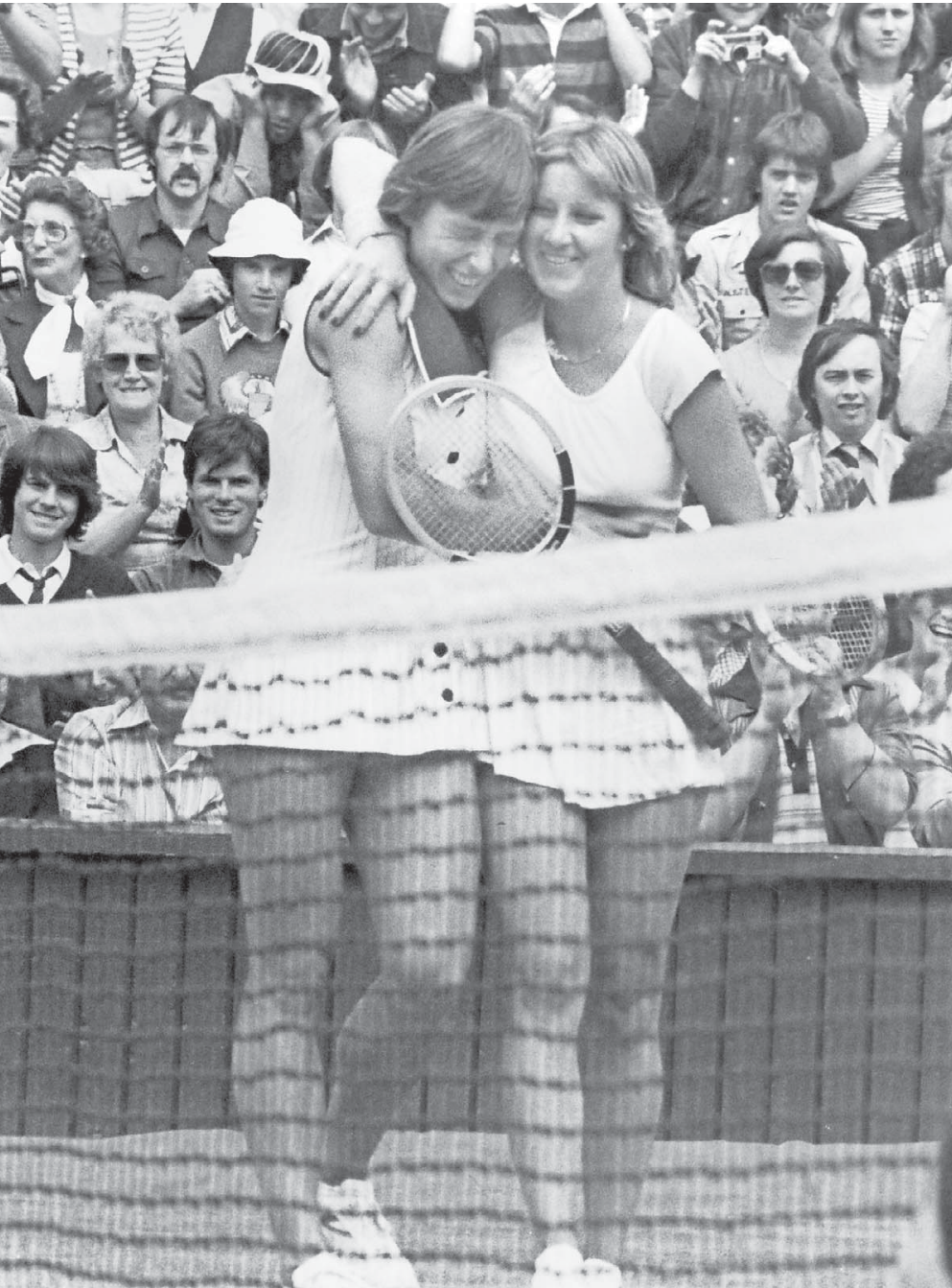
Navratilova remains involved in tennis as a commentator, and will work for Tennis Channel and the BBC at Wimbledon. She spoke out earlier this year when a British documentary on gender equity revealed that John McEnroe, also a commentator at BBC, earned 10 times more she did during last year’s tournament. The BBC said their workloads were not equitable, but has agreed to close the gap this year.

“They made things right, I’m happy and I hope it will be better for a lot of other women as well,” said Navratilova, who declined to discuss how much more she will be paid this year above the 15,000 pounds she earned last year. “This was never personally about me against John. He’s such a proponent of women, and I think he got blindsided.”

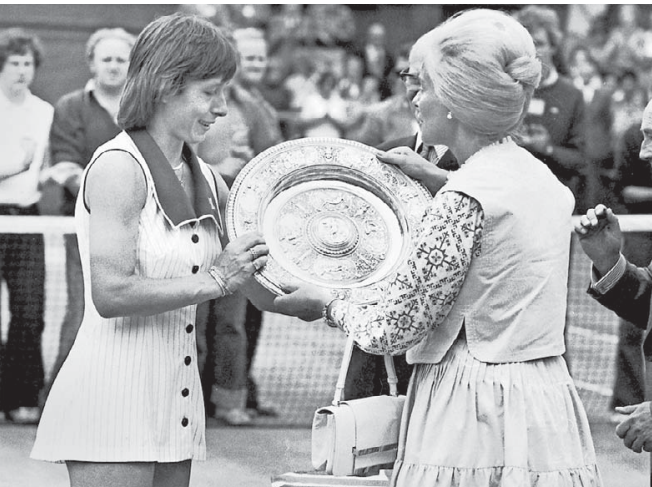
Navratilova has been outspoken, especially on Twitter, on many issues, criticizing President Trump, the Republican Party, anti-gay sentiments and cruelty to both animals and people.

Several years ago, Navratilova, an American citizen, considered a political run herself. But a return to tennis, a 2014 marriage to the former Russian model and businesswoman Julia Lemigova and helping to raise her two daughters interceded. Navratilova also came to think that she might be too outspoken to be taken seriously. Still, there is one cause that she is immensely proud of — maybe even more than her nine Wimbledon singles titles.

“Just being out, being myself and being proud and unapologetic about who I am,” said Navratilova, who revealed her homosexuality in 1981. “I’m proud of setting an example and being a beacon of hope for so many back when it was such a horrible thing to be gay.”



ROB TAGGART/CENTRAL PRESS, VIA GETTY IMAGES



MIKE STEPHENS/CENTRAL PRESS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Martina Navratilova, top left, and her opponent, Chris Evert, after the 1978 final, the first of Navratilova’s nine Wimbledon singles titles. “Martina was just supreme on the grass,” Evert said recently. Navratilova receiving the trophy from the Duchess of Kent in 1978. Above right, serving against Evonne Goolagong Cawley in the semifinals.



CENTRAL PRESS/GETTY IMAGES

As More Top-Ranked Players Falter, Serena Williams (at No. 181) Endures

By BEN ROTHENBERG

WIMBLEDON, England — Two more top 10 talents tumbled out of the first week of Wimbledon on Friday, with Venus Williams and Madison Keys falling in three-set matches. That leaves only two women ranked in the top 10 in the tournament: No. 1 Simona Halep and No. 7 Karolina Pliskova.

Then, of course, there’s 181st-ranked Serena Williams. She’s still here.

Venus Williams, seeded ninth, lost, 6-2, 6-7 (5), 8-6, to 20th-seeded Kiki Bertens.

Bertens, who had three match points against Williams this year at the Miami Open, was able to convert her third opportunity on Friday when Williams’s backhand found the net.

“Just ran out of time in the end,” said Williams, who has become increasingly succinct in recent years. “She played really well. You have to win the last point, and I didn’t succeed in that today.”

It was Bertens’s sixth win against a top 10 opponent in her career, but her first of those on a surface other than clay. She admitted she often lacked confidence in herself on hardcourts and grass courts.

“I still find it tough to believe that I can play really well, to beat the top players,” Bertens said. “But, yeah, today I did.”

Keys, the No. 10 seed, has a game built for grass courts, but lost a roller coaster of a third-round match against 120th-ranked Evgeniya Rodina, a qualifier, 7-5, 5-7, 6-4.

After taking a 5-2 lead in the first set, Keys lost nine consecutive games to trail by a set and 4-0. She won five consecutive games to recover, but struggled to consolidate any lead for the rest of the match.

Keys bluntly called the defeat a “massive mishandle of nerves,” saying that after taking an early lead she had allowed her mind to drift ahead to Serena Williams, who would most likely have



DANIEL LEAL-OLIVAS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Madison Keys during her third-round loss on Friday to the qualifier Evgeniya Rodina. Keys bluntly called the defeat a “massive mishandle of nerves.”

been her fourth-round opponent.

“Doing well, I felt my mind go, and move on,” Keys said. “I don’t think I did a good job of keeping in the moment and playing the person who was in front of me.”

Rodina had not been in the third round of a Grand Slam event for 10 years, but played calm, controlled tennis throughout, even when struggling with an injury. Keys said the experience of playing as a heavy favorite against a free-swinging opponent gave her additional respect for Williams, who is in that situation in almost every match.

“Even more props to her, honestly,” Keys said of Williams. “It’s definitely been a challenge that I have had to deal with where all of a sudden I’m the one that’s supposed to win and people are

playing with nothing to lose and playing their best tennis. A lot of times you just have to weather the storm and play better on those big points. I mean, the fact she’s basically done that her whole career is really impressive.”

Williams, who was given the No. 25 seed for this event as she comes back from pregnancy, again faced that situation on Friday in her third-round win over 62nd-ranked Kristina Mladenovic, 7-5, 7-6 (2).

Mladenovic, who has delivered her best tennis on the biggest stages, had struggled through a 15-match losing streak from last August to February. But against Williams, she summoned the sort of imposing tennis that allowed her to reach the top 10 last year. She led, 4-2, in the first set before Williams came

back.

Williams closed out the match emphatically in the second-set tiebreak with two aces, her 12th and 13th of the match.

“A lot of the top players are losing, but they’re losing to girls that are playing outstanding,” Williams said. “I think, if anything, it shows me every moment that I can’t underestimate any of these ladies. They are just going out there swinging and playing for broke.”

Williams said she “was glad someone admitted that,” when she heard Keys sympathize with the challenge of being the best.

“Every single match I play, whether I’m coming back from a baby or surgery, it doesn’t matter — these young ladies, they bring a game that I’ve never seen before,” Williams said. “It’s interesting because I don’t even scout as much. Because when I watch them play, it’s a totally different game than when they play me. That’s what makes me great: I always play everyone at their greatest, so I have to be greater.”

Williams has what looks like an easier than expected path through the middle stages of the tournament. She will next face Rodina; the winner will face 52nd-ranked Camila Giorgi or 35th-ranked Ekaterina Makarova in the quarterfinals.

The highest seed left in the bottom half of the draw is Pliskova, at No. 7, who beat 29th-ranked Mihaela Buzarnescu, 3-6, 7-6 (3), 6-1.

Pliskova said she was not preoccupied with the seedings of remaining players. “They wouldn’t be there without playing good level here,” she said. “I think it’s very open with this.”

The clear favorite on the men’s side, top-seeded Roger Federer, again advanced with ease, beating Jan-Lennard Struff, 6-3, 7-5, 6-2.

The men’s seeds have held up slightly better than the women’s, but five of the top 11 are out. Sam Querrey, the 11th seed, had reached the semifinals here last year and the quarterfinals here before, but lost, 5-7, 6-4, 6-4, 6-2, to Gaël Monfils on Centre Court.

Around the same time, another top man survived an upset bid on No. 1 Court with help from a change in conditions. Fourth-seeded Alexander Zverev had trailed in sets, 2-1, when his match against Taylor Fritz was suspended because of darkness on Thursday. But Zverev lost only three games in the resumption on Friday afternoon, winning, 6-4, 5-7, 6-7 (0), 6-1, 6-2.

The losses by Querrey and Fritz started the United States men off on a rough foot, but two Americans won later to book spots in the fourth round. Mackenzie McDonald, ranked 103rd, beat Guido Pella of Argentina, 6-4, 6-4, 7-6 (6). Pella had upset third-seeded Marin Cilic on Thursday.

McDonald was joined in the fourth round by John Isner.

Isner rolled past 98th-ranked Radu Albot, 6-3, 6-3, 6-4, to reach the second week of Wimbledon for the first time in 10 appearances.

Isner, seeded ninth, is the highest-ranked man left in his quarter of the draw. He next faces 31st-seeded Stefanos Tsitsipas.

Only Serena Williams will represent the United States in women’s singles in the second week of the tournament, but the American men could have three if Frances Tiafoe prevails on Saturday against Karen Khachanov.

That more American men than women will reach the second week of Wimbledon is anomalous, given recent results.

“Trying to catch up to the women,” Isner said. “They are stellar, the American women. So, trying to get to their level.”